

WHEN FREEDOM CAME TO LIMA: A CASE STUDY

by

JOHN DAVID MITCHELL

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of one particular newspaper situation: one in which the author was personally involved before he entered the academic side of journalism and one in which his interest deepened as he became a teacher and formal student of journalism. It is a case study of the newspaper situation in Lima, Ohio, over a period of approximately three and a half years. Basically it is a study of that situation from the announcement on a Saturday in February, 1956, of the impending sale of the Lima News to the Freedom Newspaper group until July 1, 1959, the second anniversary of Lima as a two-newspaper city.

The study was undertaken with two preconceptions in mind: first, that a factual account of the Lima newspaper situation was in and of itself worth attempting and, second, that the developments in Lima pointed lessons that have a validity outside that particular journalistic situation. The purpose of this thesis, then, is to tell the story of what happened in Lima and to see what lessons that account might have for other newspapers, other communities, other persons.

The method, as already indicated, is that of a case study. That is, the attempt is to draw on primary sources, including the author's personal knowledge, as much as possible for a specific account of what happened. The emphasis in the study itself is on what happened. Consideration of why it happened and what it might mean is, as much as possible, reserved for clearly indicated summary and conclusion sections of the thesis. The treatment is

essentially chronological. It starts with the purchase of the News by the Hoiles organization, goes into a study of a major editorial campaign in which the viewpoint of the Hoiles-owned News was repudiated by the community, through the strike against the News, through the founding of the Lima Citizen as a competitive afternoon daily newspaper, through the developing competitive situation, and into the launching of an intensive anti-News campaign by the Citizen. Major conclusions drawn from the study are reserved for the final chapter.

Although the author did not know it at the time, specific research for this study probably started in May, 1952, when the author resigned from the editorial staff of the Rockford, Illinois, Morning Star to join the staff of the Lima News as a reporter-deskman. Research in the form of familiarity with the Lima situation continued for four and a quarter years until the author resigned to go to Kansas State University as a temporary instructor in technical journalism. It was while at Kansas State that the decision was made to make the Lima situation the subject of a thesis. It was then that deliberate research was started. The research continued during two years at Kansas State in the form of collecting materials from periodicals, including both Lima newspapers and materials issued in connection with the strike against the News and the founding of the Citizen. Material also was received from friends and acquaintances, both in Lima and elsewhere, who knew of the author's special interest in the subject. In late August and early September of 1958, a special trip was made to Lima for three weeks of on-the-spot research. This included examining the files

of both newspapers, examining files of the Lima Newspaper Guild, Local 166, American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO, CLC), and interviewing a number of persons directly and indirectly involved in the situation. The gathering of material through newspapers and other periodicals and through personal correspondence was continued after the author joined the faculty of the College of Journalism at the University of Colorado in September, 1958.

The reader should be warned of one particular aspect of the author's relationship to the situation studied in this thesis. That is that the author had worked for the Galvin management and had been an active Lima Guild member for nearly four years at the time the News was purchased by the Hoiles organization. He was among those who looked upon that sale and the editorial and management policies of the new owners with something less than approval. It might be argued that this means the author has a bias which cannot avoid coloring his study of what happened in Lima. To any who raise that point, he can say only that as he approached this study he was exceedingly conscious of that possibility and did his best to avoid it--or at the least to minimize it. In some seven years of full-time work he learned that a reporter's personal predilections need not color his reporting of events or personalities; that frequently a reporter conscious of his contrary biases will be more successful in nullifying them and presenting a balanced, fair, valid report than will the reporter who is favorably predisposed toward the subject being reported. It is hoped that is the case here.

FREEDOM COMES TO LIMA

The Background

The Lima News. The Lima News, bought into on the proverbial shoestring and prospering through absorption of the competition, had by 1956 been Lima's only daily newspaper for nearly a generation. For 58 years it had as a principal owner a member of the L. S. Galvin family--first Leroy Spahr Galvin, then his daughter and his wife as his heirs. Founded in 1897, the News was purchased in 1898 by Galvin, E. W. Jackson, and J. R. Finnell.¹ In 1908 Galvin bought out Finnell's interest and in 1909 the News merged with Der Lima Courier, a German-language paper. Adolph Weixelbaum of the Courier became president of the firm that resulted from the merger, and Galvin became vice president, publisher, and general manager. When Weixelbaum retired in 1930, Galvin purchased his holdings in the company and became president of the Lima News Publishing Company. By this time the News had merged with another competitor (the Times-Democrat, in 1920) and had absorbed its last two competitors (the afternoon Republican-Gazette and the morning Star).²

L. S. Galvin also was associated with his brother, W. J. Galvin,

1. "Sale of Lima News Slated This Month," news story, Lima News, Feb. 12, 1956, p. 1. A popular account has it that Galvin bought into the News with \$200, primarily motivated by a desire to "show" his father-in-law, who did not fully approve of L. S. as the man to take his daughter's hand in marriage.

The News management now claims 1959 is the paper's seventy-fifth year, but this claim involves tracing the origin of the News back to the founding in 1884 of one of the papers it absorbed, the Lima Times-Democrat ("Limeland Shows Big Interest in Papers," news story, Lima News, June 28, 1959, Section DD, p. 2).

2. In his entry in Who's Who, L. S. Galvin listed himself as "founder, 1897, since editor & pub. Lima Evening & Sunday News." Who's Who in America, 1958-59, p. 1,301.

in the Galvin-bros Corporation, which held interests in the Lima News and the News-Gazette Printing Company, a companion commercial printing firm (both owned and operated by the Lima News Publishing Co., Inc.), and newspapers in Circleville, Logan, Van Wert, Washington Court House, and Wilmington, Ohio. It was through this association that, after L. S. Galvin died in March, 1952, his daughter, Catherine Richie Galvin, became president and principal stockholder in the Lima News Publishing Company while W. J. Galvin's son, Wayne W. Galvin, continued as general manager of the News, a position he had held since January 1, 1946.³ Operating as a closely held corporation, the Lima News was owned by the Lima News Publishing Company, Catherine R. Galvin, Nella Richie Galvin (widow of L. S. Galvin), Wayne W. Galvin, E. S. Evans, M. H. Kolter, E. W. Kolter, P. W. Hamilton, H. G. Illig, M. L. Wemmer, and four trustees, all of Lima.⁴

As a Galvin newspaper, the Lima News had built its daily circulation above 35,000, had collected a well above average news staff, had steadily increased its advertising lineage, had modernized its plant and equipment, had improved its working conditions, and still paid a regular dividend of approximately six per cent a year to its stockholders.⁵ The paper's typography was comparatively fresh and

3. "Galvin Resigns As News Manager; Successor Named," Lima News, news story, March 1, 1956, no p. number.

4. Sworn statement of ownership, Lima News, October 1, 1955.

5. Since stock in the Lima News Publishing Company was not listed on the open market, the percentage of return is estimated on the basis of the per-share value assigned L. S. Galvin's stock in the inventory of his estate filed in Allen County Probate Court, Lima, Ohio.

was helped by a strong emphasis on local news pictures; the horizontal makeup emphasized flexibility of news display; the local news coverage was more thorough and solid than splashy or crusading, with emphasis on saturation coverage of city hall, county courthouse, and local school news especially. However, it also was capable of top performance on breaking or one-shot news.⁶ Good working conditions were one reason the News had little difficulty attracting and keeping newsroom personnel.⁷ But another strong attraction was the fact that the staff was encouraged to find and cover news; there was no hesitation about authorizing the necessary time and money to get a story that was considered worth getting.

Editorially, the policy was Taft Republican in state and national politics. The News took few political stands locally, but it was a consistent and enthusiastic supporter of a variety of what managing editor and later editor Robert C. Barton saw as community betterment projects. These included such things as the Community Chest and school, city, and county bond issues for public expansion or improvement. The paper, for example, was the originator of a

6. In 1950 the News won the first Paul Bellamy Award, named for former Cleveland Plain Dealer editor Paul Bellamy, for its coverage of a tornado that hit Lima; in 1955 woman's editor Hope Strong (Mrs. James Strong) won the \$1,000 Spadea Award for the outstanding single fashion page in an American newspaper; both Robert Waldron and Donald Eddie repeatedly won awards in the annual Ohio Associated Press photography competition.

7. At the time the News was sold, the junior newsroom employee in point of service had been on the staff two and a half years. During the author's four and a half years at the News, there were six resignations from a staff of nineteen. Three were asked to resign because their work did not measure up to what was required; one woman resigned because of marriage; two resigned to move to non-newspaper jobs (one of these two subsequently returned as city editor).

successful campaign to establish a Lima United Fund to replace the Community Chest and other separate fund campaigns with a single, unified campaign agency.

R. C. Hoiles and Freedom Newspapers. By the end of February 1956, Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, then 74 years old, was the president of an organization that owned or controlled eleven small-city daily newspapers having a total circulation of more than 200,000 copies and having a value reputed to be in excess of \$20,000,000. That he is a publishing success story, there can be no doubt. But the details of that success story are replete with questions.⁸ Much of the available material is strong on value judgments but weak on specific fact. Hoiles himself has contributed to the lack of specific information. For example, his autobiographical material in Who's Who contains a nineteen-year blank between 1902, when he graduated from Mt. Union College in Alliance, and 1921-30, when he lists himself as publisher of the Lorain, Ohio, Times-Herald and the Mansfield, Ohio, News. And from 1930 the entry shifts directly to the time of its publication. But it was during the years between 1902 and 1921 that he was rising to the executive level in the news-

⁸ Biographical material concerning R. C. Hoiles is not plentiful and that which is available is not in agreement on some of the facts. For example, the Hoiles entry in Who's Who lists his birthplace as Alliance, Ohio, but a biographical story from the Denver Post lists his birthplace as "a farm near Alliance." Two written inquiries by the author--one to R. C. Hoiles and one to his son Clarence--produced no biographical information. Unless otherwise indicated, the biographical material in this section is drawn from Who's Who in America, 1956-57, Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, Inc., 1956, 29:1,211; "Sale of Lima News Slated This Month," loc. cit.; Bernard Kelly, "Publisher Hoiles Angers Readers--Doesn't Seem to Mind," Empire profile, Denver Post, March 9, 1952, p. 2AA; "According to Hoiles," press section, Newsweek, October 20, 1947, 30:60; "According to Hoiles," press section, Time, August 30, 1948, 52:46; "According to Hoiles," press section, Time, December 31, 1951, 58:42.

paper business and it was after 1930 that he built the Freedom Newspaper group and the parent corporation, Freedom Newspapers, Inc.

There appears to be no question that Raymond Cyrus Hoiles was born November 24, 1878, in or near Alliance, Ohio. According to one semiofficial account, his start in the newspaper business was as a part-time subscription solicitor for the Alliance Review, owned by his elder brother, F. A. Hoiles.⁹ In 1902 he took a full-time job with the Review as a typesetter at \$2 a week.¹⁰ Again according to the Lima News report, it was in 1919 (not 1921 as stated in Who's Who) that the two Hoiles brothers purchased the Lorain Times-Herald and R. C. moved to Lorain as publisher.¹¹ Then, the News story reports, in 1924 they bought the Mansfield News and two years later R. C. moved there. They sold the Lorain and Mansfield papers in 1932 to the Brush-Moore chain. The Brush-Moore chain in turn sold the two papers to Samuel Horvitz, contractor and publisher, who merged them into his Lorain Journal and Mansfield News-Journal. As this is being written, in mid-June, 1959, it was the first and last time a Hoiles newspaper was taken over by a competi-

9. Lima News, loc. cit. (The story announcing the agreement to sell the Lima News came to the News from the Santa Ana offices of R. C. Hoiles and Freedom Newspapers, Inc.)

10. Samuel W. Weaver, Jr., A Visit with R. C. Hoiles, unpublished paper for Journalism 200, University of Colorado, fall semester 1958-59, based on interview with R. C. Hoiles, December 29, 1958.

11. They purchased a two-thirds interest rather than full ownership, according to one account. (Denver Post, loc. cit.)

tor, either directly or indirectly.¹²

Before the sale of the newspapers in Lorain and Mansfield, R. C. had gone into a newspaper venture of his own. In 1927 he purchased the Bucyrus, Ohio, Telegraph-Forum, now the oldest Hoiles unit in the Freedom Newspaper group. His oldest son, Clarence H. Hoiles, now vice president and general manager of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., became publisher. It was also sometime in the late 1920's or early 1930's that R. C. and F. A. Hoiles split to go their separate publishing ways. R. C. has said the split came because F. A. felt R. C. was too liberal in his views.¹³ Other accounts indicate the split came specifically as a result of F. A. Hoiles' disagreement with his brother's antilabor views.¹⁴

12 According to an undocumented account, the Hoiles papers reported corruption involving Horvitz' construction firm, and Horvitz went into the newspaper business in Lorain and Mansfield to punish Hoiles. There is no question the two publishers were in competition and the competition finally ended with single daily newspapers in each city and Horvitz as the publisher of them.

A chronicler sympathetic to Hoiles has summarized it this way:

"In his early days Hoiles exposed a case of corruption involving a Cleveland paving contracting firm. Shortly afterward he was awakened by a terrific explosion which ripped off the front of his home. A little later a hired hoodlum wired a few sticks of dynamite under the hood of Hoiles' car. Hoiles tramped on the starter, heard some coughing in the motor and drove to a filling station. A white-faced mechanic discovered the dynamite, which had not, God knows why, exploded." (Thaddeus Ashby, "What Would You Call Mr. Hoiles," Freeman, May 1955 5:482.)

Another news account of Hoiles' career implies the bombing was connected with Hoiles' anti-union views:

".... Then R. C. published an anti-union paper in industrial Mansfield, Ohio, sold out (for a profit) after enemies blew up his front porch." (Time, August 30, 1948, p. 46.)

13 Weaver, loc. cit. Ashby characterizes R. C. Hoiles as "completely liberal in the classical, Frederic Bastiat sense." He says Hoiles "is convinced that all initiated force is wrong" and has an "uncompromising belief in free trade." (Ashby, op. cit., pp. 482, 483.)

14. Newsweek, loc. cit.; Time, loc. cit.

Three years after the sale of the Lorain and Mansfield papers the expansion of Freedom Newspapers began. In 1935 the R. C. Hoiles family purchased the Santa Ana, California, Register and, later that same year, the Clovie, New Mexico, News-Journal. The following year the Pampa, Texas, News was added. In 1946 the Colorado Springs, Colorado, Gazette and Telegraph were purchased and, later that year, the Marysville-Yuba City, California, Appeal-Democrat. The seven-paper chain of 1946 became a six-paper one in 1947 when the Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegraph were shut down by an International Typographical Union strike on January 27 and reappeared four days later as the Gazette Telegraph. The chain again became a seven-paper one in 1948 with the addition of the Odessa, Texas, American and jumped to ten in 1951 with the purchase of the Rio Grande Valley group--the Brownsville, Texas, Herald, the Harlingen, Texas, Star, and the McAllen, Texas, Monitor.

The purchase of the Odessa paper apparently marked the origin of a partnership form of financing and ownership in which Freedom Newspapers, Inc., individual members of the Hoiles family, and trustees for members of the family are major partners and others--executives and employes--are minor partners. A report of the purchase of the paper by the Hoiles group said Hoiles "bought the Odessa American in partnership with 20 employes, for more than \$200,000."¹⁵ And the announcement of the agreement to buy the Lima News contained this:¹⁶

When the Odessa and three valley papers were pur-

15. Newsweek, loc. cit.

16. Lima News, loc. cit.

chased, employes of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., were invited to purchase interests on the same basis as the Hoiles.

Seventy employes now are partners in the Rio Grande Valley groups (sic).

This same invitation will be issued to the employes of the Lima News.¹⁷

Seven months after the sale had been consummated the Lima News had 128 corporate and individual partners as owners.¹⁸ Of those 128, nine were employed in some capacity at the News itself. Of the nine, all but one held executive positions; five of the nine had been with the News when it was sold; four came to the News from other Hoiles papers after the sale.¹⁹ The single corporate partner was Freedom Newspapers, Inc., owned wholly by the Hoiles family.²⁰

A news story printed in conjunction with the sworn statement of ownership stated that "ownership of the Lima News is held by 119 partners who are employes of publications affiliated with Freedom Newspapers, Inc."²¹ The discrepancy between the 119 partners of

17. As of mid-August, 1956, when the author left the Lima News, the offer of partnership shares had been made to certain Lima News employes, but no general invitation had been given to all employes. However, the Lima News Publishing Company corporation had been dissolved and replaced by the Lima News, a general partnership.

18. Sworn statement of ownership, Lima News, September 30, 1956, p. 7-D.

19. The five carry-over employes who bought partnership shares were Charles H. Beard, city editor; A. Bradford Candler, circulation manager; Robert E. Crider, assistant circulation manager; E. Roy Miller, business manager; and Irvin A. Zay, auditor. The four News employe-partners who came from other Hoiles newspapers were M. James Dean, managing editor; Edward Kohoutek, advertising manager; E. Robert McDowell, publisher; and Robert T. Overby, classified advertising manager.

20. Maxine Hatfield, secretary to R. C. Hoiles, letter to the author, March 13, 1959.

21. "The Lima News Owned by 119 Partners," Lima News, September 30, 1956, p. 1.

the news story and the 128 listed in the statement of ownership apparently is due to counting for purposes of the news story only those partners who actually held some position within the Freedom Newspapers organization but not counting trustees, trusts, or partners whose only connection was that they held shares in the partnership arrangement. However, included in the listing of the eighteen owners in Ohio was "Freedom Newspapers, Inc., a California company."²²

An inference as to the interlocking structure of the Freedom Newspapers can be drawn from the list of partners in the Lima News, a general partnership. In addition to the single corporate partner, Freedom Newspapers, Inc., which is owned wholly by the Hoiles family, the partnership list included R. C. Hoiles; his wife, Mabel; his sons, Clarence H. Hoiles and Harry H. Hoiles; their wives, Mabelle S. Hoiles and Barbara C. Hoiles; R. C. Hoiles's daughter, Jane Hoiles Hardie; her husband, Robert C. Hardie; and the various grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Members of the Hoiles family also control eight trust and trustee partnerships in the names of grandchildren or great-grandchildren of R. C. Hoiles. In addition, the partnership list included the names of forty persons who at the time held major or minor executive positions with other papers in the Freedom Newspaper organization.²³

Certainly R. C. Hoiles came a long way from his \$2-a-week job as a typesetter for his brother to the presidency of Freedom News-

22. Loc. cit.

23. Editor & Publisher (International Year Book Number), February 28, 1957, 90:34, 40, 41, 105, 124, 154, 158. See Appendix A.

papers, Inc., and the guiding position in the eleven-newspaper chain he controlled after the purchase of the Lima News. Financially how far, apparently no one outside the Hoiles organization and the Internal Revenue Service really knows. In 1947 one report referred to his newspaper group, then numbering six papers, as "a \$10,000,000 empire."²⁴ By 1951 another report quoted a rival as describing Hoiles as "a man backed with a reputed \$20 million."²⁵ A 1959 report mentions "a personal fortune estimated at some \$30 million."²⁶

And certainly the purchase of the Lima News ranks as the financial high point of the building of the Freedom Newspaper group: more was paid for the News than for the three papers of the Rio Grande Valley group, for example. The sale price of the Rio Grande Valley papers has been reported as \$2,000,000 for the three papers involved.²⁷ The purchase price for the stock of the Lima News Publishing Company, Inc., including a controlling interest in the News-Gazette Printing Company, was \$2,755,000.²⁸

Sale of the News. The sale of the News came as a surprise to virtually all except the principals involved. First word to reach the newsroom of the paper itself, for instance, came in the form of a special delivery letter the evening of February 11, 1956. It contained the news release run on page one of the paper Sunday,

24. Newsweek, loc. cit.

25. Time, loc. cit.

26. James A. Maxwell, "One Paper Too Many in Lima, Ohio," The Reporter, June 11, 1959, 20:27.

27. Denver Post, loc. cit.

28. "Lima News Sale Completed; New Owners in Charge," Lima News, February 29, 1956, p. 1.

February 12, 1956, announcing the agreement to sell. Employees who were not working that evening, including the author, were called at their homes that Saturday evening so that they would not receive their first word of the impending sale by reading about it in the Sunday paper.

There had been rumors that the News was for sale, but they remained rumors until the appearance of the story announcing the agreement to sell. It subsequently developed that Wayne Galvin had learned his cousin, Catherine Galvin, was putting her majority stock up for sale and that he put in a blind bid for it--a blind bid because he was convinced that if it were known he was behind the offer it automatically would be rejected. This was because there had been growing friction and ill feeling on the part of Miss Galvin in regard to Wayne Galvin's operation of the paper. At least one executive of the News was convinced Miss Galvin sold her majority stock, and thus the newspaper, because Wayne Galvin was being successful as operating head of the business after she had been unable to be a successful chief directing executive.²⁹

Mechanics of the Sale. The sale was of stock in the Lima News Publishing Company, Inc., not a sale of the assets (building, equipment, circulation, advertising, etc.) of the company. Among other things, this meant that all obligations of the company were taken over by the new owners. The sale involved two steps: first, the signing of a purchase agreement in which Freedom Newspapers agreed to purchase the stock of the corporation under certain conditions;

29. Robert S. Rochester, News managing editor, conversation with the author.

second, the consummation of the sale through the carrying out of the terms of the purchase agreement. The purchase agreement, first announced publicly February 12, 1956, committed the Freedom Newspapers--the total partnership, not solely the corporation, Freedom Newspapers, Inc.--to purchase at an agreed-upon price on the condition that at least eighty-five per cent of the stock of the News company be made available for purchase.³⁰ Catherine Galvin had committed her stock, but her majority block did not represent the percentage necessary to meet the conditions of the purchase agreement. The key block of stock was held by Mark H. Kolter, vacationing in Florida at the time the purchase agreement was entered into. The actual sale--the carrying out of the purchase agreement--took place February 28, 1956, sixteen days after the agreement had been announced.

Reaction to the Sale. Reaction to the sale--in fact, to the announcement of the purchase agreement--was swift and vigorous. The initial attempt to resist the purchase of the News by Freedom Newspapers developed the day the purchase agreement was announced. That Sunday, February 12, 1956, a group of Guild officers and members met informally to discuss the implications of the announced agreement. C. F. Swegan, who had a long memory and access to the periodical files of the Lima Public Library on a Sunday, brought

³⁰ Documentary sources for this summary are not generally available. Much of the material in this discussion is based on information given verbally to the author by C. F. Swegan, who was active in a committee attempting to bring influence to bear to discourage the carrying out of the purchase agreement, and on information from Swegan's personal files, which he made available to the author.

typed copies of articles from one issue of Newsweek magazine and two issues of Time magazine. The content and import of the news magazine's reports on R. C. Hoiles and his newspapers did nothing to allay the concern of the officers and members of the Lima Guild, which had just completed negotiations but not yet signed a new contract with the Galvin management for the twelve-month period starting March 1, 1956.

It was decided to have the articles reproduced and distributed. Within the next week several thousand copies--typed carbon copies, mimeographed copies, and then offset reproductions of the magazine pages on which the articles appeared--were produced and distributed.³¹ It should be noted that this was done spontaneously and individually, not as a part of any organized anti-Hoiles campaign and especially not as part of any campaign by organized labor.

On Wednesday, February 15, 1956, a group of people met and organized a committee to attempt to prevent the sale of the News to the Hoiles organization. Attending the meeting at the YWCA were representatives of organized labor, including Swegan, who was instrumental in organizing the meeting, and of the Allen County Ministerial Association and public school administrators. Two concurrent courses of action were decided upon: (1) to attempt to get in touch with Mark Kolter in hopes of persuading him to at least delay committing his key block of stock to the sale, and (2) to telephone ministers in communities in which Hoiles newspapers operated to seek clarification of conditions as described in the Time and Newsweek articles.³²

31. See Plates I, II, III.

32. The most recent of the three articles, in Time for December 31, 1951, was then more than four years old.

When the committee met the next day its membership and representation had swelled. The ministers had become prime movers in the group, which also included representatives from the Association of Commerce, the Better Business Bureau, the League of Women Voters, the PTA Council, and the Lima Teachers Association, as well as several doctors and lawyers and top officials from local CIO and AFL unions and railroad brotherhoods.³³ Although the committee had expanded in size and representation, it had failed in its first course of action and succeeded--too well, from its point of view--in its second. Kolter had committed his stock and the sale had been completed at noon that day for all practical purposes. And ministers in California, Colorado, and Texas cities in which Hoiles newspapers operated gave a verbal picture of newspapers that continually served to stultify many community activities and expansions, especially in regard to schools and public, tax-supported projects such as bond issues. A tape recording was made of one telephone conversation in which a minister first described the local Hoiles newspaper as a divisive, reactionary force in the community and then, when asked to write a letter confirming the conversation, said, "I wouldn't dare; the paper would run me out of town."

In light of these developments, the committee decided the only remaining course of action that might, in its view, "save" Lima from the Hoiles organization would be a personal meeting with the Hoilesees. There an attempt would be made to persuade the prospective owners that it would not be to their best interests to

33. "Hoiles-Brand 'Freedom' Has Hollow Ring in Lima," news story, Guild Reporter, December 14, 1956, p. 4.

enter the newspaper business in Lima. A letter was sent to Clarence H. Hoiles, vice president and general manager of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., stating that widespread antagonism toward and distrust of the Hoiles organization had developed in Lima and asking for a meeting to discuss the impending sale of the News. The day after the sale was completed, Claronco Hoiles telephoned the Reverend Frank Hamblen, the minister who had signed the letter as chairman of the committee, and offered to meet with the group. Hoiles was told there would be no point in such a meeting. The purpose of the proposed meeting had been to attempt to persuade him to withdraw the agreement to purchase the paper.³⁴ With the paper sold, there was nothing to discuss.

The unions at the News, and especially the Guild, had a reaction of uneasiness and distrust of the approaching change in ownership. Information about the Hoileses' anti-union convictions and actions elsewhere did nothing to put the unionized employees at ease. The Guild was especially concerned because a new contract had been agreed upon by negotiators but had neither been ratified by the membership of Local 166 nor signed by the union and management. The final wording had been worked out Saturday morning, February 11, in a meeting with Wayno W. Galvin, general manager of the News, and Guild representatives Leslie R. Roby and Swegan. Approximately 15 minutes later that same morning the purchase agreement was entered

³⁴. Under terms of the agreement, the agreement could be voided by either failure to commit the necessary percentage of stock or by mutual agreement of purchaser and seller. It was understood that Catherino Galvin, in view of the information which had become available about the Hoiles organization's view and operations, was willing to have the agreement withdrawn.

into between representatives of the Lima News Publishing Company and Freedom Newspapers. Upon advice of American Newspaper Guild officials at international headquarters, the Lima Guild quickly held a membership meeting and ratified the proposed contract; the local then formally, in writing, requested that Wayne Calvin, as legal agent of the publisher, sign the ratified agreement. This he refused to do, saying terms of the purchase agreement bound him to take only action necessary for day-to-day operation of the paper.³⁵ Thus the Guild was in the position of having ratified a contract proposal only to have the management which had negotiated it legally unable to sign it.

Faced with the possibility that the new, avowedly anti-union management would refuse to sign the ratified contract proposal to replace the one expiring at midnight of February 28, many Guild members utilized their contracts to, in the words of one member, "poison as many wells as possible." That is, they spread as widely as possible information about the anti-union, anti-tax, anti-public schools viewpoint of R. C. Hollee and Freedom Newspapers. Although never formally stated, there was unspoken agreement that the purpose was to build as much of a backlog of local support as possible in case of a showdown with the new management.

Changes after the Sale. The change in ownership of the News brought a variety of change in a comparatively short time. Some were external, such as change in editorial policy and physical appearance. Some were internal, such as changes in operational

35. Ibid., pp. 1, 4.

practices within the News plant. Some were both internal and external in impact, such as personnel changes. But the sum of the changes was to rapidly integrate the News into the Freedom Newspaper group.

Editorial Policy. The most abrupt change came in editorial policy. The Hoiles organization officially purchased the News on February 28, 1956. On February 29 there appeared an editorial set in one and a half column measure and totaling thirty-three inches in length explaining the editorial policy of the Lima News as a Freedom Newspaper.³⁶ Except for the first two paragraphs and the last one, the editorial was a reprint of a pamphlet, "Here Is Our Policy...", issued by the Santa Ana Register on behalf of itself and the other Freedom Newspapers. The statement lined out a belief in natural law--a belief that moral law is composed of moral facts that "are no less concrete and timeless than physical facts; and that:³⁷

We consider three concepts to govern human behavior. They are:

1. The Decalogue.
2. The Sermon on the Mount, which is an exposition of the Decalogue.
3. And the Declaration of Independence which is a political expression of the Commandments.

* * *

The yardstick of morality we have mentioned indicates several facts, uncontested by any Christian or

36. "Here Is This Newspaper's Policy," editorial, Lima News, February 29, 1956, p. 6. For the full statement of policy, see Appendix B.

37. Loc. cit.

Jew of our acquaintance. They include:

1. That every man is born with certain inalienable rights.
2. That these rights are equally the birthright of all men, that they are the endowment of the Creator and not the gift of a transient State.

Since we believe these facts are expressed in the Commandments, we do not believe any man has the moral right to curtail the rights of his brother. That is, no man has the right to initiate force against his brother. Every man, to be sure, has the right and even the duty to resist the initiation of force, but not to initiate it.

* * *

Our belief in a single standard of conduct, and in the existence of individual rights and in the fact of Natural law, brings us to oppose all things in which an individual or group seeks to initiate force --that is, curtail the rights of any other individual or group.

We must oppose all brands of socialism, whether it chooses to call itself Communism, Fascism, Fabian socialism or New Dealism.

We oppose socialism in factories, schools, churches and in the market place.

* * *

The majority cannot write moral law. Neither can the minority. But, neither does the majority enjoy any moral advantages denied the minority, or the individual.

We believe, therefore, in minimal government. The state, at best, exercises those powers which the individuals in that state have voluntarily turned over to the state for administration. * * *

We do not believe the state has any rights simply because it is a state.

Governments exist to protect the rights of EVERY individual--not to redistribute the poverty, manipulate the economy or establish the pattern of a society.

These are the basic elements in our belief and of our editorial policy.

It is our belief that to the degree these policies are followed you will have a deeper understanding of your religion, greater freedom and a higher standard of living. These policies will also benefit every person in the community, the state, the nation and the world. That is the reason they are our policies.

Shortly afterward, these two paragraphs became a permanent part of the editorial page masthead:

We believe that one truth is always consistent with another truth. We endeavor to be consistent with the truths expressed in such great moral guides as the Golden Rule, the Ten Commandments and the Declaration of Independence.

Should we, at any time, be inconsistent with these truths we would appreciate anyone pointing out to us how we are inconsistent with the moral guides.

In endeavoring to be consistent with these guides, the News, especially through its editorials and the "Better Jobs" columns of R. C. Hoiles, quickly took stands against many things some people might not see as being basically contrary to moral law.³⁸ These included labor unions, the building of roads and dams by governmental agencies, public schools, taxation (all taxes involve the element of force, and thus the taking of property through use of the "tax pistol" is as contrary to moral law as is the taking of property at the point of a gun), fluoridation of a city water supply (a violation of individual freedom and also socialized modi-

38. Starting from the assumption that moral laws (facts) exist in the same sense that measurable, observable physical facts exist, it is understandable that Freedom Newspapers scorn the inconsistency of traditional American pragmatism. "Consistency" is emphasizing in both the editorial comments and the slogans of the Freedom Newspapers. The Santa Ana Register is "Southern California's Most Consistent Newspaper." The Bucyrus Telegraph-Forum was "Ohio's Most Consistent Newspaper" until the Lima News became "Northwestern Ohio's Most Consistent Newspaper." The Bucyrus paper then became "One of Ohio's Two Most Consistent Newspapers." And the letterheads of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., have borne the slogan, "Publishers of America's Most Consistent Newspapers."

eine), social security, the United Nations and a host of other things.³⁹

The line-up of syndicated columns used on the editorial page also was soon changed. The News, as a Galvin paper, had used Ray Tucker, George Sokolsky, Paul Harvey and Peter Edson as its editorial page political columnists. As a Hoiles paper, the News added Westbrook Pogler and R. C. Hoiles's "Better Jobs" on a regular basis. Also added on a regular basis were two editorial page opinion features, "Pause for Reflection," by James C. Ingebretsen, president of Spiritual Mobilization, and "The Cracker Barrel," by Jack Moffitt; used on a semi-regular to occasional basis were columns by Betty Knowles Hunt and Thurman Sensing. Of the four, Ingebretsen, a Los Angeles fundamentalist minister, equated Christianity with an isolationist conservatism; Moffitt presented a conservative viewpoint in brief, down-to-earth prose, frequently in the form of somewhat extended "paragraphs;" Mrs. Hunt, a Chicago North Shore housewife, argued for Midwestern Republicanism; and Sensing spoke for Southern conservatism, with overtones of racism (in one column he argued the South's segregated society was the last bulwark against communism in America). In addition, the News editorial page frequently reprinted articles by such writers as John T. Flynn, Willis E. Stone, Dr. George Benson, and Rose Wilder Lane, and from such publications as The American Way, Christian Economics, Faith and Freedom, The Freeman, and the Southern Conservative.

39. When R. C. Hoiles visited the Lima News at the time of the sale of the paper, he wore a "Let's Get U.S. Out of the U.N." button on his lapel.

The net effect of the changes was a move in editorial policy (opinion) to the extreme conservative side, to a frequent equating of Christianity with free enterprise and minimal government and to the libertarian position most clearly expounded in The Freeman, a monthly journal of ideas on liberty."⁴⁰ The controlled (unpaid) circulation magazine is "published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., a nonpolitical, nonprofit educational champion of private property, the free market, the profit and loss system and limited government."⁴¹

Personnel Changes. On February 29, 1958, a news story announcing the completion of the sale of the News concluded with this paragraph: "There are no plans for any changes in management or personnel at this time, he [Clarence H. Hoiles] said."⁴² The next day Clarence H. Hoiles announced the appointment of a new general manager; by the end of April the News had a new managing editor, advertising director and classified advertising manager; by the end of July it had a new editor after having been without one since mid-April; and had created and filled the job of office manager. In addition, two relatives of Hoiles management employes had been hired in the advertising department.

40. "Libertarian" in this sense is somewhat different from the dictionary definition of "1. a person who believes in the doctrine of the freedom of the will. 2. a person who advocates full civil liberties." (Webster's New World Dictionary, College Edition, 1959

41. The Freeman, masthead, September, 1958, 8:2. This issue particularly points up the similarity in viewpoint between the libertarian magazine and Freedom Newspapers; the issue contains two editorials from Freedom Newspapers: "Who Wants To Pay for a New Airport," Lima News, June 8, 1958, by Frank H. Cooney, then editor; "Market Relationships," Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph, July 14, 1958, by Robert Le Fevre.

42. "Lima News Sale Completed; New Owner in Charge," op. cit.

Wayno Galvin's resignation and the appointment in his stead of E. Robert McDowell as general manager of the News were announced the day after the completion of the sale had been announced. McDowell was assistant secretary of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., and general manager of the Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph when he came to Lima with Clarence Hoiles for the closing of the purchase of the News. He had risen comparatively rapidly after hitching his wagon to the Freedom Newspaper star. Starting in the newspaper business as an apprentice printer at the San Bernardino, California, Star in 1932, he joined Freedom Newspapers in 1939, when he went to the Santa Ana Register. In 1946 he moved to New Mexico as mechanical superintendent of Freedom Newspapers' Clovis News-Journal. In 1947 he went to Colorado Springs in charge of a group of printers brought from the Clovis paper to put out the strike-bound Hoiles papers, the Gazette and the Telegraph, in the Colorado city; in 1954 he became general manager of the single Hoiles paper that had emerged from the strike, the Gazette Telegraph.⁴³

The first change in newsroom personnel at the News came in April, when M. J. (Jim) Doan arrived from the Hoiles-owned Pampa, Texas, News, where he had been managing editor for two years, to be executive editor of the Lima paper.⁴⁴ The position of executive editor had not existed at the News prior to Dean's arrival, and to the staff it was not apparent where he fitted in relation to the supervisory trio of Editor Robert C. Barton, Managing Edi-

⁴³. "Freedom Newspapers Acquire Lima Paper," Associated Press dispatch, Denver Post, March 4, 1956, p. 4AA; "Publisher Hoiles Angers Readers--Doesn't Seem to Mind," op. cit.

⁴⁴. "M. J. Dean Named Executive Editor," news story, Lima News, April 3, 1956, section page.

tor Robert S. Rochester and City Editor Charles H. Beard, which had directed the newsroom staff under the Galvin ownership and continued to do so after the change in ownership. The question was soon answered. On April 15 it was announced that Barton, who had been managing editor for ten years before being named editor in January of 1954, had resigned; Dean, as executive editor, would assume direction of the newsroom staff with Rochester continuing as managing editor and Beard as city editor.⁴⁵ Twelve days later Dean had the same duties but a new title. On April 27 it was announced Rochester had resigned to become editor of a Galvin newspaper, the Washington Court House Record-Herald, and Dean, executive editor since April 2, was replacing Rochester as managing editor.⁴⁶ Thus, with the single addition of Dean, brought from an executive position at another Freedom Newspaper, the new owners had replaced the two top news executives inherited from the Galvin ownership. It would appear the resignations of the inherited news executives were expected by the new owners, since Dean was on the scene as a supernumerary two weeks before Barton resigned and three weeks before Rochester resigned. And there is no question but that both Barton and Rochester felt they were forced into resigning, but by covert pressure, not overt.⁴⁷

The newsroom was not alone in getting new executives rather

45. "R. C. Barton Resigns As News Editor," news story, Lima News, April 15, 1956, no page number.

46. "Rochester Resigns; Dean Named Successor," news story, Lima News, April 27, 1956, no page number.

47. Conversation with the author; Robert C. Barton, "The New Paper Speaks," American Editor, January 1958, 1:52.

quickly after the sale, when there had been "no plans for any changes in management or personnel at this time." Robert T. Overby, McDowell's son-in-law, came to Lima from Colorado Springs as assistant classified advertising manager immediately after his father-in-law's appointment as general manager. Overby's position--like Dean's executive editorship--had not existed at the News before his arrival. And, again like Dean, he did not hold the title long. When Thomas Gormley, classified advertising manager, who had started job hunting immediately after the announcement of the impending sale of the News, resigned, Overby became classified advertising manager. Meanwhile, his wife--the former Robinette McDowell--had been employed in the display (retail) advertising department as a dispatcher.

Two days before Dean took over direction of the newsroom, another Hoiles executive had arrived to head the News' advertising activities. He was Edward A. Kohoutek, who came to Lima as advertising director after four and a half years in advertising work at the Santa Ana Register. During his last two and a half years at the Register, home paper for Freedom Newspapers, he had been retail (display) advertising manager.⁴⁸

Two other changes at the executive level came during that summer. Late in June, Harold M. Moeley, who had recently sold a neighborhood supermarket which he had owned and operated for six years, was employed in the previously nonexistent position of of-

⁴⁸. "California Man Named News Advertising Head," news story, Lima News, April 13, 1956, section page.

office manager in the business department.⁴⁹ He was the first local person to be added by the Hoiles management in a supervisory job.⁵⁰ At the end of July, Frank H. Cooley arrived from Santa Ana to become editor of the News. He had been with the Santa Ana Register for nineteen years, holding the position of managing editor when he left to join the News as editor.⁵¹

Changes in Physical Appearance. Two changes in physical appearance occurred soon after the change in ownership. The first was one of detail; the second one of basic format. The change of detail involved a rapid deterioration in regard to typography and style. Both had been watched with a noticeable degree of diligence when the News was a Galvin paper; standard procedure when the first of the paper's two daily editions came off the press was to "bug" it for errors, with special emphasis on the front page and the main section page. If there were more than nominal or minor typographical or style errors on a page, it usually was made over to get the corrections in the second edition. In fact, running makeovers for corrections while the first edition was still on the press was not unknown. Makeovers to correct such errors became rare when Dean

49. His son, Phillip Moseley, also was employed as a display advertising salesman.

50. Moseley's background might lend credence to the theory, voiced by some people at the time, that he was hired at least partially to provide the "new" News with identification and contact with the Lima business community. He had been vice president of the local Artkraft Manufacturing Company from 1948 to 1950 and prior to that had been treasurer of the Lima-Kenton Grocery Company for fifteen years. It was not a background one might expect to lead logically to the position of office manager in a newspaper's business department.

51. "F. H. Cooley Named Lima News Editor," news story, Lima News, July 30, 1956, no page number.

took control of the newsroom. For example, the author once found the two lines of a three-column, 36-point headline transposed on a section page. Checking with Dean about sending the page back for a makeover, he was told not to, that the readers could figure out what the headline was supposed to say, so there was no need to go to the expense involved in making over the page. People handling wire copy were told not to bother to edit the copy; only to read it enough to see what the story was about and to be able to write a headline for it. The result of this emphasis on volume production of copy, coupled with a resistance to makeovers because of the costs involved, was a paper with a comparatively high number of typographical errors and local copy in which the style of punctuation, capitalization, and the like would vary from one story to another.⁵² The impression of carelessness resulting from the increased number of typographical errors and stylistic inconsistencies encouraged by the Hoiles management's method of operation was enhanced rather than reduced when the page format was changed from eight to nine columns. This was achieved by widening the page size approximately an inch and reducing the column width from twelve picas to eleven and at the same time reducing the thickness of the column rules.

Changes in Operating Practices. One of the first changes in operating practices was to abolish the deadline for retail (display) advertising copy. It had been twenty-four hours in advance of pub-

52. For discussions of the importance of meticulous accuracy, including consistency of usage, see: George C. Bastian, Leland D. Case and Floyd K. Baskette, Editing the Day's News, pp. 25-31; Bruce Westley, News Editing, pp. 1-7.

lication; it became as late as 9 a.m. the day of publication. The advertising salesmen, the composing room workers, and the news staff were unhappy about the change, since it greatly complicated their production problems, but the advertisers liked it. Another change involved a de-emphasis of direct reporting. For example, the author, as schools reporter, had been making a point of covering in person evening meetings of the Perry Local School District Board of Education. The suburban district was facing an extreme financial crisis, and he found that telephoning for information about what transpired at meetings did not produce the same accuracy as did being present at the meetings. After Dean took charge of the newsroom, the author was told not to cover the meetings in person, that the overtime involved was not warranted, that "you can always pick it up by phone the next morning." While direct reporting of news--especially of off-hours news that would involve overtime--was being de-emphasized, a type of news story that had had no place in the News under Galvin put in an appearance. That was the "B. O. Must," the business office must--stories the business office said must run.⁵³ Under the Galvins, the business office or advertising employes frequently told reporters or editors of story possibilities, but the newsroom decided whether any given story was used or not. Under the Hoiles management, the business office frequently dictated that certain stories were to be used.

At the same time, the Hoiles management was carrying on the

⁵³. It might be suggested that there is an inverse relationship between the business office must and the thoroughness and integrity of a paper's news reporting; that the absence of the business office must is prima facie evidence that the news function of the paper is controlled by the news staff.

newsroom operation--the reportorial function of the paper--with a reduced staff. In addition to the news staff executive changes that resulted in two men (Barton and Rochester) leaving the staff and being replaced by one person (Dean), four reporters had left by the end of August, 1956, and had not been replaced at all.⁵⁴ Thus while the news load remained undiminished, and possibly even increased slightly because of the business office musts, the twenty-member news staff was reduced by 30 per cent. It might be argued the reduction simply wrung out waste and inefficiency, but at any rate the remaining staff was forced to do more in the time available. There is no question the result was a decline in the quality and quantity of local news coverage.

Summary and Evaluation. As a result of a family disagreement, a monopoly newspaper was sold. The newspaper had acquired, over a number of years, a character that matched that of the city in which it was published. The new owners faced a rapidly developing unfavorable public opinion even before they completed the purchase of the newspaper. Upon taking over the paper, the new management made abrupt and drastic changes while integrating the paper into the chain. The changes were both external and internal and further alienated both readers and employes who were accustomed to the paper under its former ownership. The net result was to produce, in a

54. The four were Henry Arline, Wayne Chandler, William (Bill) Peppler, and the author. Arline went to the New Bedford, Massachusetts, Standard-Times as a reporter; Chandler went to Daytona Beach, Florida, as an area reporter for the News and the Journal; Peppler went to the Muskegon, Michigan, Chronicle as a reporter-feature writer; and the author went to Kansas State University as a temporary instructor in the Department of Technical Journalism.

matter of a very few months, a paper unchanged in name but drastically altered in policy, operation, key staff, and over-all emphasis--and in community and employe acceptance. An evaluation possibly extreme in form but nonetheless accurate in essence in that the Lima News was changed from a newspaper that primarily served its subscribers to one that primarily served its advertisers. Here, as the situation developed, was a major weakness of the News as a Freedom Newspaper.

THE LIBRARY BOND ISSUE CAMPAIGN

The Significance of the Campaign

A key element in the developing Lima newspaper situation was what might be called "The Great Library Bond Issue Fight." The library bond issue campaign involved a proposal that \$880,000 in general revenue bonds, to be redeemed by a property tax levy, be issued by the Lima City School District to finance a new central public library building. Before the campaign and election were completed in November of 1956, the library issue in many ways had become the Lima News and Hoiles issue; to at least some extent a vote for the bond issue had become equated with a vote against the Hoiles organization, and a vote against the bond issue had become equated with a vote for the Hoiles organization, as the News noted editorially.¹ This controversy will be dealt with at some length for two reasons:

1. It was the catalyst in the formation of a significant com-

1. "The Toledo Blade and others who are apparently 'pro-library' were busily conducting an anti-Lima News campaign rather than a pro-library campaign." "'Outsider' Attack Muddies the Issue," Lima News, editorial, November 7, 1956, page number blank.

munity feeling of antagonism and hostility toward the News and the Hoiles organization. This community feeling in turn played a major part in the successful founding of the Lima Citizen.

2. The News' performance during the controversy illustrates several characteristics of the newspaper as a unit in the Hoiles organization, Freedom Newspapers.

The Background to the Campaign

The main building of the Lima public library system originally was constructed in 1908.² Subsequently a small annex was built as a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project, and parts of two frame dwellings adjacent to the main library building also were utilized.³ The four buildings were connected by underground tunnels which also eventually were used as library storage space. The first official recommendation for a new library came in 1926, when the head librarian's annual report noted that the library was becoming overcrowded. Starting in 1932, every annual report emphasized the need for expansion and improvement.⁴

The first formal attempt to finance a new building came in the

2. The library functions as both Lima's municipal library and as the school district library system, in addition to serving all of Allen County except for the municipalities of Delphos and Bluffton. Under provisions of the Ohio Code, it is legally organized as the Lima City School District library system; thus it is operated within the framework of the public school system, with the publicly elected Lima Board of Education having ultimate responsibility for its operation through an appointed Library Board.

3. Unless otherwise indicated, the material in this section is drawn from personal knowledge or from a news story by staff reporter John M. Harrison, Toledo Blade, November 5, 1956, p. 1.

4. The School Messenger, Lima City Board of Education, October, 1956, 4:1.

fall of 1951, when a library bond issue was one of three special bond proposals placed on the ballot in Lima. The library issue, for which there was no organized campaigning, was defeated.⁵ The other two were approved--one authorizing a bond issue to finance a new central senior high school building, the other authorizing a bond issue to finance a project to improve the flow and course of the Ottawa River through Lima. Both had organized campaign support.

Under the chairmanship of Attorney James J. Weadock, Jr., the library board decided to submit a library bond issue proposal to the voters again in the fall of 1956.⁶ The decision was to seek approval for the issuance of \$880,000 in general revenue bonds to finance the razing of the existing library buildings and the construction of a new building on the same site.

On September 6, 1956, the Lima News touched off the two-month controversy which became "The Great Lima Library Bond Issue Fight." The specific starting point for the controversy was an editorial that defined the concept of public libraries as "an idea that is rooted in socialism" and concluded:⁷

The money involved in the library bond issue actually is of secondary importance. The vital question is: shall we as voters give our approval of (sic) an obviously socialistic institution? To such a question we can only say that our answer is and will be an unequivocal "No."

5. The vote was 9,354 against, 5,987 for.

6. In addition to Weadock, the board members were Miss Helen Hawkins, vice president; Mrs. H. W. L. Kidder, secretary-treasurer; and members Henry Barnhart, O. J. Coats, Frank Love, and Mrs. F. L. Maire.

7. "What About the Library Bond Issue," editorial, Lima News, September 6, 1957, p. 14. See Appendix C.

The controversy built to its peak November 5, 6, and 7, 1956-- the day before the election, the day of the election, and the day after the election. The day before the election a special edition of the Toledo Blade was circulated in Lima by volunteers. The issue carried a major page 1 article about the library bond campaign, a bold-face box explaining the reason for the publishing of the special issue, a front-page, bold-face editorial, "Why Can't Lima Get Its Library?" and a full-page, pro-library, anti-Hoiles advertisement on page 3. On election day the bond issue was approved by a 75 per cent affirmative vote, 17,043 to 5,595.⁸ On November 7 the Lima News reviewed the library bond issue campaign controversy in an editorial, "'Outsider' Attack Muddies the Issue."

The Campaign for the Library

The Methods Employed. The library campaign was operated on a voluntary basis financially. With one exception, the persons working in the campaign also were volunteers. The exception was Carl L. Kempf, an employe of a professional campaign organization, Ketchum, Inc., of Pittsburgh, who acted as campaign director. The bulk of the mass communications effort was channeled through WIMA and WIMA-TV (the local radio and television stations) and through specially issued brochures. In addition there was extensive activity by speakers at meetings of business, labor, religious, civic, and social organizations; a door-to-door vote solicitation campaign;

⁸. Abstract No. 5, Certificate of Result of Officials Count of Votes Cast upon Local Questions or Issues in Allen County, at the General Election Held November 6, 1956, Board of Elections Office, Lima, Ohio.

and paid advertisements. The campaign information was presented under the direction of The Lima Library Facts Campaign group, with Gordon G. Humbert, Lima superintendent of schools, as chairman.

Enforceements and Sponsors. A major tactic in the campaign was the soliciting of endorsements and active support for the proposed bond issue from both individuals and organizations. This was done quite successfully, with both the sponsoring individuals and organizations representing a wide range of influence and activities.⁹ For example, individual sponsors of The Library Facts Campaign included--in addition to Library Board and Board of Education members --prominent downtown businessmen, professional men, industrial executives, men and women prominent in organized labor, leaders from Lima's Jewish and Negro communities, elected public officials, persons prominent in both the local Republican and Democratic political organizations, and prominent Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish spiritual and lay leaders. The more than 115 organizations and official bodies which endorsed the bond proposal ranged from sewing groups to professional organizations, from cultural organizations to organized veterans, from businessmen's organizations to labor unions.¹⁰ An indication of the variety of interests and activities represented by individual sponsors of the campaign can be seen in

9. The Lima Library Facts Campaign chairman claimed 5,000 volunteer workers were enlisted.

10. A total of 116 organizations were listed as endorsing the issue in an advertisement, Toledo Blade, November 5, 1956, p. 3. However, a subsequent news story reported "a total of 117 Lima civic organizations endorse it (the bond issue)," ibid., November 8, 1956, p. 29. For the organizations as listed in the advertisement, see Appendix D.

a partial listing:¹¹

Henry W. Armentrout, operator of Zenders Music Store and president of the Lima local of the American Federation of Musicians; Frank X. Barrett, prominent realtor; Kennedy Beach, City Loan & Savings Company executive and active in the YMCA; Joe E. Berk, businessman prominent in Lima's Jewish community; Jerome Blattner, partner in Blattner's Department Store and prominent in the Jewish community; the Reverend Howard Bloom, minister of the First Baptist Church; Seward R. Boiles, head of the Sohio (Standard Oil of Ohio) Refinery at Lima and active in civic affairs; Mrs. Olive Busby, a leader in the county Democratic party organization; Attorney Charles W. Daley, secretary of the Lima Civil Service Commission and active Democrat;

Dr. and Mrs. A. A. Dalton, leaders in the Negro community; Mrs. Fred R. J. Davis, Ohio League of Women Voters legislative representative; Colonel W. C. DeBill, commanding officer, Lima Ordnance Depot; W. P. Dudley, vice president, Ohio Steel Company; Attorney John R. Evans, leader in the Young Republican Club; Angelo Fedele Jr., president of the United Rubber Workers local, Gro-Cord Rubber Company; Mrs. J. Paul Fisher, former president of the Allen County PTA Council; Marian (Mrs. James) Fletcher, local radio-TV personality and civic leader; Wayne W. Galvin, former general manager, the Lima News; Thomas Gregg, head of Gregg's Department Store; Charles O. Guy, executive secretary, Lima Association of

11. "The Public Question...and the Answer," brochure, The Library Facts Campaign, Gordon G. Humbert, Chairman. (The names are from the brochure; this author has added the identifications--JDM)

Commerce; Dr. Warren Hodosko, optometrist and Junior Chamber of Commerce leader; Sylvan Holstine, head of The Leader Store and a leader in the Jewish community; Carl B. Horn, businessman active in Republican activities;

William W. Jackson, executive secretary of Bradfield Center, Negro community center; John H. Keller, active in the Allen County Historical Society and a leader in the local Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Wayne E. Laibe, chairman of the Allen County Republican Executive Committee; Monsignor W. J. MacKeown, St. Rose parish; L. W. Mannon, manager of the Better Business Bureau; the Reverend LeRoy L. McGee, minister of the 4th Street Baptist Church and a leader in the Negro community; Mrs. Harry Morin, a leader in the Lima chapter of the American Association of University Women; Myron B. Movsky, rabbi of the Shaare Zedek Synagogue;

Major W. J. North, Salvation Army; George B. Quatman, president of the Lima Telephone & Telegraph Company; the Reverend Paul N. Runk, minister of the Central Church of Christ; Saul Siegel, executive secretary of the Lima United Fund and a leader in the Junior Chamber of Commerce; John H. Shields, president of Superior Coach Corporation; Attorney Willis S. Siferd, chairman of the Allen County Democratic Executive Committee and a leader in the Allen County Bar Association; the Reverend Philip Sorce, minister of the Olivet Presbyterian Church; Easter Straker, WIMA radio and television personality and program director; the Reverend Richard Vitz, minister of the First Evangelical and Reformed Church; Furl P. Williams, union leader and leader in the Negro community; Harry B. Winklejohn, executive secretary of the CIO Regional Council.

The individual sponsors also included nearly a score of public officials. These included:¹²

Roger D. Andrews, city law director; Dr. Richard J. Biery, county coroner; Carl M. Blank, municipal judge; Anthony J. Bowers, county prosecutor; George A. Burgoon, city auditor; Robert E. Cheney, city councilman; Homer F. Cooper, president of city council; F. Wenner Gooding, city prosecutor; Russell L. Hire, county auditor; Walter L. Hydaker, city fire chief; James M. Jacobs, county commissioner; Donald F. Miller, city police chief; H. T. Morris, county commissioner; Neal B. O'Connell, city councilman; Ross People, state senator; Roy L. Roush, president of the Board of County Commissioners; Mayor Clyde Welty.

While the News was opposing the bond issue proposal in its editorials, several News employes--and Lima Newspaper Guild members--were active sponsors of The Lima Library Facts Campaign.¹³

These included Joseph Connor, reporter and chief Guild steward; Robert D. Kerr, city hall reporter and former Guild president; William R. Lee, assistant telegraph editor and president of the Guild; Joyce I. Link, reporter and Guild secretary; Eugene F. Perine, reporter and vice president of the Guild; Joann Schlagbaum, classified advertising department employe and former Guild secretary; Jeanette Stolzenbach, society editor and Guild member; Hope (Mrs. James) Strong, women's editor and Guild member; Chester F. Swegan, police reporter and active leader in the Guild; Phyllis C. Wentz,

12. Loc. cit.

13. Ibid.

reporter and Guild member; Allan White, sports editor and Guild member.

News and Publicity.¹⁴ With the opposition of the Lima News to the library bond issue proposal clearly and repeatedly stated on the editorial pages, proponents of the proposal attempted a saturation campaign through media and methods other than the usual Lima one of news and publicity in the News.¹⁵ The media and methods used included special publications, radio and television, public talks, a door-to-door campaign, and advertisements. Radio station WIMA and television station WIMA-TV gave the campaign full coverage and support in what Humbert described after the election as "herculean efforts."¹⁶ Humbert and Weadock were especially active in speaking at meetings of various organizations. And the day before the election, forty-five Lima stores and business firms placed advertisements in the Lima News urging readers to "Vote YES for a new Lima Library."¹⁷

An example of a special publication was a brochure issued by

14. The distinction between news and publicity is primarily one of function. The function of news here is considered as being to provide timely information that interests and/or affects a significant portion of its audience; the function of publicity is considered as being to further the interests of its source.

15. Before becoming a unit in the Freedom Newspaper group, the News had actively supported such proposals as the \$3,500,000 Lima Senior High School bond issue, the \$220,800 Ottawa River improvement bond issue, and a bond issue in the adjacent Elida Local School District, to name three of which the author has personal knowledge.

16. Toledo Blade, news story, November 7, 1956, p. 1.

17. Lima News, advertisements, November 5, 1956. See Appendix E.

The Lima Library Facts Campaign. It included a 1908-1930-1956 chronology of "Our Library's Predicament at a Glance;" a discussion of "Why It Is Necessary To Replace Our Library Building;" architects' sketches of the proposed building, both exterior and interior, and a basic floor plan of the proposed building superimposed over a basic plan of the existing facilities; a list of 22 questions and answers about the library, the bond issue proposal, and the election; and a listing of 486 individual sponsors of The Lima Library Facts Campaign.¹⁸ Pro-library material also was presented in another special publication, The School Messenger, a quarterly publication issued by the Lima City Board of Education and distributed primarily to parents of children enrolled in the Lima public schools. The October, 1956, issue carried a bold-face box on page one noting that the issue was "dedicated to the Lima School District Library, an important factor in the Lima School District educational program."¹⁹ The eight-page publication, set three 10-inch by 14-pica columns to a page, devoted 89 column inches to the library question out of a total of 240 column inches in the issue. The 89 column inches included four of the seven pictures used.²⁰ With the exception of the flag, all of page one was devoted to the library.

Of all the activities, however, two stand out. One involved a reporter for the Lima News--one who had been active in organizing resistance to the Hoiles organization from the time it became

18. "The Public Question...and the Answer," loc. cit.

19. The School Messenger, loc. cit.

20. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7, 8.

known the News was being sold--and the other involved the Toledo Blade.

The reporter was C. F. (Chet) Swagan, News police reporter. Shortly before the bond issue election he bought commercial time on radio station WIMA to use for a personal message in regard to the library campaign situation. He mentioned no names, but for three days he delivered a stinging commentary on the use of "the big lie" technique as a propaganda weapon, citing the use of "freedom" and "socialistic" labels frequently used to persuade people to act against their own interests.²¹ The initiative for this

21. Here are two somewhat different aspects of propaganda. The so-called "Big Lie" concept derives from the propaganda theories of Adolf Hitler (Mein Kampf, New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940, pp. 108-109, 227-242) and the propaganda activities of the National Socialist government of the Third Reich. Basically the concept is that any falsehood that is made "big" enough and repeated frequently enough will be accepted as truth by a significant number of people. The use of labels as a device of persuasion was pointed up by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in a pioneering discussion of what are now accepted as the seven common propaganda devices. ("How To Detect Propaganda," Propaganda Analysis, November, 1937, 1:5-8) In the context of the Lima library bond issue campaign, the use of "freedom" by the Lima News in opposing the bond issue would be an example of the Glittering Generality Device and the use of "socialistic" an example of the Name Calling Device. As the Institute noted, "Use of 'bad names' without presentation of their essential meaning, without all their pertinent implications, comprises perhaps the most common of all propaganda devices. (Ibid., p. 5) * * * As Name Calling is a device to make us form a judgment to reject and condemn, without examining the evidence, Glittering Generalities is a device to make us accept and approve, without examining the evidence. (Ibid., p. 6) The special library brochure, "The Public Question...and the Answer," and the full-page re-election advertisement in the Toledo Blade combined three other of the seven common propaganda devices: the Testimonial Device, the Band Wagon Device, and the Transfer Device. The listing of individual sponsors in the brochure and of endorsing organizations in the advertisement both involved the Testimonial Device. The emphasis on the numbers of persons and organizations involved--the typographical device of six columns of individual names in the brochure and the stacking of 116 names of organizations in a single vertical column in the advertisement--involved the Band Wagon Device. In the

was Swegan's, the copy was written by Swegan, and the money involved was Swegan's; he was acting completely as an individual.²²

A major factor in crystallizing the campaign as one for or against the News and what the News had come to symbolize was the special issue of the Toledo Blade. That came on November 5, 1956, when the Blade sent into Lima 18,000 copies of the special edition for free door-to-door distribution by volunteers. The "special" features of the Lima version of the Blade's noon edition were three-fold:²³

- 1--A major news story on the Lima library situation,
- 2--An explanatory message about the special edition,
- 3--A page one editorial supporting the bond issue, and
- 4--A full-page advertisement in support of the bond issue.

The 34-column inch, by-lined story ran in columns one and two of page one under a two-column, three-line head with a three-line deck. In the story, Blade staff writer John M. Harrison reported on the election the next day, on the community campaign for the library bond issue, on the existing library conditions, and on the Hoiles philosophy and editorial activity in Lima.

In column two of page one, directly under the shoulder of the

21 (continued).

Institute's words: "Here his (propagandist) theme is 'Everybody's doing it.'" (Ibid., p. 7) At the same time, the use of the names of religious leaders and public officials and religious and professional organizations illustrates "'Transfer'...a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept." (Ibid., p. 6)

22. Interview with C. F. Swegan.

23. Toledo Blade, November 5, 1956, pp. 1, 3.

two-column lead on Harrison's story, appeared this bold-face box:²⁴

The Blade was asked by the Lima Library Campaign Committee to assist in presenting the whole story of the need for a new library building in Lima.

This special issue is the result. It is circulated by volunteers who believe that the need for the new building has not received adequate and impartial newspaper coverage in Lima.

The front-page editorial, "Why Can't Lima Get Its Library?" occupied the bottom seven and a half inches of columns three, four, and five. Set in 10-point, bold-face type, the editorial opened with this paragraph:²⁵

Under ordinary circumstances The Blade would not think of intervening in a controversy down in Lima over the issuance of bonds for a new public library.

The editorial went on to explain why the Blade was "taking up the cudgels for its good friends and neighbors" in Lima:

Compared with the Lima News, which is now being operated largely by remote control from California, ours is the closest thing to a hometown newspaper Lima has.

The editorial termed the argument that public libraries are socialistic "so much poppycock" and maintained the real reason for opposition to the bond issue was simply that opposing the spending of taxes "is the easiest thing a newspaper can do." The editorial closed with this paragraph:

That is why we would vote for the new library if we lived in Lima even though we had never read a book and never intended to. We wouldn't let any outsider come into our city and tell us what we could and couldn't do.

24. Ibid., p. 1.

25. For the complete editorial, see Appendix F.

The full-page advertisement, signed "Lima Library Facts campaign, Gordon Humbert, Chairman--and 5,000 Volunteer Workers," strongly emphasized the Lima versus Lima News theme. The main copy block consisted of six 18-point paragraphs, set 58½-pica measure with 24-point read-ins. The persuasion in four of the six paragraphs was keyed to anti-Lima News arguments:²⁶

A Vote FOR the Bond Issue will serve notice to outsiders that Lima citizens will not be dictated to at election time--or at any other time--on issues that affect the future of our city.

A Vote AGAINST the Bond Issue is a vote for The Lima News theory that our Lima Library, schools and churches are socialistic, wicked and immoral, and against the American way of life.

A Vote FOR the Bond Issue will replace three out-moded, inadequate, unsafe buildings with one modern, fireproof, efficient structure to house and protect your priceless and irreplaceable collection of books, pictures and periodicals.

A Vote AGAINST the Bond Issue will deprive our citizens of their best means of adult education and will discourage leisure reading by people of all ages.

A Vote FOR the Bond Issue is a vote for a truly American institution and our American way of life--for where else can so many enjoy so much--for so little?

A Vote AGAINST the Bond Issue will establish a beach-head for The Lima News to launch its attack against all civic improvements supported by tax monies.

The advertisement then summarized the issue this way:

WHICH WAY WILL YOU VOTE TOMORROW:

For a progressive, OR For an Outsider's
growing Lima? Crackpot Theory?

A 27-pica column down the left-hand side of the page carried

26. Ibid., p. 3.

two lists in eight-point, bold-face type. Under the display copy

These LIMA
Organizations
(representing ELIGIBLE
LIMA VOTERS)
Have ENDORSED
LIMA'S LIBRARY
BOND ISSUE

appeared a list of 116 Lima and Allen County organizations. Below that list came this display copy:

This Organization
OPPOSES IT!

Under that, was a single line of eight-point, bold-face type: The
Lima News

The Campaign Against the Library

News Coverage. The News itself publicly bridled at the suggestion it had not covered the library bond issue fully. In a 33-paragraph editorial on November 7, 1956, the News answered its critics--and especially the Toledo Blade--in regard to its actions during the library campaign. Possibly the best frame of reference for considering that performance is the editorial itself. It said, in part:²⁷

Just for the record, we would like to present a few items in connection with the Blade attack....

Item: Concerning news coverage--

The Lima News ran a picture and a total of 16 stories for a combined total of 112 column inches concerning the library bond issue campaign during September and October.

27. "'Outsider' Attack Muddies the Issue," loc. cit.

The stories, 12 of which were written by active backers of the bond issue, for the most part described endorsements of the issue by Lima civic groups.²⁸

The News also ran a picture of an architect's sketch of the proposed library. It obtained the picture only after Carl L. Kempf, professional campaign director who led the drive for the bond issue, refused to give it to The News.

Kempf was told that his refusal put in a difficult position bond backers who said local news coverage of the issue was scanty. He replied, "I know it."

Kempf was not the only person who refused to furnish information of the campaign to The News. Drive chairman Gordon G. Humbert consistently refused to supply information on the drive and library president James J. Weadock, Jr., said he would co-operate only when "the paper becomes more friendly."

Weadock later changed his position and said that while the editorial policy of the newspaper "stinks" the news coverage of the campaign has been "all right" but "slanted."

An examination of the Lima Public Library's file on the Lima News for the months of September and October, 1956, shows that the News carried more stories than the editorial said, but for fewer total inches.²⁹ The files show eighteen stories directly concerned with the library issue and which would be classified as "adequate and impartial news coverage." The stories, including the headlines, totaled 73½ column inches. One of the stories appeared on page one, thirteen appeared on the section page (the first page of the second section traditionally has been a principal local news page in the Lima News), and four were on inside pages.

28. This would appear to be a reference to the fact that several of the News reporters who were Guild members were active campaigners for the bond issue. (See p. 48 above.) It might be a reference to the printing of publicity releases from the Library campaign committee, but none of the library stories printed by the News appear to have been publicity releases.

29. For a listing of the stories, see Appendix G.

The architect's sketch of the proposed library building ran on the section page (page B-1) on October 28, 1956. The engraving and cutline measured five columns by 3 7/8 inches, with an overline making the total space five columns by 4 1/2 inches. The files failed to show a picture other than the architect's sketch connected with the bond issue. The only other picture which related to the library in any way during the two months in question was in connection with a story headlined "Lima Teacher's Play Published, In Library."³⁰ The story concerned publication of a play, "Shadow of a Cross," written by Miss Frances Bowyer, speech and drama teacher at Lima Senior High School, and the picture was of her holding a copy of the play.

In pre-election coverage, the Sunday before the election, the library bond issue received a passing reference in a round-up story. The third paragraph of a story concerning special issues to be voted on the following Tuesday said:³¹

Topping the list are the \$1,900,000 Lima City bond issue question on financing of an additional rain water storage reservoir and the Lima City School District \$880,000 bond issue for a new public library.

Two stories connected with the bond issue campaign are not included among the eighteen stories counted as "adequate and impartial newspaper coverage" of the bond campaign. Because of their import, both would have to be classified as anti-library. Both concerned the question of the possible illegality of a school administrative council meeting at which Lima public school princi-

30. Lima News, news story, October 1, 1956.

31. Ibid., November 4, 1956, p. 4-B.

pale were asked to help organize the pro-library campaign.³² The first of the two storied lead off this way:³³

The Allen County prosecuting attorney's office today was investigating an official meeting of Lima school principals at which political strategy for the coming library bond election was mapped.

Pros. Atty. Anthony J. Bowers said he had talked to several persons who had attended the meeting including school superintendent Gordon G. Humbert who has refused to make public full details of the meeting.

Bowers said he was checking the law to see if the strategy discussion lead (etc) by professional campaign director Carl L. Kempf, Pittsburgh, was illegal because it was conducted as an official meeting.

"It is accepted practice, and the law implies, that any person employed 'by schools' is employed for the purpose of schools except incidentally," Bowers said.

"The question is whether this was merely a discussion," he said.

The import of the story is clear: County Prosecutor Bowers was taking official action in regard to the meeting of the Administrative Council because he suspected illegalities might be involved. What the story fails to report is that Bowers was checking the law at the instigation of the Lima News. Bowers checked the matter in response to a query by a Lima News reporter, "Jim Wood, as I recall."³⁴

A follow-up story on Bowers' investigation appeared the next

32. Ibid., September 19, 1956, p. 1.

33. Ibid., September 20, 1956, pp. 1, 8.

34. Interview with Anthony J. Bowers, Allen County prosecutor, September, 1958. Wood was hired by the Hoiles management and subsequently became city editor of the News.

day, with this opening and closing:³⁵

Prosecuting Attorney Anthony J. Bowers today had completed investigation of a Lima school principals (etc) meeting at which library bond election strategy was discussed and said he found nothing "irregular."

He said the school Administrative Council meets once a month between "the hours of 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. to discuss school business and problems."

"The normal school hour terminates at 4 p.m.; therefore, this meeting was held after normal school hours." (sic) Bowers said in a news release.

(According to the Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education of the Lima City School District, pages 69 and 70: "The school hours for administrators shall extend from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.")

"Normal school business and problems were discussed as well as the report of the library bond issue by Carl L. Kempf received." (sic) Bowers said.

Bowers said it was his "opinion" that "the library" is a necessary part of the curriculum and school problem (etc) and "had a right to be discussed at this meeting". (sic).

* * *

Kempf distributed car stickers to the principals (sic) telling them to place the stickers on the side or rear windows of their cars. He instructed them not to place the stickers on the windshields.

"We wouldn't want to break the law," he said.

Here is a noteworthy example of slanted news writing. The key elements in producing the slanting in this story were the manner in which fragmentary quotes were used, the insertion of material in brackets, and the closing quote, which had not previously appeared in the newspaper. For example, if the opening sentence of the story used "nothing irregular" as a fragmentary quote, it would be clear that this was Bowers' conclusion stated in key words from Bowers

35. Lima News, news story, September 21, 1956, pp. 1, 6.

himself. But to write that he found nothing "irregular" produces quite a different effect: that the word "irregular" is being used in an ironic sense. Again, the insertion of the excerpt from the school rules and regulations immediately after quoting Bowers' statement that "this meeting was held after normal school hours" leaves an impression that, while Bowers may say this, it just is not true; that Bowers' statement is contradicted by the rules and regulations.³⁶ And the note of ironic emphasis--and the resulting slanting of the story--is repeated in closing the story with the quote from Kempf. Here the irony produces the impression of a scrupulous concern for the letter of the law, coupled with a carelessness for the spirit of the law.

Reportorial coverage of the library bond issue by the News can be measured by other scales than column inches of space and number and display of stories and pictures. The Blade's statement about news coverage to which the News took exception editorially was that volunteers "believe that the need for the new building has not received adequate and impartial newspaper coverage in Lima." So, in addition to the number of stories and the total number of column inches they represent, the question remains: how much "adequate and impartial" coverage did the News devote to the "need for the new building"?

A check of the files for September and October, 1956, shows eight stories in the News in which there was copy relating directly to the existing condition of the library quarters and the need for

³⁶. "Normal school hours" and "normal school hours for administrators" would appear to be different matters legalistically, if not reportorially.

a new building. The eight stories and their headlines totaled 43 column inches; the stories themselves, 32 3/4 column inches.³⁷ The portions of those stories which bore directly on the need for a new building added up to 9 1/2 column inches. That is, an average of not quite 1 1/4 inches of each of the eight stories actually concerned the need for a new building as such.

A ninth item--a letter to the editor, not a news story--also contained reference to the condition of existing library facilities. The letter, from Librarian Lena B. Nofcier, was in answer to a letter to the editor which had raised questions about the possibility of renovating existing facilities and establishing branch libraries outside the downtown area. In Miss Nofcier's six-paragraph reply, the fourth paragraph concerned "deterioration and over-crowding" of the existing main library facilities.³⁸ That reference measured 1 1/2 column inches, bringing to 11 column inches the total space specifically devoted to the "need for a new building" during September and October, 1956.³⁹

Letters to the Editor. In the 33-paragraph editorial which was its concluding editorial comment on the library bond issue controversy, the Lima News, after reviewing its news coverage of the cam-

37. Lima News, news stories, September 11, 1956, p. 15; September 19, 1956, p. 1; September 20, 1956, pp. 1, 8; September 26, 1956, p. 9; September 23, 1956, p. 15-C; October 2, 1956, p. 13; October 14, 1956, p. 1-B; October 24, 1956, p. 15.

38. Ibid., October 31, 1956, p. 16.

39. See Appendix H.

paign, had this paragraph:⁴⁰

All This (sic) was in addition to the letters from readers in favor of the bond issue that appeared in the Voice of the People column, including one from the head librarian.

Between September 6, 1956, when the News printed its first editorial opposing the library bond issue, and November 6, 1956, election day, the News printed nine letters to the editor which were concerned either directly or indirectly with the bond issue proposal.⁴¹ None of the nine endorsed the News' editorial stand. Seven of the nine were critical in one way or another of the editorial policies of the News; one suggested an alternative to a single new main library building; one, from the head librarian, answered that letter. One of the critical letters was sent directly to R. C. Hoiles and requested an answer; the letter and his answer were printed together in the News. Another asked the editor of the News "to state unequivocally which system he and the publisher were dedicated!" (sic) That letter was answered in an editorial the following day. Three others were answered in editorials the same days the letters were printed.

Essentially, each of the answers by the News were attempts to refute points raised by the letter writers. Whether the attempts were successful is not within the scope of this study. However, the letters and the answers are, since they shed light on both the News' policies and the newspaper's relations with at least some of its readers.

40. "'Outsider' Attack Muddies the Issue," loc. cit.

41. Ibid., letters to the editor, September 12, 1956, p. 22; September 18, 1956, p. 18; September 19, 1956, p. 16; September 27, 1956, p. 39; October 11, 1956, p. 20; October 18, 1956, p. 17; October 31, 1956, p. 16; November 2, 1956, p. 24; November 4, 1956, p. C-12.

Considering a representative letter and answer, Mrs. Paul Sowards "noted with much concern the changes taking place under the new management of the Lima News."⁴² She cited "elimination of the 'Voice of the People' column, which is certainly a democratic concept, not always expressing 'majority views'" and continued:

However, my major concern is with the editorial policy, which seems to me to be against all community projects. This last editorial in the September 6th Lima News against the Library Bond Issue made me decide to cancel my subscription.

Frankly I cannot understand how a man like yourself, (sic) can sit out there in California and dictate what is good for us here in Lima.

So far, Mr. Hoiles, you are against most every improvement our community has tried to promote. Your reasons are that you do not believe in government control. I can only draw one conclusion--that is you believe in an anarchy. I CANNOT SUBSCRIBE TO THIS!

When Mrs. Sowards' letter was printed, this answer was printed immediately following it:

The Lima News has not discontinued "The Voice of The People" column. As evidence that this is not the policy, we are reproducing your letter which refers to the policies of The News as are others whether they are in agreement or not. (sic)

The News always wants its ideas challenged, publicly or privately. If any questions can embarrass The News about what it is advocating or opposing, I (Hoiles) am quite sure its policies are wrong.

I personally, (sic) had nothing to do with the editorial on the library bond issue. I thought it so good, however, that we adopted (sic) it to a library bond issue being on the ballot in Santa Ana, California, and published it here.

42. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1956. Mrs. Sowards is Carmen Sowards, a continuity writer for radio station WIMA and active in community activities, especially the Amil Tellers of Dramatics, Inc., a community little theater group.

Is it your idea that man-made laws can be different in different communities and still be in harmony with moral law?

I am glad to answer your question as to what I am for. I am for you, Mrs. Paul Sowards, and every other person in the world being owner of themselves and all they produce; of having the right to choose, so long as they give others equal right to choose; of respecting human initiative of each and every person in the world and to get what they want individually or collectively on a voluntary basis rather than on a might-makes-right or aggressive-force basis.

What I Am Against

The only thing I am against is any individual or any group or the agents of any group having the right to initiate force--that is, to use aggressive force to get something on an involuntary basis.

Now will Mrs. Sowards answer this question? Do you believe that if it is wicked or a violation of moral law for one person to get things on an involuntary basis or by the use of aggressive force that it is in agreement with moral law for the majority or their agents to get things on an involuntary basis or by the use of aggressive force?

Will you please cite one instance where The News, since March 1, 1956, has been against any individual or any group getting what they (sic) want on a voluntary basis without the use of aggressive force?

I am under obligation to Mrs. Sowards for thinking out loud. We need more public discussions of human relations.

Mrs. Sowards' letter illustrates a growing concern, especially among persons active in and interested in civic and community projects, that editorial opposition by the News was delaying and would halt expansion and improvement projects involving the taxing powers of local governmental units.⁴³

⁴³. Previous examples of such editorial opposition had included opposition to a proposal to fluoridate the city water supply and to the development of off-street parking facilities by the city.

And both the general tone of her letter and the specific action of canceling her subscription indicate the intensity of reaction to the News' editorial policy as a Freedom Newspaper.

The answer to her letter is representative of several recurrent points about the News as a Freedom Newspaper. A major point is in regard to the letters to the editor column itself. The News, as a Freedom Newspaper, has reiterated that letters to the editor are welcomed, especially if the letters concerned the newspaper's editorial policy. At the same time, letters which were used were frequently answered by editorials aimed at refuting the writers' ideas or conclusions. Since most of the letters used were in disagreement with the News, this meant in effect a running argument with the readers in which the News always had the last word. Thus, the open forum and public debate concepts of letters to the editor became, in the News, a debate between the reader and the News--a debate in which the News always could, and frequently did, have the last word. As this policy developed, the number of letters printed (and this might indicate the number of letters received) declined noticeably from the pre-Holles level.

A number of spokesmen for leading newspapers have discussed this point. They generally agree the readers must be treated with fairness and respect and must be given their say, undisputed by the newspaper, if the letters to the editor column is to be effective in attracting participants--both as letter writers and as readers. Tom Wallace, of the Louisville Times, for instance, wrote, "... it is necessary to be as fair to writers as a publisher should be to an

editor. Writers must know they can say what they think."⁴⁴ Leslie Moore, of the Worcester, Massachusetts, Gazette and Telegram, commented that the attitude of the Gazette and Telegram editor and publisher, George F. Booth, "has always been one of greatest respect. He not only believes they have a right to say what they will, within limits of propriety, but he also respects their motives and viewpoints." Moore also wrote, "We use editor's notes sparingly and courteously" He further noted:

Incidentally, one device which adds much interest occasionally, is that of commenting in the editorial columns on letters from readers. (Emphasis added---JDM) I think there is great value in editorials which begin, "We print on this page today a letter from...". That means scanning the letters carefully for positive editorial topics.

Other comments on the same point include "We attempt not to argue with the readers nor snap back at them in footnotes" (Paul Trescott, Philadelphia Bulletin); "We largely confine editorial footnotes to letters whose writers have confused our meaning or our facts." (Carl R. Kesler, Chicago Daily News); "Readers resent what they are likely to consider an attempt by the editor to have the last word" (John R. Markham Cleveland Press); "Since IN THE DAY'S MAIL is reserved for readers' ideas, (the newspaper) does not here express itself upon opinions with which it disagrees, except when it is necessary to correct misstatements of fact." (Providence Journal-Bulletin).

44. This and succeeding quotations in regard to letters to the editor are cited in Waldrop, A Gayle, Editor and Editorial Writer, pp. 413-416.

The late Merton Thompson, newspaperman, biographer, and novelist, was discussing column writing rather than editorial writing, but he summed up the point of view that newspapers should not try for the last word. He was writing of the lesson he learned when he used his newspaper column to attack a man he hated. The man complained to Thompson's managing editor. The managing editor turned him away without giving him any satisfaction. As Thompson recalled the episode:⁴⁵

Then the managing editor sent for me, where I lay gloating. He looked at me across his desk; then he glanced down briefly at the paper containing the column. He flipped the newspaper across the desk to me.

"That man hasn't got any column," he said quietly; he resumed his work without looking up.

It was a jolt. There was no answer to it. He just pointed out that the (man attacked) hadn't any column, hadn't any means of striking back, and that I was the victor in a magnificent series of crushing blows against a hopeless cripple.

The writers of letters to the editor are in essentially the same position as the man "demolished" in a column. Since they have no effective way to answer, the newspaper which demolishes the letter writer's argument has been the same sort of victor that Thompson was.

Editorial Opposition. The News published eight editorials about the library bond issue proposal before the election and one after the election, plus one which did not mention the library controversy but was written as a result of the News' editorial position on the bond issue question. All were set in 18-pica (one and a half column) measure. In summary, these were the editorials:

45. Merton Thompson, Joe, the Wounded Tennis Player, pp. 197-198.

1. The first editorial, on September 6, 1956, defined public libraries as rooted in socialism and announced the News' opposition to the proposed bond issue on the grounds the News must answer "an unequivocal 'no'" to the question, "shall we as voters give our approval of an obviously socialistic institution?"⁴⁶ The body of the editorial ran 25 1/2 column inches, set in 18-pica columns.

2. Six days later the News again defined public libraries as "a socialistic endeavor."⁴⁷ The editorial explained that the News was opposing the bond issue because the News must oppose "socialism and communism" on every front. The editorial ran on the same page as a letter to the editor in favor of the bond issue; however, the editorial was not a direct reply to the letter. The body of the editorial ran 8 1/4 column inches.

3. A 34 1/2 column inch editorial on September 21, 1956, answered an editorial by the Toledo Blade.⁴⁸ The Blade editorial had concluded that Lima's "voters shouldn't be fooled by the argument that the public library is subversive."⁴⁹ The News editorial said "at no time have we suggested that' libraries are Un-American or that they are subversive" and went on to restate opposition to the Lima library proposal on the grounds that "a government library," as distinct from "a private enterprise library...supported by volun-

46. "What About The Library Bond Issue?" loc. cit.

47. "More Comment On The Library Issue," editorial, Lima News, September 12, 1956, p. 22.

48. "A Reply To Critics On Library Question," editorial, Lima News, September 21, 1956, p. 26.

49. "Are Libraries Un-American?" editorial, Toledo Blade, September 18, 1956, p. 16.

tary contributions." is "one that is rooted in socialism" The News restated the credo carried daily in its masthead and concluded that until a better guide to human behavior is pointed out "we shall have to continue our use of the Ten Commandments."

4. On September 28, 1956, the News published an editorial in the form of a question-and-answer dialogue between an individual representing the public (the question asker) and one representing "we" of "you guys at the Lima News" (the answerer).⁵⁰ The Socratic dialogue restated the News' opposition to the bond issue on the grounds that it represented a form of socialism and was morally wrong. It also mentioned "a number of other objections which have been voiced not only by the Lima News but residents of the city." These objections: spending the money for a library instead of water and sewers, using tax money to buy "escapist literature rather than factual reference books for students to use," having a smoking room in the proposed building, putting too much emphasis on reference books instead of on more modern fiction, and making no effort to have library patrons from outside the school district help bear the cost of the library. The body of the editorial was 17 3/4 column inches long.

5. On the same day the question-and-answer editorial was printed there also was an editorial in response to a letter to the editor. In the letter, published the day before the editorial, Mrs. W. W. Donahue had listed dictionary definitions of democracy, anarchism,

50. "Q & A On The Library Bond Issue," editorial, Lima News, September 28, 1956, p. 26.

capitalism, communism, and monarchy, ending her letter, "would you the Editor of the Lima News be so kind as to state unequivocally which system he and the publisher are dedicated (sic)!"⁵¹ The News' editorial answer was that the News-and all the other Freedom News-papers advocate a republican form of government.⁵²

6. Again in response to a letter from a reader, the News commented on its attitudes toward social problems. Mrs. Paul Scheffler asked in a letter, published the same day as the editorial answer to it, why the News did not editorialize for practical alternatives to "a government solution to all our social problems" instead of "tearing) down a tax supported institution before you stand a good chance of replacing it."⁵³ In a 25 1/2-column inch editorial, the News responded:⁵⁴

..we have no pat answer to all the questions Mrs. Scheffler poses as "social problems," other than to apply the rule of free enterprise to such problems.*** They dynamic force of free enterprise has demonstrated over and over again that through such a system operating in a free market is the system which best serves all of the people and is the road upon which we should travel if we hope to move toward the time when our "social problems" will be less vexing.

7. A joint dinner meeting of eight Lima service clubs was the peg for the next anti-library editorial. The 22 3/4-column inch

51. "Voice Of The People," letter to the editor, Lima News, September 27, 1956, p. 39.

52. "More Definition," editorial, Lima News, September 28, 1956, p. 26. This editorial is being included since it bears indirectly on the "socialism" issue in the bond campaign.

53. "Voice Of The People," letter to the editor, Lima News, October 11, 1956, p. 20.

54. "No Pat Answers On 'Social Problems,'" loc. cit.

editorial said, in part:⁵⁵

The speaker was an out-of-town professional librarian, Robert Franklin, director of the Toledo library.

Franklin then (sic) told the audience that there was no question about the need of (sic) the new building, that the issue to be decided Nov. 6 is "Whether or not you believe in public libraries as part of the American way of life."

Now we're getting down to cases.

* * *

Are we talking about the existing "way" or the "way" that was set up in the founding of the nation? Certainly there is no one who will argue that the "way of life" intended by the Founding Fathers is the same as the "way of life" as we live it today. Then they started in by saying that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed." Now we hold the view that 51 per cent of the voters acting in accord can do no wrong. Then they took the view that men were entitled to the fruits of their labor. Now we hold that it is just and fair to punish success and industry and enterprise and that men are not equal before the law and that a caste system based on income is proper. The we (sic) took the view that government should be the servant of the individual and that his rights were paramount. Now we take the view that the rights of the individual are unimportant so long as 51 per cent can accomplish what the group wants.

... We (the News) hold to the view that socialism is not the "American way of life" and to the extent that we (Americans) embrace more and more socialism, the more are we removing ourselves from the American way of life.

8. The next editorial on the library issue appeared Nov. 2, 1956, in answer to a letter from a reader. In the letter, Orval B. Lippincott, a well-known Lima attorney, took issue with the News on

⁵⁵ "Lima Library Issue Gets Down To Cases," editorial, Lima News, October 25, 1956, p. 36.

several points.⁵⁶ He suggested that if educational facilities are socialistic, so is the providing of water, roads, and other services by taxation; that the News had suggested the library provide fewer books of fiction and thus might be implying that it favored censorship of library contents; that the News calls the taxing of the very rich a violation of the coveting commandment, but that the very rich have already broken the commandment when they accumulate their riches; that having only private schools and libraries would deprive the poor of education; that he favored "freedom for the people--not freedom for the rich to exploit the poor, and the fortunate to profit from the misery of the unfortunate;" that "the Lima News is doing the people a service by awakening them to the dangers inherent in centralized government and in unjust laws but liberty cannot be attained by tearing down our schools and libraries which are the very foundation of our way of life;" that Lima should have the best library in Northwestern Ohio; and that "a vote for the library bond issue is a vote to maintain our American way of life." In a 6 1/2 column inch editorial, the News commented;⁵⁷

Mr. Lippincott has made a number of statements in his letter that are worthy of consideration and clarification and we would like to present our views today on some of the points involved although space does not permit all of them.

The editorial went on to say that the News had not said the library bond issue "might better be used for a new supply of water,"

56. "Voice Of The People," letter to the editor, Lima News, November 2, 1956, p. 24.

57. "Additional Comment on the Library Issue," editorial, loc. cit.

instead that was a statement which had been made to the News by other people; that there is "some difference between the services suggested by the writer and the library service" in that regard to water and roads "there is an attempt made by the government to have payment for the service made by the person obtaining the service: but no such attempt is made in regard to the library; that the News did not object to works of fiction but that the paper has pointed out that there is no way to avoid government censorship when the government selects the books to be purchased for a library; that Lippincott is not "on very good ground when he indicates that a 'soak the rich' system of taxation is a Christian viewpoint and that such a system was advocated by Jesus as the 'ten talent' story reminds us;" that in religious education "we daily demonstrate: there is no need for government education to guarantee training and instruction to "children of all strata;" that the rich cannot exploit the poor except through an agency of government since "in a free market-free enterprise system of economy, the gain of one is the gain of all, for the more there is produced the more there is to share." The editorial then concluded with this paragraph:⁵⁸

We agree wholeheartedly that the people of Lima should have the best library in northwestern Ohio, or, for that matter, in the whole state. The only question is how shall we go about having such a library? Shall we do it by force of the tax pistol or shall we do it through voluntary efforts on the part of those who would share in this civic pride? And we'll agree that it is impossible to have too many books unless this plethora is obtained at the price of too little freedom.

58. Loc. cit.

9. On the Sunday before the election the News again published an editorial concerning the bond issue.⁵⁹ This editorial also accompanied the letter to the editor to which it was an answer.⁶⁰ The lengthy (23 1/2 standard column inches) letter was answered by a 19 1/2 18-pica column inch editorial.

The tone of the letter from Mrs. Dorothy N. Woodbury was set in the first sentence: "I've become enraged over your hypocrisy so many times I've decided to seek space in your 'Freedom' newspaper." She went on to suggest the News' editorial beliefs ignore such Biblical teachings as the story of the Good Samaritan and the viewpoint implicit in a positive answer to the question, "Am I my Brother's keeper?" She argues that "because of our selfishness (we) must be taxed to meet that responsibility" to our fellow man; that the government in the United States is the people--"I, too, am part of this God-given government, Freedom;" that children are corrupted in their education not in and by the public schools but in their homes and by private media of mass communication; that private schools and private libraries may operate without the government trying to stop them, but such private facilities are not highly successful in attracting patrons; that "the American way will not be lost by what you call socialism (if that's what taxation of all for all is)" but possibly by "the communist tactics you employ-- making people dissatisfied, stirring up dissension, seeking to separate man from his responsibility to others;" that "you (the News)

59. "Issues Not Decided By Election Outcome," editorial, Lima News, November 4, 1956, p. C-12.

60. "Voice Of The People," letter to the editor, loc. cit.

object to paying taxes for protection against or for anything you do not deem essential to you."

To me you're like the communists who seek to overthrow our government and yet beg protection and trial from the very courts they seek to overthrow. Freedom Newspapers--BAH!

In its editorial answer, the News commented that Mrs. Woodbury "has made some statements in the letter which we feel ought to be clarified since, if the writer is confused (sic) others may also be." The editorial then stated the News does not favor any sort of tax that would "protect" it or any special laws to protect it against competition.

We think that anyone has the right to join or not join an organization. What we object to is any group being given the force of government to require that people join a group or organization.

The editorial further stated that the News' stand on government "is exactly the opposite of that of the Communist or Socialist."

We do now and have opposed Communism and Socialism on every front. We suspect that our chief differences with the writer of the letter and a good many other people is that we oppose Communism and Socialism in any degree, taking the view that the proper goal for all Americans is the advancement of freedom.

The editorial commented that, in many areas, there is general agreement with the News' editorial opposition to government control. Citing press, medicine, electric power, and religion as examples, the editorial concluded:

It is only when we continue our opposition to government controls into other fields that we find there is a widespread difference of opinion. We would like to suggest to readers who find themselves in disagreement with our editorial policies that, if they find that they, too, are opposed to government as we have listed above, that it is highly illogical to be in opposition on this front or that and not on others. If, for instance, as the writer

indicates, readers are in favor of government operation of a library system, on what grounds do they object to other government control? How shall we determine where to draw the line and say, "this government control is good and this government control is bad?"

10. The final editorial was the previously cited 33-paragraph, 61 1/2 column inch editorial of November 7, 1956, "'Outsider' Attack Muddies The Issue." The editorial started:⁶¹

"All's fair in love and war" and apparently in politics.

This at least is the only excuse we can see for the many misrepresentations and nonsensical statements contained in a special edition of the Toledo Blade which was broadcast through Lima on Monday in an effort to bolster the campaign on the Lima Public Library bonds.

Not even the Toledo Blade would care to defend the position taken and all of the things said in the edition at any time other than an election. And even the sloppiest newspaper would not be guilty of the number of slips that the Blade made in its attack on the Lima News unless they could be excused by politics.

For instance, the whole tenor of the Blade issue was presented, so they said, because the Lima News was attempting to "forbid" the people of Lima from having a new library building. Moreover, the issue was presented because those "who believe that the need for the new building has not received adequate and impartial newspaper coverage in Lima." (sic)

The editorial then proceeded to a defense of the news coverage performance by the News ("Item: Concerning news coverage--"62) and went on into a defense of the newspaper's method of opposing the bond issue:

Item: There are many methods we might have chosen to oppose the Lima Library Bond issue, but our way was to point to the error in principle.

61. Lima News, November 7, 1956, loc. cit.

62. Supra, pp. 45 ff.

This, we did.

No one refuted the statement that tax supported public libraries are socialistic.

After a further discussion of how the News chose to conduct its opposition to the bond issue and a discussion of the anti-News aspects of the campaign as a getting away from the point of the issue, the editorial concluded:

All of the foregoing is not intended to be an apology for the editorial stand taken by the Lima News in connection with the library bond issue--for we feel that no apology is needed. As we said before the election, the outcome of the voting will not necessarily decide the real issue of the campaign, and that is the point we had hoped to bring home to our readers. This issue, and similar ones, we expect to comment on at length in future issues of The News and we again invite readers, including the editors of the Toledo Blade (sic) to challenge us and our views. We want our views explored to the fullest and our errors pointed out to us (sic) for we feel that through such open discussion we can arrive at a better understanding. Because we believe so firmly in the "rightness" of liberty, liberty for every individual, we shall continue to do our best to "spread the gospel" For "Freedom is like a bag of sand. If there is a hole anywhere in the bottom of the bag, all of the sand will run out."

Evaluation and Conclusion. The library bond issue campaign must be classified as highly successful as measured by results. The 22,638 votes cast on the bond issue represented 92 per cent of the eligible voters. Both the turnout and the 75 per cent affirmative margin were believed to be without precedence in a city school election.⁶³ Also believed to be without precedent was the fact that the bond issue carried in all 74 voting precincts of the school district--

⁶³. Lima News, news story, November 7, 1956, p. 1; Toledo Blade news stories, November 7, 1956, p. 1, and November 8, 1956, p. 29.

69 precincts in Lima and five in American Township.⁶⁴

The campaign also must be classified as successful on the basis of community participation, regardless of which figures are accepted as valid. The full-page advertisement in the November 5, 1956, Toledo Blade claimed 5,000 volunteer workers and listed 116 endorsing organizations.⁶⁵ A subsequent news story reported that the professional campaign director told the Library Board that more than 500 of 729 Lima residents who were asked gave approval for the use of their names as endorsing the campaign, that 117 organizations endorsed the bond issue, and that 1,403 persons comprised the volunteer working committee that carried out campaign tasks.⁶⁶

From the Lima News' point of view, however, the campaign could not be classified as anything but unsuccessful. While the News maintained that "no one refuted the statement that tax supported public libraries are socialistic," the vote demonstrated that three of every four voters were not convinced they should oppose that particular brand of socialism, if socialism it was. And, while the News maintained that it covered the issue in its news columns and limited its opposition to pointing to "the error in principle" in its editorial columns, the vote against indicated this opposition

64. At the same election a \$1,900,000 city water bond issue was approved by an 81 per cent affirmative vote, 16,855 for and 3,848 against. That result is not completely comparable to the library bond issue result since (1) there was no organized opposition and (2) the question really was whether to save an estimated \$70,000 in interest charges by issuing general obligation bonds instead of mortgage revenue bonds. The city already was committed to expanding the city water storage system; the question was the method of financing to be followed.

65. *Supra*, pp. 44, 45.

66. Toledo Blade, *loc. cit.*

was not successful.

An examination of the news coverage indicates the News was not successful in covering the bond issue situation in its news columns adequately and impartially. It has already been found that the news coverage performance involved such weaknesses as "manufactured" coverage of possible illegalities or irregularities in campaign methods, but without indicating to the reader that the news was "manufactured." Coverage of need for a new library building was so scant as to be negligible, if not virtually non-existent--a total of 9 1/2 column inches scattered through eight stories totaling 43 column inches over a two-month span.

A reading of the editorial opposition to the bond issue shows that the News also was unsuccessful in maintaining as an actuality the "matter of principle" performance it claimed for itself. For example, in its review of the campaign, the News said editorially:⁶⁷

Item: Evidence of the fact that we were concerned with principle is shown by the manner in which we did not oppose the bond issue. We did not mention, for instance, that although the property owners in Lima School District will do the paying for the library, the services of the library are open to residents all over Allen County who do not pay for what they get.

But an earlier editorial in opposition to the bond issue said, in part:⁶⁸

Question--Do you have any other objections?
(Other than objection bond issue is "expression of a form of socialism" and therefore a moral wrong.)

Answer--There are a number of other objections which have been voiced not only by the Lima News

67. "'Outsider' Attack Muddies The Issue," loc. cit.

68. "Q & A On The Library Bond Issue," loc. cit.

(emphasis added--JDM) but residents of the city.

* * *

Question-- Any more (objections)?

Answer--Some think that those outside the school district who do not pay any of the cost of the library except through fines if they are late returning books ought to help bear the cost of the library.

And another anti-library editorial included this passage:⁶⁹

...there is an attempt made by government to have payment for the service made by the person obtaining the service in the matter of water and roads while in the instance of the library there is no attempt made to permit the user to pay. Even the post office department makes a nominal charge for the use of the mails but the taxpayers who are obliged to support the library are taxed the same regardless of their use of the services. (emphasis added--JDM)

The News subsequently took the position it was only repeating objections that others--not the News-- had to the bond issue. However, in the context in which the statements appeared, it would seem evident the News was presenting these as objections worthy of consideration. For example, consider the closing exchange of the question-and-answer editorial:⁷⁰

Question--Any objection to me thinking this whole business over for a little while?

Answer--We wish everyone would give the whole question of the library bond issue serious thought.

That exchange came immediately after the mention that "some think that those outside the school district...ought to help bear the cost of the library."

69. "Additional Comment On The Library Issue, loc. cit.

70. "Q & A On The Library Bond Issue," loc. cit.

In baldest summary, then, the News slighted, slanted and loaded the news coverage of the library situation and failed to stick to principle in its editorial opposition. The News was quite correct in referring to an "anti-Lima News" campaign and the vote was significantly an anti-Lima News and anti-Hoiles vote. The backlash of that campaign and that vote was to hit the Lima News the following spring.

OVERTURE TO A STRIKE

The Background

Hoiles and Labor. When the Lima News became a Freedom Newspaper, it was obvious there would have to be either a change in labor relations at the News or a change in R. C. Hoiles's attitude and actions toward organized labor. Both Hoiles and his associates have made it clear over the years that, as a matter of principle, there is no place for organized labor in a Hoiles newspaper. It is clear from statements by and about Hoiles that this antiunion conviction is a matter of principle with him. No matter how others may view his opposition to organized labor--and many consider him a labor-baiter and union-buster--it is clear he is convinced his opposition is based on moral conviction or natural law. A former editorial page editor of the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph, for example, has written:¹

One of the first things Hoiles does when he buys a newspaper is to refuse to sign a closed shop contract

1. Ashby, op. cit., p. 482.

with the union.² He has a strike on his hands.

* * *

Principle is ever the guiding star with Hoiles...

The statement of policy of Freedom Newspapers, which gives "the basic elements in our belief and of our editorial policy," says in part:³

...we do not believe any man has the moral right to curtail the rights of his brother. That is, no man has the right to initiate force against his brother. Every man, to be sure, has the right and even the duty to resist the initiation of force, but not to initiate it.

* * *

Our belief in a single standard of conduct, and in the existence of individual rights, and in the fact of Natural law, brings us to oppose all things in which an individual or group seeks to initiate force-- that is, curtail the rights of any other individual or group.

Hoiles's basic views on the economic order, including the place of labor in an economic system, are set forth in an article of his reprinted by Freedom Newspapers, Inc., from the Christian Advocate, the official organ of the Methodist Church. As it relates to Hoiles's views on labor, organized or unorganized, the article says:⁴

Jesus was a truly great economist. No one ever gave more practical and condensed rules for constantly increasing production and wisely distributing the comforts of life than He.

2. Ashby may have more accurately meant a union shop contract, since closed shop contracts (required union membership prior to being hired) were outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, well before Ashby's evaluation of Hoiles was published in 1955.

3. "Here Is Our Policy..." statement of policy of Freedom Newspapers, pp. 3, 4.

4. R. C. Hoiles, The Christian Harmony in Competition, a Christian Interpretation of Economic Order, printed by Freedom Newspapers, Inc., Santa Ana, Calif.

In the last two verses of the Sixth Chapter of Matthew, He tells us if we seek the Kingdom of God and his (sic) righteousness, there will be no need to worry about our material wants.

This, rationally interpreted in conjunction with His other statements, means that if we respect the equal rights of every other person to produce and grant him freedom to exchange his services with all others everywhere, then we will have both good-will to all men and more of the material comforts for all.

Jesus did not explain in detail this laissez faire plan--respecting the equal rights of others--and the fallacy of worrying about the lack of adequate rewards for the workers without government interference, or wages set by the threat of strikes. However, in modern times He probably would have enlarged something like this:

No man, or even a majority of men, are (sic) wise enough to divide labor in harmony with the kingdom of God. Every man must have the right to participate in this division, if there is to be righteousness.

Men produce more when they have this inherent, God-given right to help divide labor by freely choosing the kind of work they believe will reward them most.

* * *

Can one conclude otherwise than that a man convicts himself of either stupidity or hypocrisy when he condemns competition and refuses to answer questions about a substitute rule for fear of contradicting himself?

Let critics of competition test their realism and sincerity by attempting to answer these questions:

If employees are not selected on the rule of competition--the workers who will do the most for the compensation paid--are they to be selected on a non-competitive rule? By lot? By seniority? By the worker's needs? By rotation? By force or intimidation? Otherwise, by what measurable, impersonal, eternal rule are they to be selected?

If they cannot give a rational answer and still oppose the competitive system, then they are in reality contending, as all dictators do, that their personal opinion, or the opinion of the majority, should be used as a rule of right conduct without regard to any of God's eternal, impersonal rules.

In discussing "Some Facts I Not Only Believe, But Know," Hoiles has written:⁵

Most of our acts are governed by beliefs, not by what we know. We know very little.

Yet there are certain facts that I not only believe, but know.

The succeeding twenty-four paragraphs of things which Hoiles said he not only believed, but knew, included:

I know that I am not smart enough or wise enough to establish wages for other people. I know there can be no fair and true wage unless each and every person in the world is permitted to help establish wages.

I know that I am not smart enough or wise enough to tell how high wages can or should be so that everybody who wants to be employed can be employed, except in seasonable unemployment.

I know that I am not smart enough or wise enough to interfere with any responsible person from working as long as he desires to work at the best wage he can get.

* * *

I know that the use of initiative-aggressive force tends to corrupt the user of it.

* * *

I know that I am not smart enough or wise enough to use initiative-aggressive force against any self-reliant person.

Given such a conviction of the divine basis of a laissez faire competitive economy, coupled with a conviction that initiation of force is contrary to Natural Law and thus an immoral action which there is "the right and even moral duty to resist," and opposition to organized labor becomes a logical, moral imperative. Granted such

5. "Better Jobs," editorial column, Lima News, May 1, 1958, ed. pg.

assumptions, then organized labor is the use of initiative-aggressive force to (1) interfere with the individuals' "inherent, God-Given right to help divide labor by freely choosing the kind of work they believe will reward them most" and (2) force an employer to give up involuntarily under the threat of a strike that which he has a God-given right to dispose of as he sees fit. In terminology Hoiles frequently has used in his writing, it is a violation of the Coveting Commandment and of the divine law that "Thou shalt not steal" when employees organize to take by force (steal) as a group that (an employer's wealth) which they have no right to take by force (steal) as individuals.

Hoiles started another of his columns, "I want to try to explain why I think labor unions are harmful to everybody and thus why I have to oppose labor unions. (Emphasis added--JDM). He explained:⁶

.... By labor unions I mean the only kind of labor unions I know exist. They are labor unions that insist on having the right to make a bargain for individuals who prefer to have another agent make a bargain for them or prefer to make a bargain for themselves.

...since I believe all labor unions at present, by legal means of the use of threats of the use of aggressive force, aim to try to make bargains for individuals who do not want them to be their agent (sic), I have to oppose this kind of labor union--the only kind I know of.

* * *

About the only persons who believe in having the power to bargain for those who do not want to be represented are the brass hats of labor unions who are temporarily enriching themselves by fat salaries and expense accounts and having the great mass of workers being obliged to toady to them and ask them for favors. These brass hats love this power. They are usually not men who create wealth

6. Ibid., May 22, 1957, p. B-4.

but men who get their power by misrepresentation, by coveting, by taking advantage of people who lack judgment as to whom to believe.

This insisting on the right to bargain for all people instead of those who want to be represented greatly reduces production. It keeps the wrong man in the job. It does this by seniority, by limiting apprentices, by jurisdictional disputes, by featherbedding, by keeping a lot of non-producers selling collectivism rather than producing wealth.

Given such a point of view on the part of a man whose Freedom Newspapers, Inc., letterheads carry the slogan, "Publishers Of The Nation's Most Consistent Newspapers," there can be little surprise in such statements as these about labor unions and the people associated with them:⁷

It is of the utmost importance that people begin to know what labor unions really are, that labor unions are based on no principle or justice. They are a denial of the ideologies of the Declaration of Independence, the Decalogue and the Golden Rule. In fact, they are based on the theory that might-makes-right (sic). For this reason labor unions only attract as their leaders unprincipled or ignorant men. Men so confused that they would not dare to attempt to set down any principles by which they will attempt to live in harmony with their fellowman. (sic)

* * *

It is absurd to think that David Beck and his associates and the crimes committed by union labor are the exception. It is no more possible to get a man of principle and intelligence to take a job as a labor organizer or leader than it is to get a man of principle and integrity to be party to a bank robbery or holdup.

Or this comment on action by representatives of the Church Federation of Los Angeles:⁸

7. Ibid., May 13, 1957, p. B-4.

8. Ibid., Santa Ana Register, July 13, 1958. This and following quotations are from a compilation issued by the Lima Citizen Publishing Co. in early 1959 under the title, "What Does (sic) Mr. Hoiles, The Lima News And The Other Freedom Newspapers Stand For?"

....They undoubtedly do not even know that the aim of every labor union is a complete monopoly over the lives of all workers. All labor unions aim to take away from an individual his right to plan his own life, to be owner of himself and no one else.

Or this, from a glossary of union terms as published in the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph:

Union Leader: Any man, preferably with a criminal record, who rises to power in a union. A prerequisite is that he shall have no respect for law and order and must not be afraid of bloodshed or violence.

Right to Strike: The right unions have to ride roughshod over anybody in order to terrify and to get their way through the use or the threat of force.

Majority Rule: The democratic procedure where- by anyone who opposes what the labor boss says is black-jacked into submission.

Communism: A Russian plan to dominate American unions. Very vicious. Must be opposed so that the union-made American hand of communism can triumph.

Collective Bargaining: The process whereby the union supercedes the normal rights of individual workers (weed-heads) and bullies and bludgeons un-cooperative capitalists into giving certain workers more than they are worth and others less, thereby maintaining unions in power.

Thus the Lima News, fully organized from a union stand-point, came under the management of persons representing a man who was convinced he had a moral duty to combat organized labor. Couple this attitude of Hoiles with the appearance on the scene as the new general manager of a man who previously had been identified as a strikebreaker for the Hoiles organization, plus the appearance of increasing numbers of "Hoiles people" on the staff of the paper. The prognosis had to be one of increasing difficulty for both management and organized labor at the News.

Organized Labor at the Lima News. As a Galvin newspaper, the News had been fully organized. The newest union to represent News' employees and have a contract covering working conditions was the Guild--Lima Newspaper Guild, Local 166, American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO- (CLC). The other unions represented at the News were the International Typographical Union, the Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America, and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union--all craft unions representing the printers, pressmen, and stereotypers in the paper's mechanical department. All had had effective relationships with the Galvin management without a threat of a strike.

The Guild. Lima's Local 166 of the American Newspaper Guild was organized December 7, 1941, and by 1956 had developed one of the most favorable sets of working conditions of any Guild local, especially considering the size of the local and of the newspaper. During that period of time, the peak membership was 67.⁹ Defined as within Guild jurisdiction, and thus eligible for membership, were the employees in the editorial, business, display and classified advertising departments, outside solicitors, office and distribution and utility employees of the circulation department, and single throw and bundle carriers (drivers on non-city routes where papers were delivered by car or truck).¹⁰ Under operations at the News this also included proof readers, who were hired by the editor and considered editorial department employees even though they worked in and with the

9. That represented the greatest number of members in good standing, not necessarily the greatest number of persons working at jobs under Guild jurisdiction.

10. Lima News-Guild Contract of February 29, 1956, preamble. For the text of the contract, see Appendix I.

composing room.

The contract which was signed by the Hoiles management and the Guild at the time the Lima News became a part of the Freedom group called for a minimum pay ranging from a low of \$43 to a high of \$110 for a forty-hour week in the basic job classifications.¹¹ In addition, the chief photographer's job was to pay a minimum of \$115, with \$120 as the minimum for sports editor, state editor, and telegraph editor. Time and a half was provided for overtime work--either hours in excess of eight within one work day or hours in excess of forty within one work week.¹²

Other major working conditions negotiated by the Guild over the years included these:¹³

Six holidays, with the straight-time work week to be thirty-two hours for weeks in which the holidays fell.

Unlimited severance pay to accumulate at the rate of one week's pay for each six months of service and to be payable upon discharge or voluntary retirement because of age or illness. The severance pay was to be based on weekly pay received during the employee's most highly paid six months at the News.

Three weeks paid vacation after ten years service and four weeks

11. Loc cit. Article I.

12. As in all Guild contracts, the pay scale represented only minimum salaries based on experience (all regular employment in comparable work, in the language of the contract). At Lima the contract established the minimum through the fifth year. The Lima contract also provided, as do all Guild contracts in one form or another, that "nothing in this agreement shall prevent employees from bargaining individually for pay increases in excess of minimum established herein."

13. Ibid., Articles IV, V, VI, VII, XI, XIV, XVIII, XX.

after twenty years.

Full sick pay for fifteen days per year, with an option whereby the sick employee could draw his full accumulated severance pay at the expiration of sick leave benefits, and a hospitalization and surgery plan jointly financed by the company and the employee. Employees with dependents paid \$2.50 a month; employees without dependents paid seventy-five cents a month.

Establishment of grievance and arbitration procedures which included the provision that, in case of any disagreement as to application of contract terms, "the conditions prevailing prior to the dispute shall be maintained until the controversy is disposed of" according to the procedures spelled out in the contract.

Union security provisions that required all Guild members to maintain their memberships for the life of the contract, that provided there would be no dismissals as a result of putting the contract into effect and that dismissal could be only for "just and sufficient" cause, that banned any discrimination as a result of Guild membership or activity, and that provided there would be no interference or attempt to interfere with the operation of the Guild.¹⁴

A "struck work" clause providing that "employees shall not be required to handle struck work or work destined for struck departments" of the News.

A "continuation" clause providing that if negotiations for a new

¹⁴. This provision, together with the one concerning the maintenance of "conditions prevailing prior to the dispute," were to become major points of contention between the Guild and the Hoiles management at the News.

contract were started but not completed at the expiration date of the existing contract, the terms of the existing one would continue until it was replaced by a new one, and all terms of the new contract would be retroactive to the termination date of the existing one.

In addition to a notably strong contract, the Lima Guild had at least two other distinctive characteristics: (1) a significant number of veteran members and (2) a notably active membership. At least eleven of the forty-five Guild members who struck against the News in the spring of 1957 were charter members of Local 166.¹⁵ These members gave the local a strong sense of history and of mission. At the same time, the veteran members did not hold onto Guild office year after year; rather, they encouraged new leadership within the local.¹⁶

15. "Editor's Corner," editorial column, The Bulletin, June 6, 1957, p. 1. Published during the strike by Lima Newspaper Workers, Inc., The Bulletin listed the striking Guild members and, in round numbers, their length of employment at the Lima News as including Jim Cramer, 21 years; Dick Moffat, 20; Bill Brown, 19; Esther Purdy, 28; Jeanette Stolzenbach, 28; Frank J. Klein, 25; Mildred Atkinson, 25; Margaret Tigner, 25; Frances Hoberhauer, 35; Cliff Miller, 28; and Howard Figh, 27.

16. As an illustration, at the time of the strike the five major elected officials and their length of membership in the local were: Bill Lee, president, five years; Leslie R. Roby, vice president, eight years; Joyce Link, recording secretary, four years; Joe Connor, chief steward, four years; and Phillip Axe, treasurer, four years.

As to participation by the membership, the comment of a delegate from Indianapolis to a POI Regional Guild Council meeting at Lima may be illustrative. He said in substance, "We have trouble getting ten people to attend a meeting, but you have ten people sit in on a POI meeting and all ten make positive contributions."

This, in turn, provided a wide base of participation and of experience on which to draw.

The membership was not only active within the Guild, but also in a variety of community organizations and areas. Some of this activity was on an individual basis and some was carried on as part of a community service program which brought the Lima Guild special mention in a committee report at an annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild. Basic in the organized community service program was the establishment of strong relationships with other unions in Lima, an aspect in which Guild member Chester F. (Chet) Swegan, a News reporter, was especially active. Other Guild members with strong contacts with other individuals active in organized labor in Lima included Frank J. Klein and Joe Connor. Swegan and Klein also were especially active politically, Swegan as a member of the Allen County Democratic Executive Committee and Klein as vice chairman of the Allen County Republican Central Committee and later councilman from Lima's Fourth Ward. Other examples of community activity reflecting individual influence by various Guild members would include Robert D. Kerr, a member of the Elks Lodge and teacher of a writing course at the YMCA Informal (adult) School for a number of years; Robert K. Harrod, organizer of the Allen County Sports Car Club; Allan White, prominent in St. Charles Catholic Parish lay activities; Joyce Link, active in the Lima Art Association and president of the Allen County Young Democrats; Leslie H. Roby, active in Optimist Club boy's programs; Phyllis Wentz, a board member of the Lima Friends of Music and former worthy grand matron of the Order of the Eastern Star; and Hope (Mrs. James) Strong, socially prominent as an individual and

active in the Junior League, American Association of University Women, the Art Study Club, and the Lima Art Association. Not all of these people were still at the News when the Guild voted to strike, but they illustrate the kind of community activity which gave the Guild an acceptance and influence greater than its comparatively small membership would indicate it might have.

The Printers. The printers' union, Local 296, International Typographical Union (the ITU), was organized at the News in 1910. Its jurisdiction covered the composing room and the mail room.¹⁷ Functionally, the jurisdiction included all the printers--linotype and headline machine operators and makeup men, plus the local tape punchers.¹⁸ Like the Guild, the ITU too counted many veteran members in its ranks, including eighteen men who had been employed by the

17. ITU jurisdiction always basically is the composing room, frequently including the proof readers and less frequently the mailers. As previously noted, at the News the proof readers were under Guild jurisdiction. ITU jurisdiction, like that of the pressmen's and stereotypers' unions, is restricted by the craft organization of the union; that is, jurisdiction is restricted to certain specific skills, to a single craft. The ANG (Guild), on the other hand, is an industrial union which went with the CIO when it split off from the AFL. As an industrial union, the ANG will extend its jurisdiction to any newspaper employee not already organized by another union. In plants where the mailers belong to a union, the union may be the Guild, the ITU, the mailers union, or even the Teamsters.

18. Jurisdiction over all local tape operation of linotype (type-setting) machines was negotiated when the Lima News, as a Galvin newspaper, became the first in Ohio to go to full tape operation in the composing room. That meant that local copy, as well as wire copy, was placed on tape in the form of coded perforations and the tape then activated specially modified linotype machines, causing them to set type semi-automatically. At the News, instead of having one operator for each linotype, two men were able to operate five of them.

News for twenty years or longer.¹⁹

The Pressmen. The Lima Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, Local 584, by the spring of 1957 had sixteen members--eleven in print shops in Lima and nearby Van Wert and five at the Lima News.²⁰ The local was chartered in 1953; prior to that, pressmen at the News had been members at large of the union for many years. Of the five-man press crew at the News, the foreman had worked there for thirty-three years, another member for twenty years, and a third for twelve years.²¹

The Sterotypers. The six employees in the Lima News stereotype department--where the page castings for the press and mat castings for page makeup are made--all carried union cards as members at large of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union. The president of the local unit had been with the News for twenty years by the time of the Guild strike and had been president of his stereotype group for six years. Of the other five stereotypers, one had been with the company for thirty-four years, one for fifteen years, and one for fourteen. The union had had a contract with the News for twenty years and had never been involved in a work stoppage for labor dispute with the Galvin management.²²

19. Ibid., June 7, 1957, p. 1. Of the eighteen with at least twenty years' service at the News, two had been there forty years or longer, five between thirty and forty years, and eleven between twenty and thirty years.

20. "Pressmen Join Newspaper Picket Lines," ibid., May 13, 1957, p. 1.

21. "Editor's Corner," ibid., May 24, 1957, p. 1.

22. Ibid., May 24, 1957, p. 1; June 10, 1957, p. 1.

Organized Labor in Allen County. Allen County might be described as a transitional county, one moving in its characteristics from agricultural and rural to industrial and urban. Lima, with a population in excess of 50,000, is definitely a small, Midwestern industrial city. In Lima or just outside the city limits were, in 1956, eight major industrial employers: the main plant of the Small Motors Division of Westinghouse Electric Corporation, the Lima Refinery of Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio), the Construction Equipment Division of the Lima-Baldwin-Hamilton Corporation, the home office and main plant of the Ohio Steel Foundry Company, the Superior Coach Corporation (the world's largest producer of school buses), a plant of the Ex-Cell-O Corporation, the U. S. Army Lima Ordnance Depot, and Neon Products, Inc., a major manufacturer of neon signs. The presence of these plants also meant the presence of industrial labor organizations. Among them: Local 724, International Union of Electrical Workers, and four United Auto Worker locals--106, 711, 975, and 1211. Other industrial unions represented in Lima included the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, CIO, at the Sohio Refinery and a local of The United Rubber Workers, CIO, at the local Gro-Cord Rubber Company, a firm specializing in the manufacture of rubber soles and heels. In addition the craft (AFL) unions organized locally included the Carpenters, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Painters, the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Teamsters and the Construction Workers.

All these and others, including the railway brotherhoods, represented upwards of 10,000 members of organized labor in a country with a population estimated at upwards of 100,000. At the time of the

change in ownership of the Lima News, organized labor also was expecting a significant boost in numbers and influence as a result of the location in Bath Township, just north of the Lima City limits, of a new engine plant of the Ford Motor Company.

Despite these numbers of labor organizations and union members, Lima and Allen County could not be classified as a labor community. It was traditionally Taft Republican in its political complexion and business-industry oriented in its economic and social life. For example, its state representative, until his retirement in 1956 because of ill health, was Floyd Griffin, who had campaigned for state auditor as the self-proclaimed "Clodhopper Candidate" and was noted as a conservative among the conservatives in the state legislature; the state senator, Ross Pepple, frequently was a conservative minority of one in the state senate and was an outspoken opponent of the Eisenhower wing of the Allen County Republican organization; except for a brief period, all county offices except that of probate-juvenile judge were held by Republicans; organized labor was unable to obtain representation on such bodies as the Board of Directors of the Community Chest until the early 1950s.

Only in Lima itself was this pattern altered, and there the activities of certain industrial unionists were key elements in the change. The result was that by the spring of 1957 a majority of the city councilmen, together with the mayor, were either themselves union members or were sympathetic to organized labor, and labor representatives sat on such bodies as the Community Chest board, the Memorial Hospital board, and the Allen County Council for Economic Education. Notable in this change were the continuing activities of two

Lima Newspaper Guild members, Klein and Swegan. Both had wide acquaintanceships among union leaders and members in Lima. In addition, Klein had a long record of activity in organized Republican activities in Lima and Allen County, and Swegan was extremely active in Democratic politics and in promoting interunion cooperation, especially among local CIO unions, in community service programs.

Not all progress from a union point of view had been steady and peaceful in Lima, however. For example, Lima was one of the interest locations in the corporation-wide strike against Westinghouse by the IUE in the winter of 1955-56. It was here, together with the Columbus and Mansfield, Ohio, plants that the company launched its strongest and most successful "back-to-work" movements, with resultant violence from mass picketing that received national news attention. The International Rubber Workers local also was involved in a bitter and drawn-out strike of some six months duration against Gro-Cord.

Summary. Viewing the Hoiles's attitude toward organized labor on the one hand and the background of organized labor activity at the Lima News and in Lima and Allen County on the other, it becomes apparent the prognosis for labor-management relations at the News under the new ownership could not be favorable. R. C. Hoiles, chief figure in the Freedom Newspapers organization, operated from the principle that he had a moral duty to combat organized labor. Although one might have doubts as to how enthusiastically his representatives at the News shared his moral fervor, there was no doubt they acted and spoke as though they shared it fully. On the other hand, four union groups had comparatively lengthy histories of effective activity at the News. The Guild especially combined an effective membership,

a wealth of effective contacts throughout the community, and a key position in interunion relationships.

The situation at the News also included one other important factor: the number of veteran employees in each of the four labor unions--Guild, ITU, Pressmen, and Stereotypers. This was important for two reasons. First, long service in a job tends to give the employee concerned a feeling of a vested interest in the job, a feeling that he or she has a right to that job. Under the American theories of property, ultimately the job is part of the total property rights of the owners or the owners' representatives; however, the long-term employee comes to feel he does have something approaching a property right in the job--a feeling that is his job. This property right concept has been especially strong in the craft union movement, while in the industrial union movement it has taken the form of a belief in the right to help set minimum terms for employment of workers rather than a claim to a property right in a specific group of jobs.²³ Second, this core of veteran employees also was a core of experienced union members who knew from their own experience to what degree working conditions had been improved by union negotiations at the News. It might be argued that even more improvement might have come or might come in the future without a union. This, however, is not the sort of view that is persuasive when matched against empirical evidence of improvement gained through union activities. Employees who have been organized successfully over any period of time seldom believe that it is to their benefit to replace working

²³. Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin and Arthur M. Ross, eds., Industrial Conflict, pp. 121-131.

conditions defined in a mutually negotiated contract with working conditions as defined solely by the wishes of management.²⁴

24. For a brief but cogent discussion of the idea that a certain amount of conflict of interests between employee and employer is desirable, see Eric Hoffer, "The Workingman Looks At The Boss," Harper's, March 1954, 208; 48-49.

The Negotiations

In a manner of speaking, negotiations between the Lima Guild and the Hoiles management commenced with the announcement of the agreement by Freedom Newspapers to purchase the News. The collection and dissemination through the community of material reviewing R. C. Hoiles's career and ideas, the attempts to "poison as many wells as possible"--these in effect were facets of a continuing negotiation. They were being carried out by individuals as individuals, but these were many of the same individuals who later would sit, speak, and vote in Guild meetings where formal Guild policies and actions were being decided. Subsequent developments force the conclusion also that the Hoiles management signed the first Guild contract in Freedom Newspapers' history as a form of negotiation, as a means of obtaining time to integrate the News--into the organization. A review of that contract year indicates overpoweringly that the new management was following a course designed to produce an open shop. At the same time, there is no doubt the Guild as a group--as well as the other three unions at the News--knew a make-or-break showdown was coming. The only question was, when.

The 1956 Contract. At least some members of the Guild hoped the showdown would come immediately; that the Hoiles management would refuse to sign the pending agreement that had been negotiated with the Galvin management. The thinking was that this would open the way for a strike before the Hoiles management had time to prepare for it. Subsequently the Guild officially adopted a "no-contract, no-work" position. On February 29, the day after the News officially was sold and the day the Guild contract expired, a Guild committee

composed of Swegan and Robey met with C. H. Hoiles and McDowell, representing the new management. The Guild's request was that the Freedom Newspapers management sign the negotiated, ratified agreement. The Guild's position was that the existing contract expired at midnight of that day and the Guild members were not willing to work without a contract covering working conditions. Hoiles and McDowell suggested they could not sign an agreement they had had no part in negotiating. However, that afternoon the first contract ever entered into between a Hoiles newspaper and a Guild local had been signed, covering the contract year of March 1, 1956, through February 28, 1957.²⁴ Proponents of a quick showdown then hoped the occasion might arise through the craft unions--that the Hoiles management and the craft unions might deadlock. However, new contracts were negotiated and signed with the printers, pressmen, and stereotypers, with the contracts to expire April 30, 1957.

Contract Enforcement. The matter of enforcing the signed agreement during the contract year did nothing to improve the situation at the News. There were repeated instances of disagreements in regard to contract provisions, as well as related personality conflicts. The end result was a state of armed truce.

The bulk of the contractual disagreements involved the comparatively minor matter of management not notifying the Guild when new employees were hired. Several employees were hired without notice being given the Guild. The Guild held this to be a violation of a contract provision that:²⁵

24. Lima News Guild Contract, Article XX, Section 1 (see Appendix I)

25. Ibid., Article XIV, Section 2.

The publisher shall furnish to the Guild in writing within a week after their employment, (sic) the names, addresses, telephone numbers, dates of hiring, and contract classifications and salaries of persons hired after the effective date of this contract.

This became a repeated grievance. Guild members came to feel the first violation might have been an oversight; they felt repeated failures to comply were deliberate floutings of the contract.

Other disagreements involved announced revisions of the extra-pay systems in the classified and display advertising departments. Display advertising salesmen operated on a straight commission basis, drawing their week's commissions or their contract-defined minimum wages, whichever was the higher. Classified advertising employees worked under an incentive bonus system by which departmental bonuses were paid over and above contract-defined minimum wages. Then the Hoiles management announced systems under which commissions and bonuses would be drawn against minimum pay, with the employees involved "owing" against future compensation any amount by which an individual's commission or bonus for a given week fell below his minimum pay. This the Guild held a violation of a provision that:²⁶

There shall be no reduction in wages. The term wages means all forms of compensation, including the bases and rates for computing commissions.

Another frequently cited section of the contract involved management's practice of making a change in working conditions and then attempting to operate under the new conditions while a grievance growing out of the change was being processed. Involved here was a

26. Ibid., Article I, Section 7.

contract provision that:²⁷

If any controversy arises as to the interpretation or enforcement of this contract; the conditions prevailing prior to the dispute shall be maintained until the controversy is disposed of as provided herein.

The severance pay clause also became the source of a disagreement--a \$243,155.62 one. This grew out of the Hoiles management's action in dissolving the Lima News Publishing Co., Inc., and replacing it with the Lima News, a general partnership.²⁸ The Guild, which was notified of the dissolution only through legal notice published in the News, took the position that accrued severance pay was due its members, and fifty-three legal suits were filed in the Common Pleas Court of Allen County by persons who had been covered by the Guild contract as of the date the corporation was dissolved. Citing the contract article covering severance pay, the plaintiffs asked for amounts ranging from \$122 to \$55,832.04.²⁹ All fifty-three petitions filed maintained the severance pay was due and payable because:³⁰

By its voluntary dissolution defendant corporation (Lima News Publishing Company) severed the employer-employee relationship theretofore existing between it and its employees and dismissed plaintiff and all of its employees from its service. Thereby all severance pay which had accrued to the plaintiff and all defendant corporation's employees for whom the Guild is bargaining agent became due and payable.

28. A certificate of voluntary dissolution was filed in the office of the Secretary of State of Ohio March 23, 1956,

29. Ibid., Article 5.

30. Case No. 44022 and others, case file, Clerk of Courts Office, Allen County, Ohio.

Disagreements during the year also arose under that the Guild considered a basic union security clause:³¹

There shall be no discrimination against any employee because of his membership or activity in the Guild. There shall be no interference or attempt to interfere with the operation of the Guild.

McDowell attempted to enforce on the Guild a rule that News employees were not to conduct Guild business--specifically, the processing of grievances--on company time, for instance. In another instance, he threatened Guild President William R. Lee with personal retaliation. McDowell summoned Lee to his office to say he had heard talk of violence and of a possible strike and had heard the word "dynamite" used. Telling Lee to see to it that such talk was stopped, he said, "If a News car is damaged, yours will be."³² The classified advertising manager--McDowell's son-in-law, Robert Overby--asked women working in his department whose side they were going to be on when the violence started, the paper's or the Guild's. The sports editor was praised for his work and was told management liked his attitude, the fact he had not criticized the new management. He was told the management had ways of knowing who was working against it. Partnership shares were offered selected personnel. (No Guild member accepted the offer.)

One conflict culminated in what the Guild claimed was a firing and management claimed was a resignation. That involved C. F. (Chet) Swegan, police reporter and long-time Guild member. Swegan made no secret of the fact he personally was strongly opposed to the beliefs

31. Lima News Guild Contract, Article XIV, Section 4.

32. Interview with William R. Lee.

and many of the actions of the Freedom Newspaper management. Shortly after McDowell became chief executive at the News, Swegan called on him at his office to inform the new general manager:³³

The things in which you believe and those in which I believe are diametrically opposed. I do not propose to curtail any of my activities as a result of your buying this paper.

Swegan's activities included affiliation with the CIO Council, the Allied Labor Council, the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC), the School Advisory Committee, the Allen County Mental Health Association, and the Allen County Democratic Executive Committee.

The dispute over the departure of Swegan from the News started November 5, 1956, when he was transferred from the police beat to general assignment by virtue of the posting of a new work schedule. As a general assignment reporter he was given few assignments and spent a great deal of his working time sitting in the office with no work to do. On November 28 he was told to edit copy for the builders page, mostly handouts. In a note refusing the assignment he also commented:³⁴

I am not so naive that I don't know what has been happening to me ever since I was taken off the police beat and replaced by one of your new boys; whose outstanding accomplishment has been to miss one murder, two fires with the loss of more than \$5,000 and a couple of Saturday night accidents which finally got covered on Monday.

Later that same day he was notified he was being suspended indefinitely, but that the suspension was not a dismissal. The Guild

33. Swegan Forced Out At Lima, Local To Take Grievance Steps," news story, Guild Reporter, December 14, 1956, p. 4.

34. Loc. cit.

immediately filed a grievance on the grounds the contract contained no provision for suspension and that it did require the maintenance of previous conditions while a disagreement was being settled. On December 4 Swegan's indefinite suspension was changed to a one-week suspension and Swegan was told to report for work December 5--something he had been doing daily during the period management claimed he was suspended--and that any "reoccurrence" would be considered a voluntary resignation. Again ordered to edit the builders page copy, he again refused. He subsequently maintained he had come to work December 5 prepared to accept whatever assignment was given him, but refused because of the arrogant manner in which he was ordered to handle the builders page copy.

Following his second refusal, he was told by management;³⁵

This constitutes a voluntary termination of your employment and you are being removed from the payroll. Whereas the termination of your employment was voluntary, you are not entitled to severance pay.

The promptness with which the letter containing this notification was given Swegan led some Guild members to feel his refusal had been expected; that the letter had been prepared before the assignment to handle the builders page copy was given to him a second time. Be that as it may, management held firm to its position that Swegan had voluntarily resigned by his actions. The Guild maintained his action had been deliberately provoked by management in an attempt to force him to resign. Officially, the grievance still is pending, although it became somewhat a moot point when Swegan became Lima reporter for the Toledo Blade.

35. Loc. cit.

As grievances developed--and especially in light of what some considered the threats implicit in Overby's remarks about "whose side are you going to be on when the trouble starts?"--a letter signed by approximately 40 Guild members, including the author of this thesis, was sent to Clarence Hoiles in Santa Ana. Reviewing what the Guild saw as difficulties that had arisen, the letter included this:³⁶

We have tried many paths in our efforts to establish a harmonious and honorable relationship between ourselves and the management of the Lima News. For the most part, our efforts have borne no fruit.

As employees of the Lima News we are concerned about the steady deteriorating relationship between ourselves and your agents. Can you suggest a common ground where we can approach, survey and finally resolve the grievances which have sprung up?

In light of the essentially unresponsive answer from Clarence Hoiles, the letter's only accomplishments were (1) to put the Guild members who signed it on record as recognizing the situation was deteriorating and wishing to remedy it, and (2) to indicate the labor relations policies and actions by Hoiles representatives at the News had the full approval of the first vice president and general manager of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., and, by inference, of its president, R. C. Hoiles.

During the summer of 1956 new employees began to arrive in non-executive capacities. None of these joined the Guild; in fact all were obviously and scornfully antiunion. First to be affected to a major extent was the display advertising department. By September,

³⁶ Leslie R. Kobey, A City Shows Its Fighting Heart, unpublished manuscript, p. 23.

the six salesmen who were with the News at the time of its sale had been joined by six new salesmen.³⁷ The wives of the new employees were employed in the front office, including the classified advertising and business departments, and in other departments. The first new employees in the news room--three reporters from the Santa Ana Register and a photographer from the Rio Grande Valley Division of Freedom Newspapers.³⁸ One of the reporters, James P. Wood, subsequently became news editor, processing all local news copy.³⁹

Pre-Negotiation Activity. The Guild considered itself the number one target in case of a showdown, both because of the overt anti-Hoiles attitudes and activities of many of its members and because its contract would be the first to expire. By October of 1956 the membership was convinced beyond any last doubt that a strike was in fact inevitable. As a result, chief steward Joe Connor went to Washington, D. C., to appear before the International Executive Board (IEB) of the American Newspaper Guild. He reported to the IEB that a strike in Lima was inevitable, given the situation as it had developed under the new ownership. He reported the local's conviction that the only possible way it could win the inevitable strike would be to establish a newspaper that would compete with the

37. "Hoiles-Brand 'Freedom' Has Hollow Ring in Lima," news story, Guild Reporter, December 14, 1956, pp. 1, 4, 5.

38. Loc. cit.; "Who Is Publishing the Lima News?" Strike Bulletin No. 4, Lima Newspaper Guild, May 4, 1957, p. 2.

39. Supra, p. 49.

News.⁴⁰ He also informed the IEB that the local might request an advance from the ANG defense fund of as much as \$10,000.⁴¹ Then, on January 15, 1957, a month and a half before the existing contract expired and nearly that long before actual negotiations for a new contract started, Connor went on leave of absence from his job as a reporter for the News to become temporary executive secretary of Local 166 under the directions of the Executive Committee. His pay, voted from the local's treasury, was the \$110 a week he had been getting as a reporter; his general instructions were to prepare for a strike, if a strike became necessary. His principal assignment was to line up the materials for publishing a newspaper competitive with the News. The attempt was fruitless; there was no press available with the necessary capacity. Of the only two companies that indicated any interest in printing such a paper, one did not have the press capacity and the other would have charged more than could

40. Other Guild locals, notably Pittsburgh, Detroit, and San Jose, had or since have published newspapers during strikes. The Guild-published strike newspapers, however, have been interim projects designed as temporary strike aides, not as competitive with newspapers struck by the Guild. The International Typographers Union, however, through Unitypo, Inc., has operated and operates newspapers competitive with ones struck by the ITU. They have not been notably successful. One example is the Colorado Springs Free Press, which has been operating in competition with the Hoiles-owned Gazette Telegraph. After ten years of operation, the Free Press has lost some \$1.7 million in its operation, while the Gazette Telegraph was estimated to be earning a net profit of upwards of \$300,000 a year. ("Open Letter to R. C. Hoiles and His Son, Harry," editorial, Colorado Springs Free Press, May 3, 1957, p. 4.)

41. Joe Connor, interview with author. Much of the information in regard to negotiations and the subsequent strike by the Guild was obtained in a joint interview in early September, 1947, with Connor, immediate past Guild president William R. Lee, and the then-president Eugene Perine.

be afforded.

As the end of the contract year approached, the Guild was not alone in considering the possibilities of a strike. McDowell was quoted as saying the News was prepared to continue publishing in event of a strike: "We have enough people to put out a paper."⁴² State Editor Jack Ballentine of the Cleveland Press reported, "McDowell seems smug, cocksure and ready for a strike. To some, it appears that he would welcome it."

It was against such a background of mutual dislike, distrust, disagreement and animosity that the News and the Guild entered into negotiations for a new contract.

Negotiations. Negotiations opened in early February, after the two sides had exchanged proposed alterations in the existing contract. The Guild's proposals, unanimously approved by the local's membership, concentrated on union security. The company's proposals concentrated on what might be termed management security.

The Guild's only money request was a \$1.20-a-week increase in all classifications; with a general 80-cents-a-week increase already in effect under the contract's escalator (cost of living) clause, this would mean a total increase in the contract minimums of \$2 a week.⁴³ The money request was deliberately kept moderate in order

42. Jack Ballentine, "Readers Complain but Buy Lima's Only Paper; Strike Looms," news story, Cleveland Press, February 21, 1957, p. 66.

43. The so-called escalator clause, pioneered by the United Auto Workers, ties periodic "cost of living" pay increases to increases in the federal Consumer's Price Index during the life of a contract.

to place the emphasis on union security provisions for a proposed new contract.⁴⁴ The union security requests included a union shop clause, a dues checkoff clause, a provision for severance pay upon termination of employment rather than upon discharge or voluntary retirement because of age or illness, and a clause that would specifically ban opposition to unions as a condition of employment.

The News management proposed changes that would have eliminated some sections of the contract entirely and drastically altered others. Among those eliminated in the management proposal were ones which provided leaves of absence for reserve and draftee military service and for certain Guild or CIO activities, the clause placing a limitation on the number of employees hired at less than top experience rating in the various job classifications, and the escalator clause that provided a cent-an-hour increase quarterly for each point the Consumer's Price Index rose.

Among changes proposed were these:⁴⁵

Replacing the maintenance of membership clause with one reading:

Membership in the Guild is a matter of voluntary choice of the employees. It is not a condition of employment by the Publisher. The Guild and non-Guild members must work together cooperatively and conduct themselves without ill will or friction toward one another.

Replacing the contract's "just and sufficient cause" discharge clause and seniority provisions with a clause giving the publisher the "sole and exclusive" right to "hire, discharge, discipline, lay-

44. Interview with Connor, et al.

45. "Union-Busting Aim Explicit in Lima Management Proposal," news story, Guild Reporter, February 22, 1957, p. 10.

off, transfer, promote and demote employees."

Replacing the section providing unlimited severance pay at the rate of one week's pay for each six months of service with one providing severance pay "in a lump sum equal to the vacation pay to which he (the employee) would have been entitled at the next vacation period."

Reducing vacation time from two weeks after a year, three weeks after ten years, and four weeks after twenty years to a straight two weeks after a year, with vacation pay computed at "basic straight time hourly rates" rather than including commissions and incentive pay.

Providing that the publisher would "furnish gasoline" when employees used their cars in the publisher's service, instead of the then existing provision of payment of ten cents a mile, with a minimum of \$1 a trip.

The contract proposal by management also included a "no strike" clause, plus a "zipper" clause preventing the negotiating during the life of the contract of any subject covered by the contract. The 1956 contract provided that the Guild could reopen the wage section for negotiations by giving thirty days' notice and also provided for negotiations on a pension plan during the life of the contract.

During negotiations both sides called on outside help. Management brought in a Cleveland attorney, Hubbard Capes; the Guild had ANG international representatives Ray Mann and George E. Bruner. In addition, ANG executive vice president William J. Farson sat in on one negotiation session during a visit to Lima. By late March and April, John O'Shay, a representative of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service office at Toledo, had joined negotiating meetings.

Negotiations were largely formalities until mid-March. Then the company presented what it termed a final offer and gave the Guild until March 26 to accept or reject the proposal.⁴⁶ The offer was a somewhat modified version of management's original proposal. The day after the deadline passed with the Guild neither accepting nor rejecting the proposal, the company posted its "final offer" as "Office Rules Governing Activities of the following Departments: Editorial; Business; Display and Classified Advertising; Circulation."⁴⁷ That is, the company put its proposals into effect unilaterally as an "Agreement" covering working conditions and replacing the 1956 contract. At the same time, however, the company did not take the position that negotiations on a contract to replace the 1956 one were at an end. Instead, management representatives continued to meet with the Guild's negotiating committee.

The posting of the new office rules while negotiations were in progress triggered the filing of unfair labor practices charges against the News management by the Guild. Filed with the Cleveland Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board, the complaint charged, in summary, that the company had established an antiunion hiring policy, discriminated against and harrassed Guild members, unilaterally instituted new working conditions during negotiations, and failed to negotiate in good faith.⁴⁸ Specifically, the complaint charged

46. "Lima News Management Sets Contract 'Deadline,'" news story, Guild Reporter, March 22, 1957, p. 1.

47. See Appendix J.

48. "Lima Guild Charges News Violates Federal Laws," news story, Guild Reporter, April 12, 1957, p. 1.

violations of three sections of the National Labor Relations Act: sections 8 (a) (1), (3), and (5) dealing with an employee's right to join a union, employer discrimination against an employee because of union membership, and an employer's refusal or failure to bargain collectively and in good faith.⁴⁹

The charges were dropped with the signing of a settlement dated September 12, 1957, that resulted in a total of \$1,352.98 being paid to thirteen employees. The money represented the difference between commissions and mileage paid under the house rules posted March 27, 1957, and that due under the 1956 contract and commission and incentive pay systems. The settlement also required the posting for sixty days of a "Notice To Employees" that said, in part:⁵⁰

We (the News management) will not in any manner interfere with, restrain, or coerce our employees in the exercise of their right to self-organization, to form labor organizations, to join or assist Local 166, American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, or any other labor organization, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection....

We will bargain collectively upon request with the above-named union as the exclusive representative of all employees in the bargaining unit described herein with respect to rates of pay, hours of employment or other conditions of employment, and if an understanding is reached, embody such understanding in a signed agreement....

We will not unilaterally change the wages, hours, or conditions of employment of the employees in the above-described bargaining unit.

49. "Guild Charges Not 'Disproved,' Official of NLRB Declares," news story, Lima Citizen, October 17, 1957, p. 3.

50. Loc cit.

The settlement of the Guild's charges was, in effect, a consent decree. That is, while the settlement specifically stated:⁵¹

It is understood that the execution of this Settlement Agreement does not constitute an admission that the Company has violated any of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended,

the company, in signing the agreement, agreed not to do in the future the things it maintained it had not done in the past. As noted by the director of the Cleveland Regional Office of the NLRB in a letter to McDowell:⁵²

The settlement which was finally entered into by the parties, and approved by our office, was a settlement on the basis of violations by the company of Section 8 (a) (5) and 8 (a) (1) of the National Labor Relations Act.

The letter to McDowell from regional director John A. Hull, Jr., was written as a result of a front page report by the Lima News that "NLRB Disproves 16 Guild Charges Against News." The story went on to say, in part:⁵³

Sixteen specific charges of unfair labor practices made by the American Newspaper Guild, Lima local 166, against the Lima News, (sic) have been disproved by the National Labor Relations Board, it was announced Saturday.

On a 17th charge, the NLRB refused to issue a complaint against the News because of the willingness of The News to cooperate in settlement of the case.

The Guild was cited for its failure to cooperate in efforts to reach a settlement, and the NLRB an-

51. Loc. cit.

52. Loc. cit.

53. "NLRB Disproves 16 Guild Charges Against News," news story, Lima News, September 29, 1957, pp. 1, A-4. (See Appendix K).

nounced it was prepared to enforce conditions of a settlement without consent of the Guild.

* * *

Included in the settlement was an agreement for payment of commissions and mileage earned by advertising department personnel which had been withheld pending settlement of the charges....

In the language of Hull's letter to McDowell, "an examination of the article indicates that it does contain a number of inaccuracies." Specifically, Hull noted that "the charges filed by the Guild were in five parts" (rather than the seventeen of the News' story), that "both parties cooperated" during the investigation and settlement and "at no time did this office cite the Guild for its failure to cooperate," that "in no sense did this office make any findings that (the Guild's) charges were disproved," that in fact "we felt that at least three of the (five) allegations in the charge were substantiated by sufficient evidence to warrant issuance of a complaint," and that, in regard to the disputed commission and mileage payments, "at no time did it come to our attention that the News was withholding payments pending settlement of the charges." Hull's letter concluded:⁵⁴

In view of the fact that the previous announcement published in the Lima News does not appear to be factually correct, you may care to publish this letter in the interest of fairness to all the parties concerned.

Hull's letter was never published or reported by the News.

54. "Guild Charges Not 'Disproved,' Official of NLRB Declares," loc. cit. (See Appendix L).

THE GUILD STRIKES

The long anticipated strike against the Lima News came on May 1, 1957, two months after the expiration date of the Guild's contract and the day after the expiration dates of the craft unions' contracts. Officially it started at 12:01 am.; picketing by the Guild started at 6 a.m. With the three craft unions respecting the Guild's picket line, no union member went to work at the News from that day on.

Accurately speaking, only the Guild struck the News. The strike was authorized by the local's membership late in April by a unanimous vote. The membership instructed the local's Executive Board to make preparations for conducting a strike and gave it authority to call a strike at its discretion. In advance of the actual calling of the strike, a Guild strike headquarters was established at 109 East High Street, across the street from the Lima News Building (121 East High Street), and four committees were appointed. The committees and their chairmen were picket line, Gary Boughan; finance and welfare, Robert D. Kerr; publicity, Eugene Perine; and office, Phyllis Wentz.¹

Although the printers, pressmen, and stereotypers did not go to work at the News after April 30, 1957, and subsequently established picket lines with the Guild, their unions officially never struck. Instead, they took the position they had been locked out by the News management. The printers officially commenced picketing on May 7, the stereotypers on May 8, and the pressmen

1. Interview with Connor, et al; "Lima, Ohio, Guild Poised For Strike Call At News," "Strike Office Opened At Lima," news stories, Guild Reporter, April 26, 1957, p. 1.

on May 13, the dates the international unions notified the locals they concurred in the locals' views that lockouts existed at the News.² Like the Guild's strike, the lockouts officially still exist as this is written some two years later and negotiations officially still are pending, although broken off.

In addition to the routine of maintaining picket lines from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sundays for fifty-eight days, the Guild was involved in financing its strike, conducting a public relations program, and enlisting specific support and aid.

Finances

The Guild had approximately \$900 in its own treasury at the time of the strike, down from approximately \$2,000 in cash and certificates of deposit a year earlier. The difference between the approximately \$2,000 and \$900 had gone for legal fees and other expenses involved in conducting Guild business during the year immediately preceding the strike. In addition to the local treasury, the Guild also went into its strike with a \$10,000 check on hand sent by the American Newspaper Guild from the ANG defense fund.³ Thus, it was with approximately \$10,900 that the forty-five-member Guild took on expenses of conducting a strike that obviously was going to be a lengthy one.

As the strike developed, there were two considerable sources of additional income for the local--contributions and advertising.

2. "Printers Join Lines," Strike Bulletin No. 6, Lima Newspaper Guild; "Stereotypers Join Lines," Strike Bulletin No. 8; "Pressmen Join Newspaper Picket Lines," news story, The Bulletin, May 13, 1957, p. 1.

3. "Lima, Ohio, Guild Poised For Strike Call At News," loc. cit.

The contributions came from other Guild groups and individual members, from non-Guild union sources, and from individuals. The advertising income came from local advertisers in the four-page publication, The Bulletin, published on a six-day-a-week basis during the major portion of the strike.

One of the most impressive facets of the strike situation was the number and amount of donations which came to Local 166 once its strike was launched. Donations came in amounts ranging from 25 cents to \$500. As would be expected, the bulk of the donations came from American Newspaper Guild locals and councils and individual Guild members--\$6,743, according to a compilation from lists issued by the Lima Guild.⁴ Too, unions outside the newspaper field contributed in amounts up to \$300. But many of the contributions came from individuals and such other sources as retail businesses, a law firm, employees of the Lima Public Library, ministers, and an optometrist. The sum of the contributions acknowledged publicly by the Guild came to \$8,997.77.⁵

The total would have been greater, but some six weeks after the strike started the Lima Guild notified all Guild groups that "your prompt and widespread response to our appeals for financial help in our strike here has been so generous that we are now able to say that we need no further money, for the time being, at least."⁶

4. See Appendix M.

5. Loc. cit. A report in the Guild Reporter (July 26, 1957, p. 4) gave \$9,949.08 as the final total, with \$8,362.25 from Guild sources and \$1,586.83 from others.

6. Lima Newspaper Guild, letter of June 18, 1957.

Advertising brought in considerable income, too, once the printing of The Bulletin got under way. For the first nine days of the strike the Guild issued a mimeographed daily strike bulletin, ranging in size from a single page to five pages. The five-page issue appeared May 6, the day before a municipal primary election, and included two pages of political advertising. The twenty ads, each approximately three inches wide by two and a half inches deep, were the extent of the advertising in the first strike bulletins, except for a single political ad the next day and listings for three motion picture theaters in the last three issues of the mimeographed bulletin. However, with the appearance of The Bulletin, a four-page, nine-inch by twelve-inch letter press publication, on May 10, the Guild had generally more advertising demand than it could handle. Limited by the size and format of the paper (four eleven-pica by eleven-inch columns to a page), space was sold in two-column by two-inch units, with eighteen such units (seventy-two column inches) as the maximum of advertising for any one issue. The charge was \$6.25 for each two-by-two unit.⁷ That meant the maximum income from any single issue would be \$112.50, against a per-issue average cost of approximately \$50, for a maximum net income to the Guild of some \$62.50 an issue. The Bulletin was in the black from its initial issue, never having fewer than nine ads sold for an issue. Using those figures, the advertising content of the forty-one issues of The Bulletin indicate the Guild realized an estimated \$4,300 in total advertising revenue for an

7. "Lima's Tiny Bulletin Is City-Wide Sellout," news story, Guild Reporter, May 24, 1957, pp. 3, 5.

estimated net income of \$2,250 from The Bulletin.⁸

As a result of these sources of income, the Lima Guild had an estimated income of approximately \$11,250 by the time it suspended its strike activities in late June. One result was that it was able to return more than 60 per cent of the contributions from other Guild locals, with the returns made on a pro rata basis.⁹ It was able to do this while paying strike benefits on a basic scale of \$10 for single persons with no dependents, \$20 for married persons, and \$5 for each dependent up to a maximum of \$50, with benefits being supplemented on the basis of need after the third week.¹⁰

Public Relations

As would be expected of an organization with a membership that included a number of news and advertising people, the Guild put a great deal of its effort into public relations. The core of that program was first the mimeographed strike bulletin and then The Bulletin. But it also included the preparation and distribution of other material, both locally and outside the area.

The keynote of all public relations material aimed at the general public was reasonableness--the projection of the Guild as the reasonable, reliable local organization of local people who were involved in an impossible situation with an unreasonable organization of extremist outsiders. As for The Bulletin itself, column

8. See Appendix N.

9. Interview with Connor, et. al.

10. Loc. cit.

one, page one--the bold-face "Editor's Corner"--was devoted each day to strike comment and news. The remainder of the available space was devoted almost exclusively to news items, with emphasis on human interest items, vital statistics, local sports notes, and news of individuals and organizations. The "standard" news--city hall, court house, police, school boards and the like--was largely ignored. There was, of course, no wire news. As the Guild president explained in a letter to other Guild locals, "as you can see, it (the paper) contains only a small amount of strike news. We feel we can keep the public informed this way without 'over doing' it."¹¹

Starting with a press run of approximately 6,000, production finally was moved up close to 20,000 copies a day. A free circulation publication, the bulk of the copies were handed out at the gates of major industrial plants, with others being distributed downtown and in drug stores, grocery stores, drive-ins, theaters and the like. By late May there also was distribution through residential areas of the city. The paper was published by Lima Union Newspaper Workers, Inc., a corporation capitalized at \$500 specifically to publish an interim strike paper. Five hundred dollars of the Guild's \$900 local treasury went to incorporate the company.¹²

The Bulletin was a major public relations tool for the strikers, but there were two other propaganda pieces printed and distri-

11. Bill Lee, president, Local 166, letter of May 21, 1957.

12. Interview with Connor, et al.

buted locally. One was a reprint of an editorial--"Lima, Where Do You Go Next?"--from the Colorado Springs Free Press; the other was a flier entitled "The Newspaper Strike and You." Both were given wide distribution in Lima, although distribution of "The Newspaper Strike and You" was concentrated in the trade area.

The editorial reprint ran to 50,000 copies, paid for through a contribution from the Lima CIO Council.¹³ Above a reproduction of the Free Press' editorial page masthead was this italic explanation:¹⁴

The Free Press, from which the following editorial was (sic) reprinted, is a daily newspaper started several years ago in Colorado Springs, Colo., to compete with the Gazette-Telegraph, which is owned and operated by Freedom Newspapers, Inc., the same outfit that owns and operates the Lima News.

The reprint of the editorial itself said, in part:¹⁵

In the coming years, unless Hoiles' attempt to cram "libertarianism" down Lima's throat fails, no citizen, no school, no civic group, no government officer, no labor organization, no church will be safe from attack. We know this only too well in Colorado Springs.

Lima's city council and mayor will be labeled crooks, thieves and power mad. Lima's preachers will be told they're hypocrites and bigots. Lima's Girl Scouts will be labeled subversive. Lima's la-boring people will be named gangsters and racketeers. Lima's schools will be called socialistic. Yes, all this and more.

* * *

13. Hope Strong, undated letter to the author.

14. Editorial reprint.

15. "Lima, Where Do You Go Next?" editorial, Colorado Springs Free Press, May 6, 1957, p. 4 (reprint).

Hoiles can be beaten. He can be beaten if the people of Lima will refuse to read his newspaper and if the potential advertisers for his newspaper refuse, flatly and finally, to support his ideologies.

The one-page flier, "The Newspaper Strike and You," was concentrated in the trade area outside the city itself. The front side of the flier led off with this statement:¹⁶

Since 106 employees of the Lima News walked out and set up picket lines around the plant May 1 there have been thousands of subscription cancellations, many businesses have withdrawn their advertising completely and others have sharply curtailed their advertising volume. A great majority of Lima's families have moved in to give financial support both in the form of stock purchases and subscription orders to an effort to build a new newspaper for Lima.

There are probably as many reasons for all this as there are persons. In the areas outside Lima proper that look to the city as their trading center and source of news the strike picture may be confused.

To review the situation and clarify it for those living in nearby communities this publication is provided.

Except for the space occupied by a slogan across the bottom of the page ("We Don't Buy, Read or Support 'The Lima News'---Do You?), the remainder of the page was devoted to two articles. In columns one and two was a discussion of "The Community Issues:" that argued:¹⁷

...it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that the readers who purchase the Hoiles product are to become his mental slaves, that they will be subjected to his par-

16. "The Newspaper Strike and You," publication prepared by the American Newspaper Guild, Local 166; the News chapel of Lima Typographical Union, Local 296; the Lima Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, Local 484; and the News unit of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union.

17. Loc. cit.

ticular brand of beliefs, and that an Iron Curtain will descend upon free and untampered news reports.

Reviewing the library bond issue and quoting from an editorial in the Colorado Springs Free Press, the article reviewed some of the things Hoiles and Freedom Newspapers oppose. It closed by arguing everyone in the area was affected by the Hoiles operation which, it was implied, was essentially fascist:¹⁸

If you fall into any of the following groups you stand to lose something more precious than money with every single cent that flows into the Hoiles' coffers and supports his empire.

As a parent of children in school, as a school teacher or public official, as a recipient of Social Security benefits, as a person whose aged parents have been aided by Social Security, as a veteran disabled in war, as a minister, as a believer in the democratic principle of majority rule, as a believer in equitable distribution of tax burdens, as an advocate of an unbiased press furnishing all the facts on all issues, as an advocate of making decisions based on facts instead of being led to decisions by half-truths, spangled words and propoganda, you are affected by Hoileism. (sic)

Concluding the article was this non sequitur:

The community has every right to assist in stamping out censorship and thought control of the type that brought the world into a horrible war of six years duration within our own lifetimes. Whether on a world-wide scale or a local scale, every citizen has a stake in the result.

The discussion of "The Union Issues:" occupied columns three and four and presented the strike as opposition to "the Hoiles dictatorship," saying the strike was:¹⁹

...the only course that could also provide an express-

18. Loc. cit.

19. Loc. cit.

ion from the community. The unions sought one thing--an honorable contract with reasonable security. The community sought another--a newspaper with respect and integrity and with the interest of the community at heart. In Hoiles they had a common foe, if not a common goal.

The reverse side of the flier was largely devoted to summaries of the two articles from Time and one from Newsweek about the Hoiles operation.²⁰ There also were two brief discussions of Hoiles's opposition to public education, Social Security, and veterans' pensions, along with a boxed appeal for subscription cancellations. Headlined FREEDOM OR ANARCHY?, it said:²¹

A Lima minister who believes in hearing both sides of an issue was reading an advertisement in the News expounding the beliefs of R.C. Hoiles and his Freedom Newspapers, Inc.

As he told it, his eyes fairly popped when he read the lines:

"Freedom supports no government, tolerates few."

Citizens of the Lima area do not believe in anarchy and their subscription cancellations are their way of saying so. Every cent of revenue from subscriptions and advertising only serves to help perpetuate a group whose policy "supports no government."

This admission gives everyone in this area a stake in this battle: citizen, farmer, veteran, laborer, parent, businessman, industrialist--none can be disinterested.

The Guild's public relations efforts were not limited to Lima and the Lima area, however. The Guild furnished material to the Guild Reporter, Labor's Daily, the Ohio AFL-CIO News, the Toledo Union Journal, the Pressman's Journal, the United Auto Workers' newspaper, the UAW-sponsored program "Labor Views the News" on Windsor, Ont.,

20. Supra, pp 9n, 20; Plates 1, 2, and 3.

21. Loc. cit.

radio station CKLW, and the Colorado Springs Free Press.²² The stories sent to and used by the Free Press, incidentally, were the only newspaper mention of the strike in a Colorado Springs newspaper for at least the first nine days of the strike.²³ As might be expected, all such stories and pictures were favorable to the strikers and unfavorable to the Hoiles organization.

Support and Aid. The discussion of "The Union Issues:" concluded with this comment:²⁴

The union members firmly believed that their good records in this community would be considered. They have been. Their fellow citizens--businessmen, school teachers, union members, industrialists, ministers and others--have supported the strike against Hoiles in a manner virtually unprecedented anywhere in the country or the world.

Even discounting a portion of that final phrase as hyperbole for the sake of emphasis, the degree and amount of community support was impressive in both its scope and intensity. Certainly it must be given major credit for the viability of the strike. This support and aid manifested itself in two principal ways: pro-union activities and anti-Hoiles economic action.

Union Cooperation. A key element in pro-union activities was the cooperation and joint action of the four immediately affected unions. There is no question the Guild had a leading role in the work stoppage, but there also is no question that role would have been a futile one without the backing of the three craft unions. The vehicle for that cooperation was the Lima Council of Newspaper Unions, which had as its purpose "to assist member unions

22. Hope Strong, loc. cit.

23. "Count Your Money, Hoiles," editorial, Colorado Springs Free Press, May 10, 1957, p. 4.

24. Loc. cit.

in advancing the economic interest of union membership through the free exchange of information on contract negotiations, contract aims and goals, and grievances.²⁵ It was primarily through the mechanism of the Council that the four unions agreed on similar union security clauses as the core of their negotiation requests and coordinated their negotiation activities so that the Guild, with a contract that expired two months earlier than those of the craft unions, did not go out until it was apparent the members of the craft unions would back up the Guild work stoppage.

Economic Support. Anti-Hoiles economic action in support of the strikers took the principal immediate form of subscription cancellations. Some of the cancellations apparently were spontaneous; many were solicited by a Guild subscription cancellation committee which distributed cancellation order cards in duplicate. One copy of the duplicate cards went to the News' circulation department; the other copy went to the Guild. After active prosecution of the strike was ended, the Guild had in its files seven shoe boxes filled with duplicates of subscription cancellation orders; a spot check by the author indicated each box contained approximately 1,200 cards, or a total of approximately 8,400 cancellation orders. This would account for slightly less than half the circulation loss admitted by News general manager E.R. McDowell in a 1958 talk:²⁶

"Our circulation dropped from 35,000 daily before the strike to 15,000, with most of the loss being in the city.

25. Lima Council of Newspaper Unions, constitution, Article I Section 2.

26. "Unions' sabotage in Lima Charged," news story, Editor & Publisher, March 1, 1958, 91:12.

Advertising lineage--local display, classified, and national --also fell off quickly and sharply. For example, the eighteen-page issue of June 13, 1957, carried 1,073 inches of advertising out of a total available lineage in the paper of 3,564 inches.²⁷ That was a ratio of 30 per cent advertising to 70 per cent non-advertising, as compared to the usual pre-strike ratio of 65 per cent advertising to 35 per cent non-advertising. Of the 1,073 inches of advertising, 209 were national advertising. Classified advertising, which averaged approximately twenty columns before the strike, totaled seven columns. McDowell again indicated the extent to which the News was hit when he told the Inland Press Association:²⁸

It was difficult to establish rates for the advertisers who did continue to advertise after the strike. Before the strike we had 450 contracts; 80 remained with us.

OPPOSITION TO THE STRIKE

One of the most unusual aspects of the labor strife between the News and the four unions with which it had contracts was that apparently the only organized or vocal opposition to the strike came from the News itself. The News' management allowed no question to arise as to whether it would attempt to publish in the event of a strike; a crew of non-union employees slept in the plant February 29 (the night the Guild contract nominally expired) and again the night of April 30 (the night the craft unions' contracts

27. "Behind Scenes Stir Marks Lima Strike," news story, Guild Reporter, June 14, 1957, pp. 1, 4.

28. Unions' Sabotage in Lima Charged," loc. cit.

expired).²⁹ On April 30, the day before the Guild struck and the day of the final negotiating meeting between the Guild and the News management, both the day crew and the night crew of ITU printers were dismissed before the scheduled ends of their shifts and, in the words of the local's notification to ITU international headquarter, were "replaced by another crew the same night."³⁰ At 2:30 a.m. that same day, George Robinson, international representative of the stereotypers union, found non-union men working in the stereotype department, five hours before the regular union stereotype crew was due to report for its regular shift. McDowell, working as a linotype operator in the composing room at the time, denied knowing anything about the non-union crew but agreed to pull the men out of the department.

Publishing. The News came off the press May 1 approximately five hours after its usual press time with the nine-column banner; NEWS PUBLISHES DESPITE STRIKE. The accompanying story said, in part:³²

News General Manager E. R. McDowell said the newspaper will continue to publish its regular daily and Sunday editions and employees who chose not to join the unions have reported for work as usual.

* * *

Guild representatives presented a demand during negotiations with the News management last night for

29. Interview with Connor, et al.

30. "Printers Join Lines," Loc. cit.

31. "Editor's Corner," editorial column, The Bulletin, May 27, 1957, p. 1.

32. "Guildsmen Picketing Lima News," news story, Lima News, May 1, 1957, p. 1.

a closed shop, dues collection and other union controls to operate the newspaper. Previously, agreement had been reached on wages and hours.

* * * *

Editor Frank H. Cooley said today that the News had a firm policy and held as a principle the right of workers to join or not join a union as workers determined.

"We will not and cannot be a party to forcing workers to pay tribute to unions and union bosses to get a job," Cooley said. "We feel that workers should be permitted a free choice to join or not as they see fit."

"This is a matter of principle with us--a principle we feel we must stand by even though it should mean difficulty in publishing a paper and a resultant loss in revenue," Cooley said.

The front page also contained two three-column by six-inch pictures of Guild members walking the picket line in front of the News Building and two stories under one-line, three-column headlines. One story, headlined "Here's What Guild Says," was a news release issued by the Guild, complete to the "Lima, Ohio" dateline. The other story, headlined "Here's What News Says," was run as a news story but read like an editorial, complete to the use of the editorial "we." It said, in part (typographical errors have been corrected---JDM):

To date, the principal stumbling block in the path of the negotiations has been the insistence of the unions on a "closed shop" or "union shop" clause in the contracts while the position of the News has been for an "open shop" under which people could be hired by the News and not forced to join a union unless they wanted to.

The open shop policy is a matter of principle with The News and other newspapers in the Freedom Newspapers system and The News feels that it cannot abandon its principles for the expediency of avoiding

a costly strike. Since there are other contracts with the various unions involved in other newspapers which are open shop, The News feels that it is not asking the unions to abandon its (sic) principles in agreeing to an open shop contract.

* * *

...The News management feels that the responsibility for operating the newspaper must lie with management, not with arbitrary rulings by the union or Guild. The News feels that it has a responsibility to publish the best paper possible for the subscribers and advertisers and an obligation to meet that responsibility. This obligation and responsibility cannot be met unless management is given means and authority to conduct the business of the newspaper.

We feel we have not only a right, but a duty to refuse to workers. (sic) We feel that workers should be allowed to work without paying tribute to a union. We feel that workers should be free to join a union or refuse to join a Guild without being dictated to by either a union boss or management.

... When there are differences of opinion (between union and management), they are usually over specific amounts of money to be paid, etc. These are not the vital issues in the dispute between the Guild and The News. The vital differences are matters of principle and neither The News nor the Guild feel that these principles can be abandoned...

The News feels that we are helping all workers by continuing to publish the paper, even though it involves difficulty and possible delay. The News feels that it is doing what it can to give hope to those who would be free of the tyranny of unionism and that we have an obligation to do so.

* * *

Even though the News did publish, it was not without difficulty. For example, the hand set banner was at least five characters short and the letters were irregularly spaced vertically. The drop head had extra spacing between the second and third lines. There were numerous typographical errors such as "Gluin" for "Guild," "stappage"

for "stoppage," "unionexpired" for "unions expired", and "thebase-scale" for "the base scale." The News recognized the difficulties in the last paragraph of "Here's What News Says:"

We hope that our subscribers will realize the difficulties presently being experienced (sic) in publishing the paper and that they will not pre-judge (sic) our operation but give us their cooperation (sic) until such time as our publishing of the paper becomes routine.. (sic)

Other difficulties included the running of a half-column cut of columnist Betty Knowles Hunt identified as Westbrook Pegler; the copy and head slug left in the lead story on the section page; a sixteen-inch publicity release on the economies of Carrier Corp. commercial building air conditioners; a set of three-column cut-lines on page eleven with no cut; a Kentucky Derby story as the top head on page eleven when pages three, four, and five were the sports pages; no folio on page twelve and a heart surgery headline on a story about tax reduction proposals by Senator Byrd; the same page run as the section page on sections two and three of the three-section paper; the same second page in both the second and third sections and the same sixth, seventh, and eighth pages for all three of the eight-page sections.

On May 2, the second day of the strike, the only new page in the first section was page one; pages two through eight were reruns from the first section of May 1. The May 1 comics page also was rerun, followed by the full complement of May 2 comics as the next page. The following day the News reported the paper of May 2 "was published in several stages, with new pages and 'makeover' news being added during the press run as it was written, set in type and

prepared for publication."³³

Saturday Edition. The day before the second Saturday of the Strike, the News announced temporary suspension of the Saturday edition of the paper "to permit better preparation of the Sunday edition."³⁴ The suspension lasted only one week before the Saturday edition was reissued as a morning paper, bringing the publication schedule to evenings Mondays through Fridays and mornings on Saturdays and Sundays. Purpose of shifting to Saturday morning publication was "to increase service to its customers;"³⁵

Pointing to the advantages of the Saturday morning publication time, McDowell said The News would be able to give readers a complete report of Friday night sports activities locally, area and nationally.

Looking forward to the time for high school football and basketball, The News plans to increase its coverage of these events, and the shifting to the morning publication will permit The News to bring reports to its readers sooner.

The Saturday morning paper will also include news of local and area churches at a time convenient to church goers.

Publication in the morning will also permit messages of News advertisers to be received by customers in time for Saturday shopping in Lima.

The first of the Saturday morning editions appeared May 16 and included an editorial explaining that the "principle (sic)

33. "Guild Strike Continues; Paper Still Publishes," news story, Lima News, May 3, 1957, p. 1.

34. "No Saturday Paper Planned," news story, Lima News, May 10, 1957, p. 1.

35. "News To Publish Saturday Morning," news story, Lima News, May 16, 1957, p. 1.

reason for the change is that it will, we hope, permit the publication of a better Sunday edition."³⁶

Circulation. On the circulation side, the News minimized the rate of subscription cancellations, while at the same time shifting to a distribution system by which copies of the paper were delivered to all houses in the city. On Friday, three days after the strike started, the News reported that "despite resignations by about 40 newspaper carrier boys, most city subscribers in Lima received Thursday's paper."³⁷ Two days later, on Sunday, the report was that an estimate of cancellations was "almost impossible," according to circulation manager Brad Candler, "but one estimate placed the number at less than 2,000 out of the newspaper's pre-strike total of about 37,000."³⁸ The story added:

Candler said many telephone calls and cancellation cards were found to be false when checked by his department. Many other (sic) names and addresses were duplicated, he said.

Nine days after the start of the strike, the News reported that carrier boys who had quit their jobs were being replaced and two-thirds of the original city routes were being delivered, while all rural circulation routes were operating on schedule.³⁹ Said the story, in regard to circulation:

36. "Paper On Saturday Morning a Novelty," editorial, Lima News, May 18, 1957, p. 8.

37. "Guild Strike Continues; Paper Still Publishes," loc. cit.

38. "Guild (sic) Pickets Continue Walk Outside Lima News," News story, Lima News, May 5, 1957, p. 1.

39. "Employee Hurt Delivering News," news story, Lima News, May 9, 1957, p. 1.

The number of union supporters who have cancelled subscriptions to the News was still estimated at less than two thousand.

Because of the difficulty in determining which cancellations were authentic and which were bogus, the routes on which carrier boys are still not working, the newspaper, for the most part, is delivering papers to all houses. (sic)

Complaints against this type of operation have been negligible; circulation officials stated. The department said a house to house canvass would be made as soon as possible to confirm the subscription lists.

(At the same time, the Guild was claiming that during the first week of strike more than 3,000 subscription cancellations had been telephoned, sent, or taken personally to the News Building, including one group of 776 brought in by a delegation of thirty-five members of IUE Local 724, headed by the local's president, Ladd Bollinger.⁴⁰ And the day the News reported two-thirds of the original city routes were being serviced, News circulation manager Candler was quoted as saying, "Before the strike, we had from 158 to 160 newspaper boys and carriers. There's only 35 left."⁴¹

The following Sunday the News had a two-column promotion box on the front page, asking "Are You Receiving Your Copy of Lima News?" The box, which subsequently was run on an irregular schedule until June 5, said:⁴²

Due to unreported resignations of some Lima

40. "Lima Guildsmen Strike, Aided by Crafts," news story, Guild Reporter, May 10, 1957, p. 1, 3.

41. "Bray Befuddles Brad," Strike Bulletin No. 8, Lima Newspaper Guild, May 9, 1957, p. 1.

42. "Are You Receiving Your Copy of Lima News?" promotion box, Lima News, May 12, 1957, p. 1.

News carrier boys and "missing" copies after delivery, some subscribers are not receiving their paper.

If you are among those not receiving service the Lima News circulation department would be greatly aided if you will please fill out the form below and mail to The Lima News, 121 E. High St., Lima.

In the same day's paper, the ear (box) in the section page flag (name plate) that had carried the circulation figure of "37,249 Homes, net paid Sunday circulation" was replaced by one containing a quotation; "The essence of morality is the balancing of immediate desires against long-term results--George Russell Harrison."

Two days later the News editorially made a "plea to subscribers who still are not receiving their copy of the Lima News regularly and on time," saying, "believe us, we're doing the best we can."⁴³ The editorial explained that part of the difficulty was due to the fact a number of carrier boys had quit without notifying the News.

In other instances, copies of The News turn up "missing" after they have been delivered. We would like to think that these "missing" copies have been picked up by some subscriber who failed to get his paper and just couldn't get along without his hometown newspaper. There could be other reasons why the papers are "missing" after delivery.

The editorial also noted that many deliveries in rural areas were being made by persons who missed delivery points because they were not familiar with the rural roads. It concluded:

Until such time (sic) as the delivery difficulties can be straightened out, we will appreciate it if our subscribers will bear with us because "we are doing the best we can."

43. "Don't Shoot The Piano Player, Is Our Plea," editorial, Lima News, May 14, 1957, p. B4.

Although there was no intimation by the News at the time of coercion of paper boys, in reviewing the strike later McDowell was quoted as saying:⁴⁴

Lima News Carriers who remained after May 1 were called on by union members, discouraged and threatened and followed if they did not give up the route.

* * *

During a period of six weeks the few carriers who remained with the News had to be escorted by adults so they wouldn't be molested.

(McDowell's statements were categorically denied by the chief steward of Local 166, who said:⁴⁵

(There never was any attempt to coerce or intimidate carrier boys working for the News. They asked for information about how to end their association and were given that information by some of the circulation men who were on strike.

(However, the Guild did issue a "Note to Carriers And Parents Of Carriers" that was obviously designed to encourage carriers to stop delivering the News. It concluded:⁴⁶

(Because of the confusion the R. C. Hoiles situation has created for carriers, we are urging the following steps for these boys:

- (1. Refuse delivery of further bundles.
- (2. Call the newspaper office and notify them you are refusing to carry their product during the strike. Follow this with a registered letter stating

44. "Unions' Sabotage In Lima Charged," loc. cit.

45. Joseph Connor, letter to the editor, Editor & Publisher, March 15, 1957, p. 7.

46. "Note To Carriers And Parents Of Carriers," Lima Newspaper Guild, Local 166, undated.

this refusal. (This is for the carrier's protection against being charged for undelivered newspapers. (sic)

(3. Collect from customers for papers distributed Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

(4. Demand the return of bond money.

(5. Come to Guild headquarters at 109 E. High St., Room 19, and pick up cancellation blanks.

(6. Come with your parents to a meeting at 2 p.m. Saturday, May 4, at the UE Hall 111 W. Elm Street. We will have representatives of our organization there to answer any questions and explain the situation as it now stands.

(There can be no question but that the Guild did attempt to enlist the aid of carriers, urging them not to deliver the News after the strike started. But the only indication of any threats that appears on the record is McDowell's statement.)

Promotion. Soon after the start of the strike, the News launched a series of promotions that appear to have been designed to woo back lost circulation. At least some of the promotion must be credited to attempts to counteract the strike, although the incorporation on May 9 of a company to publish a daily newspaper in Lima undoubtedly also had an influence.⁴⁷

An indication of the scope and pace of the promotional moves may be indicated by a chronological summary. On May 12 it was "Inside Baseball for Future Stars," by Mickey McConnell, major league scout and instructor that was "starting today in the LIMA NEWS."⁴⁸

47. See Chapter VI, pp. 148 ff.

48. Promotion box, Lima News, May 12, 1957, p. 1.

On May 18 a red, nine-column, page one skyline that day told the reader "Here's Your First Saturday Morning Lima News," while column one of page one was filled with Norman Vincent Peale's column, "Confident Living," making its first appearance in the News. The following Monday there were two more additions, the Dennis the Menace panel cartoon and the Dollar Dazzler, contest crossword puzzle.⁴⁹ The next day, without announcement, Pogo was added to the comic strip lineup.⁵⁰ Three days after that a two-column, three-line headline and eight-paragraph promotion story announced that the comic strip Li'l Abner would start in the News the following Monday, May 27.⁵¹ A page one story on May 31 announced that a half page of comics would be added daily and four pages Sundays as of June 10. The additions were nearly all the New York News-Chicago Tribune Syndicate group and would bring the News' comic strip line-up to "32 cartoons in all daily and Sunday."⁵² An editorial on Sunday, June 2, announced the addition of John O'Donnell, "brilliant writer for the New York Daily News and the Chicago Tribune Syndicate," as the latest addition to the Editorial Page family of the Lima News.⁵³ The following Sunday the announcement was made that on the next day the News would start carrying "The Worry Clinic" by "Journalism's No. 1 medico-psychology (sic) family counsellor," Dr. George W. Crane, "one brilliant scientist who believes unequiv-

49. Dennis the Menace, promotion cartoon, "Dazzler Here Today," promotion box, Lima News, May 20, 1957, p. 1.

50. Pogo, comic strip, Lima News, May 21, 1957, p. B9.

51. "New Comic Strip Joins News Family," news story Lima News, May 24, 1957, p. 1.

52. "News Gets More Comics," news story, Lima News, May 31, 1957, p. 1.

53. Editorial Lima News, June 2, 1957, p. C-8.

usually in the teachings, morals and ethics of the Christian church."⁵⁴

On Saturday, June 15, a nine-column, sixty-point, red, page one skyline and a three-column headline emphasized a sixteen-paragraph story on the New York News-Chicago Tribune comics and United Features' Li'l Abner starting the next day in full color. On June 18 came an announcement of the first new local feature, the Quizzing Cameraman, to start the next day.⁵⁵ On June 21, without prior announcement, Hedda Hopper's Hollywood, another New York Daily News-Chicago Tribune Syndicate feature, started running. The addition of new features temporarily halted June 26 with the addition to the comic pages of The Phantom, Henry, and The Heart of Juliet Jones.

The Dollar Dazzler promotion started as a Monday feature carrying a \$25 prize for the correct answer. However, after the first week it was moved to Saturday's edition, with \$25 added to the prize pot for each week in which there was no winner. The story announcing the change reported "hundreds" of entries had been submitted the first week and "we made the switch from Monday to Saturday because readers will have all day Sunday free to wrestle with the pesky thing."⁵⁶ During the next two months, the

54. "Top Counsellor To Join Ace Features of Lima News," news story, Lima News, June 9, 1957, p. 1.

55. "News Feature To Explore Lima's Views," news story Lima News, June 18, 1957, p. 1.

56. "Dazzler Outdazzles All News Contestants," news story, Lima News, May 25, 1957, p. 1.

News was reporting "thousands of entries" as the prize money mounted as high as \$250.⁵⁷ Later in the summer, a "jackpot bonus" was added, whereby a Dazzler winner received double his share of the prize if he had sent in a new subscription to the News. A new subscription was defined as one going to a person who lived within a thirty-mile radius of Lima and who had not been a subscriber for thirty days prior to the new subscription order.

The Dazzler promotion must have been successful from the News' point of view; it was still being used in the summer of 1959.

Reporting the Strike. In its reporting of the strike, the News tended to ignore the strike after the first two days, except to report violence on the picket line--violence which appeared more newsworthy than real, in some cases. One such example was a page one, two-column cut with this outline:⁵⁸

VANDALS DESTROY PAPERS--This charred mess in the gutter in the 700 block of Brice Ave. was a neatly baled bundle of Sunday Lima News editions when delivered early Sunday morning. About 9 last night [Monday], vandals poured a flammable liquid in the bundle and set it afire, endangering automobiles passing by and threatening nearby foliage. (Lima News Photo).

Another example appeared on page one by May 9 and is noteworthy for at least two reasons. The story said, in part:⁵⁹

The first violence injury in the week-long

57. An office clerk at the News told the author in late August, 1958, that the previous week's Dazzler contest had brought in more than nine hundred entries, with one person buying fifty copies of the Saturday News to submit entries.

58. Picture, Lima News, May 7, 1957, p. 1.

59. "Employee Hurt Delivering News," loc. cit.

strike against the Lima News was reported yesterday when a 17-year-old employe of the circulation department was struck by rolled newspapers thrown by a group of teen-age boys.

The employe, delivering a paper route from an automobile with a group of other employes, was struck in the face twice by the newspapers. His assailants were not identified.

This was the first incident in which a worker was hurt. There have been other acts of violence against the newspaper, although not by unionists who are on strike.

* * *

The pickets have resorted to verbal abuse of workers who cross the picket line to produce and deliver the Lima News.

* * *

So far as can be determined, most of the overt acts against delivery of the Lima News have been taken by juveniles. In one instance, a group of youngsters gathered rolled papers from yards and threw them at the News building from an automobile. There were 36 papers in the barrage thrown at that time. Another group of youngsters threw rocks at a Lima News truck, and the third reported injury involved to the 17-year-old boy.

Other acts by union sympathizers include refusal by some service stations to sell gasoline to the Lima News trucks; refusal of at least one hotel to accommodate employes of the newspaper who are working and refusal of the YWCA executive director, Mrs. Elsa Reichnbach, to furnish information to The News for stories. Whether this was a policy of the YW board or a personal decision by Mrs. Reichnbach has not been determined.

But The Lima News continued to gather more and more local news--46 local news stories excluding obituaries, (sic) were published in yesterday's edition.

As a depleted (sic) but industrious crew prepared to have the presses roll for today's newspaper, non-working unionists continued to parade in front of the building while (sic) cat-calls, as in the

movie 'On the Waterfront' filled the air. (sic)

The story is noteworthy for (1) its incompleteness and (2) its lack of precision. The most obvious incompleteness is the failure to identify the injured person or report the extent of the injuries --both basic in any story of individual violence or injury. The reference to "other acts of violence against the newspaper" also is incomplete in context of the 'News' running coverage of the strike. The only previous matter reported that could be considered in any way as "violence against the newspaper" involved what was originally reported as the lifting from its runners of a sliding gate through which vehicles entered and left the News parking lot. A subsequent story referred to the incident as "destruction of the gate." The "other acts of violence" may also have included the burning of the unopened bundle of Sunday papers more than 24 hours after they were dropped off by the circulation department, but the story does not say.

The "other acts of violence" may also refer to the "overt acts against delivery of the Lima News" mentioned further down in the story. That paragraph would appear to be something less than precise, since, after the reader learns "most of the overt acts" were the work of juveniles and after a reference to "in one instance," the reader finds that "most of the overt acts" really means, but does not say, "the three overt acts." There is also one matter of factual imprecision: the name of the executive director of the YWCA was Mrs. Elsa Reichenbach, not Reichnbach.

The lead story in the News for Sunday, May 18, also was a story of strike violence. Run with two pictures and dropping from a two-

line, six-column head, the story reported:⁶⁰

First formal complaint of violence in the 18-day-old Lima News strike was filed with Lima police yesterday after a trailer-load of week-old newspapers was dumped on the News' property.

Arrested on a charge of assault and battery by Police Chief Donald F. Miller was John Jamee Paryzek, 35, of 459 1/2 N. Elizabeth St., a guard at the News plant.

A warrant for Paryzek's arrest was filed by Charles R. Scott, who alleged Parazek struck him Saturday at the News.

Parazek was released on \$50 bond and was scheduled to appear for arraignment before Municipal Judge Carl M. Blank at 9:30 a.m. Monday.

The alleged altercation took place after a car hauling a trailer load of week-old Lima News copies arrived in (sic) the High St. side of the News plant and was parked illegally in front of the building while approximately 10 men began dumping the papers over a brick wall into the News parking lot.

Paryzek was allegedly struck in the face by a soggy paper thrown by one of the men in the trailer.

The papers were collected during the past week from various sections of Lima. They were stored for at least two days in a rental trailer in a garage at 601 Michael Ave. Two witnesses Saturday verified the fact that the trailer used to dump the papers was the same one parked at the Michael Ave. address.

The striking Lima Newspaper Guild and three affiliated unions reported in a strike bulletin earlier last week that the newspapers were being collected and would be "distributed."

No members of the striking unions were seen involved in Saturday's incident, however.

The Lima police department was notified by telephone when the trailer-load of papers arrived. The department dispatched no patrolmen. Chief of Police Miller, however, walked to the News plant from the police station.

60. "Papers Dumped in News Lot; Guard Arrested for Assault," Lima News, May 19, 1957, p. 1.

He later arrested Paryzek at his home.

This matter was one of four which reached the courts as a result of the strike. In this case, the News' armed guard filed a counter-charge of assault and battery against Scott and subsequently both men withdrew their charges. In one of the three other cases, News circulation manager Brad Candler was charged by L. L. Bray with "malicious defacement and nuisance" in connection with un-ordered copies of the News being tossed at his doorstep.⁶¹ In another, Robert Volbert was charged by the state patrol with reckless operation of a motor vehicle in connection with his driving after a News delivery car and forcing it off the road as the climax to an argument that developed after Volbert threw an unwanted News back at the delivery car.⁶² Both cases went to the grand jury, which returned no indictment against Candler but did indict Volbert. His case subsequently was dismissed.

The only case which resulted in any sentence by a court was a picket line incident between two women--a News office worker and a Guild striker. This is how the News reported it:⁶³

A Lima News office employe was charged with assault and battery in Municipal Court Friday afternoon as an out-growth of an incident on the picket line in front of the News plant.

Miss Glyndolyn McCord was arrested by city officers after a warrant was sworn out by Miss Lois

61. "Circulation Boss Charged," news story, Lima News, May 9, 1957, p. 1.

62. "Foreman Bound to Grand Jury," news story, Lima News, May 12, 1957, p. 1.

63. "New Strike Charge Filed," news story, Lima News, May 25, 1957, p. 1.

Thompson, one of several pickets of the striking Newspaper Guild Local 166.

Miss Thompson accused Miss McCord of striking her as the latter left the News office. Miss McCord said the incident arose when Miss Thompson called her "vile and unprintable names."⁶⁴

She said Miss Thompson had for several days abused her with "filthy" language.

It was the first such incident on the picket line since striking unions established it, although throughout the three-week period News employes especially the women, (*sic*) have been subjected to continuous and vulgar abuse, according to News employes.

The abuse had subsided for the most part until yesterday after pickets learned The News was making tape recordings of their language.⁶⁵

Aside from an inaccuracy in a name (Lois Thompson instead of Marlene Thompson), this story is worthy of note for its handling of the matter it is reporting.⁶⁶ This case, which involved no anti-

64. The remark which precipitated the slap was, "Who did you sleep with last night?"--JDM

65. If the abuse "had subsided for the most part until yesterday after pickets found the News was making tape recording of their language," then the statement that "throughout the three-week period News employes...have been subjected to continuous and vulgar abuse" must be false. A microphone was spotted by pickets on May 17, resulting in this filler in The Bulletin for May 18: Found: One microphone beneath the sidewalk grating in front of the Lima News. On May 19 the microphone was removed. ("Picket Line Wire-Tapped," news story, Guild Reporter, May 24, 1957, p. 3.)

There is no question the language on both sides was at times less than Chesterfieldian in its elegance and both strikers and non-strikers were involved in petty harassments, including non-strikers spitting on pickets from second-floor windows.

66. The Guild's Bulletin also had name difficulties in its report of the incident. Miss McCord was identified as Glen McCord rather than Glyndolyn.

News demonstrations of violence, was an "incident" as compared to the "violence" reported in connection with the throwing of rolled newspapers at a News delivery boy and the throwing of copies of the News into the News parking lot from an "illegally parked trailer."

The case ended June 27, when Miss McCord was fined \$25 in Municipal Court for slapping Miss Thompson "after Miss Thompson admittedly made loud insulting remarks directed toward Miss McCord May 24."⁶⁷

The News also indirectly accused the union members of something approaching sabotage in connection with the News' comic strips. The comic page of May 1, the first day of the strike, had a four-column by 15 7/8-inch block bordered box containing this message in 18-point type:

WE'RE SORRY!

We're sorry the Lima News is unable to give to its readers the daily comic strips listed below. These comics were prepared in advance for publication but sometime just prior to the departure of some of our employees now out on strike the comics were "lost."

The News regrets the inability to give the readers the comics and will make every effort to publish them in a subsequent edition.

The "lost" comics include Mickey Finn, Dixie Dugan, Freckles, Priscilla's Pop, Martha Wayne, Jackson, Twins, (sic) Rex Morgan, Bugs Bunny, Out Our Way and Our Boarding House.

The accusations apparently became more direct as the strike progressed, since the strikers took notice of them in The Bulletin, and

67. "News Bookkeeper Fined for Slapping Taunter," news story, Lima News, June 28, 1957, p. 1.

McDowell made them flatly and openly in his Inland Daily Press Association talk the following March, when he said, "The comics and magazine sections were scrambled."⁶⁸

The strikers took this notice of "sabotage" reports allegedly originating with News employees:⁶⁹

We'd be less than human, however, if we didn't get piqued at some of their News' employees' chatter. We'll pass some of it on just in case you're exposed to some of it and don't know the facts.

* * *

"There were numerous acts of 'sabotage,' including the dumping of comic strip castings on the composing room floor, when the union members left the News plant on the eve of the May 1 strike." (The last union man in the building was the composing room foreman Dan Spargur and he says all the comics were in place on one of the makeup "turtles" ready to be put in the paper.

As for implications of other acts of sabotage, they, too are false....)

In answer to McDowell's charges before the Inland Daily Press Association, Joseph Connor wrote in a letter to Editor & Publisher:⁷⁰

To the best of my knowledge--and I was chief steward of Local 166, American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, both before and after the strike started --there was no union sabotage inside the plant before the walkout.

Editorials. Editorially, the News itself commented only three times on the strike. However, a number of R. C. Hoiles' columns in May and June concerned the evil and dangers of labor unions and

68. "Unions' Sabotage in Lima Charged," loc. cit.

69. "Editor's Corner," editorial column, The Bulletin, June 17, 1957, p. 1.

70. Joseph Connor, loc. cit. For the Editor & Publisher report of McDowell's talk and Connor's letter as a result of the report, see Appendix C.

once the full page opposite the editorial page was devoted to text and pictures on "The Menace of UAW-CIO Coercion," by Herbert V. Kohler.

The day after the strike started, the News ran a page one editorial explaining that the newspaper was maintaining operations in the face of the strike because "The News is on the side of the strikers!"⁷¹ The editorial stated the view that in continuing to operate, the News was "going to strive to free these union members from the most intolerable tyranny since feudalism."

We are going to do all within our ability and resources to set them free from the Conspiracy of Coercion which has deprived them of the right to earn a living without paying tribute to the Lords of Labor.

The editorial went on to state that every day the paper published in opposition to the strike it aided all newspapermen, all Lima-land, and all Americans. It concluded:⁷²

We are on the side of the strikers.

We are striving for their freedom--their freedom from us, from each other and from the unions.

* * *

We could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be against the strikers.

But rather we have accepted the challenge to take a stand in their behalf.

On May 5, the News asked rhetorically why it continued to publish in the face of the strike difficulties. It answered its ques-

⁷¹. "We Believe That We're Helping Keep a Right," editorial, Lima News, May 2, 1957, p. 1.

⁷². For the full editorial, see Appendix P.

tion this way:⁷³

The answer is that the operation is a matter of principle with the News. We are putting out a paper because we actually have no choice in the matter--because we believe in what we are doing. We could not in good faith turn from this course of action any more than we could turn from our belief in the fundamental principles of the government of the United States.

Eight days later the News published its third and last editorial comment on the strike. It was an editorial stating that the News was continuing to publish in an attempt to combat fear of "collectivists," to aid "those who are afraid to live," who "do as they are told by the collectivists [unions] who know that their only weapons are force and threat of force."⁷⁴

It [fear of the collectivists] is a crippler--it is destruction with a silent scythe, and it must not go unchallenged.

So, we are here.

And we believe as we continue to publish our newspaper that we will serve as a beacon of hope for those few who may have felt there was no hope.

For there is hope in freedom, because it is the natural way of things...it is God's way that men should live as individuals, free to pick and choose--to work or not to work, to buy or not to buy, to read or not to read...not as a group dictates, but as individuals, as freemen.

Having stated that it believed it was doing God's work in operating in opposition to the strike, in freeing people from the fear of unions, and that it was really on the side of the strikers and wanted to free them from union domination, the News said no more

73. "Why Is Printing the News Vital (sic)," editorial, Lima News, May 5, 1957, editorial page.

74. "Fear Is a Crippler We Must Challenge," editorial, Lima News, May 13, 1957, p. B-4.

about the strike in its editorial columns. However, unions and strikes in general were discussed at length during the strike period by R. C. Hoiles in his column. The discussion started on Sunday, May 12, when Hoiles wrote, "It is time for plain speaking as to the results of union or organized labor."⁷⁵ He argued that unions hurt the poor people the most because the unions deprive them of the optimum tools for production, for the creation of wealth. The following day's column maintained unions hurt all workers in the long run by taking away the workers' right to develop their faculties through use of their own judgment and conscience.⁷⁶ This was followed by a discussion of "The Opiates of the Labor Unions," an argument that unions, by means of apprenticeships and seniority rules, make slaves of workers.⁷⁷ The following week Hoiles explained "Why I Believe Labor Unions Are Harmful."⁷⁸ A month later the discussions of unions resumed with a consideration of "How Labor Unions Injure Their Members" by interfering with the workers' development of their own faculties.⁷⁹ A week later four of the columns were devoted to reprinting "Are Unions Desirable," an article by Ludwig von Mises originally published in *National Review*.⁸⁰ The answer to the question was, of course, "no." The comparatively sustained concern with labor unions as a column

75. R. C. Hoiles, "Better Jobs," *Lima News*, May 12, 1957, editorial page.

76. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1957.

77. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1957.

78. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1957, *Supra*, pp. 76, 77.

79. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1957.

80. *Ibid.*, June 30-July 3, 1957.

subject ended early in July with an explanation by Hoiles of "How I As a Laborer Solved My Labor Disputes."⁸¹ The solution was that he and his brother voluntarily divided the farm chores their parents required them to do. There would be no labor problems, the column said, "if the labor unions did not interfere with a free market by setting up seniority and arbitrary rewards for different jobs."

During this period there was one other major consideration of unions and labor relations. It was the publishing on a full page opposite the editorial page of a text and pictures concerning the United Automobile Workers strike against the Kohler Plumbing Company at Kohler, Wisconsin. With the by-line of Herbert V. Kohler, it ran under a nine-column, all-capitals banner: CAN A FREE ECONOMY TOLERATE UNION VIOLENCE?--with a body type, all-cap subtitle, "The Menace of UAW-CIO Coercion." There was nothing in the News to indicate it, but the text and pictures were from a booklet copyrighted in 1957 by the Kohler Company and distributed free by the company. The booklet in turn was a reprint of an address by Herbert V. Kohler, president of the Kohler Company, before the Economic Club of Detroit, February 25, 1957. It was not favorable toward unions.

Personnel. In regard to personnel, the Hoiles management did two things designed to oppose the strike. It had, as has been noted earlier, expanded the non-mechanical staffs before the strike. All of those persons hired between the time the News be-

81. Ibid., July 5, 1957.

came a Freedom Newspaper and the time the Guild struck kept on working while the 106 members of the four unions were out. In addition to its hiring on an open shop basis, the company also notified the members of the craft unions that they would be replaced if they did not return to work.

According to a compilation issued by the Guild three days after the strike started, there were forty-one non-union employees working at the News immediately following the strike, not counting four armed guards.⁸² The compilation indicates that twenty-seven of the forty-one were employees or relatives of employees who had come to the News from other Freedom Newspapers. In addition, mechanical department employees were flown in from out of town, including some from Rockford, Illinois, and some from the mechanical department of the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph.⁸³

The replacement of the craft union members occurred on May 7, the deadline set by management for the workers' return. According to an account in the News, the members of the craft unions applied as a group for vacations, prior to the start of the Guild's strike. After the Guild struck, the members of the craft unions each received a registered letter reading:⁸⁴

Circumstances do not permit the company to grant you your vacation at this time. You are hereby instructed to report for work at your normal starting time Tuesday, May 7, 1957. Proper arrangements for

82. "Who Is Publishing the Lima News?" Strike Bulletin No. 4, Lima Newspaper Guild, May 4, 1957.

83. "Shuttle Service Employed for Lima Strike-Breakers," news story, Colorado Springs Free Press, May 4, 1957, p. 5.

84. "Lima News Crafts Join Guild Pickets," news story, Lima News, May 7, 1957, p. B-1.

your vacation will be made later.

Failure to report for work on Tuesday, May 7 (sic) will leave the company no alternative but to consider that you are on strike.

If you refuse to report for work on the normal starting time May 7, you will be permanently replaced with people who are willing to work.

When the members of the craft unions did not report for work on May 7 as ordered, the company took the position they had voluntarily terminated their employment. The three unions, however, took the position they had been discharged and filed suits in Allen County Common Pleas Court asking for severance pay. The forty-six suits filed by members of the craft unions by the end of August, 1958, asked for a total of \$87,438.19. Combined with the suits previously filed by Guild members, it meant the strike left the News with severance suits totaling \$399,952.73 filed against it. The News set forth its position this way in regard to the claims of the craft union members that they had been discharged:⁸⁵ it said the plaintiff had resigned, alleging that:

on May 6, 1957, ... [the employee] received a registered letter from this defendant [Lima News] requesting him to return to his former position of employment...but that... [the employee] neglected, failed and refused to resume said former position of employment....

Summary and Evaluation

The Lima Newspaper Guild on May 1, 1957, launched a strike that

85. Case No. 44597 (Marie Weaver vs The Lima News), answer by the defendant, Clerk of Courts office, Allen County, Ohio.

was unusual in several respects, of which probably the most unusual was this: with every prospect for inevitable failure, it was and has been to this writing quite successful. It was a strike by a group of forty-five persons, reduced in numbers by virtually one quarter by management attrition in the fifteen-month period preceding the strike. It was a strike both the union and company had obviously been expecting for more than a year, giving the company a lengthy preparation period during which, among other things, it had expanded its staff in the non-mechanical departments with many of the people who later were to carry on the duties abandoned by the strikers. It was a strike by a financially depleted local. It was a strike by people new to labor-management conflict and against a management that had already had experience at turning a union shop into an open shop.

Given these apparent obstacles and drawbacks, it turned out to be a strike that dealt the Lima News financial blows from which it had not recovered two years after the last Guild striker walked a picket line in front of the News building.

Why did this happen? Mainly because it also was a strike unique in that to possibly the greatest extent on record it was a strike of a community against its only newspaper. It was in a way the anti-Bonnett moral war of New York City journalism brought up to date in Lima, Ohio. It was this aspect that gave it its impact. A combination of the Hoiles organization's consistent anti-union record and outstanding public relations by the Lima Guild brought support from labor locally and nationally that was typified by this statement by American Newspaper Guild president Joseph F.

Collis at the ANG convention in July of 1957:⁸⁶

In Lima, we were forced to strike by a publisher who was anti-union and anti-social. No words can express adequately the great contribution made to the international union by the members of the Lima local. To them this organization owes a great debt.

This same combination of the Hoiles organization's attitudes and actions on the one hand and the Guild's performance (public relations) on the other produced a somewhat similar reaction within the community itself. The result was union support and anti-Hoiles reaction that translated the strike beyond a labor-management disagreement and made it a Lima-Freedom Newspapers matter. It was this aspect that brought into existence the continuing vehicle for resistance to the Hoiles organization in Lima--a competitive newspaper.

⁸⁶. Proceeding, 24th annual convention, American Newspaper Guild, p. 5.

TWO-NEWSPAPER TOWN

Birth of the Citizen

In mid-summer of 1957 the members of the four unions picketing the Lima News went back to work, but not at the Lima News. Instead, they were employees of a newspaper that came into existence in a matter of some six weeks in something approaching the character of a chemical reaction set off by the catalyst of the strike. Incorporated on May 9, 1957, the Lima Citizen Publishing Company published its first issue of the Lima Citizen on July 1. From that first issue, the Citizen has been Lima's number one paper in circulation and advertising.

Origins. The idea of a new newspaper had been voiced as a vain hope by various persons as early as the spring and summer of 1956. The author had heard such comments and conversations before he left Lima in August of that year. Such conversations usually ended on approximately this note: "But who's got a million dollars they're willing to bet they can beat Hoiles?" The idea was explored by the Guild in early 1957, when Guild chief steward Joseph Connor took a leave from his job as a News reporter to explore the possibilities.¹ However, the specific idea--explored, solidified into specific proposals, and sold into the reality of a new daily newspaper--came from three Lima News display advertising salesmen, Wayne G. Current, Leslie R. Roby, and W. M. (Bill) Brown.

1. Supra., pp.100, 101.

The three started studying various aspects of the problem well before the strike and independently of any Guild activity, although all three were members of the Guild.² This activity was done on their own volition and their own time, outside of working hours. Roby, for example, used his 1957 vacation to make an exploratory trip to Chicago. As he has described the activities of the three:³

Roby used his 1957 vacation period to visit Chicago and study the costs and time involved in starting a newspaper. He talked with press erectors, composing room equipment salesmen, and press manufacturers. He collected data on the availability of equipment, the cost of buying and installing equipment. Through library research he collected statistical averages representing cost and profits. This material he brought back to Lima and carefully assimilated.

Bill Brown used his free time away from the plant in collecting actual figures (sic) representing newspaper cost. He compiled information regarding news service, comics, telephone bills, insurance rates, job standards for various departments and a host of other facts necessary for writing a balance sheet.

Meanwhile, Wayne Current was working on another approach. He felt that it would be possible to work out arrangements with some publishers for printing a temporary newspaper. Wayne's original thought was to set the type and roll the mats in Lima. The mats then

2. It apparently was this activity which prompted the charge by E. R. McDowell, publisher of the News, that, as reported by Editor & Publisher, "Guild members were busy setting up a new newspaper even while drawing pay from the Lima News." ("Unions' Sabotage in Lima Charged," loc. cit.; see Appendix.C.)

3. Leslie R. Roby, A City Shows Its Fighting Heart, unpublished manuscript, p. 32.

would be rushed to a plant where they would be cast into page plates "set" on the press and printed. This idea was almost successful. One publisher worked out the costs and the time involved and even gave oral approval to the project. Then at the last minute he decided his equipment was not capable of producing the necessary volume.

While Wayne was making these contacts, he found a complete newspaper plant in Charleston, West Virginia, that could be leased or purchased. This was to be the one element that eventually made possible the formation of the Lima Citizen.

Development. Armed with their facts and figures and the knowledge that composing room equipment was available, Current and Roby decided to devote full time to an attempt to organize a local publishing company to put out a new newspaper in Lima. On April 13, 1957, they severed their connection with the Lima News.⁴ They spent Sunday, April 14, assembling a prospectus.⁵ On Monday, April 15, they started soliciting contributions.

Finances. Pending the filing of papers of incorporation, they could only solicit contributions and take oral pledges. Of the persons on the original list of potential contributors, no one turned down the opportunity. But at the same time the pledges were comparatively small, none being more than \$5,000.⁶ It appeared that the project might not prove feasible. It

4. They took the position that increased working conditions, reductions in pay through changes in the commission system, and poorer working conditions constituted constructive discharge. The News took the position that the two men resigned voluntarily.

5. See Appendix Q.

6. Interview with Wayne G. Current.

was approximately a week after the start of solicitation that Current called on two local industrialists, Sam Kamin and James A. Howenstine. They agreed to take \$100,000 worth of stock. Kamin and Howenstine, starting with less than \$1,000, had founded and developed Neon Products, Inc., a company that manufactured neon display signs and in 1956 had done a gross business in excess of \$10,000,000.⁷ They also had branched out into real estate investment through their J-S Realty Company. As a result of their \$100,000 pledge, the embryo newspaper company had acquired two men of locally demonstrated financial ability as co-publishers and had gained financial stability (credit rating) through their joint role as major investors in the project. The paper also acquired access to a useable building on the southwest edge of the city's central district, since J-S Realty had recently purchased the former North Star Woolen Mill Building. The building was fairly readily adaptable to a one-floor news plant.

The entry of Kamin and Howenstine into the picture triggered the incorporation of the new company as the Lima Citizen Publishing Company on May 9, 1957, with authority to issue 20,000 shares of stock priced at \$25 a share.⁸ That represented \$400,000 of the company's \$500,000 listed operating capital. Subsequently stock

7. "Stock Sold in New Daily for Lima; Strike Gosa On," news story, Editor & Publisher, May 18, 1957, 20:11.

8. "New Daily Planned for Lima," news story, Lima News, May 10, 1957, p.1.

ehares were sold to more than 1,100 individuals.⁹ Of these, only fourteen individuals and corporations owned one per cent or more.¹⁰ Among those fourteen, the name of Jamea A. Howenstine was missing; he did not hold a major portion in his own name. The fourteen listed as owning one per cent or more of the stock were Ralph C. Schroeder, Catherine B. Howenstine, Lewis T. Kent, Milton Kamin, Robert Kamin, Harold Schwartz, Sam Kamin, J. W. Timmermeister, Robert Barton, Glen Webb, Wilbur Leffel, Lima Industrial Development Company, Green & Sawyer Company, and The J-S Realty Company.¹¹ Of these, Kamin, Howenstine, and Barton became directors of the corporation. Howenstine was elected president of the board and Kamin, vice-president and secretary-treasurer. Robert Ekford, who was comptroller of Neon Products, became assistant secretary and comptroller of the Citizen Company. In 1958, Henry Barnhart, executive head of the Lima plant of Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corporation, and Ralph C. Schroeder, manager of the Lima branch office of the Crane Company, plumbing supply and equipment company, were added to the board.

Personnel. With Kamin and Howenstine as co-publishers, Current was named business manager of the new newspaper. Robert C. Barton, who had become estate editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer after resigning as editor of the Newa, returned to Lima as editor of the Citizen. The problem of a staff below the top executive level was hardly any problem at all, since 106 experienced employees,

9. "Journalistic History Made by This Issue," news story, Lima Citizen, July 1, 1957, p. 1.

10. Sworn Statement of Ownership, Lima Citizen, October 4, 1957, p. 31.

11. Four of the individuals are members of the Kamin family. Milton and Robert Kamin are sons of Sam Kamin; Harold Schwartz is his son-in-law.

representing all departments of a newspaper, were involved in the work stoppage at the News. It was here the newspaper turned for virtually its entire staff, which originally was planned at about seventy-five persons but numbered approximately eighty-five when the Citizen actually started publishing.¹²

All supervisory and department head positions were filled by former News employees. In the newsroom, Robert D. Kerr, former city editor and reporter, became city editor; Hope Strong, former News society editor, became Citizen society editor; Richard F. Moffat, former News reporter and wire editor, became sports editor; William R. Leo, deskman and wire assistant at the News, became state editor; and Donald D. Eddie, former News photographer-engraver became chief photographer. In other departments, Frank J. Klein, former News display advertising salesman, became display advertising manager; Gary Bughan, former News classified advertising salesman, became classified advertising manager; W. M. (Bill) Brown, former News circulation department member, classified advertising manager, and display advertising salesman, became circulation manager. Moving into the same jobs they had held at the News were composing room foreman Daniel Spargur, stereotype foreman Charles Cunningham, and press room foreman Carl Webb.

The only group which did not move virtually en masse from the pre-Hoiles News to the Citizen was the news staff. This was because it was this group which had the greatest number of departures between the time the News became a Freedom Newspaper and the time

12. "Journalistic History Made by This Issue," loc. cit.

the Guild struck against the News. Of the twenty editorial department employees and Guild members who were at the News when it was sold, nine had gone to other jobs prior to the strike. Those nine were state editor Clair Miller, sports editor Allan White, chief photographer Robert K. Waldron, and reporters Henry N. Arline, Wayne A. Chendler, Robert K. Harrod, John D. Mitchell, William D. Peppler, and C. F. (Chet) Swegan. All except Swegan, who became the Lima bureau man for the Toledo Blade, had moved from Lima. There were only five former News editorial staff members available to go to work for the Citizen, in addition to those named above. They were Joseph Connor, Carolyn Focht, Joyce Link, Phyllis Wentz, and Merlene Thompson, who had joined the News after the sale.

13

Mechanical Equipment. Availability of editorial, advertising and mechanical staffs can be a godsend; the fact the co-publishers of a newspaper happen to own a suitable building can help greatly; but no publisher publishes without equipment. This, for example, was the sine qua non of the Guild's efforts to launch a newspaper, rather than a four-page bulletin; there was no available equipment, therefore there was no newspaper.

The Lima Citizen was past a major obstacle when Current found a complete mechanical plant, including a Hoe rotary press capable of handling up to thirty-two pages. The equipment was owned by Unityco, Inc., The ITU corporation formed to organize daily newspapers in communities where the ITU is on strike. It was located in Charles-

13. Interview with Joseph Connor, William Lee, Eugene Perine.

ton, West Virginia, where it had been used to print the News-Digest, an ITU daily which subsequently ceased operations. ¹⁴

The package included two sixteen page press units, nine linotype machines, a Ludlow (a machine for casting large size type from hand set matrices), an Elrod, (a machine that extrudes molten type metal in the form of column rules and leads), and a stereotype caster. ¹⁵ This was leased for \$100,000, payable at the rate of \$800 a month. When the full amount of the lease price had been paid, the equipment would become the property of the Lima Citizen Publishing Company. ¹⁵

Promotion. The first announcement of the launching of a new newspaper in Lima was by the opposition. The News carried a one-column page one story with a one-column cut of Barton. The lead of the story said: ¹⁷

Plans to publish a new daily newspaper in Lima were revealed yesterday afternoon when a corporation permit was issued in Columbus to three Lima men, Attorney Leslie Reid, James Howenstine, and Sam Kamin.

The known plans of the Lima group include the name of the paper, The Lima Citizen, and its editor to be, (sic) Robert C. Barton.

However, the Citizen Company itself soon was announcing plans.

14. "Lima Citizen in Business with 68% Ads," news story, Editor & Publisher, July 16, 1957, 90:15.

15. Interview with Wayne Current.

16. Prospectus (see Appendix Q).

17. "New Daily Planned for Lima," loc. cit.

One way was by means of a weekly nine-inch by twelve-inch flier, The 'Junior' Citizen. Labeled "A weekly progress report to the people of Limaland on their new newspaper," it was issued on six consecutive Fridays, starting May 24, 1957, and ending June 28.¹⁸ Both front and back sides of each issue were devoted to promotional news stories about the Citizen: reports on staff appointments, mechanical progress, news service and features to be used, and the like. Each week, 30,000 copies in the format of a miniature newspaper were printed and distributed through the Lima trade area.¹⁹ Promotional activity was also coupled with the pre-publication subscription campaign. Each subscriber was given two Lima Citizen window stickers, one for his residence and one for his car. The new paper also was promoted through \$1,000 worth of radio and television spot announcements on WDMA and WDMA-TV and through the use of billboards in and around Lima.²⁰

Circulation. As in other departments, the circulation department of the Citizen inherited a virtually complete staff. In addition to the mail room staff, out as a result of the strike against the News, some 130 of 152 boys who had been paper carriers for the News quit the News and applied for Citizen routes.²¹ Of the former adult circulation staff at the News, all employees except three motor route drivers moved to the Citizen.

18. The 'Junior' Citizen, May 24, 1957; May 31, 1957; June 7, 1957; June 14, 1957; June 21, 1957; June 28, 1957.

19. "30,000 Copies of 'Junior' Citizen Being Distributed, The 'Junior' Citizen, May 24, 1957, p. 2.

20. Leslie R. Roby, A City Shows Its Fighting Heart, op. cit., p. 41.

21. Loc. cit., p. 39.

Summary and Evaluation. Seven weeks after incorporation, the Citizen Publishing Company published the first issue of the Lima Citizen. In that time equipment had been obtained, a plant had been established, a staff had been collected, a circulation system had been set up. The original prospectus had estimated initial circulation as 10,000 copies. By July 1, 1957, when the first issue was printed, there were nearly 22,000 subscribers.²² Originally planned as a six-day-a-week paper with no Sunday edition, it published on a Sunday-through-Friday schedule from the start.²³ On September 7 it went to a seven-day-a-week publication schedule with a twenty-two page Saturday paper.²⁴ It led the News in advertising and apparently in circulation from the first day. There is no question the Citizen was Lima's number one newspaper from the start.

The Competitive Situation

The Citizen made its appearance July 1, 1957, with a sixty-four page issue headlined: GREETINGS, FELLOW CITIZENS! Although it never mentioned the News by name, that first issue left little doubt one of the Citizen's goals was to directly combat the News. This became especially clear on page B-7, the page opposite the editorial page. Except for twenty column inches of advertising in the lower right-hand corner, the page was devoted to a consideration of the bannered query, "What Do YOU Expect from a Newspaper?" The page was

22. "Lima Citizen in Business with 65% Ads," loc. cit.

23. "Journalistic History Made by This Issue," loc. cit.

24. Lima Citizen, September 7, 1957-

keyed with this story, set in two-column measure:²⁵

Today, for the first time in more than thirty years, Lima is witnessing the start of a new newspaper.

The Lima Citizen was started only because the people of Lima and the surrounding area have made it unmistakably clear that they want a newsnewspaper.

If the people want a new newspaper--and there seems little doubt about that--then surely there must be something which they expect from a newspaper.

In an attempt to find out the answer to just what people in Lima and the Area want and expect from a local newspaper, a number of local civic, industrial, business, labor, religious and organizational leaders were asked the question:

"What do you want and expect from a local newspaper?"

Dr. David L. Steiner, president of the Allen County Academy of Medicine (sic) succinctly summed up the replies with his answer:

"In a local paper for local people we like lots of local news. We are a friendly community and we are not so big that we haven't time to learn about local people and local doings.

"Warmed up opinions from some demagogue of the script (sic) are not desired. Just give us all the facts without restraint and political partiality. Folks hereabouts like to do their own thinking."

Even though the references were indirect, they obviously were to the News, its editorials, and R. C. Hoiles's daily editorial page column. The references also were obvious among some of the answers run under the pictures of the twenty-three individuals whose statements were on the page. For example, Thomas A. Gregg, president of the Better Business Bureau, said in part:

...We [Lima business] challenge The Lima Citi-

25. "Responsibility, Impartiality, 'Local' Emphasis High on List," news story, Lima Citizen, July 1, 1957, p. B-7.

zen to adopt a tolerant, firm, far-seeing policy for the betterment of our community, flexible enough to be consistent with problems arising from our evolutionary growth.

We further challenge The Lima Citizen to report factual, unbiased...news events as well as thought-provoking editorial comment, designed to preserve our heritage of individual liberties. If these challenges are accepted--and we believe they will be--Lima's commercial enterprises will have in The Lima Citizen an effective ally in improving Limaland....

And Miss Mary E. Headapohl, president of the Lima Teachers Association, reissued this resolution which the association had adopted in early May:

The Lima Teachers Association wishes to go on record as believing that a locally owned newspaper is much more able to treat fairly all local news and issues, and to speak for Lima, than could any newspaper owned by outside interests who determine the policy for local coverage.

The Association supports all groups interested in actively planning a positive program for the good of the city of Lima, such as freedom of religion, tax supported public education, libraries, hospitals, streets and highways, police and fire protection. Furthermore, the Lima Teachers Association is fully in accord with the American principle of majority rule as it applies to matters pertaining to the welfare of the community.

The News waited until July 2 to take note of its now competitor, issuing "A Hearty 'Welcome' to Our Competition" editorially.²⁶ It said, in part:

Yesterday the first edition of the Lima Citizen made its appearance and a fine fat edition it was, too. So we would like to say "Welcome" to our competition.

The Lima News has, since becoming a part of Freedom Newspapers, stoutly advocated the free enterprise system and we shall continue to do so, realizing that competition, either actual or in the offing, is the

²⁶. "A Hearty 'Welcome' to Our Competition," editorial, Lima News, July 2, 1957, p. 14.

force that moves all of us to do our best.

* * *

So far as the general public is concerned, the competition between two newspapers can only result in the improvement of both newspapers and a better product for the reader.

* * *

We would not be truthful if we wished the Citizen "a long and successful" existence. We hope that we can make the Lima News so important to readers that they will not feel any necessity for reading any other publication. We have already launched some of the features and attractions that we hope will help us accomplish this end.

On the following day, the editorial page of the News carried a letter from a subscriber congratulating the News and "the loyal members of your organization for a difficult task, well done" in publishing despite the strike, commending the "crusading type" editorials, and commenting, "Your devotion to your work has been commendable, and I hope you will continue to expand and thrive in your community."²⁷

The only other notice the News took of the altered newspaper situation in Lima was to run a four-sentence, four-paragraph, locally written story on a report in Time magazine about the founding of the Citizen:²⁸

Lima business activity received national attention today in the current issue of Time magazine in an article reporting the start of the Lima Citizen.

27. David C. Fisher, letter to the editor, Lima News, July 2, 1957, p. 14.

28. "Newspaper's Start Told In 'Time'," news story, Lima News, July 9, 1957, p. 11.

The article said that "Limaites had come to hate their longtime stand-by, the Lima News," ignoring the fact that thousands of Limaites have continued steadfast in their support of the News.

Time also said that "some of the newspaper's best friends doubt that the community can support two dailies--and fear for the \$300,000 Citizen's chances in an all-out war with the \$2,800,000 News."

Sam Kamin and James A. Howenstine were reported as principal owners of the new publication with a combined investment of \$100,000.

It would be hard to disagree with the conclusion that the competition did become all out for the attentions of readers and advertisers.

Circulation and Promotion. The News had launched efforts to get back circulation lost as a result of the strike even before any announcement of a new paper. The efforts became more intensive with the announcement and subsequent appearance of the Citizen.

The basic subscription rate for the News before the strike and appearance of the Citizen had been 45 cents a week. As listed in the editorial page masthead, it remained that after the strike. In practice, however, it has at times been as little as virtually half that amount. The lowest price at which the News was being offered was reported in the fall of 1957, at the time the News' circulation apparently was at its lowest ebb. That was a price of \$5.75 for a one-year subscription; at the same time a \$2.50 commission reportedly was being paid for each thirteen-week subscription turned in by volunteer solicitors.²⁹ In the late summer of 1956 News' circulation solicitors were offering a thirteen-week subscrip-

²⁹. "Lima Citizen Attracts 14,000 At Open House," news story, Guild Reporter, November 8, 1957, p. 4.

tion with the first five weeks free and the remaining eight weeks at the 45-cent-a-week rate, according to circulation personnel at the Citizen. Checking residences where the News was being delivered along with the Citizen, they were told the householders planned to drop the News after the five-week period.³⁰ In the spring of 1959 it was reported News circulation solicitors were offering subscriptions at \$1 for one month, \$6 for six months, or \$12 for twelve months.³¹ On a twelve-month basis, that figures out to 23.1 cents a week. In August of 1958 the News had a special back-to-school offer of \$3.95 for a nine-month subscription anywhere in Ohio or \$6.75 for a nine-month subscription by mail anywhere in the United States outside of Ohio.³²

It also advertised a special offer for subscribers on motor routes (rural area routes) whereby they could get the News for a year, six months, or three months at a cost of \$1 a month. Originally offered only on motor routes, it later was made available to any new subscribers, including those on city routes where the papers were delivered by carrier boys. If the usual 10-cent-a-week-a-customer commission was paid to the carriers, the News income from such subscriptions was 13.1 cents for each one, compared to a normal 35 cents.

As reported to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the News operated fifteen special circulation promotions between the time of

30. Interview with R. C. Barton, W. M. Brown.

31. "You Can Get It Wholesale," editorial, Lima Citizen, April 29, 1959, p. 1.

32. "Back To School Subscription Special," advertisement, Lima News, August 26, 1958, p. 14.

the strike and March 31, 1958, not counting special reduced price offers.³³ The fifteen special promotions included seven contests with prizes ranging from \$25 to a 1958 Impala Sport Coupe, first prize in a \$50,000 "Sure Winner No Losers" contest for persons obtaining the most points on the basis of new three-month to one-year carrier or motor delivery orders or paid-in-advance subscriptions. The other six contests were the Dollar Dazzler (supra, pp. 131, 132); a Lucky Bucks contest which ran from August 10, 1957, through January 4, 1958; a Football Contest in conjunction with several merchants from September 18, 1957, through November 23, 1957; a Photo Contest that started November 24, 1957, and was still running in March of 1958; a Tele-Fun Contest that started January 12, 1958; and a Spot The Word Contest that started January 19, 1958, and ended March 28, 1958. A total of \$5,123 was paid in prizes, including \$2,335 in the Lucky Bucks Contest and \$1,248 in the Dazzler Contest, during the nine-months ending March 31, 1958.³⁴ During the last three months of 1957 a series of five premium offers were in effect for regular thirteen-week subscriptions or a fourteen-week subscription to the Sunday paper. Other subscription bargains available were combined two-year subscriptions by the News and from two to four magazines for 60 cents a week, the donation of the News of a portion of eight-week subscriptions to the Damon Runyon Memorial Fund for Cancer Research, and a limited accident insurance policy for subscribers at a 10-cent-a-week premium.

33. The Lima News, Publisher's Statement, six months ending March 31, 1957, subject to audit by Audit Bureau of Circulations.

34. Loc. cit.; The Lima News, Publisher's Statement, three months ending September 31, 1957, subject to audit by Audit Bureau of Circulations.

The Citizen, too, was pushing for circulation, but never broke its basic price of 45 cents a week. For the period during which the News reported fifteen special promotions, the Citizen reported three: two free subscriptions given as prizes at the 1957 Allen County Fair, free name plates for delivery tubes given with subscriptions at the basic prices, and a lucky license tag promotion.³⁵ The license tag promotion paid out a total of \$350 between August 11, 1957, and March 31, 1958. The Citizen later offered combination newspaper-magazine subscriptions and insurance policies.

The net result of the circulation pushes was that the Citizen started with a high circulation that stayed nearly steady and the News came through the strike with a heavy circulation loss and slowly rebuilt. As previously noted, the Citizen's original expectation was a starting circulation of 10,000, building to 20,000 by April of 1958.³⁶ Instead its starting circulation was more than 20,000, with an initial press run of 30,000.³⁷

A special audit of circulation for the first fifteen days of publication showed an average circulation of 25,208 daily and 25,192 on Sundays, with the city circulation at 16,039 daily and 15,858 on Sundays.³⁸ That 25,000 circulation figure tapered off enough so that by the end of the first month, the average was 23,-

35. The Lima Citizen, Publisher's Statement, three months ending September 31, 1957; six months ending March 31, 1958, subject to audit by Audit Bureau of Circulations.

36. See prospectus (Appendix Q).

37. "Journalistic History Made By This Issue, loc. cit.

38. "Lima Citizen Poets Quick Gains in Circulation, Ads," news story, Guild Reporter, July 26, 1957, p. 4.

605 net paid daily circulation and 24,344 paid Sunday circulation.³⁹ For the quarter ending September 30, 1957, the average net paid circulation was 24,060 daily and 24,891 Sundays. Of those totals, 15,770 were in the city and 8,113 in the retail trading zone.⁴⁰ For the same period, the News had an average net paid circulation of 15,363 Mondays through Fridays, 15,558 Saturdays, and 17,390 Sundays.⁴¹ In the city zone its circulation had fallen to 4,773 daily, 4,914 Saturdays, and 4,660 Sundays; in the retail trading zone the figures were 10,211, 10,263, and 12,068.

For the next quarter, ending December 31, 1957, the News had gained approximately 1,100 in daily and Saturday circulation and 2,700 in Sunday circulation.⁴² The figures were 16,402 Mondays through Fridays, a gain of 1,039; 16,648 Saturdays, a gain of 1,106; and 19,435 Sundays, a gain of 2,707. The greater percentage of gain was in the city zone, up 682 to 5,455 Mondays through Fridays, up 590 to 5,504 Saturdays, and up 784 to 5,444 Sundays.

By the end of the period ending March 31, 1958, the News was continuing to increase its circulation and the Citizen was down slightly. By quarters the News circulation averaged 16,402 evenings (Mondays-Fridays) for the quarter ending December 31, 1957, and 18,337 for the quarter ending March 31, 1958; 16,648 Saturdays for the quarter ending December 31, 1957, and 18,612 for the quar-

39. Interview with Brown.

40. The Lima Citizen, Publisher's Statement, three months ending September 30, 1957.

41. The Lima News, Publisher's Statement, three months ending September 30, 1957.

42. The Lima News, Publisher's Interim Statement, three months ending December 31, 1957.

ter ending March 31, 1958; and 19,435 Sundays for the quarter ending December 31, 1957, and 21,527 for the quarter ending March 31, 1958. For the same period, the Citizen averaged 24,056 daily and 24,978 Sundays for the quarter ending December 31, 1957, and 23,950 evenings and 24,920 Sundays for the quarter ending March 31, 1958. The Citizen ended the first month of its second year of operation with a net gain of 194 daily subscriptions and 95 Sunday ones, compared to its first month of operation.⁴³ By September of 1958, it had gains of less than 100 over the comparable figures for 1957. The figures:⁴⁴

<u>Edition</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>
<u>Evening Citizen</u>	24,060	24,147
<u>Sunday Citizen</u>	24,891	24,970

The News, meanwhile, was continuing to regain lost ground. Its figures:⁴⁵

<u>Edition</u>	<u>1957*</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>
<u>Evening News</u>	35,107	15,363	19,976
<u>Saturday News</u>	15,558	20,668
<u>Sunday News</u>	37,603	17,390	22,553

*Quarter ending March 31, 1957

**Morning edition as of May 18, 1957.

Advertising. The Citizen, with consistently higher advertising rates, has consistently led in advertising lineage in Lima's competitive situation. For the first month of the competitive situation,

43. Interview with Brown.

44. Editor & Publisher International Year Book--1959, p. 138; Publisher's Statement.

45. Loc. cit.; Publisher's Statement; "EAP-ABC Cross Section Survey of Circulation Trends," Editor & Publisher, July 5, 1958, 91:45.

the News' open rate was higher than the Citizen's officially, although Citizen advertising salesmen reported the News was undercutting its listed rate even before a new rate card was issued as of August 1, 1957.⁴⁶ On August 1, the News cut its open rate from a listed 18 cents a column inch to 11 cents a column inch.⁴⁷ While the News stayed at 11 cents, the Citizen was increasing its open rate from 12 cents a column inch to 14.⁴⁸

In addition, the News instituted the Lima Shopper, a Thursday controlled circulation (free) publication. The rate for advertising in it when advertising was coupled with certain space conditions in the News was 25 cents an inch. A mail promotion piece dated May 1, 1958, said the Shopper was mailed to 60,329 homes in Lima and the Lima area.⁴⁹ Despite the differences in price, the Citizen led overall in both total lineage and rate of gain. For example, the total advertising lineage for the Citizen in its first month of operation, July, 1957, was 58,799 to 49,780 for the News; a year later the July totals were 77,751 for the Citizen and 50,538 for the News.⁵⁰ According to a compilation by Citizen display advertising manager Frank J. Klein, the News showed a total gain of 768 agate lines of advertising space between the two months, including the lineage space gained by converting from five and one-half point type to eight-point type for classified advertising.⁵¹

46. Interview with Frank J. Klein.

47. Editor & Publisher (International Yearbook Number), February 28, 1957, p. 126; rate card, Lima News.

48. Rate Card, Lima Citizen; Editor & Publisher International Year Book--1959, p. 138.

49. Interview with Klein

50. From records kept by Klein.

51. As to the accuracy of his month-by-month records, Klein told the author, "If anything, I short us and give the benefit of any doubt to the News; after all, if I didn't keep the figures accurately, who would I be kidding? Only myself."

the net News gain was the result of the change in classified advertising type size. Figures show the News gained 4,885 agate lines of classified advertising and 795 lines of local display advertising but lost 5,093 lines of national advertising. The Citizen ran more than 25,700 lines more during the first three weeks of November, 1957--65,093 to 39,364.⁵² For the year 1958, the Citizen published this comparison of advertising inches:⁵³

	<u>Citizen</u>	<u>News</u>
Retail Advertising	681,690	448,018
National Advertising	62,919	36,473
Classified Advertising	212,156	169,968
Total Advertising Inches	956,765	654,459

There was no indication whether the disparity in national advertising lineage between the Citizen and the News was a factor, but the News announced in late May, 1959, "with pleasure the appointment of The Katz Agency, Inc., as its new National Newspaper Representative."⁵⁴ Its national representative had been the John W. Cullen Company; the Citizen was represented from its founding by Shannon & Associates, Inc.⁵⁵

Public Relations and Promotion. The Citizen put great stock in public relations and community promotions--those designed to make friends for the Citizen, to project the image of the Citizen as a community leader, rather than those primarily designed to

52. "Solid Citizen," press section, Time, December 2, 1957, 70:68.

53. "Here Are The Facts," editorial, Lima Citizen, March 18, 1959, p. 1.

54. Advertisement, Lima News, May 31, 1959, p. D-24.

55. Editor & Publisher International Year Book--1959, loc. cit.

produce an immediate customer response. Co-publisher Howenstine put it this way in a report to the stockholders:⁵⁶

From the very beginning your Board of Directors strongly believed that one of the major responsibilities of the Citizen was service to its community.....we have been responsible for a number of outstanding events, which have firmly convinced the community of our desire to serve.

Core of the public relations program as it has been directed by Sid Phillips, long-time promotion man for the Wolfe newspapers in Columbus, Ohio, has been three events and one organization. Biggest of the events was an annual Fourth of July celebration involving all-day programs at two city parks. After the first such party attracted an estimated 30,000 people on July 4, 1958, it was made an annual promotion.⁵⁷ The other two major events are an annual four-day cooking school and an annual "Garden and Outdoor Living" show. The garden and outdoor living show had an automobile show in conjunction with it in May of 1959, and a "Sports Show" starring former Cleveland Indian baseball pitcher Bob Feller was added to the calendar in February of 1959.⁵⁸ Any profits from such activities, such as the approximately \$1,500 from the first cooking school, goes to the Lima Citizen Charities, Inc.⁵⁹ This organization, directed by a board of trustees not connected with the Citizen operation, uses the available funds primarily for emergency aid to stricken or needy individuals in Lima and the Lima area.

56. James A. Howenstine, report, Lima Citizen Publishing Company, stockholders meeting, August 12, 1958.

57. "Citizen-Sponsored Events Informative, Timely & Fun," news story, Lima Citizen, July 1, 1959, p. F-2.

58. Loc. cit.

59. Howenstine, loc. cit.

The News has put more emphasis on institutional advertising as a public relations tool. A prime example was the Lima News Diamond Jubilee Edition of June 28, 1959, a 168-page edition opening the News' Diamond Jubilee Week. Main activity of the week was open house at the News Building and luncheons for special guests two days during the week.⁶⁰ It might have been more than a coincidence that Diamond Jubilee Week came the same week as the second anniversary of publication of the Citizen, and that the Diamond Jubilee edition came out three days ahead of the Citizen's second anniversary edition. The seventy-fifth anniversary edition was based on tracing the history of the News, founded in the late 1890s, back through the Lima Democrat Times, one of the papers the News absorbed in becoming Lima's lone newspaper prior to the establishment of the Citizen. The anniversary edition also was published four months ahead of the October 24 date of the first edition of the Democrat Times.

Response to Competition. The News and the Citizen studiously avoided giving any indication the other existed during the first year and three-quarters of their competition. Each made a point of operating in its news and editorial columns as though the other did not exist, but each also obviously was affected by the presence of the other. The influence went beyond such things as circulation campaigns and reductions in advertising rates and the issuance of a shoppers' guide.⁶¹ The most noticeable change was in physical ap-

60. "You Are Invited," news story, Lima News, June 28, 1959, p. 1.

61. The Citizen for a time printed an extra 15,000 copies of a Thursday "grocery special" edition and distributed it free in competition with the Lima Shopper.

pearance. First the News changed its type face and put emphasis on large heads, large pictures, and a maximum of white space to set off the heads. The Citizen's change was not as abrupt, but it too moved to heavier heads and a stronger display of pictures.⁶² The Citizen from the first put heavy emphasis on a Sunday feature page emphasizing somewhat "solid" or long-term local matters. The News soon followed suit. The News also increased its emphasis on area news and features, possibly because during its major circulation slump it was the area circulation that held up in comparison to the city circulation. The News also became a crusading paper in its news columns. The crusading started in July, 1957, with three crusades launched during the last two weeks of the month. One involved attempting to locate relatives to claim the body of a Lima man killed in a fall down a ravine in northeastern Pennsylvania.⁶³ The first story of the two-story crusade opened this way:

If his survivors are not found within the next few days, a Lima man may be deprived of one of the final decencies a living world can give and be used as a cadaver by medical students of the University of Pennsylvania.

Another was a campaign to save Annie, a St. Bernard in Kenton, whose master was in the Army in Germany. Annie had been ordered killed for killing sheep and the Hardin County Common Pleas Court had refused to issue an injunction to stay the killing of the dog. The News undertook the financing of an appeal in the case.⁶⁴

62. See Plates IV, V, VI, VII.

63. "Body For Research? Limaiter May Be Denied Burial After Fatal Fall," news story, Lima News, July 23, 1957; "News Seeks Relatives--Unclaimed Body Data Collected," news story, Lima News, July 24, 1957, p. 1.

64. "Help Offered Annie," news story, Lima News, July 29, 1957, p. 1; "Annie Fans Take Hope," news story, Lima News, July 30, 1957, p. 1.

Of the three, the major one involved stories and an expose series on vice in Lima. It was keyed to an exclusive interview with Ralph Forsythe, an ex-convict and local vice figure who had been banished from the county by Municipal Court Judge Carl M. Blank and was arrested as a probation violator upon his return to Lima. Core of the interview was Forsythe's statement that "there is just as much vice in Lima today, if not more, than there was two years ago."⁶⁵ The News' anti-vice crusade ended on October 10, 1957, with a story that opened with these three paragraphs:⁶⁶

A magazine article describing Lima as a "city that thrives on the cancer of vice and violence" has appeared on Lima news stands.

The nationally circulated detective magazine story entitled "I ain't got no body", (sic) describes the alleged murder of Charles Conner, former Limaland con man. It tells of Ralph Forsythe, former Lima vice king, who is now charged with the alleged murder of Charles Conner, a former con man.⁶⁷

The magazine story says the town "that could boast of more blood on its sidewalks than spit, more houses of prostitution than hotels, and more rackets than a flourishing tennis court," (sic) had a typical night prior to the alleged murder. The story says this typical night consisted of "a fire on the north side, a wife whose husband beat her into insensibility, smashed her jaw and cut her face with the jagged edge of a drinking glass; a teen-age girl molested by a sex pervert in a local movie house; a hot roder (sic) smashed his car into a store's plate glass window; a house was burglarized; a husband's wife missing; and a patron in a downtown bar was blackjacked and cursed when he complained about his drink." (sic)

65. "Ex-Vice King Charges Lima Still Wide Open," news story, Lima News, July 18, 1957, p. 1.

66. "Lima Vice Gets Magazine Mention," news story, Lima News, October 10, 1957 (no page number).

67. Forsythe was convicted of first degree manslaughter and sentenced to a term of one to twenty years in the Ohio Penitentiary.

Needless to say, this did not particularly win the News any friends. More important, the evening described was neither any specific evening nor a typical one--a fact the News well knew.

Editorially, the News softened its impact. After opposing the library bond issue on the grounds it was "an idea rooted in socialism," it took no such view of a county airport bond issue on the ballot in Allen County in November, 1958. The closest the News came to the issue editorially was an editorial by then-editor Frank H. Cooley run on June 8, 1958, and reprinted three months later in Freeman.⁶⁸

The Citizen editorials by and large were shy on impact, with the major contribution being what it referred to as "The Citizen Blueprint for a Better Tomorrow." It put the Citizen on record as believing Lima needed:⁶⁹

Better streets, more railroad overpasses and underpasses, more off-street parking facilities, more cooperation among city, county and township officials, more recreational and cultural facilities, rehabilitation of blighted sections of downtown Lima, organization of neighborhood groups to spearhead rehabilitation of deteriorating residential areas and many other improvements.

The Citizen's Campaign. After twenty months of maintaining on the surface the fiction that the News did not exist, the Citizen launched a frontal attack early in March. Opening the campaign was a page one editorial entitled "They Said It Couldn't Be Done!" Ident-

68. Supra, p. 24n.

69. "Hello!" We're Glad We Came," news story, Lima Citizen, July 1, 1958.

tified as "one in a series," it opened:⁷⁰

Twenty months ago, to meet a desperate need, The Lima Citizen was born in a community-inspired crusade. Qualified newspaper publishing experts predicted we would not last six months.

After briefly reviewing its account of what had happened in the ensuing months, how the Citizen had been accepted and had survived in the face of "fanatical opposition" aimed at "the enslavement of Lima by the destruction of its Citizen," it noted that:

....Too many loyal friends have been slapping us on the back and saying, "Well, you did it!"

To such friends we say: Thanks for the congratulations...but please hold them until the job is REALLY done. We're far ahead in the ball game... but no ball game is over until the ninth inning. Only COMPLACENCY can stop us from finishing this job.

We have news for Mr. Hoiles: He cannot buy his way back into the domination of Lima. The crusading community spirit which birthed the Citizen is still very much alive. MORE and MORE reader and advertiser support is headed our way...and will continue until this crusade is completely victorious.

In case this editorial left readers wondering just what it was all about, the next one in the series left no doubt. Lima was being asked to stand and be counted on the side of the Citizen or the News. Under the title, "Let's FINISH The Job," it laid the crusade on the line:⁷¹

The people of Lima have a very important decision to make these days: Shall their newspaper be The Lima Citizen or The Lima News?

It's an economic fact that a community of this

70. "They Said It Couldn't Be Done!" editorial, Lima Citizen, March 2, 1959, p. 1.

71. "Let's Finish The Job," editorial, Lima Citizen, March 4, 1959, p. 1.

size cannot support two daily newspapers.

* * *

At the present time the Citizen is far out in front--with more advertisers and subscribers than the News.

But neither paper is making money.

* * *

Blessed by tremendous popular support, the Citizen is almost "breaking even" now.

The other paper, constantly subsidized by outside funds, keeps suffering heavy losses.

Both papers fight vigorously for every subscriber and advertising dollar. But the hard fact still remains:

Lima cannot support two daily newspapers over the long haul.

Now that the Citizen has wholly demonstrated what it is and what it represents, it's time for everyone in Lima to take a good look at their city's future.

It's time for every advertiser to consider what this city would be like under Hoiles' domination.

It's time for every parent to ask himself, "Do I want the minds of my children to feed on a constant diet of hatred and prejudice?"

It's time for everyone in Limaland to stand up and be counted--to put his newspaper dollars where his principles are.

It's time to finish the job!

This campaign came after the Citizen had incurred a net loss of \$118,405.67 during its first year of operation on a gross revenue of \$1,406,708.24. Of that, approximately \$60,000 represented non-recurring expenses involved in getting the paper organized to operate. That meant that for the last ten months of the

year, the loss was approximately \$58,000--an average of some \$5,800 a month.⁷² There were profitable periods of operation during the first year--the pre-Christmas period and again during April and May. Losses for the last six months of 1958 were reportedly down to \$5,000.⁷³ And a report in mid-May was that the second-year operating loss will be reduced to less than \$25,000.⁷⁴

72. Howenstine, loc. cit.

73. "One Paper Too Many In Lima, Ohio," The Reporter, June 11, 1959, 20:27.

74. Wayne G. Current, letter to the author, May 16, 1959.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

As the second year of competitive newspapering drew to a close, the Citizen and the News were involved in a head-on collision of the Citizen's own choosing. It was one the Citizen emphatically denied was brought about by desperation born of financial crises.¹ Instead, the Citizen insisted the "Let's Finish the Job" campaign was aimed at putting the Citizen safely in the black.

The News, on the other hand, publicly considers the controversy, of which the "Let's Finish the Job" campaign is part, to be:²

...nothing unique in our town, not anything more than what the citizenry demanded, reaffirming its needs for the best newspaper possible.

In commemorating the 75th anniversary of The Lima News, it is significant to point out that the former publisher of The News faced a similar union fight at the turn of the century and also the competition of a wildcat newspaper.

The implied application of the adjective "wildcat" to the Citizen could be highly accurate or quite wrong, depending upon

1. "Fact Vs. Fancy", editorial, Lima Citizen, April 21, 1959, p. 1.

2. "Limaland Shows Big Interest in Papers", news story, Lima News, June 28, 1959, p. DD-2.

whether it was being used to mean having the qualities of a wildcat or to mean unsound or financially risky. And even without having details of the printers strike of 1900 available, it would be a mistake to compare it to the Guild's strike against the News.

The Strike

The Guild's strike against the News pointed up at least two things: (1) the value and power of united action by the various unions at a newspaper and (2) the value and power of public relations. It is true that the united action by the Guild and the three craft unions did not shut down the News, and shutting down a struck plant is the ultimate goal of a strike. However, no strike action short of mass picket lines that physically block entrance into the plant and exit from it will shut down a newspaper of less than metropolitan size if the management is serious about publishing. Enough executive personnel and/or non-union workers can always be found to turn out a paper. The quality may be minimal, but the paper can be put out. Although the united action did not shut down the News it did insure that no one union was left in a vulnerable negotiating position, through which it could be driven from the plant at minimum expense and inconvenience to the management. It also assured maximum success at conducting the strike--and especially at producing The Bulletin, a key public relations tool in this case. The Bulletin itself underscored the value to striking newspaper workers of an interim newspaper.

Other newspaper strikes have demonstrated the value of an interim paper when the only regular newspaper or newspapers are shut down. But the Lima strike also demonstrated it can be a valuable public relations and financial aid even when done on a comparatively small scale and with the city's newspaper still publishing.

The Guild's strike and the solidarity of the support of the craft unions, plus the cooperation of other Lima unions and other Guild organizations emphasizes a frequently over-looked fact of industrial life and strife. The News management itself either overlooked or minimized that fact. In reporting the strike and commenting on it, the News most frequently emphasized that agreement had been reached on wages, both sides agreeing to a \$2 contract increase that would amount to a \$1.20 actual increase. But the strike was not about wages; it was about union security. This in a large part accounts for its intensity; a union will invariably be militant in direct ratio to the severity and clarity of a threat to union security. This strike was as severe and clear a threat as could be conceived. Thus the militancy of the four unions involved.

Wayne Current, business manager of the Citizen and probably the one individual most influential in promoting the idea of a new newspaper for Lima, and Citizen editor Robert Barton both deny that the guild or the strike had anything to do with the

founding of the Citizen. They both say there would have been a Citizen whether or not there was a strike.³ However, it appears the fact of the matter is that the matter is that the Guild and the three craft unions must be given a key role in the launching and two-year survival of the Citizen. The Guild was especially important in preparing a public attitude that was ready for the establishment of a locally-owned, locally-operated, locally-staffed daily. This was true both of Guild members such as Chet Swegan and Frank Klein and several others acting as individuals during the interregnum between the announcement of the purchase agreement and the actual taking over of the News Publishing Company by the Holles organization, and the Guild as an organization during the strike.

During the strike the newspaper unions' success at soliciting cancellations of subscriptions to the News was a key element in improving the prospects of a newspaper. And Citizen co-publisher James Howenstine publicly said one of the chief reasons for the Citizen's success was the fact the entire force of Guildmen, ITU members, pressmen, and stereotypers was available to work at the Citizen from its inception. He was quoted as saying that without that trained body of employees the Citizen would not have been possible.⁴

3. Interview with Wayne G. Current and Robert C. Barton.

4. "New Lima Citizen Publisher Tells Success Story to POI", news story, Guild Reporter, December 27, 1957, p. 6.

The News

The News' role in the Lima situation points up two major points that would seem to have application in regard to almost any other newspaper situation. The first might be stated this way: a newspaper is not a meat market or a used car. That is to say, a newspaper that has been successful over a long period of time will come to reflect and be reflected by the community it serves. In many ways, it will be the closest thing there is to a truly community consciousness and conscience--the sole vehicle through which a community as a whole can be aware of what it is and what is happening to it and around it, as well as the sole vehicle for seeing what it could or should be in certain aspects, especially those usually referred to as civic matters. From this it follows that the owner of a newspaper has a responsibility to the newspaper and the community beyond the profit motive which may alone motivate the sale of a meat market or a used car.

The second lesson which might be pointed up by the sale of the News and the subsequent developments is that the newspaper business is in many ways a business for relativists rather than absolutists, for pragmatists rather than dogmatists. Lest this be considered less majestic toward a king of a journalistic empire, it should be pointed out that Raymond Cyrus Hoiles has been a successful dogmatist, hewing to his philosophical absolutism and in the process hewing out a multi-million dollar fortune and control of eleven newspapers. However, one might wonder whether a

large part of Freedom Newspapers' difficulties in Lima did not arise from the very absolutist, dogmatic matter of principle the Holles management kept insisting on. Some people, at least, wondered how an organization operating always on the basis of consistency to the eternal principles of the Decalogue, the Golden Rule, and the Declaration of Independence could sign union shop and maintenance of membership contracts with labor unions in 1956 and yet in 1957 refuse to sign similar contracts because, in the words of Editor Frank H. Cooley, "This is a matter of principle with us--a principle we feel we must stand by even though it should mean difficulty in publishing a paper and a resultant loss in revenue."⁵ If "the open shop is a matter of principle with The News and other newspapers in the Freedom Newspaper system" on May 1, 1957, why was it not on February 29, 1956? Or, if a library bond issue must be opposed as a matter of principle, why must not an airport bond also be opposed?

Then, too the news business obviously is not founded on absolutes. News itself is a variable; what is news in one time and place when aimed at one audience is not news in another time and place when directed at a different audience. News is a completely relative concept by definition, since it basically is defined as a timely account that will interest and/or affect

5. supra. p. 121.

a significant number of persons in the audience being aimed at.⁶ When this working concept collides with a policy based on authoritarian principles, one of two things happens; either the principle gives way or the news is manipulated to serve the principle. In the News' case, the principle did not give way when it collided with the news.

The News' part in the total situation also would seem to indicate that, no matter how foolish it might seem, the spectre of "absentee ownership" is very real. This is a frequent criticism of the News as a Freedom Newspaper, ranging all the way from the reference by a former News reporter to the then executive editor and now editor, Texan James Dean, as a "cotton pickin' carpetbagger" to references to R. C. Holles in terms of his being a "crackpot who sits in California and tries to tell us here in Lima how to think and what to do". Given the present-day economics of the newspaper business, there is no question that a group or chain operation frequently can furnish a better newspaper for its readers than could a strictly local--and more financially limited -- ownership. This is not always the case, but it frequently is. One current example is the improvements being instituted throughout the chain of Copley newspapers. The Cox newspapers and the Knight newspapers might be cited as metropolitan examples.

6. The author developed this functional definition of news as a working newsmen. After becoming a journalism teacher he found it is also essentially the textbook definition: cf.: W. G. Blyer, Newspaper Writing and Editing, p. 30; Mitchell V. Charnley, Reporting p. 34; Grant Milnor Hyde, Newspaper Reporting, pp. 177-194; Curtis Macdougall, Interpretative Reporting, p. 19; Frank Luther Mott, The News in America, pp. 22-23; Robert M. Neal, News Gathering and News Writing, pp. 54-59.

And the News and the reaction to it appears to emphasize one other axiom of the newspaper business: make changes slowly. Editor Coosey, in an article on the Lima situation, indicated that the News management understood the part extreme change in the character of the News had to do with the community's rejection of the "new" News. He commented in part:⁷

Confronted with something we don't understand, most of us are likely to strike out first and question later--a situation that showed that the residents of Lima and vicinity were not very different from anyone else.

This was demonstrated in the current "news-paper fight" in Lima which at this stage of the game is just now settling down into a real struggle to capture the reader audience.

The editorial policy of The News before the purchase of the paper by Freedom Newspapers was a milk-and-water approach to national and local questions designed to displease no one. With the purchase of the paper by the present owners a forthright and outspoken policy was adopted which was, in a sense, so radical a departure from the previous policy that many readers were shocked into striking out before they first asked questions.

Not all observers might agree with Coosey that the "forthright and outspoken policy" was the only thing that caused readers to be "shocked into striking out first and then asking questions". It was Clarence Hoiles, the number two man in Freedom Newspapers, who said in announcing the completion of the purchase that "there are no plans for any changes in management or personnel at this

⁷. Frank E. Coosey, "The Old Paper Replies", American Editor, January, 1958, 1:54.

time."⁸ And the changes started the next day in personnel; before they were completed, even the paper's format had been changed from eight columns to nine.

Contrast this approach with the experience of Dale Stafford, who successfully went from metropolitan journalism to the operation of a small-city daily:⁹

"Change is something you go easy on in taking over a small city newspaper.

"After a month's wait, the town's conservative bank came by for a visit. He did me a service by saying that some people were a little worried about what a metropolitan journalist would do to their newspaper.

"He said the folks were sort of use to the Daily News as it was and thought it was a good product.

"In advance I had determined there would be no editorials advising the local people how to run their affairs until I had lived in the community at least a year."

The Citizen

Possibly the most obvious lessons taught by the Citizen as it came into existence and spent its first two years as the city's number one newspaper are to have opposition that will previously antagonize a significant amount of the community and have a ready-made, locally-experienced staff available. The

8. Supra, p. 24.

9. Dale Stafford, "Dreaming of Your Paper? Switch to Small-city Editing Is Satisfying," Editor & Publisher, January 18, 1958, 91:43.

combination of these two circumstances, however, is likely to remain unique to Lima. But the Citizen's experience has some general lessons, too.

The principal one is a demonstration that the best way to buck newspaper opposition is head-on. That is, compete against an afternoon newspaper by publishing an afternoon paper; push for a maximum share of the available advertising and circulation income. And above all, avoid the stigma of being a "union newspaper." Here the contrast between the situations in Lima and Colorado Springs is instructive. In Lima the Citizen is an afternoon newspaper bucking an afternoon Hoiles newspaper; in Colorado Springs the Free Press is a morning paper bucking an afternoon Hoiles newspaper. In Lima, the Citizen is a community project headed by locally-known people; in Colorado Springs the Free Press is a union paper headed by outsiders sent in by the union. In Colorado Springs the union stigma has alienated the one group in any town that is both the most vehemently anti-union and the most necessary to a paper's success--the retail merchants. In Lima many of the retail merchants own stock in the Citizen, if only in token amounts. It might even be argued that Chet Swegan did the News his greatest disservice when he withdrew from any connection with the solicitations that resulted in establishment of the Citizen. He disassociated himself from active concern in the project when, he felt, Current killed a projected union-organized and union-influenced operation by bringing in industrialists Kamin and Howenstine. But it was they, in effect, who insured the Citizen's "respectability" to a large extent by their

presence. And that, plus the emphasis on head-on competition through the "Let's Finish the Job" campaign may hasten a decision as to which of the two papers survives.

Prospects

Until the overt emphasis on head-on competition provided by the "Let's Finish the Job" campaign, the News, with the Freedom Newspapers organization and finances available for assistance, appeared on its slow and expensive but ultimately effective way to dominance and eventual survival as, once again, Lima's only daily newspaper. It apparently was making a comeback in circulation and advertising lineage and appeared in a much better position to operate indefinitely at a loss, albeit a staggering one. But it had unlimited finances to draw on, compared to the Citizen. The bulk of the Citizen stockholders, if not all of them, in effect threw their money into the pot with the idea it was worth it to bet Hoiles could be given a bad time, if not beaten. It was an investment in protest, rather than in expectation of profit. But that did not mean the Citizen could continue to draw on the stockholders for new capital; at that kind of operation, Freedom Newspapers offered the News much better backing. Thus in a content of attrition to see which organization could last the longest while both were losing money, the News had all the advantages,

The campaign that started March 2, 1959, may have changed all that. Official circulation figures will not be announced until fall, after the quarter ending in September, but the Citizen demonstrably is already gaining advertising ground. A compilation of lineage figures sent to the stockholders showed the Citizen carried 65.5 percent of all national advertising placed in the two papers, 72.3 percent of the advertising by twelve of the leading groceries, and 83.9 percent of the advertising placed by five shoe stores, and 89.3 percent of the advertising by ten other major retail merchandise stores.¹⁰ More significant are the comparative figures for the city's six largest department stores, for which figures were also announced for April. The Citizen's lineage from those six stores was 14,318 lines higher in May than in April, compared to an increase of 469 lines for the News. The Citizen outgained the News in both total lineage and percentage of advertising from those stores. A complete pattern for even the months of April and May cannot be projected from those six accounts, let alone a pattern of a sustained operation. But they could be at least a straw in the wind, indicating the Citizen's business manager has a solid basis for saying:¹¹

I am happy to tell you this ["/Let's Finish the Job" campaign has produced definite results in increased lineage, personnel morale and a good reaction by the general public.

10. Comparative lineage figures of major local accounts for Citizen and News, May 1959, issued by Lima Citizen.

11. Wayne G. Current, letter to the author, May 16, 1959.

There appear to be two imponderables in the situation, one on each side. For the News it is R. C. Hoiles. For the Citizen it is the employees who have been allowing \$10 a week to be held back from their pay, to be paid to them when the Citizen is able to. R. C. Hoiles, for all his apparent vigor in promulgating his ideas through his column, was 80 years old on November 24, 1958. He was ill for three months during the winter of 1958-59, under orders not to be concerned with business affairs.¹² It would appear Clarence Hoiles will become president of Freedom Newspapers, Inc., upon the death of his father. Whether he would be more or less willing to continue the expense of the Lima newspaper competition is another question. And if he did continue it, would the tactics change? If, for example, the intransigence of the News editorial policy were modified, the community resistance to the paper would undoubtedly decline to some extent.

The employees at the Citizen now represent a debt of upwards of \$100,000 in held back pay. They agreed to the arrangement, but if they should decide they want the pay, it could be the end of the Citizen. There is, however, apparently no strong sentiment for demanding the held back money.

No one outside the News management in Lima seems to know what the paper's losses have been. However, the Citizen has estimated it at \$1,335,000, including expected profit which did not materialize. There is also a significant potential loss in pending legal actions. A reversal of the names of the plaintiff and defendant in a court story during the strike brought a million

12. Maxine Hatfield, secretary, letter to the author, March 13, 1959.

dollar suit; an automobile accident involving a News employee brought another \$100,000 action. There was little likelihood when the suits were filed that they would result in judgements of that size, but there are the accumulated severance pay actions asking some \$400,000.¹³

There is also the possibility an outside interest might attempt to buy both papers and merge them into a single paper again. At least two approaches were made in regard to buying the Citizen before it was thirteen months old. However, in case of a sale to an outsider, it is certain there would have to be a contractual agreement that the paper being sold would not be resold to its Lima opposition; both the Citizen and the News executives have reiterated that they are in Lima to stay until there is only one paper.

If the Citizen's campaign should put it in the black, the competitive situation would be limited only by Freedom Newspapers' willingness to absorb losses. The Citizen no doubt is not on its last legs, but if it does not get into the black and stay there before 1959 is over, the News' chances of regaining its position as Lima's lone newspaper would appear excellent.

13. *Supra*, pp. 94, 145.

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Such a list cannot omit Bill Frink, sports director of WIMA and WIMA-TV, who provided insight into the relationship between the radio-TV station and the newspapers in Lima; C. F. (Chet) Swe-gan, who lent his personal files; his wife, Nancy, of the Lima Public Library staff; James W. Bibbins, who did the original photography, and Robert B. Rhode, who made the final prints used in the thesis; and Edward Tonat, formerly of the United Auto Workers Union staff in Detroit, who made available material in connection with

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P L A T E S

EXPLANATION OF PLATES I, II, AND III

News magazine pages reproduced and distributed in Lima prior to the sale of the Lima News to Freedom Newspapers.

THE PRESS

According to Hoiles

In the composing room of The Santa Ana (Calif.) Register, a linotypist walked up to the foreman and demanded his time. "What's the matter?" the foreman asked. "Don't you like your work?"

"Oh, the work is OK," the linotypist said. "Only I'm tired out arguing with R. C. over his dangled-fool ideas. I got to take a rest."

Such incidents pass almost unnoticed by a Register staff long used to the ecen-

Schools, he insists, are out of harmony with the Ten Commandments, hence cannot instill moral values any more "than a house of prostitution can teach chastity; than a group of robbers can try to instill into the group that it is wicked to steal."

Hoiles's six dailies have a combined circulation of 71,000, most of which presumably learned to read in public schools. But the crusty Hoiles goes along with the view of the late author Albert Jay Nock that "it never has been demonstrated yet that it is to the advantage of society that everybody should be able to read and

then, in 1935, moved into Santa Ana. In the strictly family empire, one son, Clarence H. Hoiles, is general manager of all the papers; another, Harry, runs the Colorado Springs paper, and a son-in-law, the Marysville paper.

On the cream-colored wall of The Santa Ana Register's plant is a smudge of black paint once splattered there by a Hoiles critic. "Leave it stay," Hoiles commanded and stay it did. Today he likes to point it out to his irate callers, to remind them that once his home in Ohio was bombed, then to shoot them away so he can go back to work and to arguing with his employees. He never despairs of making a convert; for five years he has waged a running debate with The Register's janitor.



Hoiles: In Santa Ana and five other towns everyone else is out of step

tricties of Raymond Cyrus Hoiles. Hoiles is the slender, long-nosed, and baldish owner of a \$10,000,000 empire composed of The Register and five other small-town dailies—The Bucyrus (Ohio) Telegraph-Forum, The Clovis (N. M.) News-Journal, The Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph, The Pampa (Texas) News, and The Marysville (Calif.) Appeal-Democrat.

At 60, Hoiles last week was engaging in his practice of keeping all six of the communities served by his papers in a stew with daily diatribes against most of what his readers hold dear. His column, "Common Ground," is against more things than Westbrook Pegler (with whom Hoiles corresponds steadily) and it often says so in language that makes Pegler sound like a Casper Milquetoast. "Wicked," "stupid," "immoral," "un-Christian," "Communist"—these are a few of the pet epithets Hoiles reserves for public schools, libraries, majority rule, paper money, collective bargaining, social welfare laws, most taxes, and almost any other institution established since the Middle Ages.

Anti-School Man: Hoiles's fire is largely directed at public schools, which, in his view, are the source of most of society's ills. He regularly outrages educators with such tirades as: "The most harmful person in most every community is the superintendent of compulsory education."

write." Schools, Hoiles argues, breed such "collectivist" nonsense as public roads, minimum-wage laws, compulsory taxes, the Federal Reserve System, child-labor laws, and government bureaucracy. The late Franklin D. Roosevelt (whom Hoiles once classified with Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini) should never have been allowed to learn to read. Neither, according to Hoiles, should Herbert Hoover or Robert A. Taft and other stalwart "collectivist" Republicans.

Hoiles needles the school superintendents in his newspapers' halliwicks for refusing to accept his offer of \$500 to defend public education in debate with any prominent educator. His critics like to point out that all his children went to public schools, but Hoiles replies that there was no place else to send them. Once, from college, his daughter wrote: "Dad, I'm so busy defending your dangled ideas I don't have time to study."

Family Affairs: Hoiles broke into newspapering in his native Alliance, Ohio, and, with his late brother built up a string of three dailies in the '20s, before the two split over unionism. (All but Hoiles's paper in Colorado Springs, site of the International Typographical Union's Printers Home, are open shop.) In 1932, Hoiles sold all his papers to the Brush-Moore chain, except The Bucyrus Telegraph Forum, and

Came the Evolution

The Communist Daily Worker in New York has always sneered at most comic strips as so much bourgeois pap designed to keep the masses soft-headed and happy in capitalist slavery. The Worker once ran a proletarian strip, "Pinky Rankin." Even The Worker's faithful found it duller than Marx, and it faded out of the paper.

On Tuesday this week, The Worker came up with "The Nebbs," a saga of middle-class nonsense originated by the late Sol Hess, and now carried on by the original artist, W. A. Carlson, and the Stauley Baers (Hess's daughter and her husband). Bell Syndicate, Inc., which peddles "The Nebbs" to some 250 capitalistic newspapers also sold Gene Byrnes's "Reg'lar Fellers," Len Kleis's "Virgil," and Guyas Williams's suburbia (in reprint) to The Worker. The Daily Worker also added a crossword puzzle (hitherto a Sunday-only feature), more sports, including a racing handicapper, recipes, and even a fashion column.

Evolution, at least, had arrived on East 13th Street, Manhattan.

Recollections—At a Price

For his yet unpublished memoirs, Winston Churchill wangled from The New York Times and Life magazine more than \$1,000,000 for American rights alone. Had Franklin D. Roosevelt lived to fulfill his commitments to Collier's, he might easily have outstripped Churchill's price. As it is, no one is likely to match it unless Stalin decided to be as mighty with the pen as he is diplomatically.

But meanwhile, Collier's has been proving a happy hunting ground for the men and women around F.D.R. Frances Perkins's book, "The Roosevelt I Knew,"

¹As early as 1926, Collier's signed the late President to a contract which would have made him its associate editor to write his memoirs after he left office. Shortly after the contract was signed, Thomas H. Berk, Collier's publisher, and Roy Howard met at a party. Howard prevailed. Roosevelt would seek a third term, Berk, with the unpublished agreement in mind, pushed the pretention.

THE PRESS

According to Hoiles

When Odessa struck oil 15 years ago, West Texans yahooped with delight. Last week, when a man named Hoiles struck Odessa (pop. 40,000), few citizens knew whether to toss their Stetsons into the air or jump on them. Even by Texas standards, the newcomer looked as ruggedly individualistic as a steer on the loose.

Terrible-tempered Publisher Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, 69, who already owned six newspapers in five states,* bought the *Odessa American*, in partnership with 20 employees, for more than \$100,000. Like the *Chicago Tribune*, whose editorials he reprints on days when his own spleen is small, Publisher Hoiles knows how to make people mad and make it pay.

Minority Prophet. "R.C." is against unions (the Hoiles papers are all open shop), majority rule ("The majority can't give my consent to anything"), progressive income taxes ("nothing but socialism"), public education ("a house of prostitution is voluntary, grade school is not") and aid to Europe ("Let 'em go to hell"). He considers both Herbert Hoover and Earl Warren too left-wing. Two things Publisher Hoiles is in favor of: child labor for the average child ("Give him a pick & shovel and let him get started") and the black market. One touch of liberalism in the Hoiles record: during the war, he campaigned to give U.S. Japanese a fair break.

Born in Alliance, Ohio, Hoiles went to public school because he didn't have any say in the matter, then to a Methodist college. He started work on his older brother's newspaper in Alliance for \$2 a week, was making \$10,000 a year when they had a falling-out over R.C.'s labor-baiting views. Then R.C. published an anti-union paper in industrial Mansfield, Ohio, sold out (for a profit) after enemies blew up his front porch.

Healthy Profit. Moving to California, Hoiles bought the *Register*, doubled its circulation, became the richest man in Orange County as he added one profitable paper after another to his string.

With the help of two sons and a daughter, all of whom work for him, Publisher Hoiles runs his chain from Santa Ana. He shouts his letters and columns to a long-suffering secretary, passes out pamphlets on Christ and taxes to all comers, harangues editors, reporters and the janitor. But he confines his independent opinions to his signed column. Says he: "The news columns don't belong to us. We're just like stenographers."

Even his enemies admit that he tells the news. Most Hoiles readers have little choice, anyway: six of his seven papers are monopolies. Hoiles has survived two

* The Santa Ana, Calif. *Register*; the Colorado Springs *Gazette-Telegraph*; the Bucyrus, Ohio *Telegraph-Forum*; the Tampa, Tex. *Daily News*; the Clovis, N.Mex. *News-Journal*; the Marysville, Calif. *Appeal-Democrat*.



BOB SOBLEBERG—N. Y. Sun
"His Last Home Run"
"Men are ever turning homeward."

dynamitings, four strikes, and floods of counter-denunciation. Sample (from a Colorado Springs pastor): "They say Hoiles has a Stone-Age philosophy. That is an injustice to the Stone Age. . . ."

The Babe Ruth Story

For days, the headlines had chanted that the count was 3 & 2. Yet on the night when death finally came to Babe Ruth, New Yorkers found the news hard to believe. Newspaper switchboards lit up within minutes after the radio bulletin, and were jammed for hours. At Memorial Hospital five extra operators were put on, to repeat over & over that Ruth had died.

No death since Franklin Roosevelt's had moved the people—and the press—to such maudlin excess. Between the



JAC. BROWN—Graphic House
PUBLISHER HOILES
Herbert Hoover is too left-wing.

pumped-up sentimentality of the public mind and the morticianly manners of the public prints, it was impossible to decide which influenced the other more. The genuine tributes to flamboyant George Herman Ruth were drowned in a messy fog of tear-jerking pictures and prose.

Beautiful Death. For four days, the newspapers played the story for all it was worth, and then some. They bickered over whether Ruth really knew that he had cancer of the throat, or had merely known—since the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church were administered July 21—that he was bound to die; they told conflicting stories about whether Teropetra had been used to treat him. They quoted the priest who blessed the Babe ("He died a beautiful death!"). They quoted or parodied the mouths of moppets who hung around the hospital ("Urchins from nearby brownstone houses and cold-water flats," sniffled the *Daily Mirror*, "cuddled in the dark outside . . . fighting off tears when the news came"). For day photographers had been carefully posing the children, chin-in-hand and with ball-and-prop, to illustrate "The Vigil."

Yet it was not newspaper hullabaloo but word of mouth that sent thousands of fans and curiosity-seekers to Yankee Stadium, the "House That Ruth Built," after his widow agreed (too late for most afternoon papers to report it) that she should lie in state there. Whether 82,000 people filed past his casket, or 97,000, or 115,000, depended on which paper you read. Reporters patrolled the shuffling line to extract suitably printable comment.

In Hearst's *Journal-American* Paul Gallico wound himself up and let his self go: "Home was the Home Run King. . . . For this was what Ruth was King and his asterisk—the stroke that led to home. All men are ever turning homeward. The very baseball phrase—'Home Run'—has a music of its own. . . ." On the sport page, Bill Coran told how he had known for some time that "the Great Empire had his thumb pressed against 'strike three' on the final and inescapable indicator." And Sport Editor Jimmy Powers, a more literary fellow, quoted John Donne about not sending to know for whom the hell tolls.

Great Gate. The day of the funeral it rained. With admirable restraint, nobody wrote that "Even the skies wept for the Babe"—except the New York *Times*'s Sport Columnist Arthur Daley, who passed off the remark on a defenseless taxi driver. In St. Patrick's Cathedral, Francis Cardinal Spellman presided at a Requiem Mass (attended by 6,000), with Governor Dewey, New York's Mayor O'Dwyer and Boston's Mayor Curley as pallbearers. The press reported that 75,000 people were "in the area," which could be said of Rockefeller Center any weekday. The *Daily News* headlined RUTH'S LAST GATE HIS GREATEST. The *News* was realistic enough to report that "hardly had the family left the cemetery when the inevitable horde of souvenir hunters broke through a rope barrier and began picking at the remaining mass of floral tributes."

Back from a desperate search for

THE PRESS

According to Hoiles

Over his San Juan newsstand in Texas' lower Rio Grande Valley, Quentin Newcombe tacked a sign: "The Valley Evening Monitor, the Valley Morning Star and the Brownsville Herald are . . . against our American public-school system. Buy other newspapers and help drive these objectionable carpetbaggers from



J. B. Sims—Graphic House
PUBLISHER HOILES
In the valley, bitterness.

our valley." The "carpetbagger" Newcombe meant is 73-year-old Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, a pinch-faced Californian who looks and acts as if he had just bitten into an unripe persimmon.

Until three months ago, few valley Texans had ever heard of Hoiles. Then, for \$2,000,000, his Freedom Newspapers Inc. bought the three main valley dailies—the Brownsville Herald, Harlingen's Morning Star and McAllen's Evening Monitor (total circ. 37,500). From his Santa Ana, Calif. headquarters, old "R.C." himself rode into the valley on a bus to reshape the papers according to Hoiles. He threw out Drew Pearson's column, replaced him with Fulton Lewis, George Sokolsky, and his own column. His favorite campaign: a bitter, continuous assault on public schools on the ground that free, tax-supported education violates the Ten Commandments. Taxing those who do not use public schools, he says, is stealing.

Violent Objections. To readers of the seven other papers in Hoiles's string* of small-city dailies, such crackpot celebrations have come to be part of the routine

grist from the Hoiles mill, to be taken with the news. Among other Hoiles convictions: Herbert Hoover and the National Association of Manufacturers are too leftish, churches are socialistic, majority rule should be abolished, and so should aid to Europe, all involuntary taxes, and unions. Most of his readers have no choice but to read Hoiles papers; in nine of the ten cities, there is no competition. But there have been violent objections. Four times his plants have been struck. Once his home was bombed.

Residents of the valley took different action. Meetings protested Hoiles' stand. The McAllen P.T.A. sent parents a statement which suggested canceling subscriptions "to a paper which denounces . . . public schools." The Monitor lost 2,000 readers; circulations of the others also slid.

Harmless Crackpot? Then Houston Lawyer-Industrialist Roy Hofheinz, 39, who had opened a 50,000-watt radio station, KSOX, in Harlingen, joined the attack on Hoiles in an all-out crusade over the air. His station also began taking ads away from the Hoiles papers. Partly because he was pinched by this competition, and partly because they disagreed with him, Hoiles fired the three editors who had stayed on when he bought the papers.

Radioman Hofheinz broadcast a defense of the editors, added: "There may be those who say that Hoiles is a harmless crackpot. A man backed with a reputed \$20 million and a chain of newspapers cannot be classed as a harmless crackpot." It looked as if Hoiles might have to mend his editorials, if he wanted to stay in the valley.

New Face in the Mirror

London's tabloid Daily Mirror is Britain's earthenest daily and the world's biggest (circ. 4,500,000). Until last week, its undisputed boss was 67-year-old Harry Guy Bartholomew, who was responsible for its pepper-pot tone and all-out backing of Labor. Last week, after 50 years on the Mirror, "Mister Bart" was out. He was retiring, said the board of directors, because of his "advancing years and an earnest desire to promote the advancement of younger men." Actually, at a turbulent meeting of the Mirror board, Mister Bart was voted out of power.

Fleet Street buzzed with explanations. Even though he had doubled the circulation of the Mirror and boosted the circulation of its even gaudier Sunday Pictorial (5,000,000) almost 70% since war's end, many a Fleet Streeter thought he had tried to tackle too much. The Mirror has bought paper mills in Canada, a string of newspapers in Africa and Australia and a chain of Australian radio stations. Mister Bart had also started a labor weekly, *Public Opinion*, to challenge the left-wing *New Statesman* and *Nation* and *Bevanite London Tribune*. *Public Opinion* folded, and the Mirror also lost on some of the other ventures: Mister Bart's close friendship with Labor Foreign Minister Herbert

Morrison became embarrassing, especially after Morrison flopped on his job. The Mirror and the Sunday Pictorial had claimed a big share in Labor's 1945 victory and its return to power in 1950, and Fleet Street whispered that the paper had become Morrison's mouthpiece. Finally the Mirror was sued for libel by Winston Churchill, for labeling him a warmonger during the last election.

To succeed Mister Bart, Mirror directors named 51-year-old Cecil Harmsworth King,* a veteran newsman who has been everything on the paper from junior reporter to picture boss and advertising director. Oxford-educated Chairman King is no socialist, but no Tory either. He was one of Mister Bart's chief executives in the mid-'30s when the Mirror swung from a right-wing position into the socialist camp. But now a new swing is starting. Said King: "There'll be no change noticeably in either the layout or the politics of the paper. But the Mirror must move with the times or come to a sticky end." Since the times in Britain had moved right, it looked as if the Mirror would edge over a bit too.

Shaking the Empire

"We are trying," said Publisher William Randolph Hearst Jr., "to do away with the oldish elements that have crept into our operations." And so the Hearst empire was getting the biggest shaking up in years. As the "oldish elements" were swept



PUBLISHER HEARST
At the top, objectivity.

out, so were many of the oldish ideas of the late W. R. Hearst.

Over the wires to the editors of his 18 daily and Sunday papers, Bill Hearst sent orders for more local stories and editorials, more straight news reporting ("Avoid bias or lack of objectivity"). Some papers

* Nephew of the late great Lord Northcliffe (whose name was Harmsworth).

* The Santa Ana, Calif. Register; Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph; Bucyrus, Ohio Telegraph-Forum; Clovis, N. Mex. News-Journal; Marysville, Calif. Appeal-Democrat; Odessa, Texas American; Pampa, Texas News.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV

Front page of Lima News, July 1, 1957

THE LIMA NEWS

FULL LEAD WIRE SERVICE OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

VOL. 73 NO 175 (74 PAGES TODAY) MONDAY, JULY 1, 1957, LIMA, OHIO SEVEN CENTS



"It is not men and women who make the world work, it is the things that men and women do. It is the things that men and women do that make the world work."



DISAPPEARING HOSE—A garden hose was mysteriously washed into the ground in the back yard of the Dun Barren residence and Richard's Drive... The hose disappeared in the ground in the back yard of the Dun Barren residence and Richard's Drive... The hose disappeared in the ground in the back yard of the Dun Barren residence and Richard's Drive...

TV Curbs Proposed By Bricker

Sen. Frank B. Rowan (R-Ohio) today proposed legislation to curtail television's freedom of expression... The Senate Commerce Committee... The House Education and Labor Committee...

2 Drown When Boat Overturns In Lake



Two men drowned as St. Mary's... The boat overturned in the lake... The two men drowned as St. Mary's...

St. Marys Fishermen Find Body

Two men drowned as St. Mary's fishermen... The body was found in the lake... The fishermen were searching for the men...

Press Law Under Fire In Congress

Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) today introduced legislation to amend the Espionage Act...

Business Booms Despite Walkout

Business in Lima is booming despite the teachers' walkout... The city's economy is showing signs of recovery...

Mount Climber Falls 200 Feet

A climber fell 200 feet from a mountain peak... The climber was on a rope when he fell...

Congregation Walks Out In Protest

A congregation walked out in protest... The protest was against the church's policies...

Following The Fur - This Case Is One That Is Being Followed Closely

This case is being followed closely... The case involves a fur trader and a government official...

St. Marys Fishermen Find Body

St. Marys fishermen found a body... The body was found in the lake...

Press Law Under Fire In Congress

Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) today introduced legislation to amend the Espionage Act...

Business Booms Despite Walkout

Business in Lima is booming despite the teachers' walkout... The city's economy is showing signs of recovery...

Mount Climber Falls 200 Feet

A climber fell 200 feet from a mountain peak... The climber was on a rope when he fell...

Dead' Rector Comes Back After Regaining Memory

A rector who was declared dead has returned... He regained his memory after a long period of unconsciousness...

CIO Rops 'Bonozo' Low For Employers In Ohio

The CIO is opposing a low wage rate for employers in Ohio... The union is fighting for higher wages...

Big Federal Agencies Said Back

Big federal agencies are being reorganized... The reorganization is part of a government restructuring plan...

Sohio Cancels Meeting With Union Officials

Sohio has canceled a meeting with union officials... The cancellation is due to a disagreement over wages...

Rats Room Hurricane Debris As Disease Threatens Town

Rats are eating hurricane debris in a town... The debris is a health hazard and a source of disease...

On Inside Pages

On inside pages... This section contains news items from other parts of the newspaper...

Following The Fur - This Case Is One That Is Being Followed Closely

This case is being followed closely... The case involves a fur trader and a government official...

St. Marys Fishermen Find Body

St. Marys fishermen found a body... The body was found in the lake...

On Inside Pages

On inside pages... This section contains news items from other parts of the newspaper...

EXPLANATION OF PLATE V

Front page of Lima News, September 2, 1958

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI

Front page of Lima Citizen's first issue, July 1, 1957

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII

Front page of Lima Citizen, September 2, 1958

The Lima Citizen

Sunny & Warmer
Some warm weather today. Partly cloudy with a few showers. High 64, low 47, wind light S.W. at 15 m.p.h. at 10 a.m. Forecast: Partly cloudy with a few showers. High 64, low 47, wind light S.W. at 15 m.p.h. at 10 a.m.

Today's Chuckle
Children often don't have many advantages for adults. They don't have to read papers.

Second Year—No. 64 Lima, Ohio, Tuesday, September 3, 1936 Phone, CA 54850 30 Pages Price 5 Cents

ICELANDERS, BRITISH BATTLE



New Where's That Training Board?

Ironing Board Biggest Problem For Miss Ohio

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. (AP)—Miss Ohio, Frances M. Brown, found ironing to be the biggest problem in her wardrobe. She said she had to spend more time on it than on any other garment. She said she had to spend more time on it than on any other garment. She said she had to spend more time on it than on any other garment.

Nationalists Claim 11 Torpedo Boats Sunk

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. (AP)—Nationalists claimed today that 11 torpedo boats were sunk by the Italian navy in the Black Sea. The nationalists claimed that the boats were sunk by the Italian navy in the Black Sea.

Inside The Citizen

Wanda Jean Bennett Page 8
Ann News Page 10
Editorials Page 11
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Puzzle Page 13
Sports Page 14
Notes Page 15

Coast Guard Attempts To Seize Boat

WASH. (AP)—A Coast Guard cutter today attempted to seize a boat in the Chesapeake Bay. The cutter was unable to do so because the boat was too fast.



Tranquity Marks Scene At A-Mish School This Morning

Amish Pupils Enter Schools; County Action Seen Delayed

The first Amish school opened today in Adams County, Ohio. The school was opened in Adams County, Ohio. The school was opened in Adams County, Ohio.

Traffic Tall Slacks In Final Hours

The annual traffic battle has been in its final hours. The traffic has been in its final hours. The traffic has been in its final hours.

Central Opening Delayed To Sept. 15

The opening of the central office has been delayed to September 15. The opening of the central office has been delayed to September 15.

Station Burns While Firemen Away At Fire

A fire station in Lima, Ohio, was burned today while the firemen were away at a fire. The fire station was burned today while the firemen were away at a fire.

Judge Hears Integration Appeal In Virginia

A judge in Virginia heard an appeal regarding integration. The judge heard an appeal regarding integration. The judge heard an appeal regarding integration.

County's Traffic Record Unmanned

The county's traffic record is unmanned. The county's traffic record is unmanned. The county's traffic record is unmanned.



Accidents Claim 33 Ohioans Over Weekend

Thirty-three Ohioans were killed in accidents over the weekend. The accidents were over the weekend. The accidents were over the weekend.

Accidents Claim 33 Ohioans Over Weekend

Thirty-three Ohioans were killed in accidents over the weekend. The accidents were over the weekend. The accidents were over the weekend.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interlocking organization in Freedom Newspapers as indicated by Lima News partnership status on the part of persons holding executive positions with other units of the Freedom Newspaper group as of Sept. 29, 1956.*

Santa Ana, Calif., Register. Publishing company--Freedom Newspapers, Inc. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: R. C. Hoiles, pub, ed; Clonell C. Wilkinson, me; C. H. Hoiles, gm; Robert R. Biles, bm; Fred I. Hansen, cm; Edmund L. West, sp; Louise West, we; J. E. Lyons, ad; Kenneth E. Johnson, ram; Donald D. Schneeweis, cam; William Lawrence, ms.**

Marysville-Yuba City, Calif., Appeal-Democrat. Publishing company--Appeal-Democrat. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: R. C. Hoiles, pres; Robert C. Hardie, pub, ed, gm, bm; Warren Thornton, ce, ne.

Colorado Springs, Colo., Gazette-Telegraph. Publishing company--Freedom Newspapers, Inc. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: R. C. Hoiles, pres; Harry H. Hoiles, pub, ed, gm; Byron L. Akers, me; W. G. Hutchinson, cm; Douglas A. Feely, ad; B. E. Levick, cam; Lloyd C. Wilkins, ms.

Clovis, N.M., News-Journal. Publishing company--Clovis News-Journal. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: Charles H. Fisher, pub, gm, bm, pm; R. C. Hoiles, eep; Charles S. Stanfield, me, ne; J. R. Spencer, cm; Roy E. Dickey, ms.

Ducyrus, Ohio, Telegraph-Forum. Publishing company--Freedom Newspapers, Inc. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: R. C. Hoiles, pres; Adam Boryscka, pub, eep, e, gm, bm; Benjamin Anslow, cm; Franklin D. Armstrong, ad, ram, cam, nga, apm.

*Compiled from sworn statement of ownership, Lima News, September 30, 1956, p. 7-B, and "Personnel, Circulations, Rates, Services of U.S. Daily Newspapers," Editor & Publisher (International Year Book Number), February 28, 1957, 90:27-168.

**Key to abbreviations: pub--publisher, pres--president, ed--editor, eep--editor editorial page, me--managing editor, ce--city editor, ne--news editor, sp--sports editor, sp dir--sports director, we--women's editor, gm--general manager, bm--business manager, cm--circulation manager, ad--advertising director, nga--manager general advertising, ram--retail advertising manager, cam--classified advertising manager, pm--promotion manager, apm--advertising promotion manager, ms--mechanical superintendent.

Brownsville, Texas, Herald. Publishing company--Brownsville Herald Division of Freedom Newspapers. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: D. R. Segal, ed, bm; R. M. Julliard, gm; E. C. Osborn, sp dir; William J. Mason, em; L. G. Nicolai, nga, apm.

Harlingen, Texas, Valley Morning Star. Publishing company--Valley Morning Star Division of Freedom Newspapers. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: D. R. Segal, sep; E. C. Osborn, sp dir; R. M. Julliard, gm, bm; L. G. Nicolai, nga, apm; F. William Power, ram; Sue Ainsworth, cam; William A. Nichols, ma.

McAllen, Texas, Valley Evening Monitor. Publishing company--Valley Evening Monitor Division of Freedom Newspapers. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: D. R. Segal, sep; E. C. Osborn, sp dir; E. M. Julliard, gm; John P. Kinard, bm; L. Lawrence Broussard, em; L. G. Nicolai, nga, apm; William A. Hill, ram.

Odessa, Texas, American. Publishing company--Odessa American Publishing Co. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: V. L. Bolt, pub, gm; Bill Calvert, ram.

Pampa, Texas, News. Publishing company--Pampa Daily News. Executives holding partnership status in the Lima News: E. Roy Smith, pub; Jessye I. Stroup, cam; Lewis D. Caudill, em; K. L. Green, ms.

APPENDIX B

Here Is This Newspaper's Policy*

In taking over The Lima News, it seems only fair to all concerned that we should frankly state our beliefs. We should utter that which we sincerely believe to be true as to what is right and proper and thus add our influence to other influences and let the results work themselves out.

A newspaper should be a good place to exchange ideas.

Before stating our policies, we want to make it clear that we invite questions on them. And, if we cannot answer without evasion or contradictions, we will admit our error and change policies.

We believe that most of our political trouble comes from putting confidence in persons who continue to advocate government economic planning even though they can neither rationally answer questions about what they advocate nor find anyone who can.

We know of no better way to learn and develop, and thus be able to be useful, than have our beliefs questioned either privately or publicly.

THE 11 DAILY NEWSPAPERS published by Freedom Newspapers, Inc., and Freedom Newspapers, a co-partnership, believe in a system of natural law.

It is our belief that every fact of existence--if it is a fact--is immutable, irrevocable and eternal.

That is--we believe that moral facts are no less concrete and timeless than physical facts. The law of gravity does not change with the seasons; atomic behavior is not subject to the good intentions of man. For physical facts are not capable of change; else they would not be facts.

AND SO WE BELIEVE it is with moral facts, which stem from the same source as physical laws.

Let's take two facts, one physical and one moral.

1. Water seeks its level.
2. Thou shalt not steal.

It is commonly accepted that the first fact is not subject to amendment. A change in political administration, a vote of the people, a petition of the Society of Learned Mathematicians of the World cannot change it. It exists as fact.

The second law, we believe, is no more subject to amendment than the first. The majority might wink at it, try to reconcile it with some base or unsound opinion. But that does not affect the law--only the people who must live by it. Jumping out of a five-story building to flaunt the law of gravity will hardly bring about a suspension of that law. Neither will disregarding moral law bring about its abolition.

These things we believe.

NOW, WE HAVE OUTLINED our belief in fundamental moral laws, or fact.

Next, it is incumbent upon us to state those laws as we believe them.

We consider three concepts to govern human behavior. They are:

1. The Decalogue.
2. The Sermon on the Mount, which is an exposition of the Decalogue.
3. And the Declaration of Independence which (sic) is a political expression of the Commandments.

(The literature of two great religions are in agreement. The Hebrew Talmud said the Decalogue is the law, and all else is explanation or commentary. Jesus said the law is contained in the first Commandment and He condensed the 10 laws into the Golden Rule

The las (Decalogue) and the Addenda (Sermon and Declaration) are the guides by which we measure all things to determine if they are moral or immoral--good or bad--helpful or harmful to the human race. They are the measuring devices of morality--a yardstick of ethics.

THE YARDSTICKS OF MORALITY we have mentioned indicate several facts, uncontroverted by any Christian or Jew of our acquaintance. They include:

1. That every man was born with certain inalienable rights.
2. That these rights are equally the birthright of all men, that they are the endowment of the Creator and not the gift of a transient State.

Since we believe these facts are expressed in the Commandments, we do not believe any man has a moral right to curtail the rights of his brother. That is, no man has the right to initiate force against his brother. Every man, to be sure, has the right and even the duty to resist the initiation of force, but not to initiate it.

In all of recorded history, men have banded together for certain reasons--to hunt, to play, to trade, to build. In a voluntary association, such as the one that publishes these newspapers, each man exercises his rights through the group. BUT, simply because each man is a member of a group, he cannot morally assume rights he did not possess as an individual. And, neither does the group possess rights which the individuals in that group did not possess as individuals.

AN EXAMPLE--John Doe is a shoe salesman. He does not have a right to sell shoes at gunpoint. Now, if 10,000 John Does in the shoe business form an organization, that organization does not have the right to sell shoes at gunpoint.

Rights and morality are individual matters. The Decalogue does not make exceptions for groups. It does not say, "Thou shalt not steal except at the desire of the majority." It says, "Thou shalt not steal." Period. And a man's associations with a group does not relieve him of the burden of that law.

We believe, therefore, in a single standard of conduct. Thomas Jefferson stated the matter. He wrote: "I know of but one code of morality, whether it be for men or for nations."

OUR BELIEF in a single standard of conduct, and in the existence of individual rights and in the fact of Natural law, brings us to oppose all things in which an individual or group seeks to initiate force--that is, curtail the rights of any other individual or group.

We must oppose all brands of socialism, whether it chooses to call itself Communism, Fascism, Fabian socialism or New Dealism.

We oppose socialism in factories, schools, churches and in the market place.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE there is any such animal as "good political socialism," either on a local, national or international scale. We do not believe in initiating force for any reason, even though the cause is a "good" one.

We believe it is violating the rights of the individual to force him to support a school, church, industry, business or profession if he does not choose to do so.

Two men out of a hundred have no moral right to force the 98 to support a school or church. Neither do the 98 have the moral right to force the remaining two men to support that school or church.

If that belief is contrary to the Decalogue we want to be convinced. Repeatedly we have offered as much as \$1000 to outstanding socialists to debate publicly the morality of socialism where each person would agree to answer questions as he would before a court.

We earnestly seek to be shown any errors in our reasoning.

If six, 26, or 6,000,000 individuals voluntarily get together to establish a church, school, business or club--and if those people do not curtail the rights of anyone inside or outside their own group--we have no argument with them.

The majority cannot write moral law. Neither can the minority. But, neither does the majority enjoy any moral advantages denied the minority, or the individual.

WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, in minimal government. The state, at best, exercises those powers which the individuals in that state voluntarily have turned over to the state for administration. (An example: We have a police force because we'd rather support a police force than wear a gun. The police force should have no powers denied any individual, however, and neither should the existence of a police force abridge the right of any citizen to defend himself.)

We do not believe the state has any rights simply because it is the state.

Governments exist to protect the rights of EVERY individual--not to redistribute the poverty, manipulate the economy or establish the pattern of a society.

These are the basic elements in our belief and of our editorial policy.

It is our belief that to the degree these policies are followed you will have a deeper understanding of your religion, greater freedom and a higher standard of living. These policies will also benefit every person in the community, the state, the nation and the world. That is the reason they are our policies.

WE INTEND also to continue this newspaper's policy of complete and unbiased news and picture coverage, and to expand that coverage if possible.

APPENDIX C

What About the Library Bond Issue:

How are you going to vote on the upcoming bond issue in Lima?

Unless there is a serious thought given to this question, we have a feeling that there will be many voters carelessly stamp an X for various and sundry reasons without realizing that they are being asked to take a stand on a truly vital issue. So we are attempting to present the issue to Lima voters with the hope that they will realize all of the implications that are involved in the bond issue.

It is not good enough to question whether the \$880,000 that will have to come from the taxpayers is the right amount or not. Certainly it is a lot of money and it comes at a time when there is little chance of tax relief from other governmental agencies regardless of the campaign oratory.

Nor is it good enough to take the viewpoint that "it won't cost me very much and rather than get into a stew about it I'll go along with the bond issue." We feel certain that if the voters were assured that nothing but Communist literature were available in the library that the viewpoint would be "I don't care if it only costs me one cent--I won't give a penny to support a Communist library." So the amount of money involved, whether it is \$8, \$80, \$80,000, or \$8,000,000, is not the basis upon which voters can properly determine whether to approve or disapprove the bond issue.

Nor is it good enough to shrug off the whole business with a "let George do it" attitude that implies a general feeling that it is the other fellow's worry so "I'll just let them run it any way they want to." It is obvious that if the other fellow is going to run it that the general vote of the citizens is not necessary. If those voters who are called upon for judgment in the matter of the bond issue refuse to concern themselves with the question at hand we might as well turn over to "the other fellow" all the machinery of government and do away with the voting system.

Up to this point, we have tried to indicate that the vote on the library bond issue is of great importance, both because it is an expression of what we are for as well as what we are opposed to.

But the real issue of the library bond issue lies in the implications that will result if the bond issue is approved: (sic) and that implication is that all too few voters have failed to realize that they are being asked to give their approval to an idea that is rooted in socialism.

Webster reminds us that socialism is: "A political and economic theory of social organization based on collective or governmental ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods; also, a policy or practice based on this theory. Cf. (to compare) (sic) Collectivism, Fabianism, Marxism, Bolshevism, Communism."*

Well, what do we have in the question of a government supported book agency: Government (the city) takes tax money from those who want to support such an agency AND THOSE WHO DO NOT, government buys the books which shall be made available, government determines what "party line" or policy shall be followed, government hires the persons concerned with the operation of the library, government undermines the free enterprisic businesses trying to compete with the agency and government is prepared to use force and coercion to carry out this program.**

We take the position that such a program moves all of us closer and closer to total socialism, communism, collectivism or whatever you want to call it. Since we are adamant in our opposition to socialism, communism, bolshevism and firmly believe that the best course for Americans to follow is one which leads to greater freedom, we cannot support or give our approval to any implication or suggestion that approves of these isms. We cannot see how we would be assisting our fellow residents of Limaland to advocate a course that gives approval to such isms and we do feel that the greatest service we can offer in the community is to bring about a renewed consecration and belief in the rights and liberties of all our residents.

To argue that "the majority rules" is to cast aside the real question of right and wrong, regardless of the whimsical feelings of the majority at one time or another. At one time we had an overwhelming majority of the voters in this country that believed it was right to hold human beings in slavery. The majority rule

*The editorial's translation of the abbreviation Cf. as "to compare" here makes socialism synonymous with "Collectivism, Fabianism, Marxism, Bolshevism, Communism." This error was never pointed out and corrected by the News but was corrected by usage in a later editorial ("Q & A on the Library Bond Issue," Sept. 28, 1956, p. 26). In the later editorial, the News again quoted the passage from Webster's dictionary, but this way: ".... Cf. (meaning compare) Collectivism,...."

**This sentence contains an error of fact. "Government" here would be the school district, not the city, since the library is operated as a city school district system. Lima City School district and the City of Lima are separate units of local government; they do not have concurrent jurisdiction or powers, nor are they geographically congruent.

can set up the legal authority for such an action but such legal authority cannot tell whether its actions are right or wrong.

The money involved in the library bond issue actually is of secondary importance. The vital question is: shall we as voters give our approval of an obviously socialistic institution? To such a question we can only say that our answer is and will be an unequivocal "No."

APPENDIX D

Organizations Listed As Endorsing
the Lima Library Bond Issue

Add-A-Stitch Club
 Alcoa-Sertoma Club
 Allen County Academy of Medicine
 Allen County Citizenship Council
 Allen County Council for Retarded Children
 Allen County Historical and Archaeological Association
 Allen County Mental Health Association
 Allen County Women's Christian Temperance Union
 Altrurian Club
 Altrusa Club
 American Association of University Women, Lima Branch
 American Legion, William Paul Gallagher Post
 American Newspaper Guild, Lima Local 166
 Amil Tellers of Dramatics, Inc.
 Arbutus Club
 Art Study Club
 Association of Commerce
 Avo Maria Study Club
 Allen County Bar Association
 Band and Orchestra Parents Association
 Beta Sigma Phi City Council
 Beta Sigma Phi--Tau Chapter
 Better Business Bureau
 B'nai B'rith, Chapter 299
 B'nai B'rith, Lima Lodge 786
 Bradfield Community Center
 Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Lodge 200
 Business and Professional Women's Club
 Catholic College Women's Club
 Chautauqua Club
 Child Conservation League--Hamlyn, Senior, Junior and
 Los Meres Chapters
 Chi Omega Chi Sorority
 Christian Culture Club
 Citizen's School Advisory Committee
 CIO Regional Council
 Clonian Club
 Cloverleaf Literary Club
 Council of Catholic Women
 Allen County Council of Churches
 Council of Church Women
 Daughters of American Revolution
 Daughters of Isabella
 Daughters of Penelope
 Disabled American Veterans
 Disables American Veterans Auxiliary

Emerson School PTA
 Faurot School PTA
 Garfield School PTA
 Hadassah, Lima Chapter
 Hawthorne Club
 Helping Hand Club
 Horace Mann Mothers' Study Club
 Horace Mann School PTA
 Junior Service League
 Kiwanis Club
 League for Cooperation and Improvement, Lima Chapter
 League of Women Voters
 Lima Antiques Club
 Lima Building and Construction Trades Council
 Lima District TB Hospital Ladies Board
 Lima-Allen County Council on Economic Education
 Lima Parent-Teachers Association Council
 Lima Federation of Women's Clubs
 Lima Industrial Council
 Lima Jaycettes
 Lima Junior Chamber of Commerce
 Lima Management Club
 Lima Mayor and Council
 Lima Personnel Managers' Association
 Lima Realtors Association
 Lima Teachers Association Executive Council
 Lima Typographical Union, Local 296
 Lions Club
 Longfellow Mothers' Study Club
 Lotus Club
 Market Street Presbyterian Church, Senior Guild
 Ministerial Association
 Motion Picture Projectionists, Local 349
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored
 People
 Letter Carriers Association, Ladies Auxiliary
 Lincoln Mothers' Study Club
 Lincoln School PTA
 Longfellow School PTA
 Lowell School PTA
 Mercy Circle, Trinity Methodist Church
 Needlecraft Club
 Nous Pensons A Tous Sorority
 Optimist Club
 PEO Sisterhood, Chapter AS
 Phi Beta Psi Sorority, Iota Kappa Chapter
 Philomathean Club
 Rotary Club
 Round Table
 Salvation Army, Lima Advisory Board
 Senior High Boosters Club
 Sertama Club

Shaare Zedek Congregation
Shaare Zedek Sisterhood
Social and Literary Club
Social Workers Council of Allen County
Spartan Mothers' Club
St. Gerard's Holy Name Society
St. Gerard's Mothers' Club
St. John's Altar and Rosary Society
Student Council of Lima Senior High School
T and T Club
Temple Beth Israel Brotherhood
Temple Beth Israel Sisterhood
Truck Drivers, Warehousemen & Helpers Union
Local 908
Twentieth Century Club
United States Daughters of 1812, Jacob Stemple
Chapter
Visiting Nurses Association
Whittier School PTA
The Woman's Club
Women's Society of Christian Service, Trinity
Methodist Church
YWCA Executive Board

APPENDIX E

Pro-Library Bond Issue
Advertisers in the Lima News

Alpine Village (restaurant, bar)
 Armstrong & Son Co. (furniture)
 Basinger's Jewelry
 Bindle Appliance
 Blattner's Department Store
 H. Bloom & Co. (junk dealer)
 Cleman's (cafeteria, catering service)
 Crawford Shoes
 Fairview Coal Co.
 Folsom Insurance Agency
 Ghafter Outdoor Advertising
 Gregg's (department store)
 Hart Jewelers
 Heifner, Inc. (dairy)
 Home Service Cleaners
 Jocelle's (dress shop)
 Leader Store (department store)
 Lima Iron & Metal Co.
 Lima Lumber
 Lima Paint & Color Co.
 Lima Storage Battery Co.
 Lord's Men's Wear
 Louisiana Food Market
 McNamara Realty
 Madison's Ready-To-Wear
 Milano Cafe
 Pangles Master Markets, Inc.
 Peerless Coal Co.
 J. C. Penney Co.
 Porter's Music Store
 Renz's Bakery
 Retail Liquor Dealers Association of Allen County
 The Retreat (tavern)
 Rex Manufacturing Co. (awnings)
 Ritz Cleaners
 Ritz-Son Shop (corsets)
 Sarno's Restaurant
 Schnell's Book Store
 Schiff's Shoe Store
 Sealts Cleaners
 Southside Building & Loan
 Webb Insurance Agency, Inc.
 West Ohio Gas
 Wright's IGA Foodliner
 Zender Music Store

APPENDIX F

Why Can't Lima Got Its Library?

Under ordinary circumstances The Blade would not think of intervening in a controversy down in Lima over the issuance of bonds for a new public library.

Even though we are for bigger and better libraries every-where--because we believe that along with schools and churches they contribute more to the development of mankind than anything else,--we would still say that normally this was an issue for the people of Lima alone to settle.

But in this election the people of Lima are confronted with a strange situation. Some months ago their newspaper, the Lima News, was bought by a Californian, one Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, who operates a chain of newspapers through which he disseminates some weird and fantastic notions.

Mr. Hoiles believes that public schools and labor unions and social security are socialistic. He opposes virtually everything that costs tax money. And he has decreed that the people of Lima should spend none of it on badly needed new library buildings.

Under these circumstances, The Blade feels fully warranted in taking up the cudgels for its good friends and neighbors. Compared with the Lima News, which is now being operated largely by remote control from California, ours is the closest thing to a hometown paper Lima has.

And we say that if the people there want a new library building no outsider has a right to forbid it just because he bought their newspaper.

As for Mr. Hoiles' contention that public libraries are socialistic, that's so much poppycock.

Public libraries existed centuries before Karl Marx wrote "Das Kapital," the socialist manifesto. France had them under its kings. Britain had them under its constitutional monarchy. Such rock-ribbed New England towns as Salisbury, Conn., and Peterborough, N. H., established them almost 150 years ago.

No, we know the newspaper business, and we know that the argument Mr. Hoiles is setting forth in the Lima News is a phoney. He is against spending tax money for a new library, all right, but that's because he has learned long since that this is the easiest thing a newspaper can do.

For, naturally, people don't like to vote taxes for anything. They would prefer to keep all their own money. So to persuade the citizens of any community to vote bonds or levies for any kind of public improvement, its civic leaders and its newspapers have to overcome that innate opposition by appealing to their civic pride and civic duty.

But Mr. Hoiles, who doesn't have any where Lima is concerned, prefers to operate his newspapers the easy way by catering to the selfishness of human nature and giving people, who don't like to anyway, an excuse for not voting to increase their taxes.

For this reason, much more is at stake in this election in Lima tomorrow than the new library building, badly needed though that is.

For if Mr. Hoiles succeeds in blocking this public improvement with his don't-vote taxes, don't-spend money formula, he will be increasingly successful in applying it whenever anything else is proposed in Lima for the welfare of its citizens and the benefit of the community. He will block its progress altogether.

That is why we would vote for the new library if we lived in Lima even though we had never read a book and never intended to. We wouldn't let any outsider come into our city and tell us what we could and couldn't do.

APPENDIX G

Table 1. "Adequate and impartial" news coverage of the Lima library bond issue campaign during September and October, 1956, by the Lima News.

Date	Page	Headline	Column :Inches :of Copy	Total :Inches
Sept. 5	15 (section)	Humbert Heads Library Drive Publicity Phase	4	5 1/2
Sept. 11	13 (section)	Library Bond Issue Endorsed	1 1/2	2
Sept. 14	8	Two Bond Issues Are Endorsed	1 1/4	1 3/4
Sept. 18	13 (section)	Humbert Speaks on Library Issue	2 1/4	3 1/4
Sept. 18	13 (section)	Library Bond Issue Gets Council OK	3 1/2*	5
Sept. 19	1	Principals' Aid Enlisted In Library Bond Drive	6 1/2	9
Sept. 20	11 (section)	Weadock To Speak On Library Issue	1 1/4	1 3/4
Sept. 23	15-C	Weadock Asks Lima Realtors Support Library	3	4
Sept. 26	9 (section)	Weadock Speaks on Library Issue	3 1/2	4 1/4
Sept. 28	11 (section)	Groups Endorse Library Issue	5	6 1/4
Oct. 2	13 (section)	Parking of 1908 Car at Library OK'd by Council	2 3/4	3 1/2
Oct. 4	11 (section)	Social Workers Endorse Library Bond Issue	1	1 1/2

*The first 3/4 of a column inch concerned the endorsement; the remainder concerned other, routine Council actions.

Table 1 (concluded).

Date	Page	Headline	Column : Inches : of Copy	Total : Inches
Oct. 7	13-C	Lima Realtors Endorse Library Bond Issue	2	3
Oct. 10	25 (section)	51 Groups Back Library Issue	4	5 1/4
Oct. 10	25 (section)	Spartan Mothers Hear Library Talk	1 1/4	2
Oct. 14	1-B (section)	Service Clubs To Hear Library Talk	1 3/4	2 1/4
Oct. 14	2-B	More Groups Endorse Issue	3 1/2	4 1/2
Oct. 24	15 (section)	'Pep Rally' for Library Draws 200	7	8 1/2
Totals.....			48	73 1/4

APPENDIX H

News Copy and Letters to the Editor Copy Carried
by the Lima News during September and October of
1956 Pertaining to the Need for a New
Library Building

"Library Bond Issue Endorsed,"
Sept. 11, 1946, p. 13

The Endorsement (sic) came after James J. Weadock Jr., president of the board of library trustees, made a plea for a new building and explained the services rendered by the library

(2nd paragraph of 2)

"Principals' Aid Enlisted in Library Drive,"
Sept. 19, p. 1

Kempf said present library facilities were inadequate and were scattered among three buildings, one built in 1936-37, one 48 years ago, and one 100 years ago.

Library trustees voted in April to seek the bond issue after they said a suitable existing building could not be found.

James J. Weadock Jr., board president, said the board had surveyed a dozen sites and found the real estate cost prohibitive. Weadock said the present building would be razed and a new structure erected in its place if the bond issue went through.

"Walls of the library are decaying and the wiring is so overloaded it no longer is safe." He said. (sic)

(9th-12th paragraphs of 13)

"Prosecutor Probes Meeting of Principals,"
Sept. 20, 1956, pp. 1, 8

The bond issue was first proposed in April when library trustees declared present facilities were inadequate and that a suitable building to move into could not be found.

(10th paragraph of 11)

"Weadock Asks Lima Realtors Support Library,"
Sept. 23, 1956, p. 15

He said conditions at the library were overcrowded and that books were placed behind each other on extra-wide shelves because of a lack of space.

Weadock said the present library has become "a part of the educational system of the city." He said it serves as a "research" center for school children doing supplemental school work.

(3rd, 4th paragraphs of 6)

"Weadock Speaks on Library Issue,"
Sept. 26, 1956, p. 9

Weadock said the collection of library materials in the local library is rated as the best in any medium-sized library in the United States. Effective use of this collection is being hampered by the inadequate building, he said.

(4th paragraph of 4)

"Parking of 1908 Car at Library OK'd by Council,"
Oct. 2, 1956, p. 13

The car, owned by Elwood Tomlinson, is to bear signs reading:

"Our library building and this auto are models of 1908. Both have more value as curiosities than for daily usefulness."

(6th, 7th paragraphs of 7)

"Service Clubs To Hear Library Talk,"
Oct. 14, 1956, p. 1-B

The \$880,000 bond issue to be voted on by Lima residents is to provide funds for razing the present antiquated library buildings and construct a new building. (sic)

(2nd paragraph of 2)

"'Pep Rally' for Library Draws 200,"
Oct. 24, 1956, p. 15

In addition to seeing a play which illustrated the multiple services given by the public library, the group heard a talk by Robert Franklin, director of the Toledo Library.

* * *

In illustrating the age of the present library building, Franklin said it was built when William Jennings Bryan and William Howard Taft were campaigning for the presidency.

He said there was no question about the need of (sic) the new building, that the issue to be decided Nov. 6 is "whether or not you believe in public libraries as a part of the American way of life."

(3rd, 6th, 7th paragraphs of 9)

"Voice of the People,"
Oct. 31, 1956, p. 16

Seeing is believing! Won't you and your fellow workers come to the library (open 8:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday and from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturday) to see whether the claims of deterioration and overcrowding are true: I'm sure you would then agree that it would be false economy and unfair to the citizens of the Lima School District to do other than build a new building.

(4th paragraph of 6)

APPENDIX I

Lima News Guild Contract

This agreement is made this February 29, 1956, between the LIMA NEWS PUBLISHING COMPANY, a corporation, its successors and assigns, hereinafter known as the Publisher, and the LIMA NEWSPAPER GUILD, Local 166, chartered by the American Newspaper Guild--A.F.L.-C.I.O., hereinafter known as the Guild, for itself and on behalf of all the employees of these departments: Editorial; business, display and classified advertising; outside solicitors, office and distribution and utility employees of the circulation department; and single throw and bundle carriers of The Lima News, with exceptions only as specified in Art. II, par. 1.

ARTICLE I--Minimum Salaries

1. Wages agreed to under this contract shall be in effect retroactively to March 1, 1956
2. An employee transferred to a higher classification shall receive the next higher step-up in the new classification
3. The following minimum wages shall be in effect during the life of this agreement

CLASSIFICATION	1st 6 Months	2nd 6 Months	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	After 5 Years
Reporters, Copy Readers, Display Salesmen, Photographers-Photo-Processors	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00	\$90.00	\$100.00	\$110.00
Sports Editor, State Editor, Telegraph Editor	\$120.00						
Society Editor, Woman's Page Editor	\$110.00						
Chief Photographer	\$115.00						

Article I--Minimum Salaries, cont.

CLASSIFICATION	1st 6 Months	2nd 6 Months	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	After 5 Years
Classified Outside Salesman *	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00			
Display Proof Carrier	\$ 43.00	\$48.00	\$55.50				
Editorial Copy Carrier	\$ 43.00	\$45.00	\$50.50				
Ad Page Layout Man	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00	\$90.00		
Distribution and Utility Men	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00	\$90.00		
Proofreaders	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00	\$87.50		
Business Office Collector	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00			
Outside Solicitor, Circulation	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$69.00	\$80.00			
Counter and File Clerks, Stenographers, Typists*	\$ 48.00	\$53.50	\$58.50	\$63.50			
Telephone Operator	\$ 48.00	\$53.50	\$63.50				
Bookkeepers, ABC, Classified, Display	\$ 53.50	\$58.50	\$63.50	\$74.50			

CONSUMER'S PRICE INDEX AGREEMENT

(a) The preceding base wage rates are to continue in effect unless the Consumer's Price Index, issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows the cost of all items to have increased beyond the September 15, 1954, figure of 114.7. In such cases, these rates would be automatically adjusted quarterly, beginning April 1, 1955: One (1) cent per hour for each fluctuation of one full point, or a major fraction of one point, effective January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1, according to the Consumer's Price Index published as of the previous September 15, December 15, March 15, and June 15, respectively.

(b) All present merit wages are to be carried forward in addition to the increase in the minimums.

(c) Any person not regularly employed as City Editor who is assigned to perform the duties of the City Editor shall receive a per diem of \$2.00 in addition to his regular salary.

* Display advertising salesmen and single throw and bundle carriers operate on a commission plan and classified advertising department employes receive incentive bonus in addition to regular salary. Distribution manager shall receive no less than \$1.00 per day above regular scale.

4. The Publisher and the Guild agree to work on an incentive plan, and this plan and its application shall be embodied in a written agreement between the Publisher and the Guild as a part of this contract.

5. In the application of the foregoing schedule of minimums, experience shall include all regular employment in comparable work. Employes shall be classified as to the job title and experience rating by mutual agreement between the Guild and the Publisher at the time of employment.

6. Employes shall receive \$1.20 extra for each night assignment requiring them to be on duty between the hours of 6 P.M. and 6 A.M. Regularly assigned night shift worker (any person having more than two regular night shift assignments) shall receive no less than \$6.00 per week in addition to his regular salary in lieu of \$1.20 per night assignment.

7. There shall be no reduction in wages. The term wages means all forms of compensation, including the bases and rates for computing commissions.

8. Nothing in this agreement shall prevent employee from bargaining individually for pay increases in excess of minimums established herein.

9. Payment of wages shall be made weekly.

10. The Guild shall have the right to reopen the salaries section of the contract upon thirty (30) days notice.

ARTICLE II--Exceptions

1. The following executive heads are excluded from the application of this agreement: The Editor, Managing Editor, City Editor, Advertising Director, Display Advertising Manager, National Advertising Manager, Classified Advertising Manager, Circulation Manager, Assistant Circulation Manager, and the Business Manager. The confidential secretary to the editor and to the publisher shall be covered only by the vacation and severance pay provisions of this agreement.

ARTICLE III--Hours

1. The five-day, forty-hour week shall obtain * except that neither shall apply to single throw and bundle carriers.
2. The working day shall consist of eight (8) hours; falling within nine (9) consecutive hours. The Guild may reopen this and Paragraph one (1) on thirty (30) days notice.
3. The Publisher shall compensate for all overtime at the rate of time and one-half in cash, and for Sunday work at the rate of double time in cash, except that work performed necessary to publish a regular Sunday morning edition shall not be computed as double time, unless overtime is involved, which shall be paid at double time rate. Overtime shall be defined as work beyond the unit of hours in the work day or work week. The work week shall be Saturday through Friday.
4. An employe called back to work shall be paid for time traveled to and from work and a minimum of two hours at the overtime rate.
5. An employe called to work on his day off shall be paid at the rate of time and one-half for all hours worked, with a minimum of four hours at the time and one-half rate. An employe called to work on Sunday shall be paid at the rate of double time for all hours worked with a minimum of three hours at the double time rate.
6. The Publisher shall cause a record of all overtime to be kept. Such record shall be submitted weekly to the Guild's Authorized agent upon request.
7. Whenever an employe is engaged in out-of-town assignments he shall be allowed credit for an 8-hour shift during each 24 hours. If more than 8 hours actual working time are required of each 24 during the assignment, the additional hours shall be reported and credited within 72 hours after the employe returns to the office.

Out-of-town assignments shall be those which take an employe beyond a 50-mile distance of the city of Lima.

8. An employe's regular day off shall not be changed without his approval except with two weeks notice to the employe.

9. Part time and temporary employes shall receive all the benefits of the contract, except as modified in the National Emergency Clause. Part time employes shall be paid on an hourly basis, equivalent to the weekly wage minimum to which they are entitled by their experience.

10. Part time employes shall not be employed where, in effect, such employment would eliminate or displace a regular or full time employe.

11. Part time employe shall receive a "service with the Publisher" step-up equivalent to that offered by the experience rating. Part time reporters and proofreaders shall be credited with a minimum of one year's experience for each two years of service with the Publisher.

12. The number of such part time employes shall be limited to two.

* These paragraphs shall obtain only insofar as they do not conflict with the satisfactory statement of policy signed May 15, 1953, by the Publisher and the Guild and attached hereto.

ARTICLE IV--Holidays

1. Six (6) recognized holidays shall be observed in each calendar year: Christmas Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, New Year's Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving Day.

2. The work week in which those holidays fall shall consist of four days, thirty-two (32) hours and all time worked beyond four (4) days or thirty-two (32) hours shall be compensated at time and one-half in cash.

3. Employes whose regular day off shall fall on a holiday or whose vacation time shall include a holiday, shall be compensated by receiving an additional day off. Employee required to work on a holiday shall receive compensation of not less than four hours pay at double time rates in addition to the regular full week's pay.

ARTICLE V--Severance Pay

1. Upon dismissal or voluntary retirement because of old age

or illness, an employe shall receive cash severance pay in a lump sum equal to one week's pay for every six (6) months of service or major fraction thereof, such pay to be computed at the highest weekly compensation including commissions and incentive pay received by the employe from the publisher, at the highest six month period in his service with the publisher. Overtime and Christmas bonuses shall be excluded from the computation.

2. In the event of death of an employe, the publisher shall pay his designated beneficiary or his estate, if no beneficiary has been designated, an amount equal to the amount of severance pay to which the employe would have been entitled at the time of his death.

3. Provisions of this contract regarding severance pay shall be applicable to all employes covered by this contract, including the publisher's confidential secretary.

4. Severance pay shall not be paid in the case of proved dishonesty.

ARTICLE VI--Vacations

1. Employes shall be entitled to a vacation of two (2) weeks, after one year's service with the privilege of taking the first week after six (6) months' service; three (3) weeks after ten (10) years service; four (4) weeks after twenty (20) years service. Vacation pay shall be computed at his weekly average salary for the preceding three-month period, but in no event less than his weekly base rate.

2. At the option of the employe, vacation pay shall be given either at the start or at the termination of the vacation.

3. Provisions of this contract regarding vacations shall be applicable to all employes covered by this contract including the confidential secretary to the editor and the Publisher.

4. Employes shall select their vacations on the basis of departmental seniority. Any employe failing to designate his vacation date before May 1 shall waive his seniority privilege.

ARTICLE VII--Sick Leave

1. Sick leave with full pay shall be granted on the basis of 15 work days per year for each employe covered by this contract, with the further understanding that additional sick leave may be granted at the discretion of the publisher.

2. No deductions shall be made from sick leave for overtime credited or to be credited to the employe

3. At the expiration of the sick leave benefits, an employe may ask for and receive his accrued severance pay without affecting his employment status. Upon resumption of his employment, his severance pay shall be deemed liquidated to that date.

4. The Publisher shall pay all of the cost of the appended hospitalization and surgical insurance plan for and on behalf of the employes of the Lima News Publishing Company and their families except \$2.50 per month to be paid by employes with dependents and 75 cents per month to be paid by employe without dependents.

5. The Publisher shall, in consultation with the Guild, establish a satisfactory pension plan to provide for regular, periodic income for employes upon their retirement from service with the Publisher after service for certain specified periods.

6. If management has doubt about the validity of a sick leave claim, the management shall consult with a designated representative of the Guild before sick leave payment is made and no payment shall be made unless certified by the Guild.

ARTICLE VIII--Limitation of Apprentices

1. Apprentices may be employed at the ratio of one to every five experienced employes receiving the top minimum wage, and of this number not more than half shall receive the beginner's minimum wage.

ARTICLE IX--Seniority

1. Whenever opportunities of advancement occur, the Publisher agrees to promote regular employes according to qualifications and to give preference to those with seniority in length of service. An employe thus promoted shall receive the prevailing wage scale for that position during the trial period. If an employe thus promoted fails to prove satisfactory during a 60-day trial the Publisher shall have the right to return said employe to his former classification and wage.

2. Employees promoted from Guild jurisdiction to executive positions shall regain their plant-wide and departmental seniority in event of demotion after the sixty-day trial period. They shall not supplant nor cause the demotion or salary reduction of any other employe.

ARTICLE X--Expense and Equipment

1. The Publisher shall pay all authorized expense incurred by

the employe in the service of the Publisher and shall compensate at the rate of ten cents (10c) per mile for the use of the employe's automobile in the service of the Publisher. A minimum of one dollar (\$1.00) shall be paid per trip to an employe for the use of his car. However, the ownership of an automobile shall not be a condition of employment. This paragraph is not applicable to single throw and bundle carriers.

ARTICLE XI--Guild Committee

1. The Guild shall designate a committee of its own choosing to take up with the publisher or his authorized agent, any matter arising from the application of this agreement or affecting the relationship of the employe and the publisher.

2. The following grievance procedure shall be followed in the event a member of the Guild files a grievance in the application of Paragraph 1 of this article. If a member is aggrieved by his or her immediate superior, the Guild may carry a grievance to the superior's superior either in oral or written form and when in written form must be answered in writing within three days. If the grievance still is not resolved to the satisfaction of all parties to this contract, it may be carried to the general manager's representative or the general manager.

3. Any such matter (except renewal of this contract) not satisfactorily settled within 30 days of its first consideration may be submitted to final and binding arbitration by either party. Such arbitration shall be conducted pursuant to the voluntary labor arbitration rules of the American Arbitration Association. The arbitrator shall have no right to add to or subtract from, to disregard or modify any terms of the contract nor to establish or change any job rate or merit increase. The costs of such arbitration shall be borne equally by the parties, except that no party shall be obligated to pay any part of the cost of a stenographic transcript without express consent.

4. If any controversy arises as to the interpretation or enforcement of this contract, the conditions prevailing prior to the dispute shall be maintained until the controversy is disposed of as provided herein.

ARTICLE XII--Outside Activity

1. The employes of the publisher shall be free to engage in outside work, outside of working hours, providing such activities do not consist of service performed in direct competition with the publisher, and provided further that without permission, no employe

shall exploit his connection with this newspaper in the course of such activity.

ARTICLE XIII--National Emergency

1. An employe who is drafted or enlists in the U. S. military service or merchant marine while the United States is at war or in a period of national emergency during which a selective service or draft law is in effect shall be deemed to be on leave of absence without pay and shall be returned to the same or comparable position at a salary not lower than he was receiving at the time he or she left, providing he or she makes personal application within 90 days of termination of service.
2. Such terms of service in the military forces of the United States shall not impair severance pay credit. An employe within six months of journeyman rating at the time of military leave shall be advanced automatically to journeyman rating upon his return to employment. Any employe who has been on military leave of absence but is incapable of resuming employment because of mental or physical disability shall be paid his dismissal indemnity. In the event an employe dies during his leave of absence in the military service the publisher shall pay his designated beneficiary an amount equal to such employe's dismissal pay. The Publisher and the Guild mutually pledge themselves to the re-employment of any veteran who, because of disability, cannot resume his former position.
3. An employe leaving for military service or the merchant marine shall be given the annual vacation pay for the duration of his service. This pay shall be paid to the employe in service, to his dependents or retained until he returns to duty, whichever he designates.
4. Paragraph 1 of Article XIII shall not apply to an employe discharged dishonorably from military service.
5. An employe promoted to take the place of one on military leave of absence may upon the re-employment of such an employe on leave, be returned to his former position and salary. However, his salary shall not be less than the current minimum for classification. Substitutes hired to fill the vacancies caused by military leave of absence shall be covered by terms of this contract but shall be notified that they are temporary employes and shall relinquish their job at the discretion of the publisher upon the rehiring of employes who have returned from military service.
6. An employe hired or promoted as replacement of a person entering such service shall be given written notice to that effect at the time of such employment or promotion, said notice to state which employe he is replacing, and a copy of such notice shall be sent to the Guild.

7. Provisions of this article shall be applicable to all persons drafted into civilian labor, with the exception of vacation pay.

8. Employees who are members of the National Guard or of the reserve components of the U.S. Armed Services shall be granted leaves of absence for required active duty training (summer camp) without prejudice to the employe concerned. Other provisions of this article shall apply except that no application for re-employment is required and except for the provision for automatic advancement to journeyman.

ARTICLE XIV--Security

1. Guild members and new employes--All members of the Guild shall remain members of the Guild for the duration of this agreement as a condition of employment. New employes may become members of the Guild at their own option. Any person discharged for failure to maintain good standing shall sacrifice all severance, sick leave and death benefits.

2. The publisher shall furnish to the Guild in writing within a week after their employment, the names, addresses, telephone numbers, dates of hiring, and contract classifications and salaries of persons hired after the effective date of this contract.

3. There shall be no dismissal as a result of putting this agreement into effect. The Publisher may dismiss only for just and sufficient cause. In the event a dismissal is contemplated by the Publisher, the person to be dismissed and the Guild shall be given duplicate two weeks' written notice stating cause of dismissal and notified of the action immediately, so that the Guild committee may exercise its right to consult with the Publisher or his agent. In the event that the employe is restored to his position, he shall be compensated at full pay for the time lost.

4. There shall be no discrimination against any employe because of his membership or activity in the Guild. There shall be no interference or attempt to interfere with the operation of the Guild.

ARTICLE XV--Cooperative Employment

1. The Publisher shall continue to do all hiring and this right continuing without impairment. The Publisher agrees, however, to notify the Guild of any vacancies or new situations, so that the Guild may aid the Publisher in securing the proper person to fill any particular job. It is understood that the Publisher may accept or reject applications as suggested by the Guild without embarrassment.

ARTICLE XVI--Free Work Ban

1. There shall be no practice by press agents or free lance agents of reporting, writing and photographing material for publication which properly is in the province of The Lima News employes. This provision proposes no infringement on the legitimate scope of press agent or free lance agent in providing information on matters whose publicizing is the occupation of the press agent or free lance agent involved.

ARTICLE XVII--Leaves of Absence

1. Any employe elected to office in the American Newspaper Guild, the C.I.O. or any affiliate thereof, or selected to serve in any division of the United States Department of Labor necessitating leave of absence, shall be granted upon request such leave of absence and shall return to work on completion of his assignment, without loss of seniority, severance pay, sick leave, vacation or other rights and benefits of the contract.

2. Employes shall not lose their rights or status upon other leaves of absence approved by the Publisher and the Guild.

3. Any employe who works the majority of his hours in any day in a higher classification shall receive the rate of pay of the higher classification for each day so worked. The higher rate may be waived where the substitute is without prior experience but only with the consent of the person desiring the experience, and the Lima Newspaper Guild.

4. The Publisher agrees to provide for bulletin boards, suitably placed in all departments for use of the Guild.

5. The Publisher agrees not to have or enter into any agreement with any other publication binding such other publisher not to offer to give employment to employes of the Publisher.

6. Employes shall not be required to handle struck work, or work destined for struck departments of The Lima News or other newspapers.

7. None of the provisions of this agreement shall apply to regular correspondents who are hired on a space basis, whose products such as news stories, feature stories, cartoons, art work and photographs, are purchased and whose time is not wholly controlled by the Publisher, nor to employes in offices located in other countries. Temporary employes hired in connection with election returns, promotions or for emergencies shall not be covered by this contract, excepting that wage provisions shall apply to them.

8. An employe's byline shall not be used over his protest.

ARTICLE XIX

Single Throw and Bundle Carriers

1. Seniority is preference by length of service, with definite rights qualifying employes for employment when work is available. To provide declared policy of work security, preference shall be based on length of service with the Company.

2. For the purpose of advancement and other benefits seniority shall start from first day of hiring.

3. Rehired employes carry no seniority for back service.

4. Employes who become physically unable to continue their regular duties shall be transferred to other jobs they may be able to perform. Employes who may be displaced by the elimination of, or reduction of personnel, resulting from modernization, change in methods, or through the reduction of subscribers shall be immediately transferred to other jobs in their own department and shall immediately establish residence.

5. The Publisher agrees to pay for mileage caused by emergencies or conditions beyond the control of the driver.

6. Relief drivers furnished by regular carriers shall be paid by the Publisher.

7. The Guild realizes that due to the nature of work performed, a fixed income cannot be determined for the workers covered by this agreement. However, it is agreed that employes shall be paid in relation for work performed, and that the following formula be used as an equitable guide to establish daily and weekly earnings:

- (a) Weekly minimum (base) \$57.50
- (b) 12 cents per customer on all collections
- (c) 5 per cent discount on wholesale rate

8. Employes shall accumulate one day off each calendar month, days off designated by employer.

ARTICLE XX--Duration and Renewal

1. This agreement shall commence on the 1st day of March, 1956,

and expire on the 28th day of February, 1957, and shall inure to the benefits of and be binding upon the successors and assigns of

2. At any time within 60 days immediately prior to the termination of this Agreement, the Publisher or the Guild may initiate negotiations for a new contract. The terms and conditions of this agreement shall remain in effect during such negotiations. If the negotiations for a new agreement are not completed by February 28, 1957, all provisions of the new agreement shall be retroactive to February 28, 1957.

THE LIMA NEWS PUBLISHING COMPANY

LIMA NEWSPAPER GUILD, LOCAL 166, AFG--C.I.O.

APPENDIX J

Statement of working conditions posted by management of the Lima News on March 27, 1957*

Office Rules Governing Activities of the following Departments: Editorial; Business; Display and Classified Advertising; Circulation.

The Publisher retains the sole and exclusive right to manage the newspaper including but not limited to determination of policy, scope and extent of operations, prices, product, methods, selection of machinery, subcontracting, direction of the working forces, and the right to hire, discharge for just cause, discipline for just cause, lay-off, transfer, promote and demote employees.

Hours--The work week shall be five days, forty hours, except that neither shall apply to Single Throw and Bundle Carriers, or Display or Classified Advertising Salesmen.

The working day shall consist of eight hours, falling within nine consecutive hours.

The Publisher shall compensate for all overtime at the rate of time and one half in cash. Overtime shall be defined as work beyond the unit of hours in the work week. The work week shall be Sunday thru Saturday.

An employee called to work on his day off shall be paid at the rate of time and a half for all hours worked, with a minimum of four hours at the time and a half rate. An employee called back to work, after having worked a full work day, shall be paid a minimum of two hours at the overtime rate.

Nothing in the language of this Agreement shall constitute a guarantee of either forty hours for any given week or a guarantee of any overtime.

Holidays--Six recognized holidays shall be observed in each calendar year: Christmas Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, New Year's Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving Day.

*Sidney Heitman, letter to the author, June 11, 1959.

Employees working on one of the above holidays shall receive one and one-half his (sic) regular base rate but not less than five and one-third hours at time and one-half employees (sic) rate in addition to his regular weekly pay. In those weeks in which a holiday occurs, such holiday shall constitute the employee's day off.

Employees shall receive eight hours pay at their basic straight hourly rate for the above mentioned holidays though not worked. Such hours shall not be counted as hours worked in computing overtime. Any employee who fails to work when scheduled to do so will forfeit his holiday pay unless for justifiable reasons in the opinion of the Publisher.

Vacations--An Employee who completes a full year of continuous employment with the Publisher shall thereafter receive two week's vacation with eighty hours' pay at his basic straight time hourly rate. Classified and Display Salesmen shall receive their departmental earned commission in addition to their vacation pay.

An employee who completes ten full years of continuous employment with the Publisher, (sic) shall thereafter receive three weeks vacation with 120 hours pay at his basic straight time hourly rate. Classified and Display Salesmen shall receive their departmental earned commission in addition to their vacation pay.

At the option of the employee, vacation pay (sic) shall be given either at the start or at the termination of the vacation.

Employees shall select their vacations on the basis of departmental seniority. Any employee failing to designate his Vacation date before May 1 shall waive his seniority privilege. Vacations must be taken within the calendar year and shall not accrue from year to year. Employees who are denied their vacation in year shall be paid in cash for any vacation remaining in that year or may at his (sic) option carry over said unused vacation time until the next year. Department heads shall determine vacation periods, giving consideration to the wishes of employees.

Insurance-- The Publisher agrees to provide Sickness & Accident Benefits according to the following schedule:

<u>Weekly Indemnity Paid</u>		<u>13 Week</u>
<u>Base Earnings</u>		<u>Weekly Indemnity</u>
Under	\$60.00 - week	\$ 30.00
	60 - 80	40.00
	80 - 100	50.00
	100 - 120	60.00
	120 - 140	70.00
	140 - 160	80.00
	160 - over	90.00

Payments shall begin upon the first day of non-occupational accident and the third day of sickness.

The Publisher shall pay one half (1/2) the cost of the Standard 31 day Blue Cross Hospitalization plan, together with the Standard Blue Shield Surgical Plan, for employees and their dependents for the life of this agreement.

Expense and Equipment--The Publisher shall pay all expenses authorized by the Publisher incurred by the employee in the service of the Publisher and shall compensate at the rate of seven (7) cents per mile for the use of the employee's automobile in the service of the Publisher.

Severance Pay--Upon dismissal or voluntary retirement after age 65, and employee shall receive cash severance pay in a lump sum equal to one week's pay for every one year of continuous service in the employ of the Publisher. But in no event will such payment be in excess of ten weeks (10) pay computed at the basic weekly salary, excluding overtime, bonuses and commissions, at the time of severance. Severance pay shall not be made to employees who voluntarily quit, or (sic) discharged for just cause, proven dishonesty.

Any employee who has accrued 10 or more weeks under the terms and conditions of prior contracts shall not accrue further severance pay entitlement under this agreement.

The following minimum wages shall be in effect. These wages include the present cost of living adjustment. Payment of wages shall be made semi-monthly.

Reporters, Copy Readers, Display Salesmen, Photographers, Photo Processors 1st 6 months \$55.50, 2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third Year \$82.00, Fourth Year \$92.00, Fifth Year \$102.00 and after five years \$112.

Sports Editor, State Editor, Telegraph Editor
\$122.00.

Society Editor, Woman's Page Editor \$112.00

Chief Photographer \$117.00

Classified Outside Salesmen 1st 6 months \$55.50,
2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third Year
\$82.00.

Display Proof Carrier 1st 6 months \$45.00 2nd
2 months \$50.00, Second Year \$57.50.

Editorial Copy Carrier 1st 6 months \$45.00, 2nd
6 months \$47.00, Second Year \$52.50.

Distribution and Utility Men 1st 6 months \$55.50,
2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third Year
\$82.00, Fourth Year \$92.00.

Proofreaders 1st 6 months \$55.50, 2nd 6 months
\$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third Year \$82.00, Fourth
Year \$89.50.

Business Office Collector 1st 6 months \$55.50,
2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third Year
\$82.00.

Outside Solicitor, Circulation, 1st 6 months
\$55.50, 2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$71.00, Third
Year \$82.00.

Counter and File Clerks, Stenographers, Typists
1st 6 months \$50.00, 2nd 6 months \$55.50, Second Year
\$60.50 and Third Year \$65.50.

Telephone Operator 1st 6 months \$50.00, 2nd 6
months \$55.50, Second Year \$65.50.

Bookkeepers, A.E.C., Classified, Display 1st 6
months \$55.50, 2nd 6 months \$60.50, Second Year \$65.50,
Third Year \$76.50.

Display advertising salesmen, classified advertis-
ing salesmen and bundle carriers operate on a commission
plan, not an hourly basis

Employees shall receive an additional 10¢ per hour
for night assignments requiring them to be on duty be-
tween the hours of 6 P. M. and 6 A. M.

APPENDIX K

Report Published by the Lima News Concerning Settlement of Unfair Labor Practices Charges by Lima Local 166, ANG*

Sixteen specific charges of unfair labor practices made by the American Newspaper Guild, Lima Local 166, against The Lima News, (sic) have been disproved by the National Labor Relations Board, it was announced Saturday.

On the 17th charge, the NLRB refused to issue a complaint against the News because of the willingness of The News to cooperate in a settlement of the case.

The Guild was cited for its failure to cooperate in efforts to reach a settlement, and the NLRB announced it was prepared to enforce conditions of a settlement without consent of the ANG.

The 17 charges brought by the Newspaper Guild against The News April 12, 1957, were ruled out by the NLRB in a settlement agreement reached between the newspaper and the union dated September 27 and signed by E. R. McDowell for The News; Sidney Reitman, attorney for the American Newspaper Guild; C. L. Martin, attorney for the NLRB; and John A. Hull, Jr., Regional Director for the NLRB.

The settlement further officially stated that:

"It is understood that the execution of this Settlement Agreement does not constitute an admission that the Company has violated any of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended."

Included in the settlement was an agreement for payment of commissions and mileage earned by advertising department personnel which had been withheld pending settlement of the charges and a mileage claim made by Howard Feigh of \$9.18. (sic)

The commission settlements included: Frank J. Klein, \$88.60; Leslie R. Roby, \$96.60; James Cramer, \$102.52; James Geiger, \$118.44; Phillip D. Axe, \$65.11; James Coolahan, \$161.35; Victor F. Gulker, \$136.45; Gerald Boughan, \$164.73; Lee Cary, \$165.30; W. M. Brown, \$138.21; Doris Wilsey, \$41.67 (sic) and Ruby Fryeinger, \$64.82.

These commissions were earned by the above personnel prior to the walkout and strike of the Newspaper Guild members May 1 of this year.

*"NLRB Disproves 16 Guild Charges Against News," news story, Lima News, September 29, 1957, pp. 1, 4-A.

In the settlement of the unfair labor practices charges (sic) The News management agreed that the company will not interfere, restrain or coerce any employes in their right to bargain collectively, self-organization or to join or assist Local 166, American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO. (sic) The company also agreed to bargain collectively with bargaining unit including Local 166 upon request. (sic) The company further agreed that it will not "unilaterally change the wages, hours or working conditions or conditions of employment of the employees...."

Following are the 17 charges made by the union which have been disapproved. (sic)

1. Since on or about October 31, 1956, and at all times thereafter, and at all times pertinent herein, Respondent has interfered with, restrained and coerced its employes in the exercise of their rights as guaranteed under Section 7 of the Act by:

(a) Threatening employes with violence because they are officers of the Guild.

(b) Urging and persuading officers of the Guild to withdraw from office and activity in the Guild.

(c) Interrogating employes as to reasons why they should remain in the Guild.

(d) Urging and persuading employes to support Respondent viz a viz the Guild in the event of trouble between Respondent and the Guild.

And by other acts and means, including but not limited to those hereinafter set forth, has by harassment, threats of discharge, withdrawal of work assignments, alteration of conditions of employment, etc., interfered with, restrained and coerced its employes in the exercise of those rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act.

2. At all times pertinent herein, Respondent has discriminated in regard to the hire of its employes by failing and refusing to hire persons interested in unions or the Guild, and by establishing a hiring policy which excludes from employment persons interested in the Guild or unions.

3. At all times pertinent, Respondent has discriminated against its employes in regard to terms and conditions of employment, including employee Joyce Link, Robert Kerr, Joseph Connor, Lee Cary, Gerald Baughan (sic), James Coolahan, Victor Culker, Joan Schlagbaum, Doris Wilsey, Wayne Current, and all Guild members employed in the Editorial Department of Respondent newspaper, and other employes by:

(a) Threatening to discharge employes because of advocacy of the Guild.

(b) Granting preference in work assignments to non-Guild employes viz a viz Guild members.

(c) Withdrawing overtime work from Guild members.

(d) Imposing unilateral conditions of employment in the midst of negotiations with the Guild, resulting in economic loss to employees with respect to overtime pay, auto expense allowance, withdrawal of incentive pay, reduction in vacations and holiday pay, withdrawal of sick leave benefits, etc.

And by other acts discriminating against its employes because of their membership in or activity on behalf of the Guild.

4. At all times pertinent herein, the Guild has represented a majority of Respondent's employes in an appropriate unit consisting of employes employed in the following departments: Editorial; Business; Display and Classified Advertising; outside solicitors, office and distribution and utility employes of the Circulation Department; and single throw and bundle carriers, excluding the Editor; Managing Editor; City Editor; Advertising Director; Display Advertising Manager; National Advertising Manager; Classified Advertising Manager; Circulation Manager; Assistant Circulation Manager; Business Manager; and confidential secretary to the Publisher.

5. At all times pertinent herein, and commencing in late January, 1957, Respondent has failed and refused to bargain in good faith with the Guild, and has further:

(a) Unilaterally imposed conditions of employment while in the midst of negotiations with the Guild.

(b) Engaged in individual bargaining with employes as to conditions of employment.

(c) Unilaterally imposed conditions of employment never discussed with the Guild.

(d) Delayed and procrastinated in scheduling meetings (sic) to negotiate with the Guild.

And by other acts has failed and refused to bargain with the Guild as required by the statute.

APPENDIX L

Letter from John A. Hull, Jr., regional director, National Labor Relations Board, to E. R. McDowell, Publisher, the Lima News*

This office is in receipt of a communication from the Lima Newspaper Guild, Local 166, protesting the recent publication in your paper of an article relating to the settlement of the charges filed by the Guild against the Lima News; it is entitled "NLRB Disproves 16 Guild Charges Against News." The Guild Local has complained that the article violates the Settlement Agreement which was entered into by the parties and approved by me.

An examination of the article indicates that it does contain a number of inaccuracies. The charges filed by the Guild were in five parts and these set forth various activities of the Company which were alleged to be unfair labor practices in violation of the Act. While a number of actions by the Company were complained of in the charges, the charges specifically alleged violations of Sections 8 (a) (1), (3) and (5) of the National Labor Relations Act.

Our office fully investigated these charges, and I would like to state that both parties cooperated during the course of the investigation and in the settlement of the charges. At no time did this office cite the Guild for its failure to cooperate in efforts to reach a settlement as stated in your paper.

The settlement which was finally entered into by the parties, and approved by our office, was a settlement on the basis of violations by the Company of Sections 8 (a) (5) and 8 (a) (1) of the National Labor Relations Act.

At the conclusion of the investigation, we concluded that the evidence adduced was sufficient to warrant the issuance of a formal complaint against the Lima News charging it with violations of Sections 8 (a) (1) and (5) of the Act; and while we felt that there was insufficient evidence to warrant issuance of a complaint alleging violations of 8 (a) (3) of the Act, in no sense did this office make any findings that those charges were disproved. Such a finding could only be made after a formal hearing before a Trial Examiner of the Board.

While the Settlement Agreement entered into by the parties did contain a clause, as stated in your article, that "It is understood that the execution of this Settlement Agreement does not constitute an admission that the Company has violated any of the provisions of

*"Guild Charges Not 'Disproved,' Official of NLRB Declaree," news story, Lima Citizen, October 17, 1957, p. 3.

the National Labor Relations Act, as amended," this clause was not included in the Notice that was to be posted by The Lima News in accordance with the terms of the Settlement Agreement.

Furthermore the "Notice to All Employees" stated: "This notice must remain posted for 60 days from the date thereof and must not be altered, defaced or covered by any other material." (Emphasis supplied.) Publication of the above-mentioned clause, not a part of such Notice, might well be construed as an attempt to alter the Notice, which was posted pursuant to the Settlement Agreement. In no sense of the word did our investigation result in any specific finding one way or another as to any of the charges except that, as heretofore stated, this office felt that the investigation revealed sufficient evidence to warrant issuance of a complaint against The Lima News for violations of 8 (a) (1) and (5).

We felt that at least three of the allegations in the charge were substantiated by sufficient evidence to warrant issuance of a complaint, as set forth heretofore, and we advised you that, absent settlement, we were prepared to issue such complaint and proceed to trial thereon.

The Settlement Agreement further provided for payments to certain individuals covering losses they had suffered because of the unilateral change in conditions of employment made by The Lima News. These payments covered commissions, mileage and vacation payments.

At no time did it come to our attention that the News was withholding payments pending settlement of the charges. The Settlement Agreement entered into by the parties and approved by our office was entered into in accordance with the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board in order to effectuate the purposes of the Act and to avoid undue and unnecessary litigation.

In view of the fact that the previous announcement published in The Lima News does not appear to be factually correct, you may care to publish this letter in the interest of fairness to all the parties concerned.

APPENDIX M

Cash Contributions to Lima Local 166, American Newspaper Guild during Its Strike Against the Lima News*

ANG Locals, Concils, Individuals:

Cleveland Guild	\$100	C. F. Swegan (Local 166)	\$ 25
Detroit Guild	100	Erie Guild	200
Toledo Guild	100	Middle Atlantic District	
St. Louis Guild	400	Council	400
Pittsburg	100	New England District	
Youngstown Guild members	40	Council	100
Bill Pepler (Muskegon, former Lima Guildman)	14	Hudson County, N.J., Guild	50
Ed Allen (International representative, A N G)	25	Terre Haute, Ind., Guild	50
Akron Guild	50	International Executive	
Madison, Wis., Guild	25	Board, A N G	65
Lynn, Mass., Guild	25	Salem, Mass., Guild	25
Bakersfield, Calif., Guild	25	Scott Morton (former Guildsman)	5
Ottawa, Ont., Guild	25	Utica, N. Y., Guild	100
Portland, Ore., Guild	110	Columbus, Ohio, Guild	50
Stockton, Calif., Guild	50	San Jose, Calif., Guild	100
Muskegon, Mich., Guild	20	Indianapolis Guild	25
Rockford, Ill., Guild	50	Manchester, N. H., Guild	25
San Francisco-Oakland Guild	250	P O I District Council	500
Hammond, Ind., Guild	100	Cincinnati Guild	100
Bay City, Mich., Guild	100	Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Guild	50
Twin City Guild	100	Albany, N. Y., Guild	50
New York Guild	300	Los Angeles Guild	135
Fred Fletcher (I E B)	10	Canadian Wire Service Guild	50
Elizabeth, N. J., Guild	100	Rochester, N. Y., Guild	100
Janet Scott (New York)	5	Sioux City, Iowa, Guild	200
Leo Finegold (Pittsburg)	10	Empire State District	
John Mitchell (former Lima Guildman)	1	Council	200
11 members (Baltimore)	16	Milwaukee Guild	100
Pawtucket, R. I., Guild	50	Seattle-Tacoma Guild	150
Philadelphia Guild	400	Kingston, N. Y., Guild	25
Great Falls, Mont., Guild	25	New Orleans Guild	25
Mary Hartman (Twin City)	5	Portland, Maine, Guild	50
Pueblo, Colo., Guild	25	Ed Marcialini (IEB)	5
		Hawaii Guild	100
		Chicago Guild	50

* Compiled from lists issued by Local 166 and from Guild Reporter, May 10, 1957, p.2; May 24, 1957, p. 2; June 14, 1957, p. 4.

Vancouver, P. C., Guild	50	Bornard Winter (Washington, D. C.)	5
Toronto, Ont., Guild	50	Mike Jay (San Francisco-Oakland)	2
Gary, Ind., Guild	50	Buffalo, N. Y., Guild	200
Brockton, Mass., Guild	50	National Wire Service Guild	50
Youngstown, Ohio, Guild	101	Grand Rapids, Mich., Guild	25
Houston, Texas, Guild	50	Robert Stafford (IES)	10
Forest Willians (Seattle)	20	Kenosha, Wis., Guild	15
The Riordans (Washington, D. C.)	20	Pennsylvania District Council	100
Charles Day (international representative, AFG)	10	Wes Barthelmes (Washington, D. C.)	10
California-Nevada District Council	50		

Other Unions, Organization, Individuals:

Anonymous	\$ 5.87	Don Sherwood	3.00
Anonymous	10.00	Albert Riley (B & O yardmaster)	3.00
Ohio C I O Council	200.00	Anonymous	5.00
Anonymous	.70	Louis Forney	3.00
Anonymous	5.00	Ex-Cell-O employee	1.00
Earl Ludwig, Attorney	5.00	Anonymous	5.00
Plumbers & Pipefitters United Association	100.00	James Fraunfelder (Sohio Refinery)	5.00
Anonymous	1.00	Newton Vermillion (URW)	5.00
John A. Lyle (URW)	5.00	United Auto Workers, Lima Local 975	300.00
United Rubber Workers, Lima Local 85	100.00	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 32	25.00
Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corp.	100.00	Mr. Rose	1.00
Anonymous	5.00	Anonymous	5.00
Anonymous	10.00	Daniel Easton	3.00
Lou Mathanson	5.00	Harry Moubray	1.00
Lou Goldman	10.00	Bernard Shore	2.00
Mr. & Mrs. Russ Calkins	7.00	Don Spain	2.00
Ed Woods	1.00	Roger Cooper	5.00
Bill Tigner	2.00	Jeanette Stuart (teacher)	5.00
Harold's Super Market	50.00	Anonymous	3.00
Anonymous	10.00	Lurbin, Navre & Rizor (law firm)	50.00
Frank Hamblen (Minister)	5.00	Anonymous	5.00
Owens Stamp Shop	1.00	International Association of machinists	10.00
Lord's Men's Wear	10.00	Lima Public Library employees	7.10
The Varsity Shop	5.00	Anonymous	1.00
Mrs. R. P. Trask	3.00	Busche Company	25.00
Martin Merritt (Machinists)	5.00	Anonymous	.50
Anonymous	.25	Mrs. James Berry	1.00
J. A. Schofer (minister)	1.00	John Keller	10.00
Anonymous	1.00		
Jay Neeley (IUE)	3.00		
Dallas R. Fry	1.00		
Sixth Ward Boosters	10.00		
Anonymous	.25		

D. E. George	2.00	Joe Anderson Jr.	
Ira Redlinger (ITU)	2.00	(Minneapolis)	25.00
Bill Lewis	1.00	Anonymous	.25
John Maxwell (IUE)	5.00	Walt Morrison (IUE)	2.00
Hover Family	10.00	UAW-CIO Council	
Dr. Lou Kent	3.00	Local 105	20.00
Mrs. Gladys Leach	5.00	Anonymous	.55
Anonymous	5.00	"Guild Friend"	5.00

Donations from Guild sources.....\$6,743.00
 Donations from other sources..... 1,254.77
 Total, all donations listed..... 8,997.77

APPENDIX N

Table 2. Estimated Lima Newspaper Guild Income from Advertising in The Bulletin, May 10, 1957-June 27, 1957.

Issue No.	Units Sold at \$6.25	Advertising Revenue	Estimated Cost	Estimated Net Income
1	12	\$ 75.00	\$50.00	\$25.00
2	12	75.00	50.00	25.00
3	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
4	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
5	17	106.25	50.00	56.25
6	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
7	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
8	15	93.75	50.00	43.75
9	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
10	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
11	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
12	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
13	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
14	15	93.75	50.00	43.75
15	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
16	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
17	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
18	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
19	15	93.75	50.00	43.75
20	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
21	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
22	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
23	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
24	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
25	15	93.75	50.00	43.75
26	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
27	17	106.25	50.00	56.25
28	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
29	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
30	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
31	15	93.75	50.00	43.75
32	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
33	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
34	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
35	18	112.50	50.00	62.50
Subtotals	601	\$3,756.25	\$1,750.00	\$2,006.25

Table 2 (Concl.).

Issue No.	Units Sold at \$6.25	Advertising Revenue	Estimated Cost	Estimated Net Income
36	18	\$112.50	\$50.00	\$62.50
37	13	81.25	50.00	31.25
38	17	106.25	50.00	56.25
39	9	56.25	50.00	6.25
40	14	87.50	50.00	37.50
41	17	106.25	50.00	56.25
TOTALS	689	\$4,306.25	\$2,050.00	\$2,256.25

APPENDIX Q

Report by E. R. McDowell to Inland Daily Press Association on Lima Newspaper Situation as Reported in Editor & Publisher.*

CHICAGO

Guild members were busy setting up a new newspaper even while drawing pay from the Lima News in 1956, E. R. McDowell, general manager of the News, told members of the Inland Daily Press Association here this week.

Mr. McDowell related in detail how guild members sought to stop purchase of the News by Freedom Newspapers, spreading leaflets "containing half-truths about R. C. Hoiles." The sale by the Galvin interests was consummated on Feb. 29, 1956.

The editorial policy of the News, Mr. McDowell said, had been a "milk-and-water approach to questions designed to please no one."

Mr. McDowell said Freedom Newspapers followed its usual custom of dissolving the existing publishing corporation and set up a partnership. The unions, he said, demanded full severance while still accepting other benefits under their contracts.

"A year of operating under the most difficult conditions" was described by Mr. McDowell. The advertising and news staffs of the News, he said, sold against the News, on the street, and in meetings.

Guild members, he asserted, actively solicited in an attempt to start a new paper.

"They copied our photo morgue, using our negatives and our time--taking the negatives with them," Mr. McDowell said.

"Salesmen did not renew contracts and in their daily calls on retailers urged them to curtail their advertising.

* "Unions' Sabotage in Lima Charged," news story, Editor & Publisher, March 1, 1958, 91:12.

"Prior to the strike the mailroom employees would race the motors on trucks, drive in gear with the emergency brake on; deliberate attempts were made to ruin all vehicles.

"Keys for locks, doors and equipment were taken before the strike.

"At the time of the strike stencils were scrambled by towns, and alphabetically.

"Galleys of type for the agents and city route lists were melted down and destroyed.

"Main fuses pulled on paper cutter. Paper cutter was shimmed with lead bars so that the pressure plate would not operate and, also, lead slugs placed in gears.

"Fuses were taken from the wire tyer; also, parts from the semi-automatic wire tyer and two hand tyers so that they could not be operated.

"All paper stock that was on hand was cut up and destroyed.

"The comics and magazine sections were scrambled.

"All Chauncey Wing mailers were taken and have never been found.

"Mimeographed instructions were sent out by the union to carriers and parents containing instructions not to deliver their papers; to send registered letters of resignation to the News, and to attend union meetings; also, to demand their bond.

"Union sent delegates to various school groups, churches and social groups in an effort to influence them against the Lima News.

"Lima News carriers who remained after May 1 were called on by union members, discouraged and threatened and followed if they did not give up the route.

"Papers and bundles were picked up after delivery.

"The office was kept busy by nuisance calls.

"Subscribers who continued to take the Lima News were threatened and in one instance a bottle was thrown against a porch and was broken; also, many door screens

were broken.

"Papers were dumped in yards.

"During a period of six weeks the few carriers who remained with the News had to be escorted by adults so that they wouldn't be molested.

"When the competition started on July 1, carrier boys collected for the News in advance, turned the money over to the Citizen, and started carrying for the Citizen when they started publication telling people that the News had gone out of business.

"Ad salesmen took list of retailers on contract before they left.

"It was difficult to establish rates for the advertisers who did continue to advertise after the strike. Before the strike we had 450 contracts; 80 remained with us.

"Our circulation dropped from 35,000 daily before the strike to 15,000, with most of the loss being in the city."

Answer by Joseph Connor to Report of Talk by E. R. McLowell before the Inland Daily Press Association:

In the report of his talk before the Inland Press Association in Chicago, Mr. McLowell lodges a charge of theft against the Lima Citizen and--although perhaps he did not use the word, E & P did--"sabotage" against the unions which went on strike against the Lima News on May 1, 1957.

I do not blame Mr. McLowell for being upset. The Lima News has lost thousands and thousands of dollars in the months since that strike started. That is enough to upset anyone.

To the best of my knowledge--and I was Chief Steward of Local 188, American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, both before and after the strike started--there was no union sabotage inside the plant before the walkout. And I know beyond any question that the Lima News picture morgue was not rephotographed by any Guildsmen and

* "Sabotage" Denied, " letter to the editor, Editor & Publisher, March 15, 1957, 91:7.

the negatives removed. Any difficulties which Mr. McDowell and his associates had after the walkout apparently were caused by lack of ability on the part of himself and his strike-breaking employees.

Mr. McDowell said Guild members made attempts to organize a new newspaper while being paid by the Lima News. This is not true. In January and February, 1957, I spent considerable time attempting to locate equipment to print a stop-gap strike news paper because it was evident that Mr. McDowell and his associates had no intention of signing a new contract with the unions in his plant. During the time I spent on this endeavor I was not paid by the Lima News, but was on leave of absence from my job and was being paid by Local 166.

I returned to work at the News on or about March 4, my efforts having been unsuccessful. When the strike started May 1, our only means for producing a newsheet of any kind was a mimeograph machine or two. After about two weeks we got a small job press lined up and started producing a daily four-page sheet on slick paper. This publication was in no sense a new newspaper. It was only 8 by 11 inches in size, giving us a daily maximum of 176 column inches to print both news and advertising.

About mid-April two Guildsmen whose wages had been slashed through a change in the commission setup in the display advertising department resigned from the Lima News and went to work attempting to organize a new newspaper. They and their efforts were not connected with the Guild or other unions in the plant, however.

These two men were successful in their attempt to organize a new newspaper and through stock sale to 1,100 residents of Lima and vicinity they were able to found the Lima Citizen, which now is first in circulation, first in display advertising and first in classified advertising in Lima.

Some of Mr. McDowell's statements are true. He says papers were thrown on lawns around the city, implying they were scattered there by union goons attempting to disrupt the News' circulation system and destroy the copies. It is true that the newspaper was scattered on lawns throughout the city. They were scattered there by the deliverymen working for the News, who delivered papers to every home regardless of whether or not the people who lived there subscribed to the paper.

The only instance of any alleged damage--which Mr. McDowell implies was caused by union members protesting against someone taking the News--was one in which a local resident brought charges against the circulation manager of the Lima News for throwing a copy of the paper against his screen door with great force. The circulation manager was cleared of the charges in court.

There never was any attempt to coerce or intimidate carrier boys working for the News. They asked for information about how to end their association and were given that information by some of the circulation men who were on strike. Later, these same carrier boys went to work for the Citizen. Those carriers did not steal any money from the News, as alleged by Mr. McDowell, but simply sold the Citizen. On the day the Citizen started publication, downtown newsboys for the News were crying their papers with the shout: "Get your last copy of the Lima News. News going out of business. Get your last copy." As I say, those were newsboys employed by the Lima News, not by the Lima Citizen.

Some of the things which Mr. McDowell failed to mention in his remarks were:

The attempt by one of his imported employees--a photographer still working on the News--to incite trouble with Guild members before the strike by wearing a Guild pin in the plant even though he was not a member and refused to become one.

The fact that one Guildsman--Robert D. Kerr, now city editor of the Lima Citizen--came to work at the News one morning to find that one of the imported employes had smeared his eyeglass case with jelly.

Also, there is no mention by Mr. McDowell of the fact that the only fines assessed for any rough stuff during the course of the strike were levied against his employes, not against members of the Guild or other unions in the plant

(signed) Joseph Connor

P. S. I am writing this letter as an individual, not as an official of the Guild or the Lima Citizen, by which I am now employed.

APPENDIX P

Front Page Editorial Published by the Lima News May 2, 1957

An Editorial
 We Believe That We're
 Helping Keep A Right

The Lima News is being struck by the newspaper unions.

The News is on the side of the strikers!

How could we be anything else?

We are going to strive to free these union members from the most intolerable tyranny since feudalism. We are going to do all within our ability and resources to set them free from the Conspiracy of Coercion which has deprived them of the right to earn a living without paying tribute to the Lords of Labor.

No man can render a greater service than to free another from slavery.

To restore a man's freedom is to restore his self-respect, his dignity.

It is worth striving for.

A man who cannot think for himself, act for himself or represent himself in his dealings with his business associates is a man deprived of the most basic elements of freedom.

But unless a union can demand of its members that they surrender these rights, the Conspiracy of Coercion, which only now is being brought to light by a Senate committee, cannot exist.

Every day that this newspaper publishes without requiring its employees to pay tribute to the unions, all newspapermen enjoy a thin ray of hope that some day they will be able to walk in the sun and not in the shadow of the union.

Every day that this newspaper publishes without increasing the economic and political power of the newspaper unions, its members are that much closer to enjoying the fruits of their own labor.

Every day that this newspaper publishes without obedience to the unions, every person in Limaland can take heart that freedom is not a forgotten word in the dusty past.

Every day that this newspaper publishes without the pressure of union threats, some other American can take heart in the fight for freedom.

We are on the side of the strikers.

We are striving for their freedom--their freedom from us, from each other and from the unions.

We are striving for their right to bargain individually, to speak for themselves and act for themselves.

We are striving for their right to profit from their abilities and their initiative and to keep the entire product of their labor.

We are striving for their children to be born and reared in freedom.

We could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be against the strikers.

But rather we have accepted the challenge to take a stand in their behalf.

APPENDIX Q

Prospectus, Lima Citizen Publishing Company

LIMA CITIZEN PUBLISHING COMPANY

100% locally owned by Lima area citizens. Intended capitalization \$500,000 - 20,000 shares \$25 no par common stock.

It is proposed to sell 12,000 shares immediately, raising \$300,000.

Circulation

Rate	.35 per week .10 newsboy commission
Net Rate	.25 per week
Net Rate	1.08 per month
Figure of	1.00 per month used in circulation
10,000 circulation anticipated in July, progressing to 20,000 in April of 1958.	

Advertising Receipts

Anticipated gross receipts per month from Display Advertising to be \$46,000.00 by April 1958. Expected to have 30% of this amount by July 1957. In addition, there will be income from classified and national advertising.

Operating Expenses

Total operating expenses expected to be \$43,710.00 per month. See Schedule A.

Capital Investment

Approximately \$33,000.00 will be spent during the first two months for equipment and installation of same.

Tentative negotiations have made available a complete printing plant values at \$100,000.00 for 32 page edition on basis of \$800.00 per month lease until \$100,000.00 has been paid, when title will pass to The Lima Citizen Publishing Company. The property has been inspected and approved by competent authorities. Estimate of 60 days required to move and install.

THE LIMA CITIZEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
SCHEDULE A

	<u>May 1956</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>August</u>
<u>Circulation Receipts</u>			10,000.00	11,100.00
<u>Advertising Receipts</u>			13,800.00	17,370.00
<u>Total Receipts</u>			23,800.00	28,470.00
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Salaries	1,500.00	1,500.00	24,000.00	24,000.00
News Print		6,000.00	6,670.00	7,330.00
Rent	500.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Comics, Wire S.-Feat.			1,000.00	1,000.00
Mat Service	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00
Heat, Light, Power			400.00	400.00
Insurance		150.00	150.00	150.00
Ink			50.00	75.00
Metal			50.00	75.00
Telephone		250.00	250.00	250.00
Office Supplies & Post.		225.00	225.00	225.00
Payroll Taxes	80.00	80.00	980.00	980.00
Attorney Fees	150.00	150.00	150.00	150.00
Truck Expense			200.00	200.00
Miscellaneous	500.00	500.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
	<u>2,810.00</u>	<u>9,935.00</u>	<u>36,205.00</u>	<u>36,915.00</u>
Profit or (Loss) Monthly (2,810)		(9,935.00)	(12,405.00)	(8,445.00)
Accum. Profit or (Loss) (2,810)		(12,745.00)	(25,150.00)	(33,595.00)
Capital Investment	21,000.00	11,800.00	800.00	800.00
Cash Requirements	23,810.00	45,545.00	58,750.00	67,995.00

THE LIMA CITIZEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
SCHEDULE A

	<u>September</u>	<u>October</u>	<u>November</u>	<u>December</u>
<u>Circulation Receipts</u>	12,200.00	13,350.00	14,500.00	15,500.00
<u>Advertising Receipts</u>	20,950.00	24,530.00	28,110.00	31,690.00
<u>Total Receipts</u>	<u>33,150.00</u>	<u>37,880.00</u>	<u>42,610.00</u>	<u>47,190.00</u>
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Salaries	26,000.00	26,000.00	26,000.00	26,000.00
News Print	8,000.00	8,670.00	9,330.00	10,000.00
Rent	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Comics, Wire S.-Feat.	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Mat Service	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00
Heat, Light, Power	400.00	400.00	400.00	400.00
Insurance	150.00	150.00	150.00	150.00
Ink	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Metal	75.00	75.00	75.00	75.00
Telephone	250.00	250.00	250.00	250.00
Office Sup. & Post.	225.00	225.00	225.00	225.00
Payroll Taxes	1,080.00	1,080.00	1,080.00	1,080.00
Attorney Fees	150.00	150.00	150.00	150.00
Truck Expenses	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
	<u>39,710.00</u>	<u>40,380.00</u>	<u>41,040.00</u>	<u>41,710.00</u>
P or L Monthly	(6,560.00)	(2,500.00)	1,570.00	5,480.00
Accum. P. or (L)	(40,155.00)	(42,655.00)	(41,085.00)	(35,605.00)
Capital Investment	800.00	800.00	800.00	800.00
Cash Requirements	75,000.00	78,655.00	77,885.00	73,205.00

THE LIMA CITIZEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
SCHEDULE A

	<u>January</u>	<u>February</u>	<u>March</u>
<u>Circulation Receipts</u>	16,600.00	17,800.00	19,000.00
<u>Advertising Receipts</u>	35,270.00	38,840.00	42,420.00
<u>Total Receipts</u>	51,870.00	56,640.00	61,420.00
<u>Operating Expenses</u>			
Salaries	26,000.00	26,000.00	26,000.00
News Print	10,670.00	11,330.00	12,000.00
Rent	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Comics, Wire S.-Features	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Mat Service	80.00	80.00	80.00
Heat, Light, Power	400.00	400.00	400.00
Insurance	150.00	150.00	150.00
Ink	100.00	100.00	100.00
Metal	75.00	75.00	75.00
Telephone	250.00	250.00	250.00
Office Sup. & Post.	225.00	225.00	225.00
Payroll Taxes	1,080.00	1,080.00	1,080.00
Attorney Fees	150.00	150.00	150.00
Truck Expense	200.00	200.00	200.00
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
	<u>42,380.00</u>	<u>43,040.00</u>	<u>43,710.00</u>
P of (L) Monthly	9,490.00	13,600.00	17,710.00
Accum. P or (L)	(26,115.00)	(12,515.00)	5,195.00
Capital Investment	800.00	800.00	800.00
Cash Requirements	64,515.00	51,715.00	34,805.00

THE LIMA CITIZEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
SCHEDULE A

	<u>April</u>	<u>Totals for First Year</u>
<u>Circulation Receipts</u>	20,000.00	150,050.00
<u>Advertising Receipts</u>	46,000.00	298,980.00
<u>Total Receipts</u>	66,000.00	449,030.00
<u>Operating Expenses</u>		
Salaries	26,000.00	259,000.00
News Print	12,000.00	102,000.00
Rent	1,000.00	11,500.00
Comics, Wire S.--Features	1,000.00	1,000.00
Mat Service	80.00	960.00
Heat, Light, Power	400.00	4,000.00
Insurance	150.00	1,650.00
Ink	100.00	925.00
Metal	75.00	725.00
Telephone	250.00	250.00
Office Sup. & Post.	225.00	2,475.00
Payroll Taxes	1,080.00	10,760.00
Attorney Fees	150.00	150.00
Truck Expense	200.00	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	11,000.00
	<u>43,710.00</u>	<u>421,545.00</u>
P or (L) Monthly	22,290.00	27,485.00
Accum. P or (L)	27,485.00	
Capital Investment	800.00	40,800.00
Cash Requirements	13,315.00	13,315.00

WHEN FREEDOM CAME TO LIMA: A CASE STUDY

by

JOHN DAVID MITCHELL

A.B., Oberlin College, 1950

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Technical Journalism

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1959

This thesis is a case study of the newspaper situation in Lima, Ohio, from February, 1956, when the impending sale of the city's only daily newspaper was announced, until July 1, 1959, the second anniversary of Lima as a two-newspaper city. The purpose is to tell what happened and to see what lessons the Lima situation might have for other journalistic situations.

The Lima News had been the city's only paper for nearly a generation and had been in the Galvin family for 58 years when it was sold as the result of a family disagreement. The announcement that Freedom Newspapers, owned by Freedom Newspapers, Inc., and R. C. Hoiles of Santa Ana, California, were new owners was made February 12, 1956. Between then and February 28, reproductions of three news magazine articles about Hoiles and his opposition to all forms of initiated force, including taxation and tax-supported institutions, were circulated in the community; and a committee was formed to attempt to persuade the Hoiles' interests to withdraw from the purchase agreement. The attempt was unsuccessful and on February 28 the fully unionized Lima News became the eleventh unit in the anti-union Freedom Newspaper group.

The same day, the new management signed a one-year contract with the Lima Guild, which had negotiated it with the Galvin management. The owners later signed contracts with the printers, pressmen, and stereotypers. The Guild and management were almost constantly in disagreement about contract grievances during the next year.

A community-wide anti-Hoiles campaign was conducted in the

fall of 1956 after the News editorially opposed a library bond issue as being "an idea that is rooted in socialism." A bond issue was approved by a record vote after an intensive volunteer campaign.

The Guild struck the News May 1, 1957. The contracts of the three mechanical unions had expired at midnight, April 30, and the members did not cross the Guild's picket line. The News continued publishing, stating the editorial view that it was doing so because it was on the side of the strikers. The unions' principal economic action was to solicit subscription cancellations. Ultimately the News lost approximately 20,000 subscribers of the 35,000 before the strike.

A locally owned newspaper incorporated May 9, 1956, the first edition of the Lima Citizen appeared July 1, 1957. The Citizen led the News in circulation and advertising from the start, although the News kept gaining steadily. On March 2, 1959, the Citizen started a "Let's Finish the Job" campaign designed to put it in the black. It was reporting definite advertising gains by May.

The reaction that followed the sale of the News illustrated that a newspaper should not be sold without consideration of the possible effects on the community. The effectiveness of the strike and the subsequent success of the Citizen indicate the key roles of the newspaper unions and especially the Guild. The reaction to the new management of the News shows the degree to which radical changes in a newspaper affect acceptance of the paper.

After two years of existence, the Citizen appeared to be mov-

ing into the black, largely as a result of meeting its competition head-on. If the Citizen can get into the black,,the only limit on how long Lima will be a two-newspaper town would appear to be the amount of money Freedom Newspapers is willing to lose at the News.