

The Journalist and the Gangster A Devil's Bargain, Chicago Style

Ben Hecht grew to personify the mix of cynicism, sentimentality and mischief of the Chicago newspaper reporter, a historical type that he immortalized in his stage comedy, The Front Page. Treating Hecht as an "ideal type," this study looks at the antics and chicanery of Chicago crime reporters, and the extraordinary bonds that Chicago journalists forged with the city's gangsters. It argues that the temptation of the Mephistophelean bargain, the proposition that rules are made to be broken, explains both Hecht's Romanticist style, emblematic of Chicago journalism, and the fascination with criminals and gangsters that Hecht shared with his fellow newspapermen.

"I was a type, it now appears, of some historical significance," Ben Hecht wrote toward the end of his life, as he looked back upon his youth as a Chicago crime reporter.¹ Joining the staff of the *Chicago Daily Journal* at the impressionable age of sixteen, he had at first emulated and then grew to personify the creed of the city's newspapermen, a mix of cynicism, sentimentality, and mischief identifiable as what sociologists Max Weber and Hugh Dalziel Duncan termed a "style of life."² Yet by the time Hecht returned from a grim year as a foreign correspondent to Chicago during the early days of Prohibition and Al Capone, his once jolly cynicism had soured, and he had grown circumspect about his old milieu. Over the next decade, he distilled his views of the press and gangsters in works that made him rich and famous: *The Front Page* (1928), *Underworld* (1927) and *Scarface* (1932.)

Hecht is still best remembered for *The Front Page*, his collaboration with fellow Chicago newsroom veteran Charles

MacArthur, which has been hailed as the greatest comedy to ever hit the American stage. Since the sensation of its 1928 Broadway debut, it has remained cardinal to discussions of journalism in popular culture. Its romantic portrayal of the big city reporter as rake and rebel fired the public imagination of Hecht's day, just as *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* and *All the President's Men* would for a later generation. "The play has been called the Rosetta stone of journalism, the key to figuring out the hieroglyphics and high jinks of a strange craft," Robert Schmuhl noted.³

Just as Hildy Johnson, Faustian protagonist of *The Front Page*, is bound to his Mephistophelean editor Walter Burns, the idea of a "devil's bargain" explains Hecht's own proclivities. "Born perversely," Hecht once wrote of himself: a classic, Faustian Romantic, he was drawn to the dark, the forbidden, the dangerous, or the just plain wrong, and he found kinship with rebels and renegades.⁴

This study argues that the temptation of the Mephistophelean bargain, the proposition that rules are made to be broken, explains both Hecht's Romanticist style—a style emblematic of the Chicago school of journalism—and a fascination with criminals and gangsters that he shared with his fellow newspapermen. From the start, he had admired his fellow reporters as a tribe of outlaws, a view encouraged by the newspaper industry's adoption in the 1920s of professional standards that marginalized his city's brand of journalism.⁵

But there was far more to the link between Chicago's press and outlaws than mere metaphor. There is a telling scene in *The Front Page* in which reporters greet a gangster named Diamond



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Ben Hecht described himself as being “born perversely,” a man drawn to renegades, rebels, and criminals. Newberry Library, Ben Hecht Papers, 1879-1983, Chicago. Reprinted with permission.

Louie. Waving off their unctuous inquiries about plans to knock off a rival, Louie explains he is now retired. “Yeah. That’s right. I’m a newspaperman . . . working for Walter Burns,” he says. “I’m assistant circulation manager for de nort’ side.”⁶

By the 1930s, various memoirs and press histories divulged that Chicago’s Prohibition-era gangsters had received their training on the payroll of the city’s newspapers—as gunmen in bloody circulation wars—before graduating to organized crime with the passage of the Volstead Act.⁷ But perhaps because the epic contest in New York between media titans William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer now looms so large in American memory, it has overshadowed the dark chapter in journalism that followed, when Hearst shifted his sights to Chicago.

Determined to gain an edge on the local competition with the launch of the *American* in 1900, Hearst hired Max Annenberg, an immigrant from East Prussia and a Chicago West-Sider, to organize crews of “sluggers” for strong-arming newsboys into ditching stacks of rival newspapers. The *Tribune* and *Daily News* soon rose to the challenge, and what started with knives and brickbat brawls between gangs of neighborhood toughs evolved into shooting sprees that claimed the lives of newsboys and residents alike.

It became a three-way war, as the top dailies fought each other and all sides attacked organized labor. Between 1910, the year Hecht first joined the *Journal*, and 1913, twenty-seven newsdealers were killed, according to one oft-cited estimate.⁸ After that, the killings, beatings, and abductions continued until bootlegging offered gangs more handsome rewards for this work. And when the gangs did come of age as efficient, corporate enterprises, it

was alumni of Chicago’s newsrooms, Hecht being one of several, who helped gangsters achieve national celebrity through a raft of bestselling books, Broadway hits and, ultimately, the gangster movie craze.

Despite the carnage of the press’s “reign of terror,”⁹ as one early chronicler called it, police and the newspapers looked the other way. But this was hardly the only major story they missed. Here was a city crying out for reform. “Chicago is the place to make you appreciate at every turn the absolute opportunity that chaos affords,” John Dewey wrote his wife. “Every conceivable thing solicits you; the town seems filled with problems holding out their hands and asking somebody to please solve them—or else dump them in the Lake.”¹⁰

During the same period when Max Annenberg and his brother Moe first signed on with the *American*’s circulation department, the city’s *ten* dailies ignored fire code violations in the graft-ridden First Ward that routinely had lethal consequences.¹¹ Finally, on December 30, 1903, a blaze at the Iroquois Theatre claimed some six hundred lives, mostly children.¹² Over the next three years, it would take a series of exposés in *The Lancet*, a British journal, to break arguably the biggest story in the city’s history: the disgusting and dangerous conditions of the stockyards, which became the focus of Upton Sinclair’s 1906 novel *The Jungle*.¹³

Chicago’s newspapermen reflected the character of the city itself. For a reporter who spent days and nights dashing between crime scenes, trolley car and machinery accidents, and the city morgue, Chicago in the throes of its industrial boom was a raw and brutal place. Hecht biographer Doug Fetherling put it well:

Chicago seemed a prairie Gomorrah where homicide was the logical solution to arguments and chicanery a natural force in the administration of justice. Streets were torn down and new ones erected, gang bosses were murdered to be supplanted by their killers, a dozen railways brought an influx of immigrants never matched by the number of people heading out. . . . [Hecht’s] rhythms were those of the train wheels, factory whistles, gunfire and later the jazz music of a city which was, just then, exactly what [Carl] Sandburg said it was: hogbutcher, freight-handler, builder of railroads.¹⁴

Or as Hecht would recall: “Trains were wrecked, hotels burned down, factories blew up. A man killed his wife in their Sedgwick Avenue flat, cut off her head and made a tobacco jar of its skull. . . . The headlines of murder, rape and swindle were ribbons around a Maypole. The Elevated squealed Hosannahs in the sooty air. The city turned like a wheel.”¹⁵

Journalism historians have offered three explanations for the frame of mind of the Chicago reporter. Most famously, Larzer Ziff wrote that reporters relied on “the twin defenses of cynicism and sentimentality” to perform their jobs within the suffocating conventions of the Victorian-era newspaper industry. “The first kept him from allowing his sentimentality to make him vulnerable; the second kept him from allowing his cynicism to cut him off from the human interest that was his stock in trade.”¹⁶

Norman Howard Sims added that the Chicagoans shaped an identity as modern urban reporter that retained “a touch of the



His Girl Friday (the above is from the 1940 motion picture) helped create myths about journalists as outlaw heroes. *His Girl Friday* based on the play *The Front Page* Copyright © 1928, renewed 1955 Hecht & MacArthur. All Worldwide Rights Reserved. Courtesy of Columbia Pictures.

backwoods journalist, sketch-hoax writer, and the literary artisan” of the nineteenth century. They adhered to a storytelling tradition of news at a time when there was, by contrast, an increasing emphasis on facts, accuracy, and information that became understood as journalistic objectivity. Two diametrically opposed approaches to news, identified by Michael Schudson as the “Story Model” and “Information Model,” were emerging as the major schools of journalism of the early twentieth century. “By Ben Hecht’s era in the 1920s, the opposing scientific-factual style had triumphed,” wrote Sims, “making Hecht an outcast and an eccentric.”¹⁷

Adding yet another take on the Chicago reporter, Matthew Ehrlich argued in *Journalism in the Movies* that *The Front Page* was the first to deal with competing myths that have traditionally been at the center of Hollywood films: the official hero versus the outlaw hero. The renegade journalist of *The Front Page* is an outlaw hero, “akin to the wanderers and loners of American popular culture. He (or she, but most often he) holds no particular hope for society’s betterment. He views the world and especially the institutions of government as inherently corrupt. Resolutely independent, he shuns convention and obligation and scorns officially sanctioned truth and morality. In contrast, the ‘Greek citizen’ or ‘official’ journalist is a dedicated public servant.”¹⁸

These explanations from Ziff, Sims, and Ehrlich suggest something more elemental about the Chicago reporter: Together, they illustrate an enduring strain of American *Romanticism*. Though Romanticism is understood to have been a cultural, philosophical, and political phenomenon belonging to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is instructive to also recognize that it was a transformative movement that had a profound impact upon Western thought well into the twentieth century, and indeed up to today.¹⁹ As Peter J. Kitson explained:

The expressions ‘Enlightenment’ and ‘Romanticism’ are frequently used to suggest contrasting ways of looking at

the world. Simply put, such a contrast might be expressed in binary oppositions, such as reason *versus* emotion; objectivity *versus* subjectivity; spontaneity *versus* control; . . . society *versus* the individual; . . . order *versus* rebellion; the cosmopolitan *versus* the national, and so on.²⁰

During the Progressive Era, Information-Model papers such as the *New York Times* reasserted pro-Enlightenment ideals, in marked contrast to the Story-Model Romanticism of Chicago. The emergence of reporting as a profession and increasingly complex challenges of the Industrial Revolution had brought, as Sims noted, a new emphasis on facts and accuracy, along with a new, “neoliberal” conception of the social responsibility of journalism.²¹ Ostensibly, the *New York Times’* emphasis on information kept faith

with the Jeffersonian view that a free press must inform and engage the citizenry, in turn reflecting a liberal trust in the knowability of truth, the power and virtue of reason, and the essential goodness of man. Yet the *New York Times* “emphasized decency as much as accuracy,” noted Schudson, and with its motto that it “does not soil the breakfast cloth,” differences with the Story-Model newspapers represented as much a clash of upper versus lower classes as a clash of principles.²²

Chicago reporters such as Hecht were unimpressed by the high-toned Information Model, and they regarded the government and public with equal disdain. “We were tattered Tories with no more social consciousness than the mooing calves in the Stock Yards,” Hecht would recall. “With all the black deeds going on around us, frequently under our noses, we could not imagine a better world.”²³ Contemptuous of a crooked city hall and the “law and order” it imposed, Hecht and his peers saw outlaws and street toughs as representative of a “natural primitivism”: age-old characters who were honest in their own way, and relative innocents compared to the politicians.

Several hallmarks of Romanticism describe Hecht and the peculiar tribe of rebels and misfits immortalized in *The Front Page*. Romanticism rejected the Enlightenment’s faith in reason as an antidote to superstition and barbarism, instead honoring “the imaginative apprehension of experience, the primacy of feeling, the cult of the individual, specially the artist,” i.e., the genius, or the visionary. Instead of faith in democracy and modern progress, the Romantics held “a presumption that the natural world is a source of goodness and man’s societies a source of corruption.” Isaiah Berlin offered a colorful list of its many, varied characteristics: “Romanticism is the primitive, the untutored, it is youth, life, the exuberant sense of life of the natural man, but it is also pallor, fever, disease, decadence. . . . It is the strange, the exotic, the grotesque, the mysterious, the supernatural, ruins, moonlight...darkness and the powers of darkness, phantoms, vampires, nameless terror, the

irrational, the unutterable. . . . It is nostalgia, it is reverie, it is intoxicating dreams, it is sweet melancholy and bitter melancholy, solitude, the sufferings of exile, the sense of alienation.”²⁴

Noting that journalism history stands at a crossroads of intellectual history, social history, and cultural history, David Paul Nord has admonished scholars not to devote themselves to a journalist’s texts while ignoring the social and economic conditions that constrained them. “Journalism might be described as cultural ‘webs of significance,’ but those webs were spun by powerful interests,” Nord observed. “A newspaper was more like a sweatshop than a community of autonomous individuals.”²⁵ This study draws on literary epistemology—Romanticism—to explain the outlook of the Chicago reporter, but it relies on the social and economic record for evidence and context. It argues that the good, the bad, and the ugly of Chicago newspapers—the raw energy, the focus on speed and a superficial kind of accuracy often at the expense of truth, the subterfuge, and the violence—were all consequences of an intensely competitive marketplace.

* * *

Journalists! Peeking through keyholes! Running after fire engines like a lot of coach dogs! Waking people up in the middle of the night to ask them what they think of Mussolini. Stealing pictures off old ladies of their daughters that get raped in Oak Park. A lot of lousy, daffy buttinskis swilling around with holes in their pants, borrowing nickels from office boys! And for what? So a million hired girls and motormen’s wives will know what’s going on. . . . I don’t need anybody to tell me about newspapers. I’ve been a newspaperman for fifteen years. A cross between a bootlegger and a whore. And if you want to know something, you’ll all end up on the copy desk—gray-headed, humpbacked slobs, dodging garnishees when you’re ninety.²⁶

—Hildy Johnson in *The Front Page*

The things we’ll do for our papers! We lie, we cheat, we swindle and steal. We break into houses. We almost commit murder for a story. We’re a bunch of lice.²⁷

—*Herald and Examiner* reporter Sam Blair, as quoted in *Gall and Honey*, by Edward Doherty

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There is a rich body of lore about “the Front Page era” of Chicago newspapers, tales reworked over and again in the memoirs of the veterans. Originally swapped in downtown barrooms and greasy spoons, this jumble of yarns, spun by conspicuously unreliable narrators, offers tribute to mischief in the name of journalism.²⁸ As sources of history, they are a tangle, but though the facts may vary from one account to another, the essential story they tell remains consistent.

By the time Hecht first contributed his own memoir in 1954, he was well practiced at the alchemy that transformed reporter’s notes into hit novels and movies. He recalled that as a sixteen-year-

old “picture chaser” for the *Journal*, his first job in journalism was to beg, borrow or—mostly—steal newsworthy photos, and this he did with talent and a sense of mission. After Aunt Chasha sewed large pockets into his jacket to conceal burglary tools and the loot, Hecht “clambered up fire escapes, crawled through windows and transoms, posing when detected as everything from a gas meter inspector to an undertaker’s assistant,” recalled friend and fellow journalist Charles Samuels.²⁹ Soon Hecht graduated to reporter and professional hoaxer. Collaborating with photographer Gene Cour, he delivered splashy scoops on police pursuits of riverboat pirates and the Great Chicago Earthquake, which tore a terrific fissure through Lincoln Park.

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The only problem with many of these extraordinary tales is that our sole source for them is Hecht. Samuels was a reporter and did come to work as a “legman” for Hecht, but Samuels lived in New York, and, in 1910, would only have been eight years old.³⁰ Yet while Hecht’s *Child of the Century* has been criticized as one of “the less serious books [that] . . . shamelessly fictionalize events,” in fairness, there is a basis of truth to Hecht’s newspaper tales.³¹ Though they seem fantastic, they explain the traditions of Chicago journalism through a kind of narrative shorthand. The idea that newspapers paid young men to break into homes and steal photographs may seem hard to believe, but Theodore Dreiser cited it as a common practice

in his memoir *Newspaper Days*. Vincent Starrett, who, like Hecht, started his career as a picture chaser, described his own adventures in detail.³²

Hecht’s claim that his promotion to reporter afforded the opportunity for a short-lived, madcap career as a hoaxer recalls yet another dubious journalistic sport, one that Chicago reporters adopted and made peculiarly their own. The hoax had been a tradition of the nineteenth century: a rash of them had appeared with the advent of New York’s penny press in the 1830s, and by midcentury, variations of the “tall tale” were a popular staple of Western newspapers. Mark Twain and Edgar Allan Poe perfected hoaxing as an art, while in more modern times, Orson Welles would leave an indelible mark on mass media history with his *War of the Worlds* broadcast.

But the Chicago hoax went beyond being a mere genial prank: it became one more ploy in the reporter’s bag of tricks, put to use in the bareknuckle fight for scoops. In the 1890s, Finley Peter Dunne of *The Herald* and Charles Dillingham of the *Times* brought it into play against the *Tribune*’s Frank Vanderlip, their competitor on the hotel beat. The hapless Vanderlip could not understand how his rivals kept grabbing exclusives with famous and exotic personages who stopped in town overnight and then vanished without a trace. Unable to keep pace, Vanderlip was fired for incompetence, without ever realizing that these extraordinary hotel guests had never come or did not exist. Chicago reporters had put their own spin on the hoax. It was no longer a shared joke, but was instead a hustle pulled on the competition and public alike.³³

Chicago newspapermen were delinquents and misfits, “part detectives, thieves and con-men who enjoyed prying into the lives and business of others, and a few had the touch of a poet,” observed

one historian. Hecht's compatriots included an undertaker's assistant, an aspiring opera singer, a former strongman in the circus, a failed priest, an ex-fighter, a tramp, and a crackpot mystic embittered by gonorrhea. "I became a journalist after I had failed at nearly everything else," wrote Starrett.³⁴

Oddball quirks, rivalries and devious tactics were all part of what became the persona of the modern urban reporter. This identity, which had coalesced by the time Hecht joined the *Journal* in 1910, had its origins in two local institutions of the late nineteenth century, at a time when reporters were developing a self-awareness of their profession, and were eager to mythologize it.³⁵

One of the two was Chicago's wire service, the City News Bureau, which functioned as a journalism school before actual schools were established. The other was a fraternity of literary-minded police reporters called the Whitechapel Club, which took its name from the London slum where Jack the Ripper had committed his murders. Hecht evoked both institutions, and their legacies, in his memoirs. All along, he had cultivated an image as a Whitechapel, and had carried on the spirit of the club.³⁶

Home to boisterous rebels and a morbid, bizarre brand of bohemianism, the Whitechapel Club originally convened in the backroom of Kloster's saloon, established in the summer of 1889 by journalists who found the Press Club of Chicago too stodgy and expensive. It was a place of refuge at the end of a shift, sometimes late in the night, an alternative to the seamy downtown taverns, where reporters could discuss their jobs, social issues, and their shared literary ambitions. It served as a forum, wrote Alfred Lawrence Lorenz, "in which they could define themselves as journalists by agreeing on what journalists were, how they should approach their work, and on a set of professional values—in short, what it meant to be a journalist." Although the Whitechapel Club existed for only five years, it became legend, influencing generations of journalists to follow.³⁷

Most legendary was the club's decor. A thick oak door with ornate wrought-iron scrollwork opened to a room dominated by a horseshoe-shaped bar. Each place was set with a churchwarden's pipe and a tobacco-filled bowl that had once been the brainpan of a skull. The sawed-off lower portion of these skulls served as shades for the club's gas lighting fixtures. Brightly colored glass globes implanted in the eyeholes cast weird, eerie hues. Dr. John C. Spray, a Whitechapel member and a superintendent of a hospital for the insane, had donated the skulls, which he had used in a study to discover cranial differences between the sane and the mentally ill. Adornments along the walls included a twelve-foot snakeskin, skeletons, blades, revolvers, and bullets that had slain famous criminals. The pride of the club, though, was the smaller room upstairs, which was fitted with a coffin-shaped bar studded with large brass railheads imprinted with the number of each member. As Lorenz notes, "The decorations served as symbols of the often-dark world the members covered and the mocking posture they assumed toward it."³⁸

Within this setting, members played poker—though playing for money was strictly forbidden—shared their writing, and hosted guest speakers whom they subjected to unsparing heckling that they called "sharpshooting." This jousting sharpened the edge of their characteristic skepticism: trusting in facts and experience, the Whitechapelers were determined to expose the ugly realities that belied a Victorian faith in social "progress." They were rebels who remained cleanshaven to distance themselves from a bewhiskered older generation, who took aim at religion, tradition, and morality. Columnist and playwright George Ade described them as "harum-scarum irresponsibles who scorned the conventions and shared an abiding enthusiasm for alcoholic liquors." Nonetheless, they were intellectuals with ideas ahead of their time. They were not "in any sense reformers, or actuated by the smug and forbidding spirit which too often inspires that species," wrote another contemporary, Brand Whitlock. "They were, indeed, wisely otherwise, and they were, I think, wholly right minded in their attitude toward what are called public questions, and of these they had a deep and perspicacious understanding."³⁹

The gallows humor reflected an important element of the Whitechapel style. Police reporters of the 1890s were exposed to the harshest and most gruesome realities of city life, while under the pressure of intense journalistic competition. The humorist Opie Read recalled that fellow members sought to produce "photographic exposures of contemporary existence," whereas he himself wanted his journalism to be more like painting. Whitechapel became a wellspring of the naturalist school that emerged from journalism as a seminal movement in American literature. A hard-bitten, unique literary society, the club contributed to an enduring myth of "men who insisted on talking to one another



Chicago newsboys hold newspapers next to a paper stand. Image by an unnamed Chicago Daily News photographer, August 11, 1904. Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum, glass negative DN-0001752.

about the hypocrisy of the social system even while they were being paid to explain it away,” noted Ziff, “. . . [and] who read everything they could get their hands on and fanned one another’s literary aspirations as they sat about in the city room on a rainy night.”⁴⁰

This spirit of Whitechapel did survive in Hecht—he shared its members’ macabre sensibility, and emulated their unique literary bohemianism—but there was a key difference between him and these predecessors. As naturalists, newspaper novelists of the 1890s focused on details deemed worthwhile because they were unprintable in the daily press, but they sometimes failed to invoke the deeper issues at hand. As Ziff pointed out, most “were unable to lose [their superficiality] when they turned to fiction or sociology. And having survived the twin perils of cynicism and sentimentalism, they were sunk on the reef of realism as its own excuse for being.”⁴¹ Hecht, on the other hand, saw realism as a style, albeit one with thematic implications. He proved a productive and popular storyteller largely because he was so adept at weaving Romantic themes and plot variations, which he often cloaked within the trappings of gritty, naturalistic settings.

The City News Bureau helped to forge another integral element of the Chicago style: the tradition of the scoop, which as Martin Mayer explained in *Making News*, “has been cultivated more jealously and single-mindedly in Chicago than anywhere else.” A venerable local institution for more than a century, the City News established itself in the 1890s as a training ground for cub reporters, known for “its iron discipline, its hard-nosed insistence on accuracy and, most of all, its legendary tightfistedness.”⁴² In the days before journalism schools, the bureau instilled a code in its graduates and thus by osmosis, in the whole Chicago press. It was a code shaped by the dictates of free market competition rather than by a sense of civic mission. Speed and accuracy meant survival in a crowded newspaper field. Yet ironically, the same bottom line that compelled a swarm of young men to get their facts straight also honed their talents for deception and misdirection in the contest for scoops, creating the cutthroat culture portrayed in *The Front Page*.

The City News developed a rather schizophrenic attitude toward the truth. A news service could ill afford mistakes or fabrications, which had potential to damage the reputations of client newspapers, or worse, open the door to libel suits. Accuracy thus became the watchword that bureau editors branded on the minds of their young charges. At the same time, *how* reporters got their news was another matter entirely; the papers counted on the City News to be on top of every breaking story. The bureau stretched its budget to the limit to underwrite twenty-four hour vigils, streetcar fare, “leg men” and, most famously, a pneumatic tube system put into use in 1893, which shot dispatches to newsrooms at thirty to seventy miles an hour through an underground labyrinth of pipes. Every reporter knew that the proven ability to produce scoops would be his ticket to his first newspaper job, an end to the grueling hours and pauper’s wages of the City News.⁴³

“Get the news! Get the news!”—that was the great cry in the

city editorial room,” recalled Theodore Dreiser, who was struck by the “pagan or unmoral character” of newspaper work.

Don’t worry much over how you get it, but get it, and don’t come back without it! Don’t fall down! Don’t let other newspapers skin us—that is, if you value your job! . . . While a city editor might readily forgive any form of trickery he would never forgive failure. Cheat and win and you were all right; be honest and lose and you were fired. To appear wise when you were ignorant, dull when you were not, disinterested when you were interested, brutal or severe when you might be just the reverse—these were the essential tricks of the trade. . . . And I . . . soon encountered other newspaper men who were as shrewd and wily as ferrets, who had apparently but one motive in life: to trim their fellow newspaper men in the matter of news, or the public which provided the news.⁴⁴

Tales of scooping are legion. Reporters were known to toss false tips that sent the competition on wild goose chases. *Collier’s* celebrated Harry Romanoff of the *Herald and Examiner* as Chicago’s greatest telephone reporter because of his talent at impersonations.

Once calling a barroom where a murder had occurred, Romanoff identified himself as Sergeant Donohue of the coroner’s office. “That’s funny,” said the voice on the other end. “So is this.” Stepping things up a notch, City News alum and *Her-Ex* editor Frank Carson staged a collision of two circulation trucks in front a police station, a diversion that enabled his operatives to steal the diary of the alluring murderess Ruth Randall out of the evidence room.⁴⁵

Courtroom scoops involved feats of ingenuity and acrobatics. According to one account, City News staffer George Wright enlisted the aid of a courthouse janitor to bring a twenty-foot plank into the ceiling crawlspace above the Loeb-Leopold grand jury proceedings. Wright then drilled a hole and used a stethoscope to listen in, confounding investigators for days while he continued his coverage. When the jury convened in the famous 1897 case of human remains found in a vat at a sausage factory, Fred A. Smith lowered himself into a courthouse air duct by rope. Hecht’s friend Wallace Smith of the *American* hung upside down from the eaves of the courthouse roof, fifty feet above the ground, to peer through the windows of the jury room.⁴⁶

Sometimes reporters planted evidence. “If it occurred to us that a janitor’s missing mother-in-law might have been lured into the janitor’s furnace, and the clues did not fit that attractive hypothesis,” wrote Starrett, “we helped the story to headlines by discovering incinerated bones that somehow the police had missed.”⁴⁷

Journalism historians have generally contended that by the 1890s, all the elements of “objectivity” had come together. Over the next century, it would become the ideal, or what one media critic in 1996 denounced as “the false god” of the profession. A key element is supposed to be detachment: a textbook from 1911 instructed reporters to “keep yourself out of the story.”⁴⁸ Such

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admonishments must have struck Front Page era newspapermen as a joke, if not as a complete surprise. When Chicago crime reporters were not breaking into places or pulling a con, they were busy deputizing themselves with the local law enforcement.

“Murder mysteries fascinated readers, and the reporters, not the police, would solve them,” wrote John J. McPhaul in *Deadlines and Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism*. Hearst veteran George Murray argued that the phenomenon of reporter-as-super-sleuth should not be surprising, since newspapers had far more money and resources for certain select investigations than police departments did. Among the most famous newspaper gumshoes was Buddy McHugh, portrayed in *The Front Page* as “Buddy McCue.” When police hit a dead end interrogating a slow-witted suspect about the fatal beating of a widow, it was McHugh who broke the impasse, asking simply, “Did she scream when you hit her, Eddie?” To elicit the confession of child killer Thomas Richard Fitzgerald, Romanoff presented Fitzgerald with a newly purchased doll that he claimed belonged to the victim.⁴⁹

In the 1890s, the sheriff’s department swore in reporters as deputies and allowed them to make their own news by raiding the gambling dens of Michael McDonald, a Democratic Party boss and the publisher of the *Chicago Globe*. Papers supplied badges that reporters would flash to pass themselves off as detectives or assistant coroners. By the mid-1920s, the police provided press cards inscribed with a note from the chief of police, instructing that journalists be extended all courtesies. But Carson, who was always ready to push things further, invented “muscle journalism,” manufacturing phony badges, warrants and other documents, and installing wiretaps. On one occasion, he recruited a bruiser from the circulation department to pose as a detective in order to “arrest” a killer in Adams, Wisconsin.⁵⁰

If the City News was the trade school where journalists learned such arts of manipulation, it was Carson’s mentor and boss, Walter Howey, who reigned as master. Managing editor for the *Herald and Examiner*, Howey would become immortalized as the Machiavellian genius Walter Burns, the Mephistopheles of *The Front Page*. *Time* would describe him as “a profane romanticist, ruthless but not cruel, unscrupulous but endowed with a private code of ethics. He was the sort of newsman who managed to have Hell break loose under his feet, expected similar miracles from his underlings, rewarded them generously.” When a staffer named Edward Doherty produced one “sob story” too many, Howey advised, “This isn’t that kind of story, Eddie, it’s straight news. And don’t try to break my heart. It isn’t that kind of heart.”⁵¹

Howey’s career became the grist for much of the lore about the *Front Page* era. A man whose mild-mannered appearance belied his ferocity as competitor and power broker, he lost an eye when, according to Hecht, he had passed out one evening while drunk at his desk and planted his face down on a spindle. Howey himself boasted that he lost it in the circulation wars. More plausibly, the injury occurred when some chemicals had exploded during one of his experiments to invent the news-related devices for which he secured several patents, including one for Soundphoto, a system for transmitting images through the phone lines.⁵²



Ben Hecht chronicled the dealings of notorious Chicago gangster Al Capone, center left in light-colored hat.

Many of the tales about Howey concerned his feats as a journalistic prodigy, but Howey soon found that his investigative talents were far more useful to newspapers for the purposes of extortion than for journalism. This realization came at the start of his career as editor, when his boss at the *Inter-Ocean*, George Hinman, had him dig up dirt on power company magnate Samuel Insull and Mayor Fred Busse, who opposed the paper’s ownership of an electric light plant. What followed, *Time* later reported, was two months of “burglary, bribery and tireless sleuthing.”⁵³

By the time Howey assumed the helm of the *Herald and Examiner*, he had amassed an extensive collection of files. The paper’s sole support of mayoral candidate William Hale Thompson proved another winning card. Charlie MacArthur, Hecht’s co-writer of *The Front Page* and a former reporter under Howey for *Her-Ex*, claimed the police were always at the beck and call of the paper to prevent rival newspapers from taking photographs at crime scenes or bring perpetrators for “interrogation” at a hotel nearby Hearst headquarters. “The other papers howled with rage, but what could they do?” said MacArthur, when interviewed for Howey’s obituary. “Walter had the resignations of half a dozen city officials in his desk to be used at his convenience.”⁵⁴

Murray explained his editor’s view of the staff’s investigations:

Howey knew that such exposés would do no good, as far as reform is concerned. He was under no illusions about the intelligence of the ordinary citizen, or his capacity to remember from one day to the next which politicians are gypping him and how they are going about it. . . . Howey did not operate his paper by any code of ethics dreamed up at journalism school in an ivory tower full of idealistic professors. He ran it on the same basis as other businesses in the community operated.⁵⁵

While the character of the Chicago news business had taken shape by the 1890s, the arrival of Hearst in 1900—a first step in his

national strategy to become president—took things to a new level. That June, Hearst challenged business manager Solomon Carvalho to establish a Chicago paper in time for the Democratic National Convention in Kansas City, just thirty days away.

“It’s a tough town,” Carvalho had admonished. “We’ll have to shoot our way in.”

“Take all the ammunition you need,” Hearst replied.⁵⁶

His executives and their rivals would soon take those words literally.

Carvalho first deployed the same tactics that had worked so well in New York: He dropped calling cards on all the best editors and writers in the city and lured them in with salary hikes. He also offered the *American* for one penny, while the *Tribune* and the *Daily News* sold for three. The paper retained a network of tipsters that covered the train stations, hotels, hospitals, and police precincts across the city. When lurid layout, shocking headlines, scoops, and sensationalized copy were deemed insufficient, editors exhorted leg men and rewrite men to concoct fiction. If a rival paper offered a better piece of fantasy—as in the case of one account that featured firemen saving lives by forming a human ladder—the reporter was shown the door. The *American* burned through twenty-seven city editors in its first thirty-seven months. One reason for such furious turnover was that Hearst was using Chicago as a testing ground for talent, and would forward the best editors elsewhere.⁵⁷

These efforts represented a good start, but in a city that already had nine daily newspapers, more was needed. The rough handling of newsboys was nothing new; brawls had been a common feature, for example, of the Hearst-Pulitzer contest in New York. Carvalho, however, counted on the shrewd and dangerous Max Annenberg as circulation manager to win his war. Attired in his signature flaming red sweater with soft cap pulled down over his brow, Annenberg organized crews of goons, many of them broken-down prizefighters, to secure the loyalty of news vendors district by district using all necessary means of persuasion. In 1902, he was joined by his more sophisticated brother Moses, who would go on to pursue a lifelong career in newspaper publishing and rackets, the latter with his racetrack wire, the Nationwide News Service.⁵⁸

Though the *Daily News* and the *Tribune* did not capitulate, the violence rarely became lethal until 1910, when the *Tribune* poured a million dollars into a circulation drive, dropped its price to a penny and, taking a page from Hearst’s playbook, poached the Annenberg brothers. The *Tribune* also armed its crews with revolvers. Hearst’s lead executive Andrew Lawrence matched the stakes, and soon gunmen were stalking each other in black circulation trucks, pouring out for firefights in the streets. The *Inter-Ocean* published an editorial demanding indictments, but otherwise news of the bloodshed was suppressed, or falsified as labor troubles, by all papers except the *Daily Socialist* and the unionized *Daily World*.⁵⁹

The hostilities peaked in 1912. In May, the *Daily Socialist* reported the beating and kidnapping of a news driver. In June, thugs shot a street conductor and then fired wildly through the crowded trolley car. In July, an assailant blasted into the roof of a streetcar when he found passengers were not reading the *American*. Two weeks later, a gang riddled the Wellington Avenue elevated station to intimidate a news dealer. Circulation crews were spotted wearing special police stars. Attempts to indict Max Annenberg and others ended in acquittal. “Bloody newspapers and bodies were a gruesome but not uncommon sight in the Chicago River,” observed crime historian Rose Keefe.⁶⁰

The war began to sputter out by 1913, but incidents of violence continued for years as the circulation departments graduated some of

the city’s most notorious killers, including the infamous Gentelman brothers; labor racketeer Maurice “Mossy” Enright; another of Prohibition’s “dean of Chicago gunmen,” Walter Stevens; “Big Tim” Murphy; Frank McErlane, who was described by the *Illinois Crime Survey* as “the most brutal gunman to ever pull a trigger in Chicago”; and James Ragen, who together with another slugger, Mickey McBride, would run childhood friend Moses Annenberg’s Nationwide News Service in the 1930s.⁶¹

Most prominent among the alumni was Dean “Deannie” O’Banion, a reigning bootlegger and friend of Hecht and MacArthur who worked for Hearst until at least 1920. In 1925, O’Banion was killed in his flower shop by the Johnny Torrio/Al Capone mob, an event that Hecht depicted in both *Underworld* and *Scarface*. “After their honorable discharge from the newspaper wars, all these gunmen and their many pupils opened shop on their own account, having acquired valuable lessons in typical corporation methods,” wrote Ferdinand Lundberg in *Imperial Hearst*, his scathing 1936 biography.⁶²

Though the circulation war was over, the *Front Page* era was still in full steam by the onset of the 1920s, a decade that would deliver an unprecedented drumbeat of carnage and bloody spectacle. In 1918, Hearst merged his morning *Herald* with the newly acquired *Examiner* and put Howey in charge, to create the paper that would earn a reputation as the most aggressive of the interwar period. “Nobody moved even to the water cooler except at a dead run,” reporter Bob Casey said about the Hearst building, which became known as the Madhouse on Madison Street. “The city editor yelled at his copy readers, the copy readers yelled at the copy boys, and the copy boys yelled at each other. Each story, from a triple murder to a purse snatching in the ghetto, was a big story and greeted with quivering excitement by everyone who had anything to do with it.” Columnist Arthur James Pegler observed, “A Hearst paper is like a screaming woman running down the street with her throat cut.”⁶³

Beginning in April 1924, an odd-looking clock face appeared each day on the front page of the *Tribune*. One of three “Hands of Death” was labeled “Autos” and tracked the new phenomenon of fatal car accidents. The other two hands were labeled “Moonshine” and “Guns.”

Other American cities had higher murder rates, but Chicago was the biggest city second to New York, and far more violent. While Manhattan was known for bright lights, intellectuals, and artists, Chicago became known for murder.⁶⁴ But it wasn’t just statistics or a Senate investigation into organized crime that earned the city its reputation. Credit was also due to the Chicago press, which had a flair for glamorizing bootleggers and violence.

Chicago newspapermen streamed eastward to invent the lurid style of American tabloids dubbed “Jazz Journalism,” with *Tribune* owner Joseph Medill Patterson launching New York’s *Daily News* in 1919, and Howey dispatched to establish its competitor, the *Daily Mirror*, five years later. A Chicago photographer’s hidden camera snapped the iconic image of Ruth Snyder jolted to death in the electric chair. And Chicago became the site of the three Grand Guignols of the Jazz Age: the Leopold-Loeb murder, the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, and the Beulah Annan, Belva Gaertner killings, which were made famous by the smash Broadway farce *Chicago*, written by former *Tribune* reporter Maureen Dallas Watkins.⁶⁵

Reporters also flocked to the East to score successes in show business. Along with Watkins’s *Chicago* and Hecht and MacArthur’s *The Front Page*, *The Racket* was a Broadway hit about gangsters and

corruption penned by *Journal* alum Bartlett Cormack. It featured Edward G. Robinson, soon to star in the 1931 Warner Brothers' classic *Little Caesar*, the first hit movie of the sound era and the first of a trilogy—including *Public Enemy* and *Scarface*—that would establish the gangster picture as a major genre.⁶⁶ Inspired by the box office success of Hecht's silent movie *Underworld* (1927), these films would in turn draw to Hollywood such Chicago newsroom veterans as Walter Noble Burns, Fred Pasley, and John Bright.⁶⁷

Mass communication radically changed American life during the 1920s, and the increasingly shrill sensationalism of Jazz Journalism—combined with the implication that the press was *itself* caught up in corruption—raised alarms and prompted calls for reform. “What makes yellow journalism really dangerous,” wrote author Frederick L. Allen amid the rising tide of indignation, “is not so much its appetite for scandal as its continual distortion of the news in the interest of undiluted entertainment.”⁶⁸

Leaders of the news industry felt called upon to act after co-owner of the *Denver Post* Fred G. Bonfils confessed to taking hush money in what became known as the Teapot Dome Scandal. Hecht's supervisor at the *Daily News*, Charles H. Dennis, had already joined four other editors at the Blackstone Hotel in February 1922 to found the American Society of Newspaper Editors, drafting a code that demanded “truthfulness, impartiality, fair play and decency.”⁶⁹ Ultimately, such efforts to establish ethical and professional standards stamped out the hellfire of *Front Page* journalism.

Hecht and MacArthur's comic play, written during what has been called “the Golden Age of press criticism,” expressed the pair's own ambivalence about newspaperdom.⁷⁰ On the one hand, by the time they teamed up in 1926, Hecht had just struck a bonanza on the Florida real estate market by planting false news stories about pirate treasure buried on Key Largo, thus resurrecting the old Chicago hoax.⁷¹ MacArthur was writing pseudoscientific features for Morrill Goddard's Sunday supplement of the *New York Journal*, a Hearst holdover from the heyday of the Yellow Press. “We were both obsessed with our youthful years,” Hecht recalled. “We remained newspaper reporters and continued to keep our hats on before the boss, drop ashes on the floor and disdain all practical people.”⁷² On the other hand, *The Front Page* did not succumb to rose-tinted nostalgia. Biographer Doug Fetherling aptly described it as “a slick piece of work about very crude people who through constant traffic with corruption had become ninety-nine percent corrupt themselves.”⁷³

The play's action takes place in the pressroom of the Cook County Criminal Courts Building, where reporters are awaiting the execution of Earl Williams, a young radical accused of killing a black police officer. The mayor and Sheriff Hartman are hoping to capitalize on the hanging in an election year in which they are running on a tough-on-crime platform. *Herald and Examiner* managing editor Walter Burns is determined to have star reporter Hildy Johnson cover the story, but runs into a problem: Johnson has announced that he is getting married, leaving the news business for good, and taking an advertising job in New York City. He has just dropped by the pressroom to bid his farewells, when suddenly Williams gets loose. With a blockbuster story breaking right before his eyes, all of Johnson's impulses start to fire, and he finds himself facing “an emergency of spirit.”⁷⁴

The real Hilding Johnson was a reporter known for his sartorial elegance and merciless scooping, such as the time he pieced together a murder verdict by rummaging through a wastebasket full of jury ballots, and then tampered with the ballots so the competition

would get the story wrong.⁷⁵ In truth, though, the Hildy of the play was likely based on how Hecht and MacArthur preferred to remember themselves. The basic dilemma that Hildy confronts had already appeared in Hecht's novels: “There, the Hechtian man, artist or newsman, is caught between his drive for self-actualization and the demands of the world around him,” observed Jeffrey Brown Martin, “between his work and his home, between his soaring spirit and possibilities and the encroachments of age and the encroachments of a bourgeois civilization that always threatens him.”⁷⁶

The style of *The Front Page* is realism, but the heart and soul is pure Romanticism. Certainly the opening description of Hildy suggests a Faustian figure, “a vanishing type—the lusty, hoodlumesque, half-drunken caballero that was the newspaperman of our youth. Schools of journalism and the advertising business have nearly extirpated the species.” The introduction of Walter Burns as a modern, corporate Mephistopheles is even more explicit: “Beneath a dapper and very citizen-like exterior lurks a hobgoblin, perhaps the Devil himself. But if Mr. Burns is the Devil he is a very naïf one. He is a Devil with neither point nor purpose to him—an undignified Devil hatched for a bourgeois Halloween.”⁷⁷

Hildy Johnston can, moreover, be understood as the precise inverse of the gangster Tony Camonte, the protagonist of Hecht's epic *Scarface*. Both characters are egoists who rise by way of a Mephistophelean pact, but while Hildy's “wickedness” is really his goodness—his boyishness, free-spiritedness and rakish charm—the sociopathic Camonte is another story.

Friend Harry Hansen described Hecht as “a romantic reporter, one to whom the meticulous accuracy of a stenographic report was abominable and uninspired.”⁷⁸ If Romanticism can't be boiled down to a straightforward philosophy or ideology, it can at least be understood as one-half of a three-hundred-year-old dialectic that has shaped modern society. The concept of Romanticism explains much, not only about Hecht as a writer, but also about tensions still in play today between Story-Model journalism and the “scientific-factual” approach. The editors and reporters of the present-day *New York Times* are routinely derided as “media elites.”⁷⁹ And the recent British News Corp scandal, with the arrests of senior newspaper executives, the chief of Scotland Yard, and a senior adviser to the prime minister, brings to mind the roguish days of *Front Page* journalism. Back then, as now, the press is sometimes guilty of not only turning a blind eye, but of actually being a source of corruption.

Discussions about *Front Page* journalism continued for decades after the era had passed, but writing in 1970s, Sims argued the debate had gone askew by focusing on the antics:

[P]icture stealing, impersonation of police officers, side-door con artist tricks, the use of literary devices. These discussions are supposedly about the ‘ethics’ of reporters. But the important questions are about sensibilities. A reporter's outlook on the world, his sensibilities, the way he interprets and creates the world in his reports, the form his reports take—those are the revealing questions. Ethics is subsumed within responsibility.⁸⁰

NOTES

¹ Ben Hecht, *Gaily, Gaily* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), 183. Six of the nine stories in this volume were originally published in *Playboy*, after Hecht first submitted “The Fairy” in the summer of 1961. He tightened and polished some of the stories significantly for the book. See Robert Schmuhl, “History, Fantasy,

Memory: Ben Hecht and a Chicago Hanging,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (Autumn 1990): 154-55; and Doug Fetherling, *The Five Lives of Ben Hecht* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen, 1977), 172-73.

² Hugh Dalziel Duncan explained how he would expand Weber’s “style of life” theory in *Symbols and Social Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), chapters 3 and 7; and in *Symbols in Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). Duncan put his theory into practice in a study of Chicago writers and journalists, *The Rise of Chicago as a Literary Center from 1885 to 1920; A Sociological Essay in American Culture* (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1964). In turn, Norman Howard Sims used the Weber-Duncan theory of style to offer a deeper examination of the early twentieth-century urban Chicago reporter, in “The Chicago Style of Journalism” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1979). “Weber defined ‘style’ as ‘an expression, a form’ with meaning for the individual and the group,” Sims noted. The Weber, Duncan, and Sims studies take into account not just texts, but the private lives and actions of individuals and conditions of the times. Sims drew on Duncan’s 1964 book and other works cited below, in which “the self-contained, inward perspective of the journalism historian has been abandoned in favor of an approach which views journalism as an expression of wider cultural currents. . . . Hugh Duncan . . . described the conditions from 1871, the year of the great Chicago fire, to 1920, under which Chicago was transformed from a muddy Western town into the literary center of the nation.” Duncan argued for taking Weber’s “style of life,” which had focused on religion and ritual for its symbolic analysis, and applying it to “the expression found in movies, radio, television, the popular press, and all forms of modern mass communication,” which are “socio-dramas staged as good and bad principles of social order,” Sims explained. Weber had used “ideal types” to illustrate his styles, presenting Benjamin Franklin, for instance, as an example of the Protestant ethic. Sims offered the columnists Opie Read, George Ade, the members of the Whitechapel Club and, finally, Ben Hecht “to show the transformation of the style of the modern urban reporter, and we can see in their lives some aspects of the reporter’s ethos at the time.” See Sims, “The Chicago Style of Journalism,” 1-25.

³ Hailed as the greatest comedy ever written for the American stage. See George W. Hilton’s introduction to Ben Hecht, *The Front Page: From Theater to Reality*, ed. George W. Hilton (Hanover, N.H.: Smith & Kraus, 2002), 1; and Robert Schmuhl, “The Front Page Turns 75,” Poynter.org, <http://www.poynter.org/uncategorized/14410/the-front-page-turns-75/>. See also Walter Kerr, “After 41 Years, It’s Still Page One,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1969.

⁴ The phrase “born perversely,” attributed to Hecht, comes from Harry Hansen, *Midwest Portraits: A Book of Memories and Friendships* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923), 320. Hansen quotes it from his copy of a paragraph that Hecht wrote about himself, originally requested by another critic or editor.

⁵ Norman Howard Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 24, 261-66; and Bruce J. Evensen, “Journalism’s Struggle over Ethics and Professionalism during America’s Jazz Age,” *Journalism History* 16, no. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1989): 54-63.

⁶ Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, *The Front Page* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1928), 28. Near the end of Act II editor Walter Burns barks over the phone: “Duffy! Send down word to Butch McGuirk I want ten huskies from the circulation department to lam right over here.”

⁷ For the earliest and most detailed accounts, see Ferdinand Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst: A Social Biography*, (New York: The Modern Library, 1936), 151-64, 391; Elizabeth Dewey Johns, *Chicago’s Papers and the News* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1942), 2-54; and Wayne Andrews, “Quite a Croquet Game” and “Cold-Blooded Murderers,” in *Battle for Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, 1946), 232-41, 262, 285-86. See also W.A. Swanberg, “The .38 Caliber Circulation Drive” in *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 270-71, 274; and Stephen Longstreet, *Chicago, 1860-1919* (New York: McKay, 1973) 240, 454-56. For accounts of the newspaper war in memoirs, see Burton Rascoe, *Before I Forget* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1937), 268-76; George Murray, *The Madhouse on Madison Street* (Chicago: Follett Pub. Co., 1965) 41-54; and Vincent Starrett, *Born in a Bookshop: Chapters from the Chicago Renaissance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965) 78. Describing the growth of protection rackets after the end of the circulation war, Rascoe explained in detail how “out of the Hearst publishers hiring the Annenbergs and their gunmen and sluggers to cripple competition in the newspaper sales, grew the worst reign of lawlessness in Chicago that any city has ever known” (p. 271). For a subsequent look back from a Chicago paper, see Steve Mills, “Vending Violence in a ‘.38-Caliber Circulation Drive,’” *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 1997. *Tribune* editor James Keeley provided a detailed description of the circulation war to a Senate committee at

hearings in Chicago on July 26, 1911. See “Election of William Lorimer, Senator from Illinois, hearings 9 vols,” Senate document no. 484, Committee on Privileges and Elections, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., April 12, 1912, S2054-6, 2072-4.

⁸ Andrews, *Battle for Chicago*, 232. The casualty figure comes from the 1921 testimony of *Chicago Tribune* publisher Robert Rutherford “The Colonel” McCormick, when his paper was sued by the *Journal of Commerce* for obstructing newsstand sales. Max Annenberg also gave vivid testimony. See *Journal of Commerce Publishing Company vs. The Tribune Company et al.*, *Transcript of Record*, U.S. Court of Appeals, Seventh District, October term, 1921, no. 3116, 75, 557, 892-93, 728-29, 730, 703. As noted, the *Daily Socialist* and *Daily World* offer the only immediate accounts of the violence. None of their articles include a grand total of the deaths. John Cooney has pointed out that McCormick’s figure refers to newboys: There is no estimate for the number of street soldiers killed. See John Cooney, *The Annenbergs* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 37. After the scandal that erupted over the murder of *Tribune* reporter Jake Lingle, McCormick denied that his paper had been involved in the circulation war. See Andrews, *Battle for Chicago*, 68, 285, n. 159.

⁹ Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 154.

¹⁰ John Dewey, quoted in Matthew C. Ehrlich’s chapter on *The Front Page in Journalism in the Movies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 24.

¹¹ Ehrlich, *Journalism in the Movies*, 22; and Wayne Klatt, *Chicago Journalism: A History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co, 2009), 77. With the launch of Hearst’s *Chicago Morning American* on May 2, 1902, there were ten dailies in town. When the full-blown war erupted in 1910, there were eight papers. By the time it was over, there were six.

¹² There is compelling evidence that as a boy, Hecht was very nearly caught in that catastrophic fire. His brother Peter Hecht wrote to biographer William MacAdams that their mother had taken her two boys to see the performance. However, she refused to pay the full price for three tickets, since she planned to keep Peter on her lap, and instead, they went to the McVickers Theater to see *Busy Izzy*. After their father arrived at the Iroquois to collect them, he spent a frantic afternoon and evening searching for them among the burned corpses. Surviving documents offer some support for Peter Hecht’s story: Matinee performances of *Busy Izzy* were indeed appearing in Chicago theaters at the time; theater programs for them can be found in the Chicago Public Library. See Peter Hecht, letter to Stephen Fuller (aka William MacAdams), pp. 7-8 of an undated eight-page letter, folder 141, MacAdams Collection, Ben Hecht Papers at the Newberry Library. For *Busy Izzy* theater programs from the period, see the digital Chicago Theater Collection-Historic Programs at the Chicago Public Library, <http://digital.chipublib.org/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=%2FCPB01&CISOSTART=61,1281&CISOSORT=title%7Cr>.

¹³ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 72-74, 83.

¹⁴ Doug Fetherling, *The Five Lives of Ben Hecht* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen, 1977) 21.

¹⁵ Ben Hecht, *A Child of the Century* (New York: Primus, 1985), 156. Originally published in 1954.

¹⁶ Larzer Ziff, *The American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation* (New York: Viking Press, 1968), 152.

¹⁷ Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 24, 29-33, 41. Michael Schudson has argued that two distinct models of journalism had emerged by the early twentieth century. Joseph Pulitzer’s *World* and William Randolph Hearst’s *Journal* exemplified “the Story Model,” which put a premium on storytelling and entertainment, and traded in sensationalism. By contrast, the *New York Times* exemplified “the Information Model,” which stressed facts and objectivity, and sought respectability and credibility. By the time Hecht and fellow Chicago press veteran Charlie MacArthur were writing *The Front Page*, the Information Model was setting the standard, and the play would celebrate a wicked, disreputable Chicago style thereafter referred to as “Front Page journalism.” See Michael Schudson, “Stories and Information: Two Journalisms in the 1890s,” in *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 88-120.

¹⁸ Ehrlich, *Journalism in the Movies*, 5-9, 13.

¹⁹ See Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 1965 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 28, 33; Jacques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern*, 2d rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 1; and Nicholas Roe, ed., *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 8. In lectures first broadcast over the radio during the summer of 1965, Isaiah Berlin boldly asserted: “The importance of Romanticism

is that it is the largest recent movement to transform the lives and the thought of the Western world. It seems to me to be the greatest single shift in the consciousness of the West that has occurred, and all the other shifts which have occurred in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries appear to me in comparison less important." In 1943 and again in 1961, the cultural historian Jacques Barzun argued: "Romanticism is supposed to have died over a century ago. The French date its demise with false precision from the failure of Victor Hugo's last produced play in 1843. . . . And yet if one opens other books, equally reputable, and if one looks at the periodical press devoted to politics and letters, one finds that Romanticism is considered still a living threat. It is held plausible to say that the 'romantic view of life' is the enemy of reason, science and democracy." In 2005, Nicholas Roe affirmed: "Romantic influences extended far into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. . . . Hooking Romanticism on to key works and dates has not established any historical precision. . . . The nature of Romanticism has proved altogether diverse, protean, amorphous—and fruitfully so."

²⁰ Peter J. Kitson, "Beyond the Enlightenment: The Philosophical, Scientific and Religious Inheritance," in Duncan Wu, ed., *A Companion to Romanticism*, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 1 (Oxford, U.K. ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 35.

²¹ The challenges of the Industrial Revolution brought a new "neoliberal" view of the social responsibility of journalism. See John C. Nerone, ed., *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 51-52.

²² Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 88-120.

²³ Hecht, *Gaily Gaily*, 186.

²⁴ Lilian R. Furst, *Romanticism in Perspective; a Comparative Study of Aspects of the Romantic Movements in England, France, and Germany* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), 15; George L. McMichael, "Age of Romanticism" in *Anthology of American Literature*, 7th ed (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000), 604; and Isaiah Berlin, "In Search of a Definition" in *Roots of Romanticism*, 16-17. See also Chris Baldick and Oxford University Press, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 3rd ed, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://proxy.mul.missouri.edu:3443/views/ENTRY.html?entry=t56.e131&srn=1&ssid=228167676#FIRSTHIT>; J.A. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd ed. (London: Penguin, 1992); and *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).

²⁵ David Paul Nord, "Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History . . . and Our History," *Journalism Quarterly*, 67, no. 4 (1990): 645-48; and Nord, "James Carey and Journalism History: A Remembrance," *Journalism History*, 32, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 124. See also Nord, "A Plea for Journalism History," *Journalism History* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 8-15.

²⁶ Hecht and MacArthur, *The Front Page*, 40-41.

²⁷ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 116; and Eddie Doherty, *Gall and Honey: The Story of a Newspaperman* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1941), 44-46.

²⁸ "Most of my material came by word of mouth, and was checked for dates and details against old files and various newspapers," explained George Murray in his brief acknowledgments. "It would be impossible to name all the storytellers, but Harry Romanoff, John Dienhart, and Edward (Dynamite) Sokol cannot be overlooked." Murray's *Madhouse* is typical of these memoirs: In *Dateline Chicago*, William T. Moore introduced an anecdote by debating with himself about whom he should credit as the original storyteller, Walter Howey or his protégé, Frank Carson. See Murray, *Madhouse*, vi; and William T. Moore, *Dateline Chicago: A Veteran Newsman Recalls Its Heyday*, (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1973) 116.

²⁹ William MacAdams, *Ben Hecht: The Man Behind the Legend* (New York: Scribner, 1988), 14.

³⁰ "Charles Samuels, 79; Journalist, Biographer," *New York Times*, May 8, 1982, accessed December 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/1982/05/08/obituaries/charles-samuels-79-journalist-biographer.html>. *Picture Snatcher* was a 1933 James Cagney film adapted from a story by Danny Aherne (sometimes spelled Ahearn), a pulp writer and gangster who ran with Meyer Lansky and Bugsy Siegel. See "Picture Snatcher," North Carolina Museum of Art, http://www.moviediva.com/website/MD_root/reviewpages/MDPictureSnatcher.htm; and Jay Robert Nash, *The Great Pictorial History of World Crime* (Wilmette, Ill.: History Inc., 2004), 571, 572.

³¹ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 1. Hecht's flair for self-invention is evident at least as early as 1922, when he did the publicity for his first book, *Erik Dorn*. An interview with the *New York Morning Telegraph* seems to corroborate his accounts in *Child of the Century* of early careers as a violinist, trapeze artist and newspaper picture thief,

except that he told the *Telegraph* that he had played the violin while standing on his head, shipped himself back by freight from his circus adventures, and later talked his way out of being shot at sunrise while a foreign correspondent in Berlin. See Roy L. McCardell, "Ben Hecht—Literary Huck Finn," *Morning Telegraph*, April 30, 1922.

³² Starrett, *Born in a Bookshop*, 75, 79-80; and Theodore Dreiser, *Newspaper Days*, 7th ed. (New York: H. Liveright, 1931), 153-54. Starrett also started as a picture chaser for *Inter-Ocean* in 1906. One of the early newspaper films was *Picture Snatcher*, starring James Cagney. See *Picture Snatcher*, directed by Lloyd Bacon (1933, Burbank, Calif.: Warner Home Video, 2008), DVD.

³³ Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 34-39.

³⁴ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 4; and Starrett, *Born in a Bookshop*, 73.

³⁵ Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 69.

³⁶ Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 260.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 216-17, 219; Alfred Lawrence Lorenz, "The Whitechapel Club: Defining Chicago's Newspapermen in the 1890s," *American Journalism* 15, no. 1 (1998): 83-102; and Richard Digby-Junger, "The Chicago Press Club: The Scoop Behind the Front Page," *Chicago History* 27, no. 3 (Winter 1998-99): 42-53.

³⁸ Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 220-21; and Lorenz, "The Whitechapel Club," 85-86. There are some minor discrepancies between these accounts: According to Sims, the club was first formed in 1887, not in the summer of 1889. Lorenz described a pane of stained glass at the transom with a skull and crossed bones and the legend: "I, too, have lived in Arcady." Sims related that in later years, there was a ceremonial goblet in the upstairs bar—the skull of a well-known prostitute who had worked the docks, engraved with the inscription, "I, too was born in Arcadia." Lorenz drew from "Whitechapel Nights," a thirty-six-part series by Hecht's former supervisor at the *Daily News*, Charles H. Dennis, who was not a member himself, but was city editor at the *Morning News* when the club started.

³⁹ Lorenz, "The Whitechapel Club," 87, 93; and Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 223.

⁴⁰ Sims, *The Chicago Style of Journalism*, 217, 242-46; and Ziff, *The American 1890s*, 165.

⁴¹ Ziff, *The American 1890s*, 164-65.

⁴² Martin Mayer, *Making News*, (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1987), 46; and A.A. Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page: The Story of the City News Bureau of Chicago* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1983), xiii.

⁴³ Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page*, 27-28, 51-52, 55-61, 69-71, 74, 89, 90. *Tribune* writer Bill Granger vividly recalled that decades later, when he was a copy boy at the *Daily News*, violent summer thunderstorms would flood the tube system with river water that would then gush into the city room, creating a soggy, chaotic mess. The City News Bureau finally stopped using the tubes in 1961. See Bill Granger, "Sitting on a Big Story at the Daily News," *Chicago Tribune*, April 16, 1992, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1992-04-16/features/9202030927_1_chicago-tunnel-tube-chicago-river.

⁴⁴ Dreiser, *Newspaper Days*, 148, 152-53.

⁴⁵ Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page*, 39, 119-20; Murray, *Madhouse*, 189; and Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 125. For background on the Ruth Randall story, see Ben Hecht, *The Front Page: From Theater to Reality*, n. 170, 153-55.

⁴⁶ Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page*, 137; and Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 68, 131-32.

⁴⁷ Starrett, *Born in a Bookshop*, 101.

⁴⁸ David T.Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 1, 116; and Fred Fedler, *Reporting for the Media*, 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 66.

⁴⁹ John J. McPhaul, *Deadlines & Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 19; Murray, *Madhouse*, 105; Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page*, 133-34; and Hecht, *From Theater to Reality*, 43 and n 9, 58-59, n 169, 152-53.

⁵⁰ Dreiser, *Newspaper Days*, 77-78; May Mann, "Going Hollywood," *The Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner*, Dec. 5, 1940; "Muscle Journalist," (obituary) *Time*, March 31, 1941, 40; Murray, *Madhouse*, 194-201; and Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 119. According to Mann's "Going Hollywood" column, Carson "kidnapped people, tapped wires . . . burglarized houses for evidence armed with phony warrants, strong-armed his way through impassable barriers by means of fake police badges, and generally practiced the type of headline-smashing journalism alongside of which Hecht and MacArthur's 'Front Page' seems like a vehicle for Donald Duck." True or not, Klatt, Murray, and others have relayed this information

as history. Theodore Dreiser's first reporting job was with the *Globe*, owned by Michael Cassius McDonald, who established a gambling syndicate and kept the Democratic Party machine well oiled with graft. For the sake of a good story, reporters Finley Peter Dunne and George Weber got themselves sworn in as deputy sheriffs to raid McDonald's gambling joints. Since the *Globe* existed to maintain and protect McDonald's position, Dreiser and other reporters were deployed to retaliate against the assets of the rival Republicans. Dreiser's target was the mock auction shops downtown, which operated with police collusion.

⁵¹ "Hearst's Howey," *Time*, June 17, 1935, 36; and Doherty, *Gall and Honey*, 65. Another Howey line was, "When a Hearst paper gets sick, they call me in, and I make it sicker."

⁵² Ben Hecht, *Charlie: The Improbable Life and Times of Charles MacArthur*, (New York: Harper, 1957) 49-50; and Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 112. Hecht was supposed to have said you could always tell which eye was glass because it was the warmer one. See Pauline Kael, *The Citizen Kane Book* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), 19. The 1935 article in *Time* cited above describes a hand-held device with an electric eye on one side and a speaker on the other side. Once a photo was scanned by the eye, the device could be screwed on to a telephone receiver to transmit electronic signals for a printout. In other words, Howey invented the fax machine.

⁵³ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 88; and "Hearst's Howey," *Time*.

⁵⁴ "Walter C. Howey, Boston Editor, 72," *New York Times*, March 22, 1954. Hecht also described Howey's blackmail in Hecht, *Charlie*, 50.

⁵⁵ Murray, *Madhouse*, 178.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁷ Chris Ogden, *Legacy: A Biography of Moses and Walter Annenberg*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1999), 44-45; Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 140; and Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 79. According to McPhaul, "Figuratively, a *Journal* man would take a trolley to a crime scene and two Hearst men would pass him en route in a taxi." See McPhaul, *Deadlines & Monkeyshines*, 113.

⁵⁸ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 77, 83; and Joyce Milton, *The Yellow Kids: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 43. An article on May 6, 1912, in the *Daily Socialist* noted Max Annenberg's "flaming red sweater" and "soft cap" pulled low over his brow. See Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 158-59.

⁵⁹ Andrews, *Battle for Chicago*, 232-41; Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 149-62; Murray, *Madhouse*, 41-54; and Ogden, *Legacy*, 41-56.

⁶⁰ Rose Keefe, *Guns and Roses: The Untold Story of Dean O'Banion, Chicago's Big Shot before Al Capone* (Cumberland House Publishing, 2003), 77.

⁶¹ Wayne, *Battle for Chicago*, 234, 238-39; Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 153-54; Ogden, *Legacy*, 49; and Cooney, *The Annenbergs*, 36. Max Annenberg testified that at the height of the circulation wars, the papers combined had about sixty thugs on their payrolls. Both Enright and Stevens were referred to in the press as "dean of Chicago gunmen." See "Moss Enright Slain in Labor War, Tim Murphy Held for Quiz," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1920; "Chicago Gangster Defies Tradition, Dies of Pneumonia," *Decatur Evening Herald*, Feb. 16, 1931, and Keefe, *Guns and Roses*, 118. In *Child of the Century*, Hecht recounted being confronted in the middle of the night by two of Al Capone's hoods about his script for *Scarface*. Hecht assured them, "I don't even know Al," and then warmed them up by telling them the script was about some of the gangsters he knew from years earlier. "I also knew Mossy Enright and Pete Gentleman," he said. See Hecht, *Child*, 486-87. "Big Tim" Murphy became successful as a bookmaker with then-partner Mont Tennes before establishing one of the city's most powerful Irish American gangs after 1910. After likely killing Enright in 1920 he became one of the leading Irish gangleaders during the Capone era, but was shot and killed on June 26, 1928, perhaps by associates of Enright's.

⁶² Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 162-63. Lundberg related that O'Banion worked as "chief circulation agent" from 1917 to 1922, whereas Keefe, in *Guns and Roses*, has him working as circulation agent from 1910 to 1920. Both Hecht and MacArthur considered O'Banion a friend, and told many fond tales about him. Hecht continued to find him a favorite subject throughout his life. Starting in 1959 and up until weeks before Hecht died, he was writing a Runyonesque musical with O'Banion as the hero, *Chicago Days*. O'Banion's friends "Hymie" Weiss and George "Bugs" Moran succeeded him as leaders of the North Side Gang, which survived as the leading rival to Capone during Prohibition. Weiss, whose real name was Henry Earl J. Wojciechowski, fell to Capone's bullets in 1926. Moran was then targeted in the St. Valentine's Day Massacre, which he narrowly eluded. Another friend of O'Banion's was the Jewish gangster Nails Morton. For examples of anecdotes about

O'Banion, see Hecht, *Charlie*, 12-13, 20, 76. *Herald and Examiner* reporter Edward Dean Sullivan related a tale that would become legend of the motorcycle chaperone and gallant, lifesaving protection that "circulation slugger" O'Banion provided for coverage of a July 1919 race riot. See Edward Dean Sullivan, *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971) 1-7.

⁶³ Robert J. Casey, *Bob Casey's Grand Slam* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), 22; and Hecht, *Child*, 144.

⁶⁴ Lesy, *Murder City*, 303-4.

⁶⁵ Klatt, *Chicago Journalism*, 4, 125.

⁶⁶ Eugene Rosow, *Born to Lose: The Gangster Film in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 124.

⁶⁷ Carlos Clarens, *Crime Movies: From Griffith to The Godfather and Beyond*, (New York: Norton, 1980), 51-53. See also J.E. Smyth, "Revisioning Modern American History in the Age of *Scarface*," 531, 551; and David E. Ruth, *Inventing the Public Enemy: The Gangster in American Culture, 1918-1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 118-43. Walter Noble Burns worked for the *Tribune*. Bright and Pasley had been reporters for the *Chicago Daily News*.

⁶⁸ Frederick L. Allen, "Newspapers and the Truth," *Atlantic Monthly* January 1922, 44-54, quoted in Bruce J. Evensen, "Journalism's Struggle over Ethics and Professionalism," 54.

⁶⁹ Evensen, "Journalism's Struggle over Ethics and Professionalism," 54-63.

⁷⁰ Robert W. McChesney and Ben Scott, "The Golden Age of Press Criticism," introduction to Upton Sinclair, *The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism* (University of Illinois Press, 2002).

⁷¹ Hecht, *Child*, 446-65. Journalist Alva Johnston essentially confirmed Hecht's account in one of a series of articles about south Florida, and in his biography of architect Addison Mizner, that he published before *A Child of the Century* had appeared. Referring to Hecht's pamphlets, Johnston wrote, "It is impossible even now to read his prose without feeling an urge to rush South and invest a couple of hundred thousand dollars in the tidal swamp that was once the town's Millionaire's Row." See Alva Johnston, *The Legendary Mizners*, (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986; first published 1953), 297; and Alva Johnson, "The Palm Beach Architect," *The New Yorker*, Dec. 13, 1952, 43-44.

⁷² Hecht, *Charlie*, 82-84; and Hecht, *Child of the Century*, 391.

⁷³ Fetherling, *Five Lives*, 81.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁷⁵ Hilton's exhaustively researched *From Theater to Reality* explained the connections between the actual characters and events and those represented in the play. See Dornfeld, *Behind the Front Page*, 110-11.

⁷⁶ Jeffrey Brown Martin, *Ben Hecht: Hollywood Screenwriter* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985), 47.

⁷⁷ Hecht and MacArthur, *The Front Page*, 31, 129. At least two film scholars have treated *The Front Page* as a coy retelling of *Faust*. In *Fast-Talking Dames*, Maria DiBattista described Cary Grant as "the dapper Mephistopheles" in the 1940 adaptation, *His Girl Friday*, explaining that director Howard Hawks drew out Grant's dark side hidden beneath his charm. Neil Sinyard wrote that Billy Wilder's 1974 version of *The Front Page* "brings the disquieting elements of the Johnson/Burns relationship right out into the open. Quite simply, Johnson's relationship with the demonic Burns (the name is significant) is seen as a Faustian struggle for a man's soul. Johnson must choose between the conciliating tenderness of his fiancée, or the malign promptings of his editor, which will lead to a dehumanising ruthlessness. . . . Hildy and his girl do finally escape, but Burns' continuing hold over Hildy ('The son of a bitch stole my watch!') is, in this reading, really chilling." See Maria DiBattista, *Fast-talking Dames* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 276, 296; and Neil Sinyard, *Filming Literature: The Art of Screen Adaptation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 166.

⁷⁸ Harry Hansen, "Ben Hecht, Pagliacci of the Fire Escapes" in *Midwest Portraits: A Book of Memories and Friendships* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1923), 327.

⁷⁹ See for example Fox News Contributor Bernie Goldberg's comments on *The O'Reilly Factor*, "New York Times Editor Slams Fox News Viewers as 'Most Cynical People on Planet Earth,'" *The O'Reilly Factor* online video and transcript, March 7, 2011. Accessed December 3, 2014, <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2011/03/07/new-york-times-editor-slams-fox-news-viewers-most-cynical-people-planet-earth/>.

⁸⁰ Sims, *Chicago Style of Journalism*, 264-65.