

Here Lies Hearst

"It is no longer news that Hearst is a liar," remarked Earl Browder recently; this article shows just how the Lord of San Simeon has systematized his lying

By Groff Conklin

THERE is no man alive who can possibly organize a complete rationalization of the opinions of William Randolph Hearst. Like a child of five, or a gorilla, or a dictator, the Wizard of Wyntoon is socially irresponsible, answerable to nothing save his "conscience," the laws of libel, and the circulation figures of his twenty-six newspapers.

Yet there must be some method, some logic, at least in the presentation of his "opinions," if not in their selection. There must be, in other words, a kind of technique. It is the purpose of this article to attempt a specific analysis of these technical aspects of Hearst's propaganda: how much propaganda is there in his papers? What makes it effective? How is

it done? What types of propaganda does he use most?

There are three primary, all-important weapons upon which the material techniques of propaganda are based. They are: *distortion*, *fabrication*, and *suppression*. Ever since the first attempt in history to control opinion, these have been the techniques by which vicious individuals who wish to rule people according to their own narrow ends have presented their particular viewpoints.

We find all Hearst news organs, from Boston to San Francisco and from Chicago to Atlanta, laden with vilification, lies, and distortion of the news, with the sole end in view of creating an insensate mass fear of Commu-

nism which will, at the same time (Hearst hopes), defeat "the communistic New Deal." The extent of this propaganda load varies from town to town, depending on the local situation and on the personality of the individual editors. In all cases, however, it is enormously heavy, and it is perhaps heaviest in the city of Chicago.

For reasons which need not be gone into here, Hearst's evening papers usually carry a much smaller load of propaganda than those which appear in the morning. The evening papers devote much more space to sex sensationalism, crime, and the like. Therefore, the Chicago *Herald & Examiner*, a morning paper with approximately 380,000 circulation, was chosen for this analysis. A consecutive series of fifty issues of the paper produced by Hearst and his Chicago editor, Victor Watson, was examined in order to discover exactly what its propaganda load was. The following quantitative statistics of propaganda stories in Hearst's Chicago *Herald & Examiner* for a fifty-day period were compiled:

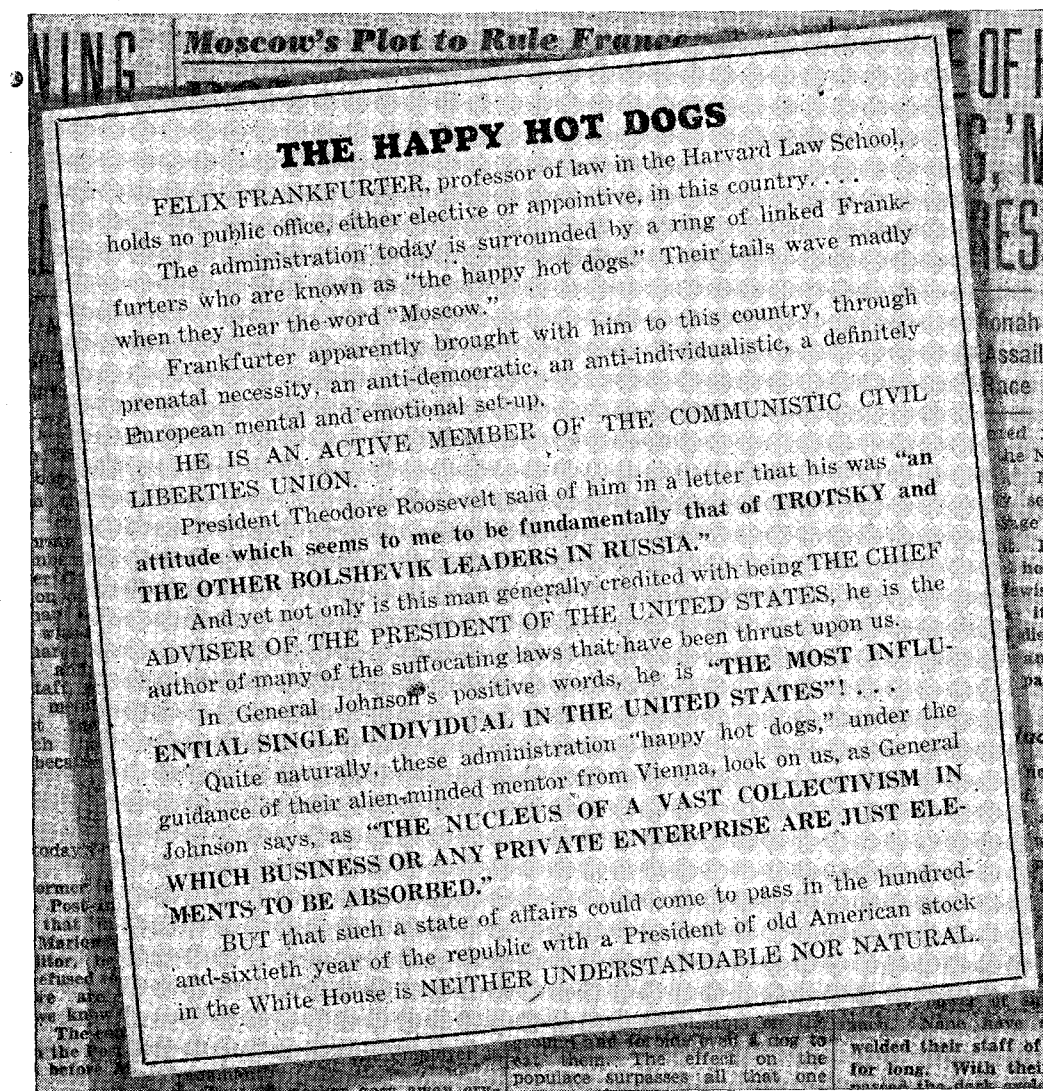
Anti-New Deal (including all attacks on socialism in government, which in great numbers were anti-Communist at the same time)....	667
Anti-Communist	168
Pro-Fascist (including praise of Mussolini and attacks on the Ethiopians, etc.).....	121
Chauvinist (including all anti-British, pro-high-tariff, preparedness, anti-internationalism, and American-flag propaganda which did not fit into the above categories).....	116

Total of Fascist-tendency propaganda stories in fifty issues.....	1,072
Average per issue.....	22

In these figures, neither unintentional propaganda (that which tends to integrate the reader's mind towards acceptance of the status quo, without any definite conscious propaganda intent or technique) nor that which was not directly anti-social in intent, such as the flagrant propaganda for Warner Brothers' pictures and stars, is included. The grand total represents only the amount of such material as actually bore the marks of Hearst's direct perversion of the facts or the truth for anti-social fascist ends.

It is by practice of certain well-defined techniques that the newspaper propagandist attains his effects, and these techniques, as analyzed here, have been charted wholly from the workbooks of the practising journalist. They are of a sort that any newspaper reader can discover for himself if he takes the trouble.

The five basic methods whereby the news-



One of the more incredible but by no means rare examples of extreme distortion and fabrication produced by the Hearst lie factories. This example from the Chicago *Herald & Examiner* illustrates the Hearst typographic technique.



Zack

paper propagandist puts across his message are as follows: the use of (1) language, (2) position, (3) typography, (4) repetition, and (5) omission. An estimate of the effect of Hearst as a propagandist involves a thorough evaluation of the practice in his papers of all these five techniques.

1. LANGUAGE. The most important weapon in Hearst's propaganda armory is language. On it depends a large part of the success of his work; and the expert practice of the other techniques is worthless if language is not handled adroitly.

As Hearst and his men practice the art of language, the most effective tool is their vocabulary of color words. A color word is one toward the meaning of which the average reader is already conditioned to act in the way the propagandist wishes. Because of the reader's constant and habitual association of these words with other objects of hatred or disapprobation, they conduce to an *unreasoned* acceptance of the propagandist's message. Such a vocabulary of preconditioned meanings brings about automatic responses on the part of the reader, and keeps him from thinking.

A list of some of the color words and phrases most used in Hearst's propaganda follows. Some are used, it will be noted, to bring about favorable responses, though by far the

greater number are used as unfavorable integrators.

Red	maimed veterans	left-wing
Communist	preparedness	subversive
socialist	American flag	internationalistic
Raw Deal	propaganda	flagrant
New Deal	bomb	insidious
Russian	outrage	Jeffersonian
Mussolini	Roosevelt	constitutional
Il Duce	Tugwell	colossal
dictator	Brain Trust	European
	cure-all	economical
	little fellow	prodigal
	citizen	to jam through
	League of Nations	to perpetrate
	czar	to reveal
alien	atheist	to allege
sedition	nudist	to plot
taxpayers	Moscow	to incite
labor	Stalin	to unite against
strikes	Leninism	to combat
labor strife	foreign	to assail
veterans	radical	to smash
	social	to spread

The combining of words into epithets is another facet of the use of color words. Examples of this are Brisbane's tag for Ethiopians, "hippopotamus-eating barbarians"; the editor's label for the Brain-Trust's young men, "Frankfurter's Happy Hot Dogs"; and the general anti-New Deal slogan, "soak the rich." In addition, the habitual use of the compound "so-called" to give a false color to the factual noun or phrase following is a distinguishing

feature of the Hearst writer's vocabulary.

Distortion and simplification, two other sub-techniques in the use of language, can best be illustrated by the use of examples. The most effective handling of these is to be found in news stories rather than in straight editorials. In the majority of Hearst's editorial comment there is less distortion and simplification than there is good old-fashioned invective and abuse.

Nevertheless, the most skillful of Hearst's men at the misuse of language is an editorial writer, Arthur Brisbane. In the case of the Ethiopian situation, which at the time of the survey was occupying the front pages of all the newspapers, Brisbane was crystal clear—as clear as he is now in his hostile attitude toward the Spanish government. It was a hard task to seduce the American people into a defeatist view of Mussolini's murder parade into Ethiopia, and so, instead of devoting most of his space to praising Mussolini and fascism generally, Brisbane very cunningly took the course of trying to brutalize the Ethiopians in American eyes; tried to show that Italy's invasion was a new crusade to bring the illimitable benefits of civilization to a backward race. I put on the record a few exhibits, all quotes from the *Herald & Examiner*:

It is inconceivable that European countries should risk a war in Europe to come for the sake of maintaining the right of Ethiopia to continue the business of selling slaves and mutilating children.

The Emperor's proclamation adds that any not reporting for duty immediately will be hanged. He himself has not gone to the front yet, but may go at any time. [This refers to Haile Selassie, of course.]

Ethiopian chiefs get rich—for Ethiopia—selling their subjects into slavery, and the British tell of fathers and mothers selling their children for "forty to sixty dollars" each. The League of Nations and our Washington dodos will not let Mussolini interfere with that situation.

The subtleties of these quotations show that the doddering old platitudinist still has a dreadful sort of brilliance which he can pull out of a drawer of his mind when he needs to, and use in a way that would make Herr Goebels shudder with envy.

The best straight news selections illustrating distortion usually come under an International News Service by-line; it is this service that is devoted to the task of daubing colors on the political events of the day. The piece that follows appeared on page one of the *Herald & Examiner*, under a seven-column headline:

UTILITIES HOLDING ACT RULED ILLEGAL

The Rayburn-Wheeler "death-sentence" public utilities act was declared unconstitutional today in a smashing opinion by Federal District Judge William C. Coleman.

The decision temporarily outlaws the cornerstone of the administration's power policies, which was jammed through the last Congress at the personal insistence of President Roosevelt.

Note the use of the words "smashing," "declared unconstitutional," "outlaws," "cornerstone," "jammed," "personal insistence," and especially "illegal" instead of "unconstitutional" in the headline.

Masterful a job of tinting as that is, the

best use of flaming color words, distortion, and over-simplification can be found in the incredible and libelous anti-Communist stories which constantly appear in Hearst's papers. The following piece of blatant propaganda appeared at the top of page one of the *Herald & Examiner* one Monday under the headline: "U. S. Funds Teach Socialism."

Commonwealth College, Arkansas, so-called "Communist university," to which the Roosevelt administration contributed four scholarships last year, teaches social revolution and "left-wing" labor doctrines, it was revealed today.

It is the most amazing school of its kind in the country, according to evidence before the Arkansas joint legislative investigating committee, just made public.

It has a Socialist local and a Communist faction. It has teachers who are atheists and students who go in for nudist bathing and practice "free love," the testimony shows.

Two of its former presidents, Dr. W. E. Zeuch and Dr. Lucien Koch, were given high federal jobs in Washington by the administration, and thus joined the Roosevelt "brain trust."

No formal qualifications are required of students, except that they must have "alert interest in social problems confronting the countries of the world." It appears from the testimony that even those expelled from other colleges for red activities would not find it difficult to enroll. . . .

They [the students] addressed various farm and labor meetings, inciting farm tenants and workers to strike, it was testified.

In this piece the language technique of Hearst's unhappy robots is exhibited at its worst best. Chance never directed the choice of that collection of words; the propagandist was scientifically aware of the effect of his vocabulary, and used it accordingly.

One of the insidious ways by which Hearst gets propaganda into his "news" is to use quotations from interviews and the like, usually with anti-Communist, anti-New Deal individuals. The reporter almost always preserves his fiction of impartiality by making his own words quite colorless; but the selections he uses from his subject's remarks are chosen with great calculation to give the reader the opinions that Hearst wants them to have. Take this interview with Silas Strawn by Earl Reeves, which appeared in the *Herald & Examiner* one Sunday:

"We have been hearing much argument along two major lines of thinking, both fallacious. These are: "FIRST—that increased taxation is a basis for prosperity, that we can tax and spend ourselves rich again.

"SECOND—that there is not enough work to be done, and therefore we must have the thirty-hour week.

"Regarding the first, continuous increases in the burden of taxation today constitute the biggest single obstacle in the way of recovery.

"As for the second, scores of billions of dollars' worth of work waits to be done, when courage can be released by greater sanity in government and a radical reduction in tax squandering.

"Moreover, a thirty-hour week at forty-hour wages—which is the proposal—would add at least one-third to labor costs on all products, and that would increase prices, restrict the market for commodities, and further retard recovery."

This quote, complete with its incredible economics and its ridiculous assumptions, is, incidentally, an excellent example of the



Ben Yomen
"There's a pacifist on our faculty, Miss Throgbottom. I'm sure we could make room for you instead."

subtlety of the language-techniques in Hearst's propaganda, namely, simplification. The authoritarian, arrogant way in which the statements are made obviously influences the credulous reader to believe; and the simplified presentation makes it simple for him to understand.

2. POSITION. The two physical elements of the presentation of propaganda which are subsidiary to but which reinforce the language principle are position and typography.

The effect of a piece of propaganda will in the first place depend on its position in the paper. The editorial page is most used: so much so that perhaps 65 percent of its content is uniformly propaganda. An actual quantitative breakdown of the comparative distribution of colored writing reveals that the propaganda in the average Hearst paper is one third in the editorial columns (all appearing on one page) and two thirds in the news columns (scattered throughout the balance of the paper's thirty-odd pages).

Because of this concentration on the editorial page, this page is likely to be relatively unimportant as a vehicle of propaganda. It is too thick. It will not convince any but those already convinced. Those who read Hearst for entertainment and for practical information will skip it. The editorial page fractures one of the primary rules of propaganda: it is not interesting.

The most valuable page is, of course, page one. Other valuable spots are the "page facing editorial," which Bernard Smith so burningly described in the *New Republic* some months ago, and the financial pages. Less used, but often carrying some especially vicious examples (such as the various series of filthy fairy-tales Hearst pays renegades from the U.S.S.R., wives disappointed in love, and hack-writers for *Amazing Stories* to write about the Soviet Union) are the inside news pages.

Position on the page plays an equally impor-

tant part in this connection. In the *Herald & Examiner* the important propaganda stories are always placed conspicuously at the top of the page, often under streamer headlines! This is true both of editorials and of so-called news. Moreover, the makeup men of this paper have a custom of reserving certain spots on the front page and other pages for their most highly colored outbursts; for instance, the third and fourth columns from the left on the front page are practically always sure to bear some prize anti-Soviet or anti-New Deal piece; and on the page facing editorial the last two columns to the right are usually reserved for anti-administration attacks.

3. TYPOGRAPHY. Here the hand of the propagandist gets in some of its neatest licks. The headline is his sharpest weapon: it attracts the eye; its message is likely to seep in to even the dullest intelligence. There were some classic examples in the *Herald & Examiner*—for instance, this seven-column streamer headline: "Bomb Terror by Milwaukee Reds!"

In the three-quarters of a column devoted to the story which came under this inspiring phrase, the following single line contained the only reference to radicals: "Police believe the terrorists are maniacal reds." Nowhere else in the whole piece was there any reference to what, by the headline, one was led to believe was the chief news in the story—the Communists are attacking!

Hearst's headline writers are expert in their use of color words. Constant repetition of such words in the extremely strong position that a headline gives them undoubtedly tends to fix opinions as Hearst wishes them to be fixed. Here are a few examples, culled from the front page alone during the period of study:

U. S. DEBT RISING \$7,000 A MINUTE

RED COLLEGE EX-PRESIDENTS
IN BRAIN TRUST

U. S. FUNDS TEACH SOCIALISM!

ROOKIE POLICEMAN KILLS RED GUNMAN*
LABOR REBELS AT PWA BUYING ABROAD
ANOTHER LAW OF ROOSEVELT UPSET
NEW TAX THREAT TO LITTLE FELLOW
BACK NEW DEAL, OR NO MORE JOBS!

Where in that list is there one single phrase which tells the news? Every one of them interprets the news.

Less effective, but equally distinctive and especially Hearstian, is the typographical mayhem committed upon news stories and, more especially, upon editorials. Some say that this method is an invention of Hearst's; certainly he has been using it for years.

There are six prime factors which distinguish the Hearstian typography. These are: the use of (1) capitals, (2) large-size type, (3) bold-face type, (4) boxes (the enclosing of a news story or an editorial inside of rules, to make them stand out), (5) spacing (extra spaces between the lines), and (6) special

* The "Red gunman" was a 65-year-old drunkard, obviously a psychopathic case.

punctuation, including especially the exclamation point and the ubiquitous and deceiving quotation marks.

The sample on page 14 gives most of the above points in compact, convenient reference form; it is quoted from the *Herald & Examiner*. Only the box has been added, since no other example could be found which combined all of the six techniques in quotable form. Outside of the box, the editorial appeared as is.

4. REPETITION. The fourth factor in Hearst's propaganda technique is repetition. Repetition, not only from day to day, but, for each day, repetition on each page of the paper, and in myriad different forms. Using the three active principles of position, typography, and vocabulary to their greatest and most vicious effect, Hearst and his lieutenants pour out a gluey stream of propaganda so thick and so continuous that it must eventually have its effect on the paper's readers.

Twelve hundred pieces of blatant propaganda in fifty days—twenty-two pieces in an average issue. It is an enormous load. Outside of reports of crime, death, catastrophe, sex, and occasional soporific human-interest stories without which no paper is complete, it can be said that the whole paper is propaganda, intentional or unintentional.

The editorial page is, as has been pointed out, nearly a solid mass of the most violent and distorted kind of "opinion." Page one, with its immediate attention value, its constant use of streamer headlines, and its equally constant violation of the convention that the first page of a paper is always all news, is highly important. So is the "page facing editorial," where a wide variety of anti-Communist stories are printed.

Although a large percentage of the content of the financial pages should be classified as unintentional pro-capitalist propaganda, some of B. C. Forbes's pompous pronouncements are definitely propaganda in intent and method. Forbes's best effort was a story he told in the *Herald & Examiner*, too long to quote here, of a benevolent old employer who converted a Communist into a loyal American working man by *not firing him*, and by preaching Americanism at him. The fellow was blubbering at the employer's feet before he was through. It was Forbes who coined the most extraordinary phrase in American labor history when he referred to America's proletariat as "our work-folk."

The sports pages were relatively free of positive bias, although Hearst's Nazi attitude toward the Olympics was occasionally expressed by the sports columnists and in straight news stories, in which praise for the international-friendship aspect of the situation was emphasized, and the dragging of politics into the realms of "amateur sport" was decried.

While the society sections were without outright, intentional propaganda, the element of unintentional pro-capitalist persuasion made each and every page reek with the happy perspiration of imperialism at play. One of the best examples of this obnoxious kind of per-

version was in the high-pressure publicity which was given to Irene Castle's Pooch Ball—a benefit party the proceeds of which went to her home for indigent dogs.

In the straight entertainment sections, the rapid-fire sales talk for a couple of the Hearstian properties which took place in the motion-picture section in every day's issue of the fifty examined was as nasty an example of the venality of his policies as was found in the whole survey. Warner Brothers and their films and stars received so constant and high-pressure a promotion that it seemed as if nothing but their publicity releases appeared in the section. Moreover, Marion Davies "looked perfectly lovely" in nearly a quarter of the issues examined.

Thus practically every page in the *Herald & Examiner* bore the dirty finger-prints of the Chief. Every columnist to a greater or lesser extent revealed his obligation to Hearst by adding his mite to the propaganda pile; cartoons, comic strips, and occasional news photographs supplemented the screaming array of words. Five fascist-tendency adventure cartoon strips were identified; they glorified the life of the soldier, the detective, or the rowdy. The political cartoons, of course, were all solid propaganda of the worst and most sickening type.

It was during this period that Hearst began introducing his ludicrously ineffective colored cartoons, which since then have become so typical of his editorial pages. Only a mind-reader can discern why Hearst seized upon this particular technique, since, concealed as it is on an inside page, it does not sell papers, nor has it strong propaganda value since the color serves only to distract attention from the message. A few have appeared on page one.

News photos of the war in Ethiopia fre-

quently featured the military splendor of Mussolini and his army, or the squalor and the fanaticism and cowardice of the Ethiopian natives. Peculiarly enough, in the whole survey very little, either in words or in pictures, was found that was explicitly pro-Nazi; the supposition is that Hitler was too hot even for Hearst to handle.

The suffocatingly fascist nature of Hearst's propaganda, infiltrated as it was throughout the whole paper, needs little more comment. It is universally known. But the things he leaves out are the most reprehensible and criminal of all his propaganda techniques.

5. OMISSION. The omission principle of propaganda is not, in a sense, a technique. Rather, it is a policy. And in certain aspects, this policy is the greatest, most unforgivable scandal in the whole newspaper world, not only in the case of Hearst, although he leads the van, but also in the cases of all of the reactionary newspaper publishers in this country.

What is omitted? The net effect of reading the *Herald & Examiner* for nearly two months is to lead one into the belief that *the labor situation, that labor as a class, that labor's fight for justice and a fuller life, simply do not exist.*

What unemployment there is, is due to the New Deal in toto, according to the Watson-Hearst propaganda cannonading. The unemployed are not only supported in comfort by boondoggling and sizable relief checks, but (a) they are ungrateful, and occasionally strike against their patrons, or (b) they are degenerating into a race of drones who will always refuse honest work when it is offered to them.

Two or three times local strikes were reported. An engineers' strike on the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad was written up because of the fact that the strike might inconvenience the commuters. A sensational story of an abortive strike in the movie operators' ranks was printed primarily because it enabled the editor to drag in the racketeering aspects of labor unionization. A few other mentions of strikes were printed—not, certainly, more than six—so phrased that all the blame for the strike and any violence attending it would fall on the worker.

By suppressing the news of the labor movement, by lying about the motives of strikes and labor organizing whenever such things are mentioned, by distorting the facts about the nature of the employer (especially on the financial pages), by constantly and habitually daubing a red paintbrush over every bit of labor news that he and his editors are forced to print, William Randolph Hearst writes himself down as the most criminal power in American publishing. He is strong. The only way to beat him to his knees is to break down the circulation of his papers by mass boycott, by protesting to his advertisers against their appearing in his paper, and by earnest and continued explaining to those who still read his papers the filthiness and flagrant lying of his news.



Hearst Press

Fritz

Lady Nicotine's Debut

The annual coming-out of the tobacco crop finds the farmers, gamblers all, lambs to the slaughter by the big buyers and a horde of floating sharpers

By Rufus Colfax Phillips

ALL through the misty autumn night heavy-laden wagons and trucks rumble through town and into the doors of cavernous warehouses. Perched high on top of carefully piled and blanketed tobacco are boys and men shivering with cold and excitement; young and old, black and white, they whoop and sing. This is their yearly pilgrimage and their great adventure.

After driving into their favorite warehouse, to which they have been drawn by tradition or by the promises and bribes of warehouse scouts, they will troop, part to the "white camp," part to the "colored camp," and there in fetid rooms around red-bellied stoves drink and sing and yarn the night through, their bellies taut in anticipation of the pride and riches, the drinks and dazzling town girls, the golden tomorrow will bring when the Bright Belt Market opens. . . . Unhumble men, they are more gamblers than farmers; loving honor and music, strong liquor and hunting and tales of faithless women and fine dogs. They are ignorant, innocent, and very proud.

Down Main Street in the John Randolph Hotel "big buyers," "speculators," and "pinhookers" are playing all-night poker, phoning for "chasers" or sending the bellhop for one of the "babes." Near the railroad depot the Commercial House is jammed with bedbugs and Medicine Show people, with "sheet writers," shills, and small racketeers.

Over in the hollow, Jigtown is sleeping, happy in tumbledown shacks. Tomorrow every "boy" can find a man's job in the warehouse and feel cash money in his pocket. And in this year of the death of the A.A.A. 1936, the merchants dream of increased bank loans and new stocks while their wives have visions of new cars and Richmond clothes. Tomorrow is the day they have looked forward to for eight long months — their milch cow, the tobacco farmer, has come to town.

BY EIGHT O'CLOCK the next morning, in the warehouses (Farmers, Planters, The Square Deal) which by lot have drawn the first sale, the tobacco will have been arranged by piles, in neat close rows running up and down the 400-foot length of the warehouse floor. Each pile of symmetrical bundles rests in a large, flat basket of hickory strips and each will have been tagged by the warehouse clerk with the owner's name, its weight, and with a mystic symbol which tells the approximate grade to the auctioneer. Each pile, whether it weighs fifty pounds or five hundred, must be sold separately to the highest bidder.

By nine o'clock the buyers, bored, superior, and blear-eyed, come straggling in. Now farmers nervously "pull" a few doubtful leaves, straighten and smooth each hand-tied bundle, perfecting the traditional design of each pile. And as the buyers gather, smart cracking, at the head of a row, many planters scramble frantically for a last word to the scout who lured them in, or to some buyer they have influenced with quail, hogs, turkeys, chickens, or whiskey, in order to make previous promises of high prices hold.

The buyers in \$100 suits but unshaven stand godlike and cynical. "Sure! Sure thing, I'll fix you up." And then aside to another buyer. "Poor bastard, he brought me round a dozen partridge. I'll give him a little show — if I remember. Haw! Haw!"

The warehouseman, anxious and fussy as a hen, tries to get things moving. "C'mon boys, let's go! Good tobacco! Good tobacco!" The auctioneer picks up a ticket and starts his ancient incomprehensible song. The Big Show is on and it is easy to believe the proud insistence of antiquarians who say that not a detail of the whole procedure has changed in the last 150 years.

The big-company buyers scarcely glance at the piles of planter's gold, closing their ears and hearts to the sometimes hysterical pleas of farmers for just a few more cents a pound. (Occasionally a farmer will kneel on his pile and pray.) Even if these lordlings wished, they could not do otherwise. Their orders are to buy a certain poundage of tobacco within a given price range. If they pay a price above their orders they will be fired, and if they fill their contract at a lower average they will get a bonus. These big buyers constitute 80 per cent of the purchasing power. Thus, auction or no auction, the price is set beforehand by three or four of the leading tobacco companies and the farmer has to take it or leave it.

The small buyers, the speculators and the "pinhookers," create whatever noise or excitement there is on the buying side. While farmers wince (they've given each plant the care of an orchid), these gamblers trample the to-

bacco piles, pull bundles from underneath, and with traditional poker faces occasionally make the mysterious private signals which are their bids. One winks, another raises an eyebrow or straightens his tie or spits "ambeer," and the pile is sold and the line passes on. To the uninitiated the headlong procedure is entirely mad: the strange wailing and totally jumbled song of the auctioneer and the deaf-and-dumb signs of the buyers; every detail immutably set by tradition.

FOR THE first few moments, the bidding is usually dull and the prices low. The first piles are mostly "lugs," the damaged lower leaves. But as the buyers shake off their hangovers and the auctioneer warms up his whistle, the piles begin to show sleek bundles of golden yellow, with the leaves both broad and long.

The chief warehouseman, who has stage-managed this distribution, now becomes excited. Jumping on a pile of tobacco at the head of and between the lines of buyers, he waves his arms windmill fashion. "Fine tobacco boys! Wrapper tobacco. Joe Childress's tobacco [A prominent farmer]. Help us out boys! Bid 'em up." The buyers appear deaf. They know his game and will play ball with him to a certain extent. Grinning sarcastically they pull out bundles, spread leaves, sniff the heady aroma, and then, as if disgusted, spit and throw the bundles on the floor. But the line pauses, nevertheless, and sometimes in his eagerness to establish a high price the warehouseman will bid himself, the winking and the eyebrow pulling becomes apparent, and the auctioneer's closing price this time can easily be distinguished.

"Seventy—Reynolds!" (This news will soon be over town and headlined in the papers.)

Behind him a planter lets go a lungful of breath. "Godamighty! Seventy cents a pound! An' my pile's next and jest as purty as his'n."

But the next pile, though of the same or better grade, will go for thirty cents. The small farmer sighs, "Well, thuty, t'ain't so bad." He knows he cannot buck the game and that the cards are stacked, but from year to year he nevertheless dreams and hopes and tells of how he just missed getting "that seventy." As soon as a pile is sold a husky Negro permanently attached to a scoop-like handtruck will pull it out of line and, in a yelling headlong race with a hundred "boys," stack it in his buyer's pile.

Prices fluctuate violently. An old Negro, sometimes hired, will put on an act. "H'ep

