

not because additional buyers mean additional purchase-money, but because they mean "circulation," and circulation attracts advertisers. The newspaper buyer does not quite pay his way; he is interesting to the owner, not as a customer, but as bait. The owner's eye really is upon the advertiser, and his interest in the reader is secondary. The reader's defection would alarm him, not because the subscription is important, but only to the extent to which it diminishes his standing with that other, that ultimate customer. At best this is a singular relation. It lessens the importance of the individual newspaper-buyer to the newspaper owner. It gives the owner a double instead of a single object. I confess that I personally dislike the feeling that when I buy a paper I am getting it below cost. Perhaps I am wrong, but I hazard the suggestion that this double set of customers and objects is at the bottom of the discontent which the public undoubtedly feels with its newspapers. It is a condition which has come about naturally, and I put forward no suggestions as to its remedy.

So much for the grievances of the public as against the newspaper. Has the public no responsibility?

Speaking generally, a community has the newspapers it deserves. Most of the objectionable features of newspapers are due to three causes: People desire them; newspapermen think that people desire them; the people who dislike them are quiescent. An example is the practice of publishing pictures in which vulgarity of subject and drawing supply the place of wit and humour. Undoubtedly some people really do like these deplorable objects. It may be suspected that fewer people like them than the newspaper owners think. But the numerous people who dislike them submit in silence. Why do they not protest? If twenty people were to notify an editor that they thoroughly detest a particular series, its attraction to him would be diminished. The respectable citizen in this matter as in politics fails to do his duty.

A fault for which the public is chiefly responsible is violence and unfairness in politics. Nearly all journals of any