

Average net paid circulation for April exceeded
Daily—2,000,000
Sunday—3,800,000

HEIL PATTERSON

Profile of a publisher who smiles when he says "Dictator." Why the Captain reaches for his Maury when he hears the word culture. Barbara Giles focuses the camera-eye on New York's biggest picture paper.

EARLY this spring Capt. Joseph Patterson denied a disagreeable rumor concerning himself and his New York *Daily News*: "We aren't defeatists; not even pessimists," he asserted editorially on March 24. That matter settled, the publisher went on to explain why it would take four years to push Japan back from Australia to Tokyo. The subject of defeatism wasn't mentioned again, but constant readers of the *News* are supposed to assume that Patterson is an incorrigible Pollyanna because he still entertains a hope that we can hold the Hawaiian Islands. It's a pretty bleak hope but the best that the publisher can muster as long as Franklin D. Roosevelt doesn't agree that our resources should be concentrated around Hawaii first and to hell with the rest of the Pacific. He doesn't even listen when Patterson explains that Japan is probably just "making a feint" in other places to draw our attention away from the Islands. As for Germany, the publisher can't see that Hitler is doing us any particular harm. He hasn't taken the Atlantic yet, has he? If he does, then Captain Patterson may consent to worry about the world situation (provided there is a world situation, which Patterson isn't entirely ready to admit).

This peculiar optimism—if you want to call it that—would be easier for Captain Patterson if it weren't for England, Russia, the Netherlands, and China. It is they who corrode the captain's faith. The English and Dutch are fighting mostly to regain the rubber which Japan has taken from them, while the Chinese have betrayed Captain Patterson for more than four years by continuing to resist Japanese aggression when he gave them up as lost from the beginning. He had told them expressly why they were lost, too—because some peoples were born "masters" and others "servants" and they belonged in the latter class. The Chinese didn't believe him and now look what's happened: without that conquest to appease her, Japan has turned on us—on the Hawaiian Islands, anyway. Of course Patterson doesn't trust Russia for a minute. He has said at least twice that if a second front is necessary one of its purposes is to "keep Russia fighting." For he spreads a favorite lie of defeatists, that "There is always the danger that peace between Stalin and Hitler may break out at any time." He said this in the *Daily News* of March 30 and has said it in different words at other times. Privately he has said to Lord Beaverbrook—according to a story in the *New York Post*—that he would prefer Russia's defeat to Germany's.

Just to be fair, Patterson occasionally criticizes the Axis nations too. Like this: "Germany has France in practically the same grip as the Union had the Southern States after our Civil War." On April 18 he wrote that "The Japs were known to history as favoring the sneak punch." That, however, was not really in criticism of Japan but of the US Army and Navy Departments for not adequately safeguarding Pearl Harbor. The 2,000,000 readers of the *News* (3,500,000 on Sunday) are trusted not to remember that the sneak punch came just two weeks after Captain Patterson urged: "Come On—Let's Appear Japan." Lately he has taken to conceding that Hitler will probably have to be smashed—some day. His prescription for doing this is like taking cyanide for smallpox. First we must go through a lengthy process of putting Japan in its place, preferably by air power (Patterson is opposed to AEF's). Then we must "get the bloody business over with as fast as possible" through a concentrated attack that will "cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of our best young men" and "bring grief and heartbreak to every American community and countryside." One corner of this gruesome picture is reserved for a contrasting glimpse of the blessings of Patterson's kind of "peace."

That's Captain Patterson's campaign for the Western Front and it's as cute as his Defense Bond drive. On December 15 and 22, the *News* urged people to "Buy Defense Bonds" in two editorials which regretfully admitted that they might be worthless after the war. But then if they were, Patterson added cheerfully, the whole country would be worthless too. Priorities and rationing are something he doesn't uphold with one hand, the better to shoot them with the other. He uses the frontal attack: "We are being ordered and rationed around in an even more bullying tone by the bureaucrats. . . . The result is that more and more people are coming to feel about the war effort as they felt about prohibition—that the bureaucrats are petty tyrants and that it is more or less a citizen's duty to hinder them." This is plain speaking, but you should read it twice. Perhaps Patterson is right in thinking that the word "defeatist" doesn't exactly fit the *News*—"inciting to rebellion" comes closer.

IN MORE playful mood, the captain likes to pretend that there aren't any shortages actually. People who say so are just a lot of old meanies who don't want us to have any fun. Take



... training in blitz technique. This small infantry detachment from the AEF uses a 37-mm. anti-tank gun in the shelter afforded by a bombed building.

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Patterson

Harold Ickes, for example. Ickes, who talks about gas shortages, "thinks we should suffer deprivation whether there's any reason for it or not. Ickes even seems to take a sadistic delight in it."

Which would make Ickes a hero, if Patterson were consistent. For in 1914 one of Patterson's idols was Gen. Friedrich von Bernhardi, spokesman for the Prussian Junkers, who wrote that "... sacrifice and suffering are more precious than enjoyment." Patterson also liked to quote him on war, as Hitler's men still quote him—that war was a biological necessity which made for progress since only the most "vital" nations would finally survive. It was Patterson's opinion that this "German idea" couldn't be beaten. In fact, he was so taken by Bernhardi's philosophy that he wrote editorials in the Chicago *Tribune* advocating that the weak and unfit be put to death. This was something of a departure from the struggle-for-survival thesis, since it would eliminate the struggle. But then, it would expedite the survival to the point where we would soon have a world of physically elite like the late Max Annenberg.

Annenberg was the most cherished of Patterson's heroes, surpassing even Clyde Beatty the lion tamer, from whom Patterson once begged a whip for a souvenir. For nearly three decades Max was Patterson's Man Friday. The publisher met him in Chicago when Patterson and his cousin Robert McCormick were running the *Tribune*. Annenberg had been Hearst's Chicago circulation manager, which meant knowing how to slug, blackjack, and shoot in wars against rival papers. He was doing such a good job against the *Tribune* that the paper took him over to slug, blackjack, and shoot the Hearst circulation men. Patterson himself had reached no such heights. The best he had been able to do was picking fights with toughies to prove to himself that wealth had not made him effete.

When Patterson went to New York to take charge of his tabloid *News*, he took Max with him, and Max was a fixture at the *News* until he died last year. It was he who instilled some forty men, fully armed, plus machine-gun emplacements in the basement. The guards, through an elaborate system, signaled each other every fifteen minutes that all was well. To Max the guns were a nice homey touch, and besides protecting the building they brought down the insurance.

There is no record of the guards having been called into action although they bristled dangerously for a while when WPA workers were picketing a building across the street some years ago. Max felt compelled to take their guns away on that occasion. He reasoned, soundly enough, that it wouldn't be good for the *News*, which had a liberal reputation at that time, to get involved in any anti-labor violence.

The only quaint touch which Patterson himself has contributed to the *News* surroundings is the hatchet which hangs on the wall of his private toilet, so he can chop his way out if locked in. His claustrophobia is such that he has metal doors in his home because wooden ones might swell and get stuck. There's a very fancy bathroom at the *News*, done in red onyx, but that's for Colonel McCormick when he comes to town. The colonel is vice-president of the *News*, and Patterson is vice-president of the *Tribune*. There used to be a lack of cousinly love between the two men, but they are *en rapport* now in the common cause of impeding the administration's war program. Patterson is more affectionate to his sister, Eleanor (Cissie) Patterson, who constitutes the Washington end of the publishing Axis. He advises her in running her *Times-Herald* and she republishes his more drastic editorials. These editorials, it should be stated, are not written directly by Patterson but by Reuben Maury. However, Maury's job is mostly that of a transmitter. He listens intently while Patterson talks, then puts it down on paper in the Patterson style. He is probably the only editorial writer in the country who enjoys being a dictaphone. Last year, when *PM* discovered that Maury was writing against aid-to-Britain in the *News* and for it in *Collier's*, he replied in indignant self-defense that he did not "pretend to be anything but a newspaper hired man."

News reporters are less anonymous than they used to be, although Captain Patterson still doesn't believe in "star journalists." His pets are the comic strip artists, who get not only tremendous salaries but personal tutelage from the publisher. Patterson prides himself on his sense of humor. In his *Tribune* days his greatest delight was The Katzenjammer Kids, which stimulated him to compose jokes for the *Tribune's* humor column. They were so bad that "B. L. T.," the columnist,



Rollin Kirby in the New York "Post"
"People We Could Do Without"

refused to print them, and Patterson never forgave him. When the columnist died, Patterson delivered an address at the memorial services which was so ungracious it startled those who heard it. The publisher's present favorite in comic strips is *The Gumps*, which he invented himself. He also created Dick Tracy, Little Orphan Annie, and Moon Mullins.

Some of the stories in the *News* contain little more text than a comic strip. There isn't room for much, what with the pictures and the advertisements. On Thursdays and Fridays, the big department-store advertising days, the news columns run like tiny rivulets between mountain banks of ads. This makes it a little difficult to get in the big events of the day, although space can be found for, say, a picture of Rep. Clare Hoffman (Appeaser, Mich.) and a fairly good-sized story about his opposition to Army regulations forbidding the privates to date the nurses. Back in 1938 Captain Patterson managed to get in no less than eleven columns of anti-Semitic propaganda from William Dudley Pelley, recently arrested for sedition. When the protests from readers poured in, Captain Patterson defended himself in an editorial, thus: "The Bill of Rights does not mean that Americans are forbidden to dislike other Americans on religious or other grounds. Plenty of people are just now exercising their right to dislike the Jews."

Captain Patterson himself has exercised this "right" more than once. On Sept. 10, 1941, the *News* editorially referred to "those who are called anti-Semites by the more enthusiastic warmongers—who believe the United States should not send an army of millions of men—for hundreds of thousands would not be enough—to Europe to avenge upon Hitler the wrongs he has inflicted on the Jews in Europe." Coughlin could not have said it better.

LIKE Colonel McCormick, Patterson has a dread of being "influenced" by men in power and therefore avoids friendships with them. He is equally suspicious of the less privileged who may be after a dollar or two from his pocket (the *News* profits are around \$5,000,000 yearly). When the publisher takes a subordinate to lunch and suspects that his guest is hoping for a de luxe meal, Patterson chooses a cafeteria. He does make an effort to find out what the Little People are thinking, and used to slum around flophouses disguised as a bum, conversing with the habitués. In his early post-collegiate days he scandalized Chicago society by declaring himself a Socialist and appearing in the family box at the opera clad in muddy shoes, lumberman's shirt, and rumpled tail coat and trousers. Socialism in that time had been given a glamorous journalistic appeal by Jack London's popularity. With Patterson it lasted just long enough for him to turn out a book or two denouncing the idle sons of the rich.

There is evidence that Patterson disliked the rich but never riches, and that his dislike was based in part at least on an aversion to refinements of dress and speech. He doesn't like "fancy talk" or "fancy writing"; stories written with any trace of the latter are ruthlessly cut down before publication. When the publisher hears the word culture he reaches for his Maury and there's an editorial blast in the *News* the next day. The paper enthusiastically supported the congressional campaign against WPA art projects, although Patterson had been pretty consistent in backing the New Deal as a whole. ("The New Deal," he said once, "has taken the place of Peaches Browning.") His foreign policy was very rarely liberal. The *News* was among the few newspapers which persistently, and inaccurately, referred to the Spanish loyalists as "Reds." As far back as his *Tribune* days Patterson had the America First outlook—never mind about Europe's troubles, let's stick to this continent, taking over Canada and Latin American countries for ourselves. Even after Pearl Harbor Patterson was still suggesting that while the British were busy fighting this was a good time for us to put the snatch on Canada.

Six weeks before the "sneak punch" at Pearl Harbor, Pat-

PET NAME

Queens: Why not name this war Uncle Sap's War? We're standing the whole expense, aren't we?
UNCLE SAP'S NEPHEW.

Manhattan: Simply because Communist Russia is fighting on our side for the four freedoms, does the WPB have to act like Hitler's OGPU by pulling a phony razor blade shortage on us? Even if we are allied with the Reds, do we have to look like those bearded bohunks? What's next on Leon Henderson's "verboten" list—soap? Do we have to smell like Communists, too?
FAT BUT CLEAN MIKE.

NAMING THE WAR

Brooklyn: Since in most circles any discussion of the war is taboo or bad form, it certainly should be named what it is: the Unpopular War.
P. REVERE.

Patterson's Voice. Here are some typical excerpts from the "Daily News" letter columns, which the publisher titles "Voice of the People." In cruder, Coughlinitic language they reiterate the conclusions of the "News" editorial columns. The phony signatures above are also typical. Patterson loads "Voice of the People" with this kind of stuff.

terson gave America First \$5,000 to keep up its dirty work. The organization officially disbanded after December 7 but Patterson, as though he were trying to realize on his investment, keeps its spirit alive and shouting in his paper. On April 16 he announced that "we" were better than the President because "we love this country exclusively." It's the sort of America First love which embraces everything but the country's government, its allies, its people, and its traditions. You can go through *News* editorials over a two-month period and find scarcely one decent word for anything the United Nations are doing in the struggle against the Axis. You will find only whining, mean cracks, outright resistance.

If you do discover an orchid blooming among the editorial sourweeds—watch out. It's been planted there for a purpose. When Brig. Gen. James Doolittle got the Congressional Medal for the bombing of Tokyo, Patterson wrote quite a loving little piece about him—and about three other aviators named Lindbergh, Rickenbacker, and Al Williams. The last two, like Mr. Lindbergh, were devotees of America First. Patterson has quoted Rickenbacker at least three times on the editorial page, apparently for the sheer pleasure of hearing him say that we have already lost the war. The *News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *Washington Times-Herald* have virtually made General MacArthur their personal protege (without asking his consent) simply to boost him as their Favorite Son of 1944, in order to embarrass the administration. They use his heroic record in a war which they themselves oppose, to snipe at President Roosevelt for keeping MacArthur "pigeonholed away" in Australia and to accuse the administration of refusing to help him in the Battle of the Philippines. Once or twice Patterson has even cast a posy at the Red Army and "the colossal drama on the Russian Front"—which, says the publisher dreamily, we in America can "watch" while keeping our sole attention fixed on Hawaii.

DON'T know how much Patterson finds out about what the Little People are thinking from the letters he receives. The *News* gets a tremendous amount of mail, but it's carefully sorted out before publication in "Voice of the People." Reuben Maury does the selecting, and what does appear in print is not designed to hinder the captain's crusade against the war. Of course Maury is smart enough to publish a few which call the *News* names or perhaps praise the Soviet Union. These, it strangely happens, are almost always signed with Jewish names. The greater percent of the appeaser mail carries Irish signatures, though the downright seditious are usually signed only with initials or with sobriquets. "Voice of the People" is an appalling refutation of the comfortable theory that most *News* readers look only at the stories and comic strips, disregarding the editorial page. "Voice of Patterson" would be a more fitting title for these columns. These readers, too, "love America exclusively." They too promote the dark suspicion that the "dictatorial" administration will abolish national elections for the duration. They are bitter about blackouts, rationing, price control, and priorities.

Many of the letters could have been taken straight from *Social Justice*. For example: "Intoin all the Bundists, Silvershoits, Blackshoits, America Foisters . . . and ya have 25,000,000 locked up." Or this: "Now that we have muzzled Father Coughlin's paper, let's go all the way and ban all church papers. In this way we can achieve the sacred aim, which is Communism throughout the world." "Roosevelt squanderbund," "the fake 'emergency,'" "bastions of hogwaller"—these are some of the phrases applied to the administration and the war effort by *News* readers, who also regard air-raid wardens as "power drunk ninnies" and beg for a "Peace Soon" campaign. President Roosevelt's request that someone think up an appropriate name for the war drew a riot of Coughlinite suggestions in the *News* letter columns. One reader offered "R.I.P."—for "Rackets Inaugurated Politically, Rogues in Power, Reds in Plush, Religion in Peril, and Rights in Pawn." Several suggested variations on "Roosevelt's War"—such as "The War of Krum Elbow," "The Fourth Term War," and "The Raw Deal."

All this, with Patterson's own bellyaching, is printed under the plea that to do otherwise will weaken "freedom of the press." That much-mangled phrase used to stir Patterson's risibilities, especially when he heard men like McCormick

The democratic idea is that a few bureaucrats, no matter how wise, have not enough brains to do all the thinking for 130,000,000 people; that the people must do their own thinking, while the main job of the bureaucrats is to carry out the people's wishes. This is the exact opposite of the totalitarian idea; and the totalitarians at present are having things pretty much their way in Washington.

The result is that more and more people are coming to feel about the war effort as they felt about prohibition—that the bureaucrats are petty tyrants, and that it is more or less a citizen's duty to hinder them

If these petty tyrannies go on, we look for them to become an issue in next November's elections—if those elections are held.

Just as Berlin says. The ideas expressed above are favorites with Captain Patterson, but not entirely original—they've been expressed in other words over the Nazi shortwave to this country. These ideas add up to the lying thesis that Americans have been deprived of their liberty—even their constitutional guarantee of free elections—by a "totalitarian" government which is more dangerous than the Axis. Note that Patterson, in the second paragraph above, talks of a citizen's "duty" to "hinder" the war effort.

use it. But not any more. His Washington correspondent, John O'Donnell, devotes most of his time to the subject. When Roosevelt made his press conference statement about sixth columnists, O'Donnell wrote on March 25: "The press, FDR tartly observed, no longer has the influence that it had a short time ago." By March 30 the correspondent's impression of Roosevelt's manner had changed: "There was a note of smug satisfaction in the voice of the President last week when he blandly told the White House newspapermen that the American press is losing influence with its readers." On the other hand, he is stern in calling the government to order for exercising its own freedom to inform the press about what's going on in the war agencies. This becomes "propaganda" and, to believe O'Donnell, the capital is practically paved with government publicity handouts. He frequently calls attention to the fact that the men who write them are paid for their work, which seems to strike him as peculiar.

THE *News'* disdain of an honest press release from open sources is understandable in a way. It is like the disdain of a professional smuggler watching the naive traveler declare his valuables. Captain Patterson works hard at his propaganda and the result is supposed to look like something else completely. The fact that it doesn't, isn't entirely the publisher's fault—you can switch the labels on a Berlin-made shirt and re-tailor it, but you can't wash out all the tattle-tale brown. Readers of the *News* must know by now that when Captain Patterson says "bureaucrats" he means the United States government. When he says "dictator" he means our Commander in Chief—a querulous, vindictive old man, according to the *News*, who makes faces at "all those who venture to disagree with him." You don't need the Berlin shortwave to this country to get the Hitler line on how America has already lost its freedom, so why fight for it?—it's in the *News* editorial columns, over and over. (Sample quotes: "More and more people are asking why we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy when the bureaucrats are destroying democracy right here at home" (April 13). "As for getting our liberties back after the war—we won't get all of them back in any event. We can be confident that after the war we'll be more totalitarian than ever before. That is how those things go" (May 22).

To indicate the *News'* chief propaganda tricks gives only a small idea of the propaganda's extent. First of all, the tricks are played constantly, day after day. There's nothing you can tell Captain Patterson about the Value of Repetition—sometimes he hardly varies the rhetoric of his pet arguments. Then there are minor tricks, also repeated. Patterson, for example, often makes a point of Russia's 180,000,000 people and the "fecund population" of China (with all that manpower, what do they need from America?—and are "fecund" peoples really fit to survive?). In general, the publisher's line exactly fits the purpose of defeatist propaganda as warned against by Archibald MacLeish: to divide the American people from the British and Russian peoples; to inspire a demand for a purely defensive war; to inflame race against race and class against class.

But MacLeish isn't the only person who has exposed the sort of Goebbling found in the *News*. If Captain Patterson wants to know what the "Little People" on his own paper think, he could find out from a recent statement distributed in the plant by members of the Newspaper Guild unit of the *News*. It had some plain things to say about publishers who try to create distrust of our allies and disunity at home. The *News* wasn't mentioned directly, but Captain Patterson probably got the point. And the point, as most people see it, is roughly this: that Herr Hitler undoubtedly would be charmed to see us follow Captain Patterson in his campaign just to hold Hawaii and let the rest of the world go hang, but to good Americans this is no time for a Hula war dance to the tune of the *Horst Wessel*.

BARBARA GILES.

June 2, 1942 NM