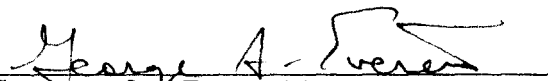
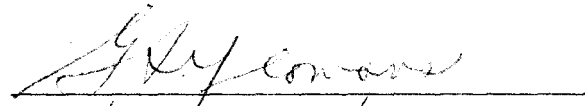


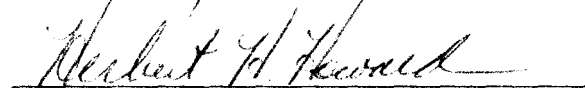
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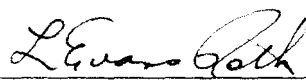
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Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

THE BLACK PRESS OF TENNESSEE: 1865-1980

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Karen Fitzgerald Brown

August 1982

3045.020

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DEDICATION

To black and unknown journalists,
Whose struggle helped bring us
thus far on the way

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the final chapter. Above all, I am indebted to my guys, sons Asim and Christopher, and my husband, Tony, for struggling all the way with me.

ABSTRACT

At least 112 black newspapers have been published in Tennessee, beginning with the Colored Tennessean in 1865. William B. Scott, an East Tennessee harness-maker, and his son, William Jr., published the Colored Tennessean in Nashville on or about April 29, making it one of the first black newspapers in the South.

From 1865 to 1899 there were at least 35 black papers published in the state, 52 from 1900 to 1950, and 25 from 1951 to 1980. By the end of the period there were only three black papers being printed in the state: the Memphis Tri-State Defender, Memphis Mid-South Express and the Nashville Metropolitan. The average life of Tennessee's black newspapers was 7.4 years, below the national average for black papers of 9 years (according to a 1950 study by Armistead Pride).

The Nashville Globe (1906-1960) seems to have been the most significant paper studied. In addition to having had the longest existence, the paper also was a force in some political gains by blacks. Other significant papers and their years of existence were the Memphis Tri-State Defender (1951-present), Chattanooga Observer (31), Knoxville Flashlight Herald (32), Memphis World (41) and the East Tennessee News (42).

The most famous figure in the state's black press was Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a nationally known journalist at the turn of the century. She became an international lecturer in a crusade against lynching. Wells-Barnett was editor of the Memphis Free Speech during her early years. Other important figures associated with the state's black press included Richard Henry Boyd and Henry A. Boyd of the Nashville Globe.

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INTRODUCTION

THE BLACK PRESS OF TENNESSEE, 1865-1980

It does not take much digging to learn that the first newspapers published in the United States were Publick Occurrences in 1690 and the Boston Newsletter in 1704; the first paper published in Tennessee was the Knoxville Gazette in 1791; the first black newspaper published in the United States was Freedom's Journal in 1827. These facts may vary in significance according to the reader's interest, but they are a part of the history of journalism in this nation.

If one pursues history and seeks information about the black press in Tennessee, the literature thins considerably. There is very little collected information on the state's black press. It is as if there has been no sizable body of publications.

The earliest newspaper found and the writing of one author (Cansler, 1939) indicate that the state's first black newspaper was published in 1865. It continued for about two years before undergoing a name change. At least 34 other black newspapers were published in the state before 1900, and scores of papers have been published since that time. Some have lasted only briefly. Others have existed for 40 years or more.

The editors and publishers of these newspapers have included businessmen (Bell, A., 1976; Hamilton, 1972, p. 150), ministers (Hamilton; Williams, J., 1976), a man recognized as a leader in East Tennessee politics ("The Democrats, . . .", 1877), and a woman who gained international recognition as a speaker for human rights (Duster, 1970). These fragments of the past suggest that there is a significant story in the history of black newspapers in Tennessee.

CHAPTER 1

FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Purposes and Significance

This research is to present a broad study of the black press in Tennessee. The study had four purposes. The first was to provide a chronology of black Tennessee newspapers. The Tennessee State Archives has a list of 16 black newspapers, and other sources, notably Pride (1950) and LaBrie (1973a), have lists that include several Tennessee newspapers. Books on the black press in America and on blacks in Tennessee mention some newspapers. The chronology in this report draws on these sources and others, hitherto untapped, in an effort to identify and list all black newspapers that were ever published in Tennessee.

A second purpose of this study was to locate extant copies of these newspapers. In her dissertation, "Extant Collections of Black Newspapers, 1880-1915," Georgetta Campbell (1978) demonstrated that copies of black newspapers exist in college and university libraries, special collections and public libraries. Copies of newspapers of the Tennessee black press have been found in cultural centers and university collections, as well as private accumulations. This portion of the dissertation was an effort to produce a list of the

locations of extant copies. Such a guide could lead to the formation of a collection of black state newspapers.

A third goal of this research was to provide information on the newspapers, including the names of publishers and editors, dates of existence and circulations. An interest in the national black press over the past ten to fifteen years has led to the uncovering of information on a few outstanding black journalists and books and articles on some of the widely recognized national black newspapers. There have not, however, been sufficient studies of state and local black newspapers. This portion of the dissertation examined people and newspapers, most of which are not widely known. It was believed that such a study might reveal new heroes and heroines of the American press.

A final purpose of this study was to describe the historical setting in which these papers existed. Some writers have suggested significant periods for the black press. In "The Black Press: Roots 150 Years Deep," LaBrie (1977-78) named four growth periods: 1827-1865, the abolitionist press; 1866-1905, the post-Emancipation flourish; 1905-1976, the press established; 1976-present, the clarification and strengthening of the press.

This dissertation looked at the development of the press of Tennessee in relation to the growth of the national black press. This portion also looked at factors in state and

national history that might particularly have affected the state's black press. For instance, the publisher of a Nashville paper (McClellan, 1976) said that federal economic policies in the 1930's were primary factors in his paper being forced to merge. In 1963 Newsweek magazine reported that the push for integration was having an adverse effect on black newspapers. Black readers and the best black journalists were being attracted to the white press ("Victims of Negro Progress").

Thus, the fourth purpose of this dissertation was to examine major changes in the political, social and economic state of the nation, the nation's black press and the state of Tennessee to see if any such changes seemed to strongly affect the state's black press, and to see how the press responded to circumstances.

A computer retrieval search of Comprehensive Dissertation Abstracts, covering 1861 to November 1979, revealed that there have been no dissertations on the black press in Tennessee. It lists four dissertations on Tennessee newspapers and 24 dissertations on aspects of the nation's black press. Two of those 24 are studies of the black press in Texas and Missouri. This dissertation continued the idea of exploring the black press in one state as a means for adding to the total literature on press history in the United States.

Eleven books that focus exclusively on the black press have been found (Brooks, 1959; Dann, 1971; Detweiler, 1922;

Gore, 1922; LaBrie, 1973a; LaBrie, 1973b; LaBrie, 1974; Oak, 1948; Penn, 1861; Pride, 1968; and Wolseley, 1971). Two of these (Dann and Penn) are studies of the press prior to 1900. Many authors focused on the first black newspapers or an excerpt from one or two of the state's papers. Magazine articles and other popular publications tended to examine the contemporary press.

There was, then, a clear outline of the history of the national black press, but a very incomplete picture. There was almost nothing on Tennessee's black press, although several theses, dissertations and other studies were being undertaken about individuals in the black press and about the press in various states or regions. (For example, see Grose, 1972, and Slaven, 1969.)

One such study was undertaken by the author (K. Brown, 1976). The thesis was an attempt to begin accumulating information on the black press in Tennessee. This dissertation differs from the thesis in four ways. Primarily, it is a much broader study of the state's press. The earlier study focused on newspapers in the state's archives, mostly Nashville newspapers. This study located papers from other parts of the state.

Another difference is that this study attempted to locate extant newspapers and microfilms. The earlier study presented a content analysis of some newspapers in the state archives.

This study looked at the environment in which the papers operated, an aspect that was given only passing attention in the first section of the earlier work. This work updated and expanded upon research on the black press. Much of the current material was published in the 1970's, particularly in 1977, to observe the 150th anniversary of the black press. The thesis was completed in August 1976. Overall, the dissertation offers an assessment of the role and contributions of the black press in Tennessee in the aggregate. It evaluated the significance of it all.

The only other studies of Tennessee's press that have been located were an undergraduate class report by Jerry Pearson at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville (1978) and Armistead Pride's chapter on Tennessee in his 1950 dissertation. This dissertation, then, was the first comprehensive study made exclusively of the black press of Tennessee.

Definition of Terms

This study required the definition of two terms: black newspapers and black press.

Black newspapers refer to newspapers written and edited by blacks. Wolseley (1971) and others have explored the problem of defining "black newspapers." Are they papers that are financed by blacks, produced by blacks or read by blacks? Do they fight for black causes or are they all of the above?

Grose (1972) wrote that the first black newspaper in Texas was published by a white newsman and politician who found it expedient to maintain a very low profile (p. 56). This finding points to the problem of classifying a paper according to the race of the publishers. Many "black" papers were financed by whites. Often that financing is difficult, if not impossible, to document.

Another problem is in defining a newspaper by its readership. The first black newspaper in Tennessee, the Colored Tennessean was moved to Maryville where it became the Maryville Republican (later the Maryville Democrat). The paper called itself "the official Newspaper for Blount County" (June 27, 1868). It moved away from racial themes, particularly during a period when the publisher's son was in control. The quotation in the nameplate was changed from "All Men Are Created Free and Equal" to "Devoted to Literature, News of the Day, Agriculture and Important Local Intelligence, etc." (Maryville Republican, January 4, 1873). The articles presented and responses to the newspaper suggested that it was designed for, and being read by, whites and blacks. Yet the publishers continued to be black men.

The literature on the black press suggested that most newspapers were primarily financed by blacks, though there may have been white contributors. They were primarily read by blacks, though whites did seek to stay informed of black

thoughts. The newspapers were also produced by blacks; that is, the editorial staff, the editors and writers, were black. Black newspapers, in this dissertation, were broadly defined as newspapers in which the editorial staffs were primarily black.

Black press also refers to newspapers produced by blacks, but refers to the newspapers collectively.

The definition of black newspapers and black press in this study limits the type of publications examined. All magazines, books, house organs or publications for an agency, as well as religious publications will be ignored. In their definition of a newspaper, Emery and Emery (1978) offered some substantiation for this idea. Their definition says, in part, the newspaper "must print anything of interest to a general public, as contrasted with some of the religious and business publications" (p. 4).

Delimitations

This research includes only black newspapers and only newspapers published in Tennessee. Papers excluded include several national black newspapers that were widely circulated in the state and employed correspondents from Tennessee. Background information was accumulated by studying the history of newspapers nationally. This report, however, focused only on Tennessee newspapers.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Books

The review of books falls into five categories: books on the black press; biographies and autobiographies of people in the black press; books on blacks in Tennessee; books with significant portions related to this study; and general histories. Most significant to this study were the books on the black press, particularly those which included references to the black press of Tennessee.

The oldest and most frequently cited work on the black press in the United States is I. Garland Penn's 1891 study, reprinted in 1969. Because of the date it was written, the book is limited in what it tells about the black press. It covers only a small but significant segment of history. The greatest value of Penn's work is that he recorded biographies and information on newspapers that might have been lost in history had he not decided to write his book. Pride, however, said the work has been accepted "uncritically" and noted several errors (Pride, 1950, p. 6). Penn was a writer and editor in the black press; at one time he worked for the Knoxville Negro World (Dann, 1971, p. 26). His book included a brief biography of Ida B. Wells, who started her

journalistic career in Memphis, and mentions Scott, Waring and Company, the publishers of the Colored Tennessean.

In 1922 George Gore published Negro Journalism: An Essay on the History and Present Conditions of the Negro Press. Gore analyzed "stages of development in the Negro press": which he entitled early attempts, 1827-1847; abolitionist press, 1847-1865; reconstruction period or the period of freedom, 1865-1880; transition period, 1880-1900; and dawn of a new era, 1900.

Vishnu V. Oak wrote The Negro Newspaper (1948) as volume one of a three-part series on black businesses. He chose the press as the first topic because he said he believed the black press was quickly losing its influence. The book focused on the business aspects of the press, including sources of capital and management techniques. A directory of papers published between 1945 and 1948 added the names of several Tennessee papers.

The Negro Press Re-examined: Political Content of Leading Negro Newspapers (Brooks, 1959) is a study testing the hypothesis that Negro newspapers reflect the political ideals and values which are consistent with American ideals (p. 35). The findings, based on a content analysis of the Pittsburgh Courier, Baltimore Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Amsterdam News and Chicago Defender during World War II, supported the hypothesis.

Martin E. Dann's book, The Black Press: 1827-1890, (1971) covered newspapers printed in the 19th Century that were available in New York libraries. He provided a brief history of the press and included excerpts from the Colored Tennessean. Dann wrote that "Two currents in black intellectual history evident in the black press (were) a response to white racism and an assertion of self-determination" (p. 12). He described the period of his study as a time of modest political reform and cautious optimism by the press, "yet growing wariness of the white community" (p. 21).

In The Negro Press in the United States (1922) Frederick Detweiler's purpose seems to have been to tell whites of the United States about the nation's black press. He noted that in the summer of 1921 there were about 253 black newspapers, all but two of which were weeklies. The Washington Colored American and Richmond Colored American were daily one-page bulletins. The author traced the history of the black press, relying on Penn and Gore as well as other sources. He also described the content of the papers and used white papers as one indicator of the perceived volume and influence of the black press. Detweiler's text included references to the Murfreesboro Union (pp. 77, 81) and the East Tennessee News (pp. 81, 191, 196).

Directories and bibliographies on the black press have been produced by Pride and LaBrie. Armistead Pride's 1950

dissertation, "A Register and History of Negro Newspapers in the United States: 1827-1950" is recognized as the first comprehensive directory of the nation's black press. Beginning in 1970 LaBrie published a series of three directories on the nation's black press, The Black Press in America: A Guide (1970, 1972, 1973a).

In the third edition, based on information accumulated in January 1973, LaBrie reported that there were 208 black newspapers in the nation. He named only one in Tennessee: the Memphis Tri-State Defender. Nine newspapers were listed as Tennessee papers that were no longer being published. One was a religious paper. The other eight were the Chattanooga Observer, Knoxville Times, Memphis Citizen, Memphis World, Murfreesboro News, Capital City Defender, Nashville Independent Chronicle and Nashville Commentator.

In 1968 Pride compiled The Black Press: A Bibliography, a 37-page listing of citations for the Association for Education in Journalism's Ad Hoc Committee on Minority Education. He divided the bibliography into chapters on advertising and marketing, analysis and criticism, biography and history, competition (coverage of black community news by nonblack media), employment, magazines, and radio and television.

LaBrie cited Pride's study when he produced a bibliography by the same name, The Black Press: A Bibliography (1973b). The four divisions of LaBrie's work are books,

periodicals and monographs, unpublished theses and papers, and newspaper articles.

The most comprehensive recent books on the black press are works by Wolseley (1971) and LaBrie (1974). Wolseley, drawing largely on the works of Penn, Detweiler and Pride, attempted a broad look at the black press. He included a history that covered the beginnings of the press, through the 1960's. He also focused on magazines and business practices. LaBrie provided a collection of writings by journalists of the black press. The unique problems of the journalist, such as choosing between the personal writing style of the black press or the objective style taught in journalism schools, or deciding whether to stay with the black press or turn to the lucrative white press, are revealed in the articles. Neither book offers much information on the black press of Tennessee.

Four biographies and one autobiography provide a more personal, vivid look at the black press. The studies focus on four men and one woman who were all born (1856-1879) within 20 years of the Civil War and who came into prominence within 20 years of the turn of the century (1881-1910). Three of the four biographies were not written until the 1970's; the fourth was written in 1955. The autobiography was not published until 1970.

T. Thomas Fortune was born in Florida in 1856. By 1881 he was writing for black newspapers in New York. Fortune

became editor of the New York Age and wrote for the New York Sun, one of the nation's leading white dailies. His forceful writing earned him the nickname, "dean of Negro journalists." Fortune's biography (Thornbrough, 1972) provides insight into the financial backing of some newspapers. Fortune's backers included whites, whose identity Fortune kept secret, and Booker T. Washington, who contributed without Fortune initially knowing about it.

Ida B. Wells-Barnett was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi in 1862. Her parents died when she was 16 and Wells-Barnett moved near an aunt in Memphis. She became a county school teacher to support her five younger brothers and sisters. Before she was 30, Wells-Barnett became a nationally known columnist under the pen name "Iola." She was editor of the Memphis Free Speech until it was destroyed by whites. Wells-Barnett became an international fighter against lynching and a civic leader in Chicago, remembered more for her lectures and civic work than her journalistic work. Her autobiography (edited by her daughter, Alfreda Duster, 1970) is particularly useful in this study because portions focus on the black press in Memphis.

Robert Sengstacke Abbott's biography (Ottley, 1955) shows how a black man could start a newspaper at the turn of the century and build it into a most successful black newspaper. Abbott was born in Savannah, Georgia, in 1868.

After studying printing, he moved to Chicago and earned a law degree. He then switched to newspaper work by starting the Chicago Defender in 1905. His equipment was a typewriter and desk in a rented room. Abbott, who eventually became one of the nation's first black millionaires, left the foundations for the Sengstacke Newspaper chain.

William Monroe Trotter (Fox, 1970) grew up in the Hyde Park section of Boston and graduated magna cum laude from Harvard. He was a successful black man, living comfortably in a white world until he became aroused by the accommodationist policies of Booker T. Washington. Trotter and associates started the Boston Guardian in 1901 as a vehicle to protest against Washington. His biography is a close look at two lonely battles. Trotter fought for black rights and to keep the Guardian in print.

Robert Vann was born in a very poor area of North Carolina in 1879. He went to school in Virginia and earned a law degree from the University of Pittsburgh. When the Pittsburgh Courier was founded as a literary paper in 1910, Vann was asked to contribute articles or poems. Over the years that followed he became the newspaper's attorney, editor and publisher (Buni, 1974).

To varying degrees, each of the life stories portrays a "lonely pioneer" (Oak, 1948, p. 24) who tended to feel frustrated about a lack of racial progress and who felt

unappreciated by other blacks. The books also tell about people who were important in the Negro press and in black civic life. While the Wells-Barnett story is the only one to mention the Tennessee press, all the biographies are useful for telling about the environment of the black press around the turn of the century.

Books on blacks in Tennessee form a third type of literature relevant to this study. The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880 (Taylor, 1941) is valuable for two reasons. First, it traces the conduct of and conditions of blacks in Tennessee during the crucial period of jubilant postemancipation, through the fading hopes of postreconstruction. Taylor wrote that the black population went from 283,019 in 1869 to 403,151 in 1880. Yet by 1879 numbers of blacks were migrating to Kansas and other states. A more significant aspect of Taylor's work is the information it provides on the early black press. He makes several references to the first publisher of a black paper in Tennessee, and devoted a couple of paragraphs to naming early papers and their publishers.

Lester Lamon's 1977 book, Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930, primarily focuses on the shift from a rural to an urban black population. Lamon cites several black newspapers and relies heavily on the Nashville Globe. His 1981 book, Blacks in Tennessee: 1791-1970, gives a good overview of the period covered.

Scott's 1964 work, The Negro in Tennessee Politics and Governmental Affairs, 1865-1965, provides information on the political climate faced by blacks. The book focuses on office holders, and only a few black papers are used as sources in Scott's study.

Closely related to the third group are books on broader subjects that include portions significant to this study. Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma (1944) contains a chapter on the black press. He called the press one of the most significant institutions in the black community. Another unlikely source, The Black Preacher in America (Hamilton, 1972), has a section on the founding of the Nashville Globe by a preacher. The paper lasted over 50 years.

Histories were the final set of books for this study. John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (1980) is the principal source for black history. An additional source is The Negro in the Making of America (Quarles, 1969). Bining and Klien's 1951 study of United States history was used as a guide for developments in the nation. Philip Hamer's Tennessee: A History is a major source for state press history. (The first two volumes in Hamer's four-volume series study the state's history from 1673 to 1932, while the latter two volumes are filled with brief biographies.) A more recent, concise work is Corlew's Tennessee: A Short History (1981).

Histories of the press in the United States were also used. Many of these histories completely ignored the black press—for example, Schudson (1978) and Tebbel (1963). However, two of the best-known press histories do mention the black press. Mott (1962) wrote of the black press in two sections. Under the subtopic, "Newspapers Conducted by Negroes" (p. 794), Mott noted that in the 1940's the number of Negro publications increased from 150 to 250. Using Penn as a source, he traced the early history of the press and mentioned the Pittsburgh Courier and others as the leading papers of the 1940's. He also mentioned black magazines, including Ebony, Crisis and Opportunity.

Later Mott had one paragraph under the subtopic, "The Negro Press." He mentioned that the number of publications declined in the 1950's and that there were two dailies: the Chicago Daily Defender and the Atlanta Daily World. The Defender and Pittsburgh Courier were among the leading black newspapers (p. 821).

Emery and Emery (1978) made the best effort at integrating the history of the black press with the history of the white press. (They called the latter the "regular" press.) Beginning with a subtopic, "Black Journalist as Abolitionist," the authors told about the birth of the press during the 1800's (p. 156). The 2½-page discussion mentioned the leading papers of the early black press and included a profile of Frederick Douglass.

In later sections Emery and Emery mentioned outstanding black female journalists (pp. 228-229) and resumed the history of the press with a six-page discussion, beginning under the subtopic, "The Black Press Survives" (p. 445). The section listed outstanding newspapers and editors and included a profile of W. E. B. DuBois. The front page of the Chicago Defender was presented and there were subtopics on black magazines and blacks in broadcasting. None of the press histories made specific references to the black press of Tennessee.

Dissertations and Theses

As previously mentioned, a computer check of the Comprehensive Dissertation Abstracts data base uncovered 31 dissertations on either black (Negro or colored) newspapers, Tennessee newspapers or minority newspapers. Pride's 1950 study named several 19th Century Tennessee papers that were not found elsewhere in this study. His state-by-state look at the black press offered the only source found for interstate comparisons. Another study of great relevance to this research is Campbell's "Extant Collections of Black Newspapers, 1880-1915." This dissertation lists the names and locations of extant copies by states and presents an index to the Boston Guardian. The study includes seven Tennessee papers that are located in the Library of Congress or the libraries

of Lane College, Fisk University, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and Tennessee State University.

The state histories by Slavens (1969) and Grose (1972) are also very important to this study. In his dissertation, "A History of the Missouri Negro Press," George Everett Slavens found that at least 63 newspapers had been published in that state, beginning with the Negro World of St. Louis in 1875. Slavens' study covered the period through 1969, and extant copies of 16 of the 64 papers were found. Slavens focused his study on three newspapers: the St. Louis Argus (founded in 1912), Kansas City Call (1919), and the St. Louis American (1928). All three were studied through 1966.

Charles William Grose's study, "Black Newspapers in Texas, 1868-1970," included a list of 118 newspapers. Grose studied the press by periods: 1868-1900; 1900-1930; 1930-1955; and 1955-1970. He concluded that the majority of the papers started before the depression lasted four years or less. The majority of those started after the depression lasted 10 years or more.

Another significant dissertation is Guy Stewart's "History and Bibliography of Middle Tennessee Newspapers, 1799-1876" (1957). It mentioned the Colored Tennessean and gave locations of extant copies of the paper as the Chicago Historical Society, New York Historical Society and the Boston Athenaeum.

Several of the other dissertations have been published as books (Brooks, 1959; Detweiler, 1922; Finkle, 1975). Many of the dissertations offer significant information on the national press though they do not have anything on Tennessee. Among these are Hogan's (1978) and J. W. Johnson's (1976) studies of the Associated Negro Press. Many of the remaining dissertations are on subjects that are farther removed from the main stream of this study.

Master's theses were not overlooked in this literature review. Journalism Abstracts and LaBrie's bibliography (1973b) show that several state histories have been undertaken as theses. Among them are Moses' 1978 study of North Carolina and Moten's 1938 study of Kansas. Theses have also been done on many city press histories, including at least two Tennessee studies. Theses by Masterson (1933) and Millspaugh (1979) examined the newspapers of Knoxville and Nashville, respectively.

Periodicals

Three quarterlies provided important information for this study. The best source, by far, is the 1977 special edition of Journalism History which focused on the black press. The edition began with a well-written historical piece by LaBrie which summarized the 150-year history of the press. Barrow and Nordin gave in-depth looks at

Freedom's Journal and Perry presented a biography of an outstanding journalist, John P. Mitchell of the Richmond (Va.) Planet.

Journalism Quarterly and Journalism Monographs have had many articles on the black press. In Carter Bryan's 1969 study, "Negro Journalism before Emancipation," he said there were at least 40 black papers in the nation before the Civil War. He produced the names of some lesser known newspapers and editors, but none were from Tennessee.

The Tennessee Historical Quarterly has, in the last ten years, increased the number of articles on blacks, but most of these studies are on blacks in education. There are no reports on the black press. One of the most useful articles was Clifton Johnson's study of sources on "Negro History in Tennessee," in which he reviewed a list of sources in the State Archives that aid in uncovering the history of blacks.

A significant article that includes the black press in the history of the American press is McKerns' bibliographical essay that appeared in American Studies International (1976). The essay gives citations for a broad study of journalism, including references to Bryan (1969), Dann (1971), Fox (1970), and Stevens (1973).

Many other publications, particularly popular publications, have had articles on the black press. A large number of articles on the press appeared in the commemorative

year of 1977. Ebony had a photo editorial with the photo page, quarter-page pictures of Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm over a half-page front of Freedom's Journal, facing an editorial that gave the setting of the first black newspaper. The editorial mentioned some of those important in the history of the press and ended by saying:

The black press began 150 years ago and it is better and stronger now than ever before. The Cornishes and Russwurms, the Douglasses and Delaneys, the Abbotts and Murphys built solid foundations. The modern black press will continue their fight.

Encore magazine led popular publications in observing the anniversary of the press, devoting two editions to the history of the black press. The first edition (June 20, 1977) focused on the press from 1827 to 1910; the second (July 5, 1977) from 1910 to 1977. While much of the material was reprinted from other sources, the two editions provided a good, brief report of events in and writings on the black press. The reprinted material included Penn's (1891) discussion of leading editors and proprietors of newspapers, Marshall Field's 1944 speech to the Capital Press Club in which he discussed the black press, and a segment from Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie (1957) in which he called the press the representative of the bourgeoisie rather than the representative of the common people.

Directories

Several newspaper directories have been published over the years. While the more recent editions provide little information on the black press, some older editions have an unexpected wealth of information, especially Ayer and Son's Directory, which succeeded the American Newspaper Annual (begun in 1880), and other directories.

Editions of Ayer through the 1950's told the population of the state with it broken down into whites, foreign born and Negroes. They told the number of dailies, weeklies, and total publications in the state each year. The paragraphs on the newspapers included "Negro," in parentheses, after the names of black papers. The paragraphs for each paper also told the days of the week that the paper was published, the political or religious affiliation of the paper, the founding date, the number of columns and dimensions, the subscription rate, editor's name and the address of the paper.

Other directories used were Editor and Publisher Yearbook, which began in 1921, and Working Press of the Nation, which started in 1945. The 1969 edition of Working Press, which had a section in the back of the book for Negro newspapers, listed the Chattanooga Observer, Memphis Defender and Memphis World as Tennessee newspapers. Other directories published by Rowell and Lord and Thomas offered listings similar to Ayer, but smaller.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD

While the review of the literature is a major component of this dissertation, several other steps have been taken to accumulate information on the state's black press. The first step was a mail survey to black leaders in the state. The mailing list of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention was selected as the population for the survey. This list has the names and addresses of about 1,600 black Baptist ministers, laymen and laywomen. Since the black church has historically been the center of the black community, church people seemed an appropriate source for information on the press.

A pre-test of 50 letters was mailed to randomly selected TBMEC members. Each letter contained a one-page explanation of the project and appeal for assistance (Appendix B), a one-page answer sheet (Appendix C), and a stamped return envelope. Six responses were received from the pre-test mailing of 50, which was well below the 50 percent minimum acceptable level of responses, according to Erdos (1970).

Of the six responses, only three provided any information on the press. One of the three mentioned a newspaper that was not already listed. The three who did not provide

information wrote that they did not know anything about the state's black press.

The failure of the survey can be attributed to several problems. The first is the simple problem of getting people to read form letters. Half of the letters were mailed on University of Tennessee letterheads and envelopes; the other half were mailed with a personal return address. Five of the six who responded received the personal return address. Though attempts were made to make the letter personal and to make the receiver feel important to the study, many may have ignored the letters because of a lack of interest.

A problem in timing might have made a difference in the response rate. A day or two delay in getting the letters out caused many of them to arrive around July 4. Some of those who received the letters may have had festive or travel plans that caused them to put the letter aside. One late respondent wrote that the delay was because he had been out of town.

The biggest problem seemed to have been that people just do not know much about the black press in Tennessee. Two of the three responses came from Memphis, home of the Tri-State Defender, the state's only strong black paper. Both named the Tri-State Defender. The third answer came because, although the woman who received the letter did not have any information, she recalled her days as a college student

undertaking a survey, and decided to forward the letter to a minister who worked in Knoxville College's library. He took the time to look up several sources.

Because of the very low response rate and because the crux of the problem seemed to be ignorance of the subject, it was decided not to continue this mail survey.

A second data-gathering method, a different type of mail survey, provided a wealth of information. A list of 32 libraries was drawn up based on information from the literature and the advice of librarians at Tennessee State University. The response provided what may be the single most significant aspect of this dissertation. Letters from the Library of Congress and the Washington University Libraries in St. Louis were most helpful. (See Appendices D and E).

A third data-gathering method that was undertaken was an effort to obtain Federal Post Office records on black newspapers mailed in Tennessee. Conversations with the Post Office did not even reveal an office that could be contacted for such. A State Archives official offered to use the archives' resources to attempt to obtain such a record, but none could be found.

The remainder of the research plan divided the history into periods and concentrated on the events and the press of the period. The periods selected were 1865-1899, the

beginnings of the press in Tennessee and a period of national reconstruction; 1900-1950, the years that the national black press was established and reached its peak; and 1951-1980, years that have generally meant decline, redefinition and uncertainty for the press.

Each period is treated as a chapter in the dissertation. Each chapter includes a brief review of the historical setting, including major national and international events, events of particular interest to blacks of the nation, to Tennesseans and to blacks in Tennessee. Each chapter also examines developments in the national press, the national black press and the state press. A description, sometimes with comment, is provided on each of the state's black papers that was published during the period. Each chapter concludes with a summary and analysis of that period. The final chapter of the dissertation presents an analysis of all the findings.

The first two of the four purposes of this dissertation (see page 3) should be satisfied with the completed directory in Appendix A. It provides a chronology of the state's black press and tells which copies are extant and where they can be located.

The third purpose of this dissertation, providing some information on individual newspapers, is satisfied in the three chapters on periods of the press. Much of the material for this section was obtained from directories, but when

feasible, an effort was made to review copies of newspapers to provide information on style, content and the personnel of the papers. Records in archives, additional readings, and conversations with survivors or relatives of personnel of the black press were used for further information.

The fourth purpose, a look at the historical setting, is met in the reports on each period and in the final chapter's analysis of the state's black press (in relation to the national black press) and assessment of the contribution of the Tennessee black press to the state and the nation.

CHAPTER 4

ROOTS IN RECONSTRUCTION: 1865-1899

The May 16, 1865, edition of the Nashville Daily Press and Times featured a page-one article titled, "Remarkable Month of Great Events." The article focused on the many occurrences of April 1865, including General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox. One event that was not listed in that Press and Times article was the publishing of the first black-owned newspaper in Tennessee. The Colored Tennessean first appeared on or about April 29, 1865. The Press and Times noted this in a brief, page-two article, under the headline, "Colored Tennessean." The Press and Times observed:

Wm. Scott, a colored citizen of East Tennessee, has issued several numbers of a very neatly printed weekly newspaper, in this city, bearing the above title. The editor seems to be laboring earnestly to improve and enlighten his race, and so far as we have noticed, displays much taste and judgment in his labors. We hope that every colored family in Nashville as in the North will encourage and sustain this laudable effort to elevate and educate the colored race in the country, as they should be elevated and educated in their new conditions as free men. We wish the Tennessean much success. ("Colored Tennessean," 1865)

The Setting

The world, for black Tennesseans who lived during the 34 years between 1865 and 1899, was one in which many

Western nations were settling and expanding. European governments were being reestablished after the massive disruption of the Napoleonic War and subsequent battles. The Industrial Revolution which began in the early 1800's caused changes in machinery for work and travel. There were also lingering problems associated with expanding cities and questions of workers' rights.

The movement in Europe with which black Tennesseans would probably identify most closely was the exploration and colonization of Africa and other lands inhabited by nonwhites. Davies noted (p. 500) that in 1850 Africa was largely unexplored by the Western World and was known as the "Dark Continent." Thirty years later, tales of the wealth and mystery of the continent were circulating in Europe as a result of exploration by Livingstone, Stanley and others. By the end of the century, Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium claimed portions of Africa. Britain also had claim on India, Australia and New Zealand, and joined other countries in exploring China.

The United States underwent an era that began with the nation trying to pull itself together after the Civil War, and ended with the country on the verge of becoming a world power. The year 1865 was particularly significant to the nation. On March 4, Abraham Lincoln began his second term as president by calling for "malice toward none" and "charity

for all." One month later, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, formally ending the Civil War. Five days after the surrender, Lincoln was shot. He died the next morning. The man who was considered a savior by many blacks became the first U.S. president who was assassinated. One of the greatest U. S. presidents, Lincoln was followed by some chief executives who were generally considered weak. The period was filled with charges of graft and political favors.

The major political action of the era included the passage of three civil rights measures to follow up the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. The Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in 1865, outlawed slavery. It had the effect of freeing slaves in the North, since the Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves in the South. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, made former slaves United States citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, said that states could not deny citizens the right to vote because of race.

By 1870, as the last of the three amendments was ratified, the nation had all but lost its concern for the civil rights of blacks. There were charges of misconduct in Washington. The North was focusing on industrial growth and urban expansion as new technology and waves of immigrants from Europe caused cities to grow. Southern governments were returning to the control of conservatives. The Ku Klux Klan,

organized in 1866, led those forces which dissuaded blacks from voting or holding public offices. Negroes who persisted in seeking rights were sometimes killed or maimed (Franklin, 1980, p. 254). In 1877 President Rutherford Hayes withdrew Federal troops from the South. The move was to appease Southern conservatives. To many blacks the act seemed to say that "the party of Lincoln had all but abandoned the former slave" (Quarles, 1969, p. 142).

For the nation the period ended as a time of expansion. Between 1867 and 1896 Alaska was purchased and nine states joined the Union. The United States entered the war with Spain in Cuba in 1898. By the time a peace treaty was ratified a year later, the United States had gained control of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines and Hawaii (Bining and Klien, 1951, pp. 224-225).

Black Americans faced 1865 with great expectations, but by 1899, the dominant mood was disappointment. The period started with the joy of ending almost 250 years of slavery. Some blacks started businesses (Franklin, 1980, p. 241). Negro conventions were conducted to set agendas for racial progress.

While many freed men and women greeted freedom with industry (Quarles, 1969, p. 127) there was also instability. Some tested their emancipation by wandering throughout the country. The war had caused many to be homeless and without

jobs. Some were in search of family members from whom they had been separated.

The first decade after the war was particularly a time of progress and disappointment. While legislators in Washington pushed through ratification of the civil rights amendments, southern states enacted Black Codes that limited the rights of blacks. Former slaves were able to work as free laborers, but found that "the wages paid them in 1867 were lower than those that had been paid to hired slaves" (Franklin, 1980, p. 239). (This might have been partially the result of a depressed economy.) Blacks who migrated to cities found themselves excluded from labor unions, and often hired only as strike breakers. They were also driven out of skilled jobs, or paid lower wages than similarly qualified whites (Quarles, 1969, p. 151).

There was progress in politics that soon faded. "Between 1869 and 1901, two Negroes served in the Senate and 20 in the House of Representatives" (Franklin, 1980, p. 246). The two U.S. Senators, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were both of Mississippi. Revels was elected in 1870 to fill one year remaining on the seat vacated by Jefferson Davis. Bruce was elected in 1874 and was the only black elected to serve a full term in the U.S. Senate until Edward Brooke was elected in 1966 (Franklin, 1980, p. 247).

Although Negroes were members of Congress, lieutenant governors, sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys and recorders of deeds, at no

time was there Negro rule anywhere in the South. (Franklin, 1980, p. 248)

While undergoing so much change, black Americans found encouragement from two sources: religion and education. After the war, blacks began to leave white churches and build their own. Church memberships and the organization of denominations grew. Black churches offered spiritual and material relief, as well as a place for free expression. Franklin wrote,

As the first social institution fully controlled by blacks in America, the churches gave them (blacks) an opportunity to develop leadership and it is no coincidence that many outstanding Reconstruction leaders were ministers. (p. 238)

Several factors merged to cause education to become a major concern of blacks. One was the Freedmen's Bureau, which operated to assist former slaves during reconstruction. The Bureau set up various schools and colleges. By the time their educational work stopped in 1870, 4,329 schools had been established for blacks (Franklin, 1980, p. 237). The Bureau's work was aided and extended by philanthropists from the emerging group of wealthy Americans, including George Peabody, John D. Rockefeller and Julius Rosenwald (Franklin, 1980, pp. 269-70). Fisk, Howard and Johnson C. Smith Universities were among the schools started through the efforts of the Bureau and philanthropists (Franklin, 1980, p. 236).

Many Southern whites resented educating Negroes, but were willing to incur the expense of dual school systems to avoid racial mixing. In 1896 the Supreme Court upheld the idea of "separate but equal" facilities in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case. Blacks began to perceive education for themselves, and particularly for their children, as the one available avenue to equality.

As the century ended, blacks were touched by two other movements. In 1892, the Populist Movement in the South provided a brief bond between blacks and poor white farmers. Though the movement caused a brief resurgence of interest in the Negro vote, it was followed by moves to disenfranchise the Negro. Between 1895 and 1910 the Negro lost the right to vote in seven southern states (Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, and Georgia) as well as Oklahoma (Franklin, 1980, p. 265). States adopted clauses that required such things as two years' residence, a poll tax, and the ability to read, write and/or understand the Constitution, to prevent blacks from voting.

When the attention of the nation turned to the Spanish-American War, blacks were also keenly interested. At least 30 blacks were killed in the sinking of the "Maine," and blacks fought in the war in Cuba (Franklin, 1980, pp. 298, 300).

Imperialism or expansionism by the major powers of the world was viewed by the Negro in the United States as an

extended example of whites ruling people of color. Most of the people in the territory annexed by the United States were nonwhites. The politics of paternalistic control that were a part of slavery had been perpetuated in a different form as the decade ended.

When rapid equality did not come, many became converts to gradualism. Booker T. Washington provided a formal statement for this belief in his 1895 speech at the Atlanta Exposition. He urged blacks to accept segregation and the menial jobs to which they had been relegated. He believed the race would progress through industrial education and attention to agriculture. Washington's philosophy of conciliation bloomed in the closing years of what Quarles called "the decades of disappointment" (Quarles, 1969, p. 126).

Tennessee faced four major problems between 1865 and 1899: racial adjustment, the state debt, the agrarian movement and convict leasing arrangements. As the state legislature convened in April 1865, and William Gannaway Brownlow was inaugurated as governor, the primary question was the vote. The legislature agreed to postpone considering the vote for Negroes until after they settled on returning the vote to former Confederate soldiers. In an act passed on June 5, 1865, most former Confederate soldiers were disenfranchised for five years (Hamer, 1933, pp. 5, 6).

Tennessee became the first state of the former Confederacy to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. It was

passed in a heated session on July 19, 1866. By so doing, the state avoided being divided into military districts as were other southern states (Hamer, 1933, p. 616).

Race riots broke out in several cities through the period. During a riot in Memphis in May 1866, 46 blacks and two whites were killed. "Whites (in Memphis) had become increasingly uneasy as the black population grew to over 60 percent by 1866" (Lamon, 1981, p. 39). Blacks formed about 25 percent of the state's population throughout the period.

The Negro in Tennessee was enfranchised in 1867. A pivotal point in state politics came in 1869 during the gubernatorial race between Republicans Dewitt C. Senter, who was governor, and Congressman William B. Stokes. Senter had opposed Negro suffrage. A major issue in the campaign was enfranchising the exconfederates. Stokes advocated a gradual reinstatement. Senter was for "universal suffrage," or giving the vote to all men, including exconfederates. Many blacks supported Stokes, but in spite of carrying the black vote, Stokes lost. The heated campaign split the Republican party in Tennessee and opened the door for a strong Democratic party in the state.

From about 1871 to 1883 the settling of the state's debt was a major issue. The debt, more than \$35 million in 1871, had been accumulated from state issued bonds and railroad bonds for which the State was a surety (McGee,

1919, p. 234). The disruption of the war had caused the bonds' debt, plus interest, to fall due. The debt was finally settled in 1883. Plagues and epidemics swept the state during the period, and in Memphis' yellow fever epidemic of 1878 an estimated two-thirds of the city's white population died (World Book, 1960, p. 120), as well as a number of blacks. "In Memphis during the years 1882-95, the overall death rate for blacks continued to exceed that for whites by 50 percent and for children under five by over 90 percent" (Lamon, 1981, p. 64).

In the late Nineteenth Century the agrarian or populist movement emerged in Tennessee. "By 1890 the organized farmers were a powerful influence in Tennessee's political life" (Hamer, 1933, p. 696). From 1891 to 1893 the state also faced coal miners' protest because of a convict leasing program that allowed prisoners to work in mines. The issue distinctly affected blacks because the majority of prisoners were black. Lamon said,

In 1867, black inmates exceeded whites in the state's jails, and by 1877, their numbers were more than double that for whites. Furthermore, with the rise of convict leasing, some blacks encountered virtually a new form of slavery. (Lamon, 1981, p. 39)

Blacks in Tennessee sought to organize for progress through political channels. In August 1865, the first of 20 annual Negro conventions was conducted. Leading black men met in Nashville each year to push for suffrage or other

civil rights. In the years that followed the first convention, blacks gained the vote and were elected to many local offices.

Ed Shaw of Memphis became the state's first black candidate for Congress when he ran in 1870 (Lamon, 1981, p. 27). Sampson E. Keeble was the first black elected to the State General Assembly when he won a seat representing Davidson County in 1872 (Taylor, 1941, p. 247). Other blacks were elected to state offices or city councils, and some ran for mayor. In 1876 William F. Yardley of Knoxville ran for governor. He received a little over 2,000 votes, finishing last in a field of four.

Blacks in Tennessee found restrictions on suffrage that "would virtually remove them from any serious political influence" (Lamon, 1981, p. 59). Restrictions in 1889-90 included a precise registration method, a secret ballot, requirements for extensive records and white interpretation of registration qualifications (Lamon, 1981, p. 59).

One response to such setbacks was for blacks to emigrate to other states. Taylor said, "The evidence seems to indicate that (emigration) occurred in notable spurts, primarily in response to political, social or economic causes" (Taylor, 1941, p. 112). A former slave and Nashville cabinet-maker, Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, claimed to have led about 7,500 southern blacks to Kansas by 1880. About half the group

were Tennesseans (Lamon, 1981, p. 49). Journalist Ida B. Wells urged blacks to leave Memphis in 1892 after racial trouble there and encouraged settling in the Oklahoma Territory (Lamon, 1981, p. 78).

Most blacks decided to remain in Tennessee and some built solid homes and businesses. Several businesses were undertaken soon after emancipation. Some blacks experimented with skills they had learned from their former masters. Businesses included barber shops, blacksmith shops, boarding houses, boot and shoe dealers, lunch rooms, saloons and retail groceries (Taylor, 1941, p. 154). The Freedmen's Bank, chartered by the federal government in 1865 with headquarters in New York, had branches in Nashville, Memphis, and Chattanooga. The bank failed in 1874, causing many to lose money and faith in savings institutions (Taylor, 1941, pp. 162-164; Franklin, 1980, pp. 241, 242).

Most blacks continued to live in rural areas. Whether in a crowded city dwelling or a dilapidated farm shelter, life was difficult for most blacks. The primary occupation was farming, although there were domestic workers, industrial workers, teachers and preachers.

Like Negroes throughout the nation, black Tennesseans turned to religion and education. Several denominations were based in Tennessee, including the National Baptist Publishing Board, founded in 1896. The African Methodist

Episcopal Church newspaper, The Christian Index, was printed in Jackson, beginning in the 1860's and continuing uninterrupted for 70 years (Pride, 1950, p. 150). Institutions of higher education that were founded, in addition to Fisk (1866), included LeMoyne College (1870), Knoxville College (1876), and Meharry Medical College (1876).

The Press

The press in the United States changed and grew substantially between 1865 and 1899. Technological advancements and innovations necessitated by Civil War coverage caused newspapers to alter their content and appearance. Correspondents wiring stories by the relatively new telegraph had to produce more concise stories with less opinion and less flourish. The summary lead paragraph, still a standard form in today's journalism, developed because there was a good chance that the wire transmission might be cut off at any time. During the latter part of the period the technology made it practical to print photos and color, including color comics.

These and a few other developments were significant in the emergence of a new form of journalism. Between 1869 and 1878 many of the leaders of the era of personal journalism died (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 184), including James Gordon Bennett, Sr. of the New York Herald; Henry Raymond of the

New York Times and Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune.

Their most prominent successors during the period of the 1880's and 1890's were Joseph Pulitzer, a Hungarian immigrant who made leading papers of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the New York World, and William Randolph Hearst, the son of a millionaire. Hearst used the New York Journal to battle Pulitzer for circulation leadership.

Demographic factors encouraged a boom in newspaper circulation. Between 1870 and 1900 the United States' population doubled. Cities flourished as immigrants and farm workers converged in the new urban areas. Newspapers, including the foreign language press, were needed to socialize the new dwellers. Illiteracy declined as there were advances in secondary and higher education. Still by 1900 the average American had only five years of school (Emery and Emery, 1978, pp. 199-205). (A summary of trends of illiteracy may be seen in Table 1.)

Beard reported that between 1839 and 1850 the "multiplication and circulation of the printed word reached immense proportions" (Beard, 1960, p. 215). The Post Office reported that there were 1,555 newspapers and periodicals in the United States in 1839, and 2,800 such publications in 1850 (Beard, 1960, p. 215). But the boom years were yet to come. Emery and Emery noted that the number of newspapers in the nation tripled between 1870 and 1900, and the number

TABLE 1
RATES OF ILLITERACY

Year	United States Population	United States Nonwhite Population	White Tennesseans	Negro Tennesseans
1870	20%	79%	-	-
1920	6%	22.9%	7.3%	22.4%
1960	2.4%	7.5%	-	-

Sources: B. J. Wattenberg with Richard Scammon (1965) This U.S.A., pp. 227, 288 (for 1870 and 1960). A. R. Bound (1923) A Survey of Southern Illiteracy, pp. 4, 53 (for 1920).

of copies increased six-fold. By 1900 there were 1,967 general-circulation dailies with a circulation total of 15 million (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 201).

Pulitzer and Hearst dominated the newspaper arena during the latter part of the period. The new journalism, with which they became associated, was largely yellow journalism or sensationalism. Pulitzer built the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on a philosophy of public service. Some believe his New York World and Hearst's Journal became better known for their scare headlines, faked stories, exaggerated concern for the underdog and excessive use of photos (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 244).

Yellow journalism reached its peak during the Spanish-American War. The two papers so attempted to outdo each other in chronicling the events leading up to war that they were accused of pushing the nation into war. After the fighting began, the papers battled for dispatches and photos. Reporting reached near hysteria as the century ended, and circulation boomed.

The Black Press of the United States entered a distinctly different phase as the Civil War ended. From its birth, in 1827, it had primarily been an abolitionist press. Fenderson calls the time between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I the period of fighting for legal rights (Fenderson, 1949, p. 10). LaBrie calls 1866 to 1905

the second growth period of the press. More than 1,200 papers were printed during that time, 70 percent of them in the South (LaBrie, 1977-78, p. 111).

Pride found that 35 black papers were initiated in the 38 years between 1827 and 1864. He found that 1,187 newspapers were started in the 34 years between 1865 and 1899. Twelve papers were begun in 1865, more than in any previous year, and six of them were started in the South. The peak year for beginning papers, during this period, was in 1896 when 82 newspapers were started (Pride, 1950, p. 406).

Pride gave five reasons for the postwar journalistic surge among blacks. He said freed blacks received an education and there was greater literacy. Blacks could also pay 5¢ for weekly papers devoted to them. Religious organizations used newspapers for their educational work, which is one reason many editors were ministers. Carpetbaggers and the Freedmen's Bureau gave financial support to black papers. Similarly, enfranchised blacks became objects for propaganda through politically sponsored newspapers (Pride, 1950, p. 407).

LaBrie seems to disagree with Pride's first two assertions. He said that only 5 percent of blacks could read in 1865. That figure improved to 55.5 percent in 1900. Because of the low literacy and low income levels among blacks, LaBrie contends that many of the early black newspapers' readers must have been white.

There were momentous problems for the black press. Pride says the major difficulties included scarcity of newsprint and scarcity of trained personnel. Another problem was circulation troubles. Papers were destroyed; vendors refused to give newsstand exposure; and carriers were denied access to some locations. A final problem was that white printers sometimes refused to print the papers if they objected to the content (Pride, 1950, p. 409).

Oak characterized the early newspapers as follows:

The majority of these early newspapers were "one man" propositions, printed for the most part in plants owned and operated by whites, and usually terminated with the demise of the publisher. Few other business enterprises operated by any people anywhere have had to seek maturity against such handicaps as have confronted the Negro publisher. To begin with, there were the formidable barriers against the Negro's attempt to obtain higher education, the higher education that is the requisite to the faultless, fluent, objective writing so ardently desired by those who castigate the Negro Press for its inaccuracy, sensationalism, and poor format. (1948, pp. 22-3)

In spite of hardships, the press survived and had influence. The leading papers included the Washington Bee, Cleveland Gazette, Philadelphia Tribune, and New York Age. Outstanding journalists included T. Thomas Fortune (see page 14), John H. Murphy and Frederick Douglass. Indications are that the press tackled international and national problems, as well as issues of particular interest to blacks.

The Tennessee Press expanded greatly after the Civil War. Hamer writes that many publishing ventures were undertaken with little to indicate that they could succeed.

Not only were printing establishments set up in small towns and rural counties not capable of supporting them, but a great many Republican journals were started in the larger places as competitors to the Democratic papers that already were having enough difficulties in trying to make headway. (Hamer, 1933, p. 794)

Organizations, including the Populists, temperance advocates and Grangers, printed organs during the last two decades of the century. There were also religious and agricultural publications. Hamer writes that "the negro journals had their rise slightly later, as did the labor journals" (Hamer, 1933, p. 794).

Scattered indexes include these labor, religious, and agricultural organs, as well as other special interest papers among their listings. (See Table 2.) These figures do not really verify or refute Hamer's findings. The Republican party in Tennessee began to wane in 1869 and the early 1870's (see page 39). Consequently, many Republican papers might have started and failed prior to 1876, the first year of this table. The figures do not point to a slowing in the number of daily papers as compared to the population. The population increased by 82 percent in the first decade and by 87 percent in the next 12 years. Daily newspapers increased by 66 percent in the first decade and 67 percent in the next 12 years.

TABLE 2
FREQUENCY OF TENNESSEE NEWSPAPERS: 1876-1898

Type	1876	1886	1898
Dailies	10	12	19
Semi-weeklies	2	2 ^b	8
Weekly	106	154	227
Semi-monthly	3 ^a	6	9
Monthly	14	25	35
Bi-monthly	0	3	1
Quarterly	1	3	7
Total newspapers	136	205	306
Population	1,258,520 ^c	1,542,359 ^c	1,767,518 ^c

^aCategories combined; 1 bi-weekly, 2 semi-monthly.

^bCategories combined; 1 tri-weekly, 1 semi-weekly.

^cFigures are from the 1870, 1880 and 1890 censuses, respectively.

Sources: American Newspaper Directory (1876 and 1886),
American Newspaper Annual (1898).

The leading newspapers of the period that predated the Civil War included the Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle (1808) and the Memphis Appeal (1840). Other papers included the Memphis Avalanche, the Nashville Daily Press and Times and the Nashville Daily American.

The Black Press of Tennessee

The earliest available issue of a black newspaper in the state appears neat and well-edited, though somewhat gray, to a Twentieth Century reader. The first page of the Colored Tennessean of August 12, 1865, is devoted entirely to the proceedings of the Convention of the Colored People of Tennessee which met at St. John's Chapel, AME Church, in Nashville. Much of the inside space is also devoted to the convention. The paper appeared with a simple, unadorned nameplate. Underneath the name was the scriptural quote, "Ethiopia Shall Soon Stretch Out Her Hands Unto God."

Other editions were more diverse. The July 18, 1866, edition had a column of page one advertisements, which was not unusual for newspapers of the period. It also carried several articles on the activities of blacks in other states. Inside pages carried an item that reflected on the social conditions of the time. A popular form of advertising in Scott's paper was the personal ad seeking information on the whereabouts of former slaves. A husband, brother, mother or other relative or friend would usually give the

former slave's name and last known location. It appeared that after Emancipation many families who had been separated during slavery were struggling to get back together.

By July 18, 1866, the name plate had been shortened to The Tennessean. The name looks very much like the current daily Tennessean because a very similar typeface is used; however, there is no apparent connection between the two papers. (The present Nashville Tennessean was not published under that name until the turn of the century.) Scott's 1866 paper completed its nameplate with the Abraham Lincoln quote, "With Malice toward None, with Charity for All."

The paper lasted for two years before Scott moved it to Maryville and changed the name. The Maryville Republican seems to reflect the confidence of two years experience in printing. The June 27, 1868, edition carried the claim "official Newspaper for Blount County." It was "published every Saturday at Maryville by W. B. Scott, Sr." Price was \$2 per annum. Page one of this edition carried ads endorsing U. S. Grant of Illinois for President, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice President, and L. C. Rouk of Anderson County for Second Congressional District Representative.

Trouble for the newspaper and a split between Scott and his son seem evident from an article in the Nashville Press and Times on July 22, 1869. In reference to the 1869 race for governor between two Republicans, Gov. DeWitt C. Senter and William B. Stokes, the newspaper reported:

The Maryville Republican, published at Maryville, Blount County, has come out for Senter. Heretofore, it has been strongly for Stokes. The manner in which the change was brought about is remarkable. The publisher and part owner of the paper is an enlightened colored Republican named W. B. Scott. Other colored men owned a portion of the paper, and these, determined not to follow the Stokes out of the Republican party, not to aid in their illiberal and impolitic designs, discharged the Stokes editor of the paper, put a young man, W. B. Scott, Jr. in his place and hoisted the Senter flag. (Taylor, 1941, p. 67)

The October 23, 1869, issue of the Maryville Republican (the first available issue after July 22) shows that the paper was published by W. B. Scott and Company. Page three identified the editor as W. B. Scott, Jr. The younger Scott continued to be named as editor until 1874. The father's presence was clearly seen from time to time.

One of the most interesting editions of Scott's paper is the one for February 26, 1870. This was apparently during the period when Scott, Sr. was in disfavor among some Blount County Republicans. The fifth column on the newspaper, page one, presents a glowing report from the Nashville Republican Banner on a visit made by Scott to the Nashville newspaper. They called him "one of the most intelligent of his race with whom we have conversed" and urged support for him and his newspaper. That issue of Scott's paper also carried a page four ad for the Banner.

In column six of page one, Scott called for support for his newspaper, which was facing competition from the Soldier's

Gazette. The article mentioned pressure faced by the editors of the Republican, at least in part because of their support for gubernatorial candidate Senter. (It is not clear when or whether Scott, Sr., shifted his support to Senter.)

By January 4, 1873, Scott's paper had several major changes. The name had been shortened to The Republican, the format had been changed from tabloid to full size, seven columns, and a page two notice to nonpaying subscribers of a cut-off in delivery was signed by "W. B. Scott, Jr. & Co., Republican Publisher." The editorial content also changed significantly. The old nameplate quote, "All Men Are Created Free and Equal," was replaced by the claim, "Devoted to Literature, News of the Day, Agriculture, and Important Local Intelligence, etc."

The front page was quite gray, filled primarily by a story, "Daisy's Sergeant." There was also a filler, "Died of Grief." It was the tale of a dog who died of heartbreak after accidentally knocking a bucket into a well. The bucket struck the dog's master, who was a well-digger, and killed him.

Two columns on the front page were devoted to the "Humorous." An example follows:

A gentleman meeting a friend who was wasting away with consumption, exclaimed, "Ah, my dear fellow, how slow you walk." "Yes," replied the consumptive, "I walk slow, but I'm going fast."

By April 1874, the senior Scott was clearly evident again. His name reappeared as one of the editors on April 4, and a heated editorial, taking on the Knoxville Chronicle, appeared on April 25. The editorial, which Scott signed, was on page three, column three, under the three-part headline, "Another Volcano," "Erupted Last Wednesday," "Nobody Scared or Hurt." The controversy was over a Chronicle article that criticized Scott's support for Senter and implied his disloyalty to blacks.

Scott's editorial said, in part:

The eruption in the Chronicle says that "these Scotts" are opposed to the rights of the colored race. Poor fellows. They have got it pretty bad. I wonder if some of the scientific chaps and professors who have been hanging around Bald Mountain couldn't be induced to visit Knoxville and interview the volcano in the Chronicle office. We "the Scotts" will donate the \$300 given us by Senter and the "40 acres of land and a mule"—our Republican heritage—to the distinguished scientists if they will discover where the Chronicle stands on the Civil Rights Bill . . .

It is perfectly useless for anyone to answer such unscrupulous and malignant writers as the editors of the Knoxville Chronicle, they stoop to anything vulgar, low and mean from the fact that they have not the brains nor the magnanimity to answer arguments.

This blast was followed by an outburst against the Nashville Banner, which had fallen into disfavor with Scott.

By November 4, 1876, the Republican had undergone more changes. The name had been changed back to the Maryville

Republican, the size had been reduced to six columns and there was a strong shift toward domestic topics. The slogan was, "We Seek the Reward of Industry, Integrity and Honest Labor."- Front page material included poetry, religious writing and farm and household information.

By September 15, 1877, the nameplate included art. Between the two words of the name was the symbol that is used on the State of Tennessee seal. The design stresses agriculture and commerce. This pattern continued on the last available issue of the Maryville Republican. It was smaller, down to five columns. The front page articles dealt with good manners, being a good wife and being a gentleman. The date of this newspaper is October 27, 1877. It is designated as Vol. X, No. 44. The Maryville Democrat emerged in 1878, reflecting the change in politics of William Scott, Sr., and the mood of area politics. The paper continued as the Blount County Democrat from 1879 to 1882, but Scott, Sr., was less evident.

Scott was an important figure in Tennessee journalism, politics, and education. His biography is given by Cansler (1939) and references to him are made in Burns' History of Blount County (1957), Deaderick's Heart of the Valley (1976) and in several other sources. Because of his significance to this study, a closer look at his life will be given here.

William Bennett Scott was born a free man in "the mountains" of North Carolina (Cansler, 1939, p. 14).

According to Cansler, Scott was the son of a Negro man and a white woman. William's father had been freed by his master-father, and the older Scott apparently went to another community and "passed" as a white man, even marrying a white woman. They had a son, William. While William was young it was discovered that the elder Scott had the dreaded "drop of Negro blood." The father fled, leaving his son to be raised by the boy's mother.

In telling the story, Cansler (who was William Scott's grandson) makes several references to Scott's white appearance. Scott could have "passed," but he apparently tied himself to blacks when he married a free woman of dark complexion named Nancy Jones. The couple had two children, William, Jr., and Laura Ann.

According to Cansler, increased white hatred after the Nat Turner rebellion, which was in 1831, caused Scott to leave North Carolina with his family and two other free blacks, Red Gentle and his wife. [Deaderick, on page 503 of her 1976 work, refers to Scott's companion as "Rad" Gentle. Lamon (1981, p. 36) and Taylor (1941, p. 8) refer to a "M.J.R. Gentle" of Knoxville who was active with Scott in East Tennessee politics.] The six left Statesville, N. C. and arrived in Knoxville in 1847. Apparently Scott's plan was to move on to Ohio so that his children could attend Oberlin College. Instead Scott was invited to the Quaker

community called Friendsville in Blount County, but near Knoxville. He was invited to practice his trade of saddle and harness-making.

The Scotts stayed in Friendsville for about ten years. They left for Knoxville during the Civil War because they thought the larger black community would be a safer place from the harassment of Confederate troops. He managed to learn the printing business, and by the end of the war the Scotts, father and son, were ready to open a plant in Nashville (Cansler, 1939, p. 34).

The division of labor and the relationship between Scott, Sr. and Jr., is unclear. Cansler said the younger Scott ran the newspaper while Scott, Sr., continued his saddle and harness work. Cansler avoided any mention of a rift between his grandfather and his uncle. The Cansler book moves from a focus on Scott, Sr., to his daughter, Laura Ann Scott Cansler. Nothing is said about the adult life of Scott, Jr. No other known sources tell of the son's life.

Scott, Sr., is usually described as an intelligent, well-read man. Cansler described the harness shop as a center for discussion and debate. This type of alert mind is reflected in editorials by Scott. His name was also associated with several other Blount County newspapers, particularly the Maryville Monitor (1873-1876). This paper

was apparently printed by the Scott company and edited by Yardley Warner. Cansler described Warner as a Quaker who came to Maryville to help establish the Freedmen's Normal Institute. Burns (1969, p. 160) said Warner walked 900 miles from New England to Maryville because he thought public transportation was a waste of money.

An article in the Knoxville Chronicle, November 29, 1871, told of a meeting to plan the institute. The meeting was attended by Scott, his son-in-law, H. Lawson Cansler, and Warner, among others.

The available copies of the Maryville Monitor are very poorly edited, tacky, 8½ x 11 sheets. The paper was printed "in the interest of the Freedmen's Institute" (Fourth Month, 1876). Letters to the newspaper were to be addressed to Warner in Germantown, Pa., or W. P. Hastings in Maryville. Warner was the Institute's first principal. After a year he was succeeded by Hastings.

In 1876 Scott became a Democrat and remained active in politics until his death. He married Lucinda Heary two years after the death of his first wife. The second marriage produced a son, John. On January 22, 1885, Scott died of a heart attack. He was buried two days later in New Providence Cemetery, Maryville (Cansler, 1939, p. 38).

The legacy of W. B. Scott exists in several parts. His newspapers remain on microfilm throughout the country as proof of his intelligence and journalistic vigor. His

political activities are noted in several books and recorded in old newspapers.

The other part of his legacy is in his children and the apparent respect for education that he instilled in them. Most East Tennesseans have never heard of William B. Scott, but many blacks in Knoxville will respond to the name Cansler. W. B. Scott may be remembered by many as the father of Laura Scott Cansler and the grandfather of Charles W. Cansler. Both were noted Knoxville educators (Deaderick, 1976, pp. 503-505; "Death Claims," Knoxville Journal, 1953).

Laura Ann Scott eloped with Hugh Lawson Cansler in 1861 when she was 17. The marriage had the approval of all parents except the bride's father, and W. B. Scott was soon reconciled to the marriage. Hugh Cansler was a wheelwright. The Canslers had eight sons and one daughter. Laura Cansler became involved in education and eventually opened the first school for blacks in Knoxville. At least five of her children, L. Rex, Fritz T., William J., Charles W., and Nannie Cansler, were involved in education in Knoxville (Cansler, 1939, p. 39; Deaderick, 1976, p. 505).

Charles Cansler, who attended the Freedmen's Normal Institute, became a principal and a highly respected community leader. His obituary in the Knoxville Journal (November 3, 1953) stated that he was known throughout the country for his rapid mathematical calculations. It reported

that he was a teacher or principal in all of Knoxville's black schools. He retired in 1939 after 45 years of service in city schools.

Cansler is referred to several times in Black Tennessean, 1900-1930 by Lester C. Lamon (1977). Deaderick (1976) lists Cansler among "Prominent Knoxvilleians" and tells of achievements by his relatives. The Cansler Branch (now East Side) YMCA in Knoxville was named in his honor. One of the most interesting chapters in his book, Three Generations, tells of his association with outstanding black leaders. These included educator Dr. Joseph Charles Prince; Frederick Douglass; Paul Laurence Dunbar; the journalists T. Thomas Fortune and Ida Wells-Barnett; Booker T. Washington; historian Carter Woodson, tenor Roland Hayes and poet James Weldon Johnson. Cansler died at 82.

Pride (1950) excerpted a letter especially pertinent to this study that Cansler sent him on April 8, 1947. The letter accompanied the August 12, 1865, issue of the Colored Tennessean. Cansler wrote:

This is the only copy of this newspaper which I know of to be found any where . . . Grandfather Scott controlled the editorial policy, but did not always write the editorials, though his son William B. Scott Jr. did the work of the office. As a small boy I was "devil" in the office. This was the County paper, with ninety-five percent of the subscribers being white persons. (Cansler apparently refers to the Maryville Republican and/or Blount County Democrat.) There are persons now living who read this paper. (Pride, 1950, p. 149)

Pride also included comments from two East Tennessee librarians (Martha L. Ellison of Knoxville's Lawson-McGhee Library and Eleanor E. Goehring of The University of Tennessee Library). Each reported examining copies of the Blount County Democrat and finding no evidence that it was a Negro paper. Each also reported, however, that Scott was listed as an official of the paper (Pride, 1950, p. 149).

Pride concluded:

The Maryville Republican (1867-77) and Blount County Democrat (1879-82?) were apparently not strictly speaking Negro organs, but the unusual nature of their operation—Negro editor and publisher carrying on the official county newspaper for a majority white readership in a southern community at the close of the Civil War—entitles these papers to a place in this record of Negro newspaper activity. (Pride, 1950, p. 150)

Later, in an apparent reference to the Scott papers, Pride wrote,

Affiliation with the GOP entitled a handful of these papers to official county, state or national party status. Such was the case of Newspapers in Louisiana and Tennessee in the 1860's and 1870's. (Pride, 1950, p. 414)

Scott's 1874 blast at the Knoxville Chronicle (see page 55) suggested that he was sensitive about reports of money from Republicans. By 1877 he seemed firmly in favor with the Democrats. A newspaper article reports that he was named porter of the Senate ("The Democrats . . .," 1877).

One other significant point about Scott's papers is made in Pride's dissertation. Several times he mentions that most histories of the black press have accepted I.

Garland Penn's assertion that the Colored American of Augusta, Georgia was the first black paper in the South. It was initiated in October, 1865. Pride says that at least six other newspapers, including the Colored Tennessean, predate the Georgia paper. The other five are two papers in New Orleans (1862 and 1864) and papers in Virginia (March 1865), South Carolina (October 1865), and Maryland (1865) (page 6). According to Pride, the years of the first black papers in other states that border Tennessee are: Arkansas, 1869, Mississippi, 1870; Alabama, 1876; North Carolina, 1872; Kentucky, 1873; and Missouri, 1870.

Four directories found in this study mention Scott in connection with his newspapers. Rowell's (American Newspaper Directory, George P. Rowell Company, New York) for 1869 says the Maryville Republican was established in 1867. It was a Republican paper, printed on Saturdays. The four-page paper was 21 x 28 inches and sold for subscriptions of \$2. R. C. Tucker was editor and W. B. Scott, Sr., was publisher. The paper claimed a circulation of 300 in a county with a population of 800. Rowell's for 1870 reports generally the same information. Changes are that the paper's size expanded to 21 by 32 inches, and the circulation claimed was up to 600. The only name associated with the newspaper in the 1870 volume was W. B. Scott and Company, publisher.

By 1876 Rowell's indicated that the paper had become a semi-weekly, published on Thursdays and Saturdays. Editor

and publisher was W. B. Scott and Company. Circulation was 432. Codes by the newspaper listing indicated that it was a good marketing vehicle for advertisers. Eleanor Goehring's letter to Armistead Pride (see page 30) reported that the 1882 edition of Rowell's Directory listed the Blount County Democrat with Scott, Sr., as editor and publisher (Pride, 1950, p. 150).

A chronology of Tennessee's black newspapers follows here and in the latter part of each of the next two chapters. This study does not claim to name all the black newspapers ever published in Tennessee. The study does present the most complete list so far compiled. It also gives some indication of the scope of Tennessee's black press. See Appendix A for the location of extant copies of newspapers covered in this study and a listing of references for each newspaper. On some newspapers the information is so scant that the mention here only characterizes the paper in brief.

1. 1865 Nashville Colored Tennessean—(See previous discussion of W. B. Scott).

2. 1867 Maryville Republican—(See previous discussion of W. B. Scott).

3. 1872 Memphis Weekly Planet—Rowell's for 1876 says the Memphis Planet was a Republican paper published on Saturdays. It was four pages, with dimensions of 28 by 44. Subscription was \$2.00 and the paper was established in 1872.

H. Fitzbatten was editor and A. Froman was business manager. Estimated circulation was 2,000. Taylor writes that Alfred Froman was a successful printer in Memphis who, in 1876, published the Weekly Planet, a six-column paper.

4. 1878 Maryville Democrat—(See previous discussion of W. B. Scott. This paper was later known as the Blount County Democrat).

5. 1878 Knoxville Examiner—Though this paper was not mentioned in any publication studied, a copy of it was found in Knox County's Lawson-McGhee Library. The four-page tabloid was dated Saturday, June 29, 1878. It was listed as Volume 1, Number 10. Its motto was, "Independent in All Things, Neutral in Nothing." The paper featured a church directory, society news, advertisements and shorts. A major article, "The Colored Schools," urged the appointment of John J. O'Shea as principal. A page three article was a glowing report on the Press Association of Knoxville. It contained no racial references.

According to page two, the newspaper was published every Saturday by W. F. Yardley. His office was #18 Gay Street and subscription was \$1.50 in advance. Yardley was a major figure in the reconstruction period. Lamon (1981) names Yardley, William Scott and M. J. R. Gentle as outstanding black men of East Tennessee during the late 1860's (p. 36). Taylor identifies Yardley as a lawyer, businessman and second assistant chief of the Knoxville Fire Department.

Yardley, a Knoxville councilman (Corlew, 1981, p. 361), was an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1876 (see page 41). He was also described by Taylor as "an agent among the colored people of East Tennessee for the Continental Life Insurance Company of New York" (Taylor, 1941, p. 160).

6. 1878 Nashville Weekly Pilot—Pride estimates the dates of the paper as 1879 to 1882 (1950, p. 356). Taylor says the paper circulated for 16 months, beginning in 1878. It was edited, for a while, by C. S. Smith (Taylor, 1941, p. 156).

7. 1879 Blount County Democrat—(See previous discussion of W. B. Scott. This paper was formerly the Maryville Democrat.)

8. 1879 Nashville Emigration Herald—Taylor says the paper was printed in July 1879 by Alfred Jenkins and Company. It later became the Nashville Herald and Pilot (1941, p. 156).

9. 1879 Nashville Herald and Pilot—(See above.) This paper, which succeeded the Emigration Herald, is described by Taylor as "a weekly devoted to emigration, agriculture, religion and general news" (1941, p. 156). W. H. Young was editor. According to Taylor, this paper was started in August 1879. That would mean that the Emigration Herald lasted only one month.

10. 1881 Nashville Corner Stone—Pride (1950) says this monthly was listed in Ayer until 1892.

11. 1883 Nashville Palladium—Ayer's for 1898 and 1899 says the Palladium was started in 1883 (although it was not listed in Ayer for 1886 or 1887). It was a four page monthly with dimensions of 15 by 22. Subscriptions were \$1.00 and circulation was 1,000. D. L. Martin was editor and publisher. The address was 714 Line Street. Pride lists the life of the paper as 1883 to 1909 (1950, p. 356).

12. 1884 Chattanooga Southern American—Pride (1950) says this weekly was published until about 1887. Pearson (1978) says the editor was H. C. Smith.

13. 1885 Nashville Free Lance—Ayer for 1886 and 1887 lists this as a colored Republican paper. Pride (1950) gives the life of the paper as 1885 to 1887.

14. 1886 Memphis Headlight—was probably the forerunner of the Memphis Free Speech and Headlight (listed later). Pride (1950) lists the weekly as having been published from about 1886 to about 1888.

15. 1886 Nashville Tennessee Star—Ayer for 1888 says the Star was a Republican paper, started in 1886 and printed on Fridays. It was a four-page, 24 by 36 publication with a circulation of about 2,500. Subscription was \$1.50. George T. Robinson was editor and the paper was published by Star Publishing Company, 166 Cedar Street. Pride (1950) says the paper ceased publishing in 1891.

16. 1886 Chattanooga Independent Tribune—The paper was listed in Ayer only during the year 1886 (Pride, 1950).

17. 1887 Knoxville Negro World—This is one of the better known papers of the period. Rowell's (1890) says the Republican paper was started in 1887. It was a four-page, 18 by 24 paper published on Saturdays. Patterson Brothers and Company were listed as editor and publisher. Pride says the paper appears in Ayer for the last time in 1892. At that time it was 24 by 36 and subscription was \$1.00. J. G. Patterson was editor (Pride, 1950, p. 25). Penn mentioned the paper as having been a daily for two weeks. He said it was published during that time "more as an advertiser than a regular daily medium of news" (Pride, 1950, p. 130). According to Dann, Penn worked for the Negro World between 1886 and 1891 (1971, p. 26).

18. 1887 Knoxville New South—Pride (1950) says this weekly appeared in Ayer until 1895.

19. 1887 Chattanooga Justice—Ayer (1888) says the paper was started in 1887. It was a Republican publication, printed on Saturdays. Its size was four pages and 22 by 30. Subscription was \$1.00. Horn, Wilson and Company were editor and publisher.

The December 24, 1887, issue of the paper is designated Vol. 1, No. 29. The slogan of the paper is, "Organ of 15,000 Colored People in Hamilton County." The front page includes

three columns of advertisements and a large ad for the Chicago Daily News. A front page feature story was "Eva's Lesson."

Page two reveals that the Justice was published from an office at Seventh and Market Street. The page includes an ad for City Savings Bank, several news shorts, editorials and a report on gambling arrests of blacks and whites.

On page three, Edwin F. Horn, the editor, has a signed editorial endorsing a "Mr. Lamar." Among the ads on the page is a poem. It reads:

There was a man in this town,
And he was wondrous wise,
He tried the columns of Justice
As a good place to advertise.

The page also includes pleas for payment of subscriptions and for trading with Justice advertisers. According to Dann, Ida B. Wells was a contributor to the Justice (1971, p. 63). Pride says the paper ceased publication in 1889 (1950, p. 356).

20. 1888 Memphis Free Speech and Headlight—This paper has the distinction of being edited by the most widely known black female journalist of the era. Ida B. Wells-Barnett may be the most influential black female journalist in this nation's history. She was invited to write for the Free Speech and Headlight in 1889 when she was 27 years old. By that time in her life she had already supported two younger brothers and three sisters (see page 15), taught in the

Shelby County schools, studied at Fisk University and made headlines by suing the Chesapeake, Ohio, and Southwestern Railroad Company for their discriminatory seating practices. She won the case in a lower court but the verdict was overturned (Lamon, 1981, p. 56).

Wells had gained some note under the pen name "Iola," writing for several literary and religious papers. These included the Memphis Evening Star, Living Way, Christian Index and the Watchman. She also wrote for the Chattanooga Justice.

When she began writing for the Free Speech and Headlight it was owned by Rev. F. Taylor Nightingale and J. L. Fleming. Nightingale was pastor of Beale Street Baptist, "the largest Baptist church in town" (Duster, 1970, p. 40). Fleming came from Marion, Arkansas, where he had the Marion Headlight. Wells bought one-third interest in the Memphis paper and became editor. Fleming acted as business manager and Nightingale was sales manager, with many copies of the paper sold at his church. After the Civil War the church had Sunday attendance that exceeded 2,000 people (Taylor, 1941, pp. 219, 220).

Wells shortened the name of the paper to the Memphis Free Speech. She wrote articles criticizing the school board and lost her job after seven years of teaching. After Nightingale sold his interest in the paper, "Iola" travelled

in Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas selling subscriptions to the paper. A woman agent/editor was unusual. Wells reported,

Our circulation lead increased in less than one year from fifteen hundred to four thousand and my salary came to within ten dollars of what I had received as teacher. (Duster, p. 41)

The newspaper was printed on pink paper to make it distinctive to illiterates. Bontemps wrote,

Free Speech became an increasingly effective voice against racial injustice; it circulated extensively throughout the Mississippi delta and was peddled by railroad newsboys. Indications were that a prosperous life for the paper lay ahead. (1945, pp. 77, 78)

Wells' life was changed by an incident in March 1892. An interracial game of marbles near a black Memphis grocery store escalated into a racial incident. In the days that followed, three black grocers were arrested, then taken from the jail and shot. As he was dying, one of the men, a friend of Wells, called on blacks to leave Memphis. The Free Speech echoed his words. In the next six to ten weeks blacks boycotted Memphis businesses and some began leaving for Oklahoma.

After the murder of the three, Wells became concerned about other lynchings. She began investigating past incidents and charges of rape. She concluded that most "rapes" involved consenting white women who feared public retribution. In an editorial in the Free Speech in May, she wrote, "Nobody in

this section believes the old thread-bare lie that Negro men assault white women . . ." (Duster, 1970, p. 65).

That was the last issue of the newspaper.

The Memphis Commercial reproduced the editorial on the front page of its Sunday issue. Edward Ward Carmack, editor of the paper, called for retaliation against "the black wench" (Duster, 1970, p. 66). On May 27, while Wells was attending a conference of the AME Church in Philadelphia, the Free Speech office was destroyed.

J. L. Fleming was run out of town. He went to Chicago, then to Kansas. He was bitter about the loss of the paper and blamed Wells. She described him as "an ideal business manager who looked strictly and honestly after the business end of the work and made the paper a success financially" (Duster, 1970, p. 67).

T. Thomas Fortune informed Wells of the incident when she reached New York and offered her a job with the New York Age. In the years that followed, "Iola" became an international lecturer and crusader against lynching. She settled in Chicago. At age 33, she married F. L. Barnett, an attorney and publisher of the Conservator. Ida B. Wells-Barnett became editor of that paper and the rest of her life was devoted to journalistic, civic and church work, as well as to her husband and four children. She continued to be a crusader and a leader. "Iola" died on March 25, 1931.

Rowell (1890) reports that the Memphis Free Speech was an independent four-page paper published on Saturdays. It was 20 by 26, subscription \$1.25. The estimated starting date for the paper is 1888. Duster reported that at one time the newspaper office was on Hernando Street, near Beale.

21. 1890 Chattanooga Observer—Rowell's (1890) says the Observer was a Republican paper published on Saturdays; it was four pages, 20 by 26, subscription \$1.50. The paper was estimated to have been started in 1890. Edwin F. Horn, editor, had also been associated with the Chattanooga Justice. There are two Chattanooga Observers in the history of Tennessee. Pride (1950, p. 356) lists the dates of the two as 1887 to 1895 and 1935 to 1943.

22. 1890 Jackson Afro-American Sentinel—An 1890 issue of this paper is listed among the holdings of the State Archives. The paper is also mentioned by Campbell (1978).

23. 1891 Athens Watchman—Pride (1950) lists the weekly as having been carried in Ayer until 1895.

24. 1891 Knoxville Gleaner—Pride (1950) lists the weekly as having existed until 1900. It is also listed in the 1899 issue of Rowell's.

25. 1893 Columbia Headlight—Pride (1950) lists this weekly as being in Ayer until 1895.

26. 1893 Nashville Citizen—the paper is mentioned in Cavalcade of the American Negro. Ayer (1898) says the Republican paper was published on Saturdays. It was four

pages and 17 by 24 inches. Subscription was \$1.00; circulation was 700. George T. Robinson was editor and publisher. Robinson had also been associated with the Tennessee Star which was published from 1886 to 1891.

27. 1895 Fayetteville Rising Sun—Rowell's (1899) lists this paper as having been established in 1895.

28. 1895 Memphis Afro-American—The paper is mentioned in Cavalcade of the American Negro.

29. 1896 Chattanooga Freeman—Pride (1950) lists this as a weekly that last appeared in Ayer in 1897.

30. 1898 Memphis Scimitar—Although this paper shares the name of a white Memphis paper, Pride (1950) lists it as a black paper, published weekly from about 1898 to about 1900.

31. 1898 Chattanooga Blade—Ayer, 1910, reports that the Blade was a four-page, 15 by 22 paper, subscription \$1.00. R. M. Miller was editor. Lamon (1977) reports that Miller was a former slave who worked as a pressman for Adolph Ochs and the Chattanooga Daily Times. Miller stopped working for them in 1898, the year that the Blade was begun. Discussing segregation laws, Lamon wrote,

The leading source of protest came from the diminutive but persistent and sharp-tongued Chattanooga Blade. Edited, published, printed and circulated by the top-hatted Randolph M. Miller, this black newspaper irritated the paternalistic Daily Times. (p. 29)

32. 1899 Jackson Headlight—Pride (1950) says this weekly was published until about 1900.

33. 1899 Liberty Afro-American—Pride says this weekly was last listed in Ayer in 1900.

34. 1899 Chattanooga Industrial Searchlight—Lord and Thomas (1902) lists the Searchlight as a Republican weekly with a circulation of 1,500. Pride (1950) says the paper began in 1899 and was last listed in Ayer in 1903.

35. 1899 Winchester Negro Enterprise—Pride (1950) says this weekly began in 1899 and last appeared in Ayer in 1900.

Several newspapers mentioned in the sources used for this study listed black newspapers that did not fit within the framework of this study. The most common reason to exclude black newspapers was that they were religious publications. Pearson (1978) mentioned the Chattanooga Star as an early paper, but no other information on it was found. The Brownsville Haywood Republican presented a different type of problem. It appears on Pride's (1950) list of newspapers, but there are no other indications that it was a black newspaper. The paper is mentioned in Rowell's for 1890, 1898 and 1899. The listings on the paper reveal that it was published on Saturdays and circulated to over 250 people. Subscription was \$1.00. The four-page paper was 20 by 26. Jacob Scott was editor and publisher. The paper was established in 1888 and continued to 1903, according to Pride (1950).

Summary of the Period

The first newspapers in Tennessee's black press contributed significantly in at least three ways. First, the state produced one of the first black papers in the South, putting the state ahead of its bordering states in producing such a newspaper. Tennessee's lead ranged from a few months to as much as eleven years over states which had larger black populations. A list follows of Tennessee's black newspapers before 1900, in Table 3.

The state also excelled in producing a well edited, successful initial paper. Many newspapers of the period, whether black or white, secular or religious, were hastily thrown together. The Colored Tennessean and its successor the Maryville Republican, the first two black newspapers in the state, were quality publications.

A third way in which the press excelled was in claiming one of the nation's premier journalists. Ida B. Wells-Barnett clearly had her journalistic roots in Tennessee. She went on to become a national and international force through her speeches and writings.

Finally, a study of this period indicates that the black press was a force in the state. City dailies took note of the Chattanooga Blade, Colored Tennessean, and Memphis Free Speech. Excerpts from some papers show that they were forceful in addressing issues. The first period

TABLE 3
CHRONOLOGY OF TENNESSEE'S BLACK NEWSPAPERS
BEFORE 1900

Newspaper	Years
1. <u>Nashville Colored Tennessean</u>	1865-1867
2. <u>Maryville Republican</u>	1867-1877
3. <u>Memphis Weekly Planet</u>	1872
4. <u>Maryville Democrat</u>	1878
5. <u>Knoxville Examiner</u>	1878
6. <u>Nashville Weekly Pilot</u>	1878 or 1879
7. <u>Blount County Democrat</u>	1879-1882
8. <u>Nashville Emigration Herald</u>	1879
9. <u>Nashville Herald and Pilot</u>	1879
10. <u>Nashville Corner Stone</u>	1881-1892
11. <u>Nashville Palladium</u>	1883-1909
12. <u>Chattanooga Southern American</u>	1884-1887
13. <u>Nashville Free Lance</u>	1885
14. <u>Memphis Headlight</u>	1886-1888
15. <u>Nashville Tennessee Star</u>	1886-1891
16. <u>Chattanooga Independent Tribune</u>	1886
17. <u>Knoxville Negro World</u>	1887-1892
18. <u>Knoxville New South</u>	1887-1895
19. <u>Chattanooga Justice</u>	1887
20. <u>Memphis Free Speech and Headlight</u>	1888-1892

TABLE 3 (Cont'd)

	Newspaper	Years
21.	<u>Chattanooga Observer</u>	1890-1895
22.	<u>Jackson Afro-American Sentinel</u>	1890
23.	<u>Athens Watchman</u>	1891-1895
24.	<u>Knoxville Gleaner</u>	1891-1900
25.	<u>Columbia Headlight</u>	1893-1895
26.	<u>Nashville Citizen</u>	1893-1905
27.	<u>Fayetteville Rising Sun</u>	1895-1899
28.	<u>Memphis Afro-American</u>	1895
29.	<u>Chattanooga Freeman</u>	1896-1897
30.	<u>Memphis Scimitar</u>	1898-1900
31.	<u>Chattanooga Blade</u>	1898
32.	<u>Jackson Headlight</u>	1899-1900
33.	<u>Liberty Afro-American</u>	1899-1900
34.	<u>Chattanooga Industrial Searchlight</u>	1899-1903
35.	<u>Winchester Negro Enterprise</u>	1899-1900

of the black press in Tennessee created an important and a credible foundation.

CHAPTER 5

GROWTH AND ESTABLISHMENT: 1900-1950

His head is set as though to suggest strength, dignity, and prosperity. He looks like a man who has come a long way. His left profile shows a receding hairline framing a broad forehead. His eyes are set deep beneath heavy brows; a thick mustache droops around his mouth. His shoulders and upper chest are seen beneath the proud head. He wears a dark suit and bow tie. He seems to be looking forward, slightly upward.

This describes a photograph that appeared frequently to blacks in Tennessee between 1900 and 1950. Richard Henry Boyd was a man who left a lasting impression by founding churches, schools, a bank, civic institutions and, most importantly, a publishing company. His weekly newspaper, The Nashville Globe, lasted for 54 years. It may be the most important newspaper in the history of Tennessee's black press.

The Setting

The world during this period might have been best described by Davies (1968) when he wrote:

The twentieth century has been one of great scientific economic and political development,

but, unfortunately the pace of moral development has been very much slower. Before the century was half-way through its course, two wars had been fought, which, because of the vast areas which they covered and their almost universal effects, are rightly called World Wars, the first between 1914 and 1918, and the second from 1939 to 1945. (p. 533)

The two wars caused over 50 million casualties and cost trillions of dollars (World Book, 1960, pp. 377, 411).

Before the second war ended the Atomic Age was introduced. More than 70,000 people died when atomic bombs were dropped on two Japanese cities within a period of 3 days. On September 2, 1945, papers were signed that officially ended World War II.

Between the two wars, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson advocated a League of Nations to settle international disputes peacefully. The League was formed in 1920 and at one point, 56 nations, "including all the great powers except the United States, were members" (Davies, 1968, p. 536). The League was officially dissolved in 1946 when the United Nations was formed.

There were other sorrows throughout the world during the first half of the twentieth century. A stock market crash in the United States in 1929 led to a depression with worldwide repercussions. There were numerous smaller military conflicts including the Korean War in 1950. The bright spots during the period included improved technology, particularly for air travel, and improvements in medicine.

The United States had become a world power by 1900.

A new spirit was sweeping many of the nation's 75 million people. When President William McKinley was assassinated in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded him as president, became the symbol of the new spirit.

Roosevelt was bold and energetic. He reformed businesses, introduced conservation measures, and initiated the building of the Panama Canal. The project was completed in 1914 at a cost of \$370 million and weakened relations with Latin America (Bining and Klien, 1951, p. 295).

By the end of the first two decades of the century, the nation had been through World War I and sought normalcy and release. It found the former in President Warren G. Harding and the latter in the Roaring Twenties. Many in a nation that had just passed a law prohibiting liquor were eager to throw off the puritan heritage. There was a new form of music in jazz and a new literary set with writers such as Sinclair Lewis and Ernest Hemingway coming on the scene.

The nation's high spirits generally continued through the administration of Calvin Coolidge and into the first year of Herbert Hoover's term. Then the bottom fell out. The nation's euphoria had led to excessive stock speculation and in October 1929 the stock market crashed. By 1933 prices were still falling and depression had set in.

Unemployment had more than doubled, from 7 million to 15 million, since the year after the crash (Bining and Klien, 1951, p. 454).

Fränklin Roosevelt, who came to office in 1933, presided over a recovery program, was reelected three times, and led the nation most of the way through World War II. After Roosevelt's death in 1945, Harry Truman was left with the decision on dropping the atomic bomb and ordered U.S. troops to assist South Korea and United Nations troops in the Korean War of 1950.

The period was not without high points, particularly in comforts of the average citizens. In 1900 the primary means for rapid communication was the telegraph. By 1948 there were 35 million telephones in the nation.

The first Model T automobile was marketed in the nation in 1908. By 1949 there were 6 million cars. The Wright Brothers made the first successful flight in 1903. By 1950 passengers could fly coast to coast across the nation in 10 hours (Bining and Klien, 1951, pp. 588-9).

By 1947 over 80 percent of urban dwellings had such comforts as electric lights, running water, flush toilets, bathtubs or showers, installed cooking facilities. The disparity between the rich and poor was being reduced for most citizens. By the 1930's, the economic gap between the middle class and the laboring or farming class grew narrower.

Bining and Klien (1951) concluded, "The least favored Americans of 1950 were tenant farmers, unorganized workers, and Negroes" (p. 595).

Black Americans "continued to be the class most discriminated against in the United States" (Bining and Klien, 1951, p. 596), but there was definite progress during this period. The time between 1917 and the depression was particularly a period of developing black culture. It was a time "when black was beautiful" (Killens, 1970), the time of the Harlem Renaissance.

The Renaissance, which really wasn't limited to Harlem, was an outpouring of poetry, prose, paintings, songs, and dramas that captured the black experience and gained prominence in the United States and abroad. Langston Hughes, who was a young man during the early Renaissance, described it as a time "when the Negro was in vogue" (Killens, 1970, p. 20).

The outpouring, which centered on the poets, offered for the first time in the United States a sizable body of works reflecting a diversity of expressions on the black experience. Claude McKay wrote the militant poem, "If We Must Die," which ends with the lines

Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back.
(Chapman, 1968, p. 373)

Countee Cullen wrote in a black, humanist spirit, often with an ironic or humorous note. Four lines from the poem, "Three Epitaphs," are:

She even thinks that up in Heaven
Her class lies late and snores
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores. (Chapman, 1968, p. 386)

In another poem, "Yet Do I Marvel," he discussed God's wisdom, amazed in His creations, and praised His works for 12 lines, then ended these humble words, "Yet do I marvel at this curious thing: To make a poet black, and bid him sing."

James Weldon Johnson used bitter humor in response to discrimination against the mothers of black soldiers who died overseas. The mothers were sent to visit their sons' graves on second-class transportation facilities. In Johnson's poem, "St. Peter Relates an Incident of the Resurrection Day," some of the nation's leading citizens are shocked when the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is opened to reveal a black soldier.

Outstanding writers of the period included Jean Toomer and Jessie Faucet. The Renaissance included plays on Broadway that featured black casts performing the works of black writers and arrangers. Paul Robeson was recognized as an outstanding actor and singer of serious music. Ethel Waters and Bill Robinson were leading entertainers, W. C. Handy was establishing himself as "father of the blues," and

Henry O. Tanner and Aaron Douglas were among the painters who received recognition.

Why was there such a stirring in the arts at this time? There are at least five major reasons. The first was that black universities stimulated a new intellectual approach to the problem of the Negro. James Weldon Johnson, who entered Atlanta University in 1887, commented that black institutions directed thinking toward dealing with the race problem. He said education became synonymous with addressing the race problem.

Closely related to this was the national debate between Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton Institute, and W. E. B. DuBois on education for the Negro. Washington, who was the leading spokesperson for blacks at the time, advocated gradual progress and an emphasis on vocational education. DuBois, who attended Fisk University in Nashville, then studied at the University of Berlin and received three degrees from Harvard (including the doctorate), said Washington's plan would lead to individuals with technical skills, but without broad intelligence and knowledge of the world. The philosophical debate split leaders in the black community. One attempt to organize a movement that was somewhat counter to Washington led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A third factor was the migration of blacks from the south to northern cities. Southern crop failures coupled

with openings for blacks in northern war-related industries offered a strong temptation to go north. By 1916 some southern states were taking steps to limit the migration (Franklin, 1980, p. 339). The Chicago Defender led in encouraging blacks to move north.

A fourth factor in the cultural outpouring was the continued problem of violence, particularly lynching. According to Franklin (1980, p. 267), there were 214 lynchings in the south in 1900 and 1901. During the first decade of the century, racial riots swept the country. Terrified blacks sometimes sold their property and moved away from communities in which they were outnumbered and unprotected by the law (Franklin, 1980, pp. 314-315). The NAACP staged a Silent Protest Parade on Fifth Avenue in New York in 1917 to protest lynching and to compare the oppression of blacks to the fight for freedom overseas.

World War I was the final factor in precipitating a black outpouring of culture. Blacks volunteered to fight and faced discrimination in the armed services. They went overseas and were often treated more humanly than they were at home. They then returned home, after helping to make the world safe for democracy, to find the same second-class treatment or worse. World War I raised the idea of freedom before blacks in the U. S. and left them with a more acute feeling of repression.

In addition to the five factors mentioned, several other events acted upon blacks during the first 20 years of the century. Theodore Roosevelt's election gave blacks the hope that they had a friend in the White House. He turned out to be something of a disappointment, but he and succeeding presidents did enough to encourage blacks to seek political solutions. Booker T. Washington died in 1915, leaving a void in black leadership and opening the door for new ideas. Not to be overlooked is the role that a blossoming black press played in building a black community. The press provided a forum for philosophical debates, and for the platforms of civil rights groups. It publicized black heroes, spotlighted social activities, and generally gave courage to a people ignored by the nation's major press.

The black awakening of the period was not limited to the Renaissance or such groups as the NAACP. Those movements were generally composed of middle-class, educated blacks who worked in integrated circles. Between 1916 and 1927, Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican who moved to New York, appealed to many lower-class blacks through his Universal Negro Improvement Association. Garvey's plan was for blacks to return to Africa and build a nation of their own. It is estimated that he collected \$10 million between 1919 and 1921 in his drive to buy ships and other goods and services (Franklin, 1980, p. 356). In 1923 he was convicted of using

the mail to defraud. In 1927 President Coolidge pardoned him and ordered him deported. Cronon (1955) described Garvey as a man who dreamed big and had good intentions, but who was foiled by a repressive system and his own massive ego. Garvey's achievement was that, in spite of his failures and buffoonery, he brought pride to black people, particularly dark-skinned, lower-class black people.

The depression of the 1930's cooled the fervor of the Renaissance but did not end it. Because blacks were generally at the bottom of the economic ladder, because there was limited cash reserve among blacks, because many were employed in jobs that were quickly liquidated, the depression came swiftly and firmly to black communities. Relief programs aided millions of blacks, but there was also discrimination. Sometimes the discrimination was in distribution by local authorities. Blacks also suffered because some programs, such as Social Security, were not extended to agricultural and domestic workers, areas in which large numbers of blacks were employed (Franklin, 1980, p. 396).

About the only avenue used for relief was through politics. Black voters began a shift from the Republican to the Democratic Party. In 1928, Oscar DePriest of Chicago was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1946 there were 30 blacks serving in the legislatures of 10 states (Franklin, 1980, p. 389). Beyond political involvement, the Negro developed in a separate, generally unequal society.

Tennesseans focused on the question of prohibition during the early days of the century. The murder of a newspaper editor who favored prohibition helped in getting a bill passed to prohibit liquor in Tennessee about 10 years before the national amendment was adopted. The state drew national attention in 1920 when it became the 36th and deciding state to vote in favor or ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.

Austin Peay, elected governor in 1922, proved to be one of the state's ablest chief executives as he reorganized the government, improved roads, and gave emphasis to education. During his administration, the state became the focus of the nation because of the Scopes trial in 1925. John Scopes was tried, during much press fanfare, and found guilty of teaching evolution. He was fined \$100 (Corlew, 1981, p. 542).

Political leaders during the period included newspaper publishers and Edward H. "Boss" Crump, Mayor of Memphis. Crump continued to exert control over local and state elections after he had left political office.

The most significant quiet revolution in the state was probably the shift from agriculture to industry. The state was spared some of the severe crop failures of other southern states around 1914 and 1916 (Hamer, 1933, p. 847), but by 1919, a decline in agricultural sales was seen. By 1933 drought and depressed prices seriously affected Tennessee's

agriculture. The number of farms in the state peaked in about 1920, then declined.

As the state shifted from agriculture, it increased its industry. Several war-related plants were able to convert to peace-time use. The Tennessee Valley Authority, which was approved in 1933, offered low-cost electricity. This drew some industry into the area.

Black Tennesseans did not find the first half of the twentieth century much better than the latter years of the nineteenth century. They faced five decades of little or no political power, periodic racial flare-ups, and a restricted economic outlook that didn't improve until after World War II.

In 1900 about 75 percent of the state's black residents lived in rural areas. Fewer than 25 percent of them owned their own land. This lack of roots contributed to great mobility among blacks. Racial conflicts and lack of opportunity added to the mobility, and were factors that encouraged blacks to leave the state. During the period, the black population declined.

In 1905 the state legislature passed a law segregating street cars (Lamon, 1981, p. 68). The act caused boycotts and other protests, but to no avail. As blacks moved north and from agriculture to fill needs of the military industry, racial tension mounted. Riots and lynchings broke out in

Tennessee between 1917 and 1919 (Lamon, 1981, p. 77). The worst riot was in Knoxville (Franklin, 1980, p. 379).

Census figures between 1900 and 1950 showed that the percentage of blacks in the state decreased from 23.7 in 1900 to 16.1 in 1950. Lamon showed that the greatest decrease in the black population came from Middle Tennessee. The black population in East Tennessee decreased by nearly 2,000 in 1920, one year after the Knoxville riot. Other than that the populations of East and West Tennessee increased during the period. The black population of Middle Tennessee, however, declined at every census period except one (Lamon, 1981). The flight from the state caused Tennessee to lose workers and some of the most creative black thinkers,

Men like blues composer W. C. Handy, former Jubilee Singer, and internationally acclaimed tenor Roland Hayes, and the brilliant author Richard Wright and women such as Ida Wells and civil rights leader Mary Church Terrell. (Lamon, 1981, p. 79)

Tennessee was not without black talent, however; the presence of Fisk University was a large factor in developing and attracting many of the artists of the Harlem Renaissance. These included painter Aaron Douglas, and writers Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, and Arna Bontemps.

Those who stayed in Tennessee saw a little economic progress and many disappointments. Four black banks were started in the state between 1904 and 1910, two in Nashville and two in Memphis, but only Citizens Bank of Nashville

survived the depression. The bank was founded by Richard Henry Boyd and J. C. Napier and was first named the One-Cent Bank. It is now the second oldest continually operating black bank of the nation (Lamon, 1981, p. 93).

One other achievement was made during the period. Educational institutions for blacks had been a concern for black citizens for some time. As the state expanded its system of colleges, black men pushed for a black state college. The efforts of the Nashville Globe and citizens such as J. C. Napier resulted in a General Education Act of 1909 including a provision for three white normal schools and one school for blacks. The black school was appropriated a little less than half of the amount designated for each of the three white schools. Memphis, which had about 50 percent of the state's black population, showed no interest in the black school. The efforts of blacks in Nashville caused the city to make a bid for the school. Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial Normal School was opened in Nashville. Later the school was upgraded to Tennessee A & I University, then to Tennessee State University.

The Press

The press in the United States entered the Twentieth Century almost exhausted from the excesses of the late 1800's. The press war between Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph

Hearst epitomized those excesses. Into this atmosphere came the calm, respectable voice of the New York Times. The newspaper had been in existence since 1851 (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 130), but it was nearly bankrupt when Adolph Ochs bought it in 1896. Ochs, who started his newspaper career in Knoxville, purchased the Chattanooga Times when he was 21. He decided to design the New York Times for thoughtful readers who were interested in thorough, concise news and editorial opinion. He turned against the popular sensationalism of the period and built a success. Bining and Klien (1951) wrote, "The greatest single achievement in twentieth century American journalism was the development of the New York Times into one of the finest newspapers in the world" (p. 615).

There were several other thrusts in American journalism during the period. The growth of the Associated Press, United United Press, and press syndicates led to a certain standardization in the nation's newspapers. The same cartoons, columnists, and news styles could be found in papers throughout the country, causing the papers to look more alike. The war years caused the press and the government to wrestle with the problem of censorship. Some restrictive measures were passed and steps were taken to limit press coverage. The Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press was issued in 1942 as a cooperative effort of newspaper men and women and the government to guide the press (Emery and Emery,

1978, p. 338). The high spirits of the post-World War I period were reflected in the "jazz journalism" period of the press. Sensationalism, usually in tabloids that used splashy photos, and an emphasis on sex and crime appeared during the 1920's. By the 1930's and 1940's, the press moved more into interpretive reporting.

The other major development in the press was the move toward consolidation. The number of newspapers in the nation peaked during the first decade of the century at about 2,200 English-language daily newspapers (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 429). After that, the number of newspapers began to decline. Emery and Emery (1978) offer seven reasons for the decline:

1. Economic pressures stemming from technological changes in the publishing pattern;
2. Pressures resulting from competition for circulation and advertising revenues;
3. Standardization of the product, resulting in loss of individuality and reader appeal;
4. Lack of economic or social need for some newspapers;
5. Managerial faults;
6. Effects of wartime inflation and general business depressions;
7. Planned consolidation of newspapers for various reasons. (p. 431)

Although the number of newspapers declined, particularly during the 1930's and 1940's, the total circulation of newspapers continued to increase and to generally increase in proportion to the population (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 436).

The black press of the nation followed a growth pattern that differed somewhat from the white press. The first half

of the century was the golden era for the black press. Newspapers increased in numbers, readership, and influence. According to Pride, 99 papers were started in 1902, more than in any other year between 1827 and 1949 (the years of his study). More than 50 papers were started each year during all but one year of the first decade of the twentieth century. Pride's (1950) study shows the number of starts tapering off to only one in 1949.

More important than the number of starts was the maturity achieved by the black press during this period. Three of the black journalists whose biographies were discussed earlier (see pages 14-17) reached their journalistic zenith during this period. By 1900 the other two had already done their best work. Ida B. Wells-Barnett had been the editor of at least two papers, the Memphis Free Speech and the Chicago Conservator. She wrote columns for several papers and did some reporting for the Chicago Defender. She mainly concentrated on civic work until her death in 1931.

T. Thomas Fortune was at his best as editor of the New York Age from the early 1880's to 1907 (Thornbrough, 1972, Preface). In the latter year he had a nervous breakdown brought on by his frail health and the strain of financial problems. The strain was intensified because Booker T. Washington secretly owned stock in the New York Age and attempted to exert pressure on Fortune. Fortune became

an alcoholic, periodically writing for papers including the Amsterdam News, Memphis Negro Outlook, and Norfolk Journal and Guide. By 1923 he recovered to become editor of Marcus Garvey's Negro World. He held the position until his death in 1928 (Thornbrough, 1972, p. 356).

Monroe Trotter, Robert Abbott, and Robert Vann, the other three journalists discussed earlier, all launched important newspapers during this period. Trotter's Boston Guardian was the only one of the three that was not a financial success. He and George Forbes started it in 1901 and Trotter maintained it as a vehicle for protest. He refused ads for liquor, tobacco, skin lighteners, and hair straighteners throughout most of his life (Fox, 1970, p. 207). Unlike many other black editors, Trotter did not practice another profession that he could turn to for funds. He used assets accumulated prior to starting his paper, plus his wife's bookkeeping efforts, to keep the paper afloat. Trotter was an important voice during the early decades of the century, but his struggle to maintain the paper and his wife's death broke him. He died in 1934.

While Trotter tried to do it all himself, Robert Abbott succeeded largely because he "recognized his limitations and recruited people accordingly" (Ottley, 1955, p. 8). Abbott started the Chicago Defender in 1905 and eventually established an organ that was to be published without a break for fifty years. It reached a peak circulation of 230,000

nationally and, according to Ottley (1955), "with the exception of the Bible, no publication was more influential among the Negro masses" (p. 8). Abbott blatantly copied the editorial style of William Randolph Hearst. In 1918 Hearst sued the Defender for having a masthead so similar to the Chicago Herald Examiner and the Chicago Evening American. The suit was dropped when the Defender changed its appearance (Ottley, 1955, p. 8).

Peak circulation for the black press might have been reached by Vann's paper, The Pittsburgh Courier, when it reported domestic and foreign circulation of 323,000 in 1948 (Fenderson, 1948, p. 57). The other leading black papers of the period were the Amsterdam News, Norfolk Journal and Guide, and The Baltimore Afro-American. All had national circulation.

P. L. Prattis, a former managing editor of the Courier, said the black press made a breakthrough in the 1920's when more correspondents were hired (LaBrie, 1974b, p. 70). Other indications of the strength of the press are in its hiring of war correspondents, the operation of Claude Barnett's Associated Negro News Service from 1919 to 1967, the formation of the National Negro Press Association in 1940, and the existence of a lasting black daily, the Atlanta World, beginning in 1932.

The Tennessee Press is notable for two phenomena during this period. The first was the high visibility and

influence of some of its editors. The second was the steady decline in the number of papers in the state. Edward W. Carmack and Luke Lea were flamboyant figures. Carmack was elected to the state legislature in 1884, worked on the Nashville American, founded the Nashville Democrat which merged with the American, became editor of the Memphis Commercial, was elected to the U.S. Congress, then the U.S. Senate, and sought the Democratic nomination for governor before becoming editor of the Nashville Tennessean (Corlew, 1981, pp. 421-428; Walker, April 19, 1981, pp. 1-3). While at The Tennessean he was killed by a politician who had had enough of Carmack's sarcastic editorials. Carmack is mentioned in several books on blacks because of his fiery stands against blacks. He was the Memphis editor who incited the town against Ida B. Wells-Barnett (see page 70) and he spoke out against education for blacks (Fox, 1970, p. 153; Lamon, 1981, p. 69).

When Carmack was editor of The Tennessean it was owned by Luke Lea. According to Nashville Magazine, Lea "was not only the founder and owner of the Nashville Tennessean but he had also already served in the United States Senate" (Crutchfield, 1981, p. 65). The magazine article focused on Lea's abortive attempt to lead seven men in kidnapping Kaiser Wilhelm right after World War I. Lea returned to the state and by the late 1920's was the state's most powerful political figure.

He owned a chain of newspapers including the Knoxville Journal, Nashville Tennessean, and Memphis Commercial-Appeal (Corlew, 1981, p. 463). The Nashville Banner called Lea "Governor in Fact" because of his control over Governor Henry Horton. Lea's empire collapsed by the mid-1930's when he and his son were convicted and jailed for attempting to defraud a North Carolina bank. The Nashville Tennessean was put in the hands of receivers (Corlew, 1981, p. 474).

Two other editors, E. B. Stahlman and Silliman Evans, were not controversial but developed political power during the period. Stahlman was the publisher of the Nashville Banner. Evans, who was from Texas, bought the Tennessean in 1937 and guided it to national respectability (Corlew, 1981, p. 480).

The accumulation of power by newspaper people might have been due, in part, to the trend toward large city dailies during this period. Ayer's figures on the state's newspapers during the era reveal the decrease in total numbers, decrease in number of weekly papers, and increase in daily newspapers (see Table 4).

Hamer indicated that the shift was caused by the migration to cities. Small-town weeklies faded and big city dailies increased (Hamer, 1933, p. 795). The shift was consistent with the national trend in journalism during the period.

TABLE 4
FREQUENCY OF TENNESSEE NEWSPAPERS: 1910-1950

Year	Total Number	Weeklies	Dailies
1910	310	228	16
1920	282	189	18
1930	289	154	22
1940	176	144	27
1950	168	130	30

Sources: American Newspaper Annual and Directory
(Ayer) 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

The Black Press of Tennessee

At least 52 black papers were published in the state during this period. They ranged from the long-lasting Nashville Globe and East Tennessee News to many papers that lasted briefly and are remembered only through a citation. At least nine papers being printed during the early part of the century had started in the 1800's and are described in the preceding chapter. The other papers and the available information on them are listed below.

1. 1900 Fayetteville Advocate—This paper is listed in the 1902 edition of Lord and Thomas as a Negro weekly. Pride (1950) lists the years of existence as 1900 to 1905.

2. 1900 Memphis Colored Citizen—Lord and Thomas (1902) lists the paper as a Negro weekly with a circulation of 25,000. Ayer (1910) says the Republican paper was founded in 1900 and published on Saturdays. It was eight pages and had dimensions of 15 by 22, cost was \$1.50. W. H. Melton was editor and publisher and the office was at 864 Willowby Avenue. By 1914 the paper had been reduced to a 13¼ by 19½ and was published by the Citizens Publishing Company. Melton was still editor. The new address was 196 South Second Street. The paper appeared in Ayer for the last time in 1921.

3. 1901 Memphis Signal—The only thing found was in Pride (1950) who gave its dates as 1901 to 1916.

4. 1901 Clarksville Negro Index—Pride lists this paper as a weekly printed between 1901 and 1903.

5. 1902 Nashville Clarion—The Clarion was founded in 1902 and was listed in Ayer through 1937. In 1910 it was an 11 by 16 tabloid of four pages. It claimed a circulation of 3,000 which was its peak, according to Ayer. Clarions Printing Company was listed as publisher. Cost was \$1.00. By 1914 Thomas L. Ballou was listed as editor and circulation was estimated at 2,500. By 1919 E. W. D. Isaac was listed as editor and circulation was 1,000. The address was 409 Gay Street. Except for some changes in dimensions, price and circulation, the Clarion kept the same information as other years.

E. W. D. Isaac is probably much better known in religious circles than in journalism. He led in establishing the National Baptist Training Union Board of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. (see Nashville Globe). A convention memorial to Isaac says that he was born in Texas, the son of Reverend Sandy and Mary Jane Isaac. He was ordained as a preacher at age 18. His father contributed \$20 to the building of Bishop College in Texas and Edward Walter David Isaac was one of the first students to attend the school. Around 1899 Isaac brought his wife, Esther, and their son, E. W. D., Jr., to Tennessee. Circumstances would suggest that Isaac was prompted in this move by work with the National Baptist Convention which was headquartered in Nashville.

When the Convention split in 1915, Isaac was named head of the new publishing board. The Clarion emphasized the activities of the new board and of the National Baptist Young People's Union (BYPU) which later became the National Baptist Training Union Board. The address of the newspaper was 410 Gay Street. An advertisement listed the National BYPU address as 409 Gay Street. In spite of the large amount of religious news in the paper, it did carry secular news.

In addition to his work as a minister and secretary of the new publishing board, Isaac was a well known writer and singer of religious songs. He died on May 31, 1931. A Clarion dated September 19, 1931, announced the election of his son to succeed him as Convention secretary.

6. 1902 Memphis Head and Hand—Lord and Thomas (1902) says this was a Negro monthly.

7. 1902 Memphis Outlook—Pride gives the life of this paper as 1902 to 1906. Thornbrough's biography of T. Thomas Fortune, however, says that "during the early 1920s, he was in Memphis, editing the Negro Outlook."

8. 1902 Memphis Bluff City News—This paper was also first published in 1902. It lasted at least until 1920. Ayer (1910) says the Republican paper was published on Saturdays. It was eight pages with a size of 15 by 22. In the years that followed, the size was reduced somewhat. Circulation estimates were around 750. Editor was King I.

Chambers and the paper was published by News Publishing Company. The address was 403 Beale Avenue. Subscriptions were \$1.50.

9. 1903 Jackson Afro-American Standard—Pride lists this paper as existing between 1903 and 1906.

10. 1904 Knoxville Review—This four-page paper was founded in 1904 according to Ayer in 1910. It was published on Saturdays; it was 15 by 22 inches and cost \$1.00. Gem Printing Company was editor and publisher.

11. 1905 Memphis Mid-Weekly Progress—Pride listed the paper as having started in 1905 and ended in 1910.

12. 1905 Gallatin Major—Ayer (1910) reports that the four-page Republican paper was a semi-monthly, measuring 15 by 22 inches. It cost \$1.00 and had a circulation of about 380. A. C. Banks was editor, and the paper was produced by the Major Publishing Company. Pride lists its existence as 1905 to 1914.

13. 1906 Jackson News—According to Pride, this weekly was published in 1906 and 1907.

14. 1906 East Tennessee News (Knoxville)—This paper, which lasted at least 42 years, is one of the better documented and better looking papers of the period. It was started about 1906 and appeared in Ayer through 1948. An early listing (1914) described the paper as a 13¼ by 19¼ Republican paper published on Saturdays by the East Tennessee News Company. Subscription was \$1.00 and circulation was

4,869. The circulation and dimensions of the paper increased gradually, and in 1919 the estimated circulation was 7,600. Peak circulation seemed to have been reached in 1923 when the publisher estimated it at 9,800. The paper had seven columns measuring 25 ems by 94 agate lines. Subscription was \$2.00 and the address was 108 East Vine Avenue. The paper was listed later as independent, rather than Republican.

An issue of the paper dated March 23, 1922 shows it to be a well edited paper with a diversity of news and advertising. A boxed motto on the front said, "Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free." The seven-column headline was "G.O.P. Primary Next Thursday."

The masthead, on page four, listed Webster L. Porter as editor and publisher. His was the only name given for editorial work throughout the life of the paper. An issue from 1914 also carried U. S. Clark's name as secretary and treasurer. The paper carried news briefs on the activities of Afro-Americans throughout the nation, short stories in its literary section, the Sunday School lesson in its religious section, and editorials on such topics as the black press. Its advertising included Studebaker, hair and skin products, election ads, and ads for Knoxville College.

In the 1930's and 1940's the address changed to Box 370, Box 744, then 202 East Vine Avenue. By 1945 the circulation was estimated by the publisher as down to 3,400. One source

said the paper was reduced as Porter grew older (Pearson, 1978, p. 11). Several extant copies of the paper are available at Beck Cultural Center in Knoxville.

15. 1906 Nashville Globe—An expansion of segregation laws in 1905 was the spark causing the birth of the Nashville Globe, according to Lester Lamon (1977).

In December 1905 (a group of young black Nashvillians) established the Globe Publishing Company and in January 1906 began publishing the Nashville Globe. As Nashville's only secular black newspaper, the Globe emphasized a combined program of Booker T. Washington's economic self-help and an uncompromising sense of black pride. Encouraged financially by Richard H. Boyd, the newspaper's growth was directed by Joseph Oliver Battle, Henry Allen Boyd, and Dock A. Hart. The paper's crusades progressed steadily from the support of the boycott to a broad range of racially independent stands. (p. 15)

Richard Henry Boyd was born March 15, 1843 in Mississippi. At birth he was a slave named Dick Gray. He became a free man and traveled Texas as a cowboy. By 1880 he had changed his name, become an ordained minister, and led in merging several conventions into the National Baptist Convention of America. The Convention offered a strong market for published church material and Boyd responded with the National Baptist Publishing Board, founded in 1896. The Board became the basis for a major split in the Convention. Charles V. Hamilton explained the conflict as follows (Hamilton, 1972):

The Reverend R. H. Boyd, . . . an astute businessman and banker as well as an effective

minister, incorporated the Publishing Board in Tennessee as a separate legal entity apart from the Convention. There was no formal objection to this move at the time. Over the years it has grossed nearly two and a half million dollars. Reverend Boyd built a new building for the Publishing Board on land owned by himself, and he also copyrighted all the Board's material in his own name. In other words . . . he clearly viewed the Publishing Board as the property of himself and the Tennessee corporation. When some members of the convention attempted to assert control over Reverend Boyd in his operation . . . it was legally too late The original group had to start an entirely new publishing outfit. (p. 154)

The new board was headed by E. W. D. Isaac of the Nashville Clarion.

The result to Nashville journalism was that the Boyds owned a publishing firm that could, with little additional cost, produce a newspaper. The Nashville Globe was started on January 11, 1906. In its early years it was saturated with the imprint of R. H. Boyd. The January 18, 1907, edition carried two quotes underneath the name plate. They were:

1. All things come to them that wait,
providing they hustle while they wait—Charles
W. Anderson.

2. Get out of our sunshine—R. H. Boyd

The head and shoulder photo of Boyd, described earlier, was frequently in the newspaper. Articles on Boyd's bank also appeared regularly.

The editorial box in an early edition said the Globe was "published every Friday in Room A, Odd Fellows Hall,

No. 441, Fourth Avenue North, Nashville." (The location was not far from the Publishing Board on North Second Avenue.) The only editorial figure identified was J. O. Battle, editor. By January 8, 1909, four Globe Publishing Company officials were listed. There were D. A. Hart, president; C. H. Burrill, secretary; J. O. Battle, treasurer; and H. A. Boyd, business manager. A brief note on the editorial page mentioned a trip editor Battle had taken to Texas to improve his health. By March 5, 1909, the front page headline announced, "Editor Joseph Oliver Battle Passes Quietly Away." The article said that Battle had come to Nashville from Chattanooga to work with the Publishing Board, and had remained with the Board until his death.

When the Nashville Globe was started a little over three years ago, he was elected editor and the methods he employed have been a revelation to Negro journalism,

the article said. Eight months later, D. A. Hart was named editor.

In its early years the Globe sometimes seemed more like an in-house publication. Weddings, appointments, and other achievements by members of the Boyd family or Publishing Board executives received large front-page coverage. Much of the inside space was used to promote Publishing Board material.

The split in the Convention in 1915 as well as World War I might have played a part in changing the Globe. By 1918,

the paper was larger and carried more news, including news of black involvement in the war. Coverage of Reverend Boyd continued but was not as prominent.

Reverend Boyd died in 1922 and was succeeded at the Board by his son, Henry Allen Boyd. H. A. Boyd seemed to have a greater interest in journalism. He served as secretary of the Associated Negro Press. During his lifetime, the Globe continued to improve. It was helped by a merger with the Nashville Independent in the 1930's. By the late 1930's, the nameplate carried "The Nashville Globe" in bold type with "and Independent" underneath in much smaller type.

The paper was attractive and informative with an impressive array of advertisers. These included the H. G. Hills Stores, Carnation and Pet Milk, and Nashville Electric Service.

Henry Allen Boyd died in 1959 at age 83. The publishing board was passed to his nephew, Theophilus B. Boyd, Jr. Dr. T. B. Boyd halted publication of the Globe in 1960. He said his decision was because of the problems involved in producing the journal, including the high cost of production and declining sales (Brown, 1976, p. 34).

Lamon stressed the importance of the Globe while it was being published and as a record of history. He said that by 1929, 20.5 percent of the black families in Nashville subscribed to the paper, and it reached nearly every black

community in the state. Between 1906 and 1930, it was regularly quoted and attacked in black and white newspapers (Lamon, 1977, pp. 15-16).

Lamon's (1977) study ended with 1930. The Globe's prominence probably continued for at least two decades. In its latter years, however, it was filled with church and club handouts that seemed to receive little editing.

In his bibliographical essay, Lamon (1977) wrote:

Although the quality and content of black journalism varied widely in the early 1900s, Negro newspapers and magazines fill many of the historical gaps left by an absence of manuscript collections and institutional records. Tennessee produced several black newspapers during this period, but most of them had short lives and copies were rarely preserved. Fortunately, a sizable run of the Nashville Globe does exist. Almost entirely ignored by historians, the Globe shunned most "canned" material and took an aggressive reporting and editorial stance This newspaper's sensitivity to basic developments in the black community and its professional organization and appearance make it one of the most valuable sources for this study. (p. 302)

The Globe was regularly listed in Ayer. Peak circulation was estimated at about 24,000 in 1921. In the late 1930's, L. D. Williams was listed as editor and the address was 403 Charlotte Avenue. It was printed successively under the Nashville Globe Publishing Company, the Nashville Globe and Independent Publishing Company, and the Nashville Advocate Publishing Company.

16. 1906 Memphis Moon—In his autobiography, W. E. B. DuBois devoted a paragraph to his brief effort in Tennessee

journalism. In 1906 he and two graduate students from Atlanta University published the Memphis Moon. The weekly only lasted a year, but DuBois called it "some sort of precursor of The Crisis" (the NAACP magazine that was founded by DuBois). DuBois said he left Memphis, published a monthly in Washington, D.C. for three years, then started The Crisis (DuBois, 1968, p. 251).

Tucker (1971) called The Moon "a national race magazine" and a "militant journal." According to him DuBois' former students were Edward L. Simon and Harry H. Pace. Tucker explained the failure of The Moon by saying, "The collapse of the magazine within a year was less a reflection of anti-DuBois sentiment than of inadequate financial support for an expensive journal" (Tucker, 1971, p. 20).

17. 1908 Chattanooga Colored Citizen—Ayer (1910) says this paper was founded in 1908. It was politically independent with a size of eight pages, 13 by 20 inches. The paper cost \$1.50 per year and the editor and publisher was Christopher C. Ravenue. Pride says the paper lasted until 1911.

18. 1908 Knoxville Messenger—Pride says this weekly paper was published from 1908 to 1910.

19. 1909 Paris Headlight—This weekly was started in 1909 and last appeared in Ayer in 1911, according to Pride.

20. 1910 Jackson Gazette—Pride says this weekly was published from 1910 to 1912.

21. 1912 Nashville Tribune—Pride says this weekly was begun in 1912 and last appeared in Ayer in 1913.

22. 1913 Clarksville News Herald—According to Ayer this paper was founded in 1913. Its dimensions were 13¼ by 19½ inches and it cost \$1.50 per year. In 1914 the editor was listed as H. S. Merritt, but no editor was listed after that. The paper was produced by the Herald Publishing Company. It was a Republican paper published on Saturdays. It last appeared in Ayer in 1917.

23. 1913 Chattanooga Sun—Pride says this weekly was started about 1913 and ceased publishing about 1915.

24. 1913 Memphis Sun—If the philosophies of W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington were as different as the moon and the sun, Memphis was the place to really see those differences. After DuBois published his Memphis Moon for a year (1906), Booker T. Washington's nephew, Roscoe Conkling Simmons, tried his hand with the Memphis Sun. Simmons was an outstanding orator who was recognized by blacks. He was, at one time, a spokesman for the Chicago Defender (Ottley, 1955, p. 135).

Tucker (1971) said that Simmons had the support of Washington and a Memphis politician, R. R. Church, Jr.

The Memphis Sun shone brightly for six months, carrying Tuskegee releases (about Washington) success stories, and advice to black farmers, in addition to the regular Memphis news. Then Simmons found himself in economic difficulty, and within a year the Memphis Sun had set for the last time. (Tucker, 1971, p. 21)

25. 1914 Nashville News—D. A. Hart, who was named editor of the Nashville Globe in 1909, is listed as editor of the News. The paper was printed from 1914 to 1918 and had a circulation estimated by the publisher to be 2,000. The Republican paper came out on Fridays and was 13¼ by 19 3/4 inches, subscription \$1.00. The paper was produced by the News Publishing Company, at 428 Fifth Avenue in 1916. The next year the address was 418½ Cedar Street.

26. 1917 Chattanooga Defender—The Defender was published for 20 years, 1917 to 1937. J. J. J. Oldfield was listed in Ayer as the editor and publisher. The paper seems to have peaked in 1924 when its sworn circulation (the highest standard of circulation then used by Ayer) was 10,000. At that time the paper was being published twice a week, Thursdays and Saturdays. In its early and latter years the paper was published on Fridays. The paper's size was six columns, 26 ems per column, and a depth that ranged between 270 and 280 agate lines. Subscription was \$1.80 per year. The Chattanooga Defender Publishing Company was listed as publisher and the paper's addresses were, successively, 518 Cowart Street and 750-29th Street.

27. 1918 Chattanooga National Democracy—Begun in 1918, this paper was six columns (26 ems) with a depth of 263 agate lines. It was published on Saturdays and distributed at a cost of \$1.50 per year. It was published at 1 King Street by

the National Printing Company, C. G. Hutchings, editor. It was listed in Ayer through 1921.

28. 1918 Memphis Times—The Times, an independent paper published on Saturdays, was begun in 1918 and continued through 1937. S. W. Broome was listed as editor throughout the life of the paper. Size of the paper was seven columns, 26 ems, 276 agate lines. The paper was produced by the Memphis Times Publishing Company, first at 162 South Fourth Street, then at 343 Beale Avenue; subscription was \$2.00. Peak circulation seems to have been the 8,000 estimated by the publisher in 1923.

29. 1920 Murfreesboro Union—Only two traces of this paper were found. Detweiler (1922, pp. 77, 81) mentions the paper and its business editor, Mary Vaughn. Pride says the weekly was published from about 1920 to 1932.

30. 1920 Memphis Dublin Weekly Bulletin—This weekly was printed from 1920 to about 1922, according to Pride.

31. 1920 Morristown Reporter—Pride gives the dates of this semi-monthly as 1920 and 1921.

32. 1920 Memphis Record—This weekly was published from 1920 to about 1922, according to Pride.

33. 1923 Memphis Index—started in 1923, the Index was published on Saturdays by the Index Publishing Company at 339 South Second Street. Subscription was \$2.00 for the publication which was seven columns, 26 ems, 276 agate lines. It appeared in Ayer through 1936.

34. 1927 Knoxville Herald—The Herald, founded in 1927, was a five-column Republican paper. It was full-sized with dimensions of 22 ems by 224 agate lines. Circulation was sworn to be 3,000 in 1931. Subscription was \$1.50. Dr. J. H. Presnell was editor. Knoxville Herald Publishing Company was at 238 Patton Street. A copy of the Herald at Beck Cultural Center, dated May 30, 1929, was largely given over to coverage of Knoxville College. The paper was listed in Ayer through 1935. The circulation was listed at 2,430 that year. In 1936 the Herald was not listed, but the Knoxville Flashlight Herald was carried for the first time.

35. 1928 Chattanooga Tribune—J. E. Oaks of Oaks Publishing Company was publisher of this paper, which began in 1928. Ayer (1931) reports that the paper was published on Tuesdays and Fridays at a subscription rate of \$5.20. It had eight columns and measured 24 ems, 280 agate lines.

36. 1929 Nashville Independent—The Independent was published from 1929 until it was merged with the Globe in 1938. It stands out because of the admirable quality of the publication and the men who were associated with it. Editor L. D. Williams and Business Manager M. W. Day were associated with several Nashville newspapers. Both seemed to be very good at their tasks.

According to his daughter, Anne Bell, Williams entered the newspaper business from a background as an insurance

agent. His great interest was writing. She said Williams was inclined to use church, club and political news. Several of the better-looking newspapers studied were edited by L. D. Williams (Brown, 1976, p. 38).

M. W. Day was sensitive to the opportunities blacks faced in a segregated society. Black businessmen and women had a market to provide services that were denied blacks by white businesses. Day, a native of Kentucky, used a formula created by a black chemist in Alabama to enter the soft drink business. Prior to that he had tried selling automobile insurance. He was interested in the business end of newspaper publishing. By the time he retired from the Globe, many considered him one of the best advertising salesmen in the area (Brown, 1976, p. 38).

The publisher of the Independent was J. F. McClellan, a Nashville attorney. Working as a route manager for the Nashville Tennessean caused him to become interested in the newspaper industry. Before participating in the founding of the Independent, McClellan worked with the Nashville Sun, a newspaper printed in Atlanta by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate.

An issue of the Independent published in June 1931 claimed that the paper had 5,000 readers. The motto of the paper was "The Voice of the People." The paper included a world news column with one-half column photographs of news makers. The paper was full-sized, about six pages. It was

published weekly at 413½ Fourth Avenue North. Norris St. Clair was listed as circulation manager and the firm was listed as the Independent Publishing Company. McClellan said that economic pressure, demands for higher salaries by printers at a time when advertising revenue was decreasing, forced the Independent to merge with the Globe.

37. 1930 Memphis Tri-State Tribune—The paper was a weekly printed from 1930 to about 1932, according to Pride.

38. 1930 Memphis Triangle—Pride says that this weekly was printed from 1930 to about 1932. Lamon, however, mentioned the paper in discussing political action of 1928 (1977, p. 46).

39. 1931 Knoxville Flashlight Herald—This newspaper was published for at least 32 years and was listed in Ayer for most of the years. It was regularly listed as a six column paper with dimensions of 26 ems, 280 agate lines. Circulated at a cost of \$1.50, the paper was edited by B. Branner Smith, Flashlight Herald Publishing Company, 1306 College Street. Circulation seemed to peak at an estimate of 9,600 in 1946.

The February 24, 1934 issue of the paper, available in Beck Cultural Center, had the motto, "Light of the South, Friendship and Justice, Voice of the People." A lighthouse appeared in the left ear; a flag was in the right ear. By

January 12, 1963, the Flashlight Herald was a five-column tabloid that billed itself as the "Oldest Negro Newspaper Printed in Knoxville." Smith was listed as editor in memoriam. Jefferson P. Owens was editor, Cecil Gross was sports editor and Mrs. Christina B. Smith was office manager.

40. 1931 Memphis World—The World was the most successful Tennessee venture of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta. W. A. Scott had his initial success with the Atlanta World, begun in 1927, which became the leading black daily newspaper in 1932. By 1929 Scott had started a chain of newspapers, virtually a world of Scott papers. They included the Birmingham World, Marianna (Arkansas) World, Jacksonville (Florida) World, and the Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga Worlds.

The Memphis World, begun in 1931, seemed to have a fitful existence. At least five editors and six addresses were listed in Ayer over an 18-year period. Editors were N. D. Williams (1941), L. O. Swingler (1943), James H. Purdy, Jr. (1954), C. A. Scott, Jr. (1955), and T. T. Stokes (1959). From time to time the paper's address was listed as 210 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta. At these times C. A. Scott, Jr., was usually listed as editor or publisher. (During these periods the World was, technically, not within the framework of this study because it was being editorially prepared

outside the state. The paper is considered, however, because it was usually prepared within the state.) Other addresses listed for the World were 390½ Beale Avenue, 388 Beale Avenue, 224 South Wellington Street, 1317 Hunter Street, S. W., and 164 Beale Avenue. Scott Newspaper Syndicate was usually listed as the owner. The World was eight columns, 24 ems and 280 to 285 agate lines. Circulation was 16,300 in 1950.

A 1970 issue of the World listed W. A. Scott II as founder, C. A. Scott, general manager and J. A. Beauchamp managing editor. The editorial box also noted that the newspaper was produced every Saturday at 546 Beale Street. Subscription was \$5.00 annually. It was not a well-edited paper. Some articles ran beyond and above their headlines. Photographs were fuzzy with poor contrast.

Although listed as nonpartisan in Ayer, the World closely adhered to the Scott philosophy of conservatism. In his book, Crisis in Print, Hugh Graham noted the tie to Booker T. Washington found in Cornelius A. Scott's "Philosophy of accommodation and self-help" (p. 253). Graham pointed out the sharp contrast between the World and the fiery Memphis Tri-State Defender during the late 50's and 60's.

The World started as a tri-weekly, but changed to a semi-weekly. It was published on Tuesdays and Fridays. As the Defender's circulation overtook the World's the Scott

paper came out once a week. According to LaBrie (1973) the paper ceased publishing after "41 years of service" (p. 10).

41. 1932 Nashville World—John R. Patterson was editor and publisher of this paper, which was published from 1932 to 1938. Ayer (1934) listed the paper as being published on Thursdays and having a Democratic affiliation. The paper was eight columns, 24 ems and 308 agate lines. It was published from the Morris Memorial Building at 422½ Fourth Avenue North.

The June 14, 1935, issue of the paper, available at the State Archives, shows a well-edited paper. The editorial box said the paper was "the only local newspaper with exclusive SNS (Scott News Syndicate) service . . ." The paper listed its office as 419 Fourth Avenue North.

42. 1934 Knoxville Public Guide—Copies of three issues of the Guide, available in Beck Cultural Center, indicate that the paper was published from 1934 to about 1938. The left ear of the November 8, 1934, issue indicated that the paper was affiliated with Scott Newspaper Syndicate. The July 22, 1937, issue bore the slogan, "A Newspaper with a Constructive Policy," that was common among Scott papers. Booker T. Gillespie was listed as editor and publisher of the November 8, 1934, paper. The paper was "published every Thursday" at 204 North University Avenue, with the purpose "to serve humanity and work forward for the uplift of the Negro." By 1935 the paper had offices at 238 Patton Street.

The staff included Dee Buchanan, publisher; Clarence H. Graham, editor and business manager and Frederick D. Rosemond, circulation manager. The paper seemed to stress education. The earlier issue was dedicated to Knoxville College. The papers also included international news, church, civic and social news. It had good entertainment and sports features on black stars.

43. 1935 Chattanooga Observer—According to Ayer (1936) the Observer was founded in 1935. John M. Miles was editor and the paper was owned by Tennessee Negro News Publishing Company at 124½ East Ninth Street. Two years later Reverend C. H. Williams was listed as editor. In 1940 W. C. Robinson was editor and the paper was published by the Scott Syndicate in Atlanta. By 1943 the paper settled on the listing that it maintained for the next ten years. W. C. Robinson was editor and the paper was owned by the Chattanooga Observer Publishing Company. It was nonpartisan with a format of eight columns, 24 ems, and 294 agate lines. Annual subscription was \$2.50. Circulation was listed as 3,500 in 1943 and 1944.

Pearson (1978) said the Observer was published by

Walter Robinson, described by a friend as a man with a great deal of political power. The Observer perhaps enabled Robinson to politically control Chattanooga's largely black west side. The paper, which was active in the 50's and 60's, ended when Robinson died in the late sixties.

The Robinson family donated his papers, including his file of the Observer, to Tennessee State University.

44. 1936 Memphis Journal—According to Pride the Journal was a weekly published from about 1936 to about 1938.

45. 1938 Nashville Defender—Pride lists the existence of this paper as 1940 to 1943. The State Archives have only one issue of the paper, however, and that issue is dated May 5, 1938. The tabloid was neat and well-edited with a good variety of sections. The old-style German gothic letters of the nameplate were unique to the state's black press. The paper's motto was, "A Constructive Negro Weekly." It was "dedicated to economic equality and social justice for the Negro. Constructive Service for Humanity."

Staff members were D. J. Fabree, managing editor; Elmer James, city editor; O. Wahletta Goodner, sports editor; Bell Aimes, social editor; William Jones, circulation manager; Thomas Ford, Sr., advertising manager and Ike L. Dungy, assistant circulation manager. The National Publishing Company, Inc., was owner of the paper which had offices at 408 Gay Street.

46. 1939 Knoxville Enquirer—The November 30, 1939, issue of the paper is listed as available at Beck Cultural Center. It was not found by staff during a visit to the Center.

47. 1944 Knoxville Monitor—The Monitor first appeared in Ayer in 1947. It was listed as a nonpartisan paper founded in 1944, with eight columns, 24 ems and 314 agate lines.

Annual subscription was \$2.00, sworn circulation 7,000.

William J. Robinson was the editor and publisher of the paper, which had offices at 347 Preston Street. The paper used mats and was published on Saturdays.

By 1950 the size had been reduced to seven columns and 287 agate lines. Subscription was \$3.00 and circulation was 3,500 with 500 papers distributed free. In 1952 the sworn circulation was 2,500. The paper last appeared in Ayer in 1954.

48. 1944 Chattanooga Citizen—Pride and Oak include this paper in listings. Oak says the paper was founded in 1947. Pride gives the starting date as 1944.

49. Chattanooga World—The paper was listed as one of several owned by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate.

50. 1948 Nashville Commentator—The paper lasted from 1948 to about 1971. It was the first listed in Ayer in 1956. Its listing seems reasonably impressive. It had five columns at 24 ems and 224 agate lines. Subscription was \$2.00 annually. Sworn circulations were 1,500 in 1956, 2,326 in 1960 and 2,500 in 1966 (the latter according to U. S. Negro World for that year). Although it is listed as having lasted for 23 years, a former staffer said the paper came out sporadically, maybe only once or twice a year. Copies of the paper in the State Archives reveal that it was really little more than a shopper's guide, almost totally advertisements.

Leonard B. Tomblinson, editor and publisher of the paper throughout its existence, said the paper started as a one-page advertising circular (Brown, 1976, p. 43). It grew in number of pages and included some features and a little news, but it remained primarily composed of advertisements. It was unique in that it included ads from many small businesses that are usually by-passed.

The paper was five columns, 24 ems and 224 agate lines. Annual subscription was \$2.00. The address was 1909 Formosa Avenue.

Perhaps one contribution of the Commentator was the exposure it provided for one staff member who made contributions to Tennessee journalism. Robert Churchwell had made brief attempts in newspaper publishing with a paper called Yours (see next listing). His column in the Commentator brought him attention that helped earn him a job as the first black reporter for the Nashville Banner (see Chapter Six).

51. 1949 Nashville Yours—The publication was started with more vigor than revenue. In the summer of about 1949 Fisk graduate Robert Churchwell and a friend, Fred Booth, decided to start a newspaper. They invested in the project by pawning their watches. With \$35.00 capital they bought paper and ink and rented a mimeograph machine. The two were

members of Seay Hubbard United Methodist Church. A third member of the church granted them office space in a building on Lafayette Street. Churchwell wrote the news and circulated it in the community. Booth came in during afternoons after working at the Veterans Administration Hospital. The staff also included three typists: a young lady from Tennessee State University (who later became Mrs. Churchwell), Churchwell's sister and a young lady from Fisk. The paper lasted about eight weeks (Churchwell, 1982).

52. 1949 Knoxville Voice—The November 12, 1949, issue of this paper is listed as included in the collection at Beck Cultural Center, but was not found by the library during a visit.

Summary of the Period

The black press of the state followed a growth pattern during this period that was in line with the nation's black press. The biggest growth was at the beginning of the period with twenty papers founded between 1900 and 1910. If the nine that were started during the previous period are added, the list would show that 27 papers were published in Tennessee during the first decade of the century.

There were 12 papers founded between 1911 and 1920, six between 1921 and 1930, eight between 1931 and 1940 and six

between 1941 and 1950. The numbers of papers founded decreased every decade except for one. This finding is similar to the decline in the rest of the state's press.

Not only did the number of papers increase during the period, but the papers seemed to be stronger. Pride said the average life of black newspapers was nine years (1950, p. 404). About 36 percent of the papers whose starting and ending dates could be established lasted for nine years or more. Eight of the papers survived for twenty years or more. The East Tennessee News, Nashville Globe and Memphis World lasted for over 40 years.

Why didn't more papers last longer? A valid explanation would require more information on the papers and on the personnel. Several clues, however, can be found from this period. Tucker said the Memphis Sun and Memphis Moon failed because of lack of adequate funds. Other papers seemed to have been started on more enthusiasm than revenue. It seems that many publishers had the means to start a paper and print awhile, but not enough money to maintain publishing until the paper could make a profit.

No doubt the urge for expression tempted many to attempt publications. The forces that caused the Renaissance in large northern cities were present to a lesser degree in Tennessee. W. E. B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Langston Hughes and

others had strong ties to Tennessee. The intellectual stimulation of these people and the movement of blacks created a favorable climate for the press—at least for papers to start publishing.

The lack of political power and shifting of party loyalty affected the press. While many black newspapers claimed Republican affiliation through the early part of this period, that designation faded as the period progressed. The press seemed to offer a forum for a people who were largely being ignored by the political process and by white society.

The Tennessee papers provided a view of the world for blacks that was similar to that presented in major black newspapers throughout the nation. Black soldiers in the World Wars, black entertainers and sports figures, and black colleges and universities occupied much space in the press.

Finally there was evidence, again, that the black press had an impact. The press mobilized citizens in such cases as protesting segregation and pushing for a black college. The editors also drew comments from the white press that indicated that they were taken seriously. There were probably some exchanges of papers between white and black editors. The printed criticisms of positions taken by black editors makes it evident that the black press was read by

whites and used, to some extent, as a means to know about the black community.

A list of newspapers founded between 1900 and 1950, and some founded before that period, is given in Table 5. The first nine papers were founded before 1900 and continued to be published during this period. They are discussed in Chapter Four. The numbered newspapers were founded during this period.

TABLE 5
NEWSPAPERS FOUNDED DURING THE PERIOD 1900-1950

Newspaper	Year
<u>Nashville Palladium</u>	1883-1909
<u>Nashville Citizen</u>	1893-1905
<u>Memphis Scimitar</u>	1898-1900
<u>Winchester Negro Enterprise</u>	1899-1900
<u>Chattanooga Blade</u>	1898-1916
<u>Knoxville Gleanor</u>	1891-1900
<u>Liberty Afro-American</u>	1899-1900
<u>Chattanooga Industrial Searchlight</u>	1899-1903
<u>Jackson Headlight</u>	1899-1900
1. <u>Fayetteville Advocate</u>	1900-1905
2. <u>Memphis Colored Citizen</u>	1900-1921
3. <u>Memphis Signal</u>	1901-1916
4. <u>Clarksville Negro Index</u>	1901-1903
5. <u>Nashville Clarion</u>	1902-1937
6. <u>Memphis Head and Hand</u>	?1902?
7. <u>Memphis Outlook</u>	1902-1906 +1920's
8. <u>Memphis Bluff City News</u>	1902-1920
9. <u>Jackson Afro-American Standard</u>	1903-1906
10. <u>Knoxville Review</u>	1904-1910
11. <u>Memphis Mid-Weekly Progress</u>	1905-1910
12. <u>Gallatin Major</u>	1905-1914

TABLE 5 (Cont'd)

Newspaper	Year
13. <u>Jackson News</u>	1906-1907
14. <u>East Tennessee News</u>	1906-1948
15. <u>Nashville Globe</u>	1906-1960
16. <u>Memphis Moon</u>	1906
17. <u>Chattanooga Colored Citizen</u>	1908-1911
18. <u>Knoxville Messenger</u>	1908-1910
19. <u>Paris Headlight</u>	1909-1911
20. <u>Jackson Gazette</u>	1910-1912
21. <u>Nashville Tribune</u>	1912-1913
22. <u>Clarksville News Herald</u>	1913-1917
23. <u>Chattanooga Sun</u>	1913-1915
24. <u>Memphis Sun</u>	1913
25. <u>Nashville News</u>	1914-1918
26. <u>Chattanooga Defender</u>	1917-1937
27. <u>Chattanooga National Democracy</u>	1918-1921
28. <u>Memphis Times</u>	1918-1937
29. <u>Murfreesboro Union</u>	1920-1932
30. <u>Memphis Dublin Weekly Bulletin</u>	1920-1922
31. <u>Morristown Reporter</u>	1920-1921
32. <u>Memphis Record</u>	1920-1922
33. <u>Memphis Index</u>	1923-1936
34. <u>Knoxville Herald</u>	1927-1935

TABLE 5 (Cont'd)

Newspaper	Year
35. <u>Chattanooga Tribune</u>	1928-1931
36. <u>Nashville Independent</u>	1929-1938
37. <u>Memphis Tri-State Tribune</u>	1930-1932
38. <u>Memphis Triangle</u>	1930-1932
39. <u>Knoxville Flashlight Herald</u>	1931-1963+
40. <u>Memphis World</u>	1931-1972
41. <u>Nashville World</u>	1932-1938
42. <u>Knoxville Public Guide</u>	1934-1938
43. <u>Chattanooga Observer</u>	1935-1966?
44. <u>Memphis Journal</u>	1936-1938
45. <u>Nashville Defender</u>	1938-1943
46. <u>Knoxville Enquirer</u>	?1939?
47. <u>Knoxville Monitor</u>	1944-1954
48. <u>Chattanooga Citizen</u>	1944+
49. <u>Chattanooga World</u>	
50. <u>Nashville Commentator</u>	1948-1971
51. <u>Nashville Yours</u>	1949
52. <u>Knoxville Voice</u>	1949

CHAPTER 6

DECLINE AND UNCERTAINTY: 1951-1980

The times have changed for the Memphis Tri-State Defender. For the first time the newspaper almost has an all-woman staff. The only male is the circulation manager. The staff is small. Community interest in the newspaper is down. The community, indeed the nation, seems no longer concerned about the affairs of blacks.

The times have changed, but the purpose of the Memphis Tri-State Defender remains the same. "We are still the defender of blacks," said Linda Dixon, editor of the newspaper. "The black press has always been limited by funds, but community interest will increase. People will get back to recognizing the black press" (Dixon, 1982).

The Setting

The world witnessed a reaching out and new stirrings within between 1951 and 1980. The reaching out was a space duel between the United States and Russia. Russia led the way with Sputnik I, a satellite launched in October 1957. The United States' satellite, Explorer I, was launched three months later.

In 1961 the Russians put a man in orbit around the earth. The United States matched the feat a year later. American

ingenuity paid off in July 1969 when two United States astronauts landed on the moon. During the remaining years of the period there were other moon landings, men and women set endurance records in space, and space probes studied other planets.

Humankind's reaching out to new horizons did not slow old problems on earth. In 1952 the hydrogen bomb was invented. The world, having seen the destruction of the atomic bomb, entered an age of nervous waiting, knowing that World War III could end all wars. For a decade or more this waiting focused on the Cold War between the United States and Russia. The two nations battled with words and came close to confrontation during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. By the end of the decade the two nations began a series of strategic arms limitation talks and the Cold War eased. Unrest was also seen in tension between Russia and China, in a series of wars in the Middle East and in the Vietnam War.

The Third World, formerly poor and powerless nations in Asia, Africa, Central America and South America, began to gain influence. During the 50's and 60's many colonial powers gave up their possessions. In 1957 Ghana became the first former African colony to join the United Nations. Others followed, gaining some degree of equality with other nations of the world. The new power of the Third World

became evident to many during the oil crisis of the 1970's. Suddenly industrial nations found themselves dependent on Arab, African and Central or South American oil.

The United States began the period by building to idealistically confront age-old problems. It ended the period with two setbacks that were unprecedented in United States history. One of the nation's proudest moments during the era was the moon landing, the culmination of a charge issued by President John Kennedy. In the early 60's the young President called on the nation to put a man on the moon by the end of the decade. In a sense the moon landing was the last remnant of the brave new world sought during the 60's.

The other part of that new world had been in human rights. The stage had been set for a new direction in 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools. By 1960, when Kennedy was elected to succeed Dwight Eisenhower as President, the nation was ready for a new spirit. The 60's were marked by a stormy but morally challenging civil rights movement that resulted in the nation taking steps to become a truly equal society. It was a decade of tremendous progress, but by the time Neil Armstrong stepped down on the moon, much of the nation's enthusiasm for space travel or civil rights had waned.

Idealism was being lost in violence. Assassins took the lives of President Kennedy, civil rights leader Martin

King, and presidential candidate Robert Kennedy, among others. College campuses were scenes of demonstrations. City ghettos erupted in riots. In place after place troops were called to bring order.

Most of all troops were called to Vietnam. France had given up the southeast Asian colony in 1954. In the late 50's the United States had begun sending advisers to help South Vietnam battle Communist North Vietnam. The war and the United States involvement escalated tremendously during the 60's. President Lyndon Johnson, Kennedy's successor, faced mass protests against his decisions to expand the war. Johnson was followed by Richard Nixon, who brought the troops home in 1972. It seemed the nation had neither won nor lost in Vietnam. The troops simply came home. If the moon landing was the greatest source of achievement during this period, Vietnam was the greatest source of moral defeat. At best, it was a source of ambivalence.

As Vietnam faded from the news, the nation learned more and more about the outgrowth of a small robbery that kept implicating people in the White House. In 1973 presidential counsel John Dean named President Nixon as a conspirator in a cover-up of the various crimes associated with Watergate. In 1974 Nixon became the first president to resign and it was in disgrace. His successor, Gerald Ford, gave him an "absolute pardon" (Newsweek, The Seventies, p. 30).

Ford was followed by Jimmy Carter, who came to office hoping to cure economic problems that had become the nation's prime concern. Carter's greatest success was in getting Egypt and Israel to sign a peace accord. His failure was in not improving the economy. His woes were compounded when, one year prior to reelection, Iranian militants seized about 50 United States citizens and kept them as hostages in Iran for over a year. It was another display of Third World power. As the period ended Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter and was elected to be the 40th president of the United States.

Black Americans saw the tide turning to a better day, beginning in 1948. President Truman made some civil rights proposals that were considered by Congress (Franklin, 1980, p. 461). He also created a major change by ordering the integration of the Armed Forces. The tide swelled when on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the land said that segregated public schools were illegal.

For a people who had felt impotent for so long, the swelling tide of change was pushed on when, in 1957, blacks in Montgomery, Alabama boycotted the city bus lines to protest treatment and seek black drivers. The boycott, an outgrowth of an unplanned protest by Rosa Parks and led by a Montgomery minister, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was a success. The powerless had found an economic weapon.

Blacks saw themselves as important internationally when Ghana was admitted to the United Nations in 1957. As other black nations followed, some white Americans realized that racial policies in this country would be scrutinized abroad.

The nonviolent protest of the Montgomery boycott was extended in February 1960 when four Greensboro, North Carolina college students refused to leave a lunch counter where they were denied service. Boycotts, sit-ins and marches spread throughout the nation, particularly throughout the South. Because the demonstrators frequently had an economic impact, city officials felt pressure to do something to end the protests. When officials retaliated with force, they often found themselves spotlighted in the mass media, appearing as insensitive forces of repression. They also found that they were not just battling black college students, but blacks of all ages as well as whites, particularly white college students and religious leaders.

The election of John F. Kennedy in 1960 showed blacks how important their votes could be. The election also gave blacks a sympathetic voice in the White House. The whole movement peaked on August 28, 1963. About 200,000 people marched on Washington that day. At the end of the long demonstration, Martin Luther King delivered a speech on his dream for America. Many other marches and protests followed in later months. Many laws were passed afterwards. A new

spirit in blacks was reflected in a second cultural renaissance during the 60's and early 70's, but most of what was achieved probably could be traced to the protests leading up to and including the march on Washington.

Three months after the march, President Kennedy was killed in Dallas; the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964; in 1965 Malcolm X was murdered, and Richard Nixon was elected president.

Nixon's plan for law and order provided a natural point of conflict for black radicals and many moderates. Conflict was heightened by the return of black soldiers from Vietnam. Blacks fought in the war in numbers disproportionate to their representation in the population (Franklin, 1980, p. 503) and many returned bitter about the war, further disillusioned about the country, some hooked on drugs, most unemployed.

As the 60's ended the black movement merged with, and was eventually diluted by, the Vietnam War protest, women's rights protest and various other protests, including concerns about the ecology. The nation turned to Watergate and the economy and further gains by blacks seemed stalled.

There had been progress, however. There were more blacks in colleges, more graduates, more who had a chance at better jobs, even though the total economic gap widened (Franklin, 1980, pp. 479-480). There was progress in politics. In 1973 there were 200 blacks in 37 state legislatures, a

black U.S. senator, and 15 U.S. representatives, including four women. Blacks were appointed to Presidential cabinets and to other ranking positions, but by 1980 there were signs that the nation was becoming more conservative. Strong opposition to school busing for desegregation, court decisions that tended to dampen the push for affirmative action, and the success of conservative politicians, such as Ronald Reagan, gave many blacks the impression that the tide of progress had come and gone.

Tennessee was controlled by the Democrats, or more specifically, Frank G. Clement, during much of the period. Clement was governor from 1953 to 1959 and from 1963 to 1967. Between Clement's terms, the governor was Clement's first campaign manager and secretary of agriculture, Buford Ellington. Ellington served from 1959 to 1963 and 1967 to 1971. Clement died in 1969.

While the state was electing Democrats for governor it regularly supported Republican presidential candidates. In 1971 Winfield Dunn, a Memphis dentist, became the third Republican governor of the century and the first in fifty years (Corlew, 1981, p. 589). A Democrat, Ray Blanton, was elected in 1975. His controversial pardoning of prisoners, including some convicted of murder, caused him to be relieved of office two days prior to the scheduled inauguration of his successor, Republican Lamar Alexander, who was sworn in

late on the night of January 18, 1979. Three days earlier Blanton had granted clemency to 52 inmates.

The problems of desegregation occupied headlines during much of this period. Clement and Ellington called for peaceful obedience to the law. John Kasper of New Jersey established himself as the leading agitator against desegregation. In spite of such efforts, Bobby Cain became the first Negro to graduate from an integrated public school in Tennessee, finishing Clinton High School in East Tennessee in 1957. The problems of public school desegregation continued throughout the period. The confrontation moved from violence at schools to arguments in courts.

The state's struggle with desegregation had national impact in several ways. The many college campuses, particularly in Nashville, provided a pool of protestors. Students from Fisk University, Tennessee State University and the American Baptist Theological Seminary led many local marches. Some of the students, such as John Lewis, Marion Barry and Diane Nash, went on to national prominence in the movement. The most negative impact on the state occurred toward the end of the movement. A garbage workers' strike in Memphis drew civil rights support, including a visit by Dr. Martin Luther King. During the visit he was murdered on the balcony of a Memphis motel.

The final area of importance in the state continued to be industrial development. A record year was 1960, with

162 new industries coming to the state. Between 1959 and 1960 nearly 40,000 jobs were created (Corlew, 1981, p. 521). In 1960 the state's urban population exceeded the rural population for the first time.

Black Tennesseans faced a tough racial climate at the beginning of the year. Corlew (1981) says,

. . . at mid-century, most Tennessee whites clung to the attitude that their fathers had taken towards blacks in 1900. Respect for Negro rights had not characterized the American people at the turn of the century, and Tennesseans were no exception. (p. 548)

Corlew pointed out that animosity by whites and lack of economic opportunity were factors in the continued decline in the proportion of blacks in the state's population—23.8 percent of the population in 1900 and 15.8 percent in 1970 (Corlew, 1981, p. 547).

The struggle for racial equality during this period touched blacks in all geographical areas and of all lifestyles. From the public school turmoil in Clinton, to voter registration drives in Fayette County, to lunch counter sit-ins in Nashville, the civil rights movement called on black people to show courage in uncertain times. Desegregation came slowly and bitterly. By the mid-60's a measure of success could be found in elected officials. A. W. Willis of Memphis was elected to the General Assembly in 1964. When he took office in 1965 he became the first black in the Assembly in over 75 years (Lamon, 1981, p. 109). Six other blacks were

elected to the legislature in 1966, including Dr. Dorothy Brown, the first black woman to serve in the Tennessee legislature. In 1974 Harold Ford of Memphis became the first black to represent Tennessee in the U.S. Congress. His election and subsequent reelections have been considered a display of strength by Memphis' black voters.

The Press

The press of the United States found a series of headaches during this period. Broadcast news became a primary source of news for many. After early attempts to suppress or limit broadcasting, newspaper editors learned to adjust their coverage to broadcast.

By the 60's newspaper circulation was not keeping pace with the growth in the population. The number of competing papers declined. Big city papers began losing subscribers to suburban dailies. The number of weeklies declined. The total number of dailies settled at about 1,750 (Emery, 1978, p. 436).

In addition to business problems, the press faced more criticism about its practices. One jolt came from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, chaired by Otto Kerner. After investigating the causes of racial riots, the Commission put part of the blame on the media. It said the media had failed to communicate the "complex and fundamental problem of race relations in America" (Kerner, 1977,

p. iii). The Commission urged the media to "portray the Negro as a matter of routine, . . . establish contracts with the black press and hire and promote black journalists" (Kerner, 1977, p. iii).

Early surveys of blacks working in the nation's press revealed that they totaled less than 1 percent. Many white editors hastily hired blacks in the late 60's. Some hired were former office assistants; some were recent college graduates; some were veterans of the black press. Ten years later surveys showed the press included about 1 percent blacks (Kerner, 1977, p. 25).

As the press tried to improve its hiring of minorities and women, it also faced criticisms about coverage of the Vietnam War and aspects of Watergate. In both of these cases the media had the problem of reporting the facts while the government lied. The public seemed to face the harsh truth by faulting the messenger. In many cases the press provided great public service in uncovering corruption that extended to the President and in giving a true picture of a far-away war. Often the opinion polls showed that the public responded by considering the press negative and sensational.

Changes in the hardware of the press also affected the news business during this period. In 1976 a jump in the cost of newsprint combined with labor problems and other expenses to slow or cancel some publications. The 70's brought a

revolution in printing methods. The cold type or offset method required expensive new equipment. Publishers had to retrain personnel and lay off others. The advantages were a new flexibility in printing, requiring fewer steps and less time to produce a paper.

The black press in the United States found that, to an extent, it was a victim of its own success. After more than a century of crusading for equality for Negroes, blacks began to gain equality and found less need for the black press. Emery and Emery (1978) say, "Not until the 1950s did the average American newspaper or magazine exhibit an understanding interest in the black 10 percent of citizens . . ." (p. 445). During the same time that white papers began printing news of blacks, the black press experienced a decline in circulation and a loss of newspapers (Mott, 1962, p. 821).

The problem of the black press was compounded by several factors. As the white press sought black reporters it turned to the black press, causing a talent drain. As integration took place, many Negroes were eager to disassociate themselves with the relics of segregation, including the black press. Advertisers, always scarce for the black press, found an alternate route to the black market by way of broadcasting.

The black press was not exempt from criticisms, although complaints differed somewhat from those directed to the white

press. E. Franklin Frazier (1957) was among those who called the press representative of the black bourgeoisie (p. 174). As the civil rights movement progressed many said the press was not militant enough. Others said papers, such as the Chicago Defender, were as guilty as the white press in presenting blacks as violent and as criminals, rather than showing a rounded view of black life. In 1963 Newsweek wrote of the decline of the black press under the title, "Victims of Negro Progress."

By the mid-60's the "Black Power" movement caused new life in the black press. During that period black was beautiful, including the black press. The flowering in the press was led by Muhammad Speaks, the organ of the Black Muslims, and the Black Panther, organ of the party by the same name. Both papers claimed circulations of over 100,000 (Emery and Emery, 1978, pp. 449-450). Both had the advantage of zealous party members who avidly sold the papers on street corners and at grocery stores in black communities. At its peak, Muhammad Speaks offered one of the best sections on news of the Third World. Many short-lived local papers sprouted during this period. The revival prompted a Time magazine article in 1967, "Playing It Cool."

The resurgence was not long lasting. Most of the radical newspapers ceased publishing by the 1970's. The black press experienced its own leveling off in number of papers, decline

in circulation and chain consolidations. The Sengstacke Newspaper group, headed by John H. Sengstacke (the nephew of Robert Abbott—see page 97) leads in publishing black papers. The chain includes the Chicago Defender, Michigan Chronicle, Memphis Tri-State Defender, and since 1966, its old rival, the New Pittsburgh Courier (Emery and Emery, 1978, p. 448). Many of the old national papers now only circulate regionally (Palmer, 1974, p. 174). Studies by LaBrie in the early 70's showed the number of newspapers at about 200.

The press of Tennessee was led by eight newspapers in the early 50's, according to Hugh Graham (1967). They were the morning and evening papers of the four largest cities: the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis Press Scimitar, Nashville Tennessean, Nashville Banner, Knoxville Journal, Knoxville News-Sentinel, Chattanooga Times and Chattanooga News-Free Press.

The Commercial Appeal was the only morning daily owned by the Scripps-Howard chain. It had the largest circulation of any paper in the state although much of its circulation was in Arkansas and Mississippi (Graham, 1967, p. 37).

The Tennessean had the largest circulation within the state. It was also the only one of the major papers to call itself Democratic. Of the Tennessean, Emery and Emery wrote:

Long known for its liberalism and stubborn fight against the conservative Nashville Banner, the paper developed by Silliman Evans, the Nashville Tennessean also won respect for its civil rights attitudes. The paper's

fortunes declined after Evans' death in 1955, but they rose again when his younger son Amon Carter Evans became publisher at age 29 in 1962. With liberal John Seigenthaler as editor, the Tennessean . . . resumed the local crusading for which the elder Evans was famous. (p. 475)

The Banner, long considered ultraconservative, became the first southern daily to hire a black person as a staffer. In 1951 Banner publisher James E. Stahlman had run a story that particularly infuriated blacks, and the paper's circulation in the black community suffered. To draw black readers the Banner decided to hire a black reporter, Robert Churchwell, who was recommended by attorney Coyness Ennix. Churchwell had drawn attention from his column in the Nashville Commentator (see Chapter 5) and from letters that he wrote to the Tennessean. The letters regularly won the paper's three-star rating, which carried with it a \$1.00 award and an invitation to an annual writer's banquet. Churchwell regularly got the dollar but was not invited to the banquets.

He was called the "Jackie Robinson of journalism" when he joined the Banner in 1951. At first he covered only black news; later he became education editor. Shortly after Churchwell was hired by the Banner, the Tennessean hired a black reporter, W. A. Reed. He is now religious editor for the paper. Other reporters have come and gone but the papers have seldom had more than two black staffers at a time. Churchwell retired in 1981 after 31 years with the Banner. He is currently a part-time writer for the Office of Public

Relations at Tennessee State University (Hance, 1981; Jordan, 1982). About 160 papers were printed in the state during this period. When the Supreme Court issued its school desegregation order of 1954 "the great majority of Tennessee newspapers neither endorsed nor denounced it" (Graham, 1967, p. 50). The Banner, the first paper to respond, had a front page editorial that afternoon calling for a calm appraisal. The Chattanooga News-Free Press was the largest paper to take immediate exception to the ruling (Graham, 1967, p. 50).

The Black Press of Tennessee

By the 1950's there were enough blacks working in journalism or related areas in Nashville to start a press organization. The Nashville Press Club formed in the late 50's with a membership composed of the public relations officers of the city's black colleges, as well as blacks working on newspapers. The Club had one major activity. It had a banquet naming its man and woman of the year and then it dissolved, recalled Robert Churchwell.

Black newspapers faced formidable problems during the period. Blacks had become accustomed to reading the daily papers. Those who wanted to keep abreast of news in the black community were more likely to turn to the national editions of the major black papers. The Pittsburgh Courier and Chicago Defender still circulated well, particularly

during the early part of the period. Some socially prominent black Nashvillians acted as correspondents for the papers to ensure that black society news from Nashville was carried by the national black press.

In spite of these distractions, at least 31 papers were printed for Tennessee's blacks during this period. Six of them were papers that had been started during the previous period. The stronger of this group continued to be the Nashville Globe, the Memphis World, the Knoxville Flashlight Herald and the Chattanooga Observer. The other two were the Knoxville Monitor and the Nashville Commentator. The 25 papers that were founded during the period are listed below.

1. 1950 Nashville Black Bulletin—The January 1950 issue of this paper was available in the State Archives.

2. 1950 Nashville Sun—Not to be confused with the Nashville Sun of the 1890's, this paper was an attractive, full-sized paper published in 1950 and 1951. Though it carried the Scott Newspaper slogan ("A Newspaper with a Constructive Policy") and subscribed to the Scott Newspaper Syndicate, the paper was published by the Central Southern Publishing Company, Inc., of 1509 Jefferson Street. Company president was Reverend F. D. Coleman, Sr.

According to his daughter, Dr. Jamye Coleman Williams, a newspaper had been discussed for years by her father and her brother, Dr. F. D. Coleman, Jr. The son organized the

newspaper in the father's latter years. Both father and son were ministers in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Reverend F. D. Coleman, Sr., had also been a printer for the Louisville Leader. Dr. Coleman was educated in Nashville at Pearl High School, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. He practiced medicine in Clarksville until his death in 1967. A successful medical practice enabled him to invest in several businesses as well as work actively in the church (Brown, 1976, pp. 41, 42).

Issues of the Nashville Sun on microfilm at the State Archives show that the paper had a good diversity of international, national, local, political and sports news. Front page stories in various issues focused on the state's pledge to abide by the Supreme Court ruling on school equality, the upgrading of Tennessee State College to a University and coverage of the United Nations. Photos and features from Scott Syndicate and the National Negro Press Association gave the paper a balanced look.

Early issues of the paper were edited by L. D. Williams with A. D. Brown acting as general manager. Brown was a presiding elder of the A. M. E. Church. Later the staff was composed of W. N. Daniel, editor; C. R. Williams, associate editor and Luther Carmichael, sports editor. Carmichael served in that capacity on several newspapers and was for a while sports information director at Tennessee State University. G. C. Jenkins was circulation manager

and columnists included Mrs. Jamye H. Coleman and Reverend Andrew White.

3. 1950's Clarksville Sun—Published during the 50's by Dr. F. D. Coleman, Jr., who also published the Nashville Sun.

4. 1951 Memphis Tri-State Defender—John H. Sengstacke, a graduate of Hampton Institute with a degree in business administration, had succeeded his uncle, Robert Abbott, and taken complete control of the Chicago Defender for about 11 years, when he decided to found the Memphis Tri-State Defender. According to a history in the Defender:

In the late 1940s, John Sengstacke . . . Charles Browning and Louis Martin came to Memphis after several requests for a Black newspaper to be started in the Memphis area.

After a survey of the community was conducted, the wish of the Black community in Memphis was fulfilled—the trio returned to Memphis in 1951 and the Tri-State Defender printed its first issue November 2, 1951, at its office at 546 Beale.

The account neglected to mention that the Memphis World had been published since 1931. Graham (1967) said,

Sengstacke was prompted to establish the Memphis Tri-State Defender less by an economic conviction that it could be made to pay its way than by an editorial conviction that the World was faulting in its role as spokesman for and mentor to Memphis' large Negro community. (Roots, p. 255)

Graham compared the two newspapers in some detail, noting that the competition between the two papers was unique to the black press in Tennessee. He said,

Only in Memphis was the Negro community large and interested enough to sustain a viable and competing Negro press. The two little Negro weeklies in Memphis are uniquely useful as evidence in a case study, for Memphis at mid-century represented the only civic arena in the nation wherein the two American Negro publishers, who as journalistic anchor-men most clearly represented the contending philosophies of accommodation and militancy, could do battle at close quarters for the allegiance of a single Negro community (Graham, 1967, p. 252).

In a sense the papers updated the "Booker T. versus W. E. B." philosophical debate. The World was conservative and compromising (see Chapter 5), while the Defender was aggressive, militant, uncompromising. When the World said "Equality Cannot be Granted, It Must Be Earned," the Defender responded, "We Want the Whole Loaf Now" (Graham, 1967, p. 257). As a part of the Sengstacke chain, the Tri-State Defender seems to have had a particular impact in relaying aspects of the southern civil rights movement to the rest of the nation by way of articles picked up by other Sengstacke papers.

In 1953 Ayer listed the publisher's estimate of circulation as 20,000. The next year the Audit Bureau of Circulations report for the paper was 4,423 paid circulation. Circulation seems to have peaked in the early 60's when the Post Office report was 24,000 (1963) and the ABC report was 6,321 (1961). Editor Dixon said the current circulation is about 15,000 (Dixon, 1982). As the Defender prospered during

the 60's and 70's, the World faltered and eventually ceased publishing.

Ayer usually listed the paper as nonpartisan, published on Saturdays with dimensions of eight columns, 24 ems and 305 agate lines. From its original Beale Street address offices were moved to 236 S. Wellington before moving to the current address at 124 East Calhoun Street.

The first editor of the paper was Louis O. Swingler, a man who was associated with several Memphis papers. Other editors who preceded Dixon were L. Alex Wilson, L. F. Palmer, Burleigh Hindes, Jr., Thaddeus Stokes, McCann L. Reid, Whittier Sengstacke, Norman Unger, James Parks, George Hardin, Michelle Wilson, Charles G. O'Bannon and Robert A. Sengstacke.

5. 1952 Knoxville Independent Call—Billed itself as "A monthly newspaper dedicated to the task of helping to make Knox County a better place to live." Issues of the paper from 1952 to 1961 are available in Beck Cultural Center. It was a full-sized, eight column paper that seemed to aggressively cover local news. It had good photographs and diverse sections. The December 1952 issue of the paper listed Reverend W. T. Crutcher as general chairman and C. L. Hyatte as vice chairman and editor. J. N. Manning directed advertising and circulation. Offices were listed as at 108½ West Vine Avenue.

6. 1954 Memphis Star Times—Founded in 1954, this paper appeared in Ayer through 1957. It was listed as a

nonpartisan paper published on Thursdays. Size was eight columns, 24 ems, 302 agate lines. Subscription was \$4.00. Lawrence S. Wade was editor of the paper which was owned by The Memphis Star Publishing Company. The address was 324 Hernando. In 1955 the circulation was estimated to be 7,000.

7. 1956 Murfreesboro News—Not to be confused with the Murfreesboro News of the 1870's, this paper was founded in 1956 and was listed in Ayer through 1966. It was a monthly, independent Democratic paper with dimensions of eight columns, 24 ems and 294 agate lines, subscription \$1.50. Pearl Wade was the editor and publisher and offices were at 121 Vine Street. Circulation was 750 in 1956 and 1,000 in 1958. U.S. Negro World for 1966 listed the paper's address as 514 South Highland Avenue and circulation 3,500.

8. 1960 Nashville City Examiner—This paper is listed by the State Archives as having been published in 1960. A copy of the paper available there was not well edited and seemed inclined toward social activities and features for women. The staff included Mrs. W. A. Mason, editor-publisher; W. G. Newton, production editor; Uriel Martin, production manager; W. N. Hendley, advertising manager; John C. Streaton, Jr., staff photographer; and W. A. Mason, staff artist.

9. 1960 Nashville News Star—The Archives lists issues of this paper for 1960 and 1961. It was clearly a

publication of the civil rights movement, and members of the staff were prominent in the local movement. They included William F. Perkins, an early editor; Reverend C. T. Vivian, a later editor who gained some national prominence in the movement; Clarence Lane, account executive; and John Copeland, circulation manager. For a time Reverend Andrew N. White was listed as executive director. News in the paper focused on the civil rights struggle. The August 12, 1960, issue headlined the continuing story of the boycotts in Fayette County.

10. 1962 Nashville 780 Countdown—Graham (1967) said of this paper,

Doomed, perhaps, as much by its improbable name as by severe economic realities, the 780 Countdown folded before the eschatological countdown had reached the halfway mark. (p. 252)

Founded in 1962, the paper was listed in Ayer through 1964 as an independent paper published on Mondays. Its size was five columns, 24 ems, 210 agate lines, subscription \$8.50. Lowell S. Lewis was editor, R. W. Powell publisher, offices at 1509 Jefferson Street.

11. 1963 Nashville Capital City Defender—The paper was published from 1963 to 1965, according to the State Archives.

12. 1964 Knoxville Times—Ayer listed this paper in 1965 and 1966 as being founded in 1964, an independent paper

published on Thursdays. It was five columns, 22 ems, 201 agate lines, subscription \$5.20 and the paper was owned by the Knoxville Times Publishing Company, P. O. Box 281, circulation estimated to be 2,495.

13. 1970's Nashville Mid-State Observer—The paper appeared in Nashville during the 70's. Sam Latham, who was affiliated with the paper, later started the Metropolitan.

14. 1973 Chattanooga Journal—Relying on a conversation with Maria Noel, the daughter of the publisher of the Journal, Pearson (1978) wrote:

The Chattanooga Journal was an attempt by local businessmen to restore a newspaper to the city's black community. The weekly was published about 1973-74, the Journal often focused attention on Chattanooga's minority business community. When maintaining production of the paper proved too time consuming, the businessmen decided to turn it over to another, younger staff. The articles became more opinionated than before, similar in nature to the articles in the Black Panther newspapers, remembered one reader. Both sales and advertising declined and the paper was discontinued. (p. 7)

15. 1973 Nashville Uplift—Printed from about 1973 to 1976, the paper was a tabloid. It leaned heavily on Tennessee State University news with a campus gossip reporter, Ronnie Poag, and a "Nashville Whispers" column by Bobby Jones. The December 2, 1976, issue lists the paper's address as 1038 21st Avenue North. An advertisement in the paper for J and H Printing Service gives the same address. The issue was a fairly neat presentation.

16. 1973 Nashville Independent Chronicle—The only trace of this paper was that LaBrie (1973) listed it as no longer being published.

17. 1974 Chattanooga Harambee—Pearson (1978) says this paper came to Chattanooga after the Journal. It had articles similar to the last issues of the Journal. It lasted about eight months.

18. 1974 Knoxville Keyana

19. 1974 Knoxville Keyana Spectrum

20. 1975 Knoxville Spectrum—The names of these three papers and their dates of publication suggest that they were related. The Beck Cultural Center has copies of the Keyana from August and September 1974, from the Keyana Spectrum from 1974 and 1975, and from the Spectrum for 1975. All three papers are listed by Deaderick among Knoxville papers (1976, p. 662).

21. 1975 Nashville Ebony Gazette—The State Archives has issues of this paper from October 9, 1975, through April 22, 1976.

22. 1976 Nashville Herald Examiner—The first issue of the paper declared in an editorial,

There is no viable black newspaper in Nashville and Middle Tennessee. It expired with the Nashville Globe Nevertheless, the Herald Examiner will not be marked R.I.P. We are, and will continue to be as long as there is a responsive and supportive black community. (p. 2)

The date was February 7, 1976.

A second editorial listed the paper's staff as treasurer and regional manager William H. Butler, Sr., president of the Murfreesboro NAACP and a high school history teacher; vice president and advertising William H. Butler, Jr., a Fisk graduate and instructor at Tennessee State University; associate editor and secretary Estelle Reese Butler-Aughtry, a Fisk graduate with a master's degree from Buffalo University; and editor and publisher, Robert J. Sye, a graduate of California State College at Los Angeles.

The paper started with more promise than most. Its staff seemed more journalistically inclined and the paper undertook serious investigations of problems that affect blacks. The first paper was a large, eight-column issue with front page articles on the financial problems of Fisk, the suspect's side in a controversial case in which a policeman was killed, and an examination of the numbers game.

By June the paper was a tabloid with a special issue on the church. The writing and editing were still sharp and many articles were written by Robert Sye. Apparently the paper faded during the year.

23. 1978 Chattanooga Radiance—Pearson (1978) says this paper was started around 1978 by Charles Jenkins, who had recently graduated from East Tennessee State University. It was a monthly tabloid which emphasized church news.

24. 1979 Nashville Metropolitan—A neat tabloid that grew out of the ashes of the Mid-State Observer, the

Metropolitan was started around 1979. It was first called the Metropolitan Weekly. Publisher Sam Latham experimented with typefaces and colors to produce a paper that would attract readers. It was distributed free for a period before subscriptions were taken. The paper continues at this writing.

25. 1979 Memphis Mid-South Express—Founded in about 1979 this paper also continues to be printed. In 1980 the paper listed a long staff, headed by Marion LaTroy Alexandri Williams, chairman of the board, founder and publisher. Business manager was Jimmy D. Williams. Offices were listed as 1425 Elvis Presley.

Summary of the Period

The most obvious conclusion is that the black press of Tennessee met a fate similar to the erosion in the national black press. The number of papers seemed to dwindle in the early 60's. There was an upsurge in the early 70's, but most of these papers were short-lived. Many of them were radical publications. Others were poorly conceived. The number of poorly planned newspapers during this period is particularly disappointing during this period because the educational, financial and business-training opportunities were available to allow for better newspapers. It was probably a reflection of the times that only three black

newspapers could be found which were being published in the state in 1980. There were two papers in Memphis, one in Nashville, and none in Chattanooga or Knoxville.

The editors of two of the three surviving papers offer some hope for a brighter future for journalism among blacks in Tennessee. Dixon, of the Memphis Tri-State Defender, said that she expects the black community to turn back to stronger support for black newspapers. Latham, of the Nashville Metropolitan, has sought to build a strong economic base for his paper by producing demographic studies of his audience and concentrating on securing large advertisers. He has also taken steps to produce a paper that would appeal to readers through its subject matter and appearance. Perhaps circumstances, as suggested by Dixon, and new approaches, as attempted by Latham, will lead to a more successful black press in Tennessee.

Table 6 is a chronology of the newspapers from 1951 through 1980.

TABLE 6
CHRONOLOGY OF NEWSPAPERS, 1951-1980

<u>Newspapers</u>	<u>Year</u>
<u>Nashville Globe</u>	1906-1960
<u>Knoxville Flashlight Herald</u>	1931-1964
<u>Memphis World</u>	1931-1976
<u>Chattanooga Observer</u>	1935-1966
<u>Knoxville Monitor</u>	1944-1954
<u>Nashville Commentator</u>	1948-1971
1. <u>Nashville Block Bulletin</u>	1950
2. <u>Nashville Sun</u>	1950-1951
3. <u>Clarksville Sun</u>	1950's
4. <u>Memphis Tri-State Defender</u>	1951- present
5. <u>Knoxville Independent Call</u>	1952-1961
6. <u>Memphis Star Times</u>	1954-1957
7. <u>Murfreesboro News</u>	1956-1966
8. <u>Nashville City Examiner</u>	1960
9. <u>Nashville News Star</u>	1960-1961
10. <u>Nashville 780 Countdown</u>	1962-1964
11. <u>Capital City Defender</u>	1963-1965
12. <u>Knoxville Times</u>	1964-1966
13. <u>Nashville Mid-State Observer</u>	1970's
14. <u>Chattanooga Journal</u>	1973-1974
15. <u>Nashville Uplift</u>	1973-1976

TABLE 6 (Cont'd)

Newspapers	Year
16. <u>Nashville Independent Chronicle</u>	1973?
17. <u>Chattanooga Harambee</u>	1974
18. <u>Knoxville Keyana</u>	1974
19. <u>Knoxville Keyana Spectrum</u>	1974-1975
20. <u>Knoxville Spectrum</u>	1975
21. <u>Nashville Ebony Gazette</u>	1975-1976
22. <u>Nashville Herald Examiner</u>	1976
23. <u>Chattanooga Radiance</u>	1978
24. <u>Nashville Metropolitan</u>	1979- present
25. <u>Memphis Mid-South Express</u>	1979- present

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Aggregate Totals for All Periods

At least 112 newspapers have been produced during the 115-year history of the black press in Tennessee. During the first two periods studied the state averaged about one new publication each year, with 35 papers founded during the 35-year period from 1865 through 1899. There were 52 papers started during the 51-year period from 1900 through 1950. The rate slowed somewhat as only 25 papers were started from 1951 through 1980, a 30-year period.

The press was not concentrated in one area, but spread well throughout the state's major cities. Eighty-seven of the 112 papers were based in one of the four largest cities, with 30 papers in Nashville, 24 in Memphis, 18 in Knoxville and 18 in Chattanooga. The findings suggest a special journalistic interest in East Tennessee, based on the longevity of its black newspapers, particularly in the earlier periods. Although that area trails in the size of its black population, it was well represented in the longevity and quality of publications. (See Figure 1.)

The average lifespan of black papers in Tennessee was shorter than the average of nine years set by Pride in his

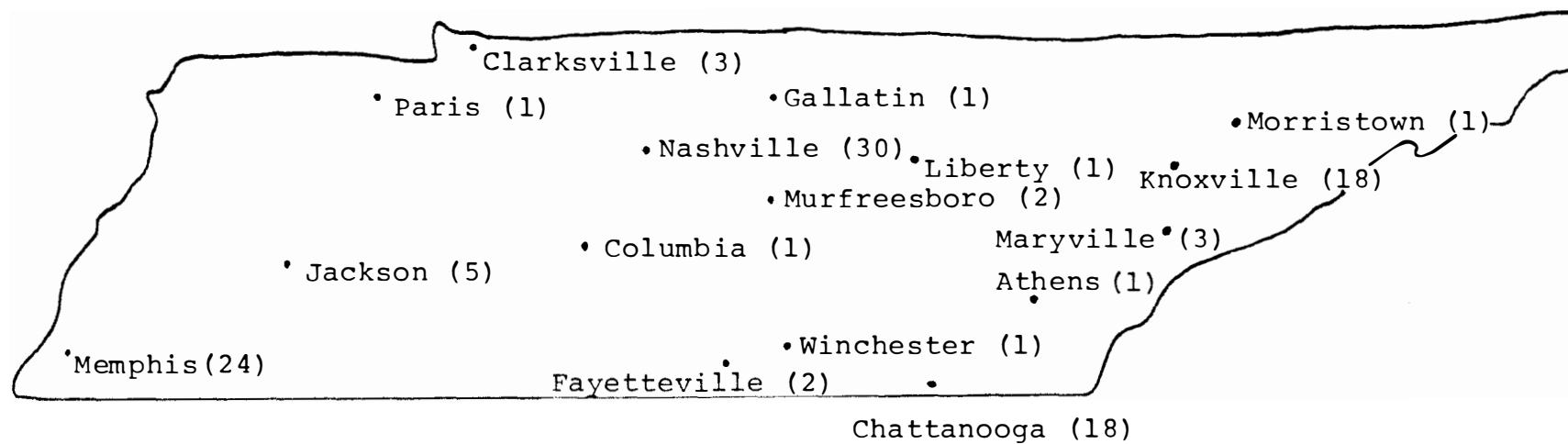


Figure 1. Distribution of Black Newspapers in Tennessee: 1865-1980.

1950 study of the national black press. The average life of a Tennessee paper was 3.9 years during the first period studied, 9.9 years during the second period and 6 years during the third period. The average for the 115 years is 7.4.

The breakdown of newspaper lifespan in the major cities offers additional information. The average life of newspapers was 8.4 years in Knoxville, 7.9 years in Memphis, 6.5 years in Nashville, 5.3 years in Chattanooga and 3.2 years in other cities. These tabulations should be regarded as estimates because of the difficulty in knowing the span of publication of each newspaper. A paper listed for one year is counted as having existed for only one year. Actually the paper might have existed for a few months or more than a year.

Why was the lifespan of papers so brief? Earlier the problem of insufficient financing was mentioned (see the Summary of Chapter 5). It would seem that there might have been too much competition among black papers in the larger cities. Several mergers and the battle between some papers, particularly between the Memphis Tri-State Defender and the Memphis World, suggest that at times there were more black papers trying to survive than the market could bear.

Between 1865 and 1899, six papers, or 17 percent of the total, lasted longer than nine years. Seventeen papers,

or 33 percent, started between 1900 and 1950 lasted for nine years or more. Only three papers, or 12 percent, of those started after 1951 lasted nine years or more. Papers with the records of longest existence, in order of length of existence, were the Chattanooga Defender (20), Memphis Colored Citizen (21), Nashville Commentator (23), Nashville Palladium (26), Memphis Tri-State Defender (29), Chattanooga Observer (31), Knoxville Flashlight Herald (32), Nashville Clarion (35), Memphis World (41), East Tennessee News (42), and Nashville Globe (54).

Longevity is not necessarily an indication of being a leading paper. Some of the papers with long existences were published sporadically over a long period. Some short-lived papers had more influence and were of good quality. The influential papers among the long lasting ones included the East Tennessee News, Nashville Globe and Memphis Tri-State Defender.

What other lessons can be learned about press survival? It should be noted that three of the lasting papers in Tennessee were more or less subsidized. The Nashville Globe, Memphis World and Memphis Tri-State Defender were all affiliated with printing agencies. The available information suggests that most other papers were independent ventures, sometimes carried on by a lone editor.

It is difficult to compare the press of Tennessee with the black press in other states. There is not sufficient

data in a comparable form. Considerations such as the years studied, the size of the state and the size of its black population must be made, but the Tennessee press does compare favorably in number of papers produced when considering information that is available. Slavens (1969) found 64 papers in Missouri published from 1875 to 1969. Grose found that there were 118 papers in Texas between 1868 and 1970. Pride's list of 108 Tennessee papers (including special interest publications) places the state ninth in a list of 49 states. Eight of the states had no black press. A comparison of the findings of Slavens, Grose, and Pride with this study suggests that the number of black papers in Tennessee was slightly higher than would be expected when comparing the black population of Tennessee to black populations of other states.

Overall Conclusions

This study has primarily shown that there has been a viable black press in Tennessee. The number of papers produced during the century demonstrates that this was not a sporadic press. The distribution of papers throughout the state furthermore proves that the black press of Tennessee was not limited to one or two cities. It was a varied press in style, quality and editorial stance. The Memphis papers, the Tri-State Defender and the World, represented a direct

battle of philosophies: the former more militant, the latter, conservative. Other papers represented philosophical leanings toward the ideas of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, or others.

The black press performed a vital role in the state's history. Broadly, the press provided orientation and socialization for black Tennesseans. It oriented citizens to issues affecting blacks and often was in the forefront of seeking solutions. Examples are the Chattanooga Blade's protest against segregation (p. 74) and the Nashville Globe's drive to establish a black state-supported college (p. 92). It performed a socialization function through its features on conduct, and emphasis on black heroes. The press provided a major service in simply presenting information that the white press wouldn't carry. Announcements of church and social news were a big part of the press which helped build a sense of community among blacks. Perhaps this sense was most evident during the Civil Rights movement when the black press was the voice of civil rights groups. Through the press blacks were informed about plans and the struggles of blacks in other communities. Moreover, throughout its history the black press served as a means by which the white community could see into the black soul. Responses from white papers show that the black press was read by whites.

What of the future? Efforts by Robert Churchwell, W. A. Reed and others have helped to get black news in the

daily press. The integration of most institutions offers a means for blacks and whites to articulate directly. Yet the comments by Dixon (p. 128) indicate that there is still a role for the black press. This history bears her out. As long as there are black communities, such a forum is needed. There should be a vehicle to look into the souls of black folks, to express their longings. The growth of large city dailies has spawned a market for community papers. It can be seen in this research that many black communities have been well served, and can continue to be served by a black press.

Four purposes were set forth in the beginning of this study. They were to present a chronology of the press, to locate extant copies, to provide information on the individual papers and to examine the setting in which they operated. Further studies could be made on each point. No doubt papers have been omitted and indefinite dates can be corrected in the chronology. The list of extant papers should be a reminder to search for and preserve other papers. The list could also be used to start a collection of samples of the black press in Tennessee. Using the brief outlines here, studies could be made on the individual papers or on shorter periods. Studies on the Nashville Globe, Chattanooga Observer, and East Tennessee News, or on the papers published between 1900 and 1910, would be particularly useful. Finally, locating other papers and further study of papers could tell more about the effect the press had.

Generally this paper was intended to fill a void. That has been done. It is hoped that when the press of Tennessee is considered, along with the Ochses, Evanses and Stahlmans, there will be some remembrance of the contributions of William B. Scott, Ida Wells-Barnett, Webster Porter, L. D. Williams, Henry Boyd, Louis Swingler and others. They struggled under greater difficulty, but with no less fervor.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INFORMATION ON TENNESSEE'S BLACK NEWSPAPERS

TABLE 7
 DIRECTORY OF TENNESSEE'S BLACK NEWSPAPERS

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Athens	<u>Watchman</u>	1891-1895			Pride (1950)
Chattanooga	<u>Blade</u>	1898-1916			Lord & Thomas (1902) Ayer (1910, 1914, 1916) Lamon (1977)
	<u>Citizen</u>	1947			Oak (1948) Pride (1950)
	<u>Colored Citizen</u>	1908-1911			Pride (1950) Ayer (1910)
	<u>Defender</u>	1917-1937			Ayer (1919, 1936) Pride (1950)
	<u>Freeman</u>	1896-1897			Pride (1950)
	<u>Harambee</u>	1974			Pearson (1978)
	<u>Independent Tribune</u>	1886			Ayer (1886) Pride (1950)
	<u>Industrial Search- light</u>	1899-1903			Pride (1950) Lord & Thomas (1902)
	<u>Journal</u>	1973-1974			Pearson (1978)
	<u>Justice^a</u>	1887 1887			Campbell (1978) Dann (1971)
			Dec. 24, 1887	Waltham (Mass.) Lib.	

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
(Chattanooga, continued)				Harvard Univ. Lib. Univ. of Tenn.	Pride (1950) (1953) Gregory (1937) Union List (1937)
	<u>Sun</u>	1913-1915			Pride (1950)
	<u>National Democracy</u>	1918-1921			Pride (1950) Ayer (1921)
	<u>Observer</u> (1)	1890-1895			Rowell (1890) Pride (1950)
	<u>Observer</u> (2) ^a	1927-1966	1927. . .1966 1927. . .1962	Tenn. St. Univ. State Archives	Archives (1978) Ayer (1935)...1952) Pride (1950) LaBrie (1973a) Oak (1948) Working Press (1966-67)
	<u>Radiance</u>	1978			Pearson (1978)
	<u>Southern American</u>	1884-1887			Pride (1950) Pearson (1978)
	<u>Tribune</u>	1928-1931			Ayer (1931)
	<u>World</u>				Archives
	<u>News Herald</u>	1913-1917			Pride (1950)
Clarksville	<u>Negro Index</u>	1901-1903			Pride (1950)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Clarksville, continued	<u>Sun</u> ^a	1950's			Archives S. Williams (1976)
Columbia	<u>Headlight</u>	1893-1895			Pride (1950)
Fayetteville	<u>Advocate</u>	1900-1905			Pride (1950) Lord & Thomas (1902)
	<u>Rising Sun</u>	1895-1899			Pride (1950)
Gallatin	<u>Major</u>	1905-1914			Pride (1950)
Jackson	<u>Afro-American Sentinel</u> ^a	1890	Oct. 11, 1890	Archives	Campbell (1978) Archives (1978)
	<u>Afro-American Standard</u>	1903-1906			Pride (1950)
	<u>Gazette</u>	1910-1912			Pride (1950)
	<u>Headlight</u>	1899-1900	Jan. 27, 1900	Wash. Univ. Lib. Lib. of Congress	Pride (1950) Campbell (1978) Pride (1953)
	<u>News</u>	1906-1907			Pride (1950)
Knoxville	<u>East Tennessee News</u> ^a	1906-1948	July 23, 1914 Mar. 23, 1922 Apr. 9, 1925 Apr. 26, 1928	Beck Cultural Center	Ayer (1914...1948) Campbell (1978) Detweiler (1922) Gore (1922)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Knoxville (continued)			Dec. 26, 1928		Lamon (1977)
			Nov. 29, 1934		Oak (1948)
			Aug. 22, 1935		Pride (1950)
			Dec. 17, 1936		Gregory (1951)
			Dec. 14, 1912	University of Tenn.	
			Apr. 29, 1926		
			May 19, 1932		
			Feb. 1, 1934		
			Nov. 29, 1934		
			Dec. 20, 1934		
	<u>Enquirer</u>	?1939?	Nov. 30, 1939	Beck Cultural Center	
	<u>Examiner</u> ^a	1878	June 29, 1878	Lawson-McGhee Lib. (Knoxville)	Lawson-McGhee Lib.
	<u>Flashlight Herald</u> ^a	1931-1963+	Jul. 24, 1937	Beck Cultural Center	Ayer (1937...1960)
			Jan. 12, 1963		Oak (1948)
			Jan. 25, 1964		Pride (1950)
					U.S. Negro World (1966)
	<u>Gleanor</u>	1891-1900			Pride (1950)
	<u>Herald</u> ^a	1927-1935	May 30, 1929	Beck Cultural Center	Ayer (1931...1935) Pride (1950)
	<u>Independent Call</u> ^a	1952-1961	Nov. 1952	Beck Cultural Center	
			Dec. 1952		
			Mar. 21, 1953		
			May 30, 1953		
			Jun. 6, 1953		

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Knoxville, continued			Jul. 11, 1953 Aug. 8, 1953 Jan. 30, 1954 Jul. 26, 1958 Aug. 2, 1958 Jun. 17, 1961		
	<u>Keyana</u>	1974	Aug. 1, 1974 through Sept. 5, 1974 (six issues)	Beck Cultural Center	
	<u>Keyana Spectrum</u>	1974-1975	1974 and 1975 (13 issues)	Beck Cultural Center	
	<u>Messenger</u>	1908-1910			Pride (1950)
	<u>Monitor</u>	1944-1954			Ayer (1947...1954) Oak (1948) Pride (1950)
	<u>Negro World</u>	1887-1892	Feb. 28, 1891 Nov. 26, 1887 Feb. 3, 1888 Feb. 28, 1891	University of Tenn. Wash. Univ. Lib. Univ. Ill, Urbana Western Reserve His. Soc.	Campbell (1978) Gore (1922) Pride (1950) Pride (1953) Rowell (1890)
			Oct. 15, 1887 Nov. 26, 1887	Lawson-McGhee Lib. Knoxville	Union List (1937)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Resource(s)
Knoxville, continued	<u>New South</u>	1887-1895			Pride (1950)
	<u>Public Guide</u> ^a	1934-1938	Nov. 8, 1934 Oct. 31, 1935 Jul. 22, 1938	Beck Cultural Center	Pride (1950)
	<u>Review</u>	1904-1910			Ayer (1910) Pride (1950)
	<u>Spectrum</u>	1975	1975 (5 issues)	Beck Cultural Center	
	<u>Times</u>	1964-1966			Ayer (1965, 1966) LaBrie (1973a)
	<u>Voice</u>	1949	Nov. 12, 1949	Beck Cultural Center	
Liberty	<u>Afro-American</u>	1899-1902			Lord and Thomas
Maryville	<u>Blount County Democrat</u> ^a	1879-1882	Mar. 17, 1880 July 31, 1879 Aug. 12, 1887 Oct. 26, 1887	Chattanooga Pub. Lib. University of Tenn. Lawson-McGhee Lib., Knoxville Lawson-McGhee Lib., Knoxville	Aldine's (1882) Pride (1950) Gregory (1937)
	<u>Republican</u> ^a	1867-1877	Dec. 6, 1873 Nov. 2, 1867 June 27, 1868 Apr. 4 & 25, 1874, May 2 & 30, 1874	Library of Congress Lawson-McGhee Lib., Knoxville	Dann (1971) Pride (1950) Pride (1953) Rowells (1869)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspapers	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Maryville	<u>Republican</u> (cont'd)		Aug. 1 & 15, 1874	University of Tenn.	
			Feb. 15, 1875		
			Mar. 6, 1875		
			Nov. 6, 1867		
			May 2, 1874		
			Apr. 4, 1874		
			Oct. 27, 1877		
			+		
			Oct. 7, 1876		
			Date(s) not given		
	<u>Democrat</u> ^a	1878	Jul. 31, 1879	Lawson-McGhee Lib., Knoxville	
			Mar. 7, 1880		
			Aug. 12, 1882		
			Oct. 26, 1882		
			Mar. 17, 1880		
			Mar. 17, 1880		
			May 15, 1878		
			Jun. 1, 1878		
			Jun. 26, 1876		
Memphis	<u>Afro-American</u>	1895			Calvacade
	<u>Bluff City News</u>	1902-1920			Ayer (1910...1920) Gore (1922) Pride (1950)
	<u>Colored Citizen</u>	1900-1921			Ayer (1910...1921) LaBrie (1973 ^a)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspapers	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Memphis, continued					Lord & Thomas (1902) Pride (1950)
	<u>Dublin Weekly Bulletin</u>	1920-1922			Pride (1950)
	<u>Free Speech and Headlight</u>				Bontemps (1945) Duster (1970) Pride (1950) Rowell (1890) Wolseley (1971)
	<u>Head and Hand</u>	?1902?			Lord & Thomas (1902)
	<u>Headlight</u>	1886-1888			Pride (1950)
	<u>Index</u>	1923-1936			Ayer (1931, 1932) Pride (1950)
	<u>Journal</u>	1936-1938			Pride (1950)
	<u>Mid-South Express</u>	1979-present			viewed recent copy
	<u>Mid-Weekly Progress</u>	1905-1910			Pride (1950)
	<u>Moon</u>	1906			DuBois (1968) Tucker (1971)
	<u>Record</u>	1920-1922			Pride (1950)
	<u>Outlook</u>	1902-1906+1920's			Pride (1950) Thornbrough (1972)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Memphis, continued	<u>Scimitar</u>	1898-1900			Pride (1950)
	<u>Signal</u>	1901-1916			Pride (1950)
	<u>Star Times</u>	1954-1957			Ayer (1955, 1956)
	<u>Sun</u>	1913			Tucker (1971)
	<u>Times</u>	1918-1937			Ayer (1922...1936) Gore (1922) Pride (1950)
	<u>Triangle</u>	1930-1932			Lamon (1977) Pride (1950)
	<u>Tri-State Defender</u> ^a	1951-present	1951-present Jun. 12, 1965+ Nov. 1951-1969 Oct. 3, 1970	Archives Center for Research Library Memphis St. Univ. Library Library of Congress	Ayer (1951...present) Graham (1957) LaBrie (1975 ^a) U.S. Negro World (1966, 1967)
	<u>Tri-State Tribune</u>	1930-1932			Pride (1950)
	<u>Weekly Planet</u>	1872			Pride (1950) Rowells (1876)
	<u>World</u> ^a	1931-1972	Jul. 26, 1931	Memphis St. Univ. Lib.	Ayer (1942-1970) Graham (1967) LaBrie (1973 ^a)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Memphis, continued					Pride (195)) U.S. Negro World (1966, 1967) Working Press (1969)
Morristown	<u>Reporter</u>	1920-1921			Pride (1950)
Murfreesboro	<u>News</u>	1956-1966			Ayer (1956...1966) LaBrie (1973a)
	<u>Union</u>	1920-1932			Detweiler (1922) Pride (1950)
Nashville	<u>Block Bulletin</u> ^a	1950	Jan. 1950	Archives	
	<u>Capital City Defender</u> ^a	1963-1965			LaBrie (1973 ^a) Archives
	<u>Citizen</u>	1893-1905			Ayer (1898, 1899) Pride (1950)
	<u>City Examiner</u> ^a	1960			Archives
	<u>Clarion</u> ^a	1902-1937			Archives Ayer (1910...1936) Gore (1922) Lamon (1977) Pride (1950)
	<u>Colored Tennessean</u>	1865-1867	Oct. 7-14, 1865	N. Y. Historical Soc. Lib.	Dann (1971) Gore (1922)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Nashville, continued			Aug. 12, 1865	Wash. Univ. Lib.	Pride (1950)
			Jul. 18, 1866		Gregory (1937)
			Oct. 7, 1865	Library of Congress	
			Oct. 14, 1865		
			Mar. 24, 1866		
			Mar. 24, 31, 1866	Boston Athenaeum	
			Jul. 18, 1867		
			Date(s) Not Given	Harvard Univ. Lib.	
			Aug. 12, 1865	Univ. Tenn. and Archives	
	<u>Commentator</u> ^a	1948-1971			Archives Ayer (1956...1966) LaBrie (1973 ^a) U.S. Negro World (1966, 1967)
	<u>Corner Stone</u>	1881-1892			Pride (1950)
	<u>Defender</u> ^a	1938-1943	May 5, 1938	Archives	Pride (1950)
	<u>Ebony Gazette</u>	1975-1976	Oct. 9, 1975 through Apr. 22, 1976	Archives	
	<u>Emigration Herald</u>	1879			Taylor (1941)
	<u>Free Lance</u>	1885-1887			Ayer (1886, 1887) Pride (1950)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Nashville, continued	<u>Herald Examiner</u> ^a	1976	Feb. 7, 1976		Personal copy
	<u>Herald and Pilot</u>	1879			Taylor (1941)
	<u>Globe</u> ^a	1906-1960	1906-1960 1935	Archives Tenn. St. Univ. Fisk Univ.	Ayer (1914...1957) Gore (1922) Graham (1967) Lamon (1977) Lamon (1981) Pearson (1978) Pride (1950) Gregory (1937) U.S. Negro World (1967)
			Apr. 13, 20, 1945	Library of Congress	
	<u>Independent</u> ^a	1929-1938	June 1931	Archives	Pride (1950) U.S. Negro World (1967)
	<u>Independent Chronicle</u>				LaBrie (1973 ^a)
	<u>Metropolitan</u> ^a	1979-present			Personal copies
	<u>Mid-State Observer</u> ^a	1970's			Personal copies
	<u>News</u>	1914-1918			Ayer (1916, 1917) Pride (1950)
	<u>News Star</u>	1960-1961	Aug. 12, 1960	Archives	
	<u>Palladium</u>	1883-1909			Ayer (1898, 1899) Pride (1950)

TABLE 7 (Cont'd)

City	Newspaper	Dates of Existence	Extant Copies*	Locations	Source(s)
Nashville, continued	<u>Tennessee Star</u>	1886-1891	Nov. 25, 1887	Library of Congress Lawson-McGhee Lib., Knoxville Wash. Univ. Lib. Harvard Univ. Lib.	Ayer (1887) Campbell (1978) Pride (1950) Gregory (1937)
			Date(s) Not Given		
	<u>780 Countdown</u>	1962-1964			Ayer (1963, 1964) Graham (1967) Pearson (1978)
	<u>Sun</u>	1950-1951			McClellan (1978)
	<u>Tribune</u>	1912-1913			Pride (1950)
	<u>Uplift</u> ^a	1973-1976	Dec. 2, 1976		Personal copy
	<u>Weekly Pilot</u>	1878 or 1879			Taylor (1941) Pride (1950)
	<u>Yours</u>	1949			Churchwell (1982)
	<u>World</u> ^a	1932-1938	Jun. 4, 1935	Archives	Ayer (1934...1938) Pride (1950)
Paris	<u>Headlight</u>	1909-1911			Pride (1950)
Winchester	<u>Negro Enterprise</u>	1899-1900			Pride (1950)

*Extant copies include those on microfilm.

^aPapers viewed by the author.

Dates of Existences are as exact as can be determined. Full name and addresses of libraries are in Appendix E. Full listings of sources are in the Bibliography. 112 papers are listed.

APPENDIX B

TBMEC SURVEY LETTER

June 30, 1980

I obtained your name from the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention office. Their mailing list represents Tennesseans who are knowledgeable of and interested in communities throughout the state. I am particularly aware of the spirit of TBMEC members because my father, Rev. Charles H. Fitzgerald, was TBMEC executive secretary for several years prior to his death.

I need your help in getting information for a report I am writing in school. It is on the black press of Tennessee. There is no collected history on black newspapers in this state, although there have been black newspapers in Tennessee as far back as 1865. I want to write the history of the state's black press as part of my Ph.D. study at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville.

By black newspapers I mean general circulation newspapers by and for black people. I do not mean school, church or club newspapers. The newspapers that I am studying could have been published weekly, daily monthly or at any interval at any time in the state's history.

You can help me even if you have no special interest in black newspapers. Here's what I need to know:

1. Please name any black newspapers that you know of that are now printed or were ever printed in Tennessee.
2. Please give the address or name of anyone who is or ever was the editor or publisher of any black newspapers that you know of in Tennessee.
3. Please suggest anyone else (an avid reader, librarian, historian, educator, etc.) who might have information on black newspapers in Tennessee.

I am sending you an answer sheet and stamped envelope. Please return them within a week of receiving them. Feel free to include your name on the answer sheet and make additional comments. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Karen Fitzgerald Brown
Karen Fitzgerald Brown
Phone 615-2278604

APPENDIX C

TBMEC SURVEY ANSWER SHEET

The Black Press of Tennessee

1. Names of newspapers printed now or in the past in Tennessee

2. Addresses of newspapers or names of those who worked with black newspapers in Tennessee

3. Names of others who might know about black newspapers in Tennessee (please include their job titles, addresses or phone numbers if possible)

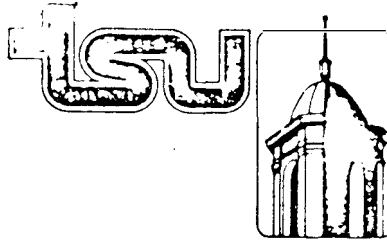
Additional comments

Thank you for answering. Feel free to include additional comments on the back. Please return this sheet in the stamped envelope or mail it to:

Mrs. Karen F. Brown
611 Youngs Lane
Nashville, Tennessee 37207

APPENDIX D

LIBRARY SURVEY LETTER



Arts and Sciences
Tennessee State University
Nashville, TN 37203

Department of Communication

November 28, 1980

Dear Madam or Sir:

As part of my doctoral research I am seeking extant copies of newspapers from the black press of Tennessee. I would appreciate it if you would help me in three ways.

First, would you tell me the names and issues of any black, Tennessee, general circulation newspapers in your library?

Second, would you suggest other sources that are likely to have black Tennessee newspapers? My dissertation includes any past or present newspapers.

I hope to be able to examine extant copies of papers. Could you, therefore, tell me about your policies on obtaining photocopies of any papers that you have, and your policies on visiting the library for research?

Any assistance that you give will be very deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Karen F. Brown,
Instructor of Communication
Phone 615-320-3377, 320-3500
or collect 615-227-8604

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONS CONTACTED FOR EXTANT COPIES
OF BLACK TENNESSEE NEWSPAPERS

Institution	Date of Response	Response
1.American Antiquarian Society 185 Salisbury Street Worcester, Mass. 01609	12/8/80	Cut-off date for Tenn. holdings is 1876; no black newspapers from Tenn.
2.American Newspaper Publishers Association Library Post Office Box 17407 Dulles International Airport Washington, D.C. 20041	4/24/80	Nothing on Tenn. press; suggested four books on the U.S. black press
3.American Newspaper Publishers Association Research Library Easton, Pa. 18042		
4.Beck Cultural Center 1927 Dandridge Avenue Knoxville, Tenn. 37915	12/9/80	Nine papers are on file at Beck. Issues available were listed. See Appendix A
5.Bell and Howell Company MicroPhoto Division Drawer E, Old Mansfield Road Wooster, Ohio 44691	12/15/80	Letter and catalog sheet of microfilm of black newspapers None from Tennessee
6.Birmingham Public Library 2020 7th Avenue N. Birmingham, Ala. 35202	No response	
7. Boston Public Library Copley Square Boston, Mass. 02117	No response	
8.Center for Research Libraries 5721 Cottage Grove Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60637	12/29/80	Extensive info on use of library. Holdings include Mem. Defender and 19 other papers.
9.Chicago Historical Society Library North Avenue and Clark Street Chicago, Ill. 60614	1/3/81	Few Tenn. papers, not identified as black. Suggested several directories

22. North Carolina Department of Archives and History
Division of Archives and Records Management
Box 1881
Raleigh, N.C. 27602 1/2/81 No papers; suggested bibliography
23. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
103 W. 135th Street
New York, New York 10030 No response
24. Southern Illinois University Edwardsville Campus
Lovejoy Library
Edwardsville, Ill. 62025 1/29/81 No black papers of Tenn.
25. State Historical Society of Missouri
Hitt and Lowry Streets
Columbia, Missouri 65201 12/8/80 No black papers of Tenn.; suggested several sources
26. State Historical Society of Wisconsin
816 State Street
Madison, Wis. 53706 12/17/80 Offer a publication which is to be purchased
27. Tacoma Public Library
1102 Tacoma Avenue
Tacoma, Washington 98402 No response
28. University of Minnesota Journalism Library
121 Murphy Hall
School of Journalism
Minneapolis, Ms. 55455 No response
29. University of Missouri Journalism Library
117 Walter Williams Hall
Columbia, Mo. 65201 12/9/80 Some Tenn. papers; none black
30. University of Washington Libraries
Manuscript Collection
Seattle, Wash. 98105 12/9/80 No black Tenn. papers; suggested other sources
31. Washington University
John M. Olin Library
St. Louis, Mo. 63130 12/17/80 They have papers listed in Pride's Negro Newspapers on Microfilm; matches Lib. of Con

32, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center Request acknowledged;
Howard University 5/12/80
Washington, D.C. 20059

In addition to the above, contact has been made at the University
of Tennessee-Knoxville, Fisk University and Tennessee State University

VITA

Karen Lavette Fitzgerald Brown, the daughter of Reverend and Mrs. Charles H. Fitzgerald, was born in Nashville, Tennessee. She attended Haynes School and graduated, in 1969, from Maplewood High School in Nashville. In 1971 she received the Bachelor of Art degree in journalism from Michigan State University.

She was an intern reporter for the Nashville Banner in the summers of 1969 and 1970. Upon graduation she was employed as resource information officer for the Heart of Georgia Community Action Council in Eastman, Georgia; editor of the Warner Robbins Enterprise, and in 1973, reporter for the Macon News.

She entered Tennessee State University in 1975 and earned the Master of Science degree in Speech Communication a year later. In 1978 she entered The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and was a Bickel Fellow. She received the Doctor of Philosophy with a major in Communications in August 1982.

Since 1976 she has been on the faculty at Tennessee State University and is currently assistant professor of Communication. She is a member of the Association of Educators in Journalism.

She is married to Tony Brown and has three children.