Introduction MUCKRAKING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Every society has stories to tell. Stories about its heroes, history, and achievements. Some of these tales enliven the spirit and inspire the reader to want to make a difference. This is a book of stories that changed America, written by storytellers who have at times been dubbed "muckrakers."

For more than two thousand years, a muckrake was a harmless three-pronged pitchfork-like tool used on farms to clean up stables and barns. Its first recorded use was in Mesopotamia in 750 B.C. But in 1906, it became a term used to vilify some of the most prominent and effective writers of the time.

The end of the nineteenth century was a time of prosperity and excess for the power elite in America. In 1860, there were three American millionaires. By 1901, just forty years later, there were about 3,800. Corporate America ruled the country with few regulations and little monitoring by the government. Everyone else, it seemed, was at the mercy of the "Robber Barons," an apt term used by author Matthew Josephson to describe the leading businessmen of the time. This formidable and wealthy rogues' gallery included John D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, John Jacob Astor, and Andrew Carnegie—names that are familiar to this day.

It didn't take great insight to recognize that poverty, vice, electoral fraud, unsafe foods, monopolistic practices, segregation, child labor exploitation, and civil rights violations were leading to the disintegration of society. But it

did take some courageous individuals who saw the problems to dedicate their lives and talents to solving them.

In reaction to the corruption of the time, a group of men and women made their voices heard as they successfully challenged the Robber Barons. They exposed the political and economic corruption and social hardships caused by greedy businessmen and corrupt politicians.

One of these individuals was a slim young man in his twenties who took on one of the largest, most profitable, and most harmful industries of the time. For seven weeks, in 1904, he carefully observed the working conditions and the way meat was processed at the Chicago stockyards. Wearing well-worn working clothes, carrying a lunch pail, he blended in well with the other workers. But he wasn't a worker. His name was Upton Sinclair, an undercover investigative author and one of the greatest storytellers of the century.

In February 1906, Sinclair published his research in a fact-based novel entitled *The Jungle*. The book quickly became a best seller and came to be heralded as a landmark example of the Golden Age of Muckraking, an era that spanned the first decade of the twentieth century. Following the book's publication, there was a national uproar over the safety of the nation's meat supply.

President Theodore Roosevelt and other politicians responded to the public outrage. In short order, there were newspaper reports and editorials followed by congressional hearings. On June 30, 1906, President Roosevelt signed the Pure Food and Drug Act into law, the first enforceable national legislation dealing with the safety of our food products. The meat packers and the beef trust fought Sinclair and his book but were defeated by overwhelming public support for the author.

The meatpacking industry was just one of many institutions targeted by investigative journalists during the first ten years of the twentieth century. In a series of devastating exposés, the muckrakers took on political and corporate corruption in the oil industry, insurance, banking, railroads, mining, prisons, and municipal, state, and federal governments. Their words led to a nation-wide public revolt against social evils and a decade of reforms in anti-trust legislation, the electoral process, banking regulations, and a host of other social programs.

It was also the peak of Progressive Era politics when journalists, publishers, and some legislators complemented one another, investigating, exposing, and correcting the social problems that plagued most Americans.

One particular series of exposés, entitled "The Treason of the Senate," by David Graham Phillips, targeted Congress. Phillips accused powerful Senators —including some of President Roosevelt's own supporters—of drafting legislation benefiting corporations in which they had a personal financial stake. As a result, pressure was brought to bear on Roosevelt to do something about these journalistic troublemakers. At the time, Roosevelt was in a precarious position in his presidency and needed the support of Congress to implement his programs. While he had previously supported investigative journalists like Sinclair, he suddenly found it necessary to undercut their efforts.

Shortly after the "treason" series began in *Cosmopolitan* in March 1906, Roosevelt spoke before the Gridiron Club of newspapermen in Washington, D.C. He charged that the writers who were engaging in the exposure of corruption were "muckrakers," and likened them to the man with the muckrake in John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," who, Roosevelt said, could "look no way but downward, with the muckrake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muckrake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continue to rake to himself the filth of the floor."

The Gridiron speech was off the record. But on April 14, 1906, while dedicating the cornerstone of the House of Representatives office building, the President gave the same speech on the record, publicly labeling the writers as muckrakers—a pejorative as used by Roosevelt—accusing them of being so busy stirring up the mud at their feet that they could not see the good things in America.

THE ROBBER BARONS WERE MUCKRAKERS

It appears that Roosevelt misinterpreted the "Interpreter" of Bunyan's allegorical narrative. Bunyan's "Interpreter" was actually extolling the virtues of simple poverty. He described how the wealthy were obsessed with looking downward to rake more riches in when they should have been looking upward at the celestial beauty above them. The term "muckraker" would more accurately describe the Robber Barons of Roosevelt's time, not the journalists. Only Ida Tarbell challenged the accuracy of Roosevelt's tirade, in her autobiography.

There was a mixed reaction to Roosevelt's malicious terminology wielded at the journalists he attacked. Some, like Ida Tarbell, were appalled at his satirical criticism of their scholarly research. Others like Upton Sinclair, responded

to the challenge by accepting the label with pride. Despite its misinterpretation, "muckraker" became a widely used vituperative term. Most modern day journalists dislike the title and prefer to be called "investigative journalists." Yet, there are a few who have embraced the title, like Jessica Mitford, who proudly wore the crown as "Queen of the Muckrakers."

In reaction to the muckrakers' criticism of corporate America, the fields of advertising and public relations rapidly grew in size and import. The powerful propagandistic vehicles gave corporate America the manipulative tools it needed to refute the exposés. A corporate conspiracy ensued, one designed to discredit journalists, and along with the threat of World War I, and other factors, the curtain came down on the Golden Age of Muckraking.

But there were journalists and other individuals who continued to dedicate themselves to exposing corporate crimes, political corruption, and social injustice, and they did not disappear with the end of that sparkling era. Given its common usage, the term "muckraker" is used herein to describe individuals, journalists and other social reformers, whose words helped to change the course of history and improve life for others.

The stories selected for this book had to have a major, positive impact on society, and be published during the twentieth century (which eliminated some famed pre-1900 muckrakers like Nellie Bly). The stories span a broad spectrum of critical issues, from corporate and political corruption, the environment, to population growth, and civil rights. They are an eclectic collection bound together by a common theme—they all helped make America a better place.

There are a number of common characteristics to be found among the twenty-one authors of the twenty stories featured in this book (one story had two authors). Most of them attended college, were political liberals, came from a middle-class background, and envisioned idealistic goals at an early age.

Education appeared to be one of the strongest variables in the making of a muckraker, and many shared a passion for reading good books and periodicals at an early age. Eighteen of the twenty-one authors attended college and eleven of them attended graduate school. Only one author had no formal schooling: Jessica Mitford. In her customary manner, she would delightedly respond "nil" when asked about her education.

Right-wing media critics who accuse journalists of being liberals will delight in knowing their charges are valid when it comes to these muckrakers. While a few of the authors were apolitical, seventeen of them could be classified as

liberals, while some, including Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, George Seldes, Jessica Mitford, and Michael Harrington, overtly espoused socialist or communist philosophies. There are only two whose politics and background could be considered more conservative than liberal: Ida Mae Tarbell and Bob Woodward.

Fourteen of the authors came from a middle-class economic background, four were upper class, and three lower class.

Seven dedicated themselves explicitly to exposing political and corporate corruption, while eleven had the more general goal of saving or changing the world. Some of them focused their efforts in areas such as women's rights and racial equality, while others simply wanted to be the best possible professional journalists they could be: George Seldes, Edward R. Murrow, and Bob Woodward.

Not surprisingly, more than half were career journalists or authors, while the remaining nine were reformers from the fields of science, welfare, teaching, nursing, politics, religion, and law.

Books were the predominant vehicle used by muckrakers to tell their stories, and all but two of these were works of nonfiction. Four issues were exposed through newspaper or magazine articles, three originated in newsletters, one story was aired on television, and another was drawn from the pulpit.

There are six general categories covered in the twenty stories included here. Six focus on corporate corruption, four discuss civil rights, three are about military issues, the environment, and politics, and one concerns poverty.

To do justice to each of the authors and provide a representative example of their work, I have only included twenty pieces. Due to space restrictions we had to leave out a number of deserving authors. For example, there were many muckrakers at the turn of the century, but I felt that Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair represent that productive period best. The stories are listed chronologically, by birth date of the author.

MUCKRAKING IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

The current outlook for muckraking in America in the new millennium is bleak at best. Four of the twenty stories were from the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the four decades from the twenties to the fifties I have selected just three stories. By far, the 1960s and early '70s were the most productive years in contemporary muckraking. Thirteen of the stories that changed America occurred during these turbulent years, a time of individual

introspection, idealism, and social activism. Unfortunately, the last quarter of the twentieth century did not produce any comparable earth-shattering exposés.

One factor that may discourage muckraking in the future is the trend from individual investigative reporting toward a corporate group approach. Nineteen stories cited in this book resulted from dedicated individual efforts often at the cost of personal sacrifice. One story, Watergate, emerged from a group effort. This trend, from individual to group journalism, was confirmed when the Pulitzer Prizes were announced in 1999. In the eighty-two-year history of the prize, the Pulitzer Board has overwhelmingly recognized the achievements of individuals. But in 1999 for the first time, seven awards—the majority—went to groups such as newspaper and wire service staffs. Muckraking, however, is most effective when done by individuals with social consciences who won't be deterred from their goals by corporate group-think or allegiance to some corporate entity.

There also is the factor of corporate reaction to muckraking. All of the individuals in this book were attacked in one way or another for their efforts to make a difference. In most cases, the attacks were personal in nature and generally were either published or spoken.

Conversely, litigation against the media became an important variable in journalism in the late twentieth century. When ABC television used undercover journalists to explore meat hazards at the Food Lion grocery chain in North Carolina in 1992, they were sued and found guilty of misrepresenting themselves to get the story. A jury initially awarded Food Lion $5.5 million in punitive damages, and it wasn't until October 1999 that an appeals court overturned the verdict, exonerating ABC. Upton Sinclair got his remarkable story by similarly misrepresenting himself in the meatpacking yards of Chicago in pre-litigious 1906.

Another area of concern that does not bode well for the future of muckraking is the growing censorship resulting from the monopolization of the media. As the publishing and broadcast industries are increasingly owned and controlled by conglomerates, there will be fewer and fewer vehicles available to reformers. There were fifty major media corporations in 1983 and now there are only about half a dozen. While the Internet, a new medium, provides a soapbox for all critics, it must prove its reliability before it can be taken seriously as a dependable news medium.

Finally, despite the appearance of prosperity during the final days of the twentieth century, America is not the secure and prosperous nation it appears

to be. Looking behind the skyrocketing stock market and near-record low rates of inflation and unemployment, one can see the other America with its social and economic problems.

If you judge a society by the number of millionaires it has, the United States ranks at the very top. We entered the twenty-first century with more than 3.5 million millionaires and about 150 billionaires, far more than any other nation. Quite a significant increase since 1901 when there were 3,800 millionaires.

If you judge a society by the way it treats its children, the United States ranks near the very bottom. As we enter the twenty-first century, 21 percent of our children, 14.7 million of them, live in poverty—the highest rate in the developed world. Nine out of every ten young people killed in the industrialized world are killed in the United States. In 1995, 3.1 million American children were abused or neglected.

If we treat our own children this way can we be expected to treat one another any better?

The real question is how many people are fully aware of these problems and how many voters have all the information they need to deal with them? When one is not well informed about the social issues of the day, it is far easier to be an apathetic citizen than a responsible one. As Abraham Lincoln said, "I am a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts."

We need skeptical journalists giving us the real facts, courageous publishers providing the necessary soapbox, an outraged public demanding change, and responsible politicians to pass the legislation necessary to solve the problems.

KEEP THE PUBLIC INFORMED

It all starts with the need for a free, open, and aggressive press. Joseph Pulitzer, the famed publisher, once said, "We are a democracy, and there is only one way to get a democracy on its feet in the matter of its individual, its social, its municipal, its state, its national conduct, and that is by keeping the public informed about what is going on. There is not a crime, there is not a dodge, there is not a trick, there is not a swindle, there is not a vice that does not live by secrecy. Get these things out in the open, describe them, attack them, ridicule them in the press, and sooner or later public opinion will sweep them away."

As we will see from the stories in this book, despite the obstacles, there will always be some crusading individuals willing to undergo great sacrifices, both personal and financial, to expose the crimes, the tricks, and the swindles. If they are given the proper soapbox, pulpit, or stage, they can inspire in us the strength to launch an era in which we can clean up the environment, diminish poverty, provide quality health care for all people, reduce drug abuse and crime, and eventually create the equitable, fair, and just society the United States should be.

The year I spent working on *Stories That Changed America* was one of the most rewarding of my life. I had the opportunity to read and re-read some of my favorite authors. As I searched for stories that had made a difference, an age-old message emerged: if we don't learn from the past, we are destined to repeat it.

I was raised on Horatio Alger and Tom Swift. I saw the nation survive the worst economic depression in history and the greatest war. These experiences provided me with a modicum of optimism with which to observe life. I believe it *is* possible to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, and that there exist solutions to the problems that plague us. If there is a single thesis that unites the authors presented in this book, it is their belief that inequities can be corrected and that one person can make a difference.

From Ida Mae Tarbell, who defeated the most powerful man in America, to Margaret Sanger who went to jail for women's rights, to Woodward and Bernstein who wouldn't take no for an answer and brought down a corrupt president, these writers believed in the power of their words to change America. Together, they proved that old adage: "The pen is mightier than the sword." Weapons may have won the Revolutionary War but it is words that have created the longest lasting democracy in history.

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MUCKRAKER IDA M. TARBELL TAKES ON JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER AND THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY

Just after the turn of the century, the journalist Ida M. Tarbell at the behest of her boss, S. S. McClure, was casting about for a topic that would address the increasing public concern over the powerful industrial trusts that had emerged in America. Tarbell, then in her forties, had been born in Erie County, Pennsylvania, and grew up in Titusville, in the heart of the Pennsylvania oil fields. She was graduated from Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, where she was one of five female students. She had worked for eight years at the *Chautauquan*, a monthly magazine, then gone to Paris to write, where she came to the attention of McClure, the founder and editor of *McClure's*. In 1894, he hired her to write a life of Napoleon. The work was highly successful and the increased circulation helped ensure the magazine's survival. Tarbell followed with a similarly successful twenty-part biography of Abraham Lincoln.

Then Tarbell turned her attention to Standard Oil, spending two years with the help of an assistant, John Siddall. The first installment of Tarbell's work appeared in *McClure's* in November 1902, and her articles continued until 1904. The nineteen parts of the *McClure's* series were then published as a book. Tracing the development of Standard Oil, the work detailed the business practices that had built the company and driven out its competitors. But Tarbell also wrote with a moral perspective, as was shown in this excerpt from the conclusion to her work.

"The History of the Standard Oil Company," by Ida M. Tarbell. *McClure's*, 1904.

Very often people who admit the facts, who are willing to see that Mr. Rockefeller has employed force and fraud to secure his ends, justify him by declaring, "It's business." That is, "it's business" has come to be a legitimate excuse for hard dealing, sly tricks, special privileges. It is a common enough thing to hear men arguing that the ordinary laws or morality do not apply in business. Now, if the Standard Oil Company were the only concern in the country guilty of the practices which have given it monopolistic power, this story never would have been written. Were it alone in these methods, public scorn would long ago have made short work of the Standard Oil Company. But it is simply the most conspicuous type of what can be done by these practices. The methods it employs with such acumen, persistency, and secrecy are employed by all sorts of business men, from corner grocers up to bankers. If exposed, they are excused on the ground that this is business. If the point is pushed, frequently the defender of the practice falls back on the Christian doctrine of charity, and points that we are erring mortals and must allow for each other's weaknesses!—an excuse, which, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would leave our business men weeping on one another's shoulders over human frailty, while they picked one another's pockets.

One of the most depressing features of the ethical side of the matter is that instead of such methods arousing contempt they are more or less openly admired. And this is logical. Canonise "business success," and men who make a success like that of the Standard Oil Trust become national heroes! The history of its organisation is studied as a practical lesson in money-making. It is the most startling feature of the case to one who would like to feel that it is possible to be a commercial people and yet a race of gentlemen. . . .

The effects on the very men who fight these methods on the ground that they are ethically wrong are deplorable. Brought into competition with the trust, badgered, foiled, spied upon, they come to feel as if anything is fair when the Standard is the opponent. The bitterness against the Standard Oil Company in many parts of Penn-

sylvania and Ohio is such that a verdict from a jury on the merits of the evidence is almost impossible! A case in point occurred a few years ago in the Bradford field. An oil producer was discovered stealing oil from the National Transit Company. He had tapped the main line and for at least two years had run a small but steady stream of Standard oil into his private tank. Finally the thieving pipe was discovered, and the owner of it, after acknowledging his guilt, was brought to trial. The jury gave a verdict of Not guilty! They seemed to feel that though the guilt was acknowledged, there probably was a Standard trick concealed somewhere. Anyway it was the Standard Oil Company and it deserved to be stolen from! The writer has frequently heard men, whose own business was conducted with scrupulous fairness, say in cases of similar stealing that they would never condemn a man who stole from the Standard! Of course such a state of feeling undermines the whole moral nature of a community.

The blackmailing cases of which the Standard Oil Company complain are a natural result of its own practices. Men going into an independent refining business have for years been accustomed to say: "well, if they won't let us alone, we'll make them pay a good price." The Standard complains that such men build simply to sellout. There may be cases of this. Probably there are, though the writer has no absolute proof of any such. Certainly there is no satisfactory proof that the refinery in the famous Buffalo case was built to sell, though that it was offered for sale when the opposition of the Everests, the managers of the Standard concern, had become so serious as later to be stamped as criminal by judge and jury, there is no doubt. Certainly nothing was shown to have been done or said by Mr. Matthews, the owner of the concern which the Standard was fighting, which might not have been expected from a man who had met the kind of opposition he had from the time he went into business.

The truth is, blackmail and every other business vice is the natural result of the peculiar business practices of the Standard. If business is to be treated as warfare and not as a peaceful pursuit, as they have persisted in treating it, they cannot expect the men they are fighting to lie down and die without a struggle. If they get special privileges they must expect their competitors to struggle to get them. If they will find it more profitable to buy out a refinery than to let it live, they must expect the owner to get an extortionate price if he can. And when they complain of these practices and call them blackmail, they show thin sporting blood. They must not expect to monopolise hard dealings, if they do oil.

These are considerations of the ethical effect of such business practices on those outside and in competition. As for those within the organisation there is one obvious effect worth noting. The Standard men as a body have nothing to do with public affairs, except as it is necessary to manipulate them for the "good of the oil business." The notion that the business man must not appear in politics and religion save as a "standpatter"—not even as a thinking, aggressive force—is demoralising, intellectually and morally. Ever since 1872 the organisation has appeared in politics only to oppose legislation obviously for the public good. At that time the oil industry was young, only twelve years old, and it was suffering from too rapid growth, from speculation, from rapacity of railroads, but it was struggling manfully with all these questions. The question of railroad discriminations and extortions was one of the "live questions" of the country. The oil men as a mass were allied against it. The theory that the railroad was a public servant bound by the spirit of its charter to treat all shippers alike, that fair play demanded open equal rates to all, was generally held in the oil country at the time Mr. Rockefeller and his friends sprung the South Improvement Company. One has only to read the oil journals at the time of the Oil War of 1872 to see how seriously all phases of the transportation question were considered. The country was a unit against the rebate system. Agreements were signed with the railroads that all rates henceforth should be equal. The signatures were not on before Mr. Rockefeller had a rebate, and gradually others got them until the Standard had won the advantages it expected the South Improvement Company to give it. From that time to this Mr. Rockefeller has had to fight the best sentiment of the oil country and of the country at large as to what is for the public good. He and his colleagues kept a strong alliance in Washington fighting the Interstate Commerce Bill from the time the first one was introduced in 1876 until the final passage in 1887. Every measure looking to the freedom and equalisation of transportation has met his opposition, as have bills for giving greater publicity to the operations of corporations. In many of the great state Legislatures one of the first persons to be pointed out to a visitor is the Standard Oil lobbyist. Now, no one can dispute the right of the Standard Oil Company to express its opinions on proposed legislation. It has the same right to do this as all the rest of the world. It is only the character of its opposition which is open to criticism, the fact that it is always fighting measures which equalise privileges and which make it more necessary for men to start fair and play fair in doing business.

Of course the effect of directly practising many of their methods is obvious. For example, take the whole system of keeping track of independent business. There are practices required which corrupt every man who has a hand in them. One of the most deplorable things about it is that most of the work is done by youngsters. The freight clerk who reports the independent oil shipments for a fee of five or ten dollars a month is probably a young man, learning his first lessons in corporate morality. If he happens to sit in Mr. Rockefeller's church on Sundays, through what sort of a haze will he receive the teachings? There is something alarming to those who believe that commerce should be a peaceful pursuit, and who believe that the moral law holds good throughout the entire range of human relations, in knowing that so large a body of young men in this country are consciously or unconsciously growing up with the idea that business is war and that morals have nothing to do with its practice.

And what are we going to do about it? For it is *our* business. We, the people of the United States, and nobody else, must cure whatever is wrong in the industrial situation, typified by this narrative of the growth of the Standard Oil Company. That our first task is to secure free and equal transportation privileges by rail, pipe and waterway is evident. It is not an easy matter. It is one which may require operations which will seem severe; but the whole system of discrimination has been nothing but violence, and those who have profited by it cannot complain if the curing of the evils they have wrought brings hardship in turn on them. At all events, until the transportation matter is settled, and settled right, the monopolistic trust will be with us, a leech on our pockets, a barrier to our free efforts.

As for the ethical side, there is no cure but in an increasing scorn of unfair play—an increasing sense that a thing won by breaking the rules of the game is not worth the winning. When the business man who fights to secure special privileges, to crowd his competitor off the track by other than fair competitive methods, receives the same summary disdainful ostracism by his fellows that the doctor or lawyer who is "unprofessional," the athlete who abuses the rules, receives, we shall have gone a long way toward making commerce a fit pursuit for our young men.

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The book was a huge success, as measured by critical reaction and sales.

Rockefeller said little publicly about the book, but he was furious. He was particularly incensed to find that Tarbell and her assistant had come to a church service in Cleveland to observe him and that she had described him in unsavory detail, implying that his disease, alopecia, which caused him

to lose all facial hair, including his eyebrows, was a result of moral turpitude.

"Before she was done, Ida Tarbell turned America's most private man into its most public and hated figure," said a Rockefeller biographer, Ron Chernow. Rockefeller refused to strike back, in part because he did not want to dignify, or answer, her charges. Still, Chernow said, "While Tarbell's articles were running, Rockefeller, his wife, his son, and two of his three daughters were afflicted by serious medical problems or nervous strain."

Rockefeller and the company's reputation were severely damaged. Tarbell's portrait of Rockefeller as cunning, ruthless, and soulless "is a picture which not even a subsequent half-century of Rockefeller philanthropy has successfully dispelled," David M. Chalmers wrote in his introduction to a 1966 edition of Tarbell's book.

Some critics said Tarbell's contempt for Rockefeller was largely personal, in that she believed he had wronged her father and other relatives, who had been early oil men in western Pennsylvania. Defenders of Rockefeller, including Allan Nevins, the historian, pointed out errors she had made and suggested that her "great-man" approach to history had unfairly made Rockefeller the face of Standard Oil and let his colleagues off the hook.

In 1911, the United States Supreme Court ordered Standard Oil broken up.

Rockefeller learned a lesson from the public relations debacle that Tarbell caused. In 1914, after the national guard attacked striking coal miners at Ludlow, Colorado, Rockefeller and his family hired the publicist Ivy Lee and others to burnish the family name. The decision created the profession of business public relations.

Tarbell left *McClure's* in 1906, in part because she found McClure crotchety and unpredictable. With other muckrakers, she purchased *American* magazine, where she continued her exposés. But she was stung by President Theodore Roosevelt's denunciation of muckrakers as destructive critics. As the years went by, she became increasingly conservative. She wrote in praise of welfare capitalism, scientific management, and "modern" corporation executives such as Elbert H. Gary of United States Steel and Owen D. Young of General Electric. She also praised the social welfare programs of Mussolini. Tarbell died on January 6, 1944.

For all that she did, her reporting on Standard Oil is remembered as the centerpiece of her life's work and is a highlight of American muckraking.

UPTON SINCLAIR

He was a romantic dreamer who wanted to change the way people saw the world through his poetry. Fortunately for America, he failed as a poet and instead became a muckraker and social reformer.

Upton Sinclair was born in a lower-class boardinghouse in Baltimore. One of his earliest memories there was waking in the middle of the night when the gaslight was turned on to join his parents in the chase for bedbugs.

His father was a pot-bellied drunkard who slowly killed himself with alcohol; watching him led Upton to become a prohibitionist. His mother was a stern-faced southern aristocrat and suffragette who wouldn't drink coffee or tea because they were stimulants; watching her led Sinclair to become a health-food faddist.

He spent his youth alternating between poverty, living with his parents, and wealth, living with his mother's father in Baltimore. "One night I would be sleeping on a vermin-ridden sofa in a lodginghouse," he wrote, "and the next night under silken coverlets in a fashionable home."

Sinclair later attributed his outrage over the differences between the social classes to his early days when he experienced those differences personally. It was while observing the trappings of wealth at his grandparents' house that he came to hate the "atmosphere of pride and scorn, of values based upon material." In his youth, he resolved never to sell out to the upper class.

Sinclair was educated at home until he was ten when he started public school in New York. He was a voracious reader and much of his early education came from the books he read in his grandfather's library and at public libraries.

Sinclair graduated without distinction from College of the City of New York (CCNY) in June 1897. While at CCNY, he met another student who had sold an article to a magazine and he wondered why he couldn't do that too. Eventually he did, writing children's stories, jokes, serials, and later, poetry.

Fascinated by the classics, he went on to graduate school at Columbia University to study literature and philosophy. Then, at the age of twenty-two, he decided to write the Great American Novel. He rented a small cabin and wrote *Springtime and Harvest*, a lackluster romantic novel of the period. It brought Sinclair his first rejection from publishers and initiated him into self-publishing, the alternative method of bringing his books to the public that he would use often during his career.

He then wrote another novel, *Prince Hagen*, which was also quickly rejected by publishers. Losing hope in both poetry and romance fiction, Sinclair wrote *The Journal of Arthur Stirling*, a semi-autobiographical story of a young poet who commits suicide. In killing the character of the young poet, Sinclair symbolically killed his own aspirations to become a poet and began to prepare himself for a life as a political activist.

In 1902, a friend gave Sinclair a few books on socialism, which reinforced the insights he first had when reading Thorsten Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Suddenly he felt liberated with "the amazing discovery, after all those years, that I did not have to carry the whole burden of humanity's future upon my two frail shoulders!"

He then wrote *Manassas*, a novel of the Civil War, which also received a lukewarm reception from publishers. But it inspired the editor of *The Appeal to Reason*, America's leading socialist newspaper at the time, to offer Sinclair $500 to write a novel about the plight of the wage slaves of the day—America's working class.

A Chicago meatpackers' strike had just been brutally broken by the stockyard owners and Sinclair decided to go to the stockyards there to gather information about the plight of the workers for his novel. He went undercover as a stockyard employee wearing his own shabby clothes and carrying a dinner pail. In the daytime, he wandered about the yards observing the oppressive working conditions, and at night, he visited the workers in their dismal quarters where they would tell him their distressing stories. He also went about the district talking with lawyers, doctors, dentists, nurses, policemen, politicians, real estate agents, and anyone who had a story of the stockyards to tell.

At the end of seven weeks Sinclair had gathered all the images and notes he needed, and "knew the story I meant to tell."

Like his earlier works, *The Jungle* did not receive a welcoming response from the publishers immediately. One publisher, Macmillan, said they would be willing to publish it if Sinclair would simply cut out some of the objectionable passages. Sinclair discussed this with his friend Lincoln Steffens who advised, "It is useless to tell things that are incredible, even though they may be true." Sinclair decided against self-censorship: "I had to tell the truth and let people make of it what they could."

After five publishers rejected *The Jungle*, Sinclair decided to publish it himself. He offered a "Sustainer's Edition" of *The Jungle*, priced at $1.20. Within a month or two he took in four thousand dollars, more money than he had earned for all his writing in the previous five years.

Bolstered by the public interest in the book, Sinclair offered it to Doubleday, Page & Co. To protect Doubleday, the publisher sent proofs of *The Jungle* to James Keeley, managing editor of the *Chicago Tribune* for his comments. Keeley sent back a scathing thirty-two–page report, allegedly prepared by one of his professional journalists, contradicting Sinclair's allegations. Sinclair persuaded Doubleday to send an investigator of its own to assess the situation first hand. The first person the investigator met in the stockyards was a publicity agent for the meatpackers who admitted that he had read *The Jungle* and had "prepared a thirty-two page report for James Keeley of the *Tribune*."

With their own investigator supporting Sinclair's charges, Doubleday published *The Jungle* in February 1906. The controversy started at once. The meat industry's attack began with a series of articles by meatpacking giant J. Ogden Armour published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Armour rejected the "unscrupulous attacks" on his great business, which was "noble in all its motives," and "turned out products free from every blemish." This response sounds like the denials of the modern-day beef trust in Texas that sued television's Oprah Winfrey in 1997 for "disparaging" remarks about hamburgers.

The meatpacking industry resorted to every possible tactic to censor Sinclair's book. They tried to discourage editors from reviewing it and librarians from carrying it. Outraged by their efforts, Sinclair protested in a letter to the *New York Times*, published May 18, 1906, and charging that the librarians in Chicago and St. Louis who had found the book unfit for circulation and removed it from their shelves had been intimidated.

As it turned out, Sinclair got welcome support from an unlikely source. President Roosevelt said he was receiving a hundred letters a day about the charges in *The Jungle* and invited Sinclair to the White House to give a briefing on the conditions in Chicago preparatory to Roosevelt's launching of his own investigation.

Thrust into the spotlight by Roosevelt's interest, *The Jungle* and its author became an international cause célèbre overnight.

Winston Churchill, then a member of Parliament, wrote a five-thousand-word article urging English readers to buy *The Jungle*. In his preface to *Major Barbara*, George Bernard Shaw writes how Sinclair stripped the veneer from the huge meatpacking industry in Chicago and revealed it "as a sample of what is going on all over the world underneath the top layer of prosperous plutocracy."

As a result of the subsequent national outcry demanding food protection laws, Roosevelt undertook an official investigation of the Chicago stockyards. The commissioners he sent found "evidence of practically everything charged in *The Jungle*." The nation's first Pure Food and Drug Act, establishing food inspection regulations, was passed consequently with Roosevelt's strong support. This was the origin of today's Food and Drug Administration.

With *The Jungle*, Sinclair had arrived. The *New York Evening World* reported, "Not since Byron awoke one morning to find himself famous has there been such an example of world-wide celebrity won in a day by a book as has come to Upton Sinclair." *The Jungle* was translated into seventeen languages and was a bestseller in America and Great Britain for six months. In 1914, it was made into a movie.

In 1962, Sinclair optimistically summarized his experience with *The Jungle*: "I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach... I helped to clean up the yards and improved the country's meat supply. Now the workers have strong unions and, I hope, are able to look out for themselves."

The Jungle was the defining moment of Sinclair's life, the achievement of his greatest dream—to help make the world a better place. Sinclair tried to follow it up with extra-literary efforts such as his short-lived utopian colony in Helicon Hall, the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, and his colorful but doomed campaign for governor of California called End Poverty In California (EPIC). Historians say his opponent conducted the dirtiest political campaign in California history until Richard Nixon's campaign, which defeated Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950.

But Sinclair was a prolific author and soon returned to writing reality-based novels for which he would earn the title "Muckrake Man" by examining a number of other social institutions. Among the more than ninety books he wrote were exposés of Wall Street, *The Moneychangers* (1908); the coal mining industry, *King Coal* (1917); organized religion, *The Profits of Religion* (1918); the press, *The Brass Check* (1919); educational institutions, *The Goose-step* (1923) and *The Goslings* (1924); world literature, *Mammonart: An Essay in Economic Interpretation* (1925); the oil industry, *OIL!* (1927); American publishing, *Money Writes!* (1927); and the judicial process, *Boston* (1928).

While no single book brought Sinclair the success and renown he received with *The Jungle*, a series of books did.

In 1939, Sinclair embarked on what he was to call the most important part of his literary career—the writing of the eleven books in the Lanny Budd series. The series was born out of Sinclair's despair and anger over the tragedy of World War I and the abortive peace settlement that followed it. His immediate concern was World War II, which was rapidly approaching.

When he first started creating the adventures of Lanny Budd, he expected it to be a single novel covering six years of World War I. Instead, it turned into eleven volumes, 7,364 pages, more than four million words, covering a forty-year period. The first book in the series, *World's End*, was published in 1940, and the last, *The Return of Lanny Budd* was published in 1953.

With his easy-going style, Sinclair took readers into the smoke-filled backrooms where U.S. and world leaders plotted to achieve their own goals with little regard for people's lives. Through his lightly fictionalized picture of reality, Sinclair introduced the public to the duplicitous actions and sinister motives of the world's elite that led to millions of casualties in both wars.

All the books in the series were bestsellers, and *World's End* was singled out by the Literary Guild, with subsequent books selected by other book clubs. The third in the series, *Dragon's Teeth*, won Sinclair the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1942. He was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters the same year.

With all the honors and acclaim Sinclair received for the Lanny Budd series, the books did not have the impact on American society of *The Jungle*. *The Jungle* led to significant improvements in the nation's food supply and the miserable conditions of working people. With its publication, Sinclair had fulfilled the deep commitment to social justice he first made when he vowed

never to sell out to the elite class in America. In his autobiography, published in 1962, Sinclair cautioned us all: "Nature has been and can be so cruel to us that surely we should busy ourselves not to commit cruelties against one another."

On the occasion of Sinclair's eightieth birthday, President Truman wrote, "He has been a burr under the saddle of people who cannot appreciate what working men have to contend with." In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson invited Sinclair to the White House to witness the signing of the Wholesome Meat Act, which was designed to close some loopholes in the original 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act. When he died a year later at the age of 89, Sinclair was still witnessing the impact of a novel he had written more than sixty years earlier.

The following are three excerpts from *The Jungle*. The first describes a guided tour of the stockyards taken by Jurgis Rudkus on his first day of work. The second describes Bubbly Creek, an arm of the Chicago River polluted by drainage from the stockyards and the source of the lard sold in grocery stores. The third describes what meatpacking plants do with spoiled meat.

SOURCES. Harris, Leon, *Upton Sinclair: American Rebel*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1975; Sinclair, Upton, *American Outpost: A Book of Reminiscences*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1932; Sinclair, Upton, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair*, Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1962; Sinclair, Upton, editor, *The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest*, The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia, 1915; Sinclair, Upton, *The Journal of Arthur Stirling*, Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California, 1903; Sinclair, Upton, *The Jungle*, The Jungle Publishing Co., New York, 1906; Sinclair, Upton, *My Lifetime in Lettters*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri, 1960.

The Jungle

Upton Sinclair

SEYMOUR M. HERSH AND THE DISPATCH NEWS SERVICE REVEAL THE KILLINGS AT MY LAI AND ANOTHER TRAGEDY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

On March 17, 1968, using official military reports released the day before in Saigon, U.S. newspapers reported the success of a movement against North Vietnamese in the coastal plain northwest of Saigon. The *New York Times* headline was G.I.'S, IN PINCER MOVE, KILL 128 IN DAYLONG BATTLE. Two American soldiers were killed, the *Times* said. The paper did not use an unusual fact from the military press report: only three enemy weapons had been captured. The disparity between the number of weapons and the number of dead was a giveaway to some with knowledge of war: Most of the dead must have been civilians.

Eighteen months later, Seymour M. Hersh, a former Pentagon reporter for the Associated Press, then working on a book, got a tip that led to the unveiling of the rest of the story, a story the military had tried hard to keep quiet.

"Officer Accused of 109 Deaths," by Seymour M. Hersh. Dispatch News Service, November 13, 1969.

FORT BENNING, GA.—Lt. William L. Calley Jr., 26, is a mild-mannered, boyish-looking Vietnam combat veteran with the nickname of "Rusty." The army says he deliberately murdered at least 109 Vietnamese civilians during a search-and-destroy mission in March 1968 in a Viet Cong stronghold known as "Pinkville."

Calley has formally been charged with six specifications of mass murder. Each specification cites a number of dead, adding up to the 109 total, and adds that Calley did "with premeditation murder . . . oriental human-beings whose names and sex are unknown by shooting them with a rifle."

The army calls it murder; Calley, his counsel and others associated with the incident describe it as a case of "carrying out orders."

"Pinkville" has now become a widely known code-word among the military in a case that many officers and some well-informed congressmen believe will become far more controversial than the recent murder charges against eight Green Berets. In terms of numbers slain, "Pinkville" is by far the worst known U.S. atrocity case of the Vietnam war.

Army investigation teams spent nearly one year studying the incident before filing charges against Calley, a platoon leader of the 11th Brigade of the Americal Division at the time of the slayings.

Calley was formally charged on or about Sept. 6, 1969, with the multiple homicides, just a few days before he was due to be released from active service.

Calley has since hired a prominent civilian attorney, former Judge George W. Latimer of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals, and is now awaiting a military determination of whether the evidence justifies a general court-martial. All sources agreed that the court-martial will be ordered within a week or two. It is expected to begin early next year.

Calley, meanwhile, is being detained at Fort Benning, where his movements are sharply restricted. Even his exact location on the base is a closely held secret; neither the provost marshal nor the army's Criminal Investigation Division know where he is being held.

The army has steadfastedly refused to comment on the case, "in order not to prejudice the continuing investigation and rights of the accused." Similarly, Calley—although submitting to an interview—refused to discuss in detail just what did happen on that day, Mar. 16, 1968.

But many other officers and civilian officials, some angered by Calley's action and others angry that charges of murder were filed in the case, talked freely during interviews at Fort Benning and Washington.

These facts are not in dispute:

The Pinkville area, about six miles northeast of Quang Ngai, had been a Viet Cong fortress since the Vietnam war began. In early February, 1968, a company of the 11th Brigade, as part of Task Force Barker, stormed through the area and was severely shot up.

Calley's platoon suffered casualties. After the communist Tet offensive in February, 1968, a larger assault was mounted, again with high casualties and little success. A third attack was quickly mounted and it was successful.

The army claimed 128 Viet Cong dead. Many civilians also were killed in the operation. The area was a free fire zone in which all non–Viet Cong residents had been urged, by leaflet, to flee. Such zones are common throughout Vietnam.

One man who took part in the mission with Calley, in recounting what happened, said that in the earlier two attacks "we were really shot up."

"Everytime we got hit it was from the rear," he said. "So the third time in there, the order came down to go in and make sure no one was behind.

"We were told to just clear the area. It was a typical combat assault formation. We came in hot, with a cover of artillery in front of us, came down the line and destroyed the village," he said.

"There are always some civilian casualities in a combat operation. He [Calley] isn't guilty of murder," he said.

The order to "clear the area" was relayed from the battalion commander to the company commander to Calley, the source added.

Calley's attorney, Latimer, said in an interview that "This is one case that should never have been brought. Whatever killing there was was in a firefight in connection with an operation."

"You can't afford to guess whether a civilian is a Viet Cong or not. Either they shoot you or you shoot them," Latimer said.

"This case is going to be important— To what standard do you hold a combat officer in carrying out a mission?" the attorney asked.

Adding to the complexity of the case is the fact that investigators from the army inspector general's office, which conducted the bulk of the investigation, considered filing charges against at least six other men involved in the action on that Mar. 16.

Included were Capt. Ernest Medina, Calley's company commander, and Sgt. Manuel Lopez, Calley's main non-commissioned officer. Both are now stationed at Fort Benning.

They, and at least four other men from Calley's unit, were flown to Benning sometime in late summer during the army's Article 32 hearing, the military equivalent of a grand jury proceeding. The hearing was conducted under the leadership of Lt. Col. Dwayne G. Cameron, a Fort Benning infantry officer, who concluded that Calley should be held for court-martial.

Sources report that Calley was personally accused of all of the slayings under his and Sgt. Lopez's command; the young lieutenant refused to say whether the order to fire came from Medina, his former company commander, during the Article 32 hearings.

There is another side to the Calley case, one that the army cannot reveal as yet. Interviews have brought out the fact that the investigation into the Pinkville affair was initiated six months after the incident, only after some of the men who served under Calley complained.

The army has photographs of what purports to be the incident, although these have not—thus far—been introduced as evidence in the case, and may not be.

"They simply shot up this village and he [Calley] was the leader of it," said one Washington source. "When one guy refused to do it, Calley took the rifle away and did the shooting himself."

Asked about this, Calley refused to comment.

One Pentagon officer discussed the case in a caustic manner, reaching down to tap his knee with his hand, and saying at the same time:

"Some of those kids he shot were this high. I don't think they were Viet Cong. Do you?" None

of the men interviewed about the affair denied that women and children had been shot at the Pinkville incident.

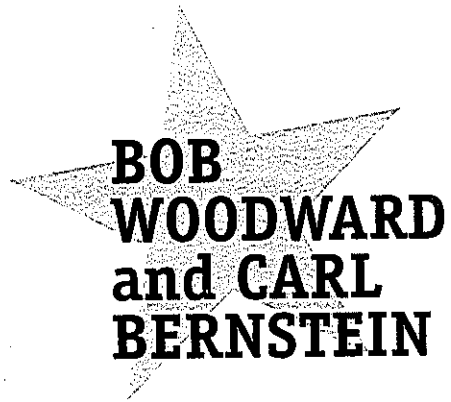
• • •

The story, so counter to America's view of itself, brought a firestorm of questions. Why had Calley and the others done it? Is "just following orders" an excuse? Was Calley being made a scapegoat? Should he and the others be punished? Should their superior officers? Why did it take the Army so long to investigate? Was the press just stirring up trouble? Why doesn't the press report about communist atrocities? Were such actions an inevitable part of the nature of war? Can anyone who hasn't seen battle understand?

At first, for all the shock the incident produced, most Americans only seized on the events of My Lai to buttress opinions they already had. But as more and more stories came out from Company C, and from other incidents in which Vietnamese civilians were killed, as the Pentagon and members of Congress investigated, as the military trial proceeded, the story of My Lai became a symbol of what the Vietnam War was doing to America.

Twenty-five officers and enlisted men were charged with wrongdoing at My Lai.

In March 1971 a military court found Calley guilty of premeditated murder, and he was sentenced to life in prison. Three years later a federal judge reversed the conviction and Calley was freed on bond. No one else was ever convicted.



BOB WOODWARD and CARL BERNSTEIN

In their bestselling book that brought down a president, the two authors described themselves: "Bernstein looked like one of those counterculture journalists that Woodward despised. Bernstein thought that Woodward's rapid rise at the *Post* had less to do with his ability than his Establishment credentials."

Bob Woodward came from a strict, conservative, and comfortable middle-class suburban household. He was an Ivy League graduate, fairly apolitical and not fired up by any rebellious reformer's zeal.

Carl Bernstein came from a liberal, politically active, loosely knit family. He was a dropout who started his newspaper career when he was sixteen years old. Distinguished by his long hair and sloppy dress, he often seemed beyond the control of editors.

Woodward and Bernstein were very different—they were like Neil Simon's Odd Couple. But the Watergate twins, as they came to be called, were destined to be forever joined by the political scandal of the century.

BOB WOODWARD

Bob Woodward was born into a prominent midwestern family in Geneva, Illinois, on March 26, 1943, and raised in nearby Wheaton. His father, Alfred E.

Woodward, was Wheaton's leading attorney and Chief Judge of the Du Page County Circuit Court. The judge was a soft-spoken but firm man who had a strong influence on Bob. Bob's mother, Jane Upshur Woodward, was the subject of a huge local scandal, which led to her divorce from the judge while Bob was approaching adolescence. He was the eldest of six children.

Bob attended public schools in Wheaton and then went to Yale University at his father's urging. He enlisted in the Naval ROTC in exchange for a scholarship. After graduating from Yale with a somewhat undistinguished record, he joined the Navy to fulfill his ROTC requirements. He served four years as a communications officer on an aircraft carrier and then on a destroyer. For his fifth and final year of service he was assigned work as a communications liaison officer between the White House and the Pentagon.

Following his Navy tour, in an effort to please his father, he enrolled in Harvard Law School. He quickly tired of the legal studies and, at the age of twenty-seven, dropped out to become a journalist. Journalism was something he felt he could do, and he wanted to get his career underway.

Anxious to start at a leading newspaper in his chosen field, Woodward offered to work for the *Washington Post* without pay. When he failed to get a paid position after a two-week trial period, the *Post* helped him find work at a weekly newspaper, the *Sentinel*, in nearby Montgomery County, Maryland. For a year, he kept calling the *Post* for a job and, after writing an exposé about a bankrupt Montgomery County savings and loan association that was picked up by the *Post*, he was finally hired in 1971.

At age twenty-eight, he started out on the overnight police beat, handling the routine assignments, but also producing self-assigned investigative articles he would research and write on his own time. Nine months later, he was assigned to the Watergate story, an assignment that brought him a Pulitzer Prize and two bestselling nonfiction books, *All the President's Men* and *The Final Days*.

After the Watergate experience, he stayed on with the *Post*, first as an editor on the metropolitan desk, and later as assistant managing editor of the paper. As one of America's leading investigative journalists, he developed a unique relationship with the *Post*. He would investigate powerful people and institutions and publish his findings both as newspaper stories and as books. He developed a reputation for what is called "access" or "insider" journalism because of the way he was able to gain the confidence of leading figures of the period. He is the only contemporary author or co-author to have written eight

number one national nonfiction best sellers. These include *All the President's Men* (1974), the original story of Watergate that he wrote with Carl Bernstein; *The Final Days* (1976), a description of the last one hundred days of the Nixon presidency (also written with Bernstein); *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court* written with Scott Armstrong (1979); *Wired: The Short Life and Fast Times of John Belushi* (1984); *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981–1987* (1987); *The Commanders* (1991), on military decision making during the Gulf War; *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House* (1994); *The Choice* (1996), an analysis of the 1996 presidential campaign; and *Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate 1974-1999* (1999). He also wrote a lengthy, seven-part series about Dan Quayle in 1992 that was criticized for its perceived favorable presentation of the former vice president.

CARL BERNSTEIN

Carl Bernstein was born into a politically active family on February 14, 1944 in Washington, D.C. His father, Alfred David Bernstein and his mother, Sylvia Walker, leftist sympathizers and one-time Communists, were both dedicated to civil rights issues and were in the forefront of the Progressive Movement. His mother once took him on a march to plead for clemency for the convicted spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The family took part in a demonstration in front of the White House on June 19, 1953, the day the Rosenbergs were executed.

Carl's father helped organize the United Public Workers of America, a leftist union representing federal employees. Bernstein recalls attending sit-ins at segregated Washington lunch counters where he was spat upon and called a "nigger lover."

The Bernsteins were under FBI surveillance for thirty-five years and ended up with a twenty-five-hundred-page FBI file. The FBI even monitored the guests at Carl's bar mitzvah. His early experiences of being under FBI scrutiny and seeing his parents persecuted during the McCarthy era contributed to Bernstein's subsequent anti-establishment attitude.

He started school in 1951 at the Cooperative Jewish Children's School of Greater Washington and later attended public schools in Washington and Silver Springs, Maryland. He was an unenthusiastic student with his public school experience marked by failing grades, suspensions, and expulsions. "I was a terrible student. The only thing I could do in school was write. I'd pass

the essay exams and flunk the true and false." He finally found his calling in a tenth-grade journalism course. He worked on the high school paper and was named editor of the *Lincoln Torch*, a Jewish youth group newspaper.

When he was sixteen, and still in high school, his father helped him get a job as a copyboy with the *Washington Star*. He then went to the University of Maryland as a commuting student, but he dropped out in 1965 to become a full-time journalist with the *Star*. He fulfilled his military obligations by serving in the National Guard and the Army. He later received an LL.D. degree from Boston University in 1975.

A gifted writer with a penchant for feature writing and investigative reporting, Bernstein rose quickly from copyboy to reporter at the *Star*. In 1965, he left the *Star* to spend a year with the *Daily Journal* in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He quickly gained a reputation as an outstanding reporter, winning several statewide awards for journalism. Tiring of the routine assignments at the *Journal*, Bernstein used his clippings to get a job with the *Washington Post*. During his interview, a *Post* editor, aware of his parents' activism, asked Bernstein, "Are you political?" He replied that the only two organizations he ever belonged to were B'nai Brith Youth and the Newspaper Guild. He got the job and started at the *Post* in October 1966. At twenty-two he was on the staff of one of the nation's leading newspapers.

Once again, he quickly made a name for himself as a top feature writer, producing magazine-type articles about Washington neighborhoods and their problems. He also gained notoriety for his self-assigned investigative pieces on police negligence, slum landlords, drugs, and fraudulent career schools. In 1972, he hustled himself onto the Watergate story that eventually brought him, with Woodward, a Pulitzer Prize and two best-selling books, *All the President's Men* and *The Final Days*.

In the aftermath of the Watergate affair, Bernstein became involved in the celebrity circuit and dated, among others, Bianca Jagger, Elizabeth Taylor, and Margaret Jay, then wife of Britain's ambassador to the United States. During the Jay affair, Bernstein himself was married to Nora Ephron, a writer and author. They divorced, and Ephron retaliated by writing *Heartburn*, a defamatory book that described Bernstein as a philanderer. The book was turned into a movie in 1986 starring Jack Nicholson and Meryl Streep.

He left the *Washington Post* in 1976 to begin studying the turbulent McCarthy era and the government's case against his father, and to start writing his memoirs.

In 1979, he was named Washington Bureau Chief for ABC. In 1981, he moved to New York City where he worked as a correspondent for ABC News until 1984. While with ABC, he exposed a secret agreement between the United States, Egypt, China, and Pakistan to supply arms to the Mujahadeen rebels fighting the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. He subsequently worked as a correspondent and contributor to *Time* and *Vanity Fair*.

In 1988 he published his autobiography, *Loyalties: A Son's Memoir*, which was one part McCarthy-era history, one part Bernstein family history, and one part his personal account of his relationship with his father, whose approval he was still seeking.

In 1992, he wrote a cover story for *Time* about a secret alliance between Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II that helped keep Poland's Solidarity movement alive. He followed that story up with additional research that led to *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time*, written with Marco Politi and published in 1996.

He has also written articles for a variety of publications including the *New Republic*, *Rolling Stone*, the *New York Times*, and Germany's *der Spiegel*. While with the *Washington Post*, he was an occasional music critic and Bernstein still enjoys writing about rock and roll.

WATERGATE

At nine o'clock Saturday morning, June 17, 1972, Bob Woodward received a call from the city editor of the *Washington Post*. There had been a burglary at the Democratic headquarters in Washington, D.C. When he arrived in the *Post*'s city room he was assigned to the main story on the burglary. He also noticed that Carl Bernstein was working on the story. While he had never worked on a story with Bernstein before, he had heard about his ability to push his way into a good story to get a byline on it.

On Sunday morning, June 18th, the city editor called Bernstein and Woodward into the office and told them to follow up the burglary story. On Monday morning, June 19th, their first Watergate story with their joint byline appeared on the front page of the *Washington Post*. Woodward was twenty-nine, Bernstein was twenty-six, and neither one was considered among the top journalists at the *Post*. Ben Bradlee, the *Post*'s executive editor at the time, would later say that if he had known the story would be so important, he would have selected his best senior reporters to cover it.

So began a two-year odyssey that would change the lives of everyone involved, and forever join the fame and fortune of Woodward and Bernstein.

Despite their many personal differences, Woodward and Bernstein shared four attributes. They were young, they were single, they were ambitious, and neither one of them would take no for an answer. They were both able to devote their lives to the story. For the next two years, they were in the *Post* newsroom nearly every day of the week. They didn't take vacations, and they were able to pursue all leads and tips at any time of day or night. It was a fortuitous combination that led to the political story of the century.

Both reporters were bright and used various techniques to unravel the Watergate enigma including developing theoretical hypotheses they would test. They used two main investigative techniques: first, follow the money (a critical aspect of Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign), and second, interview low-level contacts and later talk to the key players (also Jessica Mitford's approach to sources).

Their efforts persuaded the rest of the press, especially Seymour Hersh at the *New York Times*, was persuaded that Watergate wasn't the "third-rate burglary attempt" that Ron Ziegler, Nixon's press secretary, had described. Hersh was inspired to undertake his own investigation of Watergate.

In 1973, their persistent reports, enhanced by an anonymous source called "Deep Throat," exposed the full dimension of the Watergate burglary and its direct ties to the White House. The media reports led to the appointment of the U.S. Senate Select Watergate Committee, chaired by Senator Sam Ervin. After the discovery of the Watergate tapes came the Watergate cover-up trials, the campaign finance violations prosecutions, and the presidential impeachment investigation. Finally, at 9:00 p.m., on August 8, 1974, President Richard Nixon addressed the nation from the Oval Office. He first explained his reasons and then announced, "Therefore, I shall resign the presidency, effective at noon tomorrow." Twenty-two of the president's men would eventually go to jail.

Thus ended one of the most torturous periods in American presidential history. It was a climax that Woodward and Bernstein had anticipated, but nonetheless came as a shock when Nixon resigned. Their words led to the first resignation of a president in American history.

Woodward and Bernstein both took a leave of absence from the *Post* to advise on the movie production of *All the President's Men* and to write their new book on the last one hundred days of the Nixon presidency, *The Final Days*.

The impact of the 225 stories Woodward and Bernstein wrote during their two-year pursuit of Watergate shaped history for years to come. They also inspired another generation of investigative reporters. Journalism schools across the country were swamped with applications from young people wanting to make a difference.

Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein showed America that two young people with dedication, hard work, and the truth could take on the most powerful men in the world and win. Their first co-written article in the *Washington Post* follows.

SOURCES. Woodward, Bob, *The Commanders*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1991; Bernstein, Carl, *Loyalties: A Son's Memoir*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1989; Bernstein, Carl and Marco Politi, *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time*, Doubleday, New York, 1996; Bernstein, Carl and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men*, Simon & Schuster, New York 1974; Havill, Adrian, *Deep Truth: The Lives of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein*, Carol Publishing Group, New York, 1993; Woodward, Bob, *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1994; Woodward, Bob, *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981–1987*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1987; Woodward, Bob and Scott Armstrong, *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1979; Woodward, Bob and Carl Bernstein, *The Final Days*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1976.