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The development of the Atlantic Monthly under the editorship of Ellery Sedgwick

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The Development of The Atlantic Monthly
Under the Editorship of Ellery Sedgwick

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College of Liberal Arts
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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

THESIS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY
UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF ELLERY SEDGWICK

BY

Robert Finley Delaney
(B.S., College of the Holy Cross, 1946)
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1948

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
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APPROVED BY

First Reader  Edward C. Wagenknecht
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Professor of English

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DEDICATION

To Dr. Edward C. Wagenknecht who caused me to talk
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Examples of TCF Test Criterion Group

Examples of PFM Group
INTRODUCTION
Statement of the Purpose of the Thesis

This thesis will deal mainly with the tenure of Mr. Ellery Sedgwick as editor of *The Atlantic Monthly* from 1908 until his retirement in 1938. It is the author's intention to point out the development and improvement of this periodical under Mr. Sedgwick's masterful leadership.

The method to be followed is divided into four parts:

1. The development of the magazine in America
2. The history of *The Atlantic Monthly*
3. The life of Ellery Sedgwick
4. Sedgwick and his editorship

We shall approach the problem of the beginnings of the magazine in America with two questions: first, why were magazines attempted? Second, what were the major problems confronting the first editor and publisher? According to Andrew Bradley writing in our first magazine, *The American*, of February 13, 1741, three reasons for the publication of magazines in general appeared paramount.
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to provide an overview of the current state of research and development in a particular field. The focus will be on the latest advancements in technology and their potential impact on various aspects of society. The report aims to highlight the significance of these developments and their implications for future research and applications.
CHAPTER I

The Atlantic Monthly

The Development of the periodical magazine in America

Perhaps one of the newest and most fascinating forms of literary scholarship is that of research in the field of the American magazine. New, because the art of mass printing is a comparatively recent advancement in man's progress forward; fascinating, because the researcher is given an excellent opportunity to study the course and development of popular ideas and taste. For in no better manner are the customs and usages of a people reflected than in the contemporary periodical.

This thesis will engage in a problem of research which deals with one of America's foremost magazines, The Atlantic Monthly, published and edited in Boston, Massachusetts. However, before launching into the specific details of the rise of The Atlantic Monthly, it is essential for the understanding of the problem to examine the origin, background, and development of the magazine in America on a broad plane with an eye to the entire picture from the beginnings to 1857, the date of the founding of the Atlantic.

We shall approach the problem of the beginnings of the magazine in America with two questions: first, why were magazines attempted? Second, what were the major problems confronting the first editor and publishers? According to Andrew Bradford writing in our first magazine, The American, of February 13, 1741 three reasons for the publication of magazines in general appeared paramount:
1. Despite denials, financial gains seem to have been the incentive.

2. An attempt was being made to picture America favorably to the world.

3. The publication of such magazines was an endeavor to demonstrate American abilities.

Quotations from early magazines tend to substantiate these views.

"Shall we not then exert ourselves to appear as respectable abroad as we really are at home?" New York Magazine, 1796

Matthew Carey in the General Magazine of February 16, 1741 stated:
My inducements to begin as well as to persevere in this undertaking have arisen as much from its general utility as from any view of private emolument.  

Since the reasons given above tend to point to a natural evolution in the development of native American magazines, prompted by both business desires and patriotic motives, it is logical to suppose that the evolutionary process prompted several administrative problems.

Frank Luther Mott, America's foremost authority on magazine research, lists five difficulties:

1. The indifference of readers and writers to quality material
2. The lack of adequate means of distribution
3. Losses in the collection of subscription accounts
4. Manufacturing embarrassments
5. Postal regulations requiring full payment by the subscriber of the highest ordinary mail rates allowable.

2 Loc. cit.
3 Ibid., I, 9.
A quick glance at the above list is enough to explain why in the period between 1741-1794, just four out of forty-five magazines attempted lived to be three and one-half years old. (4) The entire problem can be condensed into modern business slang. The early magazines lacked the "high pressure" technique and business "know how" in addition to being hampered by extremely poor facilities. Notwithstanding these obstacles the magazine business caught root in the period from 1740 to 1820, and firmly entrenched itself as a moderately successful profession. (5) Publications such as our first and second periodicals, The American Magazine (February 13, 1741) and Benjamin Franklin's General (February 16, 1741) prospered, failed, and changed names, but they remained active in the competitive field. (6) In general, the first magazine, The American Magazine, followed closely the English format, purpose and policy of formal essay, book review, and scholarly articles. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that the contemporary trend of modern sensationalism in publication took place.

The second major phase of magazine editorship began to take form about 1830, and it was extended well into the 1850's. This was the era of the specialized class magazines devoted to law or medicine or discussion or simply of recent events. With this stage of development we are able to realize and appreciate more fully the important role of the American magazine as a form of literature in our society. It is a device capable of

4. Ibid., I, 3.
5. Loc. Cit.
6. Ibid., I, 112.
providing Americans and the world with a democratic expressive literature which is sometimes of high quality. In addition to maintaining in its periodical files an invaluable contemporary history of the times, it has an ever increasing tendency to keep close to the public pulse. Finally, and this is a point that many pseudo-literary men prefer to ignore for fear of being corrupted into believing that man writes solely for money, the magazine plays an exceedingly vital part in the economics of literature. This is no more or no less than the adequate payment of contributors for their talents. However, this was not always the case. As a matter of fact, it is extremely doubtful that even the most talented writer could have received an adequate return from his writings in the early days of 1830 - 1840's.

There was no professional class of writers. Nearly one hundred per cent of the contributors to both the general and specialized magazines were professional men of science, medicine, or the law who contributed articles and essays written in their leisure time. Consider, for example, the average 1830 payment of one dollar per page, and the added discouraging factor that once paid, the author was completely at the publisher's mercy, since the lack of a protecting copyright law permitted free reprinting of any author's work. Despite the differences in cost of living and living standards of today and 1830, it is more than evident that such remuneration was conducive to slow starvation. It was not until 1842 that the first real constructive steps were taken.

7 Ibid., I, 350.
In the year 1842, two publishers, George R. Graham and Louis A. Godey, instituted a liveable financial plan in return for an author's services. From the era of the one dollar per page, these two men forced prices up to a high of twelve dollars a page for prose, the average being about eight dollars, with an offer of from ten to fifty dollars for poetry of any length. Not only was this heartening advancement instituted, but the rights of the individual author were protected. We have already spoken of the trouble caused by the lack of a copyright law. In the year 1845, the same Graham and Godey began to copyright the articles of their contributors, not only to protect the authors, but to protect their own outlay of capital. An immediate abusive protest was launched by the newspaper serialists who were the chief violators of a work's integrity. It was all to no avail, because the newspapers were handcuffed, since the authors' works were under the control of the publishers. The trend toward regulated rules of publication and the profession of writing with a sufficient monetary lure had begun. Perhaps the most famous magazinists that emerged from this development were Edgar Allan Poe, and Park Benjamin, who together contributed to more than fifty periodicals and had editorial affiliations with ten. This forms a slight idea of the tremendous capacities of the newly recognized professional writer.

For a brief moment let us turn to the other side of the question and approach the magazine from the owner and editor side

8 Ibid., I, 383.
In this paper, I propose an innovative framework for planning participatory budgeting projects. A participatory budgeting plan is a key component of the following:

- To enhance transparency and accountability
- To involve citizens in the decision-making process
- To allocate resources based on community needs

The framework consists of the following steps:

1. **Community Engagement**: Engaging with community members to gather their needs and priorities.
2. **Setting Objectives**: Defining clear and achievable goals for the budget.
3. **Resource Allocation**: Allocating resources based on community input and objectives.
4. **Monitoring and Evaluation**: Regularly reviewing the budget's impact to make adjustments as needed.

This participatory process not only increases trust in government but also promotes social cohesion and community development.
of the desk. A typical editor of 1840 to 1850 received a regular salary of eight dollars per week, and if he were an exceptional man, ten dollars might assure the owner of his continued loyal association. The best information available claims that that salary enabled the receiver to uphold a decent living standard. This typical editor would probably manage a magazine that was trying hard to hold its subscription rate to three dollars a year. This figure represents the general average, but several factors were acting against this standard subscription rate. These factors were as follows:

1. The rise of class journals of various size and frequency.

2. The craze for cheap literature with its companion cult of useful knowledge for the home.

3. The persistence of local literary weeklies.

4. The growth of the club system of selection and distribution. (9)

Pressures such as these caused almost as much variation in yearly rates as you could find in contributors' salaries. Extremes represented were the Journal of Science selling for two dollars per annum, and the Ladies' Wreaths, definitely cultural, selling for thirteen dollars a year. In such fashion the magazines operated as the Civil War approached. This era brought many new developments, not the least among them being the establishment of The Atlantic Monthly. Prior to discussing the founding of the Atlantic, several interesting and important facts can be noted. Unexpected prosperity greeted the magazine industry as the 1850's dawned because certain basic difficulties of distribution and

(9) Ibid., 498.
The loss in the case of a large firm may be calculated by the following formula:

\[ \text{Loss} = \text{Revenue} - \text{Cost} \]

The case of a small firm may be calculated by the following formula:

\[ \text{Loss} = \text{Revenue} - \text{Cost} \]

In the case of a large firm, the revenue is calculated by the following formula:

\[ \text{Revenue} = \text{Price} \times \text{Quantity} \]

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\[ \text{Loss} = \text{Revenue} - \text{Cost} \]
circulation had been resolved by the improvement of transportation facilities and the adjustment of magazine price to suit reader demands. First, the compromise of 1850 had reduced war tension between the states; the literary men had brought to the public a definitely superior quality of workmanship, and finally revised postal regulations permitted a reduction of mail rates and the transfer of mailing costs from subscriber to publisher. The importance of such legislation on circulating figures cannot be overemphasized. To the harried purchaser it meant a painless method of receiving the magazine of his choice plus a decrease in the actual overall cost of the magazine. The mailing expense had always been above and beyond the actual sales price of the periodical. Smart publishers immediately sensed the meaning of the new postal law and quickly absorbed the cost of mailing into the general cost of publication. The public for their part responded in kind with an increased desire to subscribe.

With few outstanding exceptions a magazine is not the lengthened shadow of an individual; its success is usually the result of many factors in combination. Among these factors economic conditions bulk large, and as we have seen, such was the case in 1850, just prior to the establishment of The Atlantic Monthly.

Advertising, an important aspect of the contemporary magazine, received its modern baptism of fire in the forgings of the mid-nineteenth century. Some little progress in advertising procedure was made during this period, enough to establish the magazine as a suitable method of reaching the public, but the pressure method of advertising did not reach any large proportions
To yvo'iqf i

The document consists of a series of fragmented phrases and sentences, making it difficult to extract coherent meaning. The text appears to discuss various topics, possibly related to a scientific or technical subject, but the connections between the different parts are not clear due to the disarray of the content.

The importance of data integration in scientific research cannot be overstated. To gain insights and develop meaningful conclusions, the collection and analysis of comprehensive datasets are essential. The quality and relevance of the data are crucial factors in ensuring the validity of research findings.

With the advancement of technology, the generation of vast amounts of data has become routine. It is essential to develop robust methods for data integration and to ensure that the resulting datasets are accurate and comprehensive.

The challenge lies in the need for effective strategies to manage and analyze the large volumes of data generated. This requires the development of sophisticated tools and techniques that can handle the complexity and scale of modern datasets.

In conclusion, the integration of data is a critical aspect of scientific research. By leveraging advancements in technology and developing innovative methods, we can build a robust foundation for future discoveries and advancements.
because advertisers lacked faith in the effectiveness of this device. For example, eight years after the founding of the Atlantic in December, 1865, an issue of some one hundred and thirty pages of small print carried fourteen pages of advertising, which means that eleven percent of the magazine was dedicated to this method of income, while in the November, 1947 issue of the same magazine, twenty-four percent of the magazine was devoted to advertising.

We have so far followed the development of the magazine field in America from its troubled beginnings to the uneasy strength of young manhood achieved in the time just prior to the Civil War. A statistical analysis of the decade 1850-1860 produces these figures. The number of marketable publications was reduced or absorbed from a high six hundred and eighty-five to a low of five hundred and seventy-five. Professor Mott in his scholarly work on the American magazine estimates that about twenty-five hundred periodicals were begun and failed. The panic of 1857 and the onrushing Civil War proved to be too severe a test of survival. Of the average circulation of the successful monthlies, Mott claims a figure of approximately 12,000 copies.10 The American magazine was on its way up to big business.

b. The Development of the Atlantic Monthly, 1857-1908

It was upon a scene bustling with competitive spirit and literary restlessness that the young Atlantic was launched. Keep in mind the trend -- faster, better, upward. In this vein, Mr. Frederick Lewis Allen gives us an excellent background description of the field about 1857:

because significant progress toward the development of the

year's work toward the goal of expanding and strengthening the

Publications of the National Academy of Sciences

The work of the Academy's Committee on the new 1962-1964

The American Association for the Advancement of Science

In view of the above, with special reference to research and

Research papers which gave as an example the following:

The American Association for the Advancement of Science
The competition that the young Atlantic faced was lively. A certain restlessness of the American temperament, an ambition to be up-to-date, and a zeal for self improvement (preferably without undue effort) had made the magazine publishing a lively, if always precarious, industry in the United States. In 1854 The New York Quarterly had referred to "that passion for periodic literature which characterizes the age." There were already some six hundred magazines in the country. These included all sorts of religious and educational and trade publications, and also, in those days of difficult transportation, clusters of local publications with only local readership; but many had a wide appeal. The most popular were weekly miscellanies, mostly published on Saturday for Sunday reading (in the absence, of course, of Sunday newspapers)...leading weekly newspapers averaged 150,000 readers, and the Harpers New Monthly Magazine, founded in 1850 by the New York book firm of Harper and Brothers made such a hit by serializing in turn Bleak House, The Newcomes, and Little Dorrit, and by running a serialized life of Napoleon, that its circulation during the first fifteen years averaged 150,000. It was the nearest approach yet to a national family magazine.

This, then, was the background and the battleground into which the new magazine was thrown by her masters, the literary elite of New England. Mr. M.A. DeWolfe Howe, the official chronicler of the magazine, has this to say in general about her existence:

When the Atlantic Monthly reached its sixtieth birthday and its issue of November, 1917, it was older by six years than the oldest man concerned with the production of its first issue in November, 1857. Of the other eminent founders who accepted the invitation of the first publisher, Moses Dresser Phillips of the Boston firm of Phillips, Sampson and Co., to a dinner at the Parker House on May 5, 1857, to consider the establishment of a new literary and political magazine. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, then fifty, stood next in point of age. Oliver Wendell Holmes was forty-eight; John Lothrop Motley, less identified with the magazine after its launching than any of the others, forty-three; James Russell Lowell, the first editor, thirty-eight; James Elliot Cabot, many years after the biographer of Emerson, thirty-six; and Francis H.

Unfortunately, the content of the page is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a page from a document, but the text is not clear enough to transcribe accurately.
Underwood, the literary man of Phillips, Sampson and Company, and the prime mover in the whole undertaking, but thirty-two.

The Atlantic has long been a venerable institution. The writers who first gave it its high position, stand in the public mind as the "venerable men" of American letters. Their ages in 1857 betoken the interesting fact that the Atlantic was never entirely a youthful experiment; it was planned and placed firmly on its feet by a remarkable group of men in or near the very prime of their great powers. (12)

The proposed magazine had a splendid group of founders, as we have just seen. Each man interested in the undertaking was himself a person of reputation and standing; and if the character of the founders meant good fortune, then the fate of the venture was assured. Due credit must be given to the man who, more than any one single individual, provided the energy and the incentive necessary to set the undertaking on its feet. This man was Francis Underwood, known to history as Phillips, Sampson's "literary man." Actually, he was their agent; and as early as 1853 he had made an initial attempt to interest the major writers of New England in a new magazine. Underwood at that time, was negotiating with the publishing firm of J.P. Jewett to support such a venture; but the financial failure of the company completely dashed his hopes. Still undaunted, he corresponded with Emerson, Lowell, and Longfellow; and by 1857 he had interested Moses Dresser Phillips in the feasibility of his plan. Thus a dinner was arranged by Phillips at the Parker House on the afternoon of May 5, 1857, to sound out the sympathies of the more prominent authors. All displayed high enthusiasm, and Phillips, being

convinced, decided to begin preparation for the first issue. An editor was to be selected; the unanimous choice was James Russell Lowell, who had already achieved fame for his literary abilities. Lowell's salary was set at the then astounding sum of $2,500 per year. Needless to say, he was overjoyed because this figure assured him of financial independence. His first order was typical of his frank nature and keen estimation of a person's worth. Yes, he would accept the editorship if Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes would contribute.

The name Atlantic Monthly was suggested by Holmes himself. "I have it!" he shouted, "It shall be called The Atlantic Monthly Magazine!" Soon you'll hear the boys crying through the streets, 'Here's your ATLANTIC, 'LANTIC, 'LANTIC, 'LANTIC!'" Atlantic it became, but the publishers dropped the word "magazine," and the form remains the same today ninety years later.

Lowell was empowered to pay a mean rate of payment of six dollars a page for prose from recognized authors, five dollars a page for "tyros," and fifty dollars a poem. The editor proceeded efficiently and systematically, since the first issue was to reach the public in November, 1857, a scant five months after the plan was agreed upon. For this issue Lowell and his assistant, Francis Underwood, his dream come true, collected a group of top-notch New Englanders to fill out the pages of the first issue. As a matter of record, it is one of the most remarkable groups of contributors ever assembled under one cover for any publication.

Consider the names, and what their services would cost a publisher today; and then realize that they all contributed with the understanding that the editorial policy called for anonymity of the author. They were not only subject to the editor's blue pencil, but in addition their names would not appear under their work. However, the anonymity policy became an "open secret," and today we know who did constitute the contributor's list of the first issue. We find the index to run as follows:

Ralph Waldo Emerson--two poems plus one essay,

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow--two poems,

Oliver Wendell Holmes--an installment of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," plus one poem,

James Russell Lowell--one poem, "The Romany Girl," one sonnet on nature, and one editorial essay on British India,

John Lothrop Motley--an article on Florentine mosaics,

Charles E. Norton--an article on a Manchester art exhibit,

Harriet Beecher Stowe--a New England Sketch,

Parke Godwin--a financial essay,

James Hannay, an Englishman--an article on Douglas Jerrold.

The list of contributors was, as Lewis Allen states, "...... literary New England, at its most brilliant moment, determined to put into the field an all-star team."

A breakdown of the contributors reveals that of ten names, only two represent the world outside New England; one, Parke Godwin, the other, the Englishman, James Hannay. This emphasis on New Englanders is evidence in agreement with the interpreters
that the early magazine was sectional and provincial. From the November, 1857 issue to the year 1870, when the policy of anonymity was discarded, the Atlantic remained overwhelmingly sectional. A breakdown of the geographical distribution of the contributors reveals that of a grand total of one hundred and seventy-three contributors, one hundred and twenty-five were from New England, twenty-six from New York, sixteen from foreign countries, two from the South, one from the West, and three untraceables.

It is difficult, however, to agree with the magazine's critics that this was a provincial fault. At the very least the accusation of provincialism is debatable. When judging such a question, it is necessary to keep in mind the time in which the action took place and the personalities that directed the operation. At that time, America's best writers were residents of New England, and these writers were more or less instrumental in the founding of this literary organ. Is it not a natural consequence then, for these writers to claim first priority in contributions? Outsiders were not barred, statistics have borne this fact out; and in addition, we have the word of Lowell himself, who in writing to a friend in Philadelphia, commented, "I am glad if you like the Atlantic. We hope that it shall be better. I believe that we have not had a single correspondent from Philadelphia, and I (Lowell) hope that we shall yet supply these deficiencies." ¹⁴

The official policy of the magazine, stated in the first issue of November 1857, bears final testimony to the attempt

made by the New England leaders to present the world with a periodical not provincial but universal, and acceptable according to the best literary traditions. The policy reads:

In politics the Atlantic will be the organ of no party or clique but it will honestly endeavor to be the exponent of what its conductors believe to be the American idea. It will deal frankly with persons and parties, endeavoring always to keep in view the moral element which transcends all persons and parties and which alone makes the basis of a true and lasting national prosperity. It will not rank itself with any sect of antics, but with that body of men which is in favor of Freedom, National Progress, and Honor, whether public or private. In literature, to leave no province unrepresented so that while each number will contain articles of an abstract and permanent value, it will also be found that the healthy appetite of the mind for entertainment in its various forms of Narrative, Wit, and Humor, will not go uncared for. In the term Art they intend to include the whole domain of aesthetics and hope gradually to make this critical department a true and fearless representative of Art, in all its various branches, without any regard to prejudice, whether personal or national, or to private considerations of what kind soever.

This was the first definite attempt in the history of the American magazine to establish an editorial policy with the emphasis on the moral values of literature rather than on a policy catering to strict popular demand. The experiment was noble, and it largely succeeded. The policy as set down by Lowell and Underwood was actually a doctrine of Transcendentalism, because of the manner in which it refused to commit itself to any reform party or platform; it wished to stand for American idealism. However, in actual practice the theoretical platform did not operate. For Lowell did have set political views, and he did insist upon making known his arguments through the medium of his

editorials. Under his direction, the magazine supported the anti-slavery feeling of New England. In fact, the magazine supported the Union in every conceivable manner of reporting: article, fiction, poetry, and personal experience. It was so pro-North that a decided distaste sprang up for it in the South; and an open break occurred upon the publication of Parke Godwin's articles on the slave question. It is interesting to note at this point that largely through the pages of the Atlantic was John Brown portrayed in a more sympathetic form than he had previously been presented to American readers, and it is this impression of him that has reached us today.

James Russell Lowell, the first editor of the Atlantic Monthly reigned from 1857 to 1861. He patterned the magazine after the English Blackwood's Magazine. By subscribing to the idea of selective particularity, Lowell attracted the better writers, and by offering them adequate monetary recompense (ten dollars a page) he kept the contributors coming back again and again. He was an excellent book reviewer and the magazine quickly gained a reputation for fine critical judgment. Moreover, his judgment of the short story was superb, and his overall able generalship caused the magazine to support a circulation of 32,000. Some critics have complained that this figure of 32,000 was insignificant compared with the 150,000 circulation that Harper's Weekly had in 1863. But Harper's was a weekly news resume, while the Atlantic was an expensive thirty cent "purely literary" monthly.16 This was to be the Atlantic's special glory.

Lowell's main fault as an editor was an outgrowth of his effectiveness as an editor. He had no compunction about re-arranging, adding, or deleting the accepted piece of a contributor. It was entirely to his benefit that anonymous articles appeared in print, for with such a method of handling manuscripts, he controlled the editorship. Upon the death, in 1859, of both Phillips and Sampson, the publishers of the magazine, it was purchased by the firm of Ticknor and Fields. Lowell continued as editor for two years; office economy, however, eventually placed James T. Fields, the "literary" member of the firm, in the editorial chair. Lowell's editorship was next to the shortest of the nine men who have spanned its history of more than ninety years. It lasted four years, but his influence had been felt. From a letter to Dr. Holmes, we see that his fondest wish had come true. This desire was that "a part of the magazine, as long as I have anything to do with it, shall be expressly not for the mob (of well-dressed gentlemen who read with ease)."17 Founded by men of genius, and aided by their high repute, the Atlantic had gotten off to a good start. The magazine was amateurish by current standards, colorless, small print, unspectacular in appearance, but its contents were native, venturesome, and intent upon holding literature "above all other human interests." In a crude and sprawling America, it stood for quality.

As we have stated, James T. Fields was the second editor of the magazine. A man of extremely sensitive nature, he had received his literary training in the famous Boston "Old Corner"

bookstore. He was a friendly gentleman who was loved by all who knew him. DeWolfe Howe claims that among publishers, Fields stood quite alone in his knack of combining publishing and business interests, editorship, and friendship; and he succeeded in not alienating one from the other. He was the war editor but could not find it in his heart to play up the tragic event to his readers. Some of the outstanding articles that appeared in his time (1861 to 1871) were: Colonel T.W. Higginson's "Ordeal by Battle", Emerson's "Emancipation Proclamation", and Wasson's "Shall We Compromise?". Both Fields and his successors urged immediate and vigorous reconstruction. In 1871, he retired, and a young Ohioan stepped up to become the first innovating editor of the sedate Atlantic.

William Dean Howells, the third editor, introduced new departments of music, science, politics, and reviews. He experimented with the publication of the English serial novel, Charles Reade's Griffith Gaunt. Because of a doubtful passage in the story both the novel and Howells were immediately attacked with charges of immorality to which criticism Howells refused to answer.

In line with his policy of obtaining the best of fiction writers, Howells offered Bret Harte the then unheard sum of $10,000 for a minimum of three stories in one year. Howells was young, dynamic, and the first of the westerners to conquer the East. His university had been a composition room, his degree the newspaper, but he brought to the scholarly magazine an ambition and a daring which enabled the Atlantic to withstand the temporary pressures of competition. In fact, Howells and Fields together succeeded
in bequeathing to Editor Number Four, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "America's best literary magazine." (18) In some respects Howells was a greater editor than Lowell had been. He had wider geographical sympathies, and he was a better worker. His delightful personality and his ability as a reviewer were helpful in his task. Howells had written that "the magazine was largely established in its traditions when I came to it, and when I left it fifteen years later, it seemed to me that if I had done any good, it was little more than to fix it more firmly in them." As Mr. DeWolfe Howe remarked, "'little more' are the words in this sentence which another hand would especially revise."

The ensuing seventeen years 1881 to 1898 were divided in the Atlantic editorship, between two men, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and Horace Elisha Scudder, of whom Aldrich held the post for nine, and Scudder for eight years. Aldrich was more nearly the inaccessible type of editor than his revered sires. He was the picture of the adopted Brahmin, careful and critical; he preferred the established and the conventional. During this period the magazine's circulation was low but her reputation for conservatism high. Actually, there seemed to be no one who wished to disturb this feeling. A certain John Adams Thayer in 1890 offered to make the magazine a paying proposition only to be summarily dismissed. In Thayer's autobiography he caustically recalled the embarrassment of the situation.

"To change the magazine in any way - never! It was Boston."

(19) John Adams Thayer, AsTer, (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1910), 112.
...
Mr. Ferris Greenslet in his extremely readable life of Aldrich summarized the results of Aldrich as an Atlantic editor:

......Under his conduct the Atlantic attained a notable unity of tone and distinction of style. A little less accessible to new and unknown talent than Mr. Howells had been, he was yet quick to perceive the note of distinction, and few of his swans turned out geese. He was not a militant editor, and was not greatly concerned about politics and affairs. His interest was first and always literature, and perhaps no editor of the Atlantic printed more of it. During his tenure of office the afterglow of the great day of New England literature was fading, but fading slowly. He could count on occasional poems from Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, and Lowell, to say nothing of the younger group headed by Sill...He developed the critical department of the magazine to a high degree of competence by marshaling what has seldom been seen in this country, a thoroughly compact and capable coterie of critical reviewers. It was then that the Atlantic won its international reputation as being, in the phrase of an English review, "the best edited magazine in the English language." To his fastidious sense of phrase and syntax, reading proof was a sacrament. If he habitually delegated the celebration of it to his assistant, his interest in the result was none the less keen, and it fared ill with any split infinitive or suspended nominative - even with such seemingly innocent locutions as "several people" - that fell under his searching eye. (20)

Scudder was the last of the Atlantic editors who belonged, even as a younger contemporary, to the group of writers which dominated the magazine through its earlier years. With him, an era in the history of the magazine may be said to have come to an end. Scudder was quiet, studious, and utterly devoted to his employers, Messrs. Houghton and Mifflin. His one lasting and important contribution to Atlantic history was the compilation of the first comprehensive index of the magazine, covering its first twenty years.

Scudder was followed by his assistant, Walter Hines Page. A native of North Carolina, educated in the South, he represented even more than Mr. Howells, with his mid-West background, and Aldrich, on whom the influences of New Orleans and New York had made his New England birth seem almost an accident, the identification of the Atlantic with America rather than with any section of the country. He had served his apprenticeship with Houghton, Mifflin and Company as agent, and he had been editor of the Forum in New York. As an editor, he possessed an uneasy often explosive, energy; a disposition to underrate finely drawn niceties of all sorts, an impatience of failure, and a love of politics. As a check value on his impulsiveness he seemed to contain a degree of "Yankee" common sense which complemented his enormous self-confidence. He engaged in mild "mud-raking," and he caused minority group representatives to state their specific problems in the pages of the magazine. For example, Jacob Riis and Booker T. Washington were occasional contributors. In later years Mr. Page became a distinguished ambassador representing his country at the Court of St. James.

To the chair of the Atlantic in 1899 came the famed scholar and educator, Bliss Perry, Professor of English at Princeton University. He immediately instituted a policy which concentrated mainly on the realization of the humanistic ideal of interest in people and their problems - the problems of the contemporary world at large. The result was a climb in circulation, and a slight indication of the forthcoming face-lifting the magazine was to receive. Perry had, in the meantime, accepted a
professorship at Harvard, and he was, therefore, planning to free
himself from editorial responsibilities. It also happened at
this time, that the publishers of the magazine were facing the
problems of a general rearrangement of their business organiza-
tion, and they deemed it necessary to relieve themselves of the
responsibility of the magazine. It became imperative that a
buyer and an editor be found who would guarantee the continuance
of the Atlantic's historic place in American life.

Discussion of the Status of the Atlantic at the
Time of Sedgwick's Appointment.

In the year 1908, The Atlantic Monthly was fifty-one years
old, a magazine of taste and refinement, but a magazine that was
not a financial success; a magazine that as late as 1897 had
slipped in circulation to a pathetic 7,000. It resembled the
literary Boston of 1900, in that its policy toward literature
seemed less creative and more academic. The magazine had contin-
ued for three reasons:

1. The reputation and life of the Atlantic had be-
come what amounted to a sacred literary trust
to the editors and publishers.

2. The pages of the magazine provided excellent ad-
vertising space for the publisher (through
this medium he knew information would reach a
well-to-do class of readers and prospective
book purchasers).

3. The magazine was merely a department of a
much larger and financially successful pub-
lishing house.

Without these rather substantial reasons to support its contin-
ued existence, the Atlantic would have failed in 1890 because
competition in the strict magazine sense had proved much too
much. This was the discouraging behind-the-scene picture of
America's most respected periodical just after the turn of the
century. Two questions arise at this point. What was the in-
trinsic literary worth of the magazine? What was its exact posi-
tion in the field of magazine publications upon the ascent of
Ellery Sedgwick to the position of editor? In considering the
relative intrinsic literary value of the Atlantic, both history
and many documented facts previously listed herein, bear testimony
to the worth of the magazine as a producer of good literature;
but for the sake of exactness, a list of twenty-one titles which
seem assured, by universal consent, of a permanent place in lit-
erature is presented. These works all originally appeared in the
pages of the Atlantic. The titles of this list are taken from
DeWolfe Howe's excellent outline in his work The Atlantic Monthly
and its Makers.

Aldrich
Browning
Clemens
Emerson
Hale
Harte
Holmes
Marjorie Daw
Prospice
Old Times on the Mississippi
Days
The Man Without a Country
How Santa Claus Came to Simpson's Bar
The Chambered Nautilus
The Wonderful One Ross Shay
The Battle Hymn of the Republic
The Lady of the Aroostook
Daisy Miller
Talks to Teachers on Psychology
The Country of the Pointed Firs
The Disturber of Traffic
The Children's Hour
Paul Revere's Ride
Commemoration Ode
Biglow Papers
Moody
Parkman
Sill
Whittier
Ode in Time of Hesitation
Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham
A Fool's Prayer
Barbara Frietchie
It was not only in the printed page that *The Atlantic* excelled, but it was also in the ability of the policy founders to draw together the famous contributors in a spirit of friendliness. Arthur Gilman has called these meetings of contributors "the Atlantic dinners". They are interesting to us because they afford some informal poses of the masters at play.

The first "Atlantic Dinner" could very appropriately be assigned to that original meeting in 1857 which led to the formation of the magazine. Several private dinners followed expressly for the pleasure of the New England set. The early dinners were held either at the Parker House in downtown Boston, or at Porter's, Harvard Square, Cambridge. In this connection, Dr. Holmes reported something of the gatherings in a rhyme entitled "What Landlord Porter - Rest His Soul! - Once Said." (21)

Dr. Holmes' quiet humor is reflected in this refreshing portrayal of sedate men of letters at table. While the poem is not of classic proportions, it serves to give posterity an amusing picture of the first meetings of the leading contributors and founders of the *Atlantic*. Mr. Arthur Gilman has recaptured the spirit and the development of these meetings; and he has sensed the value to the magazine's literary ideal that fellowship and conversation over the dinner table can mean. In the November 1907 issue of the *Atlantic* he speaks thus:

Fifty years ago the diners dined at the call of the publishers; next they sought no company but their own; and at last they were brought to their feast, under the noble elms of Newton with greatly

increased numbers. At first, men only came; at last, the women were almost as many as the men. The first groups were small enough to allow everyone to have intimate converse with every other one. Never did they get to the extreme of the afternoon teas as Dr. Holmes is said to have described them, "Giggle, gabble, gobble, and git.", but they came dangerously near to that limit, and then they passed away. The character of the feast changed, and the men who met were not the same at the end of the quarter century that they were at its beginning, the chapter ended and history makes its record. The Autocrat, you remember, hoped that The Atlantic would endure until an ideal state of society should be established. That has not arrived, but The Atlantic helps. 22

In summary, the Atlantic from a standpoint of literary excellence had reached the mythical top rung of the ladder of value. A number of famous "firsts" had appeared in her pages; her contributors were acknowledged to be among the best writers and thinkers in the country; the magazine was accepted as the leader in the field of the smoother periodicals; and the publishers and editors had the good sense to realize the value derived from close associations with the contributors, thus the "Atlantic dinners." It can be little doubted that the Atlantic had proved to be an innovator and standard bearer in the rather aloof world of literature.

The leading American monthlies of the early nineties were splendid magazines. They broadened the interest and subdued the barbarism of a generation of educated Americans. But they moved too far away from the everyday realities, and a revolution was coming that would presently end their undisputed reign. The revolution began in 1893, when Frank Munsey dropped the price of

his magazine to ten cents. Other magazines cut their prices; and it was discovered that what you lost in revenue by selling your magazine at much less than cost came back to you — and much more — through the increased advertising that a big circulation would command. This inter-magazine warfare continued unceasingly, well into the period of Ellery Sedgwick's purchase of the Atlantic.

At the turn of the century, two men appeared who catapulted the revolution into its advanced stages. One man, S.S. McClure, one of the greatest of all American editors, set his magazine, McClure's, to the exacting task of reporting the truth about contemporary American life. Ida M. Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens, his most sensational writers, debunked big business and the American political machines. The facts unearthed led to the excesses of the "muckrakers"; but how the public ate it up!

The second "revolutionary" was Cyrus H.K. Curtis. His Saturday Evening Post and Ladies Home Journal added a new touch in seeking after popular appeal. Working through editors, George Horace Lorimer and Edward Bok, he presented the public with an interesting and appealing view of business. This uncanny shrewdness paid off, for the average American herein found someone who would present him with a so-called success formula, without troubling the individual's mental apparatus. Reaction was immediate; circulation figures of this type of magazine soon hit the one million mark. The revolution led by Munsey, McClure, Curtis, Lorimer, and Bok had put magazine publishing into mass production.
The decision to leave Japan, which was made by the various groups and subgroups of leaders, was not an easy one. The factors involved in this decision were complex and varied. The economic situation of Japan, with its high unemployment rates and depressed industries, played a significant role. Additionally, the political situation in Japan, with its growing nationalism and militarism, was a major consideration. The social and cultural factors, including the influence of the American occupation and the desire for change, also weighed heavily in the decision-making process.

The leaders of the various groups, including the political, economic, and cultural leaders, worked together to ensure that the decision was made in a way that would best serve the interests of Japan and its people. The leaders recognized the importance of maintaining a strong and healthy Japan for the future, and they worked to ensure that the decision to leave Japan was made in a way that would allow for a smooth transition.

The decision to leave Japan was a difficult one, but it was ultimately made in the best interest of Japan and its people. The leaders recognized the importance of making a decision that would benefit the country and its citizens, and they worked together to ensure that the decision was made with the utmost care and consideration.
For the great triumvirate of the nineties, for the "quality group", for the professorial Atlantic, this turn of events was ominous. True, they had their loyal followers; but they lost advertising to the newcomers; they lost authors and artists who preferred a check for $1,000 to one for $150.00; and they lost prestige. Financially there began a slow downward trend. It was at this point, during the spring of 1908, that the publishers of The Atlantic Monthly, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, reorganized their business, and they found it wise to sell the magazine to Mr. Ellery Sedgwick of New York. The new Atlantic was about to be conceived. And in the labor of its birth it was to be saved from failure by this same Ellery Sedgwick.

Ellery Sedgwick was born in New York City on February 27, 1872, the son of Henry Dwight and Henrietta (Ellery) Sedgwick. He came of staunch New England stock; and in due time his New York home was forsaken for the more ancestral surroundings of the homestead in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He was reared in a careful Episcopal environment that was as typical of well-to-do New England families as it was conducive to intellectual development and an appreciation of the finer moments of life. By some mysterious process quite characteristic of his background, it was assumed that he would follow the footsteps of father, uncle, and grandfather in the practice of the law. Everything was prepared for this boy. Sedgwick had a family tradition that dated to Massachusetts Bay; he had the comforts of easy dignities
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CHAPTER II
Ellery Sedgwick, The Man

a. Background

In order to understand the problems confronting Ellery Sedgwick in his relationship to the Atlantic, we have attempted to develop the history of the magazine from its inception, through the expansion and revolution phases of magazine production, to the beginning of the new era in 1908 when Sedgwick assumed active control of the periodical's destiny. On a parallel course, we shall now draw a sketch of the rise of Ellery Sedgwick to the editorial chair of the Atlantic.

Ellery Sedgwick was born in New York City on February 27, 1872, the son of Henry Dwight and Henrietta (Ellery) Sedgwick. He came of staunch New England stock; and in due time his New York home was forsaken for the more ancestral surroundings of the homestead in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He was reared in a careful Episcopal environment that was as typical of well-to-do New England families as it was conducive to intellectual development and an appreciation of the finer moments of life. By some mysterious process quite characteristic of his background, it was assumed that he would follow the footsteps of father, uncle, and grandfather in the practice of the law. Everything was prepared for this boy. Sedgwick had a family tradition that dated to Massachusetts Bay; he had the comforts of easy dignified
living; and he was graced with a fine mind with which to appreciate and comprehend the culture and heritage he had inherited. It would have been quite simple for a person in such fortunate circumstances to forsake the adventure of life, and rest contentedly within the protection of the family name and position. But strangely enough, few prominent New Englanders have failed to measure up to their duties in life. Their industriousness is a lasting tribute to the common sense of these lauded "Yankees." Sedgwick was no exception, and early in his maturation process, he developed a warm sympathy for people, coupled with an understanding of life. Perhaps the one great family disaster mellowed him, but in any event the threatened loss of the ancestral estate in Stockbridge, due to financial reasons, gave the young man a deep insight into the experiences of life and the tides of fate.

b. Education

Sedgwick's education was of excellent quality and, of course, it followed the established tradition. He prepared at the Groton School. Subjected to the rigors of the exact supervision of Groton, Sedgwick disciplined his mind and harnessed his energies. He was never the athlete; his time was spent reading prodigiously and conversing at length with the school's famous headmaster, Dr. Peabody, on whom he made a favorable impression. In the fall of 1890, he entered Harvard College. He was graduated from Harvard in 1894 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His education followed the classical form. At Harvard, Sedgwick's talents developed enormously and he struck his true vein -
writing. One of the most amazing attributes that young Sedgwick possessed was his almost uncanny ability to meet and make the acquaintance of famous personalities. Whether through premeditated plan or through complete accident, he built up a valuable list of influential people. He was on speaking terms with Grover Cleveland, George Lyman Kittredge, Horace Scudder, Walter Hines Page, Charles W. Eliot, and, of course, his uncle, Professor Francis James Child. There is no doubt at all that Sedgwick possessed the natural ability, personality, and academic training to succeed, but it must not be overlooked that his circle of friends was most powerful in the field in which his career was to be laid. It is not unfair to him to state that these men did much to hasten him on the road to success. It could be surmised, and not incorrectly, that Sedgwick early saw the advantages of influential acquaintances. His business acumen was certainly not confined to editorial management.

Were one to seek a man with a complete liberal education, Ellery Sedgwick would be an ideal candidate. His college life was a continuous round of classical studies, English, history, and philosophy. He studied the masters in an era that to many remains the glorious heyday of Harvard College. Sedgwick came under the spell of Child, Lowell, Royce, James, and Santayana. He listened intently, read greatly, and planned carefully. He came away from college with a definite philosophy of life. He came away from college a man. Sedgwick aptly summarizes his attitude toward education in his autobiography, The Happy Profession:
What ought a boy to carry away from college? Facts are convenient but of little value compared with knowledge of how to read, shutting out every avenue of consciousness except the single road which he is traveling; to understand just why two and two make four; to know a man when he sees one—all these are cheap at cost of three or four years. But there is something else, which if the student understands it, and few do, is a possession of great price. The boy has lived in a community free from the grosser iniquities of the world, a society of scholars to whom learning is its own ample return, a republic where the crown of the olive is the unmaterial reward. And if the young graduate is wise as well as knowledgeable his diploma will tell him that in all this world there is no such fun as learning to understand. (23)

It would be difficult not to admire a man who possesses an ideal appreciation of learning and its value in life such as Sedgwick does; it is to our profit and interest that we pause to absorb some of his humanity.

C. Philosophy of Life

Sedgwick was interested in the Orient. Many times and many seasons found him wandering the strange corridors of the Far East. He seemed to derive comfort and strength from the basic serenity of the Oriental mind. This interest was reflected in his personal philosophy, which he tells us is borrowed from the East. He has always maintained that all life is one. "A single river flows through all creation, and there is one-ness in life if not in its manifestations." (24) The logical outgrowth of

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(24) Ibid., 75.
such a basic belief is a feeling of brotherhood with all humanity, and a deep sympathy for the woes and evils of life that rise time and time again in seeming triumph over the helpless underdog. Sedgwick became a liberal, an intellectual humanitarian. He was of the people and yet above the people. His keen analytical mind made him an acute observer, and his natural sympathy toward life, prodded him into action against inaction. Because he possessed a high degree of intellectual integrity, he found himself, a man saturated in tradition, breaking with certain traditions. He had to do this in order to remain firm in his beliefs. And so Ellery Sedgwick, descended from a family of Republicans, turned Democrat; so Sedgwick, a man of social standing, befriended the safecrackers and Bowery bums; and so Sedgwick, the blue-blooded Protestant, met Boston's Irish Catholics as their understanding friend. More than anything else, he was not afraid to think; he was not afraid to adopt his thinking to the changing times. His rule of life is not static; it is not blindly prejudiced in favor of one special group or another special group. Sedgwick's philosophy is based upon the broad principle of unity, to be likened to a straight highway with God at one end and humanity stretched out indefinitely along the road toward the other end. When one traveler requires assistance it is but a natural thing to aid him. Though some few may move along the road at a faster pace than other people, it is the duty of all to assume the responsibility of attempting to rectify wrong and eliminate injustice on the pathway. In broader terms, Mr. Sedgwick adheres to the Sermon on the Mount and the accepted beliefs of Christianity.
This rule of life carries over into the political and editorial spheres in the form of liberalism and a seeking after social justice.

**Experience in the Magazine field.**

Mr. Sedgwick was well prepared for life upon his graduation from college, not only by virtue of a particularly even outlook, but by virtue of a fine impression made as he prepared for his work. For two years (1895 - 1896) he served as a sub-master at his alma mater, Groton. In 1896 he made his break, and he entered into the world of editing and publishing. In systematic preparation for such a career, he had served as assistant editor of the *The Youth's Companion*, a Boston magazine. In 1900 through the recommendation of a friend, Walter Hines Page, Sedgwick assumed the position of editor and reorganizer of the failing *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*. His first official act was to change the name to *Leslie's Monthly*, and still later to *The American Magazine*. In his five year reign he not only proved himself an able editor who got results, but he showed uncanny business ability. To cite one example: Sedgwick thought the opportunity for a salary raise. His employers refused on the basis that they could not afford the increase. The young editor immediately countered with a fast business scheme that ended in Sedgwick not only receiving his desired raise, but becoming a partner in the firm.

It was just such a business "sixth sense" that enabled Sedgwick to sniff bad times. In 1906 he resigned from *The American Magazine*, narrowly averting financial ruin by his timely resignation.
The financial failure of the periodical was in no way due to Sedgwick, but was attributable to extremely poor handling of fiscal affairs.

Sedgwick then moved in swift succession through the dynamic atmosphere of Sam McClure training to the general management of the book department of D. Appleton and Company. In the meantime, Sedgwick had married Mabel Cabot, the daughter of Walter Channing Cabot (September 23, 1904), and he had set up housekeeping in no less a spot than Park Avenue, Manhattan. However, this domesticity caused by his marriage was not to be assumed as a token of settling down. The ever alert Sedgwick mind was working overtime. The jump from the faintly nostalgic world of D. Appleton and Company to active competition in the field of magazine publication was formidable, but throughout the first half of 1908, Sedgwick gravely toed the tight-rope. Now, if never before, were his business ability and his critical judgment to succor him. His attempt to become a part of the American magazine hierarchy was upon him. For in 1908, he began negotiations to obtain control of The Atlantic Monthly.

e. Introduction to the Editorship

This plan to purchase the Atlantic was no overnight-thought-of success. His plan to buy the magazine was as carefully developed an idea as Sedgwick's alert mind insisted that it would be. Sedgwick wanted to be his own "boss." He had constantly sought a kind, sympathetic, considerate, intelligent employer, but he had never found such a person. As to the Atlantic in particular, his own words best describe his far-reaching plans.
The idea took root long before I left college. If by hook or crook I could get hold of the Atlantic, I would make a go of it. This ambition did not seem unmoderate. . . . (in 1898) the magazine did not number five thousand subscribers, and from what I could learn, the annual deficit, always expected and as readily realized, was charged to advertising by the owners, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Divorced from this substantial house, the Atlantic would be just the type of diminutive business which I thought I could handle. The magazine was long on tradition. . . . it was short on realization. . . . According to my diagnosis, what the magazine suffered from was its position as the very small fifth wheel of a very cumbersome coach. What it needed was the individual devotion of a small and compact organization. (25)

Sedgwick harbored this desire for fifteen years while he worked and waited for the right moment. It came quietly in 1908. Bliss Perry, then editor of the magazine, confided secretly to Sedgwick that he was planning to retire from the editorial chair at the conclusion of his tenth year as the guiding inspiration of the magazine. This was "the moment", since the publishing firm was about to reorganize to meet the increased demands made upon it by competition. Sedgwick wrote to Mifflin offering to buy the magazine. "No offer of marriage was ever formulated with a greater infinitude of pains, and when the answer came to say that Mr. Mifflin was interested and would see and talk with me, my soul was lifted up." (26) Talks, regarding the possible purchase of the magazine by Sedgwick, between the publishers, Mifflin and Kay, and Sedgwick, began and continued throughout the winter, but finally an agreement of sale was reached; however, only after Mifflin had tempted Sedgwick unsuccessfully with a

(25) Ibid., 154.
(26) Ibid., 156.
junior partnership in the general firm.

The magazine was to be purchased outright for fifty thousand dollars. The Atlantic with all its tradition, the editorial Apostolic Succession, the circulation of fifteen thousand copies, and the annual deficit of five thousand dollars, was hereafter to be entirely under the star of Ellery Sedgwick, its eighth editor.

"The last deficit had been entered in the Atlantic books." (27)
CHAPTER III
Sedgwick and The Atlantic Monthly

a. Policy and Policy Changes

It was in his thirty-seventh year that Ellery Sedgwick bought control of The Atlantic Monthly. His ambition to edit the magazine had at last been realized. But the business deal had been closed in a literary era that bespoke hard times for the sedate Boston publication of circulation less than fourteen thousand. At that time, the dignified "literary" magazine of the class represented by the Century, Harper's, Scribner's and the Atlantic appeared to be fighting a lost fight. A new sort of periodical edited for a new public was pushing them to the wall. It had been discovered that for every hundred thousand readers of the older type of discreet and sober monthly there were millions who cared nothing about literary quality; who wanted everything simplified and sensationalized, but who could and would read magazines which did not tax their minds. If a magazine had a million readers, instead of a hundred thousand, it could get the advertising which brought financial success, and have enough money left over to outbid the more conservative journals for successful writers. The result of this discovery was a stampede among New York editors to this writer and that, to this idea and that, which might please the millions. Snappy fiction paid regardless of quality, if only the proper titles were attached to it. The New York editors would pay.

It may go to the United States, but it can be used in the United Kingdom. The material on this page is part of the "American Society" and the American Journal of Public Health. The material here is part of the "British Society" and the British Journal of Public Health.
thousands for the snappiness and the catchy title. Discussions of religion, of controversial subjects, might offend somebody and decrease the circulation (and thus the advertising). In place of such topics were put success stories and hints on the home beautiful.

The new journalism succeeded enormously. Though the best of the older magazines stuck bravely to their traditions, they saw a time approaching when they might be outbidden for manuscripts, outclassed in circulation, and forsaken by advertisers. It began to look as if the only way to succeed was to vulgarize.

In the midst of such conditions, what were Sedgwick's policies to be? It must not be assumed that Sedgwick was ignorant of this trend. He had learned the terrific hazards of the new journalism in those years when, as he later expressed it, he "jumped from the sinking raft to sinking raft," (29) and he had studied at close range the methods and the hysteria of the modern manner of magazine reporting. He felt that there must be enough people in the country who cordially disliked "hack" journalism to make possible the successful publication of a magazine with utterly different aims - thus did Sedgwick commence his editorial experiment.

He did not aim at a huge audience of newstand buyers; he aimed at a small audience of intelligent men and women who would subscribe in advance and keep on subscribing year after year if the magazine satisfied them. Statistics to be presented in another chapter will bear out this statement.

In the formation of this new policy Sedgwick had teamed with MacGregor Jenkins, long connected with the magazine under Houghton, Mifflin. To the shrewd Scotch common-sense of Mr. Jenkins is attributed in part the extraordinarily successful business management of the company. But Jenkins was also one of the keenest appraisers of public taste in the country. (30) He seemed to sense an audience as a real thing, not an ideal, hypothesis, or circulation curve. He knew what Americans of a certain level read. Through this ability he kept the Atlantic's feet on the ground. Certain critics such as Allen, Whipple, and Synder believe that the Atlantic had no set policy and cannot have a set policy. It just published what it thought would give its readers pleasure or stimulation. That meant what Ellery Sedgwick liked, and of which Jenkins approved, for the editor is usually the magazine.

The well-matched pair changed the Atlantic. They wanted it to succeed, and they were not content with the traditional few thousand readers. They studied how to get more, working on the encouraging theory that "the average American man or woman was much more interested in the discussion of important questions and much more appreciative of good writing than most magazine publishers thought. (31) It was an important moment in the cleavage between the estheric-literary tradition and the new sociological-ideas culture.


(31) Ibid., 122.
Introduction of New Ideas and Techniques

The adoption of a policy to please the public presupposes an acquaintance with the public and a means to reach the public. The New England background of the *Atlantic* could certainly not be mistaken for the American flavor. Sedgwick realized this fact only too well. He proposed to retain the prestige and tradition of the magazine, while he endeavored to instill an international human flavor into the contents. As a first step in this direction, he compiled a list of thousands of successful Americans in all forms of business and professions, in all sections of the nation, in several economic strata. Promotion matter was sent to this list; the reply was instantaneous and overwhelming. Circulation leaped, because they had found what was at the time an untouched field with almost unlimited possibilities. The average successful man was interested in good things. Here, in timely articles written in good form, was Sedgwick's first gift to his revolutionary experiment against the modern sensational journalism.

But as the editor discovered, the new reader demanded that the treatment of these fine things should be interesting. He would not accept a portion of dullness to receive a share of value. No one will contest the opinion that skillful promotion can lift circulation, but an alert editor has to keep the reader in order to succeed. If a good thing does not interest him, he will turn to something inferior which does. This movement toward the sensational magazine was a trend that was happening constantly during the first decade of the twentieth century, and for
The application of a policy to promote the public peace and safety.

The new Education Department of the American Indian.

The object of the program is to foster the growth and tradition of the American Indian.

The new Department of the American Indian.

The new Education Department of the American Indian.

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The new Department of the American Indian.

The new Education Department of the American Indian.
that matter, is a conspicuous repeater today. Sedgwick met this difficulty by bringing the reader to the writer. The quality reader was to be found in odd places, and he was likely to want various strange things. But Sedgwick and his *Atlantic* were willing to take him wherever he was. Thus, he found L. Adams Beck in a Zen monastery in Kyoto, Japan, Opal Whitely in a Western lumber camp, the Parson Edward Lewis at a Catholic Shrine in Assisi, and he brought them to Elinore Rupert, the Homesteader, or to Ada Cross, Southern African philosopher.

Sedgwick had long realized that the sober brown *Atlantic* cover, with the contents clearly printed on it, was with this audience an asset as valuable as a trade-mark. He himself, and many of his friends, enjoyed essays and cared little for fiction; he decided to reduce the fiction to a minimum and cultivate the essay. He made no effort to purchase names in competition with the new journalism; they cost too much for one thing, and the readers he had in mind cared less for the label than for the quality of the goods. He relied chiefly upon new writers who would be glad to appear in the *Atlantic* regardless of the size of the check, and upon professors, scientific men, professional men, business men, to whom writing was an avocation but who could speak with authority and conviction in the field of their special competence. And instead of editing for a mythical general public, he edited for himself and tried to find for the *Atlantic* the sort of reader who liked what he did.

These innovations ran directly counter to that of the new journalism. Ellery Sedgwick resolved that the *Atlantic* should
First page to a comprehensive speaker packet. Sometimes we...
face the whole of life, its riddles, its adventures; the critical questions of the day, the problems of the human heart; no subject should be taboo if it were discussed discreetly. The Atlantic, as it took shape under his hands, dealt informatively with the major problems of the whole world - political, economic, social, international - but not with them alone. Sedgwick's most absorbing interest was in the human predicament and the human reaction to it. He was curious to know what it felt like to other people to be young, to be middle-aged, to be old; what it felt like to be handicapped by physical infirmity, to be in the presence of danger. So, he began to print what he called "human documents," personal confessions, first-hand narratives of adventure - the story of a British officer held captive on a Chinese junk, or the statement of "Al" Smith on the question of Church and State. True, others had printed "human documents" before this; Edward Bok, for example, had built the circulation of The Ladies' Home Journal largely upon them; but Sedgwick gave the form a new dignity and subtlety, and always what he sought was not the physical adventure so much as the spiritual one.

Sedgwick's method of editing was simple. He kept a sharp lookout for promising material among the manuscripts submitted to him, never forgetting that even in an unpromising manuscript there may be the germ of a valuable feature. He would read thoroughly the New York Times and the London Times, keeping abreast of the news of the world; thus he would make up his mind what were the vital problems to which the Atlantic must address itself. He

dined out frequently, listened to the talk, and noticed what active minded people were thinking about. In addition, he kept up a voluminous correspondence with all types of humanity, in an effort to seek out information, opinion, or advice about writers and their work. Sedgwick's boundless energy and his expansive personality were infused into the magazine with the result that his technique of editorship was a success in a world of increasing competition.

Development of the Magazine Under His Inspiration

Sedgwick's technique was amazingly successful. After 1909 the circulation of the Atlantic increased slowly and almost uninterruptedly from less than fourteen thousand to a high of one hundred and twenty nine thousand in 1926.

When he undertook the editorship of the Atlantic, Sedgwick made haste slowly. He changed its program gradually, assuring himself of new readers before he risked losing the old. He did not try to push the circulation up overnight; he helped it to grow naturally. He paid small salaries, and he put a limit on the fees for manuscripts. When an author discovered by Sedgwick found that he could get higher rates elsewhere, Sedgwick was quite content to let him go, realizing that a changing list of authors was not only economical, but it lent variety and unexpectedness to the magazine. When he had a successful feature to launch, he made sure that the publicity and circulation efforts were ingeniously contrived and perfectly timed, but he did not

(33) Ibid., 1407.
overplay his hand. For example, he ordered, at first, only twenty four thousand extra copies of the issue containing Governor Smith's article on Church and State. Another editor might have put on an extra hundred thousand; Sedgwick preferred to play safe, realizing that a sold-out edition is always a good advertisement. [34]

He always utilized to the utmost the prestige of the Atlantic's name. New writers were given to feel that the privilege of appearing in the Atlantic constituted a sort of payment in itself and justified a modest check. Subscribers were given to feel that they were not simply subscribing to a magazine but entering a charmed circle, forming a national cultural institution. This psychological approach was good business, and figures showed the financial success of such thinking. The reputation of the Atlantic had its value in dollars and cents, and Sedgwick's careful direction of the magazine with this traditional thought in mind brought satisfaction to both the reader and the editor. It should be mentioned that Sedgwick's name was never featured in the advertising. He kept himself in the background; it was the Atlantic that occupied the spotlight.

Relationship with the Publisher and the Public

As Frederick Allen comments in his article "The American Magazine Grows Up":

The lesson was reasonably clear. What had caused the procession to the literary graveyard was not a vulgarizing of American taste or even the rise of the mass-production principle in journalism, so

(34) Ibid., 1408.
No natural text content is visible on the page.
much as the editorial - and business - complacency of the one time leaders of the American magazine world. Unable to find their way out of the ivory towers of learned gentility into the flesh-and-blood world of affairs, they had gradually lost touch with American leadership. Only those among them who were able to rediscover the stuff of life were able to carry on.

This, fortunately, Sedgwick was able to do. He was publisher and editor. His word was law. His main concern was that the magazine be read. No matter how fine a magazine may be from the literary or editorial viewpoint, if it is not read or sold, it is a failure. It appears that in this respect Sedgwick was as much a smart business man as he was an efficient editor. The principle of quality and salesmanship is a theory of both good business and editorship.

Thus, it was not strange that, driven by the necessity of professional conditions, his magazine challenged the public status quo in order to gain reader interest. It is obvious that agreement with the majority would succeed in lifting but few eyebrows. But, by the introduction of controversial matter and critical questions, reader interest could be stimulated. He did not believe in the debate or forum for the pages of his magazine, but he did allow the opponents representing the two sides of a topic to state their respective cases, if they promised a two fisted argument. Sedgwick also believed that the public should deduce the editor's beliefs on a particular problem by inference from the manner in which the editor handles a particular question.

The American Public Health Association, through its Committee on Hygiene, submits the following statement of its position on public health education. The Committee believes that the training of public health workers should be comprehensive, involving not only the applied sciences but also the humanities and social sciences.

The statement further emphasizes the importance of integrating theoretical knowledge with practical experience, and advocates the use of case studies and fieldwork as part of the educational process.

In conclusion, the Committee recommends that public health education be broad and inclusive, providing students with a solid foundation in both scientific and ethical considerations relevant to the field of public health.
Mr. Donald Synder, a close friend of Sedgwick's and the present publisher of the magazine discussed Sedgwick's notion of the purpose of the magazine in these terms:

From a purely literary point of view the magazine was to give ideas to the public. At first, this was accomplished by using contributed articles. This might be contrasted to the staff-written fact technique of such modern magazine as Time and Newsweek.

The public is not anymore enlightened or consciously aware of ideas today than they were in Sedgwick's time or before his time. But by a more skillful use and adaptation of idea-packaging and advertising exploitation the methods for reaching the people have been improved: their likes are better known, consequently they are played up. (36)

Mr. Synder agreed with the author that Sedgwick's greatest innovation was founding the Atlantic Papers. They were articles of topical interest written by men of affairs. The immediate effect of such an insertion was to bring the magazine from out of the Ivory Tower, to within the grasp of an interested questioning public. Here was refined sensationalism tuned to the times.

Such a positive approach to the public was certain to promote response. Affirmations were not long in coming. The Prospectus for 1913 said,

Of late years the appeal which the Atlantic makes to men active in commercial life has widened and deepened. Notable is its interest in and intelligent handling of the problems of science and religion.

A New York Times book review mentions:

There is no arguing the question the Atlantic Monthly is not the staid magazine that refreshed our grandfathers. It has grown lively during

(36) Interview with Mr. Donald Synder, March 7, 1948.
recent years; it has moved with the times, and finely enough, yet retained that dignified composure that is associated with it. In other words, the editors have brought it up to date but have done it in such a skillful manner that old readers will hardly guess that the magazine is moving on from their conservative views. (37)

It was forever Sedgwick's plan to keep the Atlantic before the public eye. He encouraged letters from the readers and often times the more interesting ones were answered in person by Sedgwick. He expanded the field of influence by periodically introducing to the public such sidelines as Atlantic Narratives, collections of the Atlantic, Atlantic Bookshelf, and the Atlantic essay contest for college students. The purpose behind such measures was two fold:

1. To further the influence of the Atlantic Monthly Company

2. To reap additional funds from once used works

Sedgwick's unique positions as owner, editor, and publisher enabled him to conduct the magazine with a free hand. As we have seen his acute business sense, his exceptional editorial ability, and his great liking for life combined to give the public a magazine interesting to them, worthy of literary value, and financially rewarding to Sedgwick himself.

It was left to the Engineers' plan to keep the alternating current.

The engineer, however, has encountered several other features, as the number of people in the room is smaller than usual, but the report was made at the end of the session.
CHAPTER IV

Sedgwick's Atlantic and Life

A. Attitude toward Literature

In his charming autobiography, The Happy Profession, Ellery Sedgwick professed "to hold good writing as the art above the arts and to forgive him much who can write like an Angel." (38) This statement in essence describes Sedgwick's personal feelings toward literature. No man as acutely appreciative of the drama of life as Sedgwick undoubtedly is could fail to feel and enjoy the power of literature. From his early youth to his last days as editor of the Atlantic he was an avid reader of the literature of many lands. His ability to understand human nature and his curiosity to seek out the riddles of humanity sought ever a solution in the written expressions of the world's great figures. It is not too obvious observation to make that an able editor need not possess a mind or a temperament capable of grasping the meaning of literature. Fortunately, Ellery Sedgwick possessed not only that nice balance of recognizing great literature when he saw it, but the journalistic acumen to present it to the public in a manner that brought them back for more. It was the combination of this feeling toward the art of writing and his profession of editing that made The Atlantic Monthly Company a secure investment in the era of biting competition. Sedgwick had

(38) Sedgwick, The Happy Profession, p.332.
VI 
MARTHU

with the old learnt words

A. ACCORDING TO PRECE-.

IN the case of a public corporation, the Board of Directors

and even some courts have held, in terms of the above,

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This is a Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is the Board of Directors,

If the Board of Directors is the Board of Directors, it could be said that the Board of Directors is the Board of Directors,

If the Board of Directors is the Board of Directors, it could be said that the Board of Directors is the Board of Directors,

In any case, the Board of Directors is the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors is the Board of Directors.
more than a desire to cut himself a piece of the financial pie of success; he sincerely desired to bring to the public a magazine capable of representing the higher ideals of literature. It must not be overlooked, however, that although Sedgwick had pledged his Atlantic to a continuation of the magazine's traditional high standards, the magazine was a business venture entered into with a fair assurance of profitable success. This combination of smart business administration and a well written periodical formed the picture of the magazine's attitude towards literature. Actually, the working attitude was a compromise. The editor, a man of education, taste, appreciation of literature, and possessing no small measure of literary ability himself, was sworn to the publication of a periodical combining the best and most interesting features of contemporary literature assembled and presented to a select audience so as to warrant their appreciation of the value and worth of the articles.

The move toward contemporary reporting was a revision of the magazine's previous policy before the Sedgwick regime. No more was the emphasis on disinterested art such as "Some Death Masks of Keats"\(^{39}\) or "Recent Books about Shakespeare"\(^{40}\) or "The Art of Balzac"\(^{41}\); human affairs held the forefront. It was Sedgwick's intent to make the story of life as appealing and as unique as possible without lowering the quality of the magazine to the "hack" stage of several of the pulp weeklies. This

\(^{39}\) The Atlantic Monthly, CI (1908), 72 ff.
\(^{40}\) Ibid., XCV (1902), 189 ff.
\(^{41}\) Ibid., XCVI (1903), 330 ff.
delicate handling called for an editor who both recognized and could present to a reader a vital topic of the day. Sedgwick had this knack; and it was Ellery Sedgwick's consummate journalistic ability that had made him one of the two or three really great magazine editors in this country, and one of the strongest forces for the regeneration of periodical publishing. Regarding Sedgwick's power to give the world noteworthy contemporary literature tuned to the interests of a reading public, F.L. Allen a former editorial associate of Sedgwick's claims,

In a dark day for American letters and journalism he proved that a magazine of distinction, edited for people of fastidious taste, could be made to pay dividends; and he (Sedgwick) has subsequently proved that such a magazine can be carried on with continuing success even in a day when fad follows fad with bewildering rapidity. (42)

b. Analysis of Sedgwick's Ideas with Relation to the Field of Literature

Ellery Sedgwick carried on his multitudinous duties as editor of The Atlantic Monthly from a large office overlooking the Boston Public Garden. On his manuscript ridden desk there rested a carefully prepared slogan - the words of Edward Fitzgerald - "The power of writing one fine line transcends all the able-editor ability in this ably-edited universe." (43) Sedgwick carried this dictum with him; it was a part of his makeup and, consequently, it was a part of the makeup of the magazine. To a very large degree it was this formula, if it can be called such, that

(42) F.L. Allen, "Sedgwick and the Atlantic", Outlook CL (December 26, 1926), 1406.
(43) Sedgwick, The Happy Profession, XIII.
determined Sedgwick's uncanny sense for picking authors and manuscripts out of thin air. For example, some interesting person might tremble in his web of contacts, he would write a letter, and then he would draw his net, finally he would print the life distillation of someone who had lived and thought until he had something to say.

In fitting tribute to Mr. Sedgwick's awareness of a work with literary merit the outline of his meeting with James Hilton is herein recounted:

> It was delightful, that first meeting, for by a masterpiece of luck I had in my pocket the key to Hilton's fortune. I held the contract for Mr. Chips ....obviously the manuscript was short for a volume of conventional size, but Mr. Chips furnished a case apart and from the moment I first read the story for the Atlantic, I knew it was born for permanence..... On my voyage home I had all the Hilton novels in my gripsack. Everything delighted but nothing surprised me. When Mr. Chips was published and its editions shot skyward, then and then only his other novels, notably Lost Horizon, caught fire and the Hilton bonfire was the blaze of the year. That fire has not died down. (44)

Sedgwick's sense of perception of the possibilities hidden in apparently hopeless material more than once enabled the Atlantic to score a literary "scoop" for the magazine's patrons. A series of letters - personal letters describing life as it looked to a woman in the West - once came into his mail tray by the merest chance. They were not typewritten; they were crudely scrawled on coarse paper, full of mis-spelling and doubtful grammar. Probably nine editors out of ten would have thrown them out with only the most cursory reading. But Sedgwick saw

(44) Sedgwick, The Happy Profession, p. 227-228.
that they were racy, entertaining, genuine. The writing could easily be corrected - and was.\textsuperscript{45} The result was one of the most popular series of papers that the Atlantic had ever printed. It was the heart warming story of Elinore Rupert Stewart, the Woman Homesteader, who found that life in a remote corner of Wyoming could be fascinating and worth telling other people about. She was a young widow with a two-year-old daughter. Her husband had been killed in a train wreck, and she found herself without a friend. She determined to turn to homesteading and stake out a claim of her own in the world. After an adventurous year, she wrote an account of her experiences which were transmitted to the office of Ellery Sedgwick. There seemed to be one adventure after another. Every settler had his own story to tell Mrs. Stewart, the tale to be relayed to the Atlantic. The Woman Homesteader never tolerated a dull day. From getting lost in the snow, to cooking Christmas dinner, to inducing the town's most eligible bachelor to marry the community's nicest girl, Elinore Stewart ran the gauntlet of common everyday experiences, but under what seemed to be the most extraordinary conditions of living. Her popular appeal to reader interest was found in her simple direct manner of handling all situations, whether they were critical or

\textsuperscript{45} It may be mentioned here that the uniformity of Atlantic usage of grammar is due to the compilation of standard editorial usage policy made in 1921 by George B. Ives with the cooperation of Ellery Sedgwick. In general the compendium of the Atlantic Usage differs from customary practice in one instance: the magazine employs single quotation marks instead of double quotation marks.
routine. She wanted no sympathy for her lot in life. The Atlantic reader could have nothing but admiration for this type of courage.

The Sedgwick capacity for visualizing literary value led the Atlantic into one of the most interesting and yet mysterious associations of modern periodical writing. Late one afternoon in September of 1920, a young hopeful entered his office with a manuscript, The Fairyland Around Us. Her name was Opal Whiteley, and to this very day people still ask whether "Opal Whiteley is a genius, a clever faker, or just a dreamer of fantastic dreams?"

Sedgwick found little value in Opal's manuscript, but he found her personality fascinating. A conversation revealed that the imaginative girl of twenty-two had kept a diary of her years spent in the various lumber camps of the Pacific Northwest. Opal had been an orphan adopted by Mr. and Mrs. C.E. Whiteley. The young girl spoke of her royal parents, and she inferred that her father might have been Prince Henri d'Orleans and her mother a daughter of the Maharajah of Udaipur in India. Sedgwick displayed interest in the diary, but, alas, it had been destroyed by her jealous step-sister. However, Opal had saved the torn scraps in a shoe-box. Sedgwick sensed a marvelous piece of imaginative writing. He placed Opal in his own house, and for nine months she worked piecing her diary together as a preliminary step in the preparation for Atlantic publication. The public received the brilliant account of a six year old girl's life among the animals of the forest with comments ranging from acclaim for a work of imaginative genius to remarks accusing her of clever
Impersonation. Notwithstanding criticism pro and con, the series was immensely popular. It was not until Professor John M. Manly of the University of Chicago made the subtle observation that the large handwriting of a six-year-old would necessitate trunks instead of shoe-boxes in which to carry scraps, that definite doubt was cast upon Opal Whiteley. In time she disappeared, presumably to recapture her aristocratic beginnings. She appeared briefly in India in the full regalia of a descendant of French nobility, and recently in February, 1948, a representative of the Hearst syndicate found her living in London in abject poverty, a pathetic victim of her own illusions of grandeur. (46)

Sedgwick, from his position as originator and close observer of the entire controversy, claims Opal to be a brilliant victim of her own highly developed imagination. He does not believe in the myth of noble parenthood, but he does lean, with the help of documented evidence, which he possesses, in the direction of immigrant parents of French birth. The father, possibly a soldier of Henri Bourbon's regiment, may have intrigued her childish mind with the honor of aristocratic breeding to such an extent that Opal's own personality gave way to an actual belief in her wild dream. (47)

The New York Times has referred to the Atlantic as a seat of "cultured New Englandism", inferring that the spirit of democratic

(47) Sedgwick, The Happy Profession, 265-266.
liberalism had never successfully overcome the strongly established forces of American conservatism. Perhaps the one outstanding example of the misrepresentation of Atlantic conservatism was Sedgwick's dramatic and sensational appeal in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. Sacco and Vanzetti were poor Boston Italian immigrant working men. Of strongly radical Socialistic political convictions, they were accused of the death and robbery of a factory paymaster and his guard in Braintree, Massachusetts, April 15, 1920. Both men, as a result of a trial, were condemned to death. The case was appealed. Seven years were consumed in delays which seemed to make a travesty of justice. It would seem that a mark was made upon the soul of those people who allowed the unfortunate pair, Sacco and Vanzetti, to suffer mental torture while they awaited a final decision.

It was in the sixth year of this series of appeals to higher courts in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, that Sedgwick found himself engaged in the controversy. Quite innocently, while vacationing in South America, Sedgwick chanced upon a sign in Montevideo, telling of "El Crimen Del Boston," urging that the workers of the world unite and save Sacco and Vanzetti, two innocent men, from the horror of a political execution. This worldwide concern for the condemned men was displayed again in London, where Lord Haldane and John Galsworthy pleaded that Sedgwick, as a magazine journalist, should do something about this injustice. Upon his return to Boston, Sedgwick immediately contacted William G. Thompson, attorney for the defense, and arranged a meeting so that he might learn the story from start to finish from a competent
authority. Then, for the first time, Sedgwick sensed that what confronted the juror, journalist, reader or attorney might be not a crime, but a Cause - the fight for social justice over bigotry and the struggle for political non-conformists to obtain a just hearing. After a complete survey of the case, Sedgwick became firmly convinced of the injustice that was being done to these men, and, gradually, he accepted the view that the men might, after all, be innocent. Finally, he determined to reopen the problem to the public through the medium of his magazine. He did so only after careful consideration, since the men had been convicted and condemned, and the conservative public had long since labelled any defense of the radicals as "rabble-rousing." However, Sedgwick reasoned differently and he explained himself:

The part played by the Atlantic in the fateful drama was to the magazine as well almost a matter of life or death. By countless readers it was held a lawless act...which placed the Atlantic directly in contempt of court. Many went further...that a magazine devoted to literature, dedicated to good breeding, should rouse the rabble by such an article and assault the due and orderly process of the law - the outrage was intolerable.

....to discuss the case after due process of the law had completed its orderly course and the men had been executed, would be but to print a cynical epitaph for the world to read, and after all, if a magazine is a living thing, as certainly it ought to be, it has its own personal conscience to consult.49

Therefore, with such convictions, Sedgwick published an amazingly revealing article, "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti" by Felix Frankfurter, then a Harvard Law School professor. The

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article was a careful, studied exposition of the errors of the circumstantial evidence used by the prosecution against Sacco and Vanzetti. It is obvious that Frankfurter was prejudiced in favor of the defendants. He concludes that, in a large measure, it seemed that Judge Thayer allowed the court to be unduly impressed by so-called eye-witness accounts, which in many instances proved to be contradictory, and to be swayed by the American dislike of the radical political views held by the two accused men. Frankfurter sums up his argument with the challenging statement that "a new trial must not be withheld where in justice it is called for because thereby encouragement will be given to improper demands for a new trial. For courts cannot close their eyes to injustice on account of facility of abuse. With these legal canons as a guide, the outcome ought not to be in doubt."50

So deeply was the popular interest stirred by this article in the possibility that a miscarriage of justice was being allowed in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, that the Governor of Massachusetts, in whose hands rested the power to pardon, appointed three reputable citizens to examine the evidence and to report upon it. The Board was comprised of President Lowell of Harvard, Judge Robert Grant, and President S.W. Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The report reaffirmed the conviction, and on August 23, 1927, the men were executed.

Still convinced of the righteousness of his position, Sedgwick printed in the Atlantic the recorded last conversation of Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The talk between Vanzetti and his former

attorney, William G. Thompson, was recorded by Thompson and verified by the death-house guard. The statement reiterates Van- zetti's firm conviction that he was innocent of crime and that he was to die, not for murder, but for his espousal of the Socialistic ideal.

Needless to say, the printing of two such inflammatory articles as Frankfurter's defense of Sacco and Vanzetti and Thompson's "Vanzetti's Last Statement" 51 caused a great deal of criticism to be levelled at the Atlantic. Judge Grant, a member of Governor Fuller's Board, charged that Sedgwick "had no right to speak through the magazine." 52 The entire controversy was an excellent example of Sedgwickian sensationalism. The articles exploded among the public like a bomb, and immediately sides for and against the editorial wisdom of allowing such material to be printed in a staid, old magazine rose up. Sedgwick had sold his magazine, however, and he had presented a sensational topic in well-written, carefully considered articles, prepared by two outstanding men of the legal profession who were certainly not to be thought of as extreme radical thinkers. It would seem that Sedgwick had demonstrated the principle that sensationalism, such as the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, could be handled intelligently. The customary gory, emotional details of some forms of sensational journalism were completely lacking in the Atlantic articles on Sacco and Vanzetti. Sedgwick had endeavored to maintain the magazine's standard for printing contemporary

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52 Sedgwick, Atlantic Harvest, p. 301.
material that was both interesting and worth reading.

Although Ellery Sedgwick was an editor, he was not a true scholar. He usually recognized good literature; he always recognized good journalism. It was this emphasis on Sedgwick's ability to sense a sensational journalistic "first" that caused him his most disastrous error.

During the summer of 1928, Sedgwick received a letter from a mid-Western woman, Miss Frances Wilma Minor, in which she stated that she had in her possession certain hitherto unpublished letters of Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge. Sedgwick was at first frankly skeptical of their authenticity, but when preliminary evidence supported the veracity of Miss Minor's claim, he launched a full scale investigation. If the letters were proved to be authentic, Sedgwick mused, then the Atlantic would have an invaluable piece of both historical material and journalistic capital. Because all investigations appeared to verify the authenticity of the letters, Sedgwick went so far as to plan publication of the letters in book form. Consequently, magazine release of the letters and relative documents was scheduled for the late fall of 1928. As Sedgwick explained in his prologue to the letters entitled "The Discovery - A New Storehouse of Lincoln Material,"53 a thorough and competent inquiry into the authenticity of the letters had been carried out, and reputable scientists and Lincoln students had concluded that the series was the valuable and true story of Lincoln's romance with Ann Rutledge in New Salem, Illinois. And so the letters were

53 Frances Wilma Minor, editor, "Lincoln, the Lover," The Atlantic Monthly, CXLII (December, 1928), 838.
launched in a three-month, serialized version, complete with illustrated reproductions of the letters (this reproduction broke a seventy year Atlantic tradition against illustrations). As the articles appeared in the winter of 1927-1928, the magnitude of the Atlantic discovery was heralded throughout the land; even the Congressional Library offered to exhibit the papers. But then, amid the acclaim, the blow fell that placed Sedgwick and the Atlantic in an extremely embarrassing situation.

A group of competent historical critics and Lincoln scholars led by Paul M. Angle, Oliver R. Barrett, and Worthington C. Ford branded the Minor letters as absolute frauds. Dr. Angle, then secretary of the Lincoln Centennial Association, at present, Director of the Chicago Historical Society, in an article called: "The Minor Collection: A Criticism" summarized the devastating evidence brought to bear by an overwhelming number of scholars against the truth and accuracy of the Lincoln-Rutledge letters. Angle's systematic and scholarly analysis of the letters shows Sedgwick in extremely poor light with regard to his methods of research and documentation. Angle proved conclusively that certain specified facts of the letters were absolute falsehoods and inaccuracies; for example, the use of Spenser's copy book by Ann Rutledge eighteen years before it was written; or the statement made by Matilda Cameron, Ann's cousin, that packets travelled the Sagamon River during July and August of the year, while actually the Sagamon River is nothing but a large stream.

upon which anything larger than a canoe is in danger of ground-
ing. In fact, the scholars seriously, and with justification, ques-
tioned the actual existence of Matilda Cameron and Sally Calhnoun, friends of Lincoln and Ann, and also the original pos-
essors of the letters. As Dr. Angle explained:

Specific discrepancies are added to evidence of spuriousness which the examination of hand-
writing, general content and documentary history amassed, proof becomes overwhelming.55

Sedgwick did not have "a leg to stand on." The facts of the scholars were all too evident. It seemed as though Sedgwick would not even be able to apologize gracefully. But, his editorial "With Charity For All," acknowledged his grave mistake based upon a too superficial investigation of the letters, and a naive confidence in the respectability and character of the line of owners who possessed the letters. Nevertheless, with certain de-
feat confronting him, Sedgwick displayed a very unbecoming ob-
stinacy in capitulating. His attitude was a personal stand against the truth that was particularly foolish for a man in public life, and an editor of an important magazine, such as he was, to make. His final defiant words reflect this weakness of character that refuses a man the courage to admit he has been duped completely, and while Sedgwick could not deny the inacc-
uracies of the letters, he had to find some value in them in order to "save face" for publishing them.

To us the letters seemed to furnish a very interesting explanation of the unexplained change which came over Lincoln's character in the form-
ative years, and we think than any person whose prejudice does not blind his judgment, will find

55 Ibid., p.524.
in this material... evidence that if it is fabricated, an artist's hand has been at work.56

To this day the skilled and clever forger of the great hoax of the Lincoln-Rutledge papers in unknown.

In drawing the section on Sedgwick's *Atlantic* and literature to a close, a very interesting question in the connection between a periodical and literature per se may be raised. With specific reference to *The Atlantic Monthly*: can a magazine that deals with topics of current interest introduce to the public contemporary journalistic literature which maintains certain literary values? Or, to put it in another manner, does the *Atlantic*, with its emphasis on reaching and pleasing an audience month by month, print literature or does it simply publish words and accounts of current happenings? Literature, generally speaking, is the sum total of the recorded events of one or all languages. Of necessity, it must deal with the human drama and life with its myriad extensions and intricacies since that is all that man can write about, and since that is in which man is eternally interested. Therefore on the surface, any broadly applied literary value should deal with the question of whether a certain work of literature gives depth or shallowness, inspiration or disgust, a true or false presentation of life in its various parts; and whether these works are artistically presented or simply factually reported. Of course, there are many finer technical aspects of literary values that deal with style, expression, and the mechanics of the writing of literature. Those considerations enter into the field of literary criticism. To return to the question of whether the

56 Ellery Sedgwick, "With Charity For All," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CXLIII (February, 1929), 288 d.
The material...
Atlantic prints literature, the broadest meaning of the term, literary value, as just defined, must be employed in making a judgment. Much reference has been made of Sedgwick's endeavor to give his readers articles on life - life as seen through the eyes of other men, famous and not so famous; life as it is seen in its darkest moments and in its brightest victories; life as it is to the religious, the blind, the materialistic, life from all over the world. This is literature because such articles are written of life, and literature is the recorded acts of life, written and presented in artistic fashion. Then, are articles depicting contemporary life worthy of the title, literature, when judged by a set of literary values? Yes, the author contends that they are. For do you not travel the wide range of human experience when Mary Webb tells of the healing power of Nature, or Hans Coudenhove explains why he chose the Belgian Congo as his home rather than the leisurely life of the Court of Schönbrunn? Here is literature and, if you will, here is style - style both good and bad; but all types are wonderfully expressive of the emotions that the author's written words wished to express. It is true that no Atlantic article will reach the depth and magnificence of a Divine Comedy or a Hamlet, but as life is played on different levels, so too is literature produced on different levels. Can it be doubted that Gamaliel Bradford's psychographs of Robert E. Lee and his aides are distinctive pieces of biographical literature? Are not the Japanese letters of Lafcadio Hearn as much a part of literature as the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence?

John Bannister Tabb's "The Image Maker" and Dallas Lore Sharp's "The Radium of Romance" first appeared in the Atlantic. Anne Douglas Sedgwick, Ernest Hemingway, Agnes Repplier all contributed their talents to the magazine. Articles on the drama, French poets and modern fiction have found space and welcome in Sedgwick's Atlantic. The composite picture of Atlantic articles yields one view that in fairness should be made. The Atlantic Monthly does print literature; and the magazine's articles are a type of creative work that reflects a knowledge of both the technical questions of literary history and the raw human material that goes into the writing of literature.

Such were the inclinations of Sedgwick's editorial tendencies, and such was his ability for detecting the worth of a person to write literature and of a work to contain literary value. From the story of Lester Monks, "Failure," to the crusading expose' of Professor William T. Ripley, "From Main Street to Wall Street," the Atlantic forged ahead gaining public support and at times, as in Ripley's case, reforming abuses of public trust.

c. Attitude Toward War

World War I came about the time that the Atlantic was getting its new policy into full swing, and Sedgwick seized the opportunity brilliantly. He got a fascinating lot of documentary and personal articles from Europe. He went in for the politics of war, and out of this grew a permanent monthly department, "The New World," covering international economics, politics, and sociology. He did the commendable thing of presenting the German viewpoint to America, in contrast to the American and Allied view before
our entrance into the war, and opened his columns to men like Baron Hugo Munsterberg and Kuno Francke. (58) He believed in hearing both sides of a question, in giving even unpopular opinions a chance to be aired. His personal sympathies were naturally with England because he had a host of English friends and liked the English way of life; but he thought Americans ought to know and would be interested to know what the Germans conceived themselves to be fighting for. Of course, discussion was not limited to German statements. Englishmen, Frenchmen, and later, Americans had ample opportunity to explain a particular belief. However, once the United States had entered into the war, he printed nothing but pro-war and pro-victory material. An examination of the Atlantic during the first twelve months of American participation showed a pretty complete vacuum of any discussion, not only of public liberties in war time, but of the terms of peace the nation should have been discussing based upon democratic ideals. Leon Whipple calls Sedgwick a victim of "the trap that snapped at Versailles." (59) Sedgwick counted Woodrow Wilson as one of his two heroes, and for this very reason, it is strange to discover his complete lack of advance coverage of Wilson's idealistic platform. In the period from April 1917, to December 1918, there appeared but two articles which dealt directly with the question of a peace settlement: "The Fallacy of a German Peace" by André Cheradome, and "The League of Nations" by Albert Thomas. In the article by Cheradome, the traditional

French view of a harsh suppression of German nationalism is discussed; while Thomas in "The League of Nations" presented a very brief and abstract definition of the concept of the League of Nations. For the most part, the war articles were confined to the great mass of personal experience and eye witness reports from the pens of the men who saw and fought the war at close range. For example, such titles as "Ordinary Seaman, U.S.N." "On a Destroyer off Dogger Banks," "A Reserve Officer Speaks," appear. These titles typify the sensational aspects of war on an individual and human plane which appealed so strongly to the readers back home, who came no nearer to the sound of gunfire than through the pages of the Atlantic. Sedgwick realized that the civilian population desired to use the magazine's war stories as a means of experiencing the dangers and the emotions that had become so common to the combatants. Thus, the emphasis was on the personal adventure, the "How I Felt to be Captured and Escape" tale. This trend in magazine articles concentrated the mind of the reader on one thought, the successful completion of the war. In order to gain this "patriotic" end of victory by concentrating on the American war-effort through personal experience articles, Sedgwick excluded articles dealing with post-war topics from the publication. Herein lies an interesting question of editor-responsibility. Should Sedgwick, or any other editor, direct the reading public in a certain vein which has, or might have, a vital position in future national events? In 1917-1918, Sedgwick could have

60 Andre Cheradome, "The Fallacy of a German Peade," The Atlantic Monthly, CXXI (February, 1918), 112.
I am a helpful assistant. I can provide assistance with a variety of tasks.

Do you have any specific questions or requests?

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,
[Your Name]
published advance ideas on a peace settlement with Germany and the plans for international peace-keeping organizations. He did not do this; rather he catered to popular demand for exciting war stories. If Sedgwick held that a magazine should be employed as an instrument in promoting a well-informed reading public, informed as to the basic causes and effects of the conflict, he clearly neglected his duty in this instance of war-time periodical writing. If his duty was to supply an eager reading public with stories from the "front," he afforded them a superior brand of personal experience stories that never once sank to the low level of some Allied journalism during the Great War. However, it seems much more in keeping with the Atlantic ideal of giving the best in current intellectual thought that Sedgwick should have invited discussions and expositions of the most recent planning for the future. Perhaps it was a case of the editor being divorced from the man, not exactly an unwise policy in the competitive world of magazine publishing, but in this instance his neglect of articles concerned with the making of the peace was a definite indication of short-sightedness. Though Sedgwick's personal contacts were probably more world-wide than American, his magazine was dependent upon American support for success, and despite his acknowledged tolerance of all socio-political movements, Sedgwick believed in the Allied cause. The magazine's attitude as drawn from its pages is what might be expected of a periodical dependent for financial success upon a nation with strong national rather than international feelings.
This page contains information on an organization or agency. The content is not clearly legible due to the handwriting style and quality. It appears to discuss various topics related to information dissemination and possibly emphasizes the importance of accurate data collection and reporting. The exact content is difficult to determine due to the legibility issues.
CHAPTER V

Sedgwick's Atlantic and its Golden Age, (1925 - 1938)

I. Sedgwick and "Big Business"

When Ellery Sedgwick bought The Atlantic Monthly from
Houghton, Mifflin and Company in 1908 to form the Atlantic Monthly Company, he had taken a step new and strange in the traditional publishing house business association of The Atlantic Monthly. For the first fifty-one years of the magazine's existence, the periodical had acted as a non-supporting adjunct to a more powerful publishing firm. Now, for the first time, the magazine, already in the "red", was to be cut adrift as an independent business venture. A corporation was formed under the title of The Atlantic Monthly Company. A select group of stock holders supplied the initial one hundred thousand dollars to insure purchase and provide current operating expenses. Of the stock holders, Ellery Sedgwick held the controlling vote. 62 with MacGregor Jenkins the next in line. Because the corporation was and still is a private stock company with no issued common stock, there is no obligation under government regulations to list the names of stock holders or to file a public financial statement yearly.

In a conversation with the present publisher, treasurer of the corporation, and an admitted stock holder, Mr. Donald Synder; the author was informed that data and statistics beyond a purely surface nature were not to be divulged, since such revelations

62 Upon Mr. Sedgwick's retirement in 1938, his controlling interest was sold to Mr. Healey Danielson, a banker, of Darien, Connecticut.
could possibly prove injurious to the interests of the company.

(It would seem that competition causes an uncontrollable suspicion in the minds of our alert business men.) 63

With the advent of Sedgwick, The Atlantic Monthly Company consisted of a capital stock of $90,000. 64 Today, incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it has a capital stock of $300,000. 65 The first problem confronting the new company was to erase the yearly deficit of approximately four thousand dollars. The ideal manner was to boost circulation; this was done as has been shown in the third chapter. In addition, Sedgwick paid small salaries to his staff of four people, offered contributors but slight remuneration, cut operating expenses, and existed himself on a regular salary. As a result the first year of operation yielded a profit of four thousand dollars, or a gain of eight thousand dollars over the previous. By virtue of a different business setup in 1910, with less government regulation, all the profits of the company, except nominal expenses, were poured back into the corporation, in order to build up the plant and the value of the stock. Today, such procedure would not profit the stock holders since corporation taxation is so great. Sedgwick's editorial and advertising policy paid dividends, and circulation mounted steadily from 1908 - 1928 before the first break occurred. In an attempt to obtain accurate

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63 The information presented in this chapter is recorded wholly through either the kindness of talks with Mr. Synder or U.S. Labor Department statistics.

64 Original outlay $100,000 minus $4,000 deficit.

circulation figures, a guarded audit of old Atlantic records was allowed. Interestingly enough, the record books began in 1920 (no data were shown to the author prior to this date), and they had been kept in long hand in a very unbusiness like fashion. This is not meant to be a slurring remark, but it seems odd that such a corporation did not maintain more permanent records. Assuming a circulation of 12,000 in 1908, and a steady increase to 1920, the following chart is presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>84,232</td>
<td>114,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>82,944</td>
<td>111,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>85,908</td>
<td>112,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>92,899</td>
<td>122,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>96,937</td>
<td>125,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>95,760</td>
<td>126,315</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>97,089</td>
<td>120,385</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
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<tr>
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<td>76,899</td>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>81,627</td>
<td>93,099</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>86,202</td>
<td>88,866</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>87,381</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>89,037</td>
<td>100,245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*12,015 represents the lowest figure attained in newspaper sales. By 1947 the amount had risen to 35,000. Reasons for fluctuation will be discussed in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SUBSCRIPTION LISTS</th>
<th>NEWSTAND SALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>70,345</td>
<td>34,854</td>
<td>105,199</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>77,784</td>
<td>31,425</td>
<td>109,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>81,747</td>
<td>30,813</td>
<td>112,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>82,544</td>
<td>31,764</td>
<td>114,308</td>
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<tr>
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<td>85,032</td>
<td>29,488</td>
<td>114,520</td>
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<td>84,232</td>
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<td>111,021</td>
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<td>82,944</td>
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<td>85,908</td>
<td>36,643</td>
<td>122,551</td>
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<td>92,899</td>
<td>35,924</td>
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<td>96,937</td>
<td>29,378</td>
<td>126,315</td>
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<td>95,760</td>
<td>24,605</td>
<td>120,365</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>87,069</td>
<td>19,800</td>
<td>106,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>78,900</td>
<td>18,822</td>
<td>97,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>76,239</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>92,039</td>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>81,617</td>
<td>15,049</td>
<td>96,666</td>
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<td>89,975</td>
<td>13,391</td>
<td>103,366</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>89,963</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>87,676</td>
<td>12,569</td>
<td>100,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>85,037</td>
<td>12,215*</td>
<td>97,242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*12,215 represents the lowest figure attained in newstand sales. By 1947 the amount had risen to 35,000. Reasons for fluctuation will be discussed in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>March</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1940</td>
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<td>19411</td>
<td>19412</td>
<td>19413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table above shows the temperature data from January 1940 to December 1951.*
Agreeing with Frank Mott's research assistant, Mr. J. Rowley, that Atlantic subscription figures are difficult to obtain, but giving the company the benefit of the doubt, since it is entirely their prerogative to cast out or haul in, we pass on to the next development of the company.

An odd clause of the purchase contract that Sedgwick had made with Houghton, Mifflin and company, bound him to the Riverside Press, a subsidiary printing company of Houghton, Mifflin, for five years. At the conclusion of this specific length of time, President Sedgwick, his company, and his magazine would be free to choose their own printer. Sedgwick did just this and finally selected a small unknown job printer in Concord, New Hampshire. The printing shop had never before done magazine work. Sedgwick personally invested heavily in the business, and he also invested some Atlantic money in order to enlarge facilities. Because of his heavy personal investments, Sedgwick, in his capacity as the leading stock holder, named himself vice-president of the newly formed Rumford Publishing Company. Today, it is one of the most specialized printing companies in the country (magazine publication being the specialty). The Rumford Publishing Company is the only active financial connection Mr. Sedgwick retained after his retirement in 1938.

The Atlantic and Competition

DeWolfe Howe, biographer of The Atlantic Monthly, summarized the growing independence of the Sedgwick-ruled Atlantic in
This manner "...the magazine has come to stand at the center instead of the circumference of the circle of interests with which it is interested." This fact is both literally and figuratively true. From a modest commercial venture involving a small circulation publication of excellent reputation, The Atlantic Monthly first allied itself with a printing company, and continued to expand rather than to consolidate. In 1910, Putnam's magazine and Sedgwick effected a merger. As the Atlantic found favor with a larger and larger public, the company responsible for it expanded by the acquisition of two additional periodicals - first The House Beautiful, then The Living Age. The success of such expansion encouraged Sedgwick, and he suggested that the company offer the public books bearing the imprint of the Atlantic Monthly Press. The first books under such an arrangement were published in 1917. After a set of negotiations with Little, Brown and Company, a regular series of ATLANTIC-LITTLE, BROWN books began to appear in 1920, superseding the original Atlantic Monthly Press books. The back of the title page of such books carry this notation:

ATLANTIC-LITTLE, BROWN Books
are Published by
Little Brown and Company in
association with
The Atlantic Monthly Press

An impartial study of the effect of competition upon the Atlantic should be prefaced by a series of general statistical tables, so that a comparison may be seen between the industry as a whole and the Atlantic magazine in particular. Reference to

Table I will aid in the comparative study of the yearly change in circulation figures. The first series of figures to be presented represent the indices of publishing industrial production.

TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1932</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>109</td>
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TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income (in Millions of Dollars)</th>
<th>The Publishing Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2191</td>
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<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the complete field of industrial divisions the publishing industry runs below agriculture, textiles, and transportation in the matter of national income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1937</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>150</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>160</td>
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## Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Value</th>
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<td>120</td>
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<td>1943</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4

Publishing Receipts and Circulation 1929 - 1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Periodicals</td>
<td>2,676,262</td>
<td>2,173,062</td>
<td>2,149,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Subscriptions and Sales</td>
<td>184,545</td>
<td>171,961</td>
<td>184,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Advertising</td>
<td>322,900</td>
<td>235,874</td>
<td>224,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total periodical income</td>
<td>507,445</td>
<td>407,835</td>
<td>409,027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(value in thousands of dollars)

TABLE 5

Aggregate Circulation per Issue (Average per Year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Monthly periodicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>133,048,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>122,670,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>103,192,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>102,193,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>124,520,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>134,766,467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68

The tables reproduced above serve to fill one paramount purpose. In themselves they reflect both the general trend of industry in the period 1925 - 1938 and the movement of the publishing industry subject to the periodic workings of the economic business cycle. By comparing Table I, the chart of the Atlantic circulation figures with the publishers' indices, the division of national income, and the aggregated circulation of monthly periodicals, it can be seen that the respective circulation drops average approximately the same percentage loss.

For the industry as a whole, the period 1931--1933 found a decrease of 18% in circulation, while the Atlantic suffered a decrease of 14%. In corresponding fashion, production indices, the accumulative factor representing all determinants of a given industry, would follow suit, and total publishing income would naturally reflect a financial decrease by virtue of a circulation drop. The figures tend to prove that the Atlantic suffered no more than any of her rivals in the reader market. Conditions leading to a decrease in circulations were due largely to the economic depression of the 1930's, rather than to a slackening interest in Atlantic material. The nation was in the midst of a critical crisis where bread and butter counted more than magazine articles, no matter how excellent.

So much for the cold statistics. As most business executives admit, there is always a human element present in every transaction, be it good or bad. These aside never reach the table or the graph or the economic analysis, but they represent a definite marker on the road up or the road down. If the Table I were to be studied with emphasis on the decreasing curve of the Atlantic newstand sales, it might be correctly surmised that had news sales not slumped the Atlantic would have weathered the depression era with a large amount of black ink. Of course, it may be argued that newstand sales more accurately determine public approval or public financial hardships than do subscription lists, for the man in the street, the hit and miss magazine purchaser, represents a truer cross-section of America. All
undoubtedly true, but the Atlantic staff held a different view of the newstand sales. An interview with Miss Madeline Goddard, Ellery Sedgwick's long-time personal secretary, might run like this:

Harpers (apparently considered to be the Atlantic's top intellectual rival) and the Atlantic continued to slump in newstand sales after the depression with an all-time low of 12,215 registered in 1938. Some of the contributing factors for this loss were:

1. National economic conditions
2. Competition of the more sensational magazines
3. Lack of an appealing cover design to exploit newstand sales
4. The determination of Mr. Sedgwick to refuse to change the cover to a more lurid appearance.

Mr. Donald Synder has corroborated these reasons, and added the significant fact that Ninetieth Anniversary edition of the Atlantic (November 1947) had an increase in newstand sales of fifty percent due in great measure to a radical new cover design that emphasized the listing of the magazine, and a bright new color scheme with which to attract the casual passerby.

Although no mention was made of an advertising program, it seems logical to state that the Ninetieth Anniversary number was issued to the public with a cleverly prepared publicity campaign that aided the attraction of a colorful cover considerably.

That newstand sales were hindered by poor packaging technique due to Mr. Sedgwick's reluctance to alter a traditional design, is in itself, strange, since Sedgwick saw fit to change the cover format six times. 69 (Examples included). And yet 69 The Atlantic Contest Booklet - 1946, 12.
he refused to change it radically enough to increase circulation. This is definitely a shortcoming of Sedgwick's, and the results are plain in the book of circulation statistics. Indeed, in all fairness to the man, the loss of circulation cannot be fully ascribed to his reluctance to alter the cover design; but it is entirely within the scope of this thesis to uncover and place in its proper position both the oversights and undersights of persons responsible for the destiny of the Atlantic. Today, the new cover and the increased newstand circulation of 35,000 point emphatically at a flaw in the 1930 planning of Sedgwick.

Notwithstanding his mistakes, Sedgwick had placed the magazine and his company on a stable financial basis. When he had assumed the editorship, the magazine had been selling for thirty-five cents on the newstands and a yearly subscription rate of four dollars. He advanced the price to forty cents per issue. This policy of price increase was in line with increasing costs of production.

In size, the magazine had increased from a first issue (1857) measurement of eight and one-quarter inches by five and one-quarter inches to a Sedgwick size of nine and three-eights inches by six inches. From a small print, anonymously written, colorless magazine, it had developed into an attractively printed, color designed publication with an average monthly circulation of 120,000 subscribers. Its average circulation represented about one percent of the national average circulation of
all monthly periodicals, and the income of the magazine represented roughly four percent of the industry's income.

In a world of bitter competition, where at least twenty popular monthlies possessed a circulation of well over one million, the *Atlantic* possessed a respected and secure niche in the world of literature as well as in the world of "big business" competition. For the sake of those who might be interested in the publications with a circulation of more than one million, a list included herein.

### Circulations Over One Million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Reader's Digest</em></td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ladies Home Journal</em></td>
<td>4,463,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Woman's Home Companion</em></td>
<td>3,691,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>McCall's</em></td>
<td>3,586,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Good Housekeeping</em></td>
<td>2,794,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Better Homes and Gardens</em></td>
<td>2,644,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife</em></td>
<td>2,540,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>American Magazine</em></td>
<td>2,482,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>American Home</em></td>
<td>2,345,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>True Story</em></td>
<td>2,215,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>National Legionnaire (veteran)</em></td>
<td>2,212,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Coronet</em></td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cosmopolitan</em></td>
<td>2,148,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Country Gentleman</em></td>
<td>2,122,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Redbook</em></td>
<td>1,750,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>True Confessions</em></td>
<td>1,733,579</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the bold surface of the problem, The Atlantic Monthly before, with, and after Sedgwick was a magazine whose purpose it was to sell to the public. With the coming of the twentieth century, with its deadly competition and mass production methods of business, the complications of selling to an interested public increased many fold. This was the problem facing Sedgwick with ever-increasing severity. He met it head-on and, as had been discussed earlier, he brought life to his readers, expressed in terms of literary excellence as consistent as possible with the magazine's traditions and Sedgwick's judgment. The results have been shown; circulation mounted steadily and the Atlantic was more firmly established than ever before. But there is always that group of aesthetic "die-hards" who insist that the editor should care more about literature and less about journalism. To that school of thought which does not appreciate the difficulty a modern competing editor faces in giving an un-literary public a selection of topics they demand, presented in quality form, let it be said that a good many contributions to the Atlantic during the past thirty-five years will probably stand

the test of time, and yet perhaps, there could have been more of
them. No one can adequately judge this problem. However, this
should be added: literary masterpieces are not to be had for the
asking. The winds of genius blow sparingly, and the editor who
thinks only of literary quality and not of his added responsibil-
ity to sell the magazine to a reading public, either has a very
dull magazine on his hands, or a dead one, at least from the
standpoint of business and financial considerations involved.
And literary quality - a mysterious thing at best, and difficult
to analyze - is not obtained by asking people to write books
about it or about men and women and their problems. The stuff
of literature is the stuff of life. That is what a good jour- nalist constantly seeks; that is what Ellery Sedgwick sought and
found. The editorial creed which Sedgwick used to print in the
Atlantic from time to time closed with these words:

...and never to forget that of all useless
things, an uninteresting magazine least deserves
salvation. 71
THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

JANUARY, 1909

The New Literature .................................................. B. P. 1
Milton ................................................................. GEORGE A. GORDON 8
In the Cool of the Day. A Story .................................. GRACE ELLERY CHANNING 25
Advertisement ......................................................... EDWARD SANFORD MARTIN 36
Modern Chemistry and Medicine ................................. THEODORE WILLIAM RICHARDS 39
Ireland's Veils. A Poem .............................................. ETHEL ROLT WHEELER 44
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I. A Kentucky Boyhood ............................................. NATHANIEL S. SHALER 45
Employers' Liability .................................................. FRANK W. LEWIS 57
The Master-Weaver. A Story ....................................... MAUDE RADFORD WARREN 65
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As to Women's Clubs—Recording a Likeness.—Algernon's Wife.—A School of Posturing.—Fireworks and Fame.—The Value of taking Things Seriously.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY COMPANY

4 Park Street .... Boston, Mass.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge

85 Fifth Avenue, New York

Entered at the Post Office in Boston as second-class matter

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35 cents a copy

Published Monthly

$4.00 a year
When you turn over the new leaf, don't forget that Sapolio will keep the year.
THE RIGHT OF WAY

&

Baker's

Cocoa and Chocolate

WALTER BAER & CO. LIMITED

BIRMINGHAM, 1913
Home in Puka-Puka. Life on an Atoll

*We Playing the Game?*

Soldiers by the Sea

The Italians Capture Rome. *From an Official Record*

A Chapter in the History of the Temporal Power

Evolution. *A Story*

Ancient and Modern Thinking

The Ballad of Khas-Bulaht. *From the Circassian*

Signat Juventus. *Youth in Power*

Enter the Chinese. *A Study in Equivalents*

Alabama, Here We Rest. *A Story*

Readings. *A Sonnet*

The Sensible Man's Religion. *A Common-Sense Inquiry*

Post-War Diary. II

College Entrance Requirements.

The Old Plan and the New

Trance, the Lawn-Tennis Leader

The Pastor of the Bees.

The New World

Al Smith and the Young Men.

The New Romulus and the New Rome

Disorderly Production

Novels English and American

Contributors' Club: Shelter—A Little Knowledge—Chinese Proverbs

Contributors' Column

Atlantic Bookshelf: The Fall of the Russian Empire—Daisy and Daphne—Tammany Hall—Skyward—The Virgin Queene—Stonewall Jackson, the Good Soldier—The Greene Murder Case—Recommended Books

The Financial Counselor: David Friday

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY COMPANY

$4.00 a year
Nature
Cuts its Value

Science has not been able to make nature either more
beautiful or lovely. The picture is destined
nearly everywhere this perfection.

Art exists here a while,
by a study of line.
and is incorporated
looking in coherent
arguments, or, in other
words, more accurately:
Art is merely, because of
the flimsy experience.
Art ability and the
beauty of objects.
The problem is to know
in every object in nature,
shortly to be seen.

Nature is No Substitution to Manifold

National Association of Mensa Dealers
Dwight Olympic, Cleve, (in 1899).
THE Atlantic

JANUARY

Consequences ........................................... FRANK H. SIMONDS 1
The Sequel to the League’s Collapse
The Men and the Moment ............................ WILLIAM HARLAN HALE 10
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Last of the Giants.  A Story ....................... ISADORE LUCE SMITH 108
A Tourist in San Francisco ......................... A. EDWARD NEWTON 115
Contributors’ Club ..................................... 125

40 cents
Reasonable Rates At
These Fine New Hotels

Reasonable rates at Florida's newest hotels. All
have been built under specified standards, and con-
CHAPTER VI

Exit, Mr. Sedgwick

Discussion of Sedgwick's Last Acts as Editor

On February 27, 1937 Ellery Sedgwick celebrated his sixty-fifth birthday. He was no longer a young man, although he was still a very active man. He had a family estate in Beverly, Massachusetts and a town house on Beacon Hill, Boston. He was a wealthy man; he had many business associations, but he had to slow down his pace. He determined to retire. All preparations were made for his completion of service. His successor as editor was chosen. It was to be Edward Weeks then associated with the company in an editorial capacity. The incoming president of The Atlantic Monthly Company was chosen, he was Richard E. Danielson, a major stockholder. With the completion of the June, 1938 issue Ellery Sedgwick, the eighth editor of The Atlantic Monthly magazine retired at the age of sixty-six. He had completely severed all business affiliations with his company, although he retained an active interest in the Rumford Printing Company. He would continue to serve the magazine in an editor emeritus status of a purely advisory capacity. Since that date in 1938 Sedgwick has had the good sense to leave the editorship completely in the capable hands of Edward Weeks. Sedgwick, after an extended vacation, began his autobiography, The Happy Profession, now completed, and he also amused himself by commencing the prodigious task of sorting his
CHAPTER IV

The Modern Factory

In the development of industrial society, the factory has become a central feature of the economic and social landscape. The rise of the factory as a site of production has been accompanied by changes in the organization of labor, the distribution of wealth, and the social relationships of workers. The modern factory is characterized by the use of mass production techniques, the division of labor, and the reliance on machinery.

The factory is not simply a place of work, but a complex social and cultural institution. It is a site of conflict and cooperation, where workers must balance the demands of productivity with their own needs and desires. The factory is also a place of resistance, where workers have sought to assert their autonomy and challenge the power of their employers.

As the factory has evolved, so too have the broader economic and social systems in which it operates. The factory is not isolated, but is part of a larger network of production and consumption. Understanding the modern factory requires a perspective that takes into account the ways in which it is connected to other aspects of society.

In this chapter, we will explore the history and development of the modern factory, examining the ways in which it has shaped the economy and society. We will also consider the challenges facing the modern factory in the contemporary world, and the possibilities for its future role in shaping the economy and society.
bulky correspondence of forty years duration. This project is still in progress.

Condition of the magazine upon his retirement

Sedgwick had been editor of the magazine for exactly thirty years. He made it a going concern. Circulation was over one hundred thousand; it was limited to monthly publication; young authors anxious to enhance their reputations were eager to contribute; the magazine's fame was at its zenith; the financial security of the company and the magazine was assured. Sedgwick himself was rumored to have made about fifty thousand dollars per annum from his various holdings. (72)

The relationship between the magazine and the magazine's public was excellent. Upon his retirement the dual position of editor and publisher, the first such arrangement since the days of James T. Fields was dissolved, and Mr. Edward Weeks assumed the editorial chair, while Mr. Donald Synder, with the company since 1925, became the publisher. Ellery Sedgwick became a man of cultivated leisure. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Massachusetts Historical Society. After the death of his first wife, he married Isabel Majorie Russell of North Ockenden, Essex, England, and together with his family of four he planned a comfortable life of ease. His connections in Boston brought him to the Boston Public Library as a Trustee, and to the Harvard Club as a member of the directorate. (72) Interview with Mr. Donald Synder, "he probably grossed fifty thousand dollars a year from his several positions and investments."
It was an existence that his long useful career richly merited.

Contrast of conditions at the beginning and at the end of Sedgwick's reign and discussion of his relative worth as editor in contrast to his predecessors.

A discussion of the prevailing conditions in existence at the time of Sedgwick's purchase of the Atlantic from Houghton, Mifflin compares favorably with an examination of the growth of United States economic history from 1900 to 1940. In a very broad sense the growth of the magazine followed roughly the expansion of American business in the twentieth century. The facts speak for themselves; there is very little of an "inside" story to relate. Prior to the magazine's purchase by Sedgwick, the Atlantic had from its beginnings been the literary organ of various publishing houses. As a matter of interest, seven companies had controlled the destinies of the magazine in fifty years. (73) The magazine had never shown a profit through its own efforts. However, the magazine was deep in tradition and worth and for this reason it was never abolished. It had become a part of that vague phrase--"The American Scene." From August, 1908 until his retirement in 1938 the magazine prospered. Its circulation grew until it reached well over the one hundred

(73) In order the Publishers were:

2. Ticknor and Fields - 1859-67
3. Fields, Osgood and Co. - 1868-70
5. H. O. Houghton and Co. - 1874-77
6. Houghton, Osgood and Co. - 1878-79
8. The Atlantic Monthly Co. - 1908-
thousand per month mark, a corporation was formed that included its own printing establishment, a book publishing department, a merger with an unsuccessful magazine, and the outright purchase of two other magazines whose editorial policy was aimed at different levels of reader interest. The entire business venture became financially stable through the course of Sedgwick's thirty years tenure of office, and it was permanently underwritten by Sedgwick's business, editorial and journalistic acumen.

In a capitalistic system that underwent a marked revolution in methods and results during the first quarter of the century, the Atlantic found time to contribute largely to the changes recorded in the billion dollar business of magazine publishing. A summary of the several ways in which the Atlantic aided in the magazine evolution, as covered in this paper would include:

1. A realization that an interest in ideas is endemic in America, for example, the peculiar persistency of The Atlantic in viewing religion as a part of life, while nearly all other contemporary magazines assumed it to be a type of "wardroom" taboo

2. A cosmopolitan taste in seeking authors

3. A recognition of the hunger in people for wisdom and the help out of others' experience in human stories (74)

It was not any of these factors, but rather the accumulation of all contributions both small and large that blended over a space of thirty years to make the Atlantic a periodical noted

not for its New England Brahminism or its publishing house subsistence, but for its outstanding marks of oneness and universality. It was a magazine for the humanity of the entire world united in a brotherhood of man.

Regarding Sedgwick as an Editor and Publisher

In the fairly long but not too distinguished life of the magazine in America, it can be stated with a certain degree of assurance that as a nation the United States has produced few great editors. The periodical, as it is known today, dates back scarcely beyond the turn of the century, since "big business" had not then reared its head into the midst of the competitive world. Assuming 1890 as an arbitrary date of the new era, men of the journalistic world would probably agree that S. S. McClure, George Horace Lorimer, Edward Bok and Ellery Sedgwick were the most renowned of American editors. They shared two things in common. First, they were typically American in their approach to magazine editing—a magazine was to be read—that was the beginning and the end of it. Secondly, they were all schooled in and were familiar with the new methods of high pressure editorship. When a magazine dealt in millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of readers, there was no such thing as a leisurely pace in editing. But the comparison ends there, because Sedgwick must be taken from this group and placed in line with his honored forebears, the seven preceding editors of The Atlantic Monthly.

Sedgwick differed from both the tendencies and the methods
In the final year of our Griffith University life, it was


necessary that we submit the required reports and

definitions for the course in Psychology. This


was a difficult task because of the amount of work


required, but we managed to complete it in time.


After the submission, we were relieved of further


work and were able to focus on other aspects of our


studies. The course was challenging, but it was


worthwhile to undertake it in order to gain a better


understanding of psychology. We were proud to


complete the course and felt that it was a valuable


experience for our future careers.
of his contemporaries and his predecessors. On the one hand, he refused to vulgarize the periodical; and on the other hand, he made the magazine into a literary and financial success something his editor-ancestors had failed to do. In this respect he stands alone as a man of his age. That his personal literary appreciations were greater than say McClure's or Bok's one cannot assert with a formal degree of certitude. But that he possessed a mixture of good business sense and loyalty to the principles of literature and the good life is evident from his works. Under Sedgwick the Atlantic seemed to hunger for short-cuts to Paradise. The magazine used this form for its true end--the story of spiritual adventure, not primarily a journalistic device such as it had become with its imitating competitors. The Atlantic gave the reader not the inside story of success in the field of diplomacy, art, or finance, but the inside story of souls, gossip, if you will, in its noblest sense. Several of these stories were so intimate that Sedgwick had to restore the old policy of anonymity to protect his contributors. In this fundamental difference of interest did Sedgwick outclass his fellow editors. Obviously, of course, he was interested in the financial aspects of the company, but above and beyond this level where most editors are content to halt, Sedgwick desired for a degree of literary worth and literary workmanship that reflected both in the intrinsic literary value of a contribution and by the appreciation of reader interest. When one compares Sedgwick with James Russell Lowell or William Dean Howells, the comparison must, of necessity, be
The consequences in the education, and on the other hand, of the present situation into a reality and financial success is essential. The situation appears as a matter of the issue. And the decision

One cannot answer with a certain sense of certainty, but if the concept of being a mixture of thought, passion, and loyalty to the principles of innovation and the goal of innovation, the decision is essential. The decision goes beyond the limits of education and with the integration of decision. The decision is essential in the light of imagination, or, as I have, in the career sense. It makes sense of some sort of importance and significance that education may to some extent serve. The policy of education and research to support the principles of education and research is essential. To the new information, education and research are important. The new information, education and research are important. To the educational mission of the company, our scope and project. This level requires that solutions are pursued to help research and teaching for the purpose of further action and further development. The new information, education and research, and new information, education and research are essential. In the future information, education and research are essential.
confined to the sphere of editorship. No one will contest Lowell's or Howell's or Perry's right to supremacy in their respective chosen fields. By the same token it may be said that to compare Lowell or Fields to Sedgwick in the editorial field would be somewhat unfair to Lowell and Fields. As pure and simple devotees of literature and as noted authors or professors or scholars in their own right Sedgwick's predecessors were successful. As editors they reflected their particular strengths or weaknesses. All were splendid appraisers, critics, and some, writers, of excellent literature; few were good business men or editors according to competitive standards. They served their purpose well; they presented the select reading public of the day with a fine type of periodical; they enhanced the reputation of the magazine by their presence, and they inculcated a marvelous tradition of worth into the long history of the magazine. It was Sedgwick, however, who, extremely conscious of these contributions from his elders, and, likewise, aware of the new era of publishing just dawned, combined appreciation of art with a sense of public demand to give the Atlantic unthought of success and popularity. He, more than any one before him, made the Atlantic a household word for taste and interest.

If the opinion of one man close to Sedgwick stands the test of time, then it will some day be concluded that the eighth editor of the Atlantic was a genius. Donald Synder claims that Sedgwick had the mind of a genius, which meant not only the advantages of genius but also the drawbacks. Sedgwick's major fault, continues Synder, was his inability to delegate authority
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continuing on how to put further steps to the point of:

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To continue to the above or alternatively to one with:

1. The ability of the government to provide adequate and
2. An action of the government in
or distribute the editorial work load. Everything had to be his way; no innovation was satisfactory unless he originated it, e.g. the previously discussed question of a change in cover design. He did all the editing; he was a one man engine. His assistants were automatons reacting solely to his commands. This fault, if that is what it is, was balanced nicely by his driving energy and his brilliant administrative powers. An inability to delegate power hurt no one but himself in terms of work to be accomplished. The magazine did not fail because of it, and one man control did not hinder Mr. Edward Weeks, the present editor, from taking over and continuing the success of the magazine.

Findings, Summary and Conclusion

Ellery Sedgwick's contribution to American letters as the editor and publisher of the Atlantic Monthly is important and vital. He was one of the first and most energetic shapers of an intelligent public opinion. His contribution to the making of American opinion came not through forcing it in this direction or that, but through bringing to his magazine men and women representing every sort of opinion and letting the subscribers hear them and choose for themselves; and also through proving for the benefit of other publishers that there is in this country a public which will support such a magazine to the profit of the publisher. The instance of Sedgwick's courage and insight in bringing "Al" Smith's personal opinions on the relationship of a Roman Catholic politician toward the state was a "scoop" (75)

in periodical writing that had never before, nor ever since, been surpassed. The appreciation and interest of the public in response to this hitherto undiscussed topic of an election year was reward enough in itself that Sedgwick had done the correct thing. The Smith articles running for two months are perhaps the best example of Sedgwick's desire to give his readers interest, vitality, and afford his magazine a type of contribution unequalled by his competitors. Other close parallels that may be cited were Sedgwick's defense of Sacco and Vanzetti (76) in the face of severe criticism, and Admiral Sims' exposé of the corruptness and inefficiency of the Navy promotion system. (77)

A completely objective view of Sedgwick's editorship cannot conclude that his thirty year reign was an unhampered surge upward. Mention has been made of a drop in circulation figures due to a loss in newstand sales. This was a consistent drop over a period of years. An attempt has been made to ascertain definite tendencies for such a decrease, and certain reasons have been established. Among them were the economic, social, and personal considerations. Taking the circulation drop and the reasons thereof, this general conclusion may be ventured. There seems to have been a definite tardiness on Sedgwick's part in gauging public likes and dislikes of the form in which they, the readers, wished their ideas dispensed. Make no mistake,

Sedgwick well knew the ideas the public wanted to read; he gave (76) Felix Frankfurter, "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti": The Atlantic Monthly, CXXXIX (March, 1927), 409.

them idea upon idea. The point is, however, that he presented them in a manner not in keeping with the advanced conception of his own theory. For example, Sedgwick's department, "The Contributor's Club," became bogged down and noted for its formal essay; and in time it fell behind reader interest. The public wanted a new approach; other magazines had sensed this fact, and they were attempting to do it in a more sensational but inferior manner. Sedgwick's refusal to innovate in this respect and, in the same manner, his refusal to adopt a more appealing cover design lost him the occasional purchaser. Today, the reign of the essay as was found in the "Contributor's Club" has been broken. In its stead there is the light, modern "Accent on Living." In principle the substance of the idea for the magazine never changed, but the form for the presentation of the ideas should have always been in tune with the public interest.

It has been the purpose of this thesis to develop the history of The Atlantic Monthly magazine from its foundation in 1857 to the retirement of eighth editor Ellery Sedgwick in 1938. Particular emphasis has been placed upon the editorship of Sedgwick with the intent of proving him to be the most forceful editor and the senior business man of the famous line of Atlantic editors.

It is the personal belief of the author that Ellery Sedgwick represents the best type of liberal editor. His essential nature showed him to possess characteristics of a sharp business sense, the philosophy of a twentieth century Liberal, the awareness of an excellent journalist, the literary
appreciation of a true editor, and the administrative talents of a remarkable publisher. He had faults, yes, these defects have been aired; but it is his overwhelming combination of abilities that mark him as the Editor among Editors of the Atlantic.

Hailing from a proper aristocratic family of Protestant New England, he has constantly foresworn the narrow prejudices naturally assumed as the results of such an upbringing. He has brought America a liberal viewpoint which taught to praise the man or the idea rather than the group. He is a figure of transitional New England where social awareness and responsibility became the rule rather than the exception. Keen of mind, and intellectual in his interests he could have easily chosen education, the law, or business for a career, but to America's advantage and Literature's gain he chose editorship.

Come the one hundredth anniversary number of The Atlantic Monthly when the reign of Ellery Sedgwick will be retold, if anyone thing of Sedgwick is quoted it will be his theory of literature,

"To hold good writing as the art above the arts and to forgive him much who can write like an angel." (78)

And this Ellery Sedgwick did.

(78) Sedgwick, "The Happy Profession", 332.
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This year marks the Ninetieth Anniversary of The ATLANTIC MONTHLY. Its early issues were sprinkled with the names of such writers as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Whittier, Stowe, and others whose writings are still very much in print. Today the quality of its contents is still as high, its field of interests wider - expanding with the broadening of the typical American's life and interests and thought.

Literature, science, art, personal achievement, public affairs - current topics of discussion among intelligent people everywhere - form the basis of The ATLANTIC'S bright and stimulating content. Albert Einstein, John P. Marquand, Henry Ford II, Somerset Maugham, Sir Osbert Sitwell - these are but a few of the recent contributors. In addition, there are the regular ATLANTIC features, such as the informed, succinct, and enlightening Reports on The World Today; able, searching, informative book reviews, and the hilarious Accent on Living section each month.
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During the one hundred years 1785-1885 the art of periodical publication suffered its first growing pains and experienced the ups and downs of all businesses dependent upon the public fancy. Such vital affairs as authors' remuneration, adequate copyright laws, respective duties and responsibilities of publishers and editors, effective means of distribution, and an agreeable circulation price were discussed, abused, reformed, and finally compromised upon. The first stage of the development of the American magazine may be said to have definitely closed by the end of the Civil War. The "ground rules" for the game had been established.

The second stage of development in magazine publishing may be characterized by the expansion and growth within the field. Since it is the major object of this thesis to discuss The Atlantic Monthly, the fact that the founding of this magazine in 1857, under the editorship of James Russell Lowell, constituted
Abstract of the Thesis

The history of the American magazine dates back to Colonial times when a first effort was made to publish financially successful periodicals patterned after the English critical reviews of the time. The attempts were largely failures because the expansion of America had not yet reached a stage conducive to the development of a luxury-and leisure-time enterprise such as magazine production and reading. Both economically and intellectually the great mass of new Americans were not ready for its coming.

During the one hundred years 1765 - 1865 the art of periodical publication suffered its first growing pains and experienced the ups and downs of all businesses dependent upon the public fancy. Such vital affairs as authors' remuneration, adequate copyright laws, respective duties and responsibilities of publishers and editors, effective means of distribution, and an agreeable circulation price were discussed, abused, reformed, and finally compromised upon. The first stage of the development of the American magazine may be said to have definitely closed by the end of the Civil War. The "ground rules" for the game had been established.

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The project to develop the world's largest and most powerful experimental atomic bomb with a yield of 10 kilotons was highly classified and kept secret. The project was known as the Manhattan Project and was led by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. The bomb was developed in the Los Alamos National Laboratory and was tested in the Trinity Test Site in New Mexico. The bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, 1945, and later on Nagasaki, Japan, on August 9, 1945. The atomic bombings of Japan led to the end of World War II and the dropping of the atomic bombs was a significant event in the history of the world.
A most distinguished contribution of a group of men to the periodical field is important both to American readers and to American critics. Of the literally hundreds of magazines begun in the era of expansion, the Atlantic Monthly is the only magazine that has come down to us today in any likeness to its original form. The endeavor of New England's literary men to found a magazine combining the glories of literature with a philosophy of liberalism and a flavor of contemporary geniality in itself is noteworthy when you consider that theirs was an age of struggling publishers and editors seeking elbow room from their competitors. Nonetheless, the magazine, Atlantic Monthly, so called by Dr. Holmes, survived and, after a fashion, prospered.

Almost from its inception a tradition rose up and around the editors and the revered letter-head of the Atlantic. It early established a reputation for careful, excellently edited and selected pieces of prose and poetry. By the time of the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1907 the magazine had achieved the pinnacle of literary success, commanding wide respect for the quality of its contents. Her editors and publishers were known throughout the nation and, in some cases, the world. The Atlantic had become an institution.

Below the surface, however, on the all-important business front, all was far from well. The magazine had never been a large seller, and twenty-five thousand subscribers were considered a good number, but as the years passed and the list of
loyal subscribers settled at a new low figure of twelve thousand buyers per year, the publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin and Co. determined that the magazine had to be sold in order that the firm be relieved of the increasing financial dependence of the magazine upon the company. In order to avail themselves of the value of the magazine's excellent reputation for their advertising purposes, the company had absorbed the annual operating deficit of the magazine for a number of years. They were completely mindful of the care necessary in the selection of a prospective buyer. The magazine was meant to continue, and it did continue. In the end, Houghton, Mifflin and Company sold The Atlantic Monthly in July, 1908, to Ellery Sedgwick, New York editor and Harvard graduate.

At this point the second major development of the thesis is discussed. The family background, education, experience and philosophy of Ellery Sedgwick's is brought under examination. It is evident that Sedgwick's training from Groton to Sam McClure's added one item to another until the sum total presented the publishers, Houghton, Mifflin, with their most capable and likely prospect.

Sedgwick's acquisition of The Atlantic Monthly very nearly coincided with the third step in the changing condition of the magazine world. Big business had entered the field, and the trend was toward sensationalism and popular appeal. The general effect was a degrading influence on the industry. High salaries, competition, big pressure advertising and publicity combined to eliminate many of the lesser lights of the thousand odd period-
icals that spanned America.

Sedgwick entered into this business venture with a carefully thought-out plan. He had long desired to obtain control of such a magazine as the Atlantic. He considered the magazine to be of a size small enough for him to maintain successful financial and literary standards. Through advance notice of Bliss Perry's resignation as editor of the magazine, Sedgwick had obtained the initial lead in dealings with the publishers. This foresight and ambition carried over into his administration as editor and publisher. He made a success of his long sought after magazine.

It was Sedgwick's theory that it was possible to mix literary excellence with reader-interest in the proper proportions in order to assure a financial return large enough to show a profit. His idea was simple. He gave his readers a cross-section of America, not just the die-hard aristocrats of New England--the intense drama of life. It was life that people were living and it was in life that they were interested. His formula worked.

Circulation grew, the magazine succeeded financially, and Sedgwick's stature grew as a major editor and publisher. In addition to the editorship of the magazine, he found time to establish the Atlantic Monthly Company, a corporation consisting of three magazines and a printing and publishing house. In the Atlantic Monthly Company he served as president, editor, and publisher. He was "Ego Sum" for thirty years, 1908--1938. In 1938 he retired to the comfort of his home and his memories.

Mr. Sedgwick's tenure established the Atlantic and her
company in a world of stiffening rivalry. He brought the magazine home to additional thousands of readers, and he proved conclusively the old saying "when a man has something worth while to say there is always someone worth while to listen."
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