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THE RIGHT OF THE CARTOONIST: SAMUEL PENNYPACKER AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Those who have studied the role of the press during the Progressive Era have devoted considerable attention to the importance of muckraking. Having only recently emerged from the depression of the 1890s, and more aware than ever before of the impact of economic change on their lives and interested in understanding the workings of the political economy more clearly, the reading public was receptive to a new style of journalism. Playing on a public thirst for sensationalism, and tapping the emerging enthusiasm for issue-focused politics, journalists relied on exposés. Works like Lincoln Steffens' *Shame of the Cities*, Ida Tarbell's *History of Standard Oil*, and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* began as serialized articles in newspapers and magazines and shocked readers with accounts of political corruption, corporate malfeasance, the sale of adulterated meat and inhuman working conditions. These journalists were supported by the often overlooked editorial cartoonists. Cartoons like Frederick Burr Opper's series on the trusts, Homer Davenport's depictions of Mark Hanna, or the creative contributions of countless other cartoonists working the beat of municipal politics, grabbed the readers attention in much the same way.¹ Working together muckrakers educated the American people about the widespread corruption and exploitation that seemed to intensify with the growth of industrial capitalism. Collectively they described the moral and ethical degeneration of a society where individuals seemed to conspire against the commonweal, violating laws and jeopardizing free institutions. Backing their bold accusations and biting satire with factual details, reporters and cartoonists created a unique journalistic moment that was both a response to a spirited public indignation and a means of focusing that anger and turning it into citizen activism.

There have been many explanations for the origins of this new journalistic phenomenon. Some historians have suggested that its beginning was accidental, while others have given credit to an accumulated public resentment that could no longer be contained and that finally burst forth in 1902–1903. Yet another has suggested that muckraking really began when journalists realized that their independent efforts were really part of a larger, comprehensive critique of American society.² But perhaps there was even more involved than the significant recognition of a common social philosophy. Journalists also had to reaffirm the role that the press ought to perform in an open, democratic society. The fight over Pennsylvania's press libel law of 1903 did much to contribute to that realization. That fight began over the way a new governor was portrayed by a political cartoonist.

In October 1901 Mark Sullivan, a young Harvard law student and native Pennsylvanian, published an article entitled "The Ills of Pennsylvania" in the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly*. Sullivan was an aspiring writer and would later go on to become editor of *Collier's Weekly*. The idea for the article was suggested by William Belmont Parker, associate editor of the *Atlantic*, who had literally heard some of Sullivan's stories on Pennsylvania politics. The idea interested Parker primarily because the Republican boss of the state was Matthew S. Quay, a symbol of machine politics at their worst and a powerful U.S. Senator. Parker felt confident that the topic would have national appeal. What Parker and Sullivan did not foresee was the intensity with which the general public reacted to the article, both positively and negatively. It touched off a protracted series of debates between the press and politicians in Pennsylvania that affected state elections, state laws, and, ultimately, public opinion nationwide. In the spring of 1903 Pennsylvania became the focal point for a widespread national discussion of the fundamental role of the press in a democratic society. At that moment, the muckraking movement of the Progressive Era began to take on a character and life of its own.

Sullivan began his article by quoting a chant heard at most Quay-controlled Republican state conventions: "What's the matter with Pennsylvania?" "She's all right." Using this as a point of departure, Sullivan argued that the opposite was, in fact, true. Sullivan charged that Pennsylvania was "a state of weak moral fibre," guilty of vote fraud, patronage, bribery of public officials, and machine dominance. He boldly concluded that Philadelphia was the "most evil large city in America" and that Pennsylvania was "politically the most corrupt state in the union." Indignant responses soon flooded the offices of the

Atlantic, and editorials in pro-Quay newspapers in Pennsylvania were sharp in their criticism.³

A conservative judge in Philadelphia named Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker was one of those especially outraged by "The Ills of Pennsylvania." From old Pennsylvania stock, Pennypacker had deep pride in his native state and ancestry. He also appeared to be very much the "learned scholar," and certainly qualified as an expert on the state's history. Self-taught in several languages, Pennypacker was the author of numerous books and pamphlets on colonial Pennsylvania history. In addition, he was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, a founder of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, and president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Pennypacker found the article to be "discreditable" and "unworthy" and quickly wrote a response to the author. "There has been," said the judge, "some commotion in public affairs in Pennsylvania since 1895, but it is neither deepseated nor important and does not call for invidious comment. . . . Pennsylvania has no ill's that are worthy of mention."⁴ Pennypacker then concluded his rebuttal with staunch support for Senator Quay, a man to be praised for his accomplishments, intelligence, simplicity, modesty, kindness, integrity, sense of duty, and genius for organization. In short, according to Pennypacker, Quay was a true statesman.⁵

Pennypacker's defense provided Quay with a golden political opportunity. Shortly before the Republican State Convention met in 1902, Quay surprised everyone and announced that he intended to support the nomination of Pennypacker for governor. Most party regulars had assumed that John P. Elkin would be the machine's nominee, and, in fact, a majority of the delegates had already pledged to him. But it was still Quay's machine, and party leaders ultimately backed the boss and made Pennypacker the Republican nominee. Quay did not publicly explain his last minute reversal, but one could guess at his thinking. To Quay, whose party organization had been assailed for years by many of the "better elements" in the state, here was an opportunity to nominate a candidate (Pennypacker) without any taint of machine politics. Perhaps the judge—respected, incorruptible, scholarly—could be a valuable political asset. During the 1902 political campaign millions of copies of Pennypacker's original defense of Quay were printed and the famous sentence from it—"Pennsylvania has no ill's that are worthy of mention"—became both the serious and cynical slogans of the state Republican and Democratic parties respectively. It was obvious that the upcoming campaign would be a heated one as many reformers, disgruntled Democrats, and an anti-partisan press hoped to defeat the Republi-

can candidate. To them, Pennypacker appeared to be politically naive and an easily manipulated representative of the Quay machine.⁶

Pennypacker possessed several other political liabilities. His eccentric appearance made him especially susceptible to caricature by the political cartoonist. He was solidly built with a head that sat squat on his neck, had disheveled hair, wore a small pointed chin beard, and displayed a fondness for wearing knee-high boots. In speech and thought, he was often parochial, pedantic, erudite, egotistical, and overbearing. A verse by Wallace Irwin in *Collier's* referred to the future governor as "Samuel Whangdoodle Pennypacker" and rhymed:

Like Noah Webster, he reclines
Within his easy chair
A-taking wisdom's sacred mines
And culling here and there . . .
And he can speak in French and Greek
On topics of the day
Like Moses, Plato, Socrates,
Himself and Matthew Quay.⁷

Pennypacker also tended to overreact to the criticism he stimulated. He seemed to get great pleasure from the barbs he exchanged with the press, and his contempt for the press appeared to fuel his desire to exhibit his intellectual superiority over them.⁸

The incident that sparked the confrontation occurred on October 11, 1902 during the closing days of the election campaign. In a speech given at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia, Pennypacker sought to use his candidacy as an illustration of all that was noble in the democratic political process. He suggested that the Republican Party had offered its highest honor (the governorship) to a judge (an honorable profession), without any self-serving effort on his part. To Pennypacker, it seemed "to lift the management of our State affairs to a higher plane."⁹ Indeed, he argued, "it may well be doubted whether ever before in the history of American politics such an event [as my nomination] occurred."¹⁰ To pretend that his nomination owed nothing to the machinations of Quay's political machine was more than the editors of the *Philadelphia North American* could endure. They asked cartoonist Charles Nelan¹¹ to draw a cartoon attacking Pennypacker's arrogance. Nelan's inspired drawing appeared in the October 19, 1902 issue of the newspaper. It depicted Pennypacker as a parrot, clutching his nomination and preening before a mirror while he uttered the same arrogant remark from the Academy of Music speech.¹²

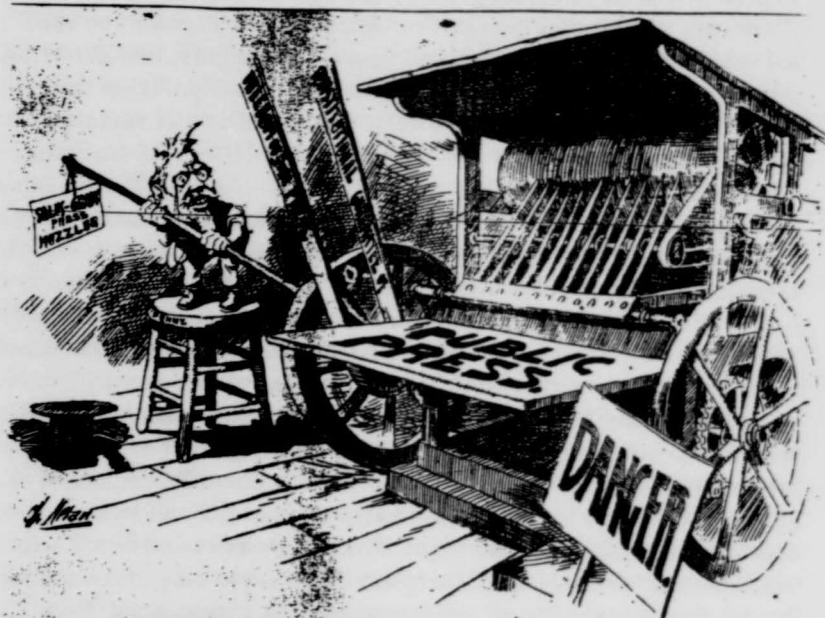


Although Pennypacker made no public statement in response to Nelan's cartoon, the *North American* sensed it had struck a popular chord. During the final two weeks of the campaign, an anti-Pennypacker cartoon by Nelan appeared on the front page of almost every issue of the newspaper. Nelan began by depicting Pennypacker as Quay's pet parrot, perched upon the top hat of the Senator. He followed this with a series of "Penny Goose Rhymes" in which he depicted the candidate as a parrot waiting to feast at Quay's table of "rake-offs" and bribes, as a pirate waiting to take the oath of allegiance to Captain Quay, and as a naive maiden about to fill the nomination bucket at Quay's well of political manipulation. Nelan then produced a series of

"Quay Natural History Exhibits." Again, Pennypacker, as Quay's trained parrot, consorted with "fee grabbers," felons, "grafters," "rippers," and special interest lobbyists. Finally, on the eve of the election, Nelan showed Quay offering the parrot a cracker, the symbol of a purchased nomination and bought election.¹³

Following Pennypacker's election, the *North American* "welcomed" the new governor to office, but refused to retract a single editorial statement it had made during the campaign. The governor still stood accused of "moral callousness" in accepting a rigged nomination, of being "blind to glaring crimes" in Pennsylvania and an "apologist for political freebooting," and of willingly cooperating with corrupt forces in the state. Everyone waited to see what Governor Pennypacker's reaction would be.¹⁴

Pennypacker gave the first indication of his mood on January 20, 1903, when he devoted a section of his inaugural address specifically to the press. Lamenting the rise of sensational journalism, Pennypacker charged that these publications had gained success by "disseminating falsehood and scandal, by promulgating dissension and anarchy, by attacks upon individuals and by assaults upon government and the agencies of the people." He then suggested that one way of suppressing

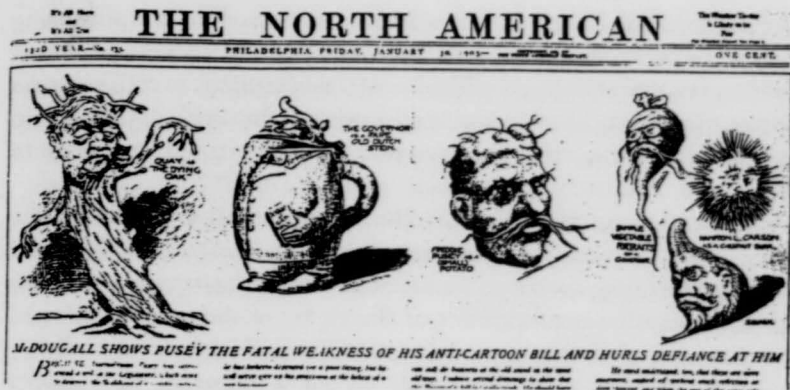


PENNYPACKER: I will stop this "most conspicuous of ills."

this type of journalism would be to require that the names and addresses of the owners of the newspapers be published with each issue. "It may be," said the new governor, "that . . . the Legislature . . . will be able to devise other means. . . ." With Charles Nelan's campaign cartoons fresh in everyone's memory, this seemed like a remark aimed directly at the *North American*. In any case, the editors of that newspaper leapt to defend their profession, charging Pennypacker with blatantly attempting to stifle any press criticism. Nelan drew an accompanying cartoon showing the governor about to put a muzzle on a watchdog labeled "The Public Press."¹⁵

On January 28, 1903, to the surprise of many and to the shock of those at the *North American*, Representative Frederick Taylor Pusey from Lansdowne in Delaware County introduced an anti-cartoon bill in the Pennsylvania legislature. The Pusey bill made it unlawful to print or publish "any cartoon or caricature or picture portraying, describing or representing any person, either by distortion, innuendo or otherwise, in the form or likeness of beast, bird, fish, insect, or other unhuman animal, thereby tending to expose such person to public hatred, contempt or ridicule."¹⁶ Violators of the act would be guilty of a misdemeanor and susceptible to a fine of not more than \$1,000 and/or imprisonment not exceeding two years. To the editors of the *North American*, who obviously regarded ridicule as a weapon to be used to defend the public interest (as well as sell newspapers), the Pusey bill was a measure that no legislator could take seriously. Nelan defiantly caricatured the author as a "Pus(s)ey Cat," and it was rumored that when Pusey rose to report his bill back to the House, he was greeted with a chorus of "meows," cat calls, and "scat" from some of the other members. There was a "decided sentiment" among the members of the legislature that Quay and Pennypacker ought to be able to take care of themselves without embarrassing the state with ridiculous statutes.¹⁷

One of those at the *North American* who knew he could make even the ridiculous look absurd was Walt McDougall, the *North American's* other well-known cartoonist.¹⁸ Two days after Pusey presented his bill to the legislature, McDougall presented a front page cartoon-spread in which he portrayed prominent state government officials as an oak tree, a beer stein, a turnip, a squash, and a chestnut burr. The humor of this (plus the futility of his bill) escaped Representative Pusey, who by now had been depicted as "Pus(s)ey-willow," "Pus(s)ey-in-boots," and a small potato. He amended his original bill to apply only to newspapers in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. On February 4, 1903 the



anti-cartoon bill passed its second reading in the House of Representatives.¹⁹

For the next month Pusey's anti-cartoon bill languished in committee, and its future looked bleak. Then, with only two weeks remaining in the legislative session, the *North American* announced that a new effort had been made by the Republican political machine to "throttle" the press. Representative Samuel W. Salus of Philadelphia introduced a new bill requiring all newspapers to publish in every issue the names of their proprietors and managing editors. Such persons would be legally responsible for libelous matter in their publications. In civil suits they could be found liable and forced to pay compensatory damages not only for injury to business or reputation, but also for damages relating to physical and mental suffering. If the matter complained of had been given special attention by the use of cartoons, pictures, or headlines, punitive damages could be levied as well. The Salus libel bill sounded very much like the suggestion that Governor Pennypacker had made during his inaugural address. Many saw it as an "organization" bill and the rumor was that orders had gone out for its passage. John C. Grady of Philadelphia quickly introduced a duplicate measure in the Senate. Promoters planned to push both bills simultaneously to expedite the process, and then on final passage to substitute one bill for the other.²⁰

Four days after it was first introduced, the so-called Salus-Grady libel bill passed both branches of the state legislature. The final vote in the House was 125 to 57. As proof that party "whips" were hard at work, 122 of the 158 Republican members of the House lined up in support of the measure. The political pressure was so open that one legislator publicly apologized to his constituents for his affirmative vote. Repre-

sentative Edward James Jr. of Scranton complained that he was being "forced" to put aside principle for practicality. "By my vote . . . I was able to get \$400,000 appropriations for this section. . . . Those who criticize me don't know what the crack of the organization whip means."²¹ Evidently, the press was about to be taught a lesson in discipline.²²

The speed of the Salus-Grady bill's passage stunned the press. The *North American* remarked that not even the "infamous 'ripper' bills and traction grabs of the notorious session of 1901 were 'railroaded' with less regard for legislative proprieties or the rights of the persons affected than has attended the extraordinary career of this bill."²³ Every newspaper publisher in Pittsburgh signed a telegram to Western Pennsylvania legislators protesting "emphatically" against any change in the libel law. Aside from the *North American*, seven other Philadelphia newspapers jointly sent a telegram of protest to every member of the House of Representatives claiming that the haste with which the bill was rushed gave no opportunity for a hearing. In response, Governor Pennypacker agreed to hold a public hearing in which newspapers from around the state could present their arguments. The hearing was held in Harrisburg on April 21, 1903 and more than 300 newspaper owners and editors attended. The governor was unsympathetic. After listening to three and one half hours of complaints that legal and constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of the press had been violated, he adjourned the hearings without comment.²⁴

Though it seemed almost certain that the governor would sign the bill, many newspaper owners, editors and cartoonists stood ready to defy the law. Charles Nelan and the *North American* refused to be intimidated. Showing complete disdain for the governor, Nelan drew his most venomous cartoon yet. He depicted Pennypacker as a dwarf, standing on a stool, about to thrust a shaft into the spinning wheels of the public press to stop "this most conspicuous of ills."²⁵

If their intention was to provoke Governor Pennypacker, further, then Nelan and the *North American* certainly succeeded. When the governor finally signed the bill on May 12, 1903, he issued a spirited 3,500 word message in defense of his approval and pointedly singled out Nelan and the *North American* for abuse. In the course of his long public statement Pennypacker made reference to the famous "printing press" cartoon of May 2 and suggested that:

[It] defines the question with entire precision. An ugly little dwarf, representing the Governor of the Commonwealth, stands on

a crude stool. The stool is subordinate to and placed alongside of a huge printing press with wheels as large as those of an ox-team, and all are so arranged as to give the idea that when the press starts the stool and its occupant will be thrown to the ground. Put into words, the cartoon asserts to the world that the press is above the law and greater in strength than the government. No self-respecting people will permit such an attitude to be long maintained. In England a century ago the offender would have been drawn and quartered and his head stuck upon a pole without the gates. In America to-day this is the kind of arrogance which 'goeth before a fall.'²⁶

The Governor also referred to Representative Frederick Pusey as an example of an unjustly maligned public official whom the new law would protect. Pusey, said the governor, was guilty of only introducing a proper bill into the legislature that was not agreeable to the press. Instead of being praised, "some outcast" was "hired to pervert his name from Pusey into 'pussy' and to draw contorted cats which are scattered broadcast over the land. . . . Could the most just and kindly of judges . . . say that should he bring suit against the newspapers which committed this outrage and indecency he ought not to be permitted to recover what a jury shall regard as compensation?"²⁷ Obviously the *North American* was acting outside the definition of libel as the governor defined it.

Criticism of Pennypacker and his message and open dissatisfaction with the new libel law mounted quickly. In fact, there was so much popular criticism that no attempt was made to enforce the law, and the next administration repealed it in 1907. Until that time, Pennsylvania newspapers stood behind the provision of the state constitution that guaranteed the printing press the freedom to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any other branch of government, and that no law could be made to restrain that right. Thus "protected," they "discussed" the governor freely. Cartoons became more satirical and editorials more critical than ever. The state press, including regular Republican publications, referred to the governor as "vain," "bumptious," "garrulous," and "conceited," and categorized his message as "silly," "wrong-headed," "barratrous," and "pedantic."²⁸ The *North American* charged that the message "breathes the spirit that animates tyrants."²⁹ The editors facetiously added that the principles enunciated in the Pennypacker "press-muzzling" law demanded a new coat of arms for the state. As they imagined it, the new design would include an impaled cartoonist's head, a "gag," a muzzle, a dwarf on a stool, a pussy cat, and a

jackass in knee-high boots. Changing the emblem would also require a change in the motto. Instead of "virtue, liberty, and independence," the editors suggested that the new coat of arms should be inscribed with the phrase "vanity, license, and impudence."³⁰

Newspapers outside the state (those not directly affected by the new libel law) devoted columns of editorial and cartoon space in condemnation of the law and heaped ridicule upon the man who signed it. Cartoons from over a dozen major national publications were reprinted in the pages of the *North American* showing support for its position on freedom of the press. They depicted Pennypacker as muzzling a bulldog, being eaten by a tiger, impaling an editor, tilting at windmills, worshipping a god called Spleen, and being cheered by political bosses, boodlers, and crooked legislators. Over seventy-five out-of-state newspapers mailed editorials to the *North American*. They all seemed to focus on two main themes: 1) the law was signed not in response to public demand, but to assuage the wounded vanity of a governor, and 2) the law was inspired by scoundrels seeking immunity from public exposure.³¹

The sensitive Pennypacker had a personal grievance with the press, and this merged with the purposes of other politicians looking to extinguish the light of political exposure. As the editor of the *Philadelphia Press* put it, the act was designed to gag the press in the interest of the plunderers—the grafters, the bribe-takers, the ward heelers—and against the interest of the people. The same editor called the law the joint product of "personal pique and public piracy."³² In a revealing letter to the *North American*, the editor of the *Virginia Pilot* of Norfolk, suggested that the Pennsylvania experience should be an object lesson to other states. Pennsylvania was a state with a strong political machine, headed by a "boss," and supported by railroads and allied corporations in the state. Local machines in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other cities allowed unscrupulous politicians, franchise thieves and contract grafters to rob municipal treasuries. An apathetic public had abandoned their civic duties and any sense of civic responsibility. To the editors of the *Pilot*, the attempt to muzzle the press was the "final . . . logical . . . inevitable step in the process."³³

The cartoons directed against Judge Pennypacker and the political machine for which he fronted, and the passage of the Salus-Grady libel law and the furor that it aroused nationally, helped to awaken a general interest in the conduct of popular politics and of the role of the press in that process. There had been earlier attempts to muzzle political cartoonists. Boss Thomas Platt had an anti-cartoon bill introduced in the New York legislature in 1897, and the California legislature

actually passed a measure in 1899 that outlawed any caricatures that brought an individual's character into question.³⁴ But neither of these actions created a national sensation to match the Pennypacker-Nelan episode in Pennsylvania. An explanation seems to rest in the fact that circumstances had changed and that new forces had finally come together. An intensified resentment on the part of the public, a new consciousness on the part of many reform journalists, and an affirmation by both of the need for an unfettered mode of criticism, had created a new and volatile situation. When Lincoln Steffens published, in the spring and summer of 1903, his two famous studies on Pennsylvania politics—"Pittsburgh: A City Ashamed" and "Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented"—he was really confirming what people of the state already knew.³⁵ Pennsylvania did have ills that were worthy of mention, and it was time for its citizens to do something about it. For this to happen a free press was essential. Reform rested on exposure of wrongdoing. The attention of the people had to be called to specific objects, and specific enemies had to be pointed out. Angered and informed, a reform-minded citizenry could reclaim control of the democratic process.

NOTES

1. See Steven L. Piott, "B.O. Flower and the Muckraking Cartoonists," *Journal of American Culture* (forthcoming) for an expanded discussion on the role of the editorial cartoonists.
2. See Richard Hofstadter, *Age of Reform* (New York: Random House, 1955), 195; C.C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), 9; David Mark Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 12.
3. Mark Sullivan, *The Education of an American* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1938), 163-77; Mark Sullivan, "The Ills of Pennsylvania," *Atlantic Monthly* 88 (October, 1901), 558-66.
4. Sullivan, *Education*, 172-73.
5. *Ibid.*, 170-73.
6. *Ibid.*, 173-74; James A. Kehl, *Boss Rule in the Gilded Age: Matt Quay of Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 241.
7. Sullivan, *Education*, 175.
8. *Ibid.*, 171, 175.
9. *Philadelphia North American*, October 19, 1902.
10. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1902.
11. Charles Nelan, a former grocery clerk from Akron, Ohio, entered the profession of cartooning after winning a newspaper-sponsored cartooning contest in his hometown. Nelan started working for the *Cleveland Press* in 1888, and his drawings for the Scripps-McRae newspaper chain allowed him to establish a reputation in the Midwest.

Nelan first used the tactic of depicting politicians as birds in Ohio, when he drew Governor Joseph Foraker as a vulture. Nelan moved on to the *New York Herald* in 1897, and then to the *Philadelphia North American* in 1900. He was involved in factional Pennsylvania politics until the spring of 1904. He died later that year from tuberculosis. See Robert L. Bloom, "The Philadelphia North American: A History, 1839-1925," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), 503; *Philadelphia North American*, December 8, 1904; Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), 181.

12. *Philadelphia North American*, October 19, 1902.

13. *Ibid.*, October 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, November 1, 2, 1902.

14. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1902.

15. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1903.

16. *Philadelphia North American*, January 28, 1903.

17. *Ibid.*, January 28, February 7, 1903, *Harrisburg Telegraph*, January 29, 1903.

18. Walt McDougall was one of America's most talented cartoonists. He originally came to Philadelphia on leave from the *New York World* to cover the Republican National Convention in June, 1900. One cartoon he drew—showing the difficulty a New Yorker had trying to catch some sleep in "noisy" Philadelphia—was very popular, and prompted Thomas B. Wanamaker to hire him full-time on the *North American*. See Bloom, "Philadelphia North American," 504.

19. *Philadelphia North American*, January 30, February 4, 5, 1903; Walt McDougall, *This Is The Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 277-78.

20. *Philadelphia North American*, April 7, 8, 9, 1903; *Harrisburg Patriot*, April 7, 8, 1903.

21. *Philadelphia North American*, April 15, 1903.

22. See *Philadelphia North American*, April 11, 1903 for details on the final vote.

23. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1903.

24. *Ibid.*, April 9, 10, 22, 1903; *Harrisburg Patriot*, April 10, 1903.

25. *Philadelphia North American*, May 2, 1903.

26. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1903; *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Session of 1903* (Harrisburg, 1903), 353.

27. *Laws of the General Assembly*, 356; *Philadelphia North American*, May 13, 1903. After seeing himself referred to as a "hired outcast," Nelan wrote a letter to Governor Pennypacker demanding that he retract the epithet or risk being prosecuted for criminal libel. The governor later apologized for his "unconscious" remark. *Philadelphia North American*, May 16, 19, 1903.

28. *Philadelphia North American*, May 14, 1903; "The Pennsylvania Libel Law," *Literary Digest* 26 (May 23, 1903), 742-45; *Philadelphia Press*, May 13, 1903.

29. *Philadelphia North American*, May 14, 1903.

30. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1903.

31. *Ibid.*, May 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 1903. See also William Murrell, *A History of Graphic Humor (1865-1938)*, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), 174. The cartoonists whose work was reprinted included: Harry Murphy of the *New York Herald*, John T. McCutcheon of the *Chicago Daily News*, Guy Raymond Spencer of the *Omaha World Herald*, W.R. Bradford of the *Baltimore Herald*, A.W. Steele of the *Denver Post*, George McManus Jr. of the *St. Louis Republic*, E.F. Mack of the *Erie Daily Times*, Oscar Chopin of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Lewis C. Gregg of the *Atlanta Constitution*,

Will H. Chandler of the *Washington Star*, and Clifford Berryman of the *Washington Post*.

32. Charles Emory Smith, "The Press: Its Liberty and License," *Independent* 55 (June 11, 1903), 1375. See also *Philadelphia Press*, May 13, 1903.

33. *Philadelphia North American*, May 16, 1903.

34. Similar attempts to pass anti-cartoon bills were made in Indiana (1913) and Alabama (1915). See Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 47; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), 588.

35. See Lincoln Steffens, "Pittsburgh: A City Ashamed," *McClure's* 21 (May, 1903), 24-39; "Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented," *McClure's* 21 (July, 1903), 249-63.