

CHARLES H. JONES, 1848-1913: EDITOR AND PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT

By

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From 1869 until 1897 Charles H. Jones was, with few interruptions, editing one or more periodical publications. Between 1868 and 1907 he wrote or edited more than a dozen books and many magazine articles. In addition to this he carried on a wide correspondence with personal friends, relatives, and political or business associates. As a result the present-day researcher is confronted with a formidable amount of published and unpublished information relating to his life and career.

I am indebted to many individuals and institutions for their help in locating and making available these materials. I also owe a debt of thanks to the people who gave advice and encouragement in the preparation of this study. Mrs. Carl G. Freeman, Bat Cave, North Carolina, granddaughter of Charles H. Jones, graciously permitted me to use the Charles H. Jones Papers which are in her possession. Mr. Richard A. Martin of Jacksonville made available Xerox copies of most of the material in the Jones Papers and helped to initiate this project. Professor Julian Rammelkamp of Albion College pointed out several sources relating to Jones' career in Missouri journalism and offered many suggestions relating to interpretation.

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The present study is an examination of the life and career of Charles H. Jones. Born in Talbotton, Georgia, before the Civil War, Jones went to New York after the end of that conflict in 1865. He became a contributor to several popular magazines, editor of the Eclectic and co-editor of Appleton's Journal, and a writer and editor for D. Appleton Company and Henry Holt. He came to Florida in 1881 and established the Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, merging it with the Jacksonville Daily Florida Union in 1883 to form the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union. He was active in state and national politics and also took part in the formation of the National Editorial Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association. In 1887 he became part-owner and editor of the St. Louis Republic. He left the Republic in 1893, becoming editor of the New York World, and then, from 1895 to 1897, the editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. During this time he remained active in politics, both on the state and national levels. He drafted the Democratic platforms of 1892, 1896, and

1900. He was a correspondent of both Grover Cleveland and William Jennings Bryan.

This study is based on the publications written or edited by Jones, other contemporary publications, and considerable manuscript material, including the Charles H. Jones papers.

This study examines Jones' involvement in the intellectual, social, political, and business questions of the second half of the 19th century. It is particularly concerned with newspaper history, partisan politics, and major political issues.

CHAPTER I

A GEORGIA BOY ON PARK ROW

The town of Talbotton lies northeast of Columbus in the clay hills of Georgia. In antebellum days it was a small but bright and prosperous community of well kept homes surrounded by vegetable and flower gardens. Being the county seat and the only town in the area it was a center of social life and education. It was there that Charles Henry Jones was born on March 7, 1848. His mother Susan Eleanor Jones was the daughter of Stephen Greene, a cousin of General Nathanael Greene, of Revolutionary War fame, and a cotton buyer in Savannah for a New England mill. Charles's father was George Washington Jones, son of a Delaware farmer, who was a dentist and part-time physician for a health resort at nearby Warm Springs. George W. Jones was a dark and laconic man, aloof from his children and rigid in his ideas about family order.¹ He had come to Savannah where he met and married his wife. Later he moved to Albany, where his first son James was born. In 1884 the family moved to Talbotton where a daughter Mary was born, followed by Charles, a daughter Sidonia, and another son George.²

Susan Jones was a serious, diminutive woman of such poor health that she was confined to her home for many years of Charles Jones's childhood. She was intelligent and cultivated.

and was very active in the local Episcopal church. Of her Jones would later write: "She was in many respects the most remarkable woman I have known, and she was so much to me that it is hard for me to analyze or discriminate. She trained my mind and moulded my character. To her more than to all other human beings, more than to all other influences combined, I am indebted for what I am, for what I have been, and for what I have done in the world."³

According to Jones's account of his education, he learned to point out the twenty-six letters of the alphabet in his father's prayer book before he could speak, and by the age of four he was studying geography, arithmetic, grammar, and history. Part of his lessons involved recitation of long passages memorized verbatim from the text of school books. His mother demanded that he master these lessons with perfection, seldom offering encouragement or praise. At an age when most children are just beginning to learn to read, he had a tutor, first for Latin and then Greek. At the age of eleven he was enrolled as a day student at Collingsworth Institute, a boarding school for boys located in Talbotton. Because of the thorough education that he had received at home the teachers at Collingsworth set up a special course for him and one other advanced student. Despite the demands of his studies, Jones used his spare time to read every book that he could borrow. Sir Walter Scott was the popular southern poet and novelist of that day, but Jones also read Goldsmith, Bunyan, Defoe, and any book of history or biography that he could lay his hands on.

"Drum and trumpet" histories were his favorite. An effort was made to enroll him at the University of Georgia at age thirteen, Jones recalled, but he was refused because of his youth.⁴

The austere educational regime imposed by his mother, combined with the absence of fatherly affection, had, as Jones later realized, "a lasting influence upon my character, affecting my conduct, my attitude towards others, even my views of life. . . . One result of this attitude of both my parents has been that during all my life it has been difficult for me to give expression to my feelings in the customary ways. A reserve, a reticence, a habit of self-repression has always held me back, even when I was conscious of it and tried to overcome it."⁵ Whether from his family life or from the praise he gained because of his early precociousness, Jones developed other lasting traits of character. The "instinct of competition," the drive to excel at every undertaking was apparent in him from his youth.⁶ Combined with this striving for success was a desire that it be rewarded with recognition, and even in childhood "gratification of vanity" became a primary motivating force. Competition for success and thirst for praise were to be the theme of his life.

Among Jones's classmates at Collingsworth were Isidore, Nathan, and Oscar Straus, the sons of Lazarus Straus, a German Jew who had recently immigrated to the United States after the Revolution of 1848. Mr. Straus, who ran a dry goods store, was a respected man in the community despite his religion and foreign ways. The Straus family moved North after the Civil War

where they became wealthy in the china importing business and then acquired part ownership of Macy Company in New York. Oscar and Isidore Straus became active in politics, the former being made a member of Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet and minister to Turkey, and the latter becoming a Congressman from New York. Both were friends of President Cleveland. Oscar Straus remained a friend of Jones during their adult lives.⁸

Although George Jones owned only one slave, slavery was a prominent feature of life in Talbotton, and to young Charles it seemed part of the natural order of things. He grew up near a town where the evils of slavery were perhaps less conspicuous, but visited large plantations and would later recall that the slaves seemed the happiest laborers he ever knew. As he remembered it, "the fields and plantation quarters of the old South were melodious and cheerful with song and banter and careless laughter. And the house servants, in particular, were treated with a geniality, even with a familiarity, that is now unknown in the South or elsewhere."⁹ One incident, however, witnessed as an eight-year-old, convinced him that slavery was somehow wrong. Having been sent to the town square one day on an errand, he chanced upon a slave auction being held on the court house steps. There a slave woman and her child were separated and sold apart. The anguish of the woman was terrifying to him, although at the time he did not realize the full implications of what he had seen. As he grew to manhood he became convinced that slavery was a curse on slave and master alike. In later

years, Jones "came to the assured conviction that the Civil War between the South and the North would have been worth all its cost in money and wealth, in human life and in human anguish, if it had accomplished nothing more than the overthrow of that blighting institution."¹⁰

With the coming of the Civil War, life in Talbotton changed. Although there was never real hunger there, some items such as salt and coffee became scarce, and the town lost its prosperous appearance.¹¹ Nearly all the town's able-bodied men, including Jones's older brother James, enlisted in the Confederate forces. Charles, only thirteen when the war broke out, remained behind. According to family tradition, he once ran away to the war, was returned home or was brought back by his father, and then enlisted or re-enlisted during the last months of the conflict.¹² Later references made by Jones seem to confirm this story. His first enlistment may have come in late 1863 or early 1864, in time for him to see action in the Battle of Atlanta.¹³ He was home some time in 1864 and described himself as then "a soldier who had been through the nerve-racking scenes enacted on battlefields."¹⁴ In the fall of 1864 he rejoined the army and was with Hardee's troops when they evacuated Savannah, escaping across pontoon bridges on the Savannah River in the face of Sherman's army.¹⁵ As an old man he would recall to his granddaughter the depths to which the troops were brought during the closing days of the war. At one time he said they were reduced to eating vermin and chewing shoeleather, and when by chance, he encountered his brother James in the field, he begged two

slices of bread from him, although James was hardly better off than himself.¹⁶ At the war's end Jones was in Columbus, Georgia, where he was paroled by federal officers in July, 1865. "Seeing that the South was strewn with the wreckage of war and would for a long time offer no career to its young men," Jones departed for the North in August to join his older sister Mary, who was living with her husband in New York.¹⁷

When Jones arrived in New York he was a slender, delicate looking young man, seventeen years of age and only five feet six inches tall.¹⁸ He had a gaunt, hollow-cheeked look, but a firm mouth and chin.¹⁹ He accepted "a very lowly position" with a dry goods store on Broadway, but worked his way into a respectable clerking position within a year. However, he "had no intentions of remaining in the dry goods business," and, having saved some money, he embarked on a career as a "literary gentleman."²⁰

In the winter of 1866-1867 he sent his first article to ex-Confederate General D. H. Hill's magazine Land We Love, and, much to his surprise, he received an acceptance notice and a check.²¹ Land We Love (later to be called Southern Magazine) carried stories of the recent war, agricultural articles, poetry, literary reviews and travel accounts—all aimed at a southern audience and bearing the stamp of southern views.²² Following the custom of the day, many of the articles were unsigned, so it is impossible to identify Jones's first modest literary attempt.

The first article which can definitely be attributed to Jones appeared in Land We Love in the issue of October, 1868. It was a description of Chicago, apparently written from an eyewitness account. His comments were largely favorable. The industriousness of the people impressed him; the stock yards and their ancillary facilities seemed a remarkable little city in themselves, but he decried the lack of an opera house and the public taste which would demand one.²³ In a companion article, published in December, 1868, Jones looked at America's second great interior city, St. Louis. He praised the appealing southern atmosphere of the city, with its fine churches, great hotels, and elegant library. St. Louis appeared to move at a more leisurely pace than its northern neighbor. Its Roman Catholic heritage he found to be a hinderance, but the river-front merchants displayed an abundance of energy.²⁴ Looking into the future, Jones predicted that the current world-wide trend toward urbanization would raise up great metropolises throughout the vast expanses of the United States. He predicted that either Chicago or St. Louis, the two major interior trade centers, would become the nation's great city, and Jones believed that it would be St. Louis: "We see her the seat of Empire, and of Civilization on this continent—the imperial metropolis of the West—the great grain emporium of the world."²⁵ This vision of St. Louis's future would gain nationwide publicity in 1881 with the publication of L. U. Reavis's St. Louis the Future Great City of the World: and Its Impending Triumph.

Soon Jones was writing regularly for several popular magazines. As he would later admit, most of his writing "was of the 'pot-boiling' kind, for I had to live by my pen."²⁶ His second article appeared in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, one of the lively new periodicals carrying lighter reading matter and using the latest illustrative techniques. Putnam's could not pay top rates for its material, nor did it strive for the highest standards of literary merit. Another magazine to which he contributed was Round Table, a general interest magazine edited by Charles G. Halpine and Henry Sedley which competed with Nation. No signed articles by Jones appear in Round Table, and it is likely that his contributions were in the form of book reviews or items from the magazine's numerous correspondents. Literary criticism was the magazine's speciality, which it did with dash and in a censorious style.²⁷

In 1868 Jones began to write book reviews for the Eclectic Magazine, an old and respected journal which was doing a thriving business in the post-war years. The Eclectic procured its articles by clipping them from British magazines, an accepted and legal practice in the absence of international copyright laws. It published short stories, religious essays, biographical sketches, articles on popular science, and travel accounts to suit the tastes of middle class readers—mostly women.²⁸ In addition to feature articles, the Eclectic carried several departments on art, science, and "varieties," which were also edited by the scissors and glue pot method. About

the only areas for original writing were the literary notices, comments in the "By the Editor" section, and the explanations of the excellent frontispiece engravings. The quality of the writing in the departments was very low, and even the book notices were often purloined from other magazines.

The editor of the Eclectic was Walter Hilliard Bidwell, a Yale-educated Congregational pastor who had turned to editing religious journals when his voice failed. He had purchased the Eclectic in 1846 and had edited it himself until the closing months of the Civil War when failing health forced him to spend much of his time traveling or resting. When he eventually withdrew completely from editorial work on the Eclectic during 1868, Jones assumed editorial control. Although Bidwell's name would remain on the magazine's title page until his death in 1881, he spent most of his time living with relatives in Ohio or in travels around the world.²⁹ Jones changed the character of the Eclectic only in one respect: he upgraded the "Literary Notices" department, writing the reviews himself in the same caustic tone used by Round Table.

The publisher of the Eclectic was Edward R. Pelton, a young man eight years Jones's senior who had worked for Bidwell since before the war, and had become Bidwell's partner and publisher in 1868.³⁰ The Eclectic was published at 108 Fulton Street until 1875 when its offices were moved to 25 Bond Street. Pelton also published books, specializing in works on medicine, and Jones did some editing for him.

In the early 1870's Jones became co-editor of Appleton's Journal, a publication of D. Appleton Company noted for its excellent art work. The magazine had begun as a weekly with a scientific slant, but had evolved into a general literary journal. It was not a popular success and was slowly dying. In 1876 it would become a monthly, later it would lose its fine illustrations, and finally it would expire in 1881.³¹ Its editor was Oliver Bell Bunce, a pleasant man with a talent for writing witty, sophisticated pieces for the magazine's "Table Talk" section. Bunce would die a young man, but Jones continued a regular correspondence with his widow for the rest of his life. He recognized Bunce as one of the few individuals who had ever helped him.³² Appleton's Journal had an editorial viewpoint similar to that of the Eclectic. It was coldly Spencerian on social questions, in favor of reforms to make government more honest, and hostile to Reconstruction programs in the South.

By 1871 Jones had developed into a handsome, confident-looking gentleman, and had begun to cultivate a pair of long, wispy sideburns which would ultimately develop into a full beard.³³ In February he married Eliza Cowperwaite of Philadelphia, a woman two years his senior, who had been raised by her uncle Andrew M. Erstwick, owner of the estate which had once belonged to naturalist John Bartram.³⁴ She bore the couple's first child, a daughter who was named Dora, in November. Fourteen months later Eliza gave birth to a son who was given his father's name, but the child lived little more than a year, dying late in the winter of 1874.³⁵

Jones's literary efforts were by no means confined to his magazines. He was a contributor to Appleton's Cyclopaedia [sic] and an editor of Appleton's numerous travel guides, specializing in southern resorts. The first book bearing his name was the 1873 edition of Appleton's Handbook of American Travel. Southern Tour. The following year he edited and abridged a book entitled Recent Art and Society for Henry Holt and Company. This was followed by Vers de Société, a collection of light poetry published in an elegant gift style by Holt, and Africa, an edited compilation of travel accounts. He also did an abridgement of the debates of Congress and edited a version of Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson for Holt. Jones contributed three biographies—Gladstone, Dickens, and Macaulay—to Appleton's New Handy Volume Series, all of which were published in 1880. None of these books were of great literary merit, but they demonstrate Jones's tremendous capacity for work. There was almost certainly a great deal more writing of this sort done by Jones, but exact titles cannot be authenticated. Jones was well aware that most of his writing was ephemeral. He once wrote a friend, commenting on a particularly bad book done by a reputable writer: "I can imagine a man doing such work under spur of necessity and consequently without blame—with ample excuse, in fact, for the public condemns the professional literary man to frequent pot-boiling, and he must bow to his fate."³⁶ In a subsequent letter he added, "I am sorry for any one who has to do hack literary work under compulsion of necessity."³⁷

Jones's appetite for work was perhaps his greatest asset, but it was also a weakness for it led to chronic health problems due to nervousness and fatigue. In the spring of 1876 when he was writing both during the day and in the evening he suffered what he described as a "nervous collapse" or an "acute brain attack" which prostrated him for three days. He seems to have regarded such illnesses as part of the price of living the literary life, for he doused himself with patent medicine and whiskey and resumed work. He confided to a friend that had suffered similar attacks for the past four years, and speculated that they were inevitable. "I should not be surprised if they become periodical, in a sense, until the candle has flickered out."³⁸

Probably the best treatment for his constitution was his annual summer vacation at Middlebury, Vermont, in the Green Mountains overlooking Lake Champlain. There he and his wife occupied their time in hiking, attending parties, and "petty competitions of croquet."³⁹ Among his companions was Julian W. Abernethy, a thin, curly haired college student who would shortly receive a doctorate from Yale and assume a life as a professor of English.⁴⁰ Abernethy became one of Jones's closest friends for the remainder of his life.

Some idea of Jones's views on the social questions which would later play a part in his career as a newspaper editor can be seen in the reviews he wrote for the Eclectic. Politics had little attraction for Jones at the time, and he devoted little

space in the Eclectic on reviews of political books. E. R. Pelton, his publisher, later testified that Jones was "strictly a literary man" during his years in New York.⁴¹ Jones shared a feeling common among intellectuals that politics was a sordid affair, and he echoed Peter Cooper's advice that good people ought to "overthrow the despotism of parties and politicians."⁴² Yet reason and reform in politics seemed a remote possibility to Jones because the general public appeared impervious to reason on the subject of politics.⁴³ Later when Jones was very much involved in politics he claimed, no doubt truthfully, that he had always maintained sympathy with the Democratic party. He did admit to voting for the Republican candidate Grant in 1868 out of a feeling that a military man would be magnanimous to the South, and he declared that in local elections he was one of the "young scratchers" who opposed Tammany's methods.⁴⁴ The most Jones ever claimed for his political action in New York was that he had been an early advocate of civil service reform and a worker for Samuel Tilden in the election of 1876.⁴⁵

The most popular philosophical and social writer of the day was Herbert Spencer, of whom Jones was at first an enthusiastic proponent, although he later toned down his enthusiasm without abandoning Spencerian habits of thought. His early attraction to Spencer was based on the belief that Spencer was dealing in pure "fact."⁴⁶ He retreated some from his position in the face of criticism leveled at Spencer, yet

defended Spencer's system as "one of the grandest scientific generalizations of our times."⁴⁷ Jones thought that the application of Darwinian analogies to the social condition of mankind was realistic, and he even considered the inheritance of political institutions a possibility.⁴⁸ He saw man as a creature motivated by passion; the mass of mankind being "constitutionally superior to reason."⁴⁹ He sometimes expressed the view that "this boasted modern civilization is indeed but a thin veneer covering a barbarism the more frightful and debasing because of its contrast with the surrounding aspects of civilized life."⁵⁰ In such a world liberty, equality, and fraternity were impossible, and probably not desirable.⁵¹

The Eclectic had little sympathy with the efforts of reformers or trade unions to ameliorate the condition of the masses, indeed Jones was not sure that efforts to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor were worthwhile, even if possible. Differences between classes were natural, thus any reform aimed at social equality was bound to be "spurious and artificial."⁵² The laws governing labor and capital precluded any substantial altering of the relative positions of capitalist and worker, and efforts by unions to overthrow these laws had done much harm, indeed, they were a "menace to society."⁵³ Jones advised workers to inform themselves of the realities of economics and "end their suicidal and hopeless batterings with social laws."⁵⁴ Industry, economy, and education were the working man's best hope for self-improvement. Employers ought

to be enlightened and aware of the moral obligations inherent in their positions, yet Jones feared that generosity could not realistically be expected.⁵⁵ In any case, charity ought to be a consideration separate from business.⁵⁶

As his youthful infatuation with Spencer began to wane, Jones modified his view of the human situation, becoming more concerned with the problems of the working classes. He maintained his Spencerian concept of society, but tempered it with a gradualist, evolutionary allowance for change. He speculated that the discontent of the masses under capitalism would produce a tension which would force a modification of the social order, and repression would simply make the final change more explosive. His hope was that capital and labor could find shared interests on which to found a new stability.⁵⁷

On economic questions Jones followed the line of laissez faire orthodoxy set down by William Graham Sumner. This included low taxes, complete freedom of contract, hostility to labor unions, and also low tariffs.⁵⁸ This last tenant of economic liberalism had particular appeal to Jones. He argued that the protective system which had been adopted during the war should be abandoned and would be abandoned when the agricultural populace of the nation was correctly informed on the issue.⁵⁹ On the currency question, the Eclectic held that circulation of money was guided by natural laws, and that these laws could not be overridden by efforts at creating fiat money. Paper money was not real money, and gold coin was preferable to silver.⁶⁰

As a Southerner, Jones was of the opinion that the primary problem facing the government and people was that of reuniting a nation divided by the Civil War. He lamented in 1868 that the election was an occasion for stirring up the embers of sectional "passions and animosities" which should be allowed to die and would subside but for what he felt was their crass exploitation by politicians.⁶¹ Horace Greeley, the Democratic candidate that year, received his praise for advocating universal amnesty for former Confederates.⁶² Greeley's program was in line with Jones's belief that the South ought to be left alone to settle its own problems in its own way. While the abolition of slavery was a good and necessary thing, approved by both North and South, relations between the Negro and his former master were something to be resolved without outside interference. One of Jones's northern friends dubbed him "an unreconstructed rebel" for holding such views.⁶³

Jones's most complete and unified statement of his assessment of the sectional problem appeared in his extended review of Albion W. Tourgee's, A Fool's Errand, published in 1880 as an article in Appleton's Journal. Jones condemned the book because he felt it was designed to revive sectional animosities which were once real because they were based on actual differences, accentuated by war, but which were no longer real. A Fool's Errand, he felt, exaggerated the South's hostility to "Northern" ideas, yet a person so closed-mindedly self-righteous in his beliefs as the book's protagonist ought

to expect violent opposition. Problems of society are complex, he argued, and no simple answers are sufficient for them; therefore toleration of divergent opinions is necessary. If the North had a more tolerant attitude at present, it had not always been so and was so now only because Northern society contained no "offensive" group comparable to the Negro. A far better basis for forming opinion on the question could be gained from James S. Pike's The Prostrate State, a book which Jones had given an extensive review in the Eclectic years before.⁶⁴ The unchangeable fact was, as Jones saw it, that the Negro could rule in the South only by force of numbers, for wealth, intelligence, and political experience were on the side of the whites. Such books as A Fool's Errand could do little good, and would perpetuate passions that could only hinder settlement of "the most difficult and baffling problem that American statesmen have to face."⁶⁵

In 1880 Jones and Abernethy began collaboration on a "gazetteer" of some sort which would incorporate the latest census returns. This project dragged on for months and developed into a much larger project than originally anticipated, a development which distressed Jones since his contract with the publisher did not compensate him for the extra work.⁶⁶ A book on George Eliot which Jones was working on at the same time came to an "ignominious end" in February, 1881, when Jones discovered that Roberts Brothers publishers of Boston, seven years earlier, had copyrighted and published much of the

material he wished to use. Jones sold the "biographical memoir" to Roberts Brothers, who incorporated it into a new edition of the book which was published in 1882.⁶⁷ Such things led Jones to curse the problems of life as a "Grub Street" writer.⁶⁸ He wrote Abernethy, "I shall yet flee away to the remotist wilderness of the West in order to escape these books, magazines, and newspapers."⁶⁹

The pressures of the literary work were not the only discomforting aspect of life in New York. The weather during the winter of 1880-1881 was very bad, and, in Jones's words, "To go out of doors was literally to risk one's skin."⁷⁰ Both he and his wife were experiencing poor health.⁷¹ "I have been in the habit of saying that I liked the Northern winters better than the summers," Jones wrote in February, "but I shall be cautious hereafter about expressing such an opinion."⁷²

His spirits rose in the spring as he undertook a book on which he would retain the copyright and which would be of genuine worth, unlike the sort of work in which he had been employed. The book was to be "an 'inside view' of the country's history," and would deal with the great men and ideas which had guided the nation. He wrote Abernethy telling him of his delight in having full control over the book, but adding that he was staggered by the "appalling amount of labor" which lay before him.⁷³ Despite his enthusiasm for it, the book was never completed, although Jones kept it in mind for the rest of his life and still planned to write it at the time of his death.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹Charles H. Jones, "Autobiography" (unpublished autobiographical fragment, Charles H. Jones Papers). The Jones Papers—letters, notebooks, photographs, manuscript drafts of party platforms, and newspaper clippings—are owned by Jones's granddaughter Mrs. Carl G. Freeman, Bat Cave, North Carolina. Xerox copies are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. The collection will hereinafter be referred to as JP; those things not in the Yonge Library will be noted "original."

²Rowland H. Rerick, Memoirs of Florida, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), II, 578.

³Jones, "Autobiography," 12.

⁴Ibid., 45-59.

⁵Ibid., 31.

⁶Ibid., 79.

⁷Ibid., 81.

⁸Ibid., 25; Oscar S. Straus, Under Four Administrations (Boston, 1922), 4.

⁹Jones, "Autobiography," 40.

¹⁰Ibid., 42.

¹¹Straus, Four Administrations, 15.

¹²Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, December 27, 1964; clipping, Springfield Sunday Union and Republican, November 17, 1929; interview with Mrs. Carl G. Freeman, Bat Cave, North Carolina, September 17, 1972.

¹³Jones, "Autobiography," 56; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 9, 1888.

¹⁴Jones, "Autobiography," 38.

¹⁵Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 29, 1881; Charles H. Jones, "Sketch of Life—1895" (unpublished autobiographical note), JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (continued)

- 16 Interview with Mrs. Carl G. Freeman.
- 17 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 2, 1886; Jones, "Sketch of Life."
- 18 Charles H. Jones, passport, number 26498, issued February 18, 1907, original, JP.
- 19 Charles H. Jones, photograph, ca. 1886, original, JP.
- 20 Jones, "Sketch of Life."
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1938), III, 46.
- 23 [Charles H. Jones], "Chicago," Land We Love, V (October, 1868), 469-476.
- 24 Charles H. Jones, "St. Louis, Missouri," Ibid., VI (December, 1868), 126-134.
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- 30 "Edward Richmond Pelton" (obit.), Eclectic Magazine and Monthly Edition of the Living Age, series 3, I (January-June, 1899), bound in front of volume.
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- 32 Jones to Julian W. Abernethy, May 26, 1889; Jones to Dora Jones, November 1, 1908, original, JP.
- 33 Charles H. Jones, photograph, 1871, original, JP.
- 34 Entry for Eliza Cowperwaite, "Geneological Record," JP, original.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Jones to Abernethy, December 9, 1878, JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (continued)

³⁷Ibid., December 30, 1878, JP.

³⁸Ibid., October 20, 1876; February 18, 1877, JP.

³⁹Ibid., December 9, 1878, JP.

⁴⁰Julian W. Abernethy (1853-1923) was a native of Burlington, Vermont. He was professor of literature at Adelphi Academy and principal of Berkeley Institute in Brooklyn. His extensive library and collection of American first editions was given to Middlebury College, Vermont, on his death. New York Times, July 4, 1923.

⁴¹Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 10, 1887.

⁴²Eclectic, XVII (May, 1873), 635.

⁴³Eclectic, X (September, 1869), 369.

⁴⁴Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 22, August 2, 1884.

⁴⁵Ibid., December 15, 1885; August 21, 1887.

⁴⁶Eclectic, XIX (June, 1874), 758.

⁴⁷Ibid., XXII (July, 1875), 121.

⁴⁸Ibid., XVII (February, 1873), 248.

⁴⁹Ibid., VIII (November, 1868), 1415.

⁵⁰Ibid., XVII (March, 1873), 372.

⁵¹Ibid., XVIII (July, 1873), 121.

⁵²Ibid., XIII (May, 1871), 633.

⁵³Ibid., XXI (March, 1875), 378.

⁵⁴Ibid., XVII (May, 1873), 634.

⁵⁵Ibid., XXIV (December, 1876), 763; XIII (May, 1871), 633.

⁵⁶Ibid., XXVI (November, 1877), 637.

⁵⁷Ibid., XXXI (June, 1880), 763; XXXIV (July, 1881), 138.

⁵⁸Ibid., X (December, 1869), 759.

⁵⁹Ibid., XXVI (October, 1877), 509.

⁶⁰Ibid., XXIII (January, 1876), 121; XXIII (February, 1876), 249.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I (continued)

- ⁶¹Ibid., VIII (November, 1868), 1413.
- ⁶²Ibid., XI (April, 1870), 497.
- ⁶³Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 21, 1887.
- ⁶⁴Eclectic, XIX (February, 1874), 247.
- ⁶⁵Charles H. Jones, "Sectional Fiction," Appleton's Journal, IX (December, 1880), 564.
- ⁶⁶Jones to Abernethy, April 6, 1881, JP.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., February 7, 1881; Wit and Wisdom of George Eliot with a Biographical Memoir (Boston, 1882).
- ⁶⁸Jones to Abernethy, April 6, 1881, JP.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., December 6, 1880, JP.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., February 7, 1881, JP.
- ⁷¹Ibid., November 24, December 6, 1880, JP.
- ⁷²Ibid., February 7, 1881, JP.
- ⁷³Ibid., March 14, 25, April 6, 1881, JP.

CHAPTER II

FROM LITERARY GENTLEMAN TO NEWSPAPER EDITOR

Sometime in the winter of 1880-1881 Appleton received a manuscript of a travel book on Florida from George M. Barbour, a Chicago newspaperman who had been living in that state for the past year. The manuscript was turned over to Jones, who wrote a letter to Reverend Mr. T. W. Moore of Fruit Cove, Florida, inquiring about some points in Barbour's work. Moore had written a book Treatise and Handbook on Orange Culture in Florida which had been published by Pelton. In his reply to Jones, Moore objected to some things Barbour had said, and Jones decided to go to Florida to see for himself and gather more material to supplement Barbour's document for publication as a full-scale book by Appleton.¹

On May 25, 1881, Jones wrote Abernethy telling him of his pending journey to Florida. Primarily it would be a business trip, but he hoped to enjoy a restful sea voyage to and from Florida, recuperating from his editorial labors in New York. The prospect of a mid-summer visit in the semi-tropics, however, seemed much less pleasant. Collecting materials for the Barbour book would be the immediate purpose of the visit, but Jones appended a cryptic message to his letter: "I have a special object in mind when I say to you, save every dollar you can."²

Jones may have been considering purchase of a newspaper in Florida at the time, but he also wanted his friend to join him in a venture in citrus growing. During the summer, he, Abernethy, and another northern friend combined to buy some acreage in Orange County from John G. Sinclair, a New Hampshire immigrant who did business in real estate and had plans for establishing a plant for processing starch from cassava.³ Perhaps Jones was influenced in his decision to enter the field of citrus growing by the claims of "fabulous" profits to be made in oranges with only a modicum of effort, as described in Moore's Treatise.⁴ Reality proved somewhat different than Moore had pictured it, and Jones's investment never resulted in any citrus production, although he continued to hold the land until 1884.⁵

Jones arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, during the first week in June. He met Moore and traveled with him looking at the state and gathering materials for the Barbour book.⁶ But he also talked to several individuals in Jacksonville about the possibility of purchasing the Daily Florida Union, a journal which had been established during the Civil War and was now edited by Hugh B. McCallum, a man slowly dying of consumption. Barbour had initiated negotiations for purchase of the paper earlier, and had suggested that Jones resume conversations with McCallum.⁷ Jones talked to the Union's editor about the proposal, and, according to Jones, it was agreed that McCallum would discuss the matter with friends and set a price. When

Jones ventured that if the price were too high he would prefer to start a new paper rather than purchase the Union, McCallum took the statement as a threat and vowed that he would fight to defend the Union field.⁸

Jones returned to New York at the end of the month, without having reached a decision on purchase of the paper, but he was interested in going forward with plans to take it. "When you come down, bring every dollar you can scrape together," he wrote Abernethy, promising to explain everything when they met in New York.⁹ He also wrote his brother George, who he hoped would join him in Florida, and received an encouraging reply.¹⁰ Early in September he returned to Florida, after being delayed at sea by storms off the Carolina coasts. Back in Jacksonville Jones made some discoveries that convinced him that he did not want the Union regardless of its sale price.¹¹ A check of the county clerk's office by Barbour revealed that the Union was heavily mortgaged, so Barbour was sent to tell McCallum that if he and Jones entered the field it would be with a new publication.¹² Jones made an appointment to see Assistant Commissioner of Immigration Samuel Fairbanks, and in his office, Jones, Fairbanks, and former Republican Governor Harrison Reed, who lived near Jacksonville, discussed the possibilities of beginning a new paper. Reed's description of the fractured state of Florida's Republican party convinced Jones that a Republican paper could not survive, but an independent-Democratic paper might attract support from both parties.¹³

Returning to New York early in October, Jones hurried preparations for establishing a second Jacksonville daily newspaper. He ordered a press and materials for the paper from New York firms, had Barbour make preparations in Jacksonville, and arranged to rent his New York home during his absence.¹⁴ In spite of the confusion, Jones invited Abernethy to visit him in New York and congratulated him on securing a position on the faculty of Adelphi Academy. Abernethy's coming to Adelphi was a great achievement, Jones felt, "I wish the wisdom of my own step were as little open to doubt."¹⁵ Leaving his wife in New York and admonishing Abernethy to call on her, Jones departed again for Florida.¹⁶ November storms made the passage rough and kept him constantly seasick during most of the voyage.

Work on setting up the newspaper's plant and offices had hardly begun when Jones arrived in Jacksonville, where he immediately busied himself "evolving order out of the wildest confusion."¹⁷ Despite the disorder, Jones found his enterprise warmly encouraged by local people, and his attitude became more confident.¹⁸ Delays caused by oversights in ordering of materials or in their shipment set back the date for publication at least a week and increased his anxiety. Not enough type had been ordered, galley racks were ordered but not received, and an essential part of the press could not be located. The delay cost about \$200, Jones estimated, but he confided to Abernethy that the ultimate success of the paper was as sure as anything could be.¹⁹ During the final push to get out the first edition, Jones

remained in the newspaper offices almost all the time, emerging only briefly to eat and sleep.²⁰

The newspaper's offices were located above Hughes' [sic.] Drug Store on Bay Street at the Ocean Street intersection. Jones provided himself with a handsomely furnished office that impressed one resident Florida newspaperman as "the neatest and best-appointed private sanctum in the South."²¹ The paper would be printed on a hand powered Campbell press designed for country newspapers. Jones and Barbour were named in the prospectus as the paper's proprietors—Jones providing the literary talent and Barbour the experience of ten years' work with western newspapers. Jones would be editor with responsibility for handling the Associated Press dispatches, and Barbour would edit state and local news.²² Fred W. Hoyt, a local man with experience on several Jacksonville and Fernandina newspapers, was managing editor.²³ The paper was to be published daily, except Monday, an omission necessitated by Jacksonville's ordinance against working on the sabbath. The subscription rate of \$10.00 per year, "strictly in advance," was the same as the Union's.²⁴

The first edition of the Florida Daily Times appeared on November 29, 1881. It had four pages of eight columns each, with only two front page columns devoted to advertisements. The telegraphic dispatches which appeared on the front page were short, and most dealt with crime, violence, or natural disasters. About half the paper's space was given over to

advertisements, suggesting that patronage was not a problem, although some questioned whether Jacksonville could support two daily newspapers.²⁵ Many of the local "news" stories were covert advertisements designed to promote Florida, a hotel, a steamship line, or a store. The Times claimed that it had more advertisements than it could publish.²⁶ Most telegraphic dispatches were short to save wire charges. Longer stories usually concerned some matter of lasting importance since they had to be sent by mail. The Guiteau trial was providing this sort of material at the time. Moore's Orange Culture, Barbour's Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers, and several of Pelton's medical books were advertised prominently. The overall tone of the paper was light, full of "chit-chat," with a flippancy toward politics and politicians. Editorials dominated the second page—still the core of the newspaper—and the expected "Farm, Garden, Household" column shared page three with seven columns of advertisements.

After a week of publication Jones could write Abernethy that the success of the paper, despite some expected difficulties, was "unequivocal." The Times's new type and uncluttered format made it, Jones declared, "the neatest paper south of Philadelphia." Moreover, the paper was inundated with demands for advertising space to an extent that amazed Jones.²⁷ Abernethy wrote to give the paper his approval, and Jones replied that it was improving with every issue, while circulation was steadily expanding. The success of the paper was beyond doubt, he

averred, but with success went the responsibility for getting out the paper on schedule every day without relent. "The curse of Sisyphus is upon me," lamented Jones.²⁸

One of the first things Jones had done on arriving in Florida was to write Abernethy asking him to arrange with a friend at the Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican for an exchange. Jones thought the Republican would want the Times for news of Florida, and he believed that it was the one paper he must have.²⁹ His ambition was to model his paper after the Republican, making it known for quality and editorial content, even though small in circulation and located in a remote corner of the republic.³⁰ Jones watched for quotations from his paper in the northern press and brought such notices to the attention of the Times's readers.³¹ In his first editorial, Jones outlined a policy of independent journalism which supposedly would guide the policy of the paper. The Times would be independent of political parties, not out of a spirit of hostility, but in order to remain free of any obligations except those owed its general readership. Thus members of both parties could freely patronize the newspaper.³² After a year of publication, Jones would write that many people were "watching with interest the experiment of publishing an outspoken, fearless, and independent newspaper" in a section of the country where, he said, the press had seldom dared stand on principle.³³

In the first issue of the Times Jones went on to say that, contrary to the prevailing attitude, editorial comment was not

the primary function of a newspaper. Increasingly it was the trend for newspapers to subordinate comment on the news to printing of the news itself. At the same time, the concept of news was changing to include more than just politics: any area of human endeavor was the proper sphere of the journalist. The sciences, literature, and art should receive attention, and it should all be done in a style which would entertain as well as enlighten the reader.³⁴ Jones tried to practice the philosophy he proclaimed. He induced Oliver Bell Bunce to do a series of light essays on New York society for the Sunday Times during the 1881-1882 season. On Sunday the usual political editorials were supplanted by long essays on authors or some aspect of literature. Jones also attempted to turn the farm and garden column into a real vehicle for dispensing information of use to agriculturalists in Florida's unique climate. He solicited contributions from experts in various departments of agriculture, and opened the column with a series of articles by T. W. Moore.

Tariff reform and civil service reform constituted the focal point of the Times's editorial stance on national politics, and Jones continued to argue, as he had with the Eclectic, that sectionalism and the emotional questions remaining from the Civil War era were no longer real issues; they were sham issues employed by politicians to avoid coming to grips with living problems.³⁵ The Times endorsed a tariff for revenue only, arguing that the surplus was dangerous, taxes were too high, government spending was too extravagant, and high prices

caused by the tariff actually retarded industrialization in the South.³⁶ During the fall election campaign of 1882 the Times ran a series of essays designed to educate the public on the fundamentals of the tariff question. In taking a low tariff stance the Times was hewing closer to traditional Democratic lines than were the New South protectionists, such as Henry Grady of the Atlanta Constitution. Civil service reform, Jones argued, should be of particular interest to the South since it was there that the worst abuses of the patronage system had occurred.³⁷ From the start, the Times endorsed Pendleton's proposal for a merit system.³⁸

In local affairs, the Times crusaded to make the city of Jacksonville more attractive, and therefore more pleasing to resort vacationers who expected plush surroundings. Some changes, the Times suggested, could be made easily enough by the people themselves. They could stop emptying their slop buckets in the gutters, clean up the rubbish on the streets, and sweep their sidewalks and keep them in good repair. Another more challenging undertaking would be the construction of shell roads along the riverfront so that winter guests could enjoy the view and the fresh air. But the improvement that Jones probably wished to see most was the paving of Bay Street. Running parallel to the river one block inland, Bay Street was the heart of the town's business district. Its surface was a mixture of sand, sawdust, and horse manure, and after every heavy rain it became a foul smelling series of mud

flats and ponds perfectly meriting its name. Jones pledged the Times's support to any project for paving the street and volunteered twenty-five dollars toward the enterprise.³⁹

Before the end of 1881 the Times was claiming that it had enough paid circulation to run at a profit, even though no systematic canvass of the state had yet been made.⁴⁰ By January, 1882, it was claimed that issues of the Times were being published in volumes matching the largest ever produced in Florida, and on March 17, 1882, the Times published an out-sized edition featuring a front page interview with Governor William D. Bloxham taken from the New Orleans Times-Democrat. The Times claimed that 5,000 copies of this edition were printed, and that the press had run from midnight until two o'clock the next afternoon in getting it out.⁴¹ By this time Jones declared that the Times had as large a circulation as any newspaper in Florida, that it had no debts, and that it was making money at a rate which had enabled him to regain one-quarter of his original investment.⁴² That the Times was making money is virtually certain, and it also seems likely that it was debt free. No records have been found detailing the finances of the paper, but Jones later claimed that he had financed the newspaper himself, using \$16,000 saved from his literary work.⁴³ It appears unlikely that Abernethy or anyone else had an interest in the newspaper.

Mrs. Jones and Dora arrived in Florida just in time for the festivities of the winter season and were delighted by the

receptions and parties which highlighted Jacksonville's brightest time of the year. Jones wrote Abernethy that Mrs. Jones had proven to be "quite a belle."⁴⁴ However, her life in Jacksonville would be quiet by comparison to that of her husband. She seems to have involved herself with work in the Episcopal Church and to have enjoyed an unobtrusive association with a wide circle of friends.⁴⁵ She and Dora were frequently out of the city during the summers vacationing in the North.⁴⁶

Having passed the crisis of establishment, Jones set out to boom the Times as the state's coming newspaper. Every day there were reports of the paper's increasing success: the Times was sold out early at the hotels, newspapers in other states were clamoring for exchanges with the Times, extra newsprint had to be purchased because of the unexpected demand.⁴⁷ The public was reminded that the Times was not a local paper, but a journal for all the state. A morning train carried the Times to subscribers in Fernandina.⁴⁸ Efforts were made to secure regular correspondents in all sections of the state, and canvassers were sent out to seek advertisements and subscribers. Barbour went to South Florida in December and to Middle Florida in January; others went up the St. Johns calling at all the port stops.⁴⁹ Of course, there was the problem common to all newspapers of the solicitor who absconded with subscription money.⁵⁰ Jones even announced the opening of a New York office of the Times. It was at 25 Bond Street,

Pelton's address, and whether or not the Times got many subscriptions there, the mere fact of a New York office looked impressive.⁵¹ Another means of attracting subscribers was the offer of a free copy of Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers to those who agreed to take the paper for a half year or more.⁵²

The Times's relations with the Union were, at least on the surface, friendly. On the advice of former Governor Reed, Jones had written a letter to McCallum when he returned to Florida, attempting to promote good will. McCallum wrote a cold reply, but Jones went to the Union office and met with McCallum and the staff.⁵³ A brief feud broke out in December when the Union published a complaint that Barbour had spread a rumor in South Florida that the owners of the Times held a mortgage on the Union which they intended to foreclose and that Jones, as agent for the Associated Press, had obtained a monopoly of the dispatches, sharing them with the Union only out of kindness. Jones denied any part in spreading such rumors, and Barbour published a denial under his name, but he still maintained that the Union was, in fact, mortgaged.⁵⁴ When the Union took issue with his denial, Barbour repeated that he had not tried to spread misconceptions about the AP dispatches, and he declared that within the past few days he had been shown another mortgage covering nearly everything owned by the Union.⁵⁵ Jones closed the incident with a plea for professional comity among editors; equating newspaper disputes with cock fighting—amusing to the public but uselessly destructive.⁵⁶

On February 10 Jones made the unexpected announcement that Barbour had ceased to be an "employee" of the Times, and that, contrary to popular impression, he had never owned any interest in the newspaper. Jones said that Barbour had promised to finance the paper jointly with him, but had failed to do so. Meanwhile he had borrowed money to pay for everything from car fare to his laundry bills. On January 9 Jones had made a new contract with Barbour under which he was supposed to collect subscriptions and advertisements, but instead he had worked "treacherously and insidiously" against the interests of the paper.⁵⁷ Later Jones would charge that Barbour had allied himself to the Union and was telling potential patrons of the Times that the paper was secretly Republican in sympathy.⁵⁸ The day after the announcement of Barbour's severance from the Times, Jones revealed that he had done much of the writing of Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers, hoping to nullify the benefit Barbour gained from his reputation as the book's author.⁵⁹

On the day that Jones announced Barbour's departure, the Times office was visited by Samuel W. Small, a writer for the Atlanta Constitution who was in Jacksonville looking for a cottage where he and his invalid wife might spend the winter.⁶⁰ At the time, McCallum of the Union was confined to his home by illness, while business manager Harrison Clark and chief editorial writer John Temple Graves ran the daily affairs of the newspaper.⁶¹ About the beginning of March, Small became a proprietor

of the Union, but within a month he had gone over to the Times, purchasing an interest of that paper. Jones wrote a long announcement of Small's coming to the Times, and changed the paper's listed ownership to "Jones and Small."⁶² Behind the scenes an effort was being made to merge the two papers, but the nature of that effort was soon to become a matter of controversy. The Union charged that Jones and Small had been working together in a conspiracy to ease McCallum out of control of the Union and to merge the two papers. As evidence, a letter from Jones to Small was produced in which Jones wrote about the conditions of a merger and the policy to be followed until merger. McCallum was not mentioned in the letter.⁶³

Jones told a different story. He said that shortly after the beginning of the Times he had been approached by McCallum's friends with proposals for a merger, but no progress had been made at the time. Small's appearance on the scene revived interest in a merger. Jones had begun negotiations with Small while Small was with the Union, and he wrote Abernethy on March 5 announcing plans for a "grand combination," but enjoining him to keep quiet for the moment.⁶⁴ After the dispute broke into the open, Jones claimed that Small and friends of McCallum had told him that Small, backed by others, controlled the Union. As it turned out, this was not true. For his part, Small denied the charges of collusion with Jones and explained that he had re-sold his interest in the Union to McCallum.⁶⁵

Small remained at the Times, becoming night editor when Charles A. Choate resigned to return to his farm near Tallahassee.⁶⁶ However, Jones soon found that Small was not the asset to the paper he had expected. "Small, on whom I counted so confidently, turned out to be the most consummate scoundrel that it was ever my lot to be brought in contact with," Jones wrote Abernethy. "He was drunk four fifths [sic] of the time (never really sober), a spendthrift, a gambler, and a bully. In his drunken wrath one night when we were alone in the office he drew a revolver on me to enforce a claim which [he] pretended to have."⁶⁷ On April 12, 1882, Small's name was taken down from the masthead, and four days later Jones announced that he had re-acquired Small's interest in the paper. On the previous day a suit which Small had brought against Jones was withdrawn from circuit court.⁶⁸ Jones told Abernethy that he had paid Small "blackmail to the tune of \$250" in order to be rid of him. The strain of running the newspaper and fighting a lawsuit with Small had proven too much for him. "He had counted upon this with devilish malignity," Jones explained.⁶⁹

Whether Jones had, in fact, attempted to use Small to gain control of the Union cannot be determined from existing evidence. However, there seems to be little doubt that Small was the rascal that Jones had described. John Varnum, who was city editor of the Times during the dispute, would later characterize Small as a "little fraud."⁷⁰ Small returned to Georgia where he failed in a newspaper venture of his own. He was then "converted" by revivalist Sam Jones and spent the

following years as a traveling evangelist, often appearing with Sam Jones, before returning to his first vocation as a writer for the Atlanta Constitution. Jones maintained that both he and McCallum had been taken in by Small, and he professed to be deeply hurt by the Union's attempt to cast him as a sneak. "Not being of that temperment that enables a man to remain calm and complacent under calumny and vituperation," Jones declared, "I resolved deliberately at the time of that first attempt to make the Union [sic] sorry for it and all subsequent attempts."⁷¹

After the Small affair Jones considered returning North. Directing the affairs of a daily newspaper was a great strain even under normal conditions. In February he had written Abernethy, "I am on the treadmill all the time, and though there is a wonderful fascination about it, I am about worn out."⁷² By April he felt that he was verging on physical collapse.⁷³ Jones decided to sell the Times if he could find a buyer, and sent his attorney to see McCallum and other potential purchasers. McCallum declined to buy at Jones's price, and may not have had the money to do so anyway. No other purchaser being available, Jones, perhaps encouraged by the support he received when word leaked out that he was planning to leave, decided to keep his paper.⁷⁴

Part of Jones's problem from the start had been his failure to secure competent, steady staff members.⁷⁵ Hoyt and Choate had done good work in establishing the paper, but now

both had left the Times. Jones set about reorganizing his staff. His brother George and his city editor John Varnum, who had both been with the paper from its inception, were brought into partnership with him by selling them a little less than half interest.⁷⁶ Varnum had come to Florida during Reconstruction when his father was a general in command of federal troops stationed at Pensacola. He had tried orange growing, was once a deputy United States marshal, and had come to Jacksonville to practice law with Edward M. Cheney, a former owner of the Union.⁷⁷ After the establishment of Jones, Varnum and Company, Jones was still one man short because of Small's ouster. This difficulty was resolved in June when Judge A. O. Wright of Pensacola was made city editor. Varnum moved up to the position of managing editor with general supervisory duties.⁷⁸ When John Ransom, the paper's Washington correspondent, came into the office as news editor in December, the Times organization was complete and relatively stable.⁷⁹

During the spring and summer Jones quarreled with the Union and the city council over the method of awarding the contract for printing city tax lists. He charged that the chairman of the printing committee had given the contract to his rival even though his own paper had sent in a bid only one-tenth that of the Union.⁸⁰ The Times blasted this as "collusion, back-stairs methods, and betrayal of public interests."⁸¹ At first the council decided to ignore the

action of the chairman of the printing committee and awarded the contract to Jones. Having secured the city printing, Jones proclaimed the Times "Official Paper of the City," but promised that all profits from the contract above printing costs would be donated to the public library to show that he had been motivated only by a sense of fair play.⁸² Jones also asked for competitive bidding on all future contracts.⁸³ On May 17 the Union, which had printed the tax lists under authorization of the printing committee chairman, presented a bill to the council for \$451.34, and the Times requested \$46.66 for the same work.⁸⁴ When the council voted to pay the Union and took no stand regarding bidding on future contracts, managing editor Varnum ridiculed the decision and city attorney John Hartridge's argument supported the decision.⁸⁵

This sort of personal attack was an invitation to retaliation, and Varnum was warned that he would be assaulted. On July 1, as he was returning to the Times office from dinner, he was confronted by Hartridge in front of a Bay Street store and was hit in the face. After a scuffle Hartridge called off the fight, proclaiming to the crowd which had gathered that he had whipped his defamer. The next day the Times ran a blow-by-blow account of the episode and editorially decried the fact that such ruffianism was tolerated by the law.⁸⁶ Writing privately to Abernethy, Jones said that Hartridge was one of the "turbulent young bloods" who had been running the town. Jones claimed that the assault on Varnum was intended to

intimidate the Times, but, he wrote, they "didn't scare worth a cent and served him up next morning in a style that probably made his hair stand on end." Jones believed that Hartridge and his friends were "cured" for the time being, but he confessed that he seldom went on the streets without fear of being assaulted.⁸⁷ Hartridge was found guilty in the mayor's court of disorderly conduct and was fined \$5.00.⁸⁸ The question of city printing was resolved in October, when the Times outbid the Union for the contract, and, once again, Jones titled his journal the "Official Paper of the City."⁸⁹

The city election passed quietly in the spring of 1882. The Times did not give direct endorsement to either slate of candidates, but it was clearly biased toward the predominantly Democratic "Conservative" ticket. The "Citizens" slate was backed by the Republicans, who the Times characterized as largely propertyless Negroes. The Republican convention was ridiculed in a long story, complete with Negro dialect.⁹⁰ Morris A. Dzialynski, the "Conservative" candidate for mayor, defeated former Mayor J. Ramsey Dey. The Times considered this a victory for sound, businesslike government, but expressed doubts about the quality of the board of aldermen elected since they represented the class of party workers to which Hartridge belonged.⁹¹

In April the steamboat City of Sanford burned on the St. Johns above Jacksonville. Jones sent an artist to sketch the wreckage, then scoured Jacksonville trying to find an engraver who could produce a woodcut. The crude, small result

of this effort, the Times's first attempt at an original illustration, was run on the front page with a story of the accident. A second, larger illustration, probably done by a Savannah engraver, carried several days later, was hardly better. The Times was forced to admit that the engravings had been badly handled, but it congratulated itself on what it called one of the most lively feats of journalism ever attempted in Florida.⁹² However, the attempt was not repeated. Illustrations, other than cuts running with advertisements, were scarce in the Times, although occasionally some small, high quality portraits would accompany a feature story on an author or other notable.⁹³ Illustrations were equally rare in the Union, but it did gain notice in January, 1882, by running several front page pictures of various personalities involved in the Guiteau trial.⁹⁴

The Times strengthened its reputation for controversial editorializing by its handling of an incident which occurred in May. A passenger on the Fernandina and Jacksonville Railroad was hit in the head and seriously injured following an argument with a railroad employee named Bailey Smith. The Times not only denounced the crime, but criticized Mayor Dzialynski for signing Smith's bail bond and suggested that city officials were trying to hush-up the matter in order to protect the town's reputation.⁹⁵ When two friends of Smith came to Jacksonville in the avowed intent of punishing Jones and Varnum, the Times declared that it would not be intimidated.

The question at issue, it maintained, was whether the tone of the Jacksonville community would be set by the Bailly Smith types and the "bloods" or by the town's better citizens.⁹⁶

One day it was rumored that the Times offices would be attacked that night, and some police were sent to patrol Bay Street in the vicinity of the office, while others watched Jones and Varnum's homes. Jones left the Times offices at two in the morning accompanied by the chief of police, and the night passed without incident. Jones later wrote Abernethy that the town had been "in a tempest of excitement. . . . They have never had a paper before that would speak out fearlessly upon such matters, and you would be amazed at the excitement it aroused. If the violence had been attempted there would unquestionably have been a lynching."⁹⁷ Jones felt that he had won the support of the community's leading citizens in the affair.

As the summer "dull season" set in, Jones wrote a retrospective letter to Abernethy enumerating the successes of the past six months. The paper had been established on a sound footing and had successfully passed through the trauma of getting started. He felt that the Times had the support of the "best citizens" and it was having an uplifting effect on the moral climate of the community. He was pleased to see his editorials were quoted in the northern press as frequently as any other southern editor. And finally, there was no longer a possibility of losing money in the venture, and he could

leave at any time without loss. His original outlay had been covered by profits and by the sale of a substantial interest to Varnum and his brother. He expected that the paper would lose money by continuing publication during the summer, but he anticipated that the next winter season would bring a clear profit of \$5,000.⁹⁸ It is possible that the summer season did not turn out as badly as Jones had expected, for a month after his letter to Abernethy he claimed that circulation had declined only slightly and wrote that plans were underway to buy a new press and begin publication of a weekly.⁹⁹

On August 24 Jones embarked on the steamer Western Texas for a trip to New York which he had been planning since April. Pressures of work and the Small affair forced him to postpone the trip, however, and shorten it from the two months he originally contemplated to two weeks.¹⁰⁰ Although he hoped to visit with Abernethy while in New York, the main purpose of the trip would be to purchase material for a weekly edition of the Times which he hoped to start in September.¹⁰¹ While in the North he would also arrange for better news service and secure more "specials" for the coming season.¹⁰²

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- ¹Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 3, 1887.
- ²Jones to Abernethy, May 25, June 3, 1881, JP.
- ³Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 29, 1881.
- ⁴T. W. Moore, Treatise and Handbook on Orange-Culture in Florida (Jacksonville, 1877; rev. ed., New York, 1881), 11.
- ⁵Jones to Abernethy, February 14, 1884, JP.
- ⁶Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 3, 1887.
- ⁷Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 20, 1882.
- ⁸Ibid.
- ⁹Jones to Abernethy, June 29, 1881, JP.
- ¹⁰Ibid., September 3, 1881, JP.
- ¹¹Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 20, 1882.
- ¹²Ibid., December 28, 1881.
- ¹³Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 2, 1884.
- ¹⁴Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 20, 1882; Jones to Abernethy, October 8, 1881, JP.
- ¹⁵Jones to Abernethy, October 15, 1881, JP.
- ¹⁶Ibid., November 20, 1881, JP.
- ¹⁷Ibid., November 7, 1881, JP.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹Ibid., November 20, 1881, JP.
- ²⁰Ibid., December 4, 1881, JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (continued)

- 21 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, January 10, 1882.
- 22 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 29, 1881.
- 23 Ibid., January 14, 1882.
- 24 Ibid., November 29, 1881.
- 25 Savannah Morning News, December 2, 1881.
- 26 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 29, 1881.
- 27 Jones to Abernethy, December 4, 1881, JP.
- 28 Ibid., December 11, 1881, JP.
- 29 Jones to Abernethy, November 7, 1881, JP.
- 30 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 22, 1882.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid., November 29, 1881.
- 33 Ibid., October 22, 1882.
- 34 Ibid., November 29, 1881.
- 35 Ibid., December 12, 1881; June 27, 1882.
- 36 Ibid., December 12, 1881; June 27, November 23, 1882.
- 37 Ibid., November 23, 1882.
- 38 Ibid., December 20, 1881.
- 39 Ibid., December 4, 1881; January 4, February 12, September 3, 1882.
- 40 Ibid., December 29, 1881.
- 41 Ibid., January 27, March 18, 1882.
- 42 Ibid., March 16, 1882.
- 43 Jones, "Sketch of Life."
- 44 Jones to Abernethy, February 11, 1882, JP.
- 45 St. Louis Republic, December 15, 1888.
- 46 Jones to Abernethy, June 4, 1882, JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (continued)

- 47 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, January 22, 1882.
- 48 Fernandina Express, March 25, 1882.
- 49 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, January 17, 1882.
- 50 Ibid., March 23, 1882.
- 51 Ibid., January 1, 1882.
- 52 Ibid., January 25, 1882.
- 53 Ibid., October 20, 1882.
- 54 Ibid., December 28, 1881.
- 55 Ibid., December 30, 1881.
- 56 Ibid., January 1, 1882.
- 57 Ibid., February 10, March 29, 1882.
- 58 Ibid., March 29, 1882; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 2, 1884.
- 59 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, February 11, 1882; Thomas S. Graham, "Who Wrote 'Barbour's Florida'?" Florida Historical Quarterly, LI (April, 1973), forthcoming.
- 60 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, February 11, 1882.
- 61 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, January 10, 1882.
- 62 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, March 2, 16, 1882.
- 63 Ibid., March 29, 31, 1882; Jacksonville Florida Journal, July 28, 1884.
- 64 Jones to Abernethy, March 5, 1882.
- 65 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, March 31, April 2, 1882.
- 66 Ibid., April 4, 1882.
- 67 Jones to Abernethy, April 30, 1882, JP.
- 68 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, April 12, 16, 1882.
- 69 Jones to Abernethy, April 30, 1882, JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (continued)

- 70 Jacksonville News-Herald, October 12, 1887.
- 71 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 20, 1882.
- 72 Jones to Abernethy, February 11, 1882, JP.
- 73 Ibid., April 30, 1882, JP.
- 74 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 20, 1882;
Jones to Abernethy, June 4, 1882, JP.
- 75 Jones to Abernethy, December 11, 1881, JP.
- 76 Ibid., April 30, 1882, JP.
- 77 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, December 27, 1864.
- 78 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, June 7, 1882.
- 79 Ibid., November 28, December 2, 1882.
- 80 Ibid., February 5, 1882.
- 81 Ibid., February 8, 1882.
- 82 Ibid., February 9, 1882.
- 83 Ibid., March 22, May 17, 19, 1882.
- 84 Ibid., March 18, 1882.
- 85 Ibid., June 6, 21, 22, 1882.
- 86 Ibid., July 2, 1882.
- 87 Jones to Abernethy, July 10, 1882, JP.
- 88 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, July 6, 1882.
- 89 Ibid., October 10, 1882.
- 90 Ibid., March 30, 1882.
- 91 Ibid., March 31, April 1, 5, 1882.
- 92 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, April 25, 30, May 3,
1882.
- 93 Ibid., February 19, 1882.
- 94 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, February 7, 1882.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (continued)

⁹⁵Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, May 27, 28, 1882.

⁹⁶Ibid., May 30, 1882.

⁹⁷Jones to Abernethy, June 4, 1882, JP.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, July 2, 1882.

¹⁰⁰Jones to Abernethy, April 30, June 4, August 8, 1882, JP;
Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, August 25, 1882.

¹⁰¹The Weekly Florida Times began publication in October, 1882. It sold for \$1.00 per year and carried articles assembled from the daily editions. It also contained special articles of interest to farmers, since the weekly's readership was primarily rural.

¹⁰²Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, August 10, 1882.

CHAPTER III

INDEPENDENT JOURNALISM

On the day after Jones sailed for New York, two convicted Negro murderers Charles Savage and Howard James were taken off a train in the Middle Florida town of Madison, east of Tallahassee, and shot to death by a party of white men.¹ The Times, under Varnum's direction, condemned the crime, as did virtually all the state's newspapers, but it went further and demanded that the lynchers be brought to justice.² Varnum published an interview with several blacks who had come to Jacksonville after the murders and claimed to have seen the men who committed the crime. The story named names and gave explicit details. Although the paper later accepted the denials of those mentioned, Varnum continued to demand that a real effort be made to bring the lynchers to trial.³ Jones sent a signed editorial from New York saying that "indignation" meetings and condemnatory editorials were pointless unless the law was enforced, and he warned that settlers and northern capital would be frightened away from the state if it became established that the public tolerated such acts.⁴ Governor Bloxham was requested to provide protection for witnesses appearing at the trial.⁵ When witnesses to the lynchings testified at a hearing that they saw only "strangers" in town

on the day of the murders, the Times remarked sarcastically: "It seems that 'strangers' are such an attraction for the people of Madison that not even a little disturbance like the shooting down of a couple of prisoners can divert for one moment the fixed concentration with which they are regarded."⁶

While the remainder of the state press was willing to condemn the lynching, it reserved its harshest criticism for the Times. The Tallahassee Floridian declared that the Times had outdone even the worst Radical organs by trying to blacken the character of a whole region for the crime of a few.⁷ The Tallahassee Land of Flowers accused the Times of attempting to divert settlers away from Middle Florida to the benefit of East Florida.⁸ The Pensacola Commercial said that Jones had no sympathy for white people and that he was motivated by "pure, selfish, grasping greed, allied with inborn hate and animosity to the Southern people, developed under the hypocritical pretence of obedience to law and love of peace and good order."⁹ The Times's answer to its critics was that if getting down to particulars and trying to bring criminals to justice made enemies for the paper among some people, it made friends among others—and it sold newspapers.¹⁰

When Jones returned from his trip North, the fall Congressional campaign was underway. Jones had hastened back because he did not wish to leave the helm of the Times during its first election. As an independent newspaper its course would need careful charting. "We shall probably decide the election," he told Abernethy, "but, on the other hand, any

blundering would wreck our enterprise, which has now become too valuable to imperil."¹¹ Jones's caution was justified, for within weeks the Times would become a controversial point of the campaign. Democratic partisans began to charge that Jones's ostensibly independent newspaper was secretly the organ of the Republican party and its candidate Horatio Bisbee.

The truth of this charge cannot be determined. Varnum would later declare that Bisbee paid Jones "one thousand dollars, lump amount" to promote his candidacy.¹² But when Varnum made the charge he had become a business competitor of Jones, and thus his testimony is suspect. Clearly the Times gave more space to Bisbee than to J. J. Finley, the Democratic nominee, and it carried Republican advertisements on its editorial page in a style that could easily have been taken as an endorsement, while it ran few Democratic advertisements. But the absence of Democratic material can be explained, and was explained by Jones at the time, by the reluctance of Democrats to patronize the Times. The Union and other Democratic newspapers made a concerted effort to discourage Democratic patronage of the Times. The Gainesville Bee's remark was typical: "An open enemy—an avowed Republican journal—may be respected, but a secret enemy is to be dreaded and despised. The sooner the State press forces the Times 'off the fence' the better for the Democracy; or, if this can not be done, then let Democrats withdraw their support from it, and let it seek it from a more congenial source—the Republican party."¹³

Whether by design or not, the Times's course worked to promote Bisbee. In August Jones published a letter by Alexander St. Clair-Abrams, founder of the town of Taveres and a South Florida political leader, in which he charged that he and other young men in the Democratic party had been thwarted at the district Democratic convention by the "ring" control of former Governor George F. Drew and his friends. St. Clair-Abrams vowed to fight the "Drew ring" in future political contests.¹⁴ While giving publicity to this division in the Democratic ranks, the Times reported the Republican state convention with fairness contrasting sharply with its biased reporting of the local Republican convention during the spring municipal election.¹⁵ However, the Times did attack Bisbee for his high tariff views and on some other issues, and it did not make any major criticism of Finley.¹⁶

The election itself did not arouse great excitement. In fact, the general public seemed indifferent to the contest. Later some Democrats were to blame the apathy of white voters for Finley's defeat, since it was assumed that the Negroes would vote in every election, either because their votes were purchased or because they had a special devotion to exercising their newly won rights. The Times was inclined to agree that apathy had played a part in the Democratic defeat, and said that the Democratic press had lulled the voters into a false sense of security by emphasizing Finley's supposed large majority in the 1880 race. But Jones was more willing to second St. Clair-Abrams's

explanation that many young Democrats had declined to support the campaign.¹⁷

The sweeping Democratic victories on the national level were labeled "revolutionary." The election of Grover Cleveland as governor of New York was of particular note, said the Times, for it meant that he would be elected President in 1884. Thus on November 9, 1882, Jones staked his claim to being the first editor in the United States to endorse Cleveland for the Presidency.¹⁸

The Times had apparently prospered during the election, and made the boast afterwards that its edition carrying the returns was the largest single issue ever sold by any Florida newspaper.¹⁹ The Union, however, was nearing collapse. During the campaign McCallum had sent John Temple Graves and other agents around with General Finley to attend his rallies and solicit subscriptions. The Times noted this practice and suggested that perhaps the Union had slipped so far that it must beg for charity as the party organ.²⁰ By the middle of October Jones was charging that the Union could not pay the wages of its employees and that it was selling its editorial columns to the Florida Central and Western Railroad in order to raise money.²¹ Such charges were common in a time when newspapers were expected to collapse frequently. In this case they were certainly based on truth. The Union had been in financial trouble for a long while, and competition from the Times was pushing it to bankruptcy. In April the owners of the Union had reorganized and incorporated as the Union Printing Company,

purchasing new type and equipment to upgrade the paper, but to no avail.²² In December Jones wrote to Abernethy asking him for an advance payment on Jones's Brooklyn home, which Abernethy was purchasing, explaining that he was trying to put his hands on as much money as possible since all signs pointed to the imminent collapse of the Union, and he wanted to be in a position to step in when the crash came.²³ Three weeks later he informed Abernethy that the Union's demise had been "postponed."²⁴

The contest between the two Jacksonville dailies was not always confined to the printed page. The issue of the Times which appeared on the streets on the morning of October 17 contained a small item reporting that W. W. Douglass of the Union staff had stopped a Times press boy and tried to get information regarding the Times's circulation.²⁵ Douglass read the story that morning, determined that he had been insulted, and set off to find Jones. He did not encounter him until that evening when they met outside a Bay Street restaurant. Douglass attempted to strike Jones with a cane, but tripped or was knocked to the ground as Jones retreated into the street. After a few blows were exchanged the men were separated by the crowd which had spilled out of the restaurant to witness the fight. Jones proceeded to Varnum's house where he washed up, and then he went to the Times office to write a description of the fight and editorial condemning street violence.²⁶ When Mayor Dzialynski fined Douglass only \$10.00 in his court, Jones criticized the leniency of the punishment.²⁷

Jones's efforts to reform Jacksonville society encompassed a broader front than denunciation of rowdyism and unsafe sidewalks.

He wished to see the intellectual life of the community enriched, and he wanted to make Jacksonville's residents see their town as more than just a riverboat station. When some suggested that the proposed new city hall be built at the lowest possible cost, Jones dissented, declaring that the most imposing structure possible should be erected in order to set a high standard for the rest of the community.²⁸ The Times also supported an improved public library, and Jones promised to try to get books for it from northern publishers.²⁹ Metropolitan Hall, Jacksonville's "wretched excuse for a theatre" drew nothing but scorn from the Times. It was an upper story room whose walls were plastered with advertisements, where the audience sat on wooden benches. Jones declared that a more plush and comfortable facility would be needed to please tourists and to attract something better than the banjo pickers and migrant troupes that now visited Metropolitan Hall. An ardent theatre goer himself, Jones applauded when plans were announced for leasing another local hall and converting it into a theatre to be called the Opera House.³⁰

Two days before Christmas the staff of the Times surprised Jones in his office with the gift of a table lamp. He made a little speech thanking his men and praising their spirit; then cigars and mutual congratulations were passed around as the next day's edition was set up.³¹ The new season was bringing unprecedented prosperity to the Times, and within a month Jones was claiming that his paper had a larger circulation than that of any paper ever published in the state of Florida.³² If there was any doubt of this claim, it vanished on January 28 when a brief editorial in the Times recorded the fact that Jones,

Varnum and Company had bought the Union and all its property. The sale had taken place in the parlor of McCallum's home the day before.³³ There was no triumphant boasting, just a matter-of-fact statement that the two papers would be merged, and a new paper, the Florida Times-Union, would be published in the old Union offices at 56-1/2 West Bay Street.³⁴ That same day Jones penned a letter to Abernethy informing him of the consolidation: "If I can hold the field against all competitors for a year or two I shall have one of the most valuable newspaper properties in the South. As it is we have won a great victory."³⁵ He added that this turn of events had removed his last thoughts of returning to Brooklyn. Two days later he requested that Abernethy make as large a payment on his house as possible since he would need all the money he could get for some time to come.³⁶ During the next two weeks Jones did little else but labor on newspaper business. One of his most important accomplishments was the securing of an exclusive franchise for the Associated Press dispatches in East Florida. No other newspaper in the region could obtain the dispatches without the consent of the Times-Union, thus giving its owners a security which would justify outlays of large sums of money in improving the paper which might not have been profitable in a competitive situation.³⁷

The first issue of the Florida Times-Union appeared on February 4. Its circulation was less than the combined circulation of the Times and the Union since some subscribers

had taken both, but the paper's readership was three times that of the previous year.

The new paper was printed on the Union's water-driven press, and the Times's Campbell press was moved into the job office. Since the Union's old press was hardly capable of handling the paper's increased volume, plans were made for procuring a new press from the Hoe Company of New York.³⁸ Many of the Union's employees were hired by the new paper, including M. R. Bowden who joined Varnum in the city department,³⁹ John Temple Graves did not join the staff for nearly two weeks and then worked only briefly as a canvasser before leaving to co-edit the Florida Herald, an evening paper begun by the Ashmead Brothers. In the fall Graves and Harrison Clark, the paper's business manager, would purchase the Herald. Although the Herald would become the political enemy of the Times-Union, it did not seriously rival it as a newspaper.⁴⁰

With the consolidation of the papers, Jones thought it an appropriate time to answer those who had been pressing the paper to define its political position. He declared his belief that a newspaper was a business, like any other commercial enterprise, and should not be the organ of any political party. Newspaper editors should speak for themselves—not for party leaders. The editor should work with party leaders, not for them. Jones declared that the paper had no "backers," and was free to chart its own course. In politics, the paper would support government by the people of property, education, and sobriety. Since the

Republican party in the South was largely the party of what he termed the ignorant, propertyless, and irresponsible, the Times-Union would be on the side of Democracy most of the time. In local elections it would ignore political lines and stand for fair play, equality under the law, and the promotion of education for all citizens. On national issues the Times-Union would stand for civil service reform, a tariff for revenue only, lower taxes, economy in government, honest government, and aid to education based on need.⁴¹

During the first weeks of the Times-Union's existence Jones wrote several essays on his philosophy of journalism. He felt that the idea of a newspaper as a purveyor of "news" was gaining ground on the traditional view that newspapers should be vehicles of opinion for editors and political parties. The public's curiosity about the world around them was a sound basis for a newspaper enterprise, he felt, and party politics was not. The editorial page should reflect the honest convictions of the editor, and if this evoked the hostility of some, it would at least be worthy of respect.⁴²

As the spring municipal election approached the Times-Union began to give a great deal of attention to the incumbent administration's seeming lack of interest in enforcing the Sunday law or the laws against gambling. On March 3, 1883, Jones ran an illustrated front page feature on a gang of bunko artists operating in Jacksonville, apparently without police intervention.⁴³ Three days later the paper carried a story

describing the excursion of a reporter around town on Sunday afternoon, detailing the bars he entered and the men he saw there. As a gesture of obedience to the Sunday law the front doors of the saloons were closed, but access by side doors was easy and the traffic in and out obvious to policemen walking their beats.⁴⁴ The Times-Union had paid little attention to the question since the last municipal election, but now resurrected it as the leading issue of the city campaign.

The agitation of the Sunday ordinance question was evidently a means of preparing the ground for Jones's candidate for mayor, John Q. Burbridge, who he said would unite the better class of both parties and bring honest government to the town. He warned that if respectable people wanted to have a better government they would have to work for it by attending the ward primaries where delegates to the convention would be selected and the real decision made. But as he had feared, the professional politicians and their allies in the saloon and gambling businesses controlled the primaries and elected their men to the convention.⁴⁵ Despite the Times-Union's warning that they would be held accountable if they did not nominate decent candidates, the Democrats nominated William M. Dancy for mayor and a slate of party regulars for the remaining offices.⁴⁶ Thereupon Jones announced that the Times-Union would support a "citizens" ticket if any group of prominent men would place a slate of good men in the race.⁴⁷ On the next day Jones took the initiative and named his own "Citizens Ticket," composed

of men selected from both the Democratic and Republican slates. Patrick E. McMurray, the Republican nominee for mayor, headed the "Citizens" list, with the only other Republicans being the candidate for treasurer and a black man for assessor.⁴⁸

The Times-Union campaigned hard for its slate, calling Dancy the candidate of the gamblers and the rum dealers, and before the campaign was over the paper had been sued twice. James F. Rownsend, the Democratic nominee for treasurer, asked for \$5,000 damages for a story which suggested that he had broken federal liquor laws.⁴⁹ Manuel C. Jordan, a defeated aspirant for the Republican nomination for mayor, brought suit for \$10,000 based on a story which alleged that he had tried to purchase the nomination.⁵⁰ When the entire Democratic slate was elected, the Times-Union charged that the Democrats had bought black voters "like swine." Although he had failed to accomplish any goal he had set during the campaign, Jones still attempted to claim a victory because Dancy had made a promise of dubious value to enforce the Sunday law.⁵¹

A week after the city election Jacksonville was confronted by a much more serious problem than municipal politics. A Negro laborer from New Orleans brought small pox into the town, and it had spread into the black community. The threat of epidemic diseases to communities in the nineteenth century was a very real and present danger, and the Times-Union had made it a point to remind its readers that constant vigilance be maintained to keep the town clean and healthful.⁵²

Now Jones was faced with the problem of deciding whether to publish news that the disease was already within the city. If the Times-Union publicized the fact that the disease was in Jacksonville it would mean the immediate exodus of vacationers lingering in the city, quarantining by the rest of the state, and possible reprisals against the Times-Union for bringing these calamities to pass. Jones hesitated and did not publish the Jacksonville Board of Health's first report, but he did print a short story on the last page of the Times-Union saying that several Negroes had contracted something which might be small pox, and they had been removed from the city.⁵³ After waiting two days he printed the Board of Health's report; at the same time criticizing the "senseless panic" which had overtaken tourist and citizen alike when rumors of the disease's presence spread around town. He argued that there were no grounds for serious apprehension and that a rail center such as Jacksonville could expect to have small outbreaks from time to time. Cities such as New York and Atlanta were never free from such diseases, yet life there continued regardless.⁵⁴ The Times-Union continued this low key approach to the problem during the early days of the epidemic, advising vaccination of children and the quarantining of homes where the disease was present.⁵⁵ As Jones had foreseen, the publishing of the small pox report sent the tourists away weeks earlier than their usual departure date, and towns on Jacksonville's communication paths erected quarantines against the city. Jones declared

this not necessary; that the epidemic was under control and would be stamped out within two or three weeks.⁵⁶ "The spectacle of the entire State gone wild with panic over a few cases of small-pox, paralyzing trade and checking the tide of immigration, is one of the most extraordinary manifestations of human folly that it has ever been our fortune to witness," editorialized the Times-Union.⁵⁷

As the epidemic went into its third week the paper's tone became more critical, and it began to take the epidemic more seriously. Jones criticized the Board of Health for constructing a poorly-built pest house for Negroes on low ground where almost half the patients succumbed to the disease. This treatment was contrasted to that afforded wealthy whites or any white who could get a "prominent citizen" to intercede in his behalf. Such kindness was not only unfair discrimination, it tended to permit the disease to spread.⁵⁸ This advice caused some whites to accuse Jones of attempting to stir up "race and caste prejudice," but Jones declared that that was just what he was trying to prevent.⁵⁹ By May 3, the Times-Union reported that no new cases of small pox had been reported for six days, and it advised that normal business be resumed while the Board of Health watched over the convalescing.⁶⁰ With that pronouncement, the Times-Union ceased to mention the epidemic.

Although the epidemic was no longer alluded to in the newspapers, this did not mean it had abated. The town's

leaders had decided to keep quiet about the small pox, hoping that business would pick up as the panic subsided and that the disease could be controlled in the meantime. Jones agreed to cooperate with this new departure, and there was no mention of the small pox for most of the month of May. Finally, however, as the epidemic persisted and spread among the white population, Jones decided to speak out. When word of his plan got around, several leading citizens admonished and threatened him not to do it. Ultimately Varnum (in Jones's absence), Mayor Dancy, and Burbridge sat down to discuss a program of positive action. On May 23 and 24 the Times-Union broke the news of the continuing epidemic, and at the same time declared that Jacksonville could rid itself of the disease in two months with concerted effort. Recommendations included a new hospital for all white patients, an improved black hospital, the supervised burning of contaminated buildings, and the compulsory vaccination of the town's entire populace.⁶¹

Quarantines which had been lifted were reimposed as quickly as the railroads carried copies of the Times-Union to neighboring towns.⁶² Having raised the alarm and promoted constructive action to end the epidemic, the Times-Union now returned to the theme that there was no reason for panic and that the quarantines against Jacksonville were unnecessary.⁶³ Still, new cases were reported daily, and the arrival of Dr. Bosso with his patent small pox cure was a sure sign that word of the epidemic had spread far and wide.⁶⁴ Dr. Bosso

placed full-page advertisements in the Times-Union and attracted people in droves who visited his office to buy "protection" in the form of "Dr. Bosso's Blessing to Mankind." Dr. Bosso would meet a swift demise two months later in Pensacola, reportedly from yellow fever, although he treated himself with his own medicine and insisted down to the end that he was not infected.⁶⁵ In Jacksonville the disease was brought under control toward the end of June.

The experience had been instructive for Jones. He had been warned that his course in publicizing the epidemic might ruin his newspaper, but, instead, his efforts promoted public good without detrimental effects to the Times-Union. Also, the haphazard, sometimes vindictive way in which the quarantines against Jacksonville had been imposed convinced Jones that Florida needed a state board of health, and he began to lobby for its creation.⁶⁶

Meanwhile Jones had become involved in a project to construct a ship canal across the Florida peninsula. The idea dated back to the days of Spanish Florida, but immediate interest stemmed from a request made by United States Senator Charles W. Jones in December, 1881, that the War Department assemble all information gathered by previous canal planners.⁶⁷ At the time, the project was endorsed by the Times as practical and desirable.⁶⁸ A year later in December, 1882, the Florida Ship Canal Company was organized in New York. The Times noted its impressive list of directors, but commented that it would

believe in the canal when it saw work underway.⁶⁹ Tangible evidence of the company's activity appeared shortly in the form of two lobbyists who came to Jacksonville and Tallahassee to promote the venture. They were asking the state for a one mile right of way from the Atlantic to the Gulf and 6,000,000 acres of Internal Improvement Fund land to encourage investors to put up the estimated \$40 to \$60 million needed to construct the canal.⁷⁰ The latter request was criticized as another "land grab," but Jones defended the idea on the grounds that the Internal Improvement Fund had been established for just such purposes and that no land would be granted unless the canal were completed.⁷¹

In January a bill to charter a trans-Florida ship canal went before the legislature, and a rival bill was introduced by a barge canal company backed by George F. Drew, J. J. Finley, and George F. Fairbanks, editor of the Fernandina Mirror. The Times-Union suggested that it was time for the state to act on the canal before all internal improvement lands had been given away and no means of attracting capital remained.⁷² The canal bill had no easy course in the legislature. When it emerged there was no provision for a grant of Internal Improvement Fund lands, and the company was required to pay for its right of way land.⁷³ Even in this scaled-down form the Times-Union urged its advancement, saying that the canal should be undertaken while northern capitalists were still interested.⁷⁴

In May the canal company was reorganized. Former Tennessee Governor John C. Brown remained president, Ben Butler, Senator William Mahone of Virginia, and State Senator Austin S. Mann of Hernando County, Florida, were made directors.⁷⁵ At a board meeting a month later Mann and Jones were named as a Florida executive committee to promote the canal, Jones becoming a director at the same time.⁷⁶ By the summer engineers were at work surveying possible routes for the canal and were making confident predictions of initiating construction in September. Jones declared that the venture was not a speculative bubble and that while there were problems to be overcome in construction of the canal they were much less formidable than those faced in Suez.⁷⁷

During the summer Jones, who attended the June meeting of the directors in Washington, traveled around the Southeast promoting the canal. In an interview given to the New Orleans Times-Democrat, he predicted that the Florida canal would divert the flow of Midwestern agricultural produce from New York and make New Orleans the chief market for European grain exports. To those who doubted that the canal could be built he painted the picture of giant dredges scooping out limestone rock with ease.⁷⁸ In July Charles P. Stone, chief engineer of the company and an observer of the Suez Canal's construction while in the service of the Khedive of Egypt, arrived in Jacksonville and after a brief visit pronounced the project feasible and possible of construction at a reasonable cost.⁷⁹ Jones went to

New York for the next meeting of the board of directors where Stone presented a report outlining plans for a 137.5 mile canal which would be built at a cost of \$46,000,000. The highest elevation to be traversed would be 143 feet—somewhat less than had been anticipated. According to Jones's dispatch to the Times-Union, the only difficulty remaining was the determination of means for financing the project.⁸⁰ Fairbanks's Fernandina Mirror said that such talk was overly optimistic, but Jones attributed Fairbanks's criticism to his interest in a barge canal.⁸¹

On December 1, 1883, Jones, Mann, Choate, and A. W. Jones of Virginia were granted a charter by the state for the Florida Ship and Transit Canal Company. The company was authorized to construct a canal and to sell \$40,000,000 worth of stock.⁸² Jones left for New York to confer with the directors later that month. He sent back promising reports of impending sales of stock, but in a private letter to Abernethy he suggested that all was not well with the venture.⁸³ Jones remained in the North until the directors met in New York on January 9, 1884, and, although it is not known what transpired there, when he returned to Florida he dropped all connection with the canal project and did not mention the canal again in the Times-Union except to disassociate himself from it.⁸⁴ The canal company continued to exist for some years more, but no attempt was made to begin construction of a canal.

In the fall of 1883 the question of the Sunday law returned to the forefront, although the Times-Union had noted

earlier that Mayor Dancy was not enforcing Sunday closings.⁸⁵ On a Sunday morning late in October George W. Jones received word in newspaper headquarters that the police were shutting down the news stands. He left the office and walked down Bay Street to see for himself. He then visited Bettelini's restaurant and Tugin's saloon to have a few beers and verify that the drinking establishments were not closed down.⁸⁶ At the mayor's court next morning it was revealed that not all the saloons had remained unmolested. Several bar keepers were convicted of violating the law and were fined, along with news stand owners William H. Ashmead and Telfair Stockton.⁸⁷ The mayor's conversion to strict enforcement of the Sunday law was explained by the Times-Union as an attempt to make the law so unpalatable to the public that it would be repealed altogether. It was pointed out that Dancy had been one of those who, a year previously, had tried to "amend" the Sunday law to make it more comprehensive, and it had been alleged then that his ulterior motive was total repeal.⁸⁸ When the mayor continued to enforce the law rigidly against all Sunday enterprises, the Times-Union threw its support behind a move by Burbridge to modify the law so as to direct it explicitly against the liquor dealers. Burbridge's proposal was voted down in the council by a vote of two to five.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, the question of temperance, liquor license laws, and related subjects became a major item of attention in the Times-Union, and Jones predicted that the question would increasingly force itself on the public's consciousness and into politics.⁹⁰

In October Jones announced that the weekly edition of the newspaper, the Weekly Florida Times, had become the most widely circulated newspaper in the state during its first year of existence.⁹¹ Jones also was proud of the fact that it had subscribers in most of the states and territories of the country. Since its readers were largely rural agrarians, there was more emphasis on farm and garden topics in the Weekly Florida Times than in the Times-Union. J. G. Knapp was the major contributor of articles on topics of special interest to Florida farmers.⁹² In August George W. Jones had been sent to the Southern Exposition at Louisville to open a booth at the Florida exhibit and distribute some 50,000 special editions of the Weekly Florida Times, an effort which benefited both Florida and the newspaper.⁹³

The Times-Union itself had continued to prosper. After the merger of the papers it had become apparent that the Times-Union was outgrowing its plant facilities and in April it was announced that a contract had been signed with Hoe Company of New York for a \$6,000 press capable of printing 3,500 copies per hour.⁹⁴ In May Jones and his head pressman went to New York to inspect the press and to arrange for increased telegraphic news and correspondence from northern cities.⁹⁵ In that same month the last of the kerosene lamps were taken out of the Times-Union building and were replaced with gas lamps.⁹⁶ The new Hoe press, which arrived early in August, turned out a four-page, seven-column paper, which by winter had been enlarged to eight columns on week days and nine columns on Sunday, making room

for more Associated Press material and other "specials." The faster press also facilitated the publication of late evening telegraphic dispatches. During the season the paper featured local society notes by a Mrs. Ingram, a decided innovation in a male profession. By the end of 1883 Jones was claiming a circulation twice that of the old Union or Times and five times that of any other Florida daily.⁹⁷ Jones wrote Abernethy: "The men and the staff seem to be working together harmoniously, and business is booming to a degree far beyond our most sanguine expectations."⁹⁸

The success of the Times-Union was not an unmixed blessing for it meant that Jones's responsibilities grew apace. In an effort to mitigate the stress of his habitual dawn-to-midnight routine, Jones reorganized the staff of the paper. John Ransom was made chief of staff with general supervisory duties and responsibility for some editorial writing. Howard Littlefield was given control of state and telegraphic news, while Bowden and Wright handled local news.⁹⁹ John Varnum sold his share of the paper to Jones and his brother, and became secretary of the Jacksonville Board of Trade.¹⁰⁰

In an effort to improve his health and that of his wife, Jones purchased a horse and buggy and made it a habit to take time off from newspaper work for a daily drive around the town and riverside.¹⁰¹ To save trips between the office and his home, Jones had them connected by telephone.¹⁰² All this did

not mean that Jones's life became more tranquil. If anything, the reverse was true. Perhaps the most significant development in his affairs was his increasing involvement in the politics of the city and state, which, he complained, was becoming a burden itself.¹⁰³

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹Edward C. Williamson, "Black Belt Political Crisis: The Savage-James Lynching, 1882," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLV (April, 1967), 402-409.

²Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, August 26, 1882.

³Ibid., August 28, September 1, 1882.

⁴Ibid., September 8, 1882.

⁵Ibid., September 13, 1882.

⁶Ibid., September 14, 1882.

⁷Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, September 26, 1882.

⁸Tallahassee Land of Flowers, October 7, 1882.

⁹Pensacola Commercial, September 15, 22, 26, 1882.

¹⁰Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, September 17, 1882.

¹¹Jones to Abernethy, July 23, 1882, JP.

¹²Jacksonville Morning News, June 6, July 14, 1886.

¹³Gainesville Weekly Bee, June 30, 1882.

¹⁴Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, August 13, 1882.

¹⁵Ibid., August 24, 1882.

¹⁶Ibid., September 29, October 25, 1882.

¹⁷Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 28, 1882;
Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 21, 23, 1883.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (continued)

- 18 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 9, 1882.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., September 22, 1882.
- 21 Ibid., October 15, 1882.
- 22 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, May 2, 1882.
- 23 Jones to Abernethy, December 10, 1882, JP.
- 24 Ibid., December 29, 1882, JP.
- 25 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, October 17, 1882.
- 26 Ibid., October 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 1882.
- 27 Ibid., October 21, 1882.
- 28 Ibid., November 26, 1882.
- 29 Ibid., February 12, December 7, 1882.
- 30 Ibid., December 12, 14, 15, 19, 1882.
- 31 Ibid., December 24, 1882.
- 32 Ibid., January 21, 1883.
- 33 Ibid., January 31, 1882.
- 34 Ibid., January 28, 1883.
- 35 Jones to Abernethy, January 28, 1883, JP.
- 36 Ibid., January 30, 1883, JP.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (continued)

- 37 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 14, 1883.
- 38 Ibid., February 4, 1883.
- 39 Ibid., February 4, 14, 1883.
- 40 James Esgate, Jacksonville The Metropolis of Florida (Boston, 1885), 48; Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, October 23, 1883.
- 41 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 4, 1883.
- 42 Ibid., February 16, 1883.
- 43 Ibid., March 3, 1883.
- 44 Ibid., March 6, 1883.
- 45 Ibid., March 9, 11, 14, 1883.
- 46 Ibid., March 16, 1883.
- 47 Ibid., March 17, 1883.
- 48 Ibid., March 18, 1883.
- 49 Ibid., March 24, 1885.
- 50 Ibid., March 27, 1883.
- 51 Ibid., April 2, 1883.
- 52 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, April 20, September 20, 1882.
- 53 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 6, June 1, 1883.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (continued)

54 Ibid., April 8, 1883.

55 Ibid., April 12, 13, 1883.

56 Ibid., April 20, 1883.

57 Ibid., April 22, 1883.

58 Ibid., April 24, 25, 1883.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid., May 3, 1883.

61 Ibid., May 23, 24, 1883.

62 Ibid., May 25, 26, 1883.

63 Ibid., May 25, 26, June 17, 1883.

64 Ibid., June 11, 1883.

65 Ibid., June 11, 14, 17, September 7, 1883.

66 Ibid., June 28, July 17, 1883; for another account of the epidemic see Webster Merritt, A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County (Gainesville, 1949), 131-146.

67 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, December 11, 1881, January 3, 1882.

68 Ibid., July 12, 1882.

69 Ibid., December 27, 1882.

70 Ibid., January 12, 1883.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (continued)

⁷¹Ibid., January 14, 1883; Pensacola Commercial, January 26, 1883.

⁷²Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 19, 1883.

⁷³Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida at its Twelfth Session, 1883 (Tallahassee, 1883), 93-100.

⁷⁴Ibid., February 20, 1883.

⁷⁵Ibid., May 10, 1883.

⁷⁶Ibid., June 9, 1883.

⁷⁷Ibid., June 15, 1883.

⁷⁸Ibid., June 23, 1883.

⁷⁹Ibid., July 22, 1883.

⁸⁰Ibid., August 21, 1883.

⁸¹Fernandina Florida Mirror, September 29, 1883; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 11, 1883.

⁸²Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, December 11, 1883.

⁸³Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, December 11, 1883, Jones to Abernethy, December 29, 1883, JP.

⁸⁴Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 4, 1884.

⁸⁵Ibid., May 20, 1883.

⁸⁶Ibid., October 23, 1883.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III (continued)

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Ibid.

88
Ibid.; Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, May 2, 1882.

89
Ibid., November 21, 1883.

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Ibid., October 13, 1883.

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Ibid., October 24, 1883.

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102
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CHAPTER IV

EDITOR AS POLITICIAN

In 1884 the Times-Union was unusually restrained in its comments on the city elections. Mayor Dancy and the entire Democratic slate, with one exception, were elected to office, and the Times-Union had only the mildest criticism to make of "the boys." The reason, as Jones was candid to admit, was that local elections influenced state and national elections, and that the Times-Union did not wish to hurt the Democratic party's chances by creating internal dissension. Dancy was given credit for having the best interests of the town at heart, and it was even admitted that the Sunday law as it was presently written was impossible to enforce rationally.¹ The Republicans had placed themselves behind a reform "citizens" ticket, which Jones called a sham, but he declared that if a real reform slate were ever brought forward he would "set the St. Johns River afire" in support of it.²

In spite of Jones's renewed avowals that the Times-Union was not abandoning enlightened independence for crass partisanship, it was becoming, at least for a time, more and more a Democratic party organ and less the champion of controversial causes.³ But Jones had no intention of becoming merely the

servant of Democratic party leaders; he aspired to leadership himself. Jones had great faith in the power of the press to control public opinion and thus influence the behavior of politicians. He observed that Charles E. Dyke, recently retired editor of the Tallahassee Floridan, had never sought or held public office but had often exerted more power than the men who did. With Dyke's retirement, Jones predicted, the Floridian would become just another newspaper.⁴ As editor of the state's largest newspaper, Jones was in a position to replace Dyke as the leading politician-editor of the state. Before the 1884 election campaign was over, stories had begun to circulate that party leaders objected to Jones's political activity and resented his arrogant, know-it-all attitude about state politics.⁵

The theme of party unity was not original to the Times-Union in 1884, for the state Democracy was threatened by a strong "Independent" movement.⁶ The movement had originated among dissident elements in the Democratic party—disappointed office seekers, ambitious young men, discontented cracker farmers—but it had increasingly become a fusionist effort by which the Republican party hoped to regain its lost power in the state. When Jones came to Florida and established an "independent" newspaper, some thought that he was in sympathy with the movement, but Jones took care to explain that although the Times was independent it was not in sympathy with the "small body of office-seeking malcontents" calling themselves Independents.⁷ Later Jones came to look more favorably on the

Independents, who were most active in Madison County. If these men were not simply "sorehead office seekers," Jones wrote, and really did stand for fair elections and social progress, then they ought to be encouraged.⁸ It was only when efforts were made to fuse Independents and Republicans that the Times condemned the movement.⁹

After the fall elections in 1882, J. Willis Menard, Negro editor of the Key West News, wrote Republican national chairman William E. Chandler saying that if the party wanted to carry Florida in 1884 it must place men in the federal offices who would work with the state's Negroes. He added that all the black leaders favored the Independent movement.¹⁰ When Menard went to Washington in March, 1883, to argue for a Republican-Independent fusion, the Times-Union said that the movement must be resisted because the Republicans would dominate such a coalition and, if successful, would return Florida to government by the lower classes. Jones admitted that if the Independents could swing enough Democratic voters over to the fusion ticket the Independents could win with the help of the Republicans.¹¹ The only hitch to the plan, Jones explained, was that white Republicans holding federal offices would resist the efforts of the blacks to undercut their leadership. This would mean a split in the Republican ranks and the failure of Independentism.¹² Jones began at once to help make this forecast a reality by publishing a letter from Republican state executive committee chairman Edward M. Cheney denouncing the proposed alliance with the Independents.¹³

The Negro revolt against the leadership of the white Republican office-holders began to take concrete shape at a meeting called by Menard in Gainesville on February 5, 1884, where it was decided to enlist black support for the Independents.¹⁴ When the Republican convention meeting at Fernandina renominated Bisbee for Congress, Florida's black Reconstruction Congressman Josiah T. Walls bolted the convention and had his own name placed in nomination. The Times-Union printed Walls's accusation that Bisbee had packed the convention, and treated Walls's candidacy favorably since it was expected that he had no chance of winning and would take votes away from Bisbee.¹⁵ In general, however, the Times-Union decried the attempt of the blacks to take control of the Republican party away from "respectable white Republicans."¹⁶ The movement was described as a grab for spoils rather than as a genuine party reform. This demand for more offices for blacks meant, declared the Times-Union, "negro rule; and that will never again be submitted to in any Southern State."¹⁷ The Independents were accused of inciting race hatred and of spreading stories that the Democrats intended to take away Negro rights.¹⁸ The Times-Union said that neither charge was true: The Democratic party was the "best and truest friend" of the Negro and was pledged to protect Negro rights, but whites, Democrats and Republicans alike, would not vote to place blacks in positions of power again.¹⁹

The restlessness of the Negroes under the leadership of the federal office-holders had been noted by former Governor Harrison Reed, who proposed to Henry S. Sanford, former American diplomat who had become a major Florida developer, that they prevent the impending desertion of the blacks to the Independents by offering themselves as leaders. As a step in displacing the leadership of the "ring," Reed proposed that he, Sanford, and several railroad men combine to establish a Republican newspaper themselves.²⁰ Sanford did not agree to join this venture immediately, but Reed proceeded with his plans, fearful that Bisbee and the "ring" would establish a newspaper themselves.²¹ It was decided that S. A. Adams's Palatka Journal would be purchased and moved to Jacksonville. Adams felt that the newspaper could become a success in Jacksonville since business and railroad support was assured and because local merchants were unhappy with the supposedly high rates they were forced to pay for advertising in the Times-Union due to its monopoly of the Jacksonville field.²² By April Sanford had been induced to join the venture. He saw the Times-Union's monopoly of the Associated Press dispatches as a problem, but felt that if rights to the dispatches could not be purchased from Jones at a reasonable price, the paper could begin as a bi-weekly with a "breezy" format to attract readers. He would have preferred someone other than Reed as editor, but felt he would be adequate. Sanford went to Henry Plant and other railroad men who promised their advertising patronage. The only holdouts among Republicans were the "ring" office-holders, but Sanford felt they would be forced to join or be left behind. The paper was to be "racy, newsey, & aggressive against the democrats, and

with the promotion of the material interests of Florida, through protection, at the fore." An understanding would be reached with the Independents, and the Republicans would back their ticket in the state.²³

Sanford and Reed's Florida Journal began publication in Jacksonville on May 26, appearing twice weekly on Mondays and Thursdays. It had not secured the Associated Press dispatches and was plagued with a shortage of advertising patrons. Part of its problems stemmed from the poor reputation Republican newspapers had acquired over the years, many people refusing to subscribe for fear that it would fold as soon as the election campaign was over.²⁴ The hostility of the Jacksonville "ring" also hurt the paper, and Adams complained that Bisbee and his friends were steering friendly merchants away from the newspaper.²⁵ Because the Journal endorsed the Independent movement the "ring" was doing its best to kill the paper.²⁶ However, the Times-Union's grasp on the Jacksonville field was probably as great a handicap as any of the other difficulties. The Journal aimed criticisms at Jones with regularity, sarcastically referring to him as "the great Florida journalist" and noting his airs of superiority.²⁷ Jones could afford to overlook most of this criticism as the chattering of an insignificant Radical organ, but the continued personal abuse finally led him to blast the Journal as "the most venomous, vindictive, and defamatory sheet that is issued in the United States to-day," but this criticism was too harsh.²⁸

While the Republicans were backing the Independents in 1884, there was also a substantial defection of white Democratic voters as well. The accusation that Independents were dis-appointed office seekers had some substance, for under the constitution of 1868 few local offices were elective. The idea of giving the governor power to appoint county officials had originated as a Republican device to prevent the election of Democrats and also to keep major state offices in the hands of whites, but when state government returned to the hands of the Democrats, it worked to prevent the election of Republicans.²⁹ However, many local Democrats, particularly in counties outside the black belt where there was no threat of blacks' being elected, resented the centralization of power in Tallahassee. Benjamin Harrison of Palatka wrote the Times-Union saying that "young Democrats" felt the system was a failure and wanted a constitutional revision to permit county elections.³⁰ George Troup Maxwell, a Democrat-turned-Independent, wrote that Independentism had its origins in 1879 when Governor Bloxham refused to call a constitutional convention even after the Democratic caucus had endorsed the idea.³¹ Charles Fildes, editor of the Gainesville Weekly Bee and a convert to Independentism, admitted that he and other South Floridians felt that they had been denied positions in state government because of favoritism for black belt, "Tallahassee Ring," men.³² There were indications that farmers and working men resented the Bloxham administration's seeming preference for wealthy

investors and corporations. In June farmer elements withdrew from a precinct caucus in Putnam County, vowing their intention of holding a caucus of their own.³³ Toward the close of the campaign the Times-Union declared that a forged letter was being circulated over the name of the Democratic nominee saying that blacks and "poor whites" should be kept away from the polls. It also published an apology from the Democratic nominee to the Jacksonville Workingmen's Association for his failure to make an address before them during the campaign.³⁴

The Independents held their convention at Live Oak on June 18, with about a hundred white and Negro delegates in attendance, watched by a curious crowd of Democrats and local blacks. They adopted a platform denouncing the Democratic party's alleged favoritism toward railroads, corporations, and large land holders. The platform denounced Governor Bloxham's sale of 4,000,000 acres of land to Philadelphia businessman Hamilton Disston and land grants to the railroads. The Independents called for a free ballot and a full count, a railroad commission, the convening of a constitutional convention, local option liquor laws, and an end of give-aways to big land speculators. Frank Pope, a young lawyer of Madison County, was nominated for governor and Jonathan C. Greeley of Jacksonville, a Republican, for lieutenant governor.³⁵ The Times-Union commented editorially that it did not think the alliance between Pope and the Republicans would succeed, and the movement would therefore come to nothing.³⁶ However, contrary to Jones's

expectations, the Republican convention did throw the weight of the party behind the Independent candidates, although Pope and Greely were "endorsed" rather than nominated outright. This may have been a tactic to lessen the stigma of "Radical" support which could be expected to scare away potential defectors from the Democratic ranks.³⁷

The Democrats faced the task of preserving party unity under pressure from the Independents aimed at fracturing white solidarity. The incumbent governor, William D. Bloxham, had several solid achievements to his credit and would have been the natural choice for renomination except that he was the focus of Independent charges of "ring rule" and pro-corporation favoritism. Moreover, he had announced that he would not be a candidate due to grief over the recent death of his daughter.³⁸ When Bloxham made his withdrawal announcement, Jones questioned whether this might not be a passing sentiment, and Bloxham's name remained among those mentioned for the position, but it is probable that he sincerely did not want a second term.³⁹ A professor from the Lake City agricultural college who visited Bloxham in the summer of 1884 described Bloxham as "broken down," stricken with grief, and determined to retire from politics.⁴⁰ The Times-Union declared that Bloxham's retirement from the field was in the best interest of the party since some of the controversial actions of his administration had earned him many enemies, and the party needed a candidate who would not alienate any segment of the public.⁴¹

By April the men being mentioned most often for the nomination by the Times-Union were Bloxham, Drew, and Mann. Bloxham still maintained that he was not a candidate, but his friends believed that he would accept the nomination if it were offered him, and he sometimes encouraged this idea.⁴² Drew was seen by the Times-Union as a good candidate and a man who could attract the votes of Northern immigrants and Independents because of his identification with the progressive wing of the party. Mann, a personal acquaintance of Jones, was the candidate of South Florida.⁴³ In May Drew openly declared his candidacy.⁴⁴

During June rumors of a Bloxham-Drew feud began to circulate. At the Putnam County convention it was stated by some that Drew would not support Bloxham if he were the nominee of the party, but this was denied at the time by Drew's friends.⁴⁵ To investigate these rumors a Times-Union reporter was sent to interview Drew on June 10. The result was a bombshell: Drew declared flatly that he would not support Bloxham because Bloxham had taken the nomination away from him in 1880 after having promised not to enter the contest. Drew stated that this year Bloxham was playing the same game by publicly disavowing interest in the nomination while permitting his friends to seek it on his behalf.⁴⁶ Bloxham sent a denial of the story to the Times-Union and repeated his declaration that he would not be a candidate.⁴⁷

Privately Bloxham wrote Jones that he feared the Drew interview would create "bitter feelings" and hurt the party's chances in the election. Bloxham told Jones that he was anxious to see a new man nominated, but he was reluctant to make a final disavowal of his candidacy unless Drew would do likewise.⁴⁸

Dyke, one of the leaders in securing Bloxham's nomination in 1880, gave an interview to the Tallahassee Floridian saying that he had worked for Bloxham's nomination in 1880 without Bloxham's knowledge and that Drew could not have secured renomination in 1880 in any event.⁴⁹

The immediate reaction to the interview was that Drew had knocked both himself and Bloxham out of the race, and that the party should take advantage of the situation to nominate a third man.⁵⁰ Some thought that Jones had maneuvered Drew and Bloxham into a situation where they would kill each other off, but this theory is flawed by the fact that Jones was returning from the Republican national convention in Chicago when the interview was made.⁵¹

The Democratic state convention was held in Pensacola, the home town of Edward A. Perry, and its selection was viewed as an indication of Perry's strength in the race for the nomination.⁵² Jones was among those who advocated the selection of Pensacola earlier, probably because he had decided that Perry was the man to support for the nomination.⁵³ Jones had not been elected as a delegate to the convention, but a

Jacksonville delegate gave Jones authorization to attend as his alternate. Jones went to Pensacola, a "straggling and sleepy-looking" town, with forbodings of disaster because of the Drew-Bloxham embroilment, but this threat evaporated when both Bloxham and Drew refused to allow their names to be entered in the contest.⁵⁴

During the convention Jones telegraphed back to the Times-Union that Bloxham had written a letter in behalf of Perry, and, despite an "authorized" denial in the Tallahassee Floridian, Bloxham was supporting Perry.⁵⁵ During the early balloting Perry, Comptroller W. D. Barnes, and Samuel Pasco of Monticello divided the convention's votes fairly evenly. Pasco, the chairman of the state executive committee, had a Harvard education and may have been suspect in the eyes of black belt conservatives. When Barnes withdrew after three ballots, Perry was nominated.⁵⁶ A week later Bloxham wrote Perry that the story of the endorsement letter had been devised to drive Drew's friends to Pasco. He admitted that he had favored him or Barnes for the nomination, but Bloxham suggested that Perry try to stop press reports that he was responsible for the convention's decision.⁵⁷ Jones was almost certainly aware of the circumstances behind Perry's nomination, but he supported him vigorously during the campaign, denying that he was the candidate of Bloxham, the "ring," the railroads, or the rich.⁵⁸

At the convention Jones had been a member of the committee on resolutions and the sub-committee on the platform. He read the final draft of the platform to the convention, defending

its low tariff plank against Alexander St. Clare-Abrams, Charles Dougherty, and other advocates of protection. After a heated floor fight the tariff plank was altered to suit the high-tariff men.⁵⁹ The proposal to call a constitutional convention was welcomed by delegates outside the black belt and was accepted by the black belt as representative of the overwhelming sentiment of the party. Anti-ring spokesmen felt the platform was too complimentary of the Bloxham administration, but were satisfied by the endorsement of a new constitutional convention which presumably would end the centralization of power in Tallahassee.⁶⁰

The platform also contained an endorsement of Grover Cleveland for the Democratic nomination. Later Jones and Mann were to claim that they and the "progressive element" maneuvered the convention into an instruction for Cleveland over the opposition of the old-line Democrats, who backed Thomas F. Bayard as a southern man.⁶¹ It is probable that Jones and Mann led the move to endorse Cleveland, but several newspapers representative of conservative Democrats had come out for Cleveland before the convention, indicating that Cleveland had supporters in both wings of the party.⁶² Jones, despite his 1882 endorsement of Cleveland for the presidency, was a late arrival on the New York governor's bandwagon. He had favored Tilden's nomination until the summer of 1884 when it was apparent that Tilden could not make the race due to a paralytic stroke, and it was not until June that the Times-Union decided that Cleveland should be the nominee.⁶³

The convention of the Second Congressional District to nominate a candidate for Congress convened in Palatka a week after the Pensacola convention. While a summer thunderstorm drenched the town, the delegates labored through fourteen indecisive ballots, and then recessed for dinner. During the adjournment prior to the evening session Charles Fildes attempted to assault Jones in a local hotel lobby. Fildes, editor of the Gainesville Bee and brother-in-law of Frank Pope, had been elected as a delegate, but had since come out with an endorsement of the Independent movement. Jones had raised the question in the Times-Union whether Fildes should be allowed to sit in the Democratic convention. During the night session Fildes, having declared that he was armed and would fight to speak, entered the hall and attempted to address the convention. He was shouted down and evicted from the premises by the sergeants at arms.⁶⁴ When the excitement of the incident died down, the delegates proceeded to nominate Charles Dougherty, an orange grower and member of the state legislature from Volusia County.

Jones received the nomination of Dougherty, who had fought him on the tariff plank a week earlier, with little enthusiasm, but declared that he was the party's choice and must be supported.⁶⁵ Jones was not the only one dissatisfied with Dougherty's nomination, and opposition to him within the ranks threatened his chances of election. While Jones said his nomination was secured by good organization, others

attributed it toward politics or wire pulling by the "Tallahassee Ring."⁶⁶ Despite his early antipathy toward the Democratic nominee, Jones worked hard for his election, appearing at Dougherty rallies and lending him the support of his columns.⁶⁷ As time passed, Dougherty appeared to be gaining strength and proving wrong those who felt he would be an easy mark for Bisbee.⁶⁸

Although Jones was in the thick of state politics, he was, if anything, more interested in the Presidential race. In June he had gone to the Republican convention in Chicago and had been invited on the floor as a guest of the national committee. He talked to Whitelaw Reid, the politician-editor of the New York Tribune, who accurately predicted that Blaine would receive the nomination. Jones noted the enthusiasm for Blaine among the delegates, but said his nomination would lead to Democratic victory in November because reform Republicans would not vote for Blaine.⁶⁹

A month later Jones again went to Chicago as a spectator at the Democratic convention. Earlier he had expected to go as a Florida delegate, and his name was entered as a candidate for a spot on the delegation at the Pensacola convention, but it had been removed on the request of some Middle Florida delegates.⁷⁰ His first reaction at the convention was one of disappointment, for it appeared that the New York Democrats were so divided between the Cleveland men and the Tammany men that there was no hope of carrying the state in the fall.

His spirits revived as it became apparent that Cleveland would have little difficulty in securing the nomination. He spent a good deal of time observing the labors of the platform committee, and expressed admiration at its adroit handling of sensitive issues. He was particularly interested in the tariff plank, since he had predicted that the low tariff stance which had been rejected at Pensacola would be adopted by the national convention. However, the plank adopted at Chicago was equivocal and not squarely low tariff.⁷¹ Jones left Chicago with a train load of Georgia delegates who sang and cheered on their journey and congratulated Jones for the Florida delegation's solid support for Cleveland.⁷²

Early in August Jones received a letter from Cleveland complimenting his labors for the party and expressing the hope "that the work will be so well done, and the result so decisive, that there will be no temptation to our opponents to attempt to steal the State."⁷³ This reference by the Democratic nominee illustrated the lingering fear that the Republicans would attempt to repeat their "steal" of 1876 in which Florida's electoral votes had been decisive. Cleveland possibly invited Jones to visit him for a conference and asked him to act as his campaign representative in the state.⁷⁴ Late in September Jones traveled North to see Senator Arthur Gorman, Cleveland's secretary Daniel Lamont, and other Democratic leaders, and he was among the steady stream of callers who spoke with Cleveland in his executive office in Albany on September 23.⁷⁵ Cleveland

assured Jones of his confidence in victory, but Jones found him uninterested in talking about the campaign. Jones described him as "rather above the medium height, stout, but not too stout for symmetry. He has a fine, clear grey eye which meets you with a look of candor and friendliness; and his whole appearance is that of a man who is robust and hearty in mind as well as body."⁷⁶

During the remainder of the campaign Jones worked dilligently for the election of Cleveland, devoting, perhaps, more attention in the Times-Union to national politics than to the state races. After the election, Mann wrote Cleveland saying that Jones "did more work in the Campaign for the national ticket than any other man in the state."⁷⁷ Mann was possibly writing in the hope of sharing with Jones in the fruits of success, but his assessment of Jones's work may well be accurate.

The Times-Union treated the national contest as a battle between right and unrighteousness: "the question at issue is moral rather than political." Blaine and his supporters represented the worst in American society and character: "Surrounding and supporting him, running his campaign and placing him under obligations for services rendered, is the most nefarious gang of political freebooters ever brought together in any age or country."⁷⁸ The Times-Union gave credence to every slanderous story about Blaine concocted during the campaign. Cleveland, on the other hand, was

pictured as the personification of the country's moral conscience.⁷⁹ The only "political" issue which intruded into the discussion of the candidates was the tariff.⁸⁰ Florida citrus growers feared that duties on Mediterranean and Caribbean citrus would be lowered by a Democratic administration, but Jones argued that only taxes on necessities of life would be lowered and that the duties on citrus, a luxury, would be increased.⁸¹

The campaign, national and state, was extremely emotional, and as it drew to a close the Times-Union assumed a tone of extreme partisanship. Almost daily the people were reminded of the horrors of Reconstruction, workers were advised to burn the mills of employers who attempted to coerce employees to vote Republican, and warning was given that "thousands" of Georgia Negroes would attempt to enter the state to vote fraudulently.⁸² Because it was thought that these out-of-state Negroes would be permitted to vote by "swearing in" their votes at the polls, the Times-Union declared that only properly registered voters should be permitted to vote. This stance aroused the ire of Republicans who said that it was a device to permit registration officials to arbitrarily disfranchise Negro voters.⁸³ The Times-Union ran a daily tabulation of registered white and Negro voters in Duval County and urged whites to register so that the Negro majority in the county could be reduced.⁸⁴ By election day Jones was satisfied that a white majority would be polled in the state

and district if frauds were prevented. He advised Democrats to behave peacefully and obey the laws.⁸⁵

The Times-Union building was a center of activity in the hours and days after the polls closed. On the evening of election day a lime-light stereopticon was set up in the business office window to project returns on a screen affixed to a building across the street. Crowds of excited whites and Negroes milled in the street below waiting for the latest returns to come in on the wire, cheered pictures of their favorite candidates, and read advertisements by local merchants.⁸⁶ Citizens from around the state who could not wait for the mails to bring the results telegraphed Jones to get the latest news. Sales of the paper reportedly soared above the 5,000 mark for days after the election.⁸⁷

Returns from the state brought news of victory, but the closeness of the gubernatorial race brought sobering realization of how serious the Independent movement had been and demolished the Times-Union's confident prediction that Perry would carry the state by 8,000 votes. The margin was only half that.⁸⁸ The Democrats did, nonetheless, sweep the election. Dougherty won the Congressional race in the second district by a larger margin than expected.

The early news of the national election seemed "almost too good to be true": after a lapse of a quarter century, a Democrat seemed to have won the White House. The day after the election the Times-Union proclaimed Cleveland's victory

was almost assured, but on Thursday the picture seemed less certain, as the Associated Press doctored its dispatches to suppress news of Cleveland's win in the state of New York. Finally even the die-hard Associated Press was forced to admit Republican defeat, and when conclusive dispatches came in over the wires to Jacksonville Thursday night bells were rung and a cannon fired in the darkness to celebrate the victory. Friday morning's paper proclaimed: "Cleveland's Election is Beyond Doubt."⁸⁹

After the rigors of the campaign and the elation of victory had passed, Jones was despondent. "I feel sluggish and apathetic and inclined to question whether the game was so fascinating or important as to justify burning the candle at both ends," he confided to Abernethy. "The truth is the magnitude of the business and the responsibilities of my political position become more fettering every day. I feel sometimes as if I were in a vortex from which there is no escape." He continued:

Yet the work was of a character that might well enlist the ardor and zeal of every thinking man. Here at the South, in any State in which the result is in doubt, a campaign such as we have just passed through is in the strictest sense of the word a battle for civilization. The contest in the National arena was equally a struggle for the maintenance of republican institutions in their purity. I have felt all along that much more hung upon the result than the mere question as to the supremacy of the Republican or the Democratic party. The Independents sounded the true key-note of the campaign—the issue was moral rather than political. The nomination of Blaine was a challenge

to the moral sentiment of the country, and if he had won success through the corrupt and corrupting agencies upon which he ostentatiously placed his reliance I verily believe that the country would have entered upon a course that could not have been arrested without a resort to something like revolution. . . .

For myself personally the campaign has wrought results that would open up large possibilities if I were an ambitious man. I am now recognized both inside and outside the State as the head of the Democratic party in the state, and as having contributed most to the brilliant victory we have won all along the line. The homage and gratitude offered me is somewhat overpowering, but it does not elate me in the least. I accept it as vindication of my past course, but it does not tempt me to reach out for more. I have no taste for politics. . . .

Jones's success in politics, although probably less important than he seemed to have thought, was paralleled by the growth of the Times-Union. During the previous season it had expanded in size, and illustrations, most of prominent men, began to appear more regularly, usually in the Sunday issues. The news content of the paper was improving as well. Jones had been dissatisfied with the Associated Press's emphasis on stories of crime, violence, and calamity, and had turned to items of more substance. Probably this evolution was facilitated by the increased volume of telegraphic news being received by the paper, which enabled him to use some dispatches in full and condense the sensational trivia to one-liners.⁹¹ The Times had received 3,000 words per day at its inception; this was increased to 8,000 words per day in the spring of 1884, and by fall it was taking 10,500 words daily.⁹² Part of this increase was due to lower telegraphic rates.⁹³ As a

promoter and member of the Southern Press Association, Jones worked with the other southern Associated Press agents to get more and better wire service for the southern states.⁹⁴ As in the past, the most difficult problem was organizing a system of correspondents in Florida towns to report local news, but even here the Times-Union continued to make progress, important state news now being sent by wire rather than through the mails.⁹⁵

In September the Times-Union leased the spacious three story McConihe building at the corner of Bay and Laura. The business offices, editorial rooms, job printing room and mail room were on the second floor, and the composing room and book bindery were on the third floor. The Times-Union's six presses, powered by water from the city works, were located in a corrugated iron shed behind the building connected to the composing room by an elevator. A new set of smaller type was purchased which enabled the paper to carry one-sixth more news without increasing its overall size. A circulation four times that of the Times-Union after consolidation was claimed, and the Weekly Times's circulation was set at 5,520.⁹⁶ And already Jones was preparing for more innovations for the future. The previous May he had purchased a corner lot at Pine (now Main) and Adams as the future site for a permanent Times-Union building.⁹⁷

Jones's interest in journalism extended beyond the purvey of his own newspaper; he also undertook a leadership role in the organization of a national press association.

In February, 1885, a group of editors from around the nation gathered at the New Orleans Industrial and Cotton Centennial to organize the International Editorial Association (shortly to become the National Editorial Association). There were perhaps one-hundred editors present at the seminal meeting, including a large delegation from Florida. The Florida Press Association had held its annual convention at the fair a short time earlier, electing Jones president of the state organization.⁹⁸ Jones was elected vice-president of the newly created national press association, and Benjamin B. Herbert, the originator of the idea, was chosen president. Herbert, an editor in Red Wing, Minnesota, had sent out a circular in December, 1884, asking that newspapermen assemble at the New Orleans exposition.⁹⁹ The purpose of the organization was to unite editors and publishers across the country so that they might better cope with the problems arising from the increasing complexity of the newspaper industry. The National Editorial Association became and remains today the leading association of rural and small newspapers in the United States.

Jones was also a leader in the Southern Press Association, an organization composed of the Associated Press agents in the Southeast, and he managed to have its 1885 meeting scheduled for Jacksonville.¹⁰⁰ During the convention, which was held in the Everett Hotel in April, it was decided to organize the association as a corporation under Georgia law. Jones became one of the original incorporators and was made a member of the executive committee. After a discussion of problems relating to wire

service news, the visiting journalists went on an afternoon excursion to the St. Johns bar for some snapper fishing and returned for a evening banquet.¹⁰¹ During the succeeding months Jones was often in New York for meetings of the executive board of the Associated Press.¹⁰²

The opening of the winter season in Jacksonville brought an influx of visitors. Along with the wealthy and the invalid came a following of gamblers who set up their establishments off Bay Street to entertain the vacationers. The gambling, while illegal, was carried on more-or-less openly without interference from local authorities. In January, 1885, the Times-Union began a crusade against these "gambling dens," printing maps of their location and calling on the police to shut them down.¹⁰³ Mayor Dancy saw the Times-Union's timely concern with the city's morals as an effort to discredit his administration and hinder his chances for re-election, but Jones, while admitting that Dancy's failure to enforce the law would hurt his election prospects, denied that this had been his motive in printing the stories.¹⁰⁴ Despite Jones's denial, he very likely did have the coming city election in view. "The election will be of exceptional importance," he declared, "because it must be obvious to all that a sort of crisis has been reached in the affairs of the city. For some years past the administration of government has been so lax and inefficient and of late has become so definitely bad that almost the entire body of respectable citizens is in a state of revolt against

it. . . . Shall the present state of things continue and grow worse: or shall a new deal be made in the interest of reform?"¹⁰⁵

Since it was not an election year, Jones was prepared to make a fight with the city Democratic organization, regardless of the turmoil it would create within the party.¹⁰⁶ The candidate advanced to head the reform movement was Alderman Marshall C. Rice, a man tainted by his past association with city government.¹⁰⁷ Prodded by the Times-Union's leadership, many older, politically inactive citizens turned out for the ward primaries to elect delegates to the city convention. Jones ran for a place as a delegate in his home ward and was badly beaten, but enough pro-Rice delegates were elected to win the nomination for him. The rest of the Democratic ticket was composed of party regulars, a situation that Jones and the reformers were obliged to accept.¹⁰⁸ The Republicans and some Democrats put up a "Citizens" ticket headed by Charles B. Smith, but Rice and most of the regular Democrats swept to victory in an election that was marked by the customary vote buying. Jones was well aware that the "reform" effort had been feeble, but for once at least, he declared, the weight of citizens outside the party ring had been felt.¹⁰⁹ The new administration, as it turned out, was little changed from the old, but to his credit, Jones continued to hammer at the gambling issue into the summer when the election was long past.¹¹⁰

With the return of a Democrat to the White House, the distribution of federal offices became a matter for consideration by Florida Democrats. Having been a leader in the campaign, it was expected that Jones would wield considerable influence with the incoming administration.¹¹¹ However, he seems to have made little attempt to influence distribution of patronage during the first few months after the election. In December, 1884, he did sign a petition—along with Bloxham, Perry, Pasco and a few others—recommending Senator Charles W. Jones for Attorney General, but Jones admitted to signing only one other petition and declared that he had declined to endorse a dozen other men for various offices.¹¹² Jones felt that Cleveland's refusal to make a clean sweep of Republican office-holders was a good policy, and he defended it against the outcry of loyal party men who had waited years for a chance to enjoy the spoils of office.¹¹³ However, Jones was not indifferent to events in Washington. In the spring he declined an invitation by Abernethy to accompany him on a vacation to Europe, saying that he could not risk leaving the paper unattended or departing the country before the federal offices were disposed of.¹¹⁴

The one federal position that Jones was seriously concerned about was the postmastership of Jacksonville. As a publisher, he was dependent on the post office for receipt of information and movement of his newspaper editions. When petitions began to circulate making recommendations for the post, Jones became concerned and denounced the petitions as a device to create a

false picture of public sentiment.¹¹⁵ Party regular N. A. Hull, a man of whom Jones strongly disapproved, was being put up for the position with the backing of United States Senator Wilkinson Call. Jones's opposition to Hull's appointment prompted him to send a long letter to President Cleveland, the major portion of which concerned the political situation in Florida as he interpreted it:

Under date of August 4th last I received a letter from you expressing your friendly appreciation of the work I was doing in the campaign. That letter is my excuse for writing now. I have not written before, nor sought a personal interview, because I knew that during the opening weeks of the Administration your attention would necessarily be fully occupied by large questions of State.

I will reassure you by saying at once that I am not after any office either for myself, or for any relative, friend, or henchman. I am a Civil Service Reformer in the most literal sense of the term, and not only profess it but conform my practice to it. I write simply to ask that when you reach Florida appointments you will consider one or two points which I will now briefly submit.

In Florida as in other Southern States—but more markedly in Florida than in the rest, because of the large infusion of Northern immigration—there is a division and a struggle between the "old timers" and the "new comers." This division is not political; nearly all the whites are Democrats, no matter where they came from. It is the last retreat of sectional feeling. The "old timers" to rule, and are arrogant, proscriptive, reactionary, and unprogressive. They are willing to share the prosperity caused by the infusion of new blood and outside capital, but there is a tacit understanding among them that no "new comer" shall have any political place or preferment, and on this they stand together as one man.

Here in Florida this element was opposed to your nomination (Senator Bayard was their favorite chiefly because he was a Southern man), and resented our success in having Florida's delegates instructed for you. They would have defeated it, indeed, had we not outmaneuvered them at the Convention. Yet as soon as

victory crowned our efforts, they at once prepared to appropriate the spoils, and to-day they have their men named for every Federal office in the State and for everything that can be "claimed" in the Departments at Washington. And they have this great advantage, that our Senators and Representatives are of their way of thinking—are their creatures in fact—and will in substantially every instance endorse and recommend their selections.

I need hardly say that in some instances these selections are grotesquely unfit. For example, the post-office here at Jacksonville is by far the most important in the State, and should be administered on strictly business principles. Yet the man who will be most strongly urged upon you for appointment, is (to put it very mildly) utterly disqualified for the position.

I respectfully ask that when the question of filling this office is reached I may be heard, for I have much more at stake in the proper administration of the post-office here than all the politicians in the State.

I have written with a considerable degree of frankness, but it would be a mistake to infer that I am a partisan of either faction. I train with neither, and use the influence of my paper to harmonize both. I have a solemn conviction, however, that the use of the appointing power by a Democratic Federal Executive is a matter of serious import for the South, especially if it be used without a clear knowledge of the forces at work.¹⁶

Three days before Jones sent his letter to Cleveland, Mann mailed a letter to the President so similar to Jones's in wording and content as to suggest that Jones and Mann, formerly partners in the Florida canal scheme, had combined to influence patronage decisions, although there is only the circumstantial evidence of the two letters to support this idea. Mann's letter read:

You will doubtless remember that I called on you in Albany, N. Y. last fall in order to give you my views on the political situation in Florida.

You will perhaps remember what was said on that occasion as to the leaders of our party.. I have seen no reason to change my opinion. They are seldom representative of the people & they come from and represent a class who feel that the right to rule is regulated by birth—

The great body of our citizens and property owners are a recent importation from other states who come to Florida to make a home and not to seek an office and they do not desire to bring upon themselves and family social ostracism by allowing their friends the use of their names for position either as delegates to conventions or as members of the Legislature which gives as a result a delegation in Washington that represents the office holding clique and not the party or the best interests of the State.

It is a curious fact that if the men who are now having their claims mounted for the offices had controlled the last State Convention the Florida Delegation which went to Chicago would not have been instructed for Cleveland as it was.

That it was so instructed was due to the earnest and skillful efforts of the Times Union and its able Editor Col. C. H. Jones who also was Chairman of the Committee on platform and Resolutions and with aid of the progressive element carried the convention

You will perhaps recollect the fact that I mentioned the Times Union as the first paper in the south to name you as a Candidate.

It is no more than just to Col. C. H. Jones the Editor of that paper to say he did more work in the Campaign for the national ticket than any other man in the state and he is now vigorously supporting your policy of reform. In which he voices the sentiment of the masses of our people who are not represented at Washington.

In order that you may understand my position here I will say I am a native of Ohio and a cousin of Hon. G. L. Converse and have lived in this state over eleven years.¹¹⁷ You will I hope pardon this expression of my views.
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Cleveland read Mann's letter, but it is probable that Jones's letter did not reach his hands. It was handled by an assistant secretary who wrote a perfunctory acknowledgment

passed the letter on to the Post Office Department.¹¹⁹ The Jacksonville postmastership contest became deadlocked before the end of spring, as Senator Call and Congressman Dougherty could not agree on a man for the post. Call, in looking through the papers on the contest, came across Jones's letter and wrote a refutation to Postmaster General Vilas.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, the Times-Union began a persistent campaign in opposition to Call's "meddling" in local appointments. Call replied by writing that eventually the correspondence on file with the Post Office Department would be published and the cause of the Jacksonville post office impasse would be revealed.¹²¹ In July or August a copy of the "old timers" letter appeared in Florida, and its existence was hinted at by the Jacksonville Herald.¹²² By then Jones had left the state to vacation with his family in the mountains of North Carolina and Georgia. He was aware that the letter was in the hands of his enemies and sent an editorial letter to the Times-Union vowing his defiance of the "Florida Dynasty," but not referring to the letter directly.¹²³

The Times-Union was by then set firmly against Call and and the pro-Call Herald. Call was castigated as an enemy of the Cleveland administration because of his opposition to what he termed the "humbug and sham" of civil service reform, and Harrison Clark and John Temple Graves of the Herald were ridiculed for their attempts to secure federal appointments.¹²⁴ The Negro Republican Jacksonville News observed: "From recent

developments, there is no doubt but that the line is clearly drawn between the old Florida burbons, as represented by Senator Call and the Florida Herald, and the liberal democratic element as represented by Senator Jones and the Times-Union."¹²⁵

That the Democratic party was fragmented in the 1880's is clear. Contemporary observers such as the Jacksonville News and Jones himself accepted the idea of a division between Bourbons and progressives or conservatives and liberals, and historians have also taken this view.¹²⁶ The Disston purchase, lavish grants of land to the railroads, and other issues which pitted the "interests," the "corporations," or the "ring" against the "people" caused the party to divide along lines which make the liberal-conservative generalization valid. However, there were other factors, such as matters of practical politics and personality, which complicated the situation. For example, Senator Call, son of Whig planter Richard K. Call, seemed a Bourbon by birth, yet his battle against railroad land grants was rapidly making him the leader of the liberal wing of the party. Jones, a philosophical conservative and Bloxham supporter, was a reformer in local politics and often backed liberal programs, but he steadfastly remained an enemy of Call—apparently for private reasons. Bloxham and Drew held similar views on public policy, but the personal animosity between them created perhaps the widest chasm within the party. This division of the party would become even more pronounced through the Populist decade of the 1890's into the 20th century Progressive era.

The Jacksonville postmastership dispute was resolved in October, when Harrison Clark was appointed postmaster of Jacksonville on Call's recommendation after Hull's name had been withdrawn. Jones was disappointed at the choice, but attempted to picture Clark's selection as a compromise decision designed to settle a long-standing dispute within the party.¹²⁷ When Hull was made assistant postmaster, the victory of "the boys" was complete.¹²⁸ Perhaps as a consolation, Jones was asked to name a postal clerk, in the railway mail service, but the comparative insignificance of the appointment evoked ridicule from Jones's enemies.¹²⁹

While Jones was waging his private battle with Call, the state of Florida was concerned with framing the new constitution called for by the resolution adopted in the fall elections. The primary objection to the existing constitution was its provision that county officials be appointed by the governor rather than elected locally. This centralization of power in the hands of the governor had become increasingly irksome to Democratic politicians around the state who saw their ambitions thwarted by powers in the state capital. Often this discontent was expressed in terms of hostility to the "Tallahassee Ring." It was one of the foundations of the Independent movement, and the threat that disgruntled Democrats and Republicans might unite to force a change had persuaded the Democratic leadership to endorse the call for constitutional revision at the Pensacola convention in 1884.

When Jones arrived in Florida he had opposed the idea of constitutional change, declaring frankly that the unforeseeable consequences of a new constitution, particularly the possibility of a return to "negro rule" in counties with black majorities, outweighed the "vague discontent" motivating the reformers.¹³⁰ But slowly the Times-Union came around to the side of those desiring a new constitution, although it demanded that the new document be "hedged in by such restrictions as will prevent its working evil in certain localities."¹³¹ After the decision to call a constitutional convention had been made, Jones tried to arouse support for a plan to elect delegates at large so that white Democrats from the black belt counties would be represented.¹³² When this idea failed to gain approval, he endorsed a plan whereby a joint Democratic-Republican slate of delegates would be sent from black belt counties, but the elections of convention delegates held in May divided along party lines. Although the counties with Negro majorities sent Republican delegations, the Democrats had a safe majority in the convention.¹³³ Duval County's most conspicuous member was Thomas V. Gibbs, son of Jonathan C. Gibbs, black Secretary of State and Commissioner of Education during Reconstruction.¹³⁴

In the weeks before the convening of the convention the Times-Union instituted a daily series of proposals for changes in the old constitution. In Jones's view, the major problem was reconciling the demand for more elective offices with the black belt counties' insistence that they be "protected."

Jones was willing to permit election of local officials and the state cabinet, but did not believe that judges should be elected, and he endorsed some form of poll tax as the only practical means of "protecting" counties with black majorities.¹³⁵ Opposing this view were black belt conservatives who opposed any change and, on the opposite extreme, the faction led by Mann which wanted to "elect everything" and condemned the poll tax as oppressive to poor whites as well as blacks.¹³⁶ When the method of selecting judges was taken up by the convention the Times-Union vigorously urged appointment, and after a majority of the convention voted to elect circuit judges by district, Jones ran a heated editorial charging that the Mann faction had made a "bargain" with the Republicans whereby the "elect everything" Democrats would get elected judges and the Republicans would secure defeat of the poll tax.¹³⁷

After writing this editorial, Jones went to Tallahassee and was admitted to the convention as a guest. While he was on the floor, Joseph M. Tolbert of Columbia County introduced a resolution condemning the Times-Union editorial as false. Mann, despite his differences with Jones on the poll tax, came to Jones's defense and introduced a substitute resolution condemning the Jacksonville Herald's handling of the incident. Both resolutions were tabled at the wish of the vast majority of the convention.¹³⁸ Jones telegraphed a report back to Jacksonville admitting that he had been wrong in accusing one faction of the Democrats of joining with the Republicans in

the judiciary voting, but he maintained that factionalism and personal ambition among the Democrats were enabling the Republican minority to influence the decisions of the convention. He predicted that the proposal to elect circuit judges by district would defeat the new constitution.¹³⁹ The Jacksonville Herald reported that Mann and Jones had taken a long carriage drive together in Tallahassee and must have decided that their disagreement should not be permitted to divide them in their common hostility to the state's "best families."¹⁴⁰

Shortly after the decision in favor of electing circuit judges, the Democratic delegates caucused and decided upon a compromise judiciary plan which satisfied the Times-Union.¹⁴¹ The governor would continue to fill circuit judgeships, while county judges and Supreme Court justices would be elected. The remainder of the constitution appeared to be likewise a patchwork of compromises: the cabinet and most local officials would be elected, but the county commissioners would be appointed by the governor. The poll tax was not written into the constitution, but the legislature was empowered to enact one if it desired. Other changes in the constitution, such as the provision for better financing of schools and greater autonomy for municipal governments, were viewed as improvements by the Times-Union. In all, Jones felt that the improvements outweighed the defects, and the Times-Union endorsed ratification.¹⁴²

The adjournment of the constitutional convention coincided with the culmination of Jones's fight with Call and the Herald over the Jacksonville post office, and the two threads merged into a general campaign by the Times-Union against the "Florida Dynasty," which, it charged, controlled appointed offices under the present system and would oppose the new constitution as an attack on their monopoly. The "old timers" letter was passed from hand to hand by Jones's enemies, but Jones maintained that he had nothing against "old residents" in general, only against the "place-holding clique." He defined the "Florida Dynasty" as: "The persons who by reason of 'family,' or the habit of recognizing their claims to be consulted, have access to and a preponderating influence with the appointing power." Jones predicted that the new constitution would be ratified over the objections of the dynasty—as it was that fall.¹⁴³

Christmas, 1885, marked another milestone for the Times-Union, for it was the last holiday that the staff would take from publishing the paper. From that day on the newspaper would appear seven days a week, without the former breaks on Sundays and holidays. During the year the paper had continued its steady expansion in size and circulation, and as early as March six-page Sunday editions were being run off. The physical plant of the company was increased by the addition of a faster press, a steam engine to power all the presses, and a folding machine to cut, paste and fold the sheets.¹⁴⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- ¹ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 28, April 3, 1884.
- ² Ibid., April 6, 1884.
- ³ Ibid., December 30, 1884.
- ⁴ Ibid., July 17, 1883.
- ⁵ Ibid., September 30, 1884.
- ⁶ Edward C. Williamson, "Independentism: A Challenge to the Florida Democracy of 1884," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXVII (October, 1948), 131-156.
- ⁷ Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, May 30, 1882.
- ⁸ Ibid., August 17, 23, November 1882.
- ⁹ Ibid., August 23, November 11, 1882.
- ¹⁰ J. Willis Menard to William E. Chandler, November 27, 1882, quoted in Peter D. Klingman, Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1972), 201.
- ¹¹ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 30, 1883.
- ¹² Ibid., October 10, 1883.
- ¹³ Ibid., November 2, 1883.

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Ibid., May 3, 1884.
- 17
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- 18
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- 28
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- 30 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 6, 1883.
- 31 Ibid., June 24, 1884.
- 32 Gainesville Weekly Bee, January 19, 1884.
- 33 Palatka Daily News, June 6, 1884.
- 34 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 25, 1884.
- 35 Ibid., June 19, 1884.
- 36 Ibid., June 20, 1884.
- 37 Ibid., July 25, 1884; Klingman, Josiah Walls, 210.
- 38 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 22, 1883.
- 39 Ibid..
- 40 Samuel Proctor, ed., "An Educator Looks at Florida in 1884, a letter of Ashley D. Hurt to his wife," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXI (January, 1953), 212.
- 41 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 23, 1883; February 22, 1884.
- 42 William D. Bloxham to Philip Thompson, May 29, 1884, William D. Bloxham Papers, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.
- 43 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 15, 1884.
- 44 Ibid., May 27, 1884.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

- 45 Palatka Daily News, June 11, 12, 13, 1884.
- 46 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 11, 1884.
- 47 Ibid., June 13, 14, 15, 1884.
- 48 Bloxham to Jones, June 14, 1884, Bloxham Papers.
- 49 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 21, 1884.
- 50 Ibid., June 12, 1884; Palatka Daily News, June 13, 1884; Tallahassee Land of Flowers, June 21, 1884.
- 51 Jacksonville Florida Journal, June 26, 1884; Pensacola Commercial, June 21, 1884.
- 52 Palatka Daily News, May 3, 1884.
- 53 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 29, August 26, 27, 1885.
- 54 Ibid., June 29, 1884.
- 55 Ibid., June 7, 25, 1884; Pensacola Commercial, June 5, 1884; Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham, Florida's Two-Term Governor" (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1945), 245-246.
- 56 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 26, 27, July 2, 1884; Pensacola Commercial, June 28, July 3, 1884; Jacksonville Florida Journal, July 3, 1884.
- 57 Bloxham to E. A. Perry, July 7, 1884, Bloxham Papers.
- 58 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 5, 1884.
- 59 Ibid., June 27, 1884.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

60 Pensacola Commercial, July 2, 1884.

61 Clipping from Tallahassee Weekly Floridian enclosed in Jones to Daniel Lamont, July 18, 1886, Cleveland Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Microfilm copy, University of Florida Library, Gainesville; A. S. Mann to Cleveland, April 24, 1885, Cleveland Papers.

62 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, June 17, 1884; Ocala Banner, April 4, 1885.

63 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 16, 1883; May 9, June 11, 1884.

64 Ibid., July 1, 2, 3, 1884; Palatka Daily News, July 2, 3, 1884.

65 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 3, 1884.

66 Pensacola Commercial, May 14, 1884; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 15, 1884.

67 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 16, September 9, 1884.

68 Ibid., October 22, 1884.

69 Ibid., June 4, 5, 7, 1884.

70 Jones to Abernethy, May 24, 1884; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 26, 27, 1885.

71 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 1, 9, 10, 12, 1884.

72 Ibid., July 13, 1884.

73 Quotation from Grover Cleveland to Jones, V, quoted in August 4, 1884; Ibid., August 9, 1884.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

- 74 Jones to Abernethy, August 10, 1884, JP.
- 75 New York Times, September 24, 1884.
- 76 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 27, 1884.
- 77 Mann to Cleveland, April 24, 1885, Cleveland Papers.
- 78 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 4, 1884.
- 79 Ibid., August 6, 1884.
- 80 Ibid., August 31, 1884.
- 81 Ibid., September 26, 1884.
- 82 Ibid., October 24, 29, 1884.
- 83 Ibid., October 16, 1884.
- 84 Ibid., October 23, 24, 26, 1884.
- 85 Ibid., November 2, 4, 1884.
- 86 Ibid., November 5, 1884.
- 87 Ibid., November 8, 11, 1884.
- 88 William T. Cash, History of the Democratic Party in Florida (Tallahassee, 1936), 76.
- 89 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 5, 6, 7, 1884.
- 90 Jones to Abernethy, November 16, 1884, JP.
- 91 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 16, 1882.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

⁹² Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 20, October 30, 1884.

⁹³ Ibid., June 19, 1884.

⁹⁴ Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, November 16, 1882; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 8, 1884.

⁹⁵ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 15, October 30, 1884.

⁹⁶ Jacksonville Florida Weekly Times, October 2, 1884; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 30, 1884.

⁹⁷ Ibid., May 18, 1884. The Times-Union was subsequently located there, however.

⁹⁸ Ibid., February 21, 1885.

⁹⁹ B. B. Herbert, First Decennium of the National Editorial Association of the United States (Chicago, 1896), 50; Edwin Emery, History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association (Minneapolis, 1950), part 4, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 3, 10, 13, 1884.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., April 2, 3, 1885.

¹⁰² Ibid., June 2, 11, July 25, 1885.

¹⁰³ Ibid., January 20, 22, 1885.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., February 3, 1885.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., March 15, 1885.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., March 15, 1885.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., March 15, 27, 1885.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

- 108 Ibid., March 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 1885.
- 109 Ibid., April 7, 1885.
- 110 Ibid., April 24, June 17, 1885.
- 111 Ibid., April 30, 1885.
- 112 W. D. Bloxham to Cleveland, December 10, 1884, Cleveland Papers.
- 113 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 15, 18, 22, 1885.
- 114 Jones to Abernethy, May 24, 1885, JP.
- 115 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 26, March 31, 1885.
- 116 Jones to Cleveland, April 27, 1885, quoted in Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, clipping enclosed in Jones to Daniel Lamont, July 18, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 117 George L. Converse (1827-1897), member of Congress from Ohio.
- 118 Mann to Cleveland, April 24, 1885, Cleveland Papers.
- 119 Octavius L. Pruden to Jones, May 2, 1885, Cleveland Papers.
- 120 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 1, 1886.
- 121 Ibid., July 11, 1885.
- 122 Ibid., August 1, 1886.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

123 Ibid., August 26, 1885.

124 Ibid., September 9, 13, 24, 1885.

125 Jacksonville News, n.d., quoted in Pensacola Commercial, October 10, 1885.

126 Samuel Proctor, Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat (Gainesville, 1950), 55-60; Wayne Flynt, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive (Tallahassee, 1971) 10-23.

127 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 11, October 7, 8, 16, 1885.

128 Ibid., December 16, 1885.

129 Ibid., December 8, 1885; Palatka Daily News, December 20, 1885.

130 Jacksonville Florida Daily Times, January 1, 1882; January 11, 1883.

131 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 1, May 17, 1884; October 25, 1884.

132 Ibid., February 3, 1885.

133 Ibid., February 13, April 21, May 3, 6, 1885.

134 Eldridge R. Collins, "The Florida Constitution of 1885" (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1939), 208.

135 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 15, 1885.

136 Ibid.; Ocala Banner, May 23, 1885; Edward C. Williamson, "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLI (October, 1962), 121.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV (continued)

137 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 18, 1885.

138 Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida (Tallahassee, 1885), 377.

139 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 21, 1885. An examination of the roll call votes on judiciary elections shows that no single faction of Democrats voted with the Republicans.

140 Jacksonville Daily Florida Herald, quoted in Ocala Banner, August 28, 1885.

141 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 22, 1885.

142 Ibid., August 4, 1885.

143 Ibid., August 9, 14, 18, 26, 1885.

144 Ibid., April 26, May 14, November 8, 1885.

CHAPTER V

FLORIDA'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

On January 8, 1886, the temperature began to fall in Jacksonville, and for the next four days Florida experienced the coldest weather in memory and, it was speculated, "probably the coldest spell of weather known in Florida since white men first set foot on it."¹ The Times-Union's headlines announced: "Frost Line Gone to Cuba," and, while boys skated on Bay Street's frozen puddles, efforts were begun to assess the damage done to the state's citrus industry.² At first the worst was feared, and the Times-Union advised that the state not try to hide the damage and begin all over again, if necessary.³ Meantime, stories began to appear in northern newspapers to the effect that the freeze had made a desert of the citrus belt.⁴ Soon it became clear that, while there had been severe damage in many areas, there was less destruction than many first thought and nothing like the calamity which was being reported in the North. Jones assumed a more optimistic tone on the question and began trying to nullify the poor publicity the freeze had given the state.⁵

Jones had a plan for combating the poor press received by the state due to the cold, and he took his proposal to the Florida Press Association which met in Gainesville during the

second week of February. His suggestion was that he and a delegation of Florida editors attend the convention of the National Editorial Association and invite a representative group of editors from the North to visit the state and inspect the frost damage themselves. Jones's plan was one argument used to gain support for his re-election as president of the association. Jones was not a particularly popular figure with the state press. His often controversial stances in the Times-Union and his arrogance had aroused the enmity of many, and his success had, no doubt, made some jealous. Frank Harris of the Ocala Banner noted that the Times-Union had become like a whale among the minnows of the state press.⁶ One practice which rankled with some of the state's editors was Jones's request that they publish annually the Times-Union's prospectus in return for exchange rights. To Jones's way of thinking this was a fair bargain since he was trading a daily for a weekly, but some editors regarded this as blackmail.⁷ John Temple Graves of the Herald tried to take advantage of this antipathy toward the Times-Union to put together an "anybody but Jones" movement.⁸ At Gainesville, where the association met in the new brick court house, there was much sidewalk lobbying before the convention. Many of the men there were meeting each other for the first time, and Jones apparently made a good impression, for he was re-elected with only two dissenting votes. He was also delegated to select seven association members to go to the National Editorial Association convention in Cincinnati.⁹

Jones was jubilant over his victory in Gainesville. He wrote Abernethy telling how the plot to "humiliate" him had been crushed, and declaring that for the first time since coming to Florida the other editors in the state were rallying around him.¹⁰ He published a quotation from the formerly unfriendly Ocala Item which said: "Mr. Jones made a host of friends among the members of the association who had not met him before, by his courteous and able discharge of the duties of his position."¹¹ Frank Harris, who had been a persistent critic, noted, "He is a splendid officer and wears upon acquaintance."¹² When a delegation of association members later visited his home to present him with an inscribed gold-headed cane, Jones published a note of thanks to the state press and apologized for past differences:

The least attractive side of journalism is its asperities. Under the provocation of attack and the stimulus of retort we editors are apt to write things which we ourselves forget almost as soon as the ink is dry, but which rankle and fester in the hearts of him who received the feathered dart. I am conscious of having winged more of these shafts than I like to recall at this moment; but I am also conscious of the fact that for my brother journalists of the State I have never had, and have not now, anything but the friendliest feelings of esteem and good will.¹³

Jones went to the Cincinnati meeting of the National Editorial Association with Mann and several other representatives of the state press. During the year since the first meeting in New Orleans he had corresponded with Herbert and others in

firming-up the organization of the association.¹⁴ As incumbent vice-president, Jones shared platform responsibilities with Herbert, and, as at Gainesville, he impressed attending delegates with his skill as a presiding officer. Jones won a hotly contested race for the presidency, and presented Herbert with a gold-headed cane at the end of the convention. Mann, in the meantime, displayed citrus and orange tree branches which he had brought from Florida, and he and Jones invited a delegation of editors to visit Florida to see for themselves the effects of the highly publicized freeze.¹⁵ Jones had already made arrangements with the railroads and hotels in Florida to pay expenses for the visiting editors. The N. E. A. excursion party left directly from Cincinnati for Florida, where they were ushered around the citrus groves in the southern interior. The tour concluded with a banquet in Jacksonville. Jones congratulated the state on the wide publicity which it would gain from the Associated Press's report of the press excursion and the editors' own accounts in their papers.¹⁶

Jones's success at the Florida Press Association meeting, his election as president of the National Editorial Association, and his increasing influence in the affairs of the city and state were extremely satisfying to him. Jones confided to Abernethy that his added commitments as a public figure were making serious inroads on his time, but that he seemed irresistibly drawn deeper into public life.¹⁷ He summed up his feelings in a letter to Abernethy written just before the annual city election:

It does seem as if honors are crowding somewhat thick upon me of late—too thick for the time I have at command to enjoy or appreciate them. They bring me little consolation, except perhaps the sense of gratified pride, and present themselves rather in the light of additional contributions to a burden almost too heavy to carry already. . . . The most striking feature of recent developments is the extent to which my old-time enemies are coming over. . . . The truth is becoming more apparent every day that I have proved too much for "the boys", and my steady growth in influence has intimidated them. Nobody knows how or when the smouldering volcano may belch forth again, but there are many signs that the battle is won, and that I am now as safe here as I would be in New York. It has been a wonderful experience to look upon, and if ambition were not dead within me, I could grasp almost anything I want. Meanwhile, it is a bitter pill for many of "the boys" to swallow, and you may be sure I don't try to sugar-coat it for them.¹⁸

The city election again featured a contest of Jones versus the regular Democratic organization. Jones endorsed the re-election of Mayor Rice, admitting that his administration had not changed the pattern of city government very much, but blaming persisting problems on city officials under the mayor. Jones tried to organize support to secure Rice's renomination in the ward primaries, where the real determination of city government was made, but the Times-Union's endorsement and Jones's caucusing gave the opposition evidence to back their claim that Rice was "under the thumb" of the Times-Union.¹⁹ The ward primaries were controlled by the regular organization and proved a disaster for Rice, eliminating him from the running. The Democratic convention nominated William M. Dancy,

former mayor and experienced city politician, to head a "reform" ticket, which, as Jones pointed out, was composed of the same men who had regularly held office.²⁰ Dancy declined the nomination as a gesture to restore harmony in the party, and it was pressed on Patrick McQuaid, a Board of Trade member acceptable to Jones. With the Times-Union's support, McQuaid and the Democrats were again installed in office, although Jones regretted the outcome almost immediately when it became evident that McQuaid, like Rice before him, would head a city administration unsympathetic with his views.²¹

Preceding the election a new newspaper, the Jacksonville Morning News, began publication in Jacksonville. It was edited by John Varnum, and carried the United Press dispatches. This was the first direct competition Jones had faced in Jacksonville for three years. The Herald had maintained a modest existence during this time, partly with the patronage of the city and county printing contracts, but the Times-Union had seldom felt it necessary to take notice of its intown rival. Now both the News and the Herald became involved in a heated newspaper war against the Times-Union. Varnum knew something of the Times-Union's inside history and kept up a daily stream of personal attacks on Jones. The reasons for Varnum's hostility toward his former partner are unknown, but they may have arisen simply from business competition. Jones hit back at Varnum, reporting that the News was in financial trouble and explaining that Varnum's personal attacks were a result of his inability to

write on other subjects. Finally in May Jones filed suit against Varnum and the stockholders of the News, asking no money, but declaring that he wanted to get Varnum and his friends on the witness stand so that the charges made against him might be refuted.²²

During the city election the feud between the Times-Union and the other Jacksonville papers became even more heated. Jones charged that the News, ostensibly Democratic, was being kept alive by Republican financial aid in order that the News might create dissention among the Democrats.²³ The Times-Union also carried articles purporting to show how small the circulation of the News was. A letter sent to news dealers in other towns showed that few copies of the News were sold outside the city, and it was declared that "sources" in a position to know placed the News's circulation at about 600 copies per day.²⁴ Varnum published a "sworn statement" that his circulation had never fallen below 1,100 and was growing steadily.²⁵ The Herald's circulation was said to be only one-fifth that of the Times-Union.²⁶ The Times-Union's willingness to put claims of circulation to a test probably certifies the greater accuracy of its claims.

Since his days as editor of the Eclectic Jones had been interested in the "labor question," and as strikes became more frequent during the late 1880's, he began to devote increasing attention to economic problems. By in large his ideas had changed little. They were generally orthodox and conservative,

but there was a progressive element to his thinking. He saw strikes as both wasteful and futile because capital had the resources to defeat labor in a match of force. He believed labor organizations were desirable if they remained under the leadership of "sensible" men like Terence V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor, and employers should be willing to sit down to discuss their differences with the representatives of organized labor.²⁷ The danger was that unions would be taken over by self-interested agitators who would not listen to reason.²⁸ An editorial of March, 1886, set down this idea succinctly:

We wish the wage-earners success in every reasonable attempt they make to secure a larger share of the joint product of labor and capital. But the lawlessness which says to the employers you must grant our demands or we will destroy your property and stop your business, and which says to other workers you shall not work whether you want to or not—such lawlessness as this not only deserves no sympathy, but if not repressed, it will drag down the social fabric in irretrievable anarchy.²⁹

Jones's concern with labor problems was not that of a disinterested observer, for he had encountered increasing difficulties himself with the local members of the typographical union. In November, 1885, many of the Times-Union's employees quit after Jones refused to accede to demands that work be done under union regulations. Other individuals had become dissatisfied and left in the succeeding months because of wage disputes.³⁰ Finally the union decided to make an issue of the demand for higher wages. A union meeting of all Jacksonville

printers and compositors was held on Sunday, April 4, and after some tentative and fruitless contacts with Jones and the proprietors of the other publishing establishments in the town, a strike was called for the following day.³¹

On Monday night the Times-Union's composition room stood lighted and empty as nearly all the force joined the strike. Having realized the seriousness of the union's threats, Jones had taken the precaution of telegraphing earlier for help, and he now sent out a series of telegrams confirming that the strike was on. Meanwhile, his brother George and some of the editorial staff set to work inexpertly setting type for the next day's issue. A country editor visiting the city, his son and a handful of others in the city came in to help with the task. Outside on Bay Street the strikers congregated, talking among themselves and attempting to prevent the remainder of the staff from going to work. The strikers established their own newspaper, the Evening Appeal, to present their cases to the public.³²

The day following initiation of the strike, a two-page edition of the Times-Union appeared in Jacksonville, and for the next few days the paper issued small, error-filled editions. On Tuesday replacement printers and compositors began arriving in Jacksonville by train, led by a professional strike breaker who had recruited them.³³ The striking workers tried to organize a boycott of the Times-Union by local advertisers, but seem to have failed.³⁴ The Times-Union's attitude

toward its striking employees was at first conciliatory, but became more strident as time passed. The strikers attempted to break the solid front of the employers by various strategies, but found them organized and prepared to wait out the strike.³⁵ By May the strikers stopped publication of their newspaper. In June the union paid the train fare for some "rats" ("scabs" in contemporary parlance) to get them out of Jacksonville, only to find that the publishers were glad to see them go since they had proven to be somewhat unsavory characters. This final device having failed, the union met on June 14 and agreed to divide the remaining strike funds among themselves and go their own ways.³⁶

During this time Jones's dispute with Senator Call over federal appointments was continuing, both in the public press and privately in Washington. Jones had seen Cleveland in December, 1885, when the President asked him to find if J. J. Finley would accept the post of receiver at the land office in Gainesville. After visiting Finley, Jones reported to Cleveland that he would accept the position, and he declared that Finley's appointment would please the great majority of Florida Democrats.³⁷ Finley, now an aged war hero, was apparently above factional fights in the party since Call had earlier recommended him for another federal post.³⁸ Call's first recommendation for the receiver's office had been John G. Sinclair, the Orange County grove developer from whom Jones had bought acreage. Jones charged that "a well known man,"

perhaps Sinclair himself, had told him that Call recommended Sinclair in the knowledge that he would not accept, in order to refute Jones's charge that newcomers were discriminated against by the state's representatives in Congress. Call denied the charge, but Jones reasserted the story's truth.³⁹

In March Call sent a letter to Daniel Lamont, Cleveland's friend and private secretary, saying that he had received a letter from a man in Florida who claimed to have heard Jones brag that he "had more influence with President Cleveland than any ten men in Florida" and that the President would talk to Jones when he would not talk to Call. "I desire this statement to be communicated to the President," Call wrote, "in order that. . . I may expose the character of this man, in the community and state, where he lives; and furthermore in order that he may know the character of the man who professes to speak for him." Call went on to admit that he had seen the "old timers" letter and some other letters from Jones in the files and had copied them in order to show leading Democrats in Florida how they were being misrepresented to the President. Call declared that he felt he was doing his duty in copying the letters and was confident that Cleveland would not be "a protector of persons engaged in slandering and bearing false witness against their fellow-citizens."⁴⁰

Call was evidently trying to cover himself against possible charges by Jones, which Jones had already hinted at in the Times-Union, that Call had abused his Senatorial

privileges by divulging private correspondence to government officials.⁴¹ It is doubtful that Jones made the exaggerated claims to influence with the administration which Call charged, but, on the other hand, Jones was not a man to underestimate his own importance, and the Times-Union had tried to create the impression that Call was out of favor with the administration because of Hull's appointment as assistant postmaster in Jacksonville and Call's opposition to civil service reform.⁴² Lamont wrote a formal reply to Call, saying that Cleveland could not be held responsible for Jones's "alleged assertions as to his influence," and denying that Call has ever been refused admission to see the President, but Lamont did not take up the question of the "old timers" letter.⁴³

In the summer the "old timers" letter was brought out for use against Jones during the campaign for the Democratic Congressional nomination. Jones realized that the letter, which had been circulating for almost a year and had been alluded to several times in print, was about to be published by his enemies. On July 6, he penned a strongly-worded letter to the President:

Under date of April 27th, 1885, I wrote you a letter marked "personal and private." It was on the general political situation in Florida, touched only in one paragraph upon the Jacksonville post office, and was quite obviously a private letter, to be read and destroyed, or read and filed among private papers as distinguished from public archives.

In spite of this, what purports to be a "sworn copy" of this letter is now in the

possession of certain persons here who are for slanderous imputations. I am further informed that what purport to be copies of this "sworn copy" are being distributed through the State to be used to my detriment in the pending campaign. I retained a copy of the letter, made at the time, which, with your permission, I will publish to refute the falsehoods that are being based upon it. I respectfully ask, further, that you ascertain if possible and inform me who has violated your private correspondence, and how a "sworn copy" of a private letter written to you could be obtained.

I enclose you an article which I have written for publication in tomorrow's paper.

I understand, of course, that a private citizen, comparatively a stranger, can have no private correspondence with the President of the United States in the strict sense of the term. Yet if it be true that a letter written and addressed to you, marked "personal and private" is liable to turn up in the shape of "sworn copies" in the hands of the writer's political opponents or personal enemies, it is time that fact was clearly and generally understood.

My opinion is that some one who has access to Executive papers has violated or prostituted the privileges of his official position, and I respectfully ask that you ascertain who it is and kindly let me know.⁴⁴

The enclosure mentioned by Jones was a short editorial notice from the Times-Union saying that he had written the President to discover who had "stolen" the letter. The publication of this "Stolen Letter" editorial on July 7 was followed by the immediate printing of the letter in the Herald and then in the News and other newspapers in the state. In the face of its disclosure Jones assumed a bold front, castigating the publishers of the letter as thieves and declaring that the charges in the letter were true. He did explain that in using the term "old timers" he had not meant

to include all the established residents of the state but only the "Bourbon" element. He also said that southern immigrants to the state suffered as much, if not more than northerners, from the prejudices of the "old timers."⁴⁵ Jones also added that since the letter's publication he had been told by many people that they approved of what he had said.⁴⁶

The Herald ridiculed the idea that the letter had been "stolen:" "The charge is simply foolish and weak, and an evidence of frantic helplessness. . . . We pointed out at the time, that Mr. Cleveland refused to receive a private letter from Mr. Jones; that his private Secretary Mr. Lamont, openly and freely, in his official capacity, showed the letter to an active and prominent politician of this city."⁴⁷ The News published a copy of the letter with the word "we" changed to "I" in several places to make it look as if Jones were claiming more for himself than he actually had. The News's opinion was that this letter was proof of Jones's hatred of Southerners.⁴⁸ The Weekly Tallahassee exclaimed that the letter took not just the cake but "the whole bakery," while the Palatka Daily News predicted that the letter had "dug the editor's political grave in Florida."⁴⁹ The Tallahassee Floridian attempted the most reasoned refutation of the letter, declaring that northerners held more than their share of offices and that Cleveland's nomination in 1884 had not been opposed by the "old timers" in the state.⁵⁰

When Cleveland did not reply to his communication of July 6, Jones sent another to Lamont explaining that a story was being circulated that Cleveland had given the letter to him and "that you amused yourself by showing it around among Florida men, one of whom took a copy of it." Jones avowed that he did not believe the story to be true, but, "At any rate, no citizen of a free Republic is so low that he is not entitled to an explanation of such an outrage as the use made of this letter involves."⁵¹ This second letter prompted Cleveland to draft a reply to Jones. Cleveland had just returned from his honeymoon, during which he and his bride had been annoyed by the constant prying of newspaper reporters. Never very tolerant of the press, Cleveland was outraged by this latest episode. His letter of reply to Jones may reflect this disgust with newsmen in general as well as his impatience with Jones's imperious demands:

I confess to some surprise at the tenor of your last letter to me and a later one to Colonel Lamont.

There are several millions of people in the United States who have much more time to write letters to the President than he can possibly find to reply.

I have not written, as you requested, an explanation of the manner in which something claimed to be a letter from you to me but which you declare was not a true copy, found its way into print, because I knew that I could not account for its appearance, and for the further reason that I could not exactly see why I should become in any way involved in a newspaper war over the publication of a letter which you said was not a copy of one in my possession.

Your letter, containing as it did, an allusion to the post-office at Jacksonville, was sent to the

Postoffice Department to be put with other papers touching that subject, so that when it was under consideration the suggestions made would not be overlooked. There it remained until one day the Postmaster General came to me with it and said that he had been applied to for permission to take a copy, but instead of complying he had it brought to me. I, of course, at once determined that no copy should be taken of it and then and there resumed it into my custody and put it away. I have not seen it since until today when after a hunt of more than an hour I have found it. I herewith enclose it to you with the assurance that no one but myself has seen it since it came into my possession.

I am surprised that newspaper talk should be annoying to you, who ought so well to understand the utter and complete recklessness and falsification in which they so generally indulge.

When after one of your interviews with me, kind friends put under my eye what purported to be an account of some dreadfully foolish things which you had said, I did not allow them to disturb me at all—feeling perfectly confident that the alleged interview was false.⁵²

Since Jones had already publicized the fact that he had written Cleveland for an explanation, he must have felt obliged to print the letter in full so that he could not be accused of misrepresenting the reply. When the letter appeared in the Times-Union the News labeled it a "stinging" rebuke to Jones's impertinence.⁵³ However, the letter did prove that the News and the Herald had not been truthful about the "old timers" letter and how it came to public notice. Jones said that Cleveland's reply proved that his letter was "stolen" after Postmaster General Vilas refused to permit a "prominent statesman" to make a copy of it. He believed that the "kind friends" who had shown Cleveland the "foolish things" Jones was supposed to have said were the friends of this same "prominent statesman."⁵⁴

On the day that he published Cleveland's letter, Jones sent a humble note thanking the President for taking time to write a personal letter. After apologizing for having distracted him Jones explained, "I would not have troubled you about a 'newspaper war,' for to newspaper abuse I am as indifferent as a man can well be who has been rendered callous by it. . . . it was stated and reiterated on the authority of a 'prominent politician' (generally understood to be Senator Call) that the copy was obtained in a way that showed that I personally was held in contempt at the White House." Jones closed with an expression of "warm admiration" for the President and vowed that, although he was constantly misrepresented by his enemies, he had never uttered a word against him.⁵⁵

The "old timers" letter had been brought up as an issue because of Jones's active participation in the struggle for the Democratic Congressional nomination. The race in the Second District had attracted the attention of many Democratic challengers to Dougherty because it was evident that the party nominee would probably have little difficulty winning the general election. William M. Dancy, John Temple Graves, and Albert W. Owens were Jacksonville's contenders for the nomination. All were regular party men and had their supporters in the organization. Jones threw the backing of the Times-Union behind Dougherty, saying that Jacksonville would lose his support for needed federal projects if Duval sent an anti-Dougherty delegation to the district convention in Ocala.⁵⁶ The Herald

backed its editor Graves, while the News praised both Dancy and Owens and denounced the town's "budding new ring of politicians" headed by "Boodle Jones."⁵⁷ The Duval County ward primaries were indecisive. The Times-Union claimed that Dougherty had won the most delegates, but the News declared that Owens and Graves had a solid majority between them and called for Graves to resign from the contest in favor of Owens.⁵⁸ When Graves did drop out of the race, the News said that Owens was certain to receive Duval's support unless there was fraud at the convention.⁵⁹

The News's warning against fraud was probably made in the knowledge that the pro-Dougherty delegates were being organized by Jones, ex-Mayor Rice, John Q. Burbridge, and others. On the morning of the county convention the Dougherty delegates caucused in the parlor of the Tremont House at the corner of Pine and Forsyth to plan strategy, and, it was later charged, prepared to bolt should they not be able to control the convention. The convention convened at noon, July 3, in the circuit court room of the Freedman's Bank Building, one of the town's most substantial buildings. Events at the convention would later become a matter of controversy, but the basic outline of the gathering is clear: there was a test vote on the seating of contesting pro and anti-Dougherty delegations from a county precinct, and, after the vote, the defeated side, feeling that it had lost control of the meeting, created a disruption to prevent the convention from proceeding. The Dougherty delegates

picked up the official papers of the convention, adjourned to the Tremont House, and there elected a pro-Dougherty delegation to the district convention. As this "convention" was adjourning, Owens appeared and requested that the delegates return to the regular site of the convention and proceed with the selection of a Duval delegation. Owens then returned to the Freedman's Bank where the rump assembly nominated a pro-Owens delegation to the district convention.⁶⁰

The Times-Union, of course, claimed that Dougherty's men had been in the majority at the convention and had acted properly in not allowing the Owens delegates to obstruct the convention. The News took the opposite view, declaring that the Dougherty men bolted when it became clear that Owens would receive the backing of the majority in the convention.⁶¹ Both sides published detailed lists of delegates which purported to show that their candidate had majority support, and although there is no definite way of knowing the truth, the Owens supporters seemed to have made the better argument. In any case, the Owens faction stoutly defended their case and rebuffed the Times-Union's proffer of a compromise agreement for the sake of party harmony.⁶²

Meanwhile Dougherty had remained in Washington, and, in his absence, Jones became a center of attention during the remainder of July as other counties held their conventions. Anti-Dougherty newspapers published the "old timers" letter, while Jones used the communications network of his newspaper

to collect information on late developments and dispatch pro-Dougherty messages to the sites of other county conventions.⁶³ On the eve of the district convention, the News admitted that Dougherty commanded a majority of the delegates and thus could refuse to seat either Duval delegation, thereby insuring the two-thirds vote necessary for nomination.⁶⁴

Jones left for Ocala with the Dougherty delegation on the day preceeding the convention, and attended a caucus of Dougherty supporters that night. Ocala was packed with delegates and the verandas of the Ocala House, one of the state's largest hotels, were spilling over with excited conventioners. The assembly was convened at three on the afternoon of August 4, but the credentials committee's inability to resolve the Duval delegation contest forced an adjournment until that night. Frank Harris, anti-Dougherty editor of the Ocala Banner, observed that "Charles H. Jones, editor of the Times-Union, was, of course, one of the leading spirits of the occasion, and the individual on whom all eyes rested as he marched among the throng. Everybody who knew this distinguished journalist by reputation, but on whom their eyes had never consciously gazed, asked every other person: 'Is Jones here, and which is the man?'"⁶⁵

At the evening session the credentials committee still did not appear, so time was spent listening to speeches while a delegation was sent to demand the report. Finally, the credentials committee filed into the hall and the chairman

announced that, by a 9-8 vote, the committee had decided to recommend that both Duval delegations be barred from the convention. The minority had voted to seat the Owens delegates, and an effort was made to have the convention adopt the minority's report. At one in the morning a vote was taken on the question, and the minority report was rejected by a large margin. Thereupon Owens took the stage and asked that Dougherty be nominated by acclamation. The convention shouted its approval, the band played "Dixie," and Jones's victory was secured.⁶⁶

Harris of the Banner called Dougherty's renomination "the most remarkable ever achieved in a political contest in Florida." Harris believed that Owens had been cheated out of Duval's support, but, despite the means resorted to, he gave Jones credit for securing Dougherty's nomination. The Times-Union, Harris declared, had made itself feared, and in politics most men were motivated by fear.⁶⁷

Dougherty returned to Florida on August 24. He was met at the Jacksonville station by a small crowd of supporters and driven to the Duval Hotel where a Negro band was playing to attract a crowd. Dougherty made a brief speech from the hotel balcony, after which Jones rushed up to shake both his hands in congratulation.⁶⁸ The conspicuousness of Jones in the Dougherty campaign was noted by the Democratic regulars in Jacksonville, who claimed that it was really Jones's race more than Dougherty's. Later they were to call for Jones's dismissal from the county executive committee, declaring that he would

drag Dougherty down to defeat in the county.⁶⁹ At the county convention to nominate candidates for the state legislature, a resolution was introduced censoring Jones for the "old timers" letter and for his "treachery" to the party, but it was voted down when Dancy made a speech calling for party unity.⁷⁰

For most of the campaign the Times-Union concerned itself with efforts to unite the Democratic party behind Dougherty. The Republican candidate Jonathan Greeley, who had been the Independent candidate for the lieutenant governor in 1884, was almost ignored, although he made it a regular part of stump talk to read from the "old timers" letter. In line with his casual approach to the Greeley candidacy, Jones published a humorous account of what was alleged to be "Greeley's Great Speech." It began: "The first thing I want to talk about is the Tariff ['hurrah for Mr. Tariff']. In dealing with this subject I ought to inform you that Tariff is not a man ['hurrah for Mrs. Tariff']."⁷¹ The day following the publication of the "speech" Greeley filed a \$25,000 suit for damages against the Times-Union. Instead of ignoring the suit as unworthy of attention—which it probably was—Jones launched into a more serious attack on Greeley, implying that he was a grasping, selfish banker with no sympathy for the public. He later publicized charges that Greeley had lived with a Negro woman and hinted that they might be true.⁷² Greeley thereupon changed his suit from one for "libel," but by then the Times-Union was reporting, no doubt correctly, that Greeley had no chance of election.⁷³

Toward the end of the campaign the Times-Union began to devote more attention to the referendum on the proposed constitution. Jones felt sure that the new state charter would pass, although ratification was opposed by Democrats in Middle Florida and in counties with black majorities such as Duval and Escambia. In Jacksonville an anti-ratification petition was circulated with the signatures of many party regulars and some leading citizens.⁷⁴ A few days before the election the Times-Union ran a letter from Governor Perry in support of the new constitution.⁷⁵

The election itself passed uneventfully. In the evening a large crowd gathered in the streets outside the Times-Union building and on adjacent verandas to see the returns projected on a large canvas. Jones had arranged to have returns telegraphed from all across the state, and had assigned runners to bring returns from outlying settlements to the nearest telegraph office.⁷⁶ As expected, the new constitution was adopted, although seven Middle Florida counties and Escambia and Volusia voted against it. Dougherty's victory had also been anticipated, as he more than doubled his plurality of 1884. Although Duval County voted for ratification of the constitution, it went against Dougherty and elected Republicans in the legislative races.⁷⁷

The election of Dougherty capped a year of prosperity for the Times-Union. In March Mrs. Eliza Jones had made a rare public appearance when she threw the main switch at the

new American Edison Electric Light Company central plant to turn on newly installed lights in the Times-Union building.⁷⁸ Electric lights were not the only innovation at the newspaper. During the summer the Times-Union began running illustrated feature stories purchased from syndicates which supplied plates for both text and pictures.⁷⁹ Such plate matter would soon become regarded as the material of second-rate newspapers, but at the time it marked an advance over that Floridians had been accustomed to see in their newspapers. Increasing circulation made improvements in press facilities necessary. A Hoe double cylinder press arrived in November, along with a New York mechanic to help assemble it. A new cement foundation was prepared in the press room to receive the 28,000 pound, 28 foot press. Although the paper was now taking 10,000 words of telegraphic news per day, it was necessary to use a great deal of clipped or syndicated material to fill its pages.⁸⁰

It was probably sometime during 1886 that a bright Negro teenager from LaVilla named Jim Johnson began work for the Times-Union as a delivery boy at \$2.50 a week. He and his companions would come to the building at four in the morning to pick up their papers, fold them, and deliver them to the homes of subscribers. Soon Jim worked his way into a job in the newspaper plant, working at various jobs including office boy for the editor, who was known as "C. H." by the employees. He shared the staff's pride in working for the "greatest newspaper in Florida." He aspired to be an editor himself, and

did in 1895 become editor of a short-lived Jacksonville paper, the Daily American, which was perhaps the first Negro daily in the United States. In 1912 Jim Johnson (then James Weldon Johnson) made a national reputation with his fictional Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, and in 1921 he became the first Negro executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.⁸¹

The Times-Union opened the new year with the startling declaration that Florida's winter tourists were "missing." A newspaper crusade was started to discover what had happened to the "missing tourists" and to determine means of getting them back. According to a count made by the Times-Union, hotel arrivals in Jacksonville were down by more than 1,000 compared to the last season. At first the Times-Union blamed the decline on the refusal of southern railroads to pay commissions to travel agents who were directing visitors to California. It was pointed out that railroad rates to California were lower than those to Florida. The hotels of Florida were also blamed for failing to advertise as vigorously as their California competition.⁸²

As might be expected, the Times-Union declaration that something was wrong in Florida met with widespread denials by those who feared that such publicity might scare away visitors.⁸³ One argument which probably had merit was that tourists were coming to Florida in as large or larger numbers than ever, but were bypassing Jacksonville to visit other areas of the state opened by the railroads.⁸⁴

In years past almost all tourists coming to the state had at least stopped in Jacksonville before proceeding to their destination, and many remained in the city or at nearby settlements such as Mandarin during the whole winter season.⁸⁵ The most popular excursion into the interior of the state in previous years had been the trip by river steamboat up the St. Johns River and Oklawaha River to Silver Springs, where a large hotel and several smaller boarding houses had been established. But by 1887 the railroads had opened a wide path to such places as St. Augustine, Palatka, Ocala, Sanford, Orlando, and Tampa. The editor of the Tampa Journal complained that what the city needed was more hotels to house the winter visitors who were flocking to that new resort town in ever-increasing numbers.⁸⁶

Some professed to believe that Jones had raised the issue simply as a means of inducing advertisers to purchase space in the Times-Union. The Jacksonville Herald disputed the figures published in its competitor and maintained that Jones only thought tourism was decreasing because he allegedly could not sell as much advertising or as many papers as in the past.⁸⁷ The Tallahassee Weekly Floridian also disputed the figures used by Jones, saying that the state's larger hotels had been ignored.⁸⁸ Jones replied that he had sent stamped return envelopes to all the state's hotels, but had not received replies from many. Despite this shortcoming, he declared that the attempt was worth while because no one else had tried to make a tabulation.⁸⁹

After two weeks of discussing the question, the Times-Union began to suggest possible remedies for the phenomenon of the "missing tourists." The state was advised to establish an advertising commission to attract both tourists and permanent residents. Hotel men were admonished to form a combination which would advertise and negotiate with railroads for lower rates, promising the railroads more traffic for their cooperation. It was suggested that the Jacksonville Board of Trade take the lead in forming a federation of local boards.⁹⁰ The familiar call for cleaning up Jacksonville and building shell roads along the river was renewed.⁹¹ On February 10 Jones published an editorial, "Let Us Dish California," which electrified the city. It was a proposal that the state stage a "Sub-Tropical Exhibition" in Jacksonville during the 1887-1888 season. For a modest \$25,000 a grand exhibition hall could be built to house agricultural and industrial displays, horse races and sculling races on the St. Johns could be held, a Seminole Indian camp could be created, and other activities sponsored which would publicize the state in the manner of the recent Atlanta and New Orleans expositions. The Times-Union offered to donate the first \$1,000 toward the fund for the exposition.⁹² Actual planning was undertaken immediately which would lead to the successful launching of the exposition in the next season.

A month after beginning the "missing tourists" series, the Times-Union reported that some railroads were setting lower

excursion rates for Florida, and shortly the heads of the southern railways were said to have decided upon lower rates for their roads.⁹³ However, the tabulation for February indicated that the month's tourist traffic was still off from February of a year before.⁹⁴ In May Jones sent letters to 484 hotels in the state inquiring about their business during the past season. Only 138 replied, and many of the larger hotels did not answer, but the raw figures showed a decline of nearly 8,000 from the 1885-1886 season.⁹⁵ This final tabulation drew another round of denunciation from the state press.⁹⁶

The attention given to railroad rates during the "missing tourist" episode was typical of the Times-Union's concern with railroad affairs. In part, Jones's interest in railroads stemmed from the necessity of having mail schedules that would facilitate rapid delivery of his newspaper, and any railroad which seemed to be ignoring the needs of the Times-Union or of Jacksonville was criticized.⁹⁷ One aspect of Jones's dispute with Senator Call had been their disagreement over Call's proposal that Internal Improvement Fund lands granted to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company be forfeited. Jones admitted that the state had sometimes been too liberal in its grants of land, but in this case he argued that the land grant was needed to insure completion of the road.⁹⁸ In February, 1887, the Times-Union began a concerted campaign in behalf of a proposal to establish a railroad commission in Florida. In the past it had opposed a commission on the grounds that it would

scare away capital needed to construct a rail system in the state.⁹⁹ Now the Times-Union declared that railroad rates were discouraging travel and trade in the state and that lower rates, by stimulating use of the railroads, would actually benefit the railroads.¹⁰⁰ When the Jacksonville Board of Trade, many of whose members were railroad men, passed a resolution designed to cripple the proposed commission bill, Jones spoke against it.¹⁰¹ Despite such opposition, the legislature passed an act establishing a state railroad commission that year.¹⁰²

In February Jones went North to take part in the organizational meeting of a new association of newspaper publishers. During the National Editorial Association convention of the previous winter at Cincinnati, an attempt had been made by William H. Brearley, advertising manager of the Detroit News, to initiate an organization of newspaper business managers. His plan did not receive the sympathy of the National Editorial Association, whose membership was largely made up of rural weeklies; thus Brearley returned to Michigan and began publicizing the idea of an association composed of the business managers of large, urban dailies. His efforts led to the calling of a convention for February 16 in Rochester, New York.¹⁰³ Forty-six newspapermen, with one exception from the Northeast or Midwest, met at the Powers' Hotel and elected the "dynamic southern colonel" Jones to the temporary chairmanship. The first day of the meeting was devoted to opening addresses, some discussion of publishing problems, and

consideration of the organizational structure to be adopted. At Jones's suggestion the name "American Newspaper Publishers Association" was adopted for the organization.¹⁰⁴

On the second day of the convention the publishers grappled with questions which have continued to dominate the American Newspaper Publishers Association conventions down to the present. Perhaps the most important problem was that of advertising, especially relations with the new advertising agencies which had sprung up to service the needs of regional or national businesses. Intense competition between newspapers for advertising had often forced managers to accept advertising at unprofitable rates; thus an effort was made to agree on a standard of advertising rates to which all member newspapers would adhere. It was decided that the American Newspaper Publishers Association would compile a list of reputable advertising agencies with whom a publisher could work with confidence. Other problems relating to distribution of large editions, new mechanical devices, libel laws, postal service, and labor unions were discussed. At the end of the second day an election of officers was held, and Jones was chosen to be one of the five directors who would act as an executive body and make rules for admission of members.¹⁰⁵

While serving as a director of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Jones retained the presidency of the National Editorial Association. In September, 1887, he attended

the third annual convention of the National Editorial Association in Denver, Colorado.¹⁰⁶ On the first day of the meeting Jones gave the presidential address to an audience assembled in the Chamber of Commerce building. Apart from the expected comments on the prosperity of the organization, he made the suggestion that the National Editorial Association draft a simple libel law, incorporating the idea that malice of intent must be proven in libel cases against newspapers, and that this proposed law be lobbied for by National Editorial Association members in every state. The press needed the protection of such a law, Jones declared, so that it might be free to expose crime and misconduct to the public. He closed his address with a plea for professional courtesy and expressed the hope that the association might help to develop a spirit of fraternity now sorely lacking among editors.¹⁰⁷

On the second day of the convention Jones delivered another major address, "The Duty of Journalists Toward the Labor Problem," in which he said that the press was largely responsible for the "labor problem" because it had educated the laboring masses to conditions around them and had spotlighted the gap between the rich and the poor by emphasizing the antics of the "vulgar rich." Although there was little that could be done in terms of economic reforms to change the existing state of inequality, newspapers could promote a peaceful resolution of the labor problem by taking a sympathetic view of the

workingman's lot and by denouncing the crimes of the rich with the same vigor used in condemning the excesses of striking laborers.¹⁰⁸

After the business of the convention had been completed, the editors embarked on a tour of the state, with President Jones acting as spokesman for the junketeers at every place visited. The sightseeing ended back in Denver with a banquet at the Windsor Hotel where Jones was presented with a gold-headed cane.¹⁰⁹ Jones had considered visiting California after the convention, but instead returned to Florida by way of St. Louis, Chicago, and the Atlantic coast. He did discuss the California boom with men he met on his journey and announced that it was a "bubble" which would shortly remove itself as a threat to Florida's prosperity.¹¹⁰

In Jacksonville's spring municipal election the reform insurgents had mounted the most serious challenge yet attempted against the Democratic regulars' hegemony in local government. In February a Young Men's Burbridge Club had been organized to boost the candidacy of Burbridge and fight the city ring. Jones backed his friend and put the Times-Union's support behind the new club. When the local Democratic executive committee refused to adopt a slate of reforms proposed by the club designed to prevent corruption of the party primaries, the Burbridge supporters boycotted the Democratic primaries and set up their own slate of officers as a "Citizens" ticket.¹¹¹ Jones endorsed the

"Citizens" slate, although expressing his disappointment that more prominent citizens would not become actively involved in the city's politics by running for office.¹¹² The ticket was a composite of Negro Republicans, labor union representatives, and reform-minded Democratic businessmen.¹¹³ The reformers swept the election, with the exception of the office of treasurer, although it was necessary to purchase large numbers of black votes to carry the day. Jones justified the purchase of votes by explaining that the reformers had decided to "fight the Devil with fire," and he claimed that Burbridge could have won an honest election too, if one were possible in Jacksonville.¹¹⁴ In the evening the victors paraded the streets and stopped outside the Times-Union building to receive Jones's congratulations before going to Burbridge's home for a celebration. Prominent in the festivities were several blacks who had supported the movement, and Alderman Duncan U. Fletcher, later to become United States Senator.

The major item of political interest on the state level was the election of a new United States Senator to fill the seat of incumbent Charles W. Jones, who, for mysterious reasons, had been residing in Detroit, Michigan, and was not seriously considered for re-election. Stories were rife that he was insane.¹¹⁵ Senator Jones had not attended a session of Congress for more than a year, and because of this the Times-Union had called on Governor Perry in 1886 to appoint a successor, but

Perry said then that he felt he lacked this authority when the existence of a vacancy was in doubt.¹¹⁶ The mystery of the missing senator remained unsolved through the remainder of 1886. Jones wrote to Brearley, the Detroit News's advertising manager, for the "rock-bottom facts" on the case and got the reply that Senator Jones was engaged in a hopeless courtship of a wealthy Michigan citizen's daughter.¹¹⁷ In March, 1887, there was a report that Senator Jones would return to Florida to seek re-election with a sensational explanation of his behavior, but the senator never appeared.¹¹⁸ He had, in fact, gone mad. That fall his son began measures which led to his commitment at the state asylum in Dearborn, where he died ten years later.¹¹⁹

The leading candidates to replace Jones were well known by the spring of 1887, for lobbying in their behalf had been carried on openly during the previous year's meeting of the legislature.¹²⁰ The favorites were former Governor Bloxham and Governor Perry. Samuel Pasco was considered a worthy man, but lacking the personal following of Bloxham or Perry. Mahlon Gore of the Orlando Reporter suggested that peninsular Florida unite behind one candidate, and he advanced John G. Sinclair as that person.¹²¹ J. J. Finley also was proposed as an honest man and faithful party servant of many years.¹²² Frank Harris of the Ocala Banner thought that "C H for C W Jones would not be a bad exchange," and the News accused Jones of wanting to be senator, but he was not openly discussed as a candidate.¹²³ On February 13, 1887, the Times-Union endorsed

Bloxham as the most popular Democrat in Florida. Perry was urged to complete the term to which he had been elected, while Pasco was suggested as the man to succeed Perry as governor.¹²⁴ The Times-Union predicted a calm election in which the best man would be chosen on the basis of merit; instead there was a long, grudgingly-fought battle for the Democratic nomination which left the already divided party more disorganized than ever.¹²⁵

The Times-Union's endorsement of Bloxham on February 13 seems to have been part of a plan evolved by Jones for insuring his election to the Senate and for increasing Jones's power in the party. The plan, if it existed, probably involved Jones, Congressman Dougherty, Bloxham, John A. Henderson of Tallahassee, and possibly Pasco. The strongest evidence for the existence of some sort of political agreement is a letter which Jones wrote to Dougherty on February 8 in which Jones said, "The combination we discussed when I saw you is about perfected. I shall come out for Bloxham this week, after seeing Henderson who is to see me this next Friday."¹²⁶ Jones discussed his plan to endorse Bloxham with former Governor Drew and perhaps to Senator Mann, and may have asked them to join his "combination." Drew later said that Jones had told him the "old timers" had coalesced around Perry and that Bloxham was anxious to join the progressive faction of the party.¹²⁷ However, both Mann and Drew were ardent enemies of Bloxham, and one or both of them leaked word of the "deal" to the press. The Orlando

Reporter, the Palatka Daily News, and the Tampa Weekly Journal played up the story of the bargain in late February and March, but Jones at first shrugged it off as campaign gossip.¹²⁸

As the legislature prepared to convene, Jones began to denounce the bargain charges more strenuously, demanding that those making the allegations bring forth their proof.¹²⁹ On April 7, Gore of the Orlando Reporter went to Tallahassee and acquired sworn statements from Drew and Mann attesting that Jones had told them he had an agreement with Bloxham "in black and white" regarding plans for cooperation in elections and control of patronage. The affidavits were published in the Palatka Daily News the following day and copies were rushed to Tallahassee for the inspection of the legislators gathered there to elect a new senator.¹³⁰ Jones replied with a sworn statement published in the Times-Union contesting the Drew and Mann affidavits, and he also printed a letter from Bloxham denying the charges.¹³¹ On following days Jones published letters from Dougherty and Pasco denying knowledge of a deal.¹³²

In the face of such diametrically opposed charges and denials it is difficult to determine where the truth lies. Drew and Mann were implacable enemies of Bloxham, so their testimony is clouded by their interest in seeing Bloxham defeated. Jones did not deny talking to them about his endorsement of Bloxham, and it is possible that he made some statements to them which were exaggerated into the story of the "deal." One intriguing suggestion made at the time was

that Jones himself exaggerated the importance of his association with Bloxham and that this was the source of the idea that there was a bargain.¹³³ This might account for Jones's letter of February 8 to Dougherty. Yet the evidence tends to support the idea that Jones and Bloxham did have an understanding. One more item bears on the question: In 1895 Jones wrote a short autobiographical sketch in which he said, "When I left Florida I had the U. S. Senatorship in my grasp as completely as is the pen with which I now write."¹³⁴ This must have been an exaggeration, but Jones could hardly have had a basis for such a claim unless he had reached an agreement with one or more powerful party leaders.

The Democratic caucus which would designate the next senator convened at eight on the evening of April 12 with the widespread expectation that the race would be deadlocked between the Bloxham and Perry forces. The Times-Union correspondent reported, "The woods are full of dark horses, in fact, every budding statesman here has his lightning rod up."¹³⁵ Two ballots were taken, with Bloxham and Perry dividing the bulk of the votes almost evenly between them, with a scattering of the remainder over a handful of others including Jones.¹³⁶ Neither was close to the fifty-seven votes needed to nominate. Samuel Pasco, veteran state party leader from Monticello, was in Tallahassee but refused to allow his name to be entered.¹³⁷

Twice more during the week the Democratic legislators caucused, again with similar results. On the eighteenth there was great excitement in the hotels and streets as forces seemed to be rallying around the two favorites.¹³⁸ That evening's session saw Bloxham's total reach 47, but when the session adjourned at two in the morning Perry led 47-41.¹³⁹ For the next days balloting continued in an atmosphere of depressed solemnity, then on April 21 Pasco permitted his name to be placed in nomination for the first time. There was a renewed wave of enthusiasm, but the result was a three way deadlock, replacing the dual deadlock.¹⁴⁰ As April turned to May, Bloxham and Drew, the chief Perry supporter, renewed their dispute of 1884, while ineffectual balloting continued. Finally Bloxham and Perry both agreed to withdraw, and Pasco was nominated on May 18, five weeks after the start of balloting.

While the battle for the Senate seat was going on in Tallahassee, a serious threat to the Times-Union's existence arose in Jacksonville. Following the city election, John N. C. Stockton organized a corporation to establish a high quality newspaper in competition with the Times-Union. Among the company's stockholders were Frank P. Fleming, James P. Taliaferro, J. M. Barrs, G. W. Bentley, George F. Drew, A. W. Owens, John Varnum, Harrison Clark, and a number of other prominent men.¹⁴¹ As the Times-Union pointed out, this list of stockholders included many "ward bosses," several directors of the National

Bank of Florida, Call supporters, and railroad men.¹⁴² Jones met the challenge by reorganizing the ownership of the Times-Union as a corporation with himself, his brother and his wife Nannie, Abernethy, J. F. Welborne (Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee), and F. W. Hoyt (president of the Bank of Fernandina) as stockholders.¹⁴³ For a time Jones negotiated with several bankers for their support, but broke off when they suggested selling stock to some parties of whom Jones did not approve.¹⁴⁴ In May Jones went to New York to purchase a new set of type and arrange for added news and features for the Times-Union.¹⁴⁵ In an effort to cut off the competition from a source of telegraphic news, Jones contacted United Press International, but failed to secure a franchise.¹⁴⁶

During the first days of May the Stocktons purchased the News and at the end of the month bought the Herald, merging the two papers into the morning News-Herald. When the Herald was consolidated, John Temple Graves left Florida to begin a successful career in Georgia journalism, while several other Herald employees started an evening paper called the Metropolis.¹⁴⁷ The News-Herald was almost exactly like the Times-Union in size and format, and it carried the dispatches of the United Press. Cassius E. Merrill, formerly editor of the Nashville World, was brought in as editor. The News-Herald was moderately favorable to Call—in contrast to Jones's deliberately anti-Call slanting of the news—and it favored the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West

Railroad over the Florida Railway and Navigation Line which the Times-Union championed. The News-Herald also opposed the new railroad commission which the Times-Union had helped promote.¹⁴⁸ Unlike its predecessors in Jacksonville journalism, the News-Herald began with a scrupulous avoidance of any mention of the Times-Union, a policy which was reciprocated by Jones.

The truce between the two papers lasted all of two weeks. The Times-Union then began to charge that a "syndicate" had been established to break the Times-Union, which was standing in the way of their domination of state politics.¹⁴⁹ The News-Herald declared that Jones was an "ass" to interpret competition as a conspiracy against him, and said this attitude showed that the Times-Union represented only Jones, while the News-Herald spoke for the whole party.¹⁵⁰ The debate then shifted to attempts by each paper to pin the "Republican" label on the other. Jones pointed out that Varnum, until recently a Republican, was a member of the News-Herald's staff, while the News-Herald countered by saying Jones had been a Republican when he came to Florida.¹⁵¹ Jones reacted strongly to this charge, writing, "Whatever my faults (and they are no doubt many), they do not lie in the direction of the turncoat and the trimmer."¹⁵² As part of his effort to refute this charge, he wrote Abernethy, asking him to copy, sign, and return a draft letter Jones had written himself, attesting to his soundness on

on Democracy. He also asked for a letter from another friend, who had once referred to him as "an unreconstructed rebel."¹⁵³ Jones published the letters in the Times-Union and reported to Abernethy that "they effectually crushed out the slander."¹⁵⁴ Jones was almost certainly telling the truth in professing his Democratic background, but there was probably an element of truth in a statement by Harrison Reed published in the News-Herald: "If Mr. Jones was not, at the time he established his paper in this city, a Republican, he certainly attained money under false pretenses."¹⁵⁵

The newspaper war continued into July, although the News-Herald tried to avoid playing the role of foil for Jones and held its criticism to a minimum. Jones constantly pounded away at the theme that the News-Herald was a "sham," and that its news dispatches were faked and its circulation inflated with free or cut-rate subscriptions. The Times-Union reported that Standard Oil millionaire Henry M. Flagler, who was then building the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine, purchased 1,500 copies per day.¹⁵⁶ The News-Herald responded in the middle of July by offering a bet that its circulation was greater than that of the Times-Union.¹⁵⁷ Jones replied by pointing out that the press owned by the News-Herald was too small to put out a newspaper the size of the Times-Union, that a survey of the news dealers showed the Times-Union far ahead in sales, and that no newspaper could attain a legitimate

circulation of even 1,000 copies in less than a year.¹⁵⁸ At the end of July hostilities were called off by both sides. Jones reported to Abernethy that he had gotten "the nincompoops down now and must keep them down."¹⁵⁹ The News-Herald may have decided that attacking the Times-Union was a self-destructive enterprise. Frank Harris of the Ocala Banner ventured that the hostility of the state press toward the Times-Union had made Jones "the biggest man in Florida."¹⁶⁰

In October the fight between the two morning dailies flared up again. The Times-Union declared that the News-Herald was losing money at a rate of \$2,000 to \$3,000 per month because its circulation had not grown much over that of the old News, while expense of putting out the paper had increased tremendously.¹⁶¹ The News-Herald renewed its challenge for a comparison of circulation, but the Times-Union refused to open its books for inspection by an impartial committee, and the News-Herald would not consent to a count which surveyed only street sales and not subscription sales.¹⁶² It is likely that the Times-Union did have a larger paid circulation, but the acknowledged predominance of the News-Herald in subscription circulation suggests that much of its readership received the paper free or below listed price.

The opening of Flagler's Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine during the 1887-1888 season made it a much more important tourist center than previously and an attractive market for Jacksonville newspapers. In November the Times-Union opened an office in

St. Augustine to service subscribers and handle distribution, but sending the newspaper there proved to be a problem since the railroad to St. Augustine was a branch of the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway, a line hostile to the Times-Union. In December the News-Herald announced that it had chartered a "News-Herald special train" to St. Augustine to speed its editions to the public.¹⁶³ The Times-Union declared that the "special newspaper train" was nothing but a freight train, and filed a protest with the Railroad Commission when the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway refused to carry shipments of the Times-Union to St. Augustine.¹⁶⁴ In January the Commission reported that it could not act on the case because it did not involve discrimination but refusal altogether to accept freight. Jones threatened to fight the case and perhaps call for an amendment to give the commission more power, but in February an agreement with the road was worked out so that the Times-Union was taken to St. Augustine.¹⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the News-Herald had problems of its own. During the winter of 1887-1888 three editors John Varnum, Cassius Merrill, and Stanley Fletcher were fired or resigned. The Times-Union took advantage of the situation to publish recriminating statements from Merrill and Fletcher attesting to the internal problems of the News-Herald.¹⁶⁶ However, the News-Herald, at least on the surface, seemed to be in good condition and ably edited in 1888. The Times-Union likewise appeared to be as

prosperous as ever and claimed an ever increasing circulation.¹⁶⁷

It was admitted by the Times-Union that Jacksonville could support only one first rate newspaper, and both continued to claim that their rival was about to succumb to the competition.¹⁶⁸

In the autumn of 1887 an election was held to select a new city government under the terms of the Constitution of 1885. A revised city charter had been adopted which expanded Jacksonville's boundaries to include Fairfield and LaVilla, thus giving the city a Negro majority and a decided Republican voting majority. Although the Times-Union had not entirely agreed with Mayor Burbridge's administration, Jones wished to see him remain mayor and tried to argue that an election could not be held under the new charter until the legislature met and set up machinery for holding an election.¹⁶⁹ When it became evident that an election would be held, the Times-Union advocated that leaders of the two parties consult with leading citizens to establish a good slate of candidates who could then be voted into office with little opposition.¹⁷⁰

After a great deal of negotiating, a convention of Republicans, Democrats, "citizens" representatives, and labor union leaders met and selected a nominating committee which drew up a "citizens" slate of candidates.¹⁷¹ The ticket was headed by Republican Charles B. Smith, with the 18 aldermen posts evenly divided between the two parties. The Times-Union noted that five of the Republican candidates were black and that

ten of the nominees were associated with labor unions.¹⁷² The Democrats, both the Burbridge faction and the party regulars, thereupon withdrew their support from the "citizens" ticket and nominated one of their own. However, the Times-Union was hardly satisfied with the Democratic slate, declaring it to be too much tainted with "ring" influences.¹⁷³

After all this maneuvering, the election went quietly, with the Republicans and labor elements winning most of the seats. The Times-Union judged the new government an unknown quantity, but pointed out the good elements in it.¹⁷⁴ The News-Herald voiced the regular Democrat's disappointment in the results, and suggested that a move be made to have the city turned over to a commission appointed by the governor.¹⁷⁵ The Times-Union opposed this plan since it seemed that it would lead to control of the city government by the regular clique which had the ear of the governor, but ultimately this was the plan adopted as a means of preventing Republican-Negro government in Jacksonville.¹⁷⁶

The feature attraction of the 1887-1888 season was the Sub-Tropical Exposition, which opened in a spacious exhibition hall constructed on the waterworks grounds just north of the city. The Times-Union had suggested the idea the previous winter during the "missing tourist" controversy, and Jones had been one of the prime movers of the organization in the succeeding months.¹⁷⁷ Early in the summer of 1887 Jones resigned his

membership on the Exposition's executive committee, perhaps because of disagreements with other members, but the Times-Union continued to promote the project.¹⁷⁸ In December a special "Sub-Tropical Exposition Edition" of the Times-Union was printed and distributed throughout the state and country to publicize the event.¹⁷⁹ The most celebrated visitor to the exhibit was President Grover Cleveland, who arrived in February for a parade down Bay Street, speeches, and an evening banquet in the St. James. Jones was conspicuous as a platform guest and escort of Mrs. Cleveland, perhaps indicating that his relations with the White House remained good.¹⁸⁰ After a special morning tour of the exhibit hall, the President departed for St. Augustine as the guest of Henry Flagler for a private vacation.

The imposing Hotel Ponce de Leon was St. Augustine's main attraction of the season. This magnificent tourist resort was by far the most luxurious edifice constructed in the state up to that time, and it, along with other hotels later built in South Florida, and in Tampa may have been partly responsible for the continued decline in Jacksonville's tourist population noted by the Times-Union. According to the count made by city editor Bowden, Jacksonville had even fewer visitors than the year before.¹⁸¹ The News-Herald denounced the Times-Union's stories as a plot to wring advertising money out of the hotel owners and predicted that Jacksonville had a "Glorious Future" as a tourist center.¹⁸² But the Times-Union was probably correct

in its portrait of a declining tourist industry in Jacksonville, which was increasingly becoming a center of commerce and industry.

However, there was another reason for the "phenomenal dullness" of the season: yellow fever. Jones knew it was in Florida and privately referred to it in a letter to Abernethy, but publicly the Times-Union discounted or ignored rumors of the fever in South Florida.¹⁸³ On January 17, 1888, Jones sent an Associated Press bulletin out carrying a statement of the Tampa Board of Trade denying that there was any fever in that city.¹⁸⁴ The following summer and autumn Florida would be ravaged by the worst epidemic in the state's history, but by then Jones was no longer in Florida.¹⁸⁵

It was Jones's involvement with the national press associations which led to his departure from Florida. In February he went to Indianapolis for the second convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, taking with him the usual boxes of citrus and tropical fruits. He was the presiding officer of the convention in the absence of President William Singerly, and was elected vice-president of the association for the coming year. The topic of advertising and relations with advertising agents dominated discussion during the convention, but Jones presented a paper on "Government Control of the Telegraph" in which he argued that public ownership of the wires would give government a potentially dangerous element of control over the press.¹⁸⁶ In April Jones

and his wife traveled to New Orleans for the convention of the Southern Press Association, where he was elected president of the association. After the convention, the Associated Press agents visited Jefferson Davis at his plantation "Beauvior" on the gulf.¹⁸⁷

While in New York at an American Newspaper Publishers Association executive committee meeting, Jones was offered the editorship of the St. Louis Republican by Charles W. Knapp, a major owner of that paper. Jones thought about the proposal for several days, then agreed to come to St. Louis if he could sell the Times-Union on reasonable terms. Returning to Jacksonville, Jones opened negotiations with potential purchasers, including several backers of the News-Herald and his old political opponents. Jones found that he had more in common with some of his enemies than he thought, and an agreement was reached whereby a new company, the Florida Publishing Company, would purchase both newspapers. J. J. Daniel was made president of the company, and Thomas T. Stockton was made treasurer and business manager.¹⁸⁸ The final passing of papers took place on April 27. On that day Jones penned a letter to Abernethy revealing his decision:

I have an announcement to make that will astound you. I have sold the Times-Union [sic] and am going to St. Louis to take the position of editor-in-chief and General Manager of the old "Missouri Republican," one of the five leading Democratic newspapers in the United States. I am also to secure a proprietary

interest in the same on favorable conditions; and have a chance, I think, to acquire a fortune and make a great reputation.¹⁸⁹

On the day after writing Abernethy Jones vacated the Times-Union's offices, on May 2 news of the merger was announced to the general public, and at the end of the week Jones departed for St. Louis.¹⁹⁰ Eliza Jones remained behind to supervise packing before following her husband West.¹⁹¹

When the announcement of Jones's move to St. Louis reached the state press the reaction was mixed. The Pensacola Commercial, long an antagonist of the Times-Union, labeled Jones a man with "neither principles or conscience" and declared that it was glad to see him go.¹⁹² Frank Harris of the Ocala Banner wrote: "If Mr. Jones ever returns to Florida he will be held in much higher esteem as his great service to the State was only realized and appreciated when his removal to St. Louis was announced."¹⁹³ But Jones received probably his most flattering tribute from John Temple Graves, then editor of the Rome Tribune in Georgia, who called Jones "one of the brainiest and most remarkable journalists in the country." Graves recalled when Jones had first arrived in Jacksonville, "a dapper little fellow, with a pale scholarly face, resolute mouth, quick energetic movements, and plenty of confidence in himself. . . . From that day to this, he has been the most marked man in Florida, more talked of, more criticized, better hated, and by a few better followed than any one man in the State." Graves

felt that the "ruling elements" had been right in opposing Jones, but Jones "was ever at his best in a fight and never seemed to have the faintest consciousness of being whipped. . . . Lacking in physical courage, he was simply unconquerable in spirit, and inexhaustible in resources, and although paper after paper was started to down him, and combination after combination formed to crush him, he managed somehow to come out of every encounter smiling, confident, and stronger than ever. . . . But in his withdrawal from Florida, that State loses at once the most striking figure, the most dominant personality, and the stormiest influence, it has ever known."¹⁹⁴

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- ² Ibid.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Ibid., February 11, 28, March 13, 1886.
- ⁵ Ibid., January 30, 1886.
- ⁶ Ocala Banner, n.d., quoted in, ibid., March 21, 1886.
- ⁷ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 29, 1885.
- ⁸ Ibid., April 4, 1886.
- ⁹ Ibid., February 12, 13, 14, 1886.
- ¹⁰ Jones to Abernethy, February 17, 1886, JP.
- ¹¹ Ocala Item, quoted in Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 19, 1886.
- ¹² Ocala Banner, February 19, 1886.
- ¹³ Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 21, 1886.
- ¹⁴ Herbert, First Decennium, 63.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 24, 25, 26, 1886.
- ¹⁶ Herbert, First Decennium, 120; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 23, 27, 28, March 7, 1886.

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- 17 Jones to Abernethy, February 17, 1886, JP.
- 18 Ibid., February 17, 1886, JP.
- 19 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 21, 23, March 7, 14, 18, 21, 22, 26, 1886.
- 20 Ibid., March 27, 29, 1886.
- 21 Ibid., April 22, 1886.
- 22 Ibid., May 16, 1886.
- 23 Ibid., August 18, 1886.
- 24 Ibid., August 29, September 17, 1886.
- 25 Jacksonville Morning News, September 14, 1886.
- 26 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 8, 1886.
- 27 Ibid., February 15, 1886.
- 28 Ibid., March 6, 1886.
- 29 Ibid., March 24, 1886.
- 30 Ibid., April 7, 15, June 11, 1886.
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- 33 Ibid., April 9, 1886.
- 34 Ibid., April 11, 1886.

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- 35 Ibid., April 13, 16, 22, 1886.
- 36 Jacksonville Morning News, June 8, 1886; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 10, June 8, 11, 15, 1886.
- 37 Jones to Cleveland, January 4, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 38 Wilkinson Call to Cleveland, October 30, 1885, Cleveland Papers.
- 39 Jacksonville Florida Times Union, February 5, 6, 1886.
- 40 Call to Lamont, March 22, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 41 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, December 24, 1885.
- 42 Ibid., February 11, 1886.
- 43 Lamont to Call, March 23, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 44 Jones to Cleveland, July 6, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 45 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 7, 10, 1886.
- 46 Ibid., July 14, 19, 1886.
- 47 Clipping from Florida Herald, enclosed in Jones to Cleveland, August 1, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 48 Jacksonville Morning News, July 9, 11, 1886.
- 49 Tallahassee Weekly Tallahasseean, July 14, 1886; Palatka Daily News, July 15, 1886.
- 50 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, July 15, 1886.
- 51 Jones to Lamont, July 18, 1886, Cleveland Papers.

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- 52 Cleveland to Jones, July 25, 1886, quoted in Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 1, 1886.
- 53 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 1, 1886; Jacksonville Morning News, August 3, 1886.
- 54 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 1, 1886.
- 55 Jones to Cleveland, August 1, 1886, Cleveland Papers.
- 56 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 30, 1886.
- 57 Jacksonville Morning News, June 22, 23, 30, 1886.
- 58 Ibid., June 1, 1886; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 1, 1886.
- 59 Jacksonville Morning News, June 3, 1886.
- 60 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 4, 1886; Jacksonville Morning News, June 7, 1886.
- 61 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 4, 1886; Jacksonville Morning News, June 7, 1886.
- 62 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, June 11, 15, 21, 1886; Jacksonville Morning News, June 17, 23, 24, 25, 1886.
- 63 Ocala Banner, July 23, 30, 1886.
- 64 Jacksonville Morning News, July 28, 1886.
- 65 Ocala Banner, August 6, 1886.
- 66 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 4, 5, 1886; Jacksonville Morning News, August 5, 7, 1886.

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- 67 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 15, 1886; Ocala Banner, August 13, 20, 27, 1886.
- 68 Jacksonville Morning News, August 25, 1886.
- 69 Ibid., August 29, September 9, 1886.
- 70 Ibid., September 26, 1886.
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- 72 Ibid., October 8, 12, 1886.
- 73 Ibid., October 23, 1886.
- 74 Ibid., October 29, 1886.
- 75 Ibid., October 28, 1886.
- 76 Ibid., October 25, 1886.
- 77 Ibid., November 2, 3, 4, 5, 1886.
- 78 Ibid., March 6, 1886.
- 79 Ibid., September 19, 1886.
- 80 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 17, 29, December 17, 24, 1886.
- 81 James Weldon Johnson, Along This Way, The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson (New York, 1933), 8.
- 82 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 1887.

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CHAPTER VI

SPOKESMAN FOR WESTERN DEMOCRACY

The step from Jacksonville to St. Louis was a major one for Jones. The city of St. Louis had a population larger than all of Florida, elected more Congressmen than the state of Florida, and was the largest city southwest of Chicago. While it had not lived up to expectations as the "Future Great City of the World," as Jones and others had predicted in the 1860's, it was the fifth largest city in the country and the commercial center of a region covering several states.¹ It was slower in its pace than Chicago, with a declining remnant of its old French population, a larger number of German forty-eighters, an increasing Irish population, many Negroes, and a substantial Jewish community. The twisting cobblestone streets of the riverfront ran west past low, smoke blackened brick buildings, through teeming slums where lone policemen hesitated to venture, out to the new western suburbs of large homes and the green lawns of Forest Park. The Merchants Exchange, near the Republican building, was the center of mercantile activity where the agricultural produce of the Mississippi Valley was marketed.²

The city boasted many newspapers, including several German language presses, but the leading dailies were the Globe-Democrat, the Post-Dispatch, and the Missouri Republican. The Globe-Democrat, despite its name, was a Republican paper, and its editor Joseph B. McCullah was reputed to be one of the best in the business.³ The Post-Dispatch was Joseph Pulitzer's first newspaper and was still his property, although Pulitzer had moved to New York to edit the World. The Missouri Republican was the oldest Democratic newspaper in the Southwest, taking its name when "Republican" was synonymous with "Jeffersonian." Despite its long and noteworthy history, the paper had fallen on hard times, and Jones was expected to return it to the front ranks of national journalism.

On May 12 Jones completed purchase of a one-quarter interest in the newspaper, paying \$92,500 for the stock.⁴ He also made an agreement with Charles W. Knapp whereby the stock of both men would be voted to insure that Jones would become vice-president of the company and editor with complete control of editorial policy.⁵ Charles W. Knapp remained president of the company with responsibilities for the business affairs of the newspaper, although George W. Jones would shortly follow his brother to St. Louis from Jacksonville to become the newspaper's business manager. Charles Knapp's father, John Knapp, had already retired from active affairs in the business due to failing health and would die before the end of the year.

The Republican's former editor, William Hyde, had been a leading figure in Missouri's politics during Reconstruction and had been recently appointed postmaster of St. Louis. Hyde was noted for having once knocked Pulitzer down in a street fist-fight.⁶

The history of the Republican building was perhaps symbolic of the newspaper's decay. Completed in 1872, it was a five story Victorian monument abounding with corinthian columns, gargoyles, and over-arched windows. Its location at Third and Chestnut near the riverfront had once been the center of the city's business section, but over the years the city had grown away from the area, and the building had decayed with the neighborhood. A few years after Jones arrived at the Republican Theodore Dreiser, then a novice reporter looking for work, was struck with the building's dinginess:

The office was so old and rattletrap that it was discouraging. The elevator was a slow and wheezy box, bumping and creaking and suggesting immediate collapse. The boards of the entrance-hall and the city editorial room squeaked under one's feet. The city reportorial room, where I should work if I secured a place, was larger than that of the Globe and higher-ceiled, but beyond that it had no advantage. The windows were tall but cracked and patched with faded yellow copy-paper; the desks, some fifteen or twenty all told, were old, dusty, knife-marked, smeared with endless ages of paste and ink. there was no sign of either paint or wallpaper. The windows facing east looked out upon a business court or alley where trucks and vans creaked all day but which at night was silent as the grave, as was this entire wholesale neighborhood.⁷

The changes Jones instituted in the paper marked a clear break with the past. The name Missouri Republican was dropped to eliminate confusion over party sympathies and perhaps to symbolize that the newspaper had entered a new era. The issue which reached the streets on May 31 was almost an entirely new paper. It was slightly longer, had new clearer type, the old-fashioned front page advertisements were gone, and the masthead now read: St. Louis Republic, "The People's Paper." Efforts were made to improve telegraphic news service by joining a syndicate of the Boston Herald, Chicago Herald, Pittsburg Post, and New York Sun—the latter paper's services being especially important because of the Sun's cable communications with Europe.⁸ Jones endeavored to print stories of substance, and did not exploit sensationalism in the news columns, but by today's standards there was much more space devoted to lurid trivia. The Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat still enjoyed a superior staff of local reporters, but the Republican had previously been competitive in local news coverage. As a service to "the people" the Republic instituted a free want advertisement policy in some departments, a move which may have been aimed at increasing city circulation.⁹

Perhaps the most drastic change attempted was the reduction in price from five cents to three cents. It was announced that this innovation was designed to bring St. Louis into line with modern newspaper prices in eastern cities, and it

was predicted that the other city newspapers would have to join in or go out of business.¹⁰ There was a problem with the newsboys, who wished to continue selling the papers at five cents, and St. Louis was supposedly deficient in circulating pennies, but the Republic ran daily reminders how these difficulties could be avoided. The three cent experiment continued until March of the following year, when it was announced that the price would return to its former level due to the lack of pennies in circulation.¹¹ Possibly the price was raised for other reasons which the paper's management did not wish to reveal.

In an introductory editorial, "Our Policy Outlined," Jones sought to reassure those who regarded the Republican with "ancestral affection" that the Republic was the same paper, "rejuvenated and inspired with new energy," and it would now be "found in the front rank of the liberal and progressive Democracy." He said the paper would fight to lay the memories of the war to rest, but would oppose centralization and "paternal government." Public education, civil service reform, and tariff reform would be supported. Editorial policy would be conducted "in conformity with a deep-seated conviction that Democratic principles are grounded not merely in political expediency, but in moral right and social needs, and hence it will be with the people and for the people, as against capitalistic greed and corporate oppression." But he added that

corporate wealth was the foundation of civilization and deserved as much protection as private property and therefore "turbulent agitation" would not be condoned. While the Republic would be a Democratic newspaper, it would not be obnoxiously partisan and would cultivate the readership of Democrat and Republican alike.¹² By in large Jones was able to live up to these promises, although his newspaper was never as independent of partisan spirit as he would like to claim.

During the first weeks after the change in management, the Republic ran thousands of words telling of the wonderful reception given the new paper. Individuals on the street were interviewed to get their reactions, praise from advertising patronage were given prominent attention. But the thing that stood out above all else was the prominence of Charles H. Jones: "the great Southern editor," "writer of national reputation," "gentleman of rare attainments and an indefatigable worker."¹³ The Republic printed the New York Sun's announcement of the change: "Jones is at the helm, and there is new blood in every department, and bounce everywhere. From being a 5-cent blanket sheet, with wall-poster advertisements and the general air of having been edited with a shovel, our esteemed contemporary has put on the external aspects of a first-class metropolitan journal, with news predominating over advertisements and brains over both. . . . Jones has arrived. In fact, he is on deck in command. . . ." ¹⁴ Such inflated self-eulogy drew critical comments, even from friendly sources, and it aroused the scorn

of hostile ones, but there may have been method in Jones's policy of advertising himself in his own paper.¹⁵ A writer for William Marion Reedy's St. Louis Mirror (perhaps Reedy himself) thought he knew what it was:

He adopted a course radically opposed to the conservatism which had for seventy years been the paper's too monotonous characteristic. He exploited himself to impress upon the public the fact that the men who had made the Republican obnoxious in its unprogressiveness, were out of control.¹⁶

People bought the Republic to see what kind of damphool thing he was going to play next. All the time they thought he was making an ass of himself he was really making monkeys of them, and the paper's circulation went up until, for the first time in twenty years, the word dividend was defined to stockholders in checks.¹⁷

Jones threw himself into his new enterprise with enthusiasm, working as hard as he had ever worked in his life, yet relishing every minute of the labor. After two weeks with the paper he wrote his daughter Dora, then attending school in New York, that his heart was in the business and he was confident that it would turn out a success.¹⁸ A month later he wrote Abernethy: "I am working extremely hard, but the success we are achieving is very encouraging. I have never known anything like it. We have made as much progress in two months as Pulitzer did with the world [sic] in a year. I feel contented and hopeful—more so than ever before in my life."¹⁹ Even the acid attacks of the Glove-Democrat and Post-Dispatch did not discourage him:

"Every newspaper in the city has joined the chorus against me," he told Abernethy, "but I am not dismayed—in fact, rather enjoying it, especially as I think I am getting the best of it. The trouble is I am rattling their dry bones." The experience of piloting a "huge newspaper" was exhilarating.²⁰

By the middle of June the Republic claimed that its city circulation had increased by 50 percent, and it predicted that the paper's entire circulation would double in 60 days.²¹ This reported increase can be partly attributed to the ordinary rise in circulation in an election year, and some of it was probably the result of free distribution and simple exaggeration, but it is highly probable that the Republic was enjoying a boom of major proportions. By fall a circulation of over 45,000 was being attested to in sworn statements, and it was claimed that the Republic had a larger circulation in the states of Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, and Texas than any other paper and was the fastest growing newspaper in St. Louis.²²

The Globe-Democrat was the Republic's major competitor because it was a morning paper and depended on subscribers outside of the city for much of its circulation. It had enjoyed a substantial lead in circulation over the Republican for many years past, and it was claiming an average circulation of more than 47,000 in the summer of 1888, but the Republic was rapidly closing the gap, and by the end of Jones's tenure in 1893 had achieved virtually the same circulation as the Globe-Democrat.²³

The Post-Dispatch, an afternoon paper with the bulk of its circulation concentrated in the city, was claiming a circulation of only 33,000 in the spring of 1888, but it was the most rapidly growing of the three and would far outstrip its rivals by the mid-1890's.²⁴

One of the first things Jones did as editor of the Republic was to pick a fight with the Globe-Democrat, probably in the hope of sparking the reading public's interest. The Republic called attention to the out-dated format, the staid contents, and the conservative editorial policies of the Globe-Democrat, also noting the higher price typical of the "old five-centers of the state-coach period."²⁵ When a Texas newspaper said people in that state preferred the Globe-Democrat because of its better news coverage, the Republic pointed out that in recent issues it had run more telegraphic news than its rival, while the Globe-Democrat padded its pages with "snake stories, whole columns of faith-cure clippings, Spiritualistic [sic] drivel, and all kinds of odd and end exchange clippings."²⁶ There was some truth in this charge, for McCullah deliberately kept the Globe-Democrat sedate, while at the same time sprinkling it with snake stories and the like to keep up reader interest.²⁷ The Globe-Democrat had written approvingly of the reformation at the offices of its competitor, but when Jones began to refer to McCullah as the "fat assistant" of the newspaper's president Daniel Houser, the Globe-Democrat began to slip in a few remarks about the "Adonis

of the Everglades" and "Jones, Late of the Swanpoodle (Fla.) 'Slasher'."²⁸ When the Republic charged that the Globe-Democrat's editorials on Arkansas were stirring up a race war, the Globe-Democrat called Jones "a Yankee tramp recently imported into this city from Florida," who had sneaked the back streets of Jacksonville to avoid chastisement for his practices of personal journalism.²⁹ Jones responded by printing a letter from former Mayor Burbridge certifying Jones's southern parentage and praising him for his work as a civic-minded promoter of Florida's prosperity.³⁰

While concentrating on his morning competitor, Jones did not ignore the evening Post-Dispatch, like the Republic a Democratic paper but less involved with the party organization. Pulitzer shared the resources of the New York World with the Post-Dispatch, giving that paper high quality features such as Sunday supplement material not available to other St. Louis newspapers. The illustrations of the Post-Dispatch were better than the Republic's, but the layout of the paper was, if anything, more conservative. Jones began his contest with the Post-Dispatch by harping on the fact that Pulitzer marketed a 12 page paper in New York for two cents but charged five cents for an eight page paper in St. Louis. The Post-Dispatch had ignored Jones's arrival in St. Louis but reacted to this campaign by charging that the Republic had scissored a story out of a Chicago paper and run it as a "Special to the Republic."

The Post-Dispatch's editorial continued:

When Brer Jones announced that he had placed his small savings in the lean treasury of the old Republican there was a certain sympathy felt for him as for a harmless imbecile who had been confided out of his money. But he is evidently a fraud of the first water, and his attempt to impose on the intelligent reading public of St. Louis with petty swindles that would not go down in the Okeefinokie [sic] Weekly Everglade explains very fully why the aforesaid reading public pay 5 cents for a newspaper with news in it and do not pay 3 cents for journalistic swindle with fakes in it.³¹

At the bottom right-hand corner of the page carrying the Post-Dispatch's attack, a story of a hold-up in Texas appeared under the headline "Wore a Red Bandana." The next day's Republic carried a denial of the charge that it faked news, and declared that it was the Post-Dispatch which faked stories such as "Wore a Red Bandana," which was allegedly clipped from the Republic and run in the Post-Dispatch without acknowledgment."³² The Post-Dispatch returned the fire on the following day, and charges of fraud flew both ways for weeks. Fortunately for Jones the managing editor of the Post-Dispatch ran away with the wife of a well-known St. Louis theatre owner during the dispute, and the Republic ran front page stories of this "shameless and cold-blooded depravity" daily. The Post-Dispatch slackened its assaults for the moment.³³

Jones had hardly settled at his desk at the Republic before delegates began arriving in St. Louis for the Democratic national convention. As the local organ of Democracy, the

Republic occupied a special position, both as servant of the visiting pressmen and, for the moment, the spotlighted mouth-piece of the party. As Cleveland's renomination was a foregone conclusion, the Republic's attention was first turned to the question of the vice-presidential nomination. Allen G. Thurman, the "Old Roman" of Ohio politics, was the leading contender for second place on the ticket, despite his poor health and advanced age. Press speculation swirled about whether he would accept the nomination if it were offered to him, and it seemed certain that he would be offered the position if he indicated that he would accept. On June 2 the Republic published what was apparently the first definite statement from Thurman that he would indeed accept the nomination if it were offered to him. Jones used the exclusive interview to acclaim his newspaper enterprise: "The sensation of the day in journalistic circles is The Republic's "scoop" in obtaining direct from Judge Thurman the first authoritative announcement that he would accept the Vice-Presidency. It is acknowledged to be the biggest thing of the kind achieved in recent years; and yet it was due to the position of The Republic in the journalism of the Democratic party that it should be made the medium of the announcement."³⁴

During the convention Jones kept a close watch on the activities of the Committee on Resolutions, as he had in the Democratic convention of 1884. He wished to see a genuine low tariff clause incorporated in the platform, and lobbied for

such a plank in the columns of the Republic. Despite his famous tariff reform message of 1887, Cleveland had made it known that he wished the tariff plank to be moderate, but Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and draftsman of national platforms, wanted a decisively low tariff plank. The Republic's emotional campaign against the "combine" of Senator Arthur P. Gorman, leader of the faction committed to reaffirming the cautious 1884 plank, drew national attention.³⁵ When, after a long caucus, the platform subcommittee reported out a generally low-tariff plank Jones patted himself on the back for having saved the tariff reform cause.³⁶ This inflated view of the Republic's influence was probably unrealistic in the case of the platform, as it certainly was in its claim to have secured the vice-presidential nomination for Thurman.

The Republic's coverage of the Republican convention later in the month was unashamedly biased against both the Republicans and Chicago. Chicago was portrayed as a haven for anarchists, while the Republicans were pictured as a combination of "the sleek type of the class produced by monopoly greed at the North and the unwashed type of the ignorant and shiftless class of the South."³⁷ The Republic was pleased when the opposition chose to make a square fight on the tariff issue by stoutly endorsing protection in their platform.³⁸

The Democrats' decision to fight the election on the question of tariff reform may have cost Cleveland the election because it antagonized business and frightened much of the public. The mistake was compounded by making William H. Barnum national chairman and Calvin S. Brice chairman of the executive committee. Barnum, a Michigan iron ore producer, and Brice, a northeastern lawyer, were both protectionists and were indifferent to the call for a "campaign of education" on the tariff.³⁹ For his part, Jones threw the Republic enthusiastically and unreservedly behind the low tariff, anti-trust campaign. He accused the Republicans of wishing to raise tariff rates to prohibitive levels which would force the American people to buy only from the trusts.⁴⁰ The Republic also played on sectional and class themes which would increasingly become a hallmark of Jones's thinking. The election was seen as a contest between the protected rich business community and the unprotected workers and farmers; between the Northeast, grown fat on protection, and the South and West, increasingly indebted to the Northeast.⁴¹ Harrison was declared to be an enemy of the workingman because of his role in breaking the strike on the Ohio and Missouri Railroad in 1877. The use of "Pinkerton armies" was denounced, and the use of court injunctions in labor disputes was condemned as having great potential for oppression.⁴² Cleveland's record as a civil service reformer was defended, and his careful vetoes of pension bills were contrasted to the reckless passage of such bills by Congress.⁴³

On the level of state politics, Jones had assured local party leaders that until he learned something of Missouri politics he intended to maintain a neutral posture and would treat all Democratic candidates fairly.⁴⁴ But as the race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination developed into a heated battle, Jones piloted the Republic into the fray in behalf of St. Louis Mayor David R. Francis, a young man of the post-Reconstruction generation of Missouri politicians and a highly successful dealer in grain at the Merchants Exchange. The other candidates for the nomination were Governor Albert P. Morehouse, who had succeeded to the governorship upon the death of John Marmaduke in December, 1887, and Congressman John Glover of St. Louis. Ostensibly Jones's excuse for enlisting Francis's behalf was that Glover and Morehouse, in cooperation with St. Louis "boss" Edward Noonan, had entered into a conspiracy to defeat Francis.⁴⁵ According to Jones, Francis had the backing of the Merchants Exchange and St. Louis businessmen, while Glover was being put up by the "rings" and liquor interests to insure the defeat of their enemy Francis.⁴⁶ Actually, Francis had his own "ring" backing from Ed Butler, a man who had risen from the humblest of origins in Ireland to become a successful and wealthy blacksmith and ward politician. Glover reacted to the Republic's unfriendly treatment of his campaign by explaining that "Jones of Florida" was new to the state, and Jones replied that he was learning fast enough to make "political

fakirs and side showmen" uncomfortable.⁴⁷ When Glover accused Jones of backing Francis because of "certain monetary transactions," Jones demanded proof and forced Glover to admit that he had relied on gossip in making his charges.⁴⁸

After Francis won the Democratic nomination, the Post-Dispatch, which had backed Glover, refused to endorse the nominee of the party and declared that it would be better to elect a Republican than to allow Francis and Butler to gain permanent control of the Democratic party. It accused Francis of fraud in his 1885 election as mayor, of gambling in grain, and of neglecting his duties as mayor while running for governor.⁴⁹ The Republic, said the Post-Dispatch, licked the "boots of the mayor" and condoned party bossism because its survival depended on "party pap."⁵⁰ The Republic replied by charging the Post-Dispatch with infidelity to the party and by saying that the Post-Dispatch's pious anti-bossism was a sham since Elbert E. Kimball, the Republican nominee, was the creature of Republican bosses.⁵¹

On the day after the election, the Republic published an immense edition running over 100,000 copies, and sent a special train, decked with flags and posters of crowing roosters, speeding south with the news that early returns from New York showed an increase in Democratic turnout which indicated a Democratic victory. The next day brought sobering facts: New York had been lost to Harrison and with it the election.

The Republic said that the Democrats had overestimated the public's knowledge of the evils of class legislation and its remedy, while the West had not yet reached the decision to unshackle itself from the Northeast.⁵² Perhaps the most important lesson of the campaign, as far as Jones was concerned, was found in the loss of New York. David B. Hill was credited with giving the state to Harrison by "knifing" Cleveland-- which he probably did.⁵³ Hereafter, Jones declared, the Democratic party should never again trust either Hill or New York in a presidential election.⁵⁴ The party of the future must be the party of the West, and the West could be won for Democracy on the tariff issue. The development of the West and its continued growth in years to come was seen by Jones as the determining factor in the future course of the party:

When we say that in the Democratic party the West must lead, we are talking practical politics, and we will talk it without cessation on all proper occasions until on and after the session of the next Democratic convention. It is not put forward as the view of superior honesty. It is the view of practical common sense, and if the Democratic party has not the courage to obey the dictates of common sense, it will be beaten in 1892 as it was in 1888.⁵⁵

Missouri remained safely Democratic, and Francis was elected governor by a comfortable margin over Kimball, a G. A. R. commander and easy target, but Francis's victory was spoiled by Republican success in his home town. Francis blamed the defeat in St. Louis on Noonan and his friends, vowing to repay

them for what he felt was treachery.⁵⁶ The St. Louis returns also reflected poorly on Jones. All three of the city's Congressional seats switched from Democratic to Republican, a disaster which was enough to give control of the House of Representatives to the Republicans and brought demands for Jones's removal as editor of the party's organ in St. Louis.⁵⁷ Jones reacted to the reversal by writing that Republican hegemony in the House simply meant the public would be given a graphic illustration of Republican rule and thus ultimate rejection of their program would be accelerated.⁵⁸ At the time this sounded like sour grapes, but it proved to be an accurate forecast of events to come.

The Republic blamed the loss of St. Louis on vote buying, importation of "Negro ruffians" to vote as repeaters, and the "saloon vote."⁵⁹ The real causes of the defeat may have been the low tariff campaign, Francis's unpopularity with organized labor, and the hostility of the Noonan city Democrats, although there were some indications of fraudulent registrations of blacks before the election.⁶⁰ The Post-Dispatch, ostensibly Democratic, had all during the campaign characterized Francis and the Democratic Congressional candidates as the minions of the "bosses," and this hostility must have hurt the party to some extent.⁶¹ Within a week after the election, the Republic declared "war to the knife" with the "political saloon," running a flamboyant crusade in front page illustrated articles which

demanding a high license law to shut down the city's dives.⁶² Perhaps more realistic as a step toward election reform, was the Republic's endorsement of the Australian secret ballot system, which was shortly introduced in Missouri.⁶³

A month after the election Jones's life was touched by tragedy. Eliza Jones had arrived in St. Louis from Jacksonville in a "precarious" state of health. She enjoyed the "delightful quarters" and comparative luxury of hotel life in the city, but the demands of her husband's profession prevented him from spending time with her, as they always had. However, Jones did take the opportunity to purchase some small gifts for his wife which had long been deferred.⁶⁴ He hoped that the advent of cooler weather would improve his wife's health, but instead she caught a cold that developed into pneumonia. Jones wrote Abernethy: "I find it hard to give up hope, but the physicians give little encouragement," and he told him to prepare his daughter Dora, who was living in New York, for the worst.⁶⁵ On the night of December 9, numbed by opiates, Eliza Jones died. After a brief local service attended by a few friends and business associates, including Charles Knapp, acting-Mayor George W. Allen and Governor Francis, Jones took his wife's remains back to Brooklyn to be buried with their son at Greenwood Cemetery.⁶⁶

The blow of Eliza's death was crushing. Dora returned from New York to live with her father, and he arranged his

schedule so that he could remain with her in his hotel parlor during the mornings reading and talking. He believed that he could not afford this time away from the newspaper, yet felt remorse for having allowed his business to separate him from his family: "I feel my heart eaten up with unavailing regret when I think what a slave I made of myself for years, and how little time I gave to my poor little wife who was craving companionship."⁶⁷ Only in work did he find escape from his emotions, and, while the routine of business seemed dreary and depressing, it would become more than ever the center of his life in the months to come.⁶⁸

During the closing days of the Cleveland administration Jones went to Washington and New York for a two week visit. While in New York he presided over the third annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, president William Singerly of the Philadelphia Record being absent due to illness. The newspapermen discussed the usual topics of advertising and other problems of management, but the feature event of the convention was an afternoon trip to a printing company in Brooklyn for a demonstration of the new linotype machine, an improvement which some feared since it might reduce the cost of publishing a newspaper and thus increase competition in an already highly competitive field. The meeting closed with a cordial banquet at the Hoffman House where Jones was among the several speakers of the evening.⁶⁹

Early in his administration Governor Francis moved to secure friendly relations with the editor of the paper which had played an important role in his election. Francis sent flattering letters to Jones explaining his feelings on controversial issues and suggesting how they might be handled in the Republic.⁷⁰ He included in one a clipping from the Saline County Progress. "I thought you might want to know," he wrote, "what kind of impression an 'importation from the Everglades' makes upon a denizen of the wilds of Missouri."⁷¹ Jones was amiable to the alliance with Francis, and for the next four years they would work together, although, it was rumored, not always harmoniously. Jones was too independent-minded to be merely the servant of a man or party faction. Francis's secretary had already noted that "the new man on the Republic [sic] is a pretty hard customer to handle."⁷²

Jones's bias in favor of the Francis faction of the party was noted by the Post-Dispatch, which declared that Francis, the "interests," and the bosses controlled the Republic for their own selfish purposes.⁷³ One of the most important instances of Francis-Jones cooperation developed out of a relatively trivial incident. Francis wished to send several companies of Missouri militia to the Washington Centennial celebration which would be held in New York in April. Francis's enemies in the legislature succeeded in killing a bill appropriating the necessary money, and the sending of the militia became a test

of strength during the opening days of the new governor's administration.⁷⁴ Francis wrote Jones asking him to use his "facile and vigorous pen" to promote the idea of sending the militia to New York and to deflate a plan, which Francis believed originated with his enemies at the Post-Dispatch, to hold a celebration in St. Louis. He also offered to take Jones to New York with him to make contact with eastern Democrats and to act as an aid to the grand marshall of the Centennial parade.⁷⁵ Jones gave favorable publicity to the Governor's plans for displaying the militia in New York, for which Francis was grateful, but Jones declined to accompany him to New York, remaining instead in St. Louis to act as chairman of the local celebration which Francis had at first opposed.⁷⁶ Francis finally sent the militia to the Washington Centennial at his own expense and was reimbursed by the state legislature the following year.⁷⁷

The spring municipal election saw Jones join the Francis-Butler combine in backing acting-Mayor George W. Allen for mayor.⁷⁸ Allen was a stockholder of the Republic and one of the few friends Jones had made since coming to St. Louis. Opposing Allen for the Democratic nomination and for control of the Democratic machine in St. Louis was Robert M. Noonan, a young real estate broker who had lost the nomination in 1885 to Francis and had been his enemy ever since. The Republic characterized Allen as the candidate of the respectable elements, while

picturing Noonan as the demagogue candidate of the slums.⁷⁹ The Globe-Democrat echoed the Republic's view of Noonan, and after he secured the nomination it ran the Republic's anti-Noonan editorials as a prominent part of its campaign to elect J. G. Butler, the Republican candidate.⁸⁰ The anti-Francis Post-Dispatch had a more sympathetic view of Noonan, calling him the workingman's candidate.⁸¹ The Republic did not change its view of Noonan very much after his nomination, but declared that the Republican ticket was more boss-ridden than the Democratic.⁸² Noonan was successful in securing his election as mayor, but most of the city's other offices went to the Republicans.

In national politics the Republic concentrated on continuing the "campaign of education" on tariff reform. Jones believed that the Democratic mistake in 1888 had been to wage a half-hearted campaign for tariff reform and then for only six months preceeding the election.⁸³ The strike at the Carnegie mills at Homestead that summer gave the Republic an opportunity to point out that in the last election Carnegie had argued that high tariffs made high wages, and now he was announcing another wage cut of 20 to 60 percent. The Carnegie workers, however, deserved what they were getting because they had "selfishly" voted for a high tariff in 1888 in the expectation of sharing the spoils.⁸⁴ When coal miners went on strike in Clay County, Indiana, because of similar pay cuts, the Republic pointed out

that these were the same men who carried "Protection and Plenty" banners for Harrison the previous year. They were learning by experience, it said, but hopefully had now comprehended the lesson.⁸⁵ The tariff was made to bear the blame not only for low wages, but also for high prices, scarcity of goods, and long work days.⁸⁶

The second major editorial theme of the Republic was that the West had taken the lead in national politics. Because of its emphasis on this idea, the Republic credited itself with "contributing largely to the development of that aggressive and confident tone which now characterizes the Western Democracy."⁸⁷ The New York-Solid South combination could not be expected to win very often for the Democrats, it argued, but if the old Northwest could be secured, it and the traditionally Democratic West and South would give the party an unshakable foundation. To those who said the large bloc of votes in New York were "an unanswerable argument," the Republic replied that New York had brains and money, and would continue to be a major power, but New York could not swing elections by itself and, moreover, its vote was subject to the whims of Tammany.⁸⁸ When the New York Sun failed to see the "political revolution" which the Republic detected in the Democratic gains in Iowa and Nebraska in the fall elections of 1889, the Republic declared: "West of the river there is not a single State where Republicanism has any right to control with its doctrines of high tariff taxation and usurpation of the prerogatives of the States."⁸⁹

One reason that Jones backed the Western idea was that the alternative seemed to be an eastern orientation under the leadership of New York Governor David B. Hill, a man the Republic called "one of the most ignorant, narrow and unscrupulous pot-house politicians who ever pretended to be a Democrat or knifed a Democratic ticket."⁹⁰ In June Jones published on the Republic's front page the results of a letter sent to editors in the South and West asking if they believed Hill should be the party's next nominee and if the party should move to a western orientation. The replies showed what was already well known: that Hill was not popular in the South and West, but many editors felt Jones was wrong in stressing sectionalism, and advocated that the party seek a candidate of national stature.⁹¹ When Hill's southern tour later that fall turned into a fiasco, the Republic commented that he could have saved himself the trip by reading the Republic.⁹² Although Jones was utterly serious in his dislike of Hill, the anti-Hill campaign was not without its more humorous side. When the Republic chided Charles Dana, editor of the New York Sun and Hill advocate, with the "poem:" "Oh Dana!/ Be saner!" the Sun replied:

Now Brother Jones his razzer hones
 And swears in goose-flesh-raising tones
 That he will spill the blood of Hill
 And the Robber Tariff smite and kill;
 So stand from under ere peals the thunder
 And falls the lightning to blot and tear;
 For Brother Jones is loaded for bear;
 Aha, Brother Jones!⁹³

The man who Jones considered as a possible presidential candidate and leader of the Western idea was former Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois. The idea of a Palmer candidacy suffered from the fact that he was seventy years old; however, he was from the state which the Republic declared to be the keystone to Democratic success in the old Northwest.⁹⁴ The ticket of Palmer and William C. Whitney of New York was tentatively advanced as one which would be sure to carry Illinois, New York, and Indiana.⁹⁵ By the summer of 1889 it was becoming clear that Cleveland would not drop out of sight or be pushed aside by Hill, and this led to the definitive statement of the Republic's editorial position on the next Democratic nomination: "The candidate of the Democratic party in 1892, if he come from New York, will be Gover Cleveland. If New York refuses to present Mr. Cleveland, the candidate will come from the West. This is official, final, and authoritative."⁹⁶

The Republic had never ceased to hold a friendly attitude toward Cleveland, even after his defeat, and it maintained that he was the only eastern man who was a national figure. He was admired not only for his civil service and tariff stands, but also because he had brought the South back into the Union and appointed southern men to federal office.⁹⁷ In January, 1889, Jones sent a personal letter to Cleveland, enclosing an editorial which he would run in the Republic. "It may interest you," he wrote, "not as the tribute of a personal friend and

admirer, but as an expression of the sentiments of the Western Democracy."⁹⁸ The editorial, which appeared in the Republic on January 16, said that Cleveland had been right to make a fight on the tariff in 1888 and that the Democratic party was united and had won more votes on this issue than on any other. Only the treachery of Hill and others had beaten Cleveland, but the fight for tariff reform would go on, and people like Hill ought to get out of the Democratic party.

Jones's private life remained darkened by the shadow of Eliza's death. Writing to Abernethy, he observed: "It is one of the sorrowful facts of human life that whatever is painful seems to prolong itself in the memory, while pleasure and happiness are everescent as a strain of music. Whatever may be behind the great mystery, the dead are at peace, and this cannot be said of us who are living."⁹⁹ For a few months Dora remained in St. Louis and was a consolation to her father, but in the spring Jones decided to send her to Europe to continue her education. She was first placed in a boarding school near Paris, then at Montreaux in Switzerland. Jones kept up a steady correspondence with his daughter, telling her of his plans to install her as mistress of his household in a new West-end flat when she returned.¹⁰⁰ Jones's mother came to St. Louis to spend the spring and summer with him—a rare occasion, even though she had lived in Holly Hill, Florida, for several years while Jones was in Jacksonville. However, most of the time Jones devoted

himself to his work, avoiding his empty suite of rooms at the Southern Hotel. He wrote Dora, "I spend a rather dull routine— from the hotel to the office and from office to hotel. That is about the record. Yet I keep well and with [sic] tireless capacity for work—bless be the man that invented work!"¹⁰¹ His health had not been good during the winter, but it improved during the year, and he began to feel more hearty and robust than in years, putting on enough weight to force alterations in his clothes. His whiskers and hair, which had been streaked with grey even during his days in Florida, were rapidly greying, and within a few years would be completely white.¹⁰²

In the summer of 1889 it was decided that the United States should sponsor a world's fair to be held in 1892 commemorating the discovery of the Americas. The Republic enthusiastically endorsed the idea of the exposition, and suggested that St. Louis, as the central city of the nation, would be the most fitting site for the fair. From the beginning Jones led in the organization and planning for St. Louis's bid for the fair. Numerous committees were established in July and August to contact businessmen, politicians, and government officials to determine what kind of inducement the city could offer to get the fair. Late in August Jones was selected permanent chairman of the St. Louis World's Fair Committee, with, as he said, "plenary powers to do everything that is to be done."¹⁰³ The chairmanship gave Jones an opportunity to publicize himself and win great laurels for his newspaper if St. Louis's bid for the fair succeeded.

As part of his duties, Jones drafted and distributed thousands of pamphlets presenting St. Louis's case for holding the fair. The central theme of the argument was that St. Louis was a typical American city, with a central location and experience in staging fairs, and exhibitions. It was believed that Chicago would combine with St. Louis in preventing the fair from going to New York, and that New York would then throw its weight behind St. Louis if it could not have the fair itself.¹⁰⁴ In order for St. Louis to have a solid base for pressing its claim it would be necessary to secure the backing of the states in the South and Southwest; thus Jones stressed the advantages which would accrue to the South from locating the fair in a southern city. In a pamphlet "An Address to the People of the South and Southwest," Jones made his appeal, in part, on sectional loyalty, saying if the fair were held in the North, southerners would have to travel great distances to visit it and "when they get there they will find themselves almost strangers and under the dominant influence of Eastern spirit and ideas."¹⁰⁵ This pamphlet was attacked by the Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat as injurious to St. Louis's cause, but Jones passed off such criticisms as the jealousy of rivals.¹⁰⁶

With the approach of Congress's convening, serious efforts were made to raise a subscription among St. Louis businessmen to guarantee a \$5,000,000 fund for staging the fair, although it was assumed that Congress would make supplemental appropriation

for the fair as well. Jones and Governor Francis worked jointly in this effort, and in November departed for New York and Washington to press the city's campaign. In the latter city they opened headquarters at the Williard Hotel and talked to a throng of politicians and newspapermen. By the end of the month they were back in St. Louis to report on their eastern expedition.¹⁰⁷ All of this was very irritating to the Post-Dispatch, which criticized the governor's "strutting" about the country with "his newspaper man Friday."¹⁰⁸

In January, 1890, Jones returned to Washington at the head of a large St. Louis delegation. On January 8 Jones appeared before the Senate committee studying the fair and described St. Louis as "the great central inland metropolis of the United States." He spoke for an hour and five minutes without notes.¹⁰⁹ The Post-Dispatch's Washington correspondent reported that the speech was long, windy, and lacking substance, but Jones felt that his presentation had been one of the better ones given. He wrote Abernethy, "I won quite a triumph, and am now regarded as a 'coming man' politically in our State. . . . If I had political aspirations I could regard this as a very good start."¹¹⁰ Jones remained in Washington lobbying for his city and attending a constant round of dinners and receptions. For a while he managed to gain access to the floor of the House of Representatives where he plied his arguments until he was

spied by the Chicago delegates who forced his removal.¹¹¹ He confided to Abernethy that the race seemed to have narrowed down to St. Louis and New York: "At any rate, we have beaten Chicago, unless I am greatly mistaken, and that is what I set out to do."¹¹²

Jones may have been mistakenly optimistic in January, but by February he was willing to admit that Chicago seemed likely to get the fair. The concensus of the St. Louis and New York newspapers was that the Republican party leadership had decided on Chicago as the site for the fair and that this insured victory for that city.¹¹³ There was some dissension among the St. Louis newspapers because of the defeat. The Republic said that the city's chances had been hurt by the Post-Dispatch and Globe-Democrat's "knifing," while the Post-Dispatch maintained that the leaders of the fair committee had damaged the city's effort by exploiting their positions to puff themselves.¹¹⁴ All were willing to concede that Chicago had perhaps gotten stuck with a "white elephant," and Jones admitted privately that St. Louis did not want the fair once it became established that Congress would not make an appropriation for it.¹¹⁵ Jones's connection with the World's Fair did not end with the defeat of St. Louis's bid to sponsor it. In May he was appointed by Governor Francis to be one of Missouri's two members on the national Columbian Exposition commission.¹¹⁶

Following the World's Fair vote in Washington, Jones went to New York where he was one of the featured speakers at

a formal banquet of the Southern Society in the Lenox Lyceum. The guest of the evening was former President Cleveland, who sat at the head table with other speakers, including Jones and John Temple Graves. The atmosphere was cordial, with much singing and toast making, but Jones ventured a discordant note in his speech on "The West and South." After an opening reference to New York's generosity in taking the "children of the South" to her heart—an allusion to his own youth—Jones spoke on the theme of continuing sectionalism in the United States, noting that the Northeast was as sectional in its outlook as were the South and West. In politics this sectional solidarity could not be overlooked, and the West, because of its growth, could no longer be safely ignored by any party which hoped to survive. However, for the moment the Democratic party was fortunate to have as its leader a man who was recognized as a national rather than a sectional leader, and that man, Grover Cleveland, with the "tramping legions of Western Democracy" behind him, was sure to lead the party to victory in 1892. The speech was well received, and the references to Cleveland enthusiastically applauded, but later press comment on it was more critical.¹¹⁷ "My speech attracted more attention than any other made," Jones wrote his daughter, "and is still the theme of much discussion in the newspapers, some of it highly abusive, as I expected."¹¹⁸

During his stay in Washington Jones met Mrs. Lily Parsons, a vivacious woman of twenty-five who was either a widow or divorcee. Jones described her to his daughter as "one of the most beautiful women in Washington," yet "with force of character which you will respect."¹¹⁹ He fell in love with her. Shuttling back and forth between St. Louis and Washington that spring as he courted her, he nearly ruined his health fretting over the possibility of being rejected. But late in the spring she consented to marry him.¹²⁰ After a quiet ceremony in Washington on July 19, 1890, they left on a honeymoon tour of Europe where they joined Dora. All three returned to the United States in September.¹²¹

Jones's marriage seems to have made a decided improvement in his outlook on life. In a letter to Dora, he admitted that Lily's influence had "made me feel gentler and more kindly towards all the world. The old pride and haughtiness and sternness are greatly modified."¹²² The change was evident in the Republic—at least for a few months. Jones's name and face, usually so prominent in its pages, disappeared for a time, and the editorial page assumed an uncommon serenity—or at least comparative serenity.

The Republic celebrated its second year under Jones's management in June, 1890. Continued increases in circulation were claimed, but the most concrete proof of the paper's prosperity was the purchase of two \$40,000 presses from Hoe

Company of New York. The new machines capable of producing 50,000 twelve-page newspapers per hour, were as large an order as Hoe had ever shipped to the West. It was placed in the summer of 1889, and the presses began operation in October, 1890.¹²³ The installation of electric lighting in the entire Republic building was another sign of prosperity.¹²⁴ But perhaps the most pleasing aspect of the Republic's success was the influence which Jones felt the paper had on the opinions of men in politics. In the anniversary issue he published several dozen letters solicited from Democratic statesmen which praised the Republic as a leading organ of party doctrine. Jones believed that the letters constituted "the most remarkable tribute ever paid to a newspaper."¹²⁵

Competition with the other St. Louis newspapers for circulation and advertising remained keen. Premiums and contests remained two of the most popular devices for boosting circulation. Beginning in 1890 the Republic offered large engraved pictures to purchasers of the Sunday edition and to patrons of the want advertisement columns. A contest to guess the population of St. Louis according to the new 1890 census ran during the spring and summer, followed by the offer to subscribers of a complete ten volume set of the Encyclopedia Britannica at low cost.¹²⁶ When the Globe-Democrat and Post-Dispatch reduced their prices in the spring, leaving the Republic the only five-cent newspaper, the Republic called the move a desperation

effort by the other papers and said that the public would gladly pay more for a better newspaper.¹²⁷ The competition between the Republic and Globe-Democrat for circulation in the country around St. Louis led to the chartering of special early morning trains by each company to rush their newspapers to Southern Illinois where they would catch the Chicago to New Orleans express on the Illinois Central Railroad. This practice led to increased circulation in the South, but proved too costly for either paper to maintain except for Sunday editions.¹²⁸

Advertising was the other barometer of newspaper success, and each of the three major St. Louis newspapers boasted of its patronage and kept careful watch on advertising space of its competitors, calling any shortcomings to the attention of the public. Jones spoke on competition between newspapers for advertising patronage at a meeting of the Missouri Press Association in January, 1890, where he decried the lack of cooperation between newspaper men which permitted advertisers to play one against the other and force rates down to ruinous levels. However, he felt that if a publisher had the courage to set just rates and stand by them, advertisers would eventually be forced to accept the rates.¹²⁹ Perhaps Jones was wrestling with that problem at the time, for in November of that year he admitted that total advertising volume in the Republic was down. He explained this by saying that the loss was due to the omission of unprofitable legal notices and by the refusal of some major

advertisers to insert their advertisements in the Republic at new, increased rates. This latter problem was a good one, Jones argued, since it was one faced by growing newspapers. He added that the higher rates had resulted in an overall increase in advertising income, despite the decrease in advertising space.¹³⁰

The editorial page of the Republic continued to feature a constant barrage of editorials on tariff reform, and there was no doubt that the Republic intended to fight the fall Congressional elections on that issue. In the spring the topic had been modified to include a scrutiny of the sugar trust and the beef trust, and in April the plight of Kansas farmers who were losing their mortgaged farms by sheriff's sales was taken up, but the underlying theme of tariff reform remained constant.¹³¹ As it turned out, the Republicans played into the hands of the Democrats on this issue by passing the McKinley Tariff which increased rates to even higher levels. In a prophetic editorial the Republic stated: "The outline of the McKinley tariff bill sent out by the Associated Press shows plainly that the Republican party is about to make the greatest blunder in its history."¹³² By June the Republic was predicting disaster in the West for the Republican party because its tariff policies had "converted the Western States into mortgaged provinces."¹³³ When the fall Congressional campaigns were in full swing, the Republic was running full-page, illustrated broadsides against the McKinley Tariff. One of these showed farm implements and listed their

domestic price as compared to the lower price at which the same implements could be purchased overseas.¹³⁴ Another followed a laboring man from the time he put on his flannel shirt (taxed 100 percent) in the morning until he was laid to rest under a slab of marble (taxed 68 percent).¹³⁵ An appeal was made to St. Louis's wealthier classes on the basis that the tariff would cost the city \$1,000,000 a year in decreased trade due to the impoverishment of the Southwestern trade territory.¹³⁶

On the day following the election, the Republic appeared with Democratic roosters roaring from its front page. "Democratic Tidal Wave Rolls In. . . It Is Revolution," read the headlines.¹³⁷ In the most sweeping Democratic victory since 1856, the Democrats made startling gains in the West and took control of both houses of Congress. The recapture of St. Louis's three House seats by Democrats was particularly gratifying to Jones, who had been severely criticized for their loss in 1888 and had paid close attention to them during this campaign.¹³⁸ According to the Republic, the victory assured Cleveland's renomination in 1892.¹³⁹

Jones had once felt that John M. Palmer of Illinois, a Western man, might be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. In March, 1891, Palmer was elected United States Senator from Illinois by the state legislature. His election had been certain since the fall elections because the Illinois Democrats had endorsed him as their candidate for the Senate prior to the

elections—thus the election of a Democratic majority to the legislature insured the election of Palmer. By this means the public, for the first time, had a direct voice in the selection of their United States Senator. Jones had a special interest in Palmer's victory, since he had been backing Palmer and this more democratic method of choosing Senators for nearly two years.¹⁴⁰ The Republic proclaimed Palmer's victory as a sure sign that the Democratic party was on its way to capturing Illinois and the West in 1892.¹⁴¹ In a speech at a Palmer rally in Springfield, Illinois, Jones declared that if the new method of election Senators were adopted in all states, the Senate would "cease to be a club of millionnaires, the members of which regard their desks as breastworks behind which they rise, gun in hand, to defend the personal or corporate interests whose boodle bought them." He went on to strike his favorite theme:

I make this prediction: That as goes Illinois in 1892, so goes the Union. And if it goes Democratic, that will be the end of the hoary superstition that the only avenue to Democratic victory in presidential elections is through a combination between the South and New York, with New York always in the lead. The agricultural West is the natural breeding-ground for Democratic principles, and until Democracy is rooted deep in Western soil it will not attain the bloom and fruitage of permanent control of the Union.¹⁴²

While in Illinois, Jones had a conference with Palmer and found that he had no desire to run for the Presidency. Jones communicated this information to Cleveland in a letter and enclosed a clipping of his Springfield speech, saying, "It has

made something of a sensation. There can be no doubt that the West is on the eve of a great political upheaval."¹⁴³ Cleveland answered the letter immediately, evidently taking exception to Jones's line of thought, for in Jones's next letter to Cleveland he explained in response to a comment by Cleveland:

The policy I have pursued for the past three years with "The Republic" has been based on the conviction that the agricultural West and not the manufacturing East is the real field in which to win that kind of Democratic victory that comes from the campaigns of education and that means permanent control of the Government. I am not preaching discord but harmony between these sections and peoples whose interests are identical.¹⁴⁴

Cleveland's own chances for the Presidential nomination in 1892 were menaced by the increasing prominence of the free silver issue, which was threatening to displace Cleveland's favorite issues of governmental and tariff reforms. As an advocate of the gold standard, the former President was becoming less appealing to a party gravitating toward free coinage of silver. Jones, a sound money advocate since his first utterances on the question as editor of the Eclectic, had constantly argued that the money issue could "take care of itself until more urgent questions are disposed of."¹⁴⁵ Jones wanted to keep tariff reform at the front of the party's attention, and in this he was in agreement with Cleveland. The Republic had taken the position that Cleveland, while not presently for free silver, was concerned with the money problem and could possibly be won over to free silver eventually.¹⁴⁶ Cleveland, however,

had made his mind up on the question and was not leaning toward a modification of his ideas. On February 10, 1891, he tackled the question head-on in a letter to the New York Reform Club in which he referred to free silver as "the dangerous and reckless experiment."¹⁴⁷ The Republic joined the chorus of western and southern newspapers which denounced the letter, saying that the ex-President was "honestly and courageously wrong."¹⁴⁸ However, the Republic softened its blow by speculating that Cleveland, goaded by gold standard Democrats, just "broke loose" in his customary blunt manner, and it reiterated the belief that he could be educated on the issue. At any rate, although Cleveland might have damaged his prospects to be the party's nominee, there should be no split in the party ranks over this issue.¹⁴⁹

In April Lon V. Stephens, Missouri's youthful state treasurer, went to visit Cleveland, carrying letters of introduction from Jones and Governor Francis. After the interview, Stephens talked freely about his conversation and gave a report to the Republic's correspondent in which he said Cleveland told him he would stand by his letter to the New York Reform Club despite its unpopularity in the West. However, according to Stephens, Cleveland went on to say that he had not expected the "direful consequences" of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and he would not take a definite stand at the present, either for or against, a free silver proposal should the party adopt one. The interview was intended to show that Cleveland was not as

hostile to the free silver movement as his Reform Club letter had indicated. Jones wrote Cleveland immediately after publishing Stephen's interview, saying that he hoped Stephens had expressed Cleveland's sentiments accurately and that he had not violated Cleveland's confidence in publishing the story.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Stephens discovered that his loose talk had gotten to New York Telegram and New York Herald reporters who published their own exaggerated accounts of the interview with Cleveland. Stephens rushed a telegram to Cleveland saying that the New York newspaper accounts embarrassed him; then he wrote the former President a longer letter explaining how his imprudence had led to the New York articles. He enclosed an interview with Jones taken from the Republic, in which he denied the accuracy of the Telegram's account of the interview.¹⁵¹ Despite his apologies, Stephens added: "I am confident from opinions of prominent political leaders and newspapers in Missouri, that I have not injured you in Missouri, but to the contrary, unless your partial denials throw discredit upon my statements as were made to the St. Louis Republic's New York correspondent, you will be strengthened throughout the West, in the even you shall become a candidate for the Presidential nomination."¹⁵²

The intent of the Stephens interview and other elements of the Republic's editorial policy was to neutralize the money question by calling it a divisive issue, the resolution of

which ought to be postponed until after the next election.

Until then the tariff should remain the prime concern of the party.¹⁵³ Other demands for reform legislation were likewise pushed aside with the argument that what was needed was not more laws but the repeal of "the laws which for 25 years have put the nipple of the nursing bottle in the mouth of New England and forced the rest of the country to furnish the milk."¹⁵⁴ Beginning in July, 1891, and running for the next year, the Republic carried a weekly column on tariff reform by William L. Wilson.¹⁵⁵ By the fall of 1891 the silver issue was all but ignored while agitation of the tariff question received constant attention.

Jones put his popularity in Missouri in jeopardy on behalf of the cause of tariff reform and Cleveland's candidacy, although Jones may have harbored the hope that if he placed Cleveland's interest ahead of his own he would be rewarded with a high federal appointment should Cleveland be nominated and elected. Jones's boldest break with public opinion in his home state was on selection of the new Speaker of the House. Missouri's candidate was William H. Hatch. Although the Republic had endorsed his candidacy when it was announced in November, 1890, Jones decided at an early date to back Roger Q. Mills because he was the leading exponent of tariff reform and Cleveland's choice for the speakership. In March, 1891, Jones wrote Cleveland that he intended to keep the tariff issue at the forefront of

public attention and would back Mills for Speaker. He warned that "adroit men" such as Senator Gorman and Charles A. Dana of the New York Sun were at that moment in the South working for the election of Charles F. Crisp of Georgia.¹⁵⁶ Crisp was popular in the South and West because of his free silver views, but he was opposed by Jones because he was a protectionist and supporter of David B. Hill, who was now Senator from New York and Cleveland's chief opponent for the Democratic nomination. In April Jones sent Cleveland a telegram from his Washington reporter which said that Crisp was pretending to favor Cleveland and tariff reform but secretly was in sympathy with Hill and protectionist Democrats. Jones also enclosed a typical anti-Crisp editorial from the Republic which carried the same message: Crisp and his friends were speaking in favor of tariff reform now so that they could gain power and subvert real reform later.¹⁵⁷

Jones's advocacy of Mills over favorite son Hatch and silverite Crisp brought down widespread criticism on him from newspapers and party men in his own state and the West. He was also accused of trying to "boss" the state party because he went to Washington to work for Mills and requested that Hatch drop out of the race.¹⁵⁸ When Crisp was elected to the speakership, Jones denounced Hatch as the tool of the "forces of reaction" who were threatening to set the party back to 1880 in its stand on the tariff.¹⁵⁹ He had harsh words for

Missouri congressmen who voted for Crisp and denounced "New South" protectionists as traitors and "plutocrats in the pupa stage."¹⁶⁰ For the moment, Jones was out of harmony with important elements of the party in his state, but his relations with the state's leading Cleveland Democrat, Governor Francis, had also come to the breaking point.

In the spring of 1892 the Jones-Francis alliance ended—an event that had been long expected. Jones had grown out of sympathy with many of Francis's ideas on major issues, particularly with Francis's belief in the gold standard. Also, Jones had begun to associate with anti-Francis politicians such as Mayor Noonan. As early as the winter of 1889-1890 rumors were circulating that leading Democrats in the state were upset with Jones's high-handed manners and attempts to "dictate" to the party. It was alleged that Francis and Jones had quarrelled after Jones's speech at the Southern Society banquet in February, 1890. Nevertheless, during 1890 and 1891 Jones steadfastly denied that there was any lack of harmony between himself and Francis or the rest of the party in the state.¹⁶¹

The ostensible reason for the final break with Francis was the contest for the at-large delegate seat at the Democratic national convention customarily assigned to St. Louis. Francis wished to see his personal friend and state chairman C. C. Maffitt sent as the St. Louis delegate, and Jones wanted to go himself. He wrote Cleveland in May, "It is probable that I will be at

Chicago at the head of the Missouri delegation, and [I] expect to be on the platform committee."¹⁶² At the same time, Francis was writing to party leaders around the state saying that Jones had made a combination with Noonan to have himself elected delegate-at-large, and declaring that his success would be "a slap at myself."¹⁶³ Francis detailed his reasons for opposing Jones in a letter to Judge E. H. Norton, an old time leader in the party.

I do not like his policy and believe, if not checked, he will disrupt the party in the State. He is self-opinionated, dictatorial and overbearing, has been in the State but four years and attempts to teach Democracy to such men as yourself and to read out of the party all of those who do not agree with him. His professed platform of "Cleveland or a Western man" is, in my opinion, a mere subterfuge to disguise his real opposition to Cleveland and I think he wants to nominate Boies or Palmer or any man who will acknowledge that Jones was the most powerful influence in bringing about his nomination.¹⁶⁴

There may have been another reason for Jones's opposition to Francis which had no connection with politics. It was rumored that the governor's wife, Jane Perry Francis, a beautiful woman from Missouri's social elite, would not accept Mrs. Jones as an equal.¹⁶⁵ The story was told that Jones had attempted to bring his new wife to Jefferson City to be introduced and had been snubbed by Mrs. Francis, supposedly because of Mrs. Jones's allegedly scandalous life in Washington before her marriage.¹⁶⁶ Privately Lily Jones admitted to having had a "troubled" life, but there may have been nothing more scandalous in her past than

a divorce.¹⁶⁷ However, little is known of her life prior to her marriage to Jones. The second Mrs. Jones was an attractive, intelligent, and socially aggressive person whose personality may simply have clashed with that of Mrs. Francis. Whether this story has any merit or not, it was given wide publicity. There were, however, ample reasons for the Jones and Francis rupture unrelated to personal animosities.

While Francis was attempting to prevent Jones's election as a delegate to the Chicago convention, he was also engaged in an effort to oust Jones from the editor's chair at the Republic. One member of the state press had written Francis, "I cannot understand why this man Jones is retained at the head of the party organ in Missouri when his work as a disorganizer is so apparant."¹⁶⁸ Francis wrote another party leader that Jones ran the Republic for his own benefit, while doing injury to the party, the commercial interests of St. Louis, and the stockholders of the newspaper.¹⁶⁹ When Maffitt told a reporter for the Kansas City Times that plans were underway to remove Jones and that one attempt had recently failed, Francis sent a note to Maffitt expressing his disbelief that Maffitt would admit such a thing since it might make it impossible to get rid of Jones.¹⁷⁰ Charles W. Knapp was probably cooperating with Francis in an effort to purchase enough odd-lot shares of Republic stock to enable the directors to vote Jones out of power.¹⁷¹ This attempt to remove Jones failed, probably because of Jones's stock voting contract with Knapp which still had a year to run.

The convention to select delegates to the Democratic national convention met at Sedalia on May 11. Both Jones and Maffitt opened rooms in local hotels to entertain their supporters, although it was generally known that Maffitt would receive the backing of the St. Louis delegation. Jones's only chance was to gain the support of rural delegates for a "harmony" plan by which both Maffitt and Jones would be sent to Chicago. Jones had the backing of Noonan, former Congressman William Stone, and railroad lawyer William H. Phelps, "the political field Marshall of the [Jay] Gould system in Missouri."¹⁷² It is possible that the "harmony" movement needed no deliberate manipulation, for apparently many country delegates had decided that the only way to preserve party unity was to elect both Jones and Maffitt.¹⁷³ Francis was opposed to the plan for sending two at-large delegates from St. Louis; he wanted to see Jones defeated.¹⁷⁴ However, by the time the roll call vote reached St. Louis, Jones and Maffitt had already secured enough votes to insure their election. Jones went to the platform to request that his backers in St. Louis cast their votes for Maffitt as a gesture of reconciliation. This move brought a visibly angry Governor Francis to the podium to declare that although Maffitt was the choice of St. Louis, he would request that Maffitt's supporters reciprocate the token of harmony by casting their votes for Jones.¹⁷⁵

As Democratic delegates began arriving in Chicago for the national convention, it was speculated in St. Louis that

Governor Francis might be offered the vice-presidency. As a staunch Cleveland man and a westerner, Francis was seen as a good choice to balance the Democratic ticket.¹⁷⁶ At the same time, reports began to circulate that Jones also was being considered for the vice-presidency. Jones was a Cleveland supporter, a western man, and, as an editor whose newspaper employed union typographers, he might be an attractive foil to Republican vice-presidential nominee Whitelaw Reed of the New York Tribune who was currently engaged in a heated dispute with the Typographical Union. It was also suggested that a boyhood school-mate of Jones's (probably Oscar Straus) would contribute \$30,000 to the campaign if Jones received the nomination. In an interview Jones denied that he was interested in the vice-presidency, yet at the same time he gave credence to the idea that there was a movement in his favor and offered several reasons why he would be a good choice.¹⁷⁷ The Post-Dispatch explained the Jones boomlet as a device inspired by Jones to weaken Francis as a possibility for the position.¹⁷⁸ At Chicago neither Francis nor Jones would be prominently mentioned for the vice-presidency.

Jones went to the Chicago convention with several goals in mind: He wished to become a member of the platform committee, he wanted to have himself elected national committeeman or state chairman, and he wanted to help secure the nomination of Cleveland. Success or failure hinged on the decisions reached at a caucus

of the Missouri delegation on June 20. Jones had written the platform adopted at the Sedalia convention which contained a pro-Cleveland plank.¹⁷⁹ At the caucus on the twentieth, Jones tried to argue that the delegation was already bound to support Cleveland because of this plank, but William C. Marshall, a St. Louis delegate, said that the plank adopted was only a "request" not an "instruction."¹⁸⁰ This effort of anti-Cleveland forces to free the delegation from the unit rule was watched as an indication of whether or not a "stop Cleveland" drive could be mounted by the Hill or Boies men.¹⁸¹ William H. Phelps, who had supposedly helped Jones get to Chicago, was backing Boies. In this case, Jones found himself on the side of the Francis men, who feared that some Missourians would vote for favorite son, Congressman Richard "Silver Dick" Bland, thus injecting the silver issue into the convention.¹⁸² The debate over the Missouri delegation's vote lasted from ten in the morning until one in the afternoon. Finally the delegation adopted a resolution which Jones had written down on a small slip of paper: "Resolved that the chairman be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Missouri delegation for Grover Cleveland as long as he is before the convention as a candidate."¹⁸³ The nomination of Cleveland was probably already a foregone conclusion, but the action of the Missouri delegation helped to stamp out the last flickers of hope among the Hill and Boies men.

The second important decision to come out of the Missouri caucus was a defeat for Jones. J. Griff Prather, a close friend of Francis, was selected national committeeman over Jones, and Maffitt, who was elected chairman of the delegation, would later be re-elected state chairman, defeating Jones in the process.¹⁸⁴ But Jones was assigned the state's place on the Committee of Resolutions which he had desired.

The platform committee convened on the evening of June 21. Jones was elected chairman of the committee without difficulty when ex-Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard withdrew from the race in favor of Jones. It can be assumed that he was given the chairmanship with the assent of the Cleveland managers.¹⁸⁵ Jones immediately offered to read the platform he had drafted, but some on the committee interpreted this as an effort by Cleveland supporters to rush their views into adoption without debate.¹⁸⁶ Also, there were many inside and outside the committee room who wished to be heard, and it was decided that the early part of the session should be devoted to hearing the addresses of groups desiring mention of certain questions in the platform. Among the petitioners was Susan B. Anthony, who asked for a plank endorsing women's suffrage. At eleven p.m. the committee adjourned, and the sub-committee on the platform, composed of 11 representative men, began the real work of hammering out the platform. A reaffirmation of the 1888 platform was expected, and no major difficulties were anticipated, except

perhaps some small ones with the money plank.¹⁸⁷ As it developed, the platform was to result in the only genuine battle of the convention.

Working from Jones's original draft, the sub-committee made some minor changes in his wording (such as substituting "Republican" for "Radical" in describing the opposition party) and added a number of planks designed to appease a variety of special interest groups (not including the women's suffragettes).¹⁸⁸ The first major change in the draft was made with regard to the tariff plank. Cleveland desired a moderate plank, and his agents Whitney and Vilas were at the convention to secure a tariff plank acceptable to Cleveland. Jones's original tariff plank called for a tariff "for revenue only" and denounced the "Tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation." It is not known whether Cleveland approved of this original plank, and Jones later declared that he knew Cleveland's views on the tariff only from his published statements, but the actions of Whitney suggest that the original plank was too strong for Cleveland's taste.¹⁸⁹ The sub-committee, however, acted to make Jones's plank even more strongly in favor of tariff revision. The McKinley Tariff was named specifically and a paragraph was added attributing wage cuts, strikes, and the general depression to high tariff rates.¹⁹⁰ Having made these changes, the sub-committee turned its attention to the money plank.

As expected, the declaration on money occupied most of the committee's time. Jones had sounced out Cleveland on the issue in a letter of May 4, sending the former President a copy of a plank which he believed would placate the silverites and be acceptable to the East. Jones said he expected to be on the platform committee and would like to know if Cleveland would support a "compromise" plank such as the one suggested.¹⁹¹ It is not clear whether Cleveland replied to Jones or not, but Jones incorporated the paragraph into his draft platform, adding a section denouncing the Sherman Silver Act in language typical of free silver advocates.¹⁹² Jones's original plank called for the "free" coinage of both metals, and in the sub-committee this word became the bone of contention between silverites Thomas Patterson of Colorado and J. W. Daniel of Virginia, on the one hand, and the Cleveland men Vilas, Bayard, and John R. McPherson of New Jersey, on the other. The free silver advocates later said that all members of the sub-committee had declared their support of bimetallism, but that some feared that the use of the word "free" would frighten Easterners. For their part, the silver men feared that a plank omitting the word "free" would be interpreted as an endorsement of the gold standard.¹⁹³ The impasse on wording of the money plank lasted until dawn, when the sub-committee adjourned. A meeting of the full committee was scheduled for eight a. m.

At the morning meeting of the full committee Whitney requested that the sub-committee change the tariff plank to make it more protective, and his proposal was accepted. Whitney's plank dropped Jones's tariff "for revenue only" paragraph and replaced it with a weaker declaration that "necessity of government is the only justification for taxation." But more importantly it added a paragraph admitting the value of protection in fostering the "healthy growth" of industry and warning that "many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved."¹⁹⁴ Jones later claimed to have opposed Whitney's substitute, predicting that the convention would not accept it.¹⁹⁵

On the money plank Whitney was inclined to accept inclusion of the word "free," and spoke to the other Cleveland men in support of its incertion, but they were adamant, and by vote of the full committee the word was not included. The plank finally adopted contained a toned-down denunciation of the Sherman Act, a pledge to coinage of "both gold and silver," and some cautious language about the dangers of instable money.¹⁹⁶

The convention convened at five-thirty p. m. with the adoption of the platform as the first item on the agenda. After a delay of more than an hour, Jones was introduced by the chairman and began by apologizing for the delay in reporting the platform. Interrupted by cries of "louder," he waved for

silence, and continued, saying that he would ask former Secretary Vilas to read the platform, after which he would "move the previous question upon the adoption of the platform." This brought shouts of "no" from the silverites and low tariff delegates who thought an attempt was being made to railroad the platform through to adoption.¹⁹⁷ Thomas Patterson of Colorado, the leading silverite on the platform sub-committee, rose to say that the minority wished to be heard before the vote on adoption of the platform. Vilas then proceeded to read the platform draft, but when he reached Cleveland's name in the first paragraph there was a tumultuous demonstration for the convention's favorite which delayed completion of the reading for twenty minutes. When Vilas had concluded, Jones stepped up to move its adoption, then yielded to Lawrence Neal of Ohio, who asked that Whitney's straddle plank on the tariff be stricken and replaced with a paragraph denouncing protection and calling for a "revenue only" tariff. The galleries then took up a chant for Henry Watterson, framer of past Democratic platforms and champion of tariff reform. Watterson was escorted to the podium where he denounced the majority plank as a "monstrosity." Vilas spoke for the Whitney plank, saying that it was virtually the same as the 1884 plank which Watterson had once approved. Jones then came to the front again and offered to accept Neal's paragraph as an "addition," but Watterson and others declared that they wanted outright repudiation of protection.

By this time the debate on the substitute was rapidly dissolving into confusion; a motion to re-submit the platform to committee was introduced and then ignored; amidst much turmoil and questioning of what was being voted on, a roll call vote was begun. After a tortuous count, during which many delegates rose to protest that their votes were being cast against their true wishes because of the unit rule, the Neal substitute was adopted by a substantial majority.¹⁹⁸

When Patterson came to the podium to make his speech for a stronger pro-silver money plank it was past midnight, rain was pounding on the roof of the hall, and the delegates were anxious to proceed with the nomination of Cleveland. Patterson tried to make himself heard over the din, but forfeited his opportunity by announcing that he was proposing only one addition to the money plank: the "five letter word. . . free." This elicited laughter and shouts of "four." Patterson's appeal for a hearing failed to restore order, and in a hurried voice the amendment was shouted down.¹⁹⁹

The day following adjournment Jones spoke to Watterson and members of the Missouri delegation, telling them that he had originally supported a "revenue only" tariff plank—which he had—but because of his efforts to appease the Cleveland forces at the convention his explanation was discounted by many.²⁰⁰ When a newspaper article appeared purporting to quote Jones as saying that Cleveland had been responsible for the majority

tariff plank, Jones sent a denial to George F. Parker, Cleveland's lieutenant who handled publicity:

By letter and word of mouth I have been asked at least a hundred times whether Mr. Cleveland was responsible for the Tariff plank originally reported by the Committee on Resolutions. . . . To these questions I have invariably replied that I knew nothing whatever of Mr. Cleveland's views except in so far as they were stated in his published reference. I have been extremely careful on this point, as I knew there was dynamite in it.²⁰¹

In fact, Cleveland had desired something like Whitney's original plank and was disgruntled by the convention's rejection of his attempt to straddle the issue. On July 9 he wrote Whitney: "Ever since I read the plank in the platform to which you refer, I have been very much annoyed and fearful about it. I am irritated too because I can plainly see the thing was started in malice and carried out in malignity."²⁰² Cleveland blamed the affair on Tammany Hall and Watterson, and mulled over the idea of rejecting that part of the platform.

When intimations of Cleveland's unhappiness with the tariff plank reached Jones, he sent Cleveland a letter advising him that a backdown on the tariff plank might cause the party to lose the Midwest. He added that he did not think the Republicans would be able to alarm the public with the idea that the plank would be interpreted in a radical way so long as Cleveland remained moderate in his public position. Jones predicted that the Democrats would carry Illinois, Wisconsin,

and Indiana in the election because the rural people had been awakened to the benefits of tariff reform.²⁰³

In his letter of acceptance Cleveland devoted most of his attention to the tariff issue, taking a more moderate view than the platform but not emphasizing any disagreement with it. He said that he believed in a tariff for revenue, omitting "only," but added that he did not believe in free trade.²⁰⁴

Cleveland wished that Whitney, who had done an excellent job for him at Chicago despite the difficulty over the tariff plank, to head the Democratic National Committee. Whitney was reluctant to take the post, so Cleveland asked prominent party leaders to urge Whitney to accept the post. Jones was one of those who approached Whitney on the subject, for he wrote Don Dickinson of Michigan in July that Whitney had told him "that he can accomplish more by being a free lance, unburdened with the details that fall upon the chairman, than by accepting the chairmanship." Jones went on to ask Dickinson if he had any other choices for the post, adding that whoever was chosen "should not be simply a Plutocratic figure-head, but whose leadership will be an inspiration to the rank and file of the party. For 12 years the chairman of the National Committee has been a burden for the Democratic party to carry instead [sic] of help."²⁰⁵ The post eventually was filled by a party functionary, while Whitney played the role he wished and was the real director of the campaign.²⁰⁶

The 1892 Missouri Democratic convention was held at Jefferson City on July 19, and former Congressman William J. Stone of Nevada, Missouri, was nominated for governor. His nomination was a victory for the Noonan-Jones-Phelps-Stone faction. Stone had earlier been instrumental in rallying rural support for Jones's election as delegate to the national convention.²⁰⁷ The Francis-Maffitt Democrats had supported Judge James Gibson of Kansas City.

Despite his pre-convention opposition to Stone, Francis campaigned for the Democratic nominee, although it was rumored that the two men would not be able to work together within the party.²⁰⁸ Stone ran well behind Cleveland in St. Louis in the November general election, an indication of his lack of support in the city, and within a short time of the November balloting, a definite rift between the rural-Stone Democrats and the St. Louis-Francis Democrats had developed.

The national campaign in the fall of 1892 ran along lines the Democrats hoped for, with the disruptive silver issue remaining in the background. The Populists appeared to be a severe threat to the Democrats, and the election was expected to be close. The returns, however, showed that Cleveland had not been in any danger. He carried the doubtful eastern states of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, and, as Jones had predicted, the midwestern states of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Cleveland could have won without New York, a fact which the Republic dubbed a "Revolution." It was predicted that

Illinois would replace New York as the key to election victory, that the West would become dominant in the Democratic party, that the Republican party would go the way of the Whigs, and that the subjugation of the West and South by the Northeast was at an end.²⁰⁹

Cleveland's victory, for which he had labored and sacrificed, was a triumph for Jones. He received messages of praise from party leaders for his work and for the influence of the Republic in carrying the West.²¹⁰ Jones sent congratulations in reply, including a telegram to the President-elect: "Accept my heartfelt congratulations and the same from millions of democrats of the west and southwest to whom your triumphant election comes like the benediction that follows after prayer this is a great day for our party for our country and for the cause of popular liberty everywhere."²¹¹

Having played a prominent part in the campaign in the West, it was assumed that Jones stood high on the administration's list for reward. Governor Francis occupied a similar position, and it shortly became a matter of speculation and controversy in Missouri as to which would be rewarded with a post in the cabinet. Maneuvering had begun even before election day. A friend of Francis reported on November 2, 1892, that he had talked to Congressman Bland, who had pledged his support for any worthy Missourian: "My fears were that he would [be] for C H Jones not that he is partial to him personally but being at the head

of the Republic [sic] He in common with all politicians would support him in 'Timorem'."²¹² Among the telegrams Jones received after the election was one from William M. Davidson and James P. Taliaferro, leaders in the Florida Democratic party, which stated: "if Florida can serve you please command us would rejoice to see you postmaster general."²¹³ The pro-Francis Post-Dispatch worked against Jones's candidacy, reporting that his "ambition is regarded as a joke" with the President, who considered Jones a "fussy little man."²¹⁴ When the Republic advised against a special session of Congress to repeal the McKinley Act, a move which Cleveland also opposed, the Post-Dispatch declared that Jones had abandoned his tariff reform principles to curry favor with the President-elect.²¹⁵

After the new year it became apparent that the Post-Dispatch was correct in its belief that Jones had no chance for a cabinet position. It is possible that Jones had never wanted it from the beginning and only made the appearance of aspiring to the cabinet in order to weaken Francis's chances.²¹⁶ Jones had always stated that he did not want public office and two years later he would repeat that he had "no political ambitions. . . . I like to have influence in and upon politics, but I believe in exercising it as an editor and not as a politician."²¹⁷ From Cleveland's point of view there were several things wrong with Jones: he lacked an established national reputation, he was unsafe on the money question, he was a newspaperman, and he was an

extreme and controversial partisan. Such men did not get cabinet appointments in the second Cleveland administration.²¹⁸ Thus Jones's efforts were definitely oriented toward stopping Francis after January 1, 1893.

In January Francis received the backing of the state Democratic caucus and the endorsement of the Missouri House of Representatives for a place in the cabinet. His friends, national committeeman Prather and state chairman Maffitt, went in his behalf to visit Cleveland at Lakewood, New Jersey, where he and Mrs. Cleveland were spending the winter.²¹⁹ Despite this backing from his home state, Francis's chances for a seat on the cabinet seemed to fade as time passed. Then in February Francis again became prominent as one of the leading contenders for a post as Secretary of the Interior or Agriculture. On February 13 Senator Vest had an interview with Cleveland at Lakewood to urge Francis's appointment to the cabinet. The Post-Dispatch reported that Cleveland informed Don Dickinson that Francis would be appointed if he received the approval of Maffitt and Dalton.²²⁰ Another story later given wide credence stated that Cleveland decided to appoint Francis and sent Dickinson to New York to make the announcement. Dickinson supposedly met the Republic's Washington correspondent, who learned of Francis's pending appointment and asked that the announcement be delayed until he could contact Jones. On February 15 Jones telegraphed Cleveland: "An important telegram has been sent to Gen. Dickinson

for you today from the governor of Missouri Lt. Gov. Members of the senate and other prominent democrats."²²¹ According to the story, Stone and other anti-Francis Democrats sent Cleveland and Dickinson a barrage of telegrams which caused Cleveland to rescind his appointment of Francis.²²²

It cannot be known whether the story of Jones's frustration of Francis's cabinet ambitions is true in all its details, but Jones's telegram of February 15 proves that Stone and other Missourians did oppose Francis's appointment after Vest's visit to the President-elect when Francis was thought to be one of the leading contenders for a cabinet position. There is no evidence in the biographies or memoirs relating to the Cleveland administration which would indicate that Francis was offered a cabinet position, however, it is significant to note that four years later, in the fall of 1896, Francis was made Secretary of the Interior to fill the place vacated on the resignation of Hoke Smith.

Cleveland's second administration was a time of reordering in the Democratic party. Many of the men in the South and West who had been supporters of Cleveland in his first term of office now actively placed themselves in opposition to the leader of their party or found themselves shut out from the White House. The widening division between farming West and industrial East, the silver question, and the problems growing out of the universal depression of the 1890's were underlying factors in the estrangement. For some individuals there were specific issues

that led to the split. Patterson of Colorado departed on the silver question, Watterson exchanged heated letters with Cleveland on the tariff issue and never spoke to him afterward, Missouri Congressman Champ Clark said that Cleveland never forgave those connected with the repudiation of the original tariff plank in the 1892 platform.²²³ Jones was among those who broke with the President, although the specifics of his parting, if there were any, are unknown. As late as March, 1893, Jones was writing Cleveland in regard to distribution of patronage, but these letters, although they contained no hint of animosity, were his last.²²⁴

Jones had already made the acquaintance of two western Democrats who were later to become antagonists of Cleveland. He had visited John Peter Altgeld of Illinois in September, 1892, and reported to Cleveland that he found him "a very clear-headed, conservative man of the business type. . . the very antithesis of a 'rainbow chaser'."²²⁵ Jones was also advising a young Nebraska Congressman, William Jennings Bryan, to acquaint himself with the facts regarding the concentration of wealth in the United States so that he would be better prepared to fight for an income tax. Jones told him:

the most effective weapon against Plutocratic policy is the graduated income tax. . . Eastern Plutocrats. . . dreaded nothing more. . . I do not believe there is any way in which a member of the House could impress himself on the country more effectively than by fighting such a measure through.²²⁶

On May 18, 1893, Jones's connection with the Republic as editor came to an abrupt, if not unexpected, end. "There was an intense row and I was on the losing side," Jones wrote Abernethy on the day after his firing.²²⁷ Jones surely knew that he could expect at least a fight when his five-year stock voting contract with Charles Knapp expired in mid-May. Three months before Mrs. Eleanor Knapp, widow of George Knapp, filed suit against the directors of the Republic organization to regain control of \$19,000 worth of stock originally belonging to the George Knapp estate.²²⁸ What part this suit played in the ousting of Jones cannot be determined, but a later reference by Jones to "those women" who put him out suggests that its significance was crucial.²²⁹ However, the driving force behind the movement to get rid of Jones was David R. Francis. Reportedly Francis had set about quietly purchasing Republic stock and had secured enough to swing the balance against Jones.²³⁰ Part of the campaign against Jones involved whispered insinuations attacking his wife and family life. He was assailed by "social innuendo" in an "atmosphere filled by his enemies with strange rumors and threats."²³¹ The day after Jones's fall, the Globe-Democrat ran a front page story, illustrated with a cartoon of Jones, which said that Mrs. Jones had a "secret connection" in Washington which had caused Mrs. Francis to shun her and had led to the Jones-Francis fight.²³² "I have been greatly outraged in St. Louis," Jones would write a friend—probably with reference to these personal attacks.²³³

A precise accounting of Jones's influence on the Republic is impossible due to lack of concrete figures on circulation and advertising income, but it is clear that he found an old and well known paper in the midst of a business slump and restored it to a competitive position in St. Louis and the surrounding countryside. An anonymous writer for the St. Louis Sunday Mirror said that Jones did not make the Republic "a great paper but he made it modern, he made it new. He all but resurrected a corpse."²³⁴ The testimony of contemporaries, such as Theodore Dreiser, who worked as a reporter for both the Globe-Democrat and the Republic, indicates that the Republic lacked the physical facilities and financial backing of its contemporaries, but had competent men directing its affairs.²³⁵ The Republic had virtually overtaken its morning competitor the Globe-Democrat in circulation by the time Jones left, and after his departure it became the most widely read morning daily in St. Louis for a time.²³⁶ Thereafter the fortunes of the Republic, in which Francis eventually became the predominant stockholder, were on the wane until the paper's demise during the First World War.

Jones wrote a brief evaluation of his work with the Republic in an 1895 autobiographical sketch:

For nine years prior to my assuming control the paper had not paid a dividend. Seven months after I took charge it paid a dividend and has been paying dividends ever since, besides investing about \$160,000 in new presses, machinery and equipment. Nearly every man now on the paper, including Mr. C. W. Knapp, was there when I took charge, and the paper

was dying in their hands. The general belief is that it will die again; in fact the process of decay is already begun.²³⁷

Jone's reference to the "process of decay" probably was based on his experience in disposing of his Republic stock. Four months after Jones's departure, William Vincent Byars, the Republic's chief editorial writer, reported that some of the paper's stockholders were dissatisfied with the way the paper was being run. Jones replied that these same stockholders had wanted him gone and would now have to suffer the consequences.²³⁸ After selling his Republic stock in the spring of 1894 Jones wrote to Byars again about conditions at the newspaper:

What a wreck is there! On the basis of that sale, comparing it with the three preceeding my demise, my leaving has cost the stockholders (of whom I was one unfortunately) just \$350,000 in 10 months. And if what I hear about the condition of affairs is true I would not get within 25 per cent of what I sold for. This is what comes of trying to run a newspaper tail end first.²³⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, 1895), I, 2, 84, 221, 370.

²Max Putzel, The Man in the Mirror, William Marion Reedy and His Magazine (Cambridge, 1963), 12; Theodore Dreiser, A Book About Myself (New York, 1922), 89, 92, 98, 101, 220.

³Charles C. Clayton, Little Mack, Joseph B. McCullagh of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat (Carbondale, 1969).

⁴Jones, "Sketch of Life," 4; St. Louis Missouri Republican, May 13, 1888.

⁶Putzel, Man in the Mirror, 24.

⁷Dreiser, Book About Myself, 206.

⁸St. Louis Republic, June 10, 1888.

⁹Ibid., May 31, 1888.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., March 4, 1889.

¹²Ibid., May 31, 1888.

¹³Ibid., June 4, 7, 9, 1888.

¹⁴Ibid., June 8, 1888.

¹⁵Ibid., June 5, 1888.

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- ¹⁶ St. Louis Mirror, May 19, 1893.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., March 5, 1896.
- ¹⁸ Jones to Dora Jones, July 17, 1888, JP.
- ¹⁹ Jones to Abernethy, August 5, 1888, JP.
- ²⁰ Ibid., October 20, 1888, JP.
- ²¹ St. Louis Republic, June 17, 1888.
- ²² Ibid., November 30, December 20, 1888.
- ²³ St. Louis Globe-Democrat, May 26, 1888; Jim Allee Hart, A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat (Columbia, Missouri, 1961), 168.
- ²⁴ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 15, 1888.
- ²⁵ St. Louis Republic, June 22, 1888.
- ²⁶ Ibid., June 24, 1888.
- ²⁷ Putzel, Man in the Mirror, 26.
- ²⁸ St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 5, 27, 1888; St. Louis Republic, June 4, 6, 1888.
- ²⁹ St. Louis Globe-Democrat, September 8, 1888.
- ³⁰ St. Louis Republic, September 10, 1888.
- ³¹ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 26, 1888.
- ³² St. Louis Republic, June 26, 1888.

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- ³³ Ibid., July 8, 9, 10, 11, 1888.
- ³⁴ Ibid., June 2, 3, 4, 1888; New York Times, June 3, 1888.
- ³⁵ St. Louis Republic, June 1, 6, 8, 1888; New York Times, June, 4, 5, 7, 1888.
- ³⁶ St. Louis Republic, June 8, 1888.
- ³⁷ Ibid., June 15, 17, 21, 1888.
- ³⁸ Ibid., June 21, 1888.
- ³⁹ Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage (New York, 1932), 365, 370, 415.
- ⁴⁰ St. Louis Republic, June 28, August 17, 1888.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., June 1, 7, 1888.
- ⁴² Ibid., June 2, August 30, 1888.
- ⁴³ Ibid., June 20, August 16, 1888.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., August 12, 1888.
- ⁴⁵ Cosmo J. Pusateri, A Businessman in Politics: David R. Francis, Missouri Democrat (Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1965), 97-99; St. Louis Republic, June 30, 1888.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., August 8, 1888.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., July 21, 1888.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., July 31, August 4, 1888.
- ⁴⁹ St. Louis Post-Dispatch, October 21, 29, 30, 1888.

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- ⁵⁰Ibid., October 20, 23, 24, 1888.
- ⁵¹St. Louis Republic, October 15, 16, 26, 1888.
- ⁵²Ibid., November 8, 1888.
- ⁵³Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 427.
- ⁵⁴St. Louis Republic, November 9, 19, 1888.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., December 10, 1888.
- ⁵⁶Pusateri, Businessman in Politics, 126.
- ⁵⁷New Orleans Times-Democrat, n.d., quoted in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 15, 1888.
- ⁵⁸St. Louis Republic, November 8, 1888.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., November 8, December 29, 1888; March 4, 1889.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., November 5, 1888; Pusateri, Businessman in Politics,
123.
- ⁶¹St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 1, October 13, 1888.
- ⁶²St. Louis Republic, November 10, 11, 1888.
- ⁶³Ibid., November 25, 1888.
- ⁶⁴Jones to Abernethy, August 5, October 20, 1888, JP.
- ⁶⁵Jones to Abernethy, December 7, 1888, JP.
- ⁶⁶St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 10, 1888; St. Louis Republic, December 11, 1888.
- ⁶⁷Jones to Abernethy, January 15, 1889, JP.

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- 69 New York Times, February 14, 15, 1889; St. Louis Republic, February 15, 16, 25, 1889.
- 70 David R. Francis to Jones, January 29, 31, April 9, May 10, 22, 23, 1889. David R. Francis Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.
- 71 Ibid., November 26, 1888, Francis Papers.
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- 74 Pusateri, Businessman in Politics, 142.
- 75 Francis to Jones, March 27, 1889, Francis Papers.
- 76 Ibid., April 9, 19, 1889, Francis Papers.
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- 78 Ibid., 166; Francis to Jones, March 27, 1889, Francis Papers.
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- 81 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 19, 29, 1889.
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- 83 Ibid., July 3, 1889.

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- 85 Ibid., June 25, 1889.
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- 89 Ibid., November 7, 14, 1889.
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- 92 Ibid., November 5, 1889.
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- 98 Jones to Cleveland, January 15, 1889, Cleveland Papers.
- 99 Jones to Abernethy, December 9, 1889, JP.
- 100 Ibid., January 15, 1889; Jones to Dora Jones, June 26, August 21, October 14, 1889, JP.
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CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In the immediate aftermath of his defeat Jones remained in St. Louis, undecided on his future plans and uncertain whether he would remain a stockholder in the Republic.¹ In June he departed from the summer heat of St. Louis to vacation with his wife on the seaside at Asbury Park.² He had more on his mind than a relaxing vacation, however, and was soon engaged in negotiations with several parties in an endeavor to return to newspaper work. One of these was Joseph Pulitzer, who was at the time dissatisfied with the management of both his newspapers, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the New York World. Jones, however, was not interested in joining another newspaper simply as an employee, and he discussed the possibility of purchasing the Post-Dispatch from Pulitzer. The difficulty in negotiating a purchase was Jones's lack of ready money, since most of his assets were still tied up in the stock of the Republic. When word reached the staff of the Post-Dispatch in St. Louis that Jones was negotiating to purchase the paper they became concerned, and Jones feared they would try to block the sale. "I wish you would try to pacify those P-D alarmists," Jones wrote Byars. "They may make trouble." Jones also told Byars that

he was planning on conferring soon with Pulitzer at the oceanside villa "Chatwood" in Bar Harbor, Maine, and expected to reach some kind of agreement. He felt that he could gain control of the Post-Dispatch if he could raise the purchase price, and he asked Byars to write or talk to western silverites who might be interested in an organ for the silver cause. "Without a powerful newspaper in the Central West to fight their battles, in my judgement they are hopelessly beaten," Jones wrote. "Their 'conventions' wont amount to a whistle in a gale of wind."³

On July 14 Jones wrote Byars that he was leaving for Bar Harbor and expected to return to St. Louis within two weeks. He asked Byars to telegraph a warning should Post-Dispatch editor Samuel Williams leave St. Louis to try and stop the deal.⁴ Jones's visit to Bar Harbor was longer than expected, and two weeks later he was still there talking with Pulitzer. He reported to Byars that his efforts to purchase the Post-Dispatch had been thwarted by his inability to borrow money due to the general business panic of the spring. "The stars in their courses have fought against me."⁵ But the day after writing Byars, Jones closed a deal with Pulitzer: he would go to the New York World as Pulitzer's "recognized personal and official representative. . . with all the responsibilities of the position and with powers coequal with the responsibilities." Pulitzer had never given such a broad grant of authority to any of his previous editors, but Jones told Byars that he would not have settled for less.

"So this is what the fool stockholders of The Republic have done for me! I owe them much thanks."⁶

In 1893 Joseph Pulitzer was blind, with a serious nervous disorder which prevented him from undertaking the stressful labors of daily newspaper work, but he still maintained a close surveillance of all which went into the World and sent frequent messages to his editors regarding matters of policy and management. The affairs of the World had been in a state of flux for many months due to Pulitzer's inability to find an editor-in-chief to suit his wishes. At the moment the World had no single man in the office with general supervisory powers. William H. Merrill was the chief editorial writer, Solomon S. Carvalho was acting as publisher, and Don Seitz was business manager.⁷ The reasoning behind Pulitzer's choice of Jones as the man to assume command over the entire enterprise remains obscure. Seitz speculated that Pulitzer had "always respected vigorous opponents and the colonel had been a lively one."⁸ It has also been suggested that Jones's personal charm and abilities as a talker overwhelmed Pulitzer's better judgment, or that Pulitzer, always suspicious of his employees, wanted to bring in an outsider with loyalty only to himself.⁹

Jones had not always been an admirer of Pulitzer in the past. He had criticized the World's hostility to Cleveland during his first administration and distrusted Pulitzer's partiality toward David B. Hill.¹⁰ In a speech before the

Missouri Press Association in 1889, Jones had said that Pulitzer was a successful journalist but not an influential one because of his lack of principles.¹¹ In 1889 the Republic carried an editorial criticizing the New York newspapers for their provinciality, and in an accompanying story Pulitzer was criticized for pitching the tone of his newspaper to appeal to the lowest common denominator.¹² Jones had been one of the thousands who attended the opening of the twenty-story World Building in 1890, and he may have met Pulitzer then.¹³

Jones's appointment as editor of the World was received with general favor by the press, who saw Jones as a talented writer and organizer, but some expressed reservations about his "pronounced opinions" and his attitude on the money question. His "Populist" whiskers also came in for comment, one journalist venturing, "At all events, the average of the beauty of New York journalists will be raised considerably by the advent of the Colonel."¹⁴ The Pittsburg Post's comment was probably the most insightful:

Col. Jones is the first big man who has served under Mr. Pulitzer. Col. Cockerill had a reputation, to be sure, but it was as a newspaperman, rather than a publicist. Jones is a crank in a way and not much of an editor. But he is a virorous writer and will attract attention to himself which Mr. Pulitzer will not relish. The chances are, therefore, that Jones will not last long on the World.¹⁵

Jones left Bar Harbor and went immediately to New York. He later confided his feelings at the time to his friend Abernethy:

As I approached New York on my return from Bar Harbor, bearing my commission as editor of THE WORLD, my thoughts turned back to that period twenty-eight years ago, when I came to New York for the first time, a friendless boy with hardly an acquaintance in this great city and scarcely a dollar in my pocket. You know, as few do, what laborious years intervened between these two events. I feel less elation than one might suppose.¹⁶

On the second or third day of August Jones walked unannounced into the editorial offices in the gold-gilt dome atop the World Building carrying a blue envelope containing his letter of authority from Pulitzer. The old hands at the World were "astonished." Seitz was amazed that Pulitzer would ignore "those who had done much to hold the paper together successfully" and give the editorship to a man who had "no knowledge of the field." To Seitz, Jones seemed tainted with Populism and other ideas "remote from those ideals which had solidified in the World." Carvalho, formerly the wielder of most authority, was, in Seitz's words, "quite flattened out."¹⁷ Walt McDougall, the World's leading cartoonist, was antagonized when Jones, "before he had been many minutes in the office," began to lecture him on how the cartoon features were to be done. McDougall considered Jones a "pompous half-portion with the verbal output of an Atlantic City auctioneer."¹⁸ Jones's editorship was doomed almost before it had begun by the hostility of the staff. As Seitz explained, Jones, with his whiskers and "ladylike manners," could not gain the confidence and respect of his associates,

and, unable to impress his authority on them, "he was soon flustered."¹⁹

Jones might have made a success of his chance with the World if he had not been so precipitous in testing the extent of his authority under his contract with Pulitzer. Shortly after he arrived in New York, Congress convened in special session to consider Cleveland's demand that the Sherman Silver Act be repealed. The South and West opposed repeal, unless the law were replaced with a new act providing for free coinage of silver. The World supported the Northeast's sentiment in favor of unconditional repeal and had been pursuing a forceful campaign in favor of repeal since June. At Bar Harbor Jones had promised Pulitzer that he would refrain from writing anything on the money question, but in mid-August he went to Washington where he took the place of the regular correspondent and began to send back pro-silver reports of the Congress's activities. His dispatches were intercepted in New York by Carvalho, who refused to publish them and telegraphed Pulitzer to inform him of Jones's actions. Jones returned to New York in a rage, but found that Pulitzer would not support him. His powers as editor-in-chief were diminished, and he was thereafter watched closely by Pulitzer and the other members of the staff.²⁰

Instead of bringing centralized oversight to the management of the World, Jones was caught up in the existing system of shared responsibility which Pulitzer had fostered whereby each editor checked the other. The result of this clumsy and punitive system was, in McDougall's words, "a cutthroat contest between

a number of ambitious, jealous, hard-working and able men. . . ill-concealed enmities or open combat prevailed in every department."²¹ "It produced a reign of suspicion and hatred, a maelstrom of office politics."²² Theodore Dreiser, who took a job with the World in November, 1894, just before Jones's departure, found the atmosphere there different from that of the Globe-Democrat or Republic. Dreiser noted the spying of one editor on another, the constant battle to please Pulitzer at another's expense, and the atmosphere of fear which seeped down through the ranks to affect even the lowliest reporter.²³

During his first months at the World, Jones devoted most his attention to foreign news service, staff organization, feature departments, and news gathering, finding, he said, a surprising lack of system in the latter section.²⁴ He did little writing for the editorial department, where Merrill and a half-dozen writers handled the bulk of the work, but Jones was not happy with the editorial page as it was being run. To keep editorial comments up to the minute in relevance, he demanded that the writers do their work in the evenings after the day's news had come in.²⁵ By St. Louis standards the editorial writers lived an easy life, Jones felt, declaring that he could write in an hour what they did in a day.²⁶ He wrote Byars that the editorial page was too bland, and he particularly objected to the "paragraphs" (the short one and two sentence comments typical of that day's editorial pages):

The World's Editorial page now is least satisfactory to me in its paragraphs. I have been writing five or six a day myself, although overwhelmingly busy with other things, to try and give point and snap to it. I never knew before what it was to crave pointed, pungent and epigramic paragraphs. I have a staff of very capable writers, but the mind of every one of them is analytical and expository rather than centripetal and the paragraphs they produce read like passages clipped out of longer editorials.²⁷

Jones had wanted Byars to come with him to the World from the time that he completed negotiating with Pulitzer. Byars, who was labeled a "Christian Communist" by one St. Louis writer and who shared Jones's feelings on the money question, had been Jones's editorial mainstay at the Republic. Jones warned him that if he came to the World he must suppress his convictions on silver.²⁸ Until an opening could be found for him, Jones asked Byars to send in editorials by mail, for which he would be paid by the item.²⁹ Jones advised Byars that Pulitzer insisted that editorials be kept simple so that the meaning of a passage could be grasped in an instant.³⁰ He passed on a few other hints regarding Pulitzer's preferences in writing: "Mr. Pulitzer insists on short editorials. His favorite saying is that 'three editorials a column are six times as good as one editorial a column in length.' He also likes short, epigramic sentences. He professes a great horror for conjunctions."³¹ Byars began sending in material that summer and continued the practice until July, 1894, when he came to New York to join the World staff.³²

Jone's editorship, while not satisfactory to either himself or the other members of the staff, continued through the winter and spring without any major breaks with Pulitzer. Then on June 26, 1894, the American Railway Union, a radical organization headed by Eugene V. Debs, called a nation-wide sympathy walkout on behalf of the workers striking against Pullman Company. The strike spread across half the nation, and, although it was largely peaceful, some scattered violence near Chicago evoked an emotional outburst from the press. The World termed the action of the strikers "war against the Government and against society."³³ On July 2 a federal court in Chicago, acting with the advice of a railroad attorney recommended by Attorney Genral Richard Olney, issued an injunction against the strikers, and on President Cleveland's orders federal troops were sent in to enforce it. On the day the injunction was issued, Jones wrote an editorial entitled "No Federal Encorachment," in which he declared that the railroad managers were bringing the federal government into the strike on the side of the railroads "under a strained interpretation of the law. . . . Such an injunction as that drawn by two coporation attorneys and granted yesterday by Judges Grosscup and Woods is a monstrous invasion of the people's rights." He argued that this use of federal power to fight the railorad corporations' battles for them constituted an expansion of federal authority unparalleled in United States history.³⁴ On the Fourth of

July Jones ran an editorial entitled "Usurpation by Injunction," which stated that Jefferson's fear of the judiciary as the greatest threat to liberty was being proved true by the actions of the courts, backed by a "corporation-owned Attorney-General."³⁵

These two editorials started the chain of events which led to Jones's departure from the World. Pulitzer's attention was immediately called to Jones's break with past policy, and he was removed from control of the editorial page and permitted to work only with the news departments.³⁶ Editorial notice of the strike was dropped for a few days, then resumed on its former basis. It was declared that in the face of "rebellion" it was not appropriate to quibble over theories of states' rights.³⁷ Jones was summoned to Bar Harbor, where he defended his stance on the strike, and, according to Seitz, vowed that he would write "Usurpation by Injunction" into the next Democratic national platform.³⁸ Pulitzer's reaction was surprising in the light of his customary ruthlessness with anyone who challenged his authority: he offered to sell Jones a major interest in the Post-Dispatch and make him editor of that paper. Jones, perhaps because he still hoped to achieve success as editor of the World, declined the offer, and for the moment the awkward situation in the World offices continued.³⁹

In December Jones went to St. Louis for two weeks at the request of Pulitzer, who was about to introduce a new program

there designed to restore prosperity to the sagging affairs of that newspaper. The Post-Dispatch, which had been making huge circulation gains in the late 1880's and early 1890's, lost circulation in 1894, and the prospect for the future was for increased competition from the evening Chronicle and Star-Sayings.⁴⁰ Jones returned from St. Louis to confer with Pulitzer late in December, whereupon Pulitzer again asked him to go to the Post-Dispatch as editor, "at least for a time." Pulitzer cited "out difficulties, and your enviroment [sic] in the World office" as reasons why Jones ought to accept his offer, but he concluded his argument with a threat: "The change in St. Louis takes effect on January 1, and apropos of this I wish you would give me your exact understanding as to our Bar Harbor agreement. Will there be anything left of it after January 1? Were our relations not mutually terminable at will?"⁴¹

Given the choice of the Post-Dispatch or nothing, Jones accepted, but he set explicit terms upon which he would go:

I am willing to go to St. Louis on the basis you propose to me last summer, namely, that I be allowed to purchase a majority interest in the stock of the Post-Dispatch, so that I can utilize my knowledge of the field and exercise whatever abilities I may have to the full and with entire freedom of judgement and action. It is only in this way that I can be of the highest service to the Post-Dispatch. The people of St. Louis and the southwest know what kind of a newspaper I will make it left untrammelled. If they know I am untrammelled, they will look for that kind of a newspaper eagerly. Even if it sounds egotistic, I think I can say with truth that every intelligent reader in Missouri, southern Illinois, Kansas,

Arkansas and Texas would turn with attention to any newspaper in St. Louis that they know I control and direct. That was so before I came to The World. I now have the added prestige of having been The World's editor. But none of these advantages would accrue if I returned there simply as an employee, even if I were willing to do so.

Under conditions that leave my individuality free play I can make an editorial page that will be just as valuable for getting and holding circulation as anything that can be done in the news columns. I will make a newspaper that will make its influence felt throughout the West, and in national politics I will write or largely determine the platform of the next Democratic National Convention.⁴²

Pulitzer departed New York on the day after Christmas to spend the winter at Jekyll Island off the coast of Georgia, leaving negotiations in the hands of Carvalho. A contract was drafted and sent to Pulitzer whereby Jones would pay \$80,000 immediately and a total of \$300,000 over a five-year period for a majority portion of Post-Dispatch stock.⁴³ Pulitzer refused to agree to this arrangement, telegraphing Carvalho that further negotiations would be unnecessary due to the tremendous success of the price reduction in increasing the Post-Dispatch's circulation.⁴⁴ According to Carvalho, Jones "turned white" on learning that Pulitzer was no longer interested, but on the same day Pulitzer sent a second telegram asking Carvalho to see if Jones would go without an agreement to purchase majority interest but with complete control of the paper as editor and manager.⁴⁵ Jones was agreeable to this proposal if he could purchase a one-sixth interest for \$80,000 and receive a five-year contract giving him "full control."⁴⁶ An agreement was

drawn up incorporating these points, whereby Pulitzer would make Jones editor and manager at a salary of \$10,000 per year. Included in the contract were provisions that Jones agree not to hold any political office and that gross receipt for 1895 and 1896 must exceed those for 1894 and 1893 respectively or the contract would be void.⁴⁷ Jones went to Jekyl Island during the first week of February to see Pulitzer and sign the papers. He then returned to New York and from there went directly to St. Louis.

Jones arrived in St. Louis on February 14 and went immediately to the Post-Dispatch offices. Samuel Williams, then editor, had received a long, concilliatory letter from Pulitzer asking him to make Jones comfortable and explaining that he had decided to remove him in order to give the Post-Dispatch "a stronger hand and permanent head."⁴⁸ Jones's first act as editor was to take Pulitzer's name down from the mast-head on the editorial page and replace it with his own. A published note from Pulitzer explained to the paper's readers that poor health had forced him to relinquish "responsibility and control over its columns," and an editorial by Jones announced that he would make the Post-Dispatch a western paper.⁴⁹ Someone telegraphed Pulitzer telling him that his name had been removed from the paper, and Pulitzer replied that it must be put back, but Jones replaced it on his own initiative—with his name remaining just below.⁵⁰ Jones did restrain himself on silver

and largely ignored the money question for the first two months of his tenure.

A potentially serious dispute developed between Jones and Carvalho over the new by-laws proposed for governance of the paper under Jones. Carvalho inserted a clause stating that the board of directors would have final authority over the newspaper, its employees, and its manager. Jones objected to this, maintaining that it was contrary to the provisions of his contract with Pulitzer. However, Pulitzer refused to change the by-laws and suggested that Jones test them in court, but he declared that he would not interfere with Jones's control of the paper so long as he did not "foreget my sensibilities."⁵¹ At the first meeting of the board of directors in March the by-laws were adopted as Carvalho had drafted them over Jones's dissenting vote; however, Pulitzer did not make any effort to obstruct Jones's management afterwards.⁵²

When Jones arrived at the Post-Dispatch a circulation boom was in full tide due to the reduction in price to one cent. Canvassers were scouring the city and countryside signing up subscribers, many of whom were, however, delinquent in paying for their subscriptions. Jones brought his brother George over from the Republic, where he had remained after Jones's departure, and began to reorganize the circulation department on a more businesslike basis. Within a week after his arrival, Jones eliminated almost 2,500 names from the subscription lists, and

and large reductions were continued on into the summer until the newspaper was put on a "rock bottom" basis. Yet, Jones claimed, overall circulation held up, and revenue from circulation exceeded every previous year, except 1893.⁵³ Income from advertisements was also up during 1895, but advertising manager William C. Steigers would report in September that some advertisers had withdrawn their patronage in objection to Jones's editorial policies.⁵⁴ Net profits were up significantly from 1894 for the year.⁵⁵ At the end of the year it was decided to increase the price of the paper for country subscribers to two cents. This was done because the one cent price was not enough to cover the cost of handling and mailing copies to the country.⁵⁶ Jones made the increase in the face of intense competition from the other St. Louis newspapers (which reduced their prices to one cent at about the same time), but the move was in line with his belief that every aspect of the newspaper must pay its own way. In the spring of 1896 the Post-Dispatch cut out much of the legal advertising which it had been carrying because it did not bring in enough income to justify the space used.⁵⁷ Profits continued to increase during the first half of 1896.⁵⁸

Jones's eighteen month absence in New York had done nothing to cool his hostility to Francis, Francis's supporter in city politics Ed Butler, or the Francis-Maffitt wing of the Democratic party. The St. Louis Mirror reported that soon after

returning to St. Louis, Jones met with Governor Stone and his men, and they had decided to destroy Francis's influence in the party.⁵⁹ In March and April the Post-Dispatch struck blows at the Francis organization, root and branch. During the city election campaign it denounced the Democratic party for allowing "Butlerism" to infect its operations, and declared that it would prefer to see victory go to the Republicans, rather than to Butler and the "respectible" backers who financed his operations. When the Republicans did sweep nearly all of the municipal offices, the Post-Dispatch not only approved but exposed alleged corruption in wards where Democrats did win.⁶⁰ Having attacked the rank and file of the Francis Democrats, the Post-Dispatch then turned to flay the Merchants' Bridge and Terminal Company, of which Francis and Maffitt were directors, for supposedly making price fixing agreements with other bridge companies.⁶¹

However, the major battle between the Stone Democrats and the Francis Democrats came over the money question. In the spring of 1895 there was a widespread movement in the West for calling state conventions to express public sentiment in favor of free coinage of silver. Although Governor Stone endorsed the idea of a convention, there seemed to be little support for the idea in Missouri. In any case, Jones felt that the only way that a convention would be called would be if the Post-Dispatch pressed for it.⁶² Chairman Maffitt, who supported the gold standard, was reluctant to issue the call for a party

convention, but the Post-Dispatch threatened that unless he did, another means of convening the party would be found.⁶³ Jones warned the public that Francis and the Republic would fight to prevent the convention because they realized that the gold forces would be defeated, but apparently the Francis-Maffitt faction decided not to make a fight which they were sure to lose, and Maffitt issued the call for a convention to assemble at Pertile Springs on August 8.⁶⁴ For a time the Post-Dispatch fretted over the possibility that the railroads might use their influence to pack the convention with gold men, but when the silverites arrived in Pertile Springs with a solid majority of the delegates, Jones declared that this showed that the influence of the railroads could be beaten.⁶⁵ The convention adopted a brief platform, written by Jones, which endorsed the free coining of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1.⁶⁶ A plan to double the size of the state committee in order to increase the number of pro-silver members was also passed, although Maffitt continued to hold his seat as party chairman despite his offer to resign.⁶⁷

When the legislature met in April and May the Post-Dispatch ran a campaign against the "railroad lobby," publishing a front page cartoon showing Missouri Pacific lawyer William Phelps whipping legislators like cattle into the state house. The cartoon was condemned by a resolution of the House, and before the session was over the Post-Dispatch's reporters were barred from the Senate chambers for similar offenses.⁶⁸ According to

the Post-Dispatch the session was a case of the governor and the people against the Missouri Pacific and the "interests."⁶⁹ Anti-lobby and worker protection laws failed to pass during the session, providing an opportunity for the publication of roll call votes in which the "tools of the railroad lobby" were marked out. The Post-Dispatch declared that although the session was a failure, it had revealed to the people the extent of "lobby" control.⁷⁰

About the time the legislature was meeting, the St. Louis Mirror carried a humorous story about an incident during dinner at the Planters Hotel when Jones, every hair in his beard quivering with rage, refused to eat the rib of beef set before him: "'Away with it,' he cried, 'I will have none of it. Millions for defense, but not a sou marque for tribute to Armour and his gang.'" According to the story, Jones swore he would write a vegetarian plank into the next Democratic platform and ordered the staff of the Post-Dispatch to eat only horseradish and oyster crackers.⁷¹ Whether the tale was based on a real incident or not—and the Post-Dispatch did run an editorial against the beef trust shortly thereafter which offered vegetarianism as a possible means of breaking the trust—the story illustrated the passion with which Jones had moved into the camp of the reformers.⁷² When the Supreme Court began to negate parts of the income tax law as it applied to the wealthy, the Post-Dispatch advocated a constitutional amendment

to provide for a comprehensive income tax law.⁷³ When William Vanderbilt staged one of the elaborate balls typical of the era, an editorial warned: "It is a question how long the toiling, thinking people of this country who earn their living by honest work will stand the costly burden of a vulgar aristocracy who accumulate their luxurious surplus by oppression and robbery under the forms of law."⁷⁴ But above all the Post-Dispatch became the advocate of free silver and the enemy of Francis, the Republic, and all gold standard supporters. Jones published long sections from the silverite tract Coin's Financial School, ran educational series on "The Money Question," and gave credence to the idea of an "international gold conspiracy" aimed at controlling the finances of the world.⁷⁵

Jones's course in steering the Post-Dispatch away from its "traditional character and principles" by advocacy of silver and by injecting the paper into a factional fight within the Democratic party finally goaded Pulitzer into action late in the summer of 1895. Pulitzer believed that free coinage of silver was "false and wrong in morality, public honor and public welfare, was just like advocating counterfeit money, and I did not think any paper of mine should do that."⁷⁶ Carvalho after consultation with Pulitzer and Samuel Williams sent a "friendly warning" to Jones that Pulitzer considered the management of the paper under Jones "practically a failure." He demanded that Jones change the paper's policy toward free coinage of silver and the "Stone Democratic faction," and urged that George W. Jones

be replaced as business manager by a "more competent" man.⁷⁷ Jones, who was taking a brief vacation at Asbury Park, did not answer Carvalho's letter, and a week later a second letter reiterating the same three demands was sent to Jones: "It would be pleasanter and more agreeable if you pledge prompt and loyal compliance, to make these changes at once. If, however, you do not pledge prompt and loyal compliance, a meeting of the Board of Directors will be called, when the matter will be laid before it that it may immediately proceed to take action to protect the Post-Dispatch from the danger and folly of its present management."⁷⁸ Three days later Carvalho telegraphed that a meeting of the board of directors had been called for September 21 at the Post-Dispatch offices.⁷⁹

When Jones returned to St. Louis he wrote a long letter to Pulitzer saying that Carvalho's letters and demands must have been sent under a misapprehension since every charge Carvalho had made regarding conditions at the paper could easily be disproved. He denied that the paper had been a failure under him, "but a conspicuous and gratifying success." He then proceeded to a lengthy commentary on the issues of the Stone faction and the silver question:

Those who know that I am not the man to make an organ for any man or faction. I shall be able to prove, from the files of the Post-Dispatch itself, that I have collided with the so-called Stone faction on more points than with any other. I shall also be able to prove, by private letters, that I have

refused to affiliate in any way with any party or faction. I have even refused to join clubs or associations for the avowed reason that I was determined to keep in position to make an entirely free and independent journal. Governor Stone is my friend, and we are in accord in our general views on public policy; but no one knows better than he that my course as editor has never been controlled by personal considerations. I could have remained editor of the Republic until now if I had been willing to conduct a personal faction organ. Some one has purposely misled you in this matter. . . .

In regard to the silver question, I cannot de-grade myself in my own eyes and disgrace myself in the eyes of the people who have trusted me by telling them that I have changed my views on a question that vitally concerns them, when I have not. What I have written on the money question I have written from conviction, and I do not hold my convictions subject to some one else's change of mind. . . . When you made me editor of the Post-Dispatch you knew as well as you know now that I was and am a free silver man. . . .

It is difficult for a New Yorker to understand the strength and intensity of the feeling in Missouri, Illinois and other Western and Southern States, in favor of free coinage. The rank and file of both parties are overwhelmingly for it. Every newspaper that has tried to breast this sentiment has suffered terribly. The St. Louis Republic has lost money during the last six months, during which the Post-Dispatch has enjoyed great prosperity.⁸⁰

At the directors meeting of September 21 Jones presented the other directors in attendance—Carvalho, White, and Williams—with a temporary restraining order prohibiting them from interfering with his management of the paper. Prevented from taking steps to curb Jones, the only item placed before the directors was a recommendation by Jones that a \$40,000 dividend be declared. This motion was voted down—ostensibly because it was thought that the surplus funds might be used to construct a permanent building for the newspaper—but probably to keep the

newspaper's profits out of Jones's hands.⁸¹ While Jones's petition to make the restraining order permanent was pending, Pulitzer struck at Jones by denying the Post-Dispatch access to the features and facilities of the World. Jones declared in a Post-Dispatch editorial that he would search for means of replacing these materials, but he added: "For one thing, all entanglements with Eastern or Plutocratic influences are definitely severed."⁸² On February 17, 1896, Judge L. B. Valliant made the temporary injunction permanent, and Pulitzer appealed the case to the Missouri Supreme Court.⁸³

Despite the mounting interest in the coming election, the Post-Dispatch's editorial page in the spring and early summer of 1896 was lacking in consistent themes and forceful presentation. This was unusual for a paper edited by Jones, and the reason in this case is fairly certain: Jones was seriously run down by his work and was entering the long period of illness that would force his retirement from newspaper work. At the Republic Jones had always had Byars as a more than able support, and when he returned to St. Louis he wanted to bring Byars with him. He told Pulitzer, "With me off the paper and you absent, he would be a very dangerous man on The World editorial staff."⁸⁴ After coming to St. Louis he had tried unsuccessfully to entice Byars out, and a year later, in April, 1896, Lily Jones wrote a personal letter to Byars pleading with him to reconsider, since she feared that her husband would break under the strain, but

Byars declined.⁸⁵ The man who Jones did bring in was Albert Lawson, formerly the Post-Dispatch's representative at the World. Lawson wrote back to Byars saying that work was twenty times as great with the Post-Dispatch as with the World, but was tempered by the unusual courtesy shown him by Jones. "I think he has been under a great strain and is suffering the result and wants to get out of the hard work and the details for a time. He is not very well and some of the staff suffer from it, not a little at times, though, on the whole, he is much better that way than he used to be."⁸⁶ A month later Byars reported, "He is not as well as he was on the Republic and will do well to take good care of himself."⁸⁷

As early as the middle of 1895 the Post-Dispatch began making predictions that the election of 1896 would be fought on the issue of free silver and that the country would divide into eastern and western camps over this issue. It advised the Democrats to concentrate on capturing the South, West, and Midwest—abandoning the Northeast to the forces of capitalism and gold.⁸⁸ Jones had already taken a step toward securing the West for silver by writing a recommendation into the Pertile Springs platform declaring for an early state convention in 1896. Jones was confident that the silver advocates could carry the Missouri convention, and, if it were held early, stimulate the efforts of silver forces in other states. There was some effort by gold standard supporters to set the date

back, but the convention was called for mid-April, making Missouri the first Democratic state to hold its convention. Francis organized a state-wide "sound money" effort to elect gold standard men in districts where they stood a chance of being elected, but the effort largely failed.⁸⁹ The Sedalia convention was a triumph for the silver forces. A strong platform endorsing free coinage of silver was adopted and resolutions denouncing the Republic and praising the Post-Dispatch were passed.⁹⁰ The St. Louis Mirror declared that Jones had turned the party organization in Missouri into chaos because of his fight against Francis. Jones's efforts had helped to eliminate Francis permanently as a power in state politics.⁹¹

The Jones-Francis vendetta was not an unemotional affair. Charles Chapin, who Jones had made city editor and who later became famous as city editor of the World, recounted an episode in his autobiography which could have ended tragically:

One day there was something printed in the paper in connection with the mysterious drowning of Dennis P. Slattery that so aroused the anger of Francis, he came stalking into the Post-Dispatch office, accompanied by his brother Tom, angrily demanding to know where the editor was. I told him that Colonel Jones was in his office on the floor above and he and Tom Francis went up the staircase two steps at a time.

I saw my assistant, Kinney Underwood, another fiery little Southerner, grab a revolver from a drawer of his desk and rush up the stairway behind them. I followed. The two Francis brothers were in the editor's sanctum, when I got there, demanding an immediate retraction.

Colonel Jones was at his desk, white of face but coldly dignified. I found Kinney Underwood in an

adjoining office, that was divided from the editor's sanctum by a glass partition through which every action of the men inside could be watched. Underwood was crouched behind a desk, revolver in hand, the weapon leveled at David R. Francis. The latter had his back turned to him. Francis never knew how close to death he was. One move to draw a weapon and Underwood would surely have killed him.

With that imperturbable dignity that characterized our spunky little editor, I heard him tell Francis to dictate to a stenographer what he wished to have printed by way of retraction and I saw him at least pretend to go ahead with his work while this was being done. When the stenographer had written it out Colonel Jones carefully read it and struck out more than half of it with his blue pencil. He handed the revised item back to Francis to read.

"I'll print that much and no more," calmly remarked the editor.

Francis read and gave a nod of approval.

Colonel Jones turned to Tom Francis. "Take your brother out of here," he said, jerking his thumb in the direction of David R. and resuming the writing from which he had been interrupted. They went away.⁹²

In the winter of 1896 Jones had been concerned that eastern "sound money" forces might gain control of the Democratic national convention, but as the spring wore on it became increasingly apparent that the free silver movement would sweep the convention in its tide.⁹³ The major problem of the silverites was the selection of a candidate because there was no one man of stature who could command the allegiance of the entire West and South. The leading candidate was Missouri's Richard "Silver Dick" Bland, and it was he that the Post-Dispatch settled on as the candidate to back, although the paper was somewhat restrained in its support. Bland's greatest problem was that he was as colorless as his name: "He is a farmer and looks like a farmer,"

the Post-Dispatch pointed out.⁹⁴ Bland's most important asset was his long-standing dedication to the cause of free silver, which made him "the personification of the issue."⁹⁵ The man Jones definitely did not want as the party's candidate was Grover Cleveland, who was no described as the champion of the Northeast rather than leader of the whole nation.⁹⁶ In the fall of 1895 Cleveland was suggested for a third term as the only one who could restrain the silver deluge, although Cleveland himself entertained no ambitions for a third term as the only one who could restrain the silver deluge, although Cleveland himself entertained no ambitions for a third term.⁹⁷ The Post-Dispatch denounced this effort to secure a third term for Cleveland as a violation of American tradition as well as bad policy.⁹⁸

When the Republican nation convention met in St. Louis in mid-June, Jones was in the process of writing a draft of the platform to be submitted to the resolutions committee at the Democratic national convention. He was visited by William Jennings Bryan, who was attending the Republican convention as an interested spectator. Jones had corresponded with Bland, Missouri Senators Vest and Cochrell, and other party leaders to sound them out on issues to be included in the platform, and he no doubt welcomed Bryan's contributions. Bryan later wrote that he considered Jones "a very able man, entirely in sympathy with the progressive ideas of the party."⁹⁹ Bryan claimed that

he wrote the plank on silver, but Jones did not acknowledge his authorship, and Jones's first draft of the platform does not reveal who composed the money plank.¹⁰⁰ Jones's first draft was about half the length of the final version of the platform, and he possibly did not complete it until he reached Chicago for the convention.¹⁰¹ Jones later wrote that he wished to keep the platform brief, but had lengthened it because he "felt that the time had come to assert fundamental Democratic principles all along the line."¹⁰² A handful of planks on specific issues, such as a paragraph praising the Cuban revolutionaries, were added in committee, but chairman James K. Jones, Senator from Arkansas, kept accretions to a minimum.¹⁰³

The platform reported out of the resolutions committee declared the "money question" to be "paramont at this time," and opened with a declaration in favor of free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, a denunciation of the "un-American" policy of gold monometalism, a statement of opposition to the issuance of interest bearing bonds by the government, and a declaration that only the government, not banks, could issue paper money. A plank favoring a tariff "for revenue only" and a declaration in support of a Constitutional amendment to permit an income tax followed the leading statement on money. The plank denouncing "government by injunction" was in keeping with the platform's theme that the Democratic party was the bulwark against "the centralization of governmental power,"

but in committee planks were added calling for stricter government control of trusts, a strengthened Interstate Commerce Commission, and federal aid for improvement of internal waterways.¹⁰⁴ Despite this, the Democratic platform differed from the Populist in the absence of calls for government ownership of monopolistic industries and its milder demands for regulation.¹⁰⁵ There was no mention of Cleveland in the platform, but Jones had included one paragraph pronouncing against a third term for the Presidency. The Review of Reviews noted that this plank was "evidently intended, like several other portions of this remarkable platform, to have direct and uncomplimentary reference to President Cleveland."¹⁰⁶

Delegates supporting the gold standard were not satisfied with the money plank adopted by the committee and drafted a minority plank to offer to the convention as a substitute. William Jennings Bryan was named to arrange for a debate on the substitute plank before the convention, and Jones suggested to him that he use his authority to name himself as one of the speakers defending the majority plank.¹⁰⁷ Bryan was the only leading candidate for the nomination who had not yet spoken before the convention, and his decision to act as the concluding speaker for the silver forces created the opportunity for him to deliver the "Cross of Gold" speech which assured his nomination. After observing the tumultuous reception given Bryan's address, Jones telegraphed a report to the Post-Dispatch

saying that the contest was now between Bryan and Bland. He did not think that Bland's supporters had been stamped by the Bryan boom, and was hopeful that Bland would receive the nomination.¹⁰⁸ When Bryan did receive the nomination, Jones maintained that there was no reason to regret the decision since Bryan was a sound and true advocate of the silver cause.¹⁰⁹

During the campaign the Chicago platform became a focus of attack for the Republicans, the declaration against "government by injunction" drawing perhaps more criticism as destructive of law and authority than the free silver plank. Jones made sure that he was given recognition as the author of the "Second Declaration of Independence," and defended it as a conservative document. He said that criticism of it as radical only showed how far the country had strayed from the principles of the nation's founders.¹¹⁰ The comment of the Chicago Tribune on Jones's authorship was typical of the rhetoric employed by conservatives during the campaign:

It was the "Majah" who made the plank for rotten money, for national dishonor, for swindling creditors, for breaking down the national currency, for industrial and commercial panics, for discrediting the Supreme Court, for shutting off the national revenue, for encouragement of Altgeld and Debs, for breaking down the civil service. These are all the earmarks of the "Majah," and what he couldn't think of was supplied by the crazy Western fanatics.¹¹¹

The Post-Dispatch was, along with William Randolph Hearst's New York Herald, perhaps the most influential pro-Bryan newspapers of the campaign. Many of the major Democratic newspapers

across the country refused to back the nominee of the party.¹¹² Bryan paid tribute to the "excellent service" performed by the Post-Dispatch, but Bryan's opponents declared that Jones's newspaper helped to generate the tone of hatred which characterized the campaign: "He made the Chicago platform mean all its opponents claimed and more. . . . His hatred had blood in it."¹¹³ The St. Louis Mirror warned that Jones had become an "Enemy of Society."¹¹⁴ When St. Louis merchants pinned gold badges on their employees and turned them out to parade for gold a few days before the election, Jones placed the staff of the Post-Dispatch, all wearing silver badges, along the parade route to jeer the procession. Editorially the Post-Dispatch asked the gold standard marchers:

You are wearing a yellow badge. Are you willing, in cold blood, to take your place alongside the enemies of yourself, your fellow workmen and wage earners, and your country? Don't you know that the men at the head of this enormous aggregation of capital that is solidly backing Republicanism and the gold standard spend a large part of their time in Europe; that many of them are aliens who despise this country too much to become naturalized or to vote; that they are hand in glove with the money syndicates of Europe; that their speakers have advocated the shooting down of American citizens who dare to vote against their interests, the capture and imprisonment of Mr. Bryan, the Presidential candidate of the masses, and the substitution of a "righteous monarchy" for the Republic founded by Washington and Jefferson?¹¹⁵

The Post-Dispatch advised the working man to take off his gold badge, "throw it in the gutter, spit upon it, and stand up like a man and proclaim yourself free."¹¹⁶

On election day the nation divided along sectional lines. Bryan carried the South and all but five states west of the Mississippi, while McKinley carried the Northeast and old Northwest. With McKinley's victory the Post-Dispatch turned abruptly to a sober, conciliatory tone. "Let us have peace," it said.¹¹⁷ Jones did not view Bryan's candidacy as a mistake or his defeat as a disaster; instead it was said that the campaign had purged the party of traitors and plutocrats and had left the party machinery better organized than before the election when control of the party was in doubt.¹¹⁸ The reason for the Post-Dispatch's about face was economic: the paper was being boycotted by several local advertisers who objected to its editorial policies. Samuel Wilson had warned Jones more than a year earlier that if he adopted a pro-silver policy he could expect a boycott by "the local plutocratic influences (very strong and of wonderful solidarity!)."¹¹⁹ The newspaper had also lost some circulation in the city during the campaign, but this had been more than compensated for by the large increases in circulation in the countryside.¹²⁰ After the election Jones made a direct and open appeal to advertisers for their patronage, asking whether they could afford to ignore the largest advertising medium in the city.¹²¹ A second reason for Jones's interest in winning back lost advertising was his agreement with Pulitzer, which stipulated that he must increase the paper's profits to the level of 1893

or lose his contract. In order to meet these terms, Jones was forced to make cuts in the Post-Dispatch's expenses, including the dismissal of some key employees.¹²²

Another threat to Jones's control of the Post-Dispatch was ended in January when the Supreme Court of Missouri, by a 3-2 vote, decided that his contract with Pulitzer was binding on the board of directors, and therefore Jones could exercise complete control of the paper for the duration of his agreement.¹²³ The only remaining obstacle to Jones's continuance at the Post-Dispatch was Pulitzer's attitude, and, surprisingly, Pulitzer was not adverse to seeing Jones remain in control. "There is nothing in reason that I would not do if he stayed," Pulitzer stated.¹²⁴ Despite the fight for control, despite the boycott of advertisers, despite Pulitzer's withdrawal of the World's features, Jones had made the paper pay. In addition, if Pulitzer were to get rid of Jones he would be faced with the task of finding a replacement. However, Jones had decided to resign as editor, and did so on June 27, 1897. Negotiations, which had begun two months before, led to the repurchase of Jones's one-sixth share for the \$80,000 he had paid for it, plus \$45,000 representing one-sixth of the paper's profits during Jones's tenure.¹²⁵

Two factors probably dictated Jones's departure. The most immediate was the deterioration of his own health and the protracted illness of his wife.¹²⁶ The other was that Jones

was not willing to continue a relationship which permitted Pulitzer to hinder and harass him, and that would terminate in 1900 when he might find circumstances unfavorable for a break. He reportedly offered to purchase control of the Post-Dispatch from Pulitzer, and when he was refused, sold out himself. He told a Globe-Democrat reporter before leaving St. Louis that he expected to be back in the business before the campaigns of 1898, but that he would only return as the editor of his own paper.¹²⁷

In an attempt to regain their health Jones and his wife departed shortly for a vacation in Europe which would last for more than a year. They spent the winter in the dry, warm climate of Egypt, and they were in Rome in the spring when the Spanish-American War began.¹²⁸ Jones returned to St. Louis in July, 1898, and it was rumored that he was attempting to resume newspaper work. He reportedly tried unsuccessfully to purchase the St. Louis Star, and it was even suggested that he was negotiating with Pulitzer again.¹²⁹ Jones looked into newspaper properties elsewhere but he declared that he would not again take a position as a salaried employee, and he could not find a newspaper which he could purchase on what he felt was a reasonable term. Jones blamed his failure to secure a newspaper on the increasing business orientation of the press, which he termed "counting room journalism."

He also complained that the independence of the press had been subverted by big business:

Pressures by the moneyed interests and their corporation allies is brought to bear upon advertisers and by them transmitted through the "business office" of the newspaper to the proprietors; and the instances are extremely few in which this pressure is effectually resisted. In most instances there is no desire to resist it, for during the last twenty years the moneyed interests have not overlooked the importance of owning or otherwise controlling the newspaper press of the country. . . . Journalists who take themselves seriously, who regard the work of moulding public opinion as a high vocation, who believe in duty and are willing to accept responsibility, who would rather champion the rights of the many than defend the privileges of the few, are finding it more and more difficult either to enter or to remain in the newspaper field, whether as employees or proprietors.¹³⁰

Sometime in 1898, probably in the fall after his return from Europe, Jones suffered what he described as a "breakdown" or "nervous collapse."¹³¹ Others called it "apoplexy" or a "stroke," but it seems probable that his attack was a nervous trauma of some sort, for he does not appear to have suffered any noticeable physical or mental damage of a permanent nature.¹³² Whatever his illness, it apparently ended his plans for returning to active newspaper work.

He decided to settle in New York, a city which he had always found congenial, taking an apartment at the Dakota Hotel on West Seventy-Second Street. In the spring of 1899 he organized the Lockwood Trade Journal Company, consolidating

three old properties of Howard Lockwood, the Paper Trade Journal, the American Stationer, and Lockwood's Directory.

This company published, and continues to publish, the Paper Trade Journal, a magazine devoted to the paper industry. Jones brought his brother George, who had remained in Missouri in newspaper work, to New York as manager of the journal. In 1904 Jones and his brother purchased another trade magazine, Tobacco, and formed the Tobacco Trade Journal Company.¹³³

These properties provided Jones's income for the remainder of his life.

Despite the termination of his newspaper career, Jones remained active in politics. The United States was technically at war with Spain in January, 1899, although actual fighting in the war with Spain had ended months before. The Senate debate on ratification of the Treaty of Paris which would restore peace spotlighted the "new issues" of imperialism and militarism which were threatening to displace the issues of 1896 in the public forum. Jones's friend, William Vincent Byars, wrote him suggesting that the Democratic party embrace the "new issues," and make anti-expansionism the major thrust of party policy. Jones disagreed with this idea, holding that opponents of expansion had always lost in American history and that the party must acquiesce to this tendency for growth. "I am not myself eager for expansion," he wrote Byars. "I would be glad to see the attention of our people restricted to internal

questions for another hundred years.¹³⁴ Jones believed that the question of imperialism would be settled before the election of 1900, clearing the way for resolution of the domestic questions which he had enunciated in the platform of 1896.¹³⁵

Yet developments seemed to be forcing the "new issues" to the fore. The return of prosperity to the West was alleviating problems in the farm belt which had fueled the Populist and reform movements of the early and mid-1890's. In an interview with the New York Tribune, Jones admitted that the McKinley administration would probably get credit for the rise in farm prices, but he pointed out that Southwestern cotton growers were as bad off as ever and that the agricultural community was aware that conditions overseas had more to do with the return of good times than anything done by the Republicans.¹³⁶

While the causes of domestic discontent were lessening, other events were intensifying the debate on imperialism. In February the Filipinos rose in revolt against their American "liberators," and shortly afterward the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, making the Philippine Islands a possession of the United States. Jones had agreed with William Jennings Bryan in hoping that the Congress would adopt a resolution promising independence to the islands, but no such declaration was forthcoming, instead business interests began to discuss the profits which might accrue from an Asian trade station.

Puerto Rico, which Jones believed would be made a territory and prepared for statehood, was put on a colonial status. Cuba was not permitted to assume self-government, but was ruled by a United States military government. A bill to increase the size of the standing army to a size unprecedented in peacetime was introduced in Congress. It was such events that led the Democratic party to reject the idea of making the platform of 1900 a duplicate of the platform of 1896 and to declare imperialism "the paramount issue" of the campaign of 1900.¹³⁷

Jones spoke out against expansionism even though he was inclined to believe that it should remain a secondary issue. He was particularly opposed to the "McKinley Syndicate's "piratical policy" in the Philippines:¹³⁸

The plain truth is that never since the shot was fired at Lexington that echoed around the world have men wearing the uniform of the United States and standing under its flag been engaged in such sorry and shameful business as that which has recently occupied our troops at Manila. No newspaper heroics can hide the repulsive fact that there American soldiers, enlisted for a war whose avowed purpose was the liberation of Cubans from Spanish oppression, used the most powerful and deadliest engines of modern warfare for the slaughter of half-armed men, who came together originally to aid us against the Spaniards and who believed themselves to be engaged in precisely the same work that our forefathers awoke to when Paul Revere in his midnight ride summoned them to conflict. And I believe it to be true that this is the conviction and the feeling of nearly all thoughtful and patriotic Americans. If here, as in England, the masses can be blinded and misled by the newspaper and political Jingoism, then it is difficult to contemplate hopefully the future of the republic. In fact, the republic as we know it will have no future.¹³⁹

In March, 1899, Jones wrote an article for the St. Louis Mirror, "The Menace of Militarism," in which he argued that the debate over imperialism was only one aspect of the larger question of militarism. He wrote against the proposal to increase the size of the army, saying that such a course would lead to the subversion of American ideas and the institution of a militaristic philosophy such as existed in Old World autocracies. He believed that this would mean higher taxes and cultural retrogression, and would turn the nation's young men into "uniformed loafers." He also pointed out that while the Spanish-American War had brought the question to public attention, the impulse toward militarism pre-dated the war: "The truth is, that ever since President Cleveland used Federal troops to invade a State and put down a labor strike, thus establishing a 'new precedent,' it has been the settled purpose of the great interests that have bought the Republican party organization, by putting up its campaign fund, to increase the regular army and to have it so stationed as to overawe the great cities."¹⁴⁰

However, as late as April, 1900, Jones was declaring that the platform of 1900 would be a reaffirmation of the declarations of 1896. In a Jefferson day speech he declared that "the Democratic Platform of 1900 is already formulated," and in a letter to party publicist Willis J. Abbot Jones stated, "There is no need of a long platform this year. The

reaffirmation of the Chicago Platform (which has been burned into the hearts and minds of the people) will cover most of the ground. The new issues can be covered in a few terse and weighty paragraphs."¹⁴¹ Bryan also favored a second campaign on the platform of 1896, but Jones may have been even more adamant than Bryan in refusing to make concessions designed to win support in the East. When Bryan made friendly overtures to New York boss Richard Coker, Jones suggested that Tammany might be brought into line by force rather than by conciliation.¹⁴² Jones did not want the "sulkers or traitors of 1896" to be invited as leaders of the party, and stated that it would be better to lose with Bryan and the principles of 1896 than to win with a policy of expediency."¹⁴³

At the Kansas City convention it was decided that imperialism and the "new issues" would be placed at the head of the platform as the leading questions of the campaign. Bryan had not favored this.¹⁴⁴ In an article for the North American Review published in June he had written, "The issue presented in the campaign of 1900 is the issue between plutocracy and democracy."¹⁴⁵ Jones had written the draft of the platform which was adopted but it is not known if he was responsible for the emphasis on imperialism. Senator James K. Jones of Arkansas, who had led the fight against ratification of the Treaty of Paris the year before, was chairman of the platform committee, and it may have been he who induced the change.

The only major controversy over the platform involved Bryan's insistence that a declaration in favor of free coinage of silver be included. Many party members had wished to see this issue bypassed since it was no longer a vote-winning question in the West and would be certain to alienate the East.¹⁴⁶

The platform was a failure as a campaign device. The anti-imperialism pronouncements failed to arouse the attention of a public which had come to consider the acquisition of the Philippines and Puerto Rico a settled question. The money plank gave the Republicans a weapon to use against their opponent and permitted them to avoid a negative campaign of defending the administration's expansionist policies. However, no "issue" seems to have influenced the conduct of the campaign, except the issue of "Prosperity," and there the Republicans held an unassailable position.¹⁴⁷ Bryan's defeat was among the most decisive in United States history.

The campaign of 1900 was Jones's last venture into politics. Less than a month after the election he and his wife sailed for Europe, where they would remain for the rest of Jones's life, except for a few brief visits to New York.¹⁴⁸ On one of these occasions he brought his granddaughter Dorothy Martyn, Dora's oldest child, back to Europe with him to attend school. She became his frequent traveling companion during the summers.¹⁴⁹ Jones and his wife spent most of their time wandering from place to place, wintering in Egypt or on

the Italian Riviera and spending the summers in Paris and at various German health resorts taking the "cures." In 1906 he purchased the first of several automobiles he would own, a 24 horsepower Panhard. During that summer he made a number of "tours" of France, then the world's most automobile conscious nation; and the following spring he explored the roads of French Algeria and Tunisia.¹⁵⁰ In that year his health began to fail, and in 1908 he suffered what was probably a heart attack while in Egypt.¹⁵¹ In 1910 he decided to settle down to live the life of a country gentleman. He purchased a chateau overlooking the tiny village of Dinan on the Rance River in south Brittany.¹⁵²

He returned to New York in the fall of 1912 for a short business trip and then sailed immediately for Italy, leaving his wife in New York. On the voyage he caught a cold, and upon arrival in Italy he went to the sanitarium of Dr. Oster at Ospedaletti.¹⁵³ There he was confined to bed. He wrote a short note to Dora, saying, "I have never felt so sick in my life."¹⁵⁴ A week later he wrote: "I am terribly weak but the awful feeling of sickness has nearly passed away. I expect to leave my room tomorrow for the first time in two weeks. . . . It has been dreadful to be so sick and alone, but such is my fate. I will write more fully as soon as I am able. I can hardly hold the pen."¹⁵⁵ Two weeks later, on January 27, 1913, he died.

His remains were returned to New York and placed by the side of Eliza Jones in Greenwood Cemetary.¹⁵⁶ Lily Jones survived her husband for only two years, dying at a health resort in Sharon Springs, New York, in August, 1915.¹⁵⁷ His brother George died less than a year later in his New York home on January 20, 1916.¹⁵⁸

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- 1
St. Louis Chronicle, n. d., clipping, JP.
- 2
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- 12
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- 16
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- 65
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- 66
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- 67
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- 72
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- 85
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- 101
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- 102
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- 103
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104

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114

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116

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131

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- 132
"Charles H. Jones," obit., Tobacco, January 30, 1913, clipping, JP.
- 133
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- 134
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- 135
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- 136
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- 137
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- 144
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- 147
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- 148
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- 149
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- 150
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- 151
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- 152
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- 153
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- 154
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- 155
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- 156
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- 157
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CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

In 1901 A. S. Mann attempted to revive the cross-Florida canal project and wrote to Jones to enlist his aid. His letters reached Jones in Egypt, where he and Mrs. Jones had taken residence to escape the cold and dampness of the European winter. Jones declined to join Mann in the project, saying: "I suppose you know that since my residence in Florida I have taken a prominent (or rather an influential) part in shaping Democratic party policies, and I am on record as opposed to Government undertakings such as the Nicaraguan and Florida canals would be."¹

An assessment of Jones's place in history is made more difficult because he may have been more influential than he was prominent. He was not an office holder or a very well-known public figure in his own day, and he has been almost completely ignored by historians. Whatever influence he had on his times was exerted in the realm of ideas through his role as newspaper editor and publicist. Jones felt that he had played an important part in shaping the attitudes and opinions of both the general public and political leadership, but

he was almost certainly deluded in this exalted opinion of himself. Yet even a critical contemporary writer for the St. Louis Mirror could declare that Jones was a primary originator of Populist ideology and that he supplied the "brains" for the 1896 campaign while Bryan furnished only the voice.² Whatever his place in moulding the events and ideas of his day, it is clear that the times impressed themselves on him.

During his years as a magazine writer and editor in New York he reflected the prevailing attitudes among intellectuals which have come to be called social Darwinism. His desire for governmental reform, was typical of the era. His writings against Reconstruction were part of a larger body of literature which argued that the resolution of the race question in the South should be left in the hands of white southerners.

In Florida Jones was one of a long line of promoters and publicists who made a career of stimulating development in the tropical frontier state. His cross-Florida canal plan, lobbying for harbor development, demands for municipal improvements, and defense of railroad land grants were in harmony with the attitudes evidenced by Governors Drew, Bloxham, and Fleming and with private citizens such as Henry M. Flagler and William D. Chipley. The campaign to bring the World's Fair to St. Louis and the promotion of Jacksonville's Sub-Tropical Exposition were conducted in this same spirit.

Jones is difficult to assess as a newspaper editor because he held ideas which were in part conservative and in part progressive. His practices of personal journalism and his belief that the editorial page was the heart of a newspaper were a continuation of traditional attitudes that had greatly diminished even in his own day. Yet his businessman's attitude toward the press, his concern with news gathering and wire services, and his role in establishing the national press organizations placed him among the innovative editors of the Joseph Pulitzer period in American journalism.

Jones must also be considered as a politician, for he was not content to take part in the political process simply as an editor. He became involved in matters of practical politics. It is not clear whether Jones ever aspired to public office. The Florida election of the United States Senate in 1887 and the Jones-Francis contest for a place in Cleveland's cabinet are instances which indicate that he may have wanted a public post on the state or national level. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that a man of Jones's vanity would not have been attracted by either of these positions, but Jones himself denied that he wished to hold office.³ As an editor, he used his position to advance the interests of politicians he favored, to attack politicians he did not favor, and to promote his own power in politics. He was not without principles, but he could repress principle for the sake of expediency. However, he does seem to have had a genuine concern

for the general public good, although there certainly was an element of self-interest in adopting popular causes as newspaper policy.

Hopefully, this study of the interaction of an individual with the men and ideas of his times will contribute to the better understanding of life in the second half of the 19th century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Thomas S. Graham III was born August 11, 1943, in Miami, Florida. He was educated in the public schools of Ft. Lauderdale, graduating from Stranahan High School in June, 1961. He attended Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, for one year, and then enrolled at Florida State University. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in History in December, 1965, and a Master of Arts degree in history in August, 1967. From January, 1967, until July, 1969, he was a teacher and athletic coach in the secondary schools of Orange County, Florida. Since September, 1969, he has pursued work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Florida. During that time he has worked as a graduate teaching assistant and as editorial assistant to the Florida Historical Quarterly.

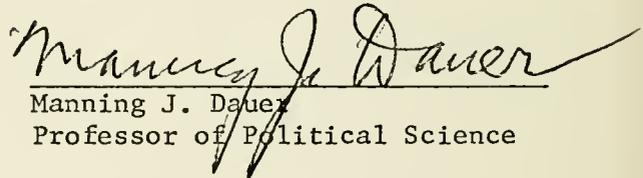
He is married to the former Susan Rae Kettlety of Orlando, Florida.

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Professor of History

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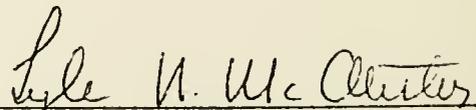
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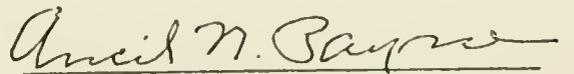
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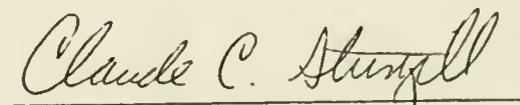


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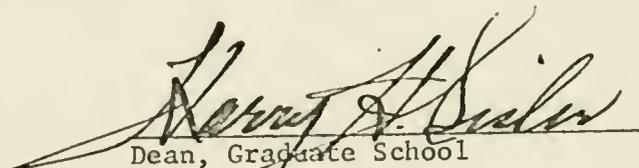

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This dissertation was submitted to the Department of History in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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