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While our trustees have been working to this end, endeavoring to protect each of us, from the largest to the smallest, with signal success, Mr. Hearst has been our most persistent opponent. He evidently disapproves of our code of ethics, attacking its right to select its own membership, assailing the integrity of its news reports, conducting competing news-gathering organizations, and infringing on the rights of its membership. Every one of these charges is subject to proof.

For thirteen years Mr. Hearst attempted to break into the Associated Press in the courts -- claiming that the Associated Press was only a common carrier, as much obliged to supply its service to whomever might demand it as is a street car.

Now here is where it touches the small publisher, that is to say, the publisher in a town of 200,000 or less. Hearst holds an Associated Press membership through the San Francisco Examiner. He invaded the territory of our fellow-member in Oakland, Cal., only a few miles from San Francisco, in a manner condemned by the unanimous vote of the Association at its annual meeting. As I understand it, he printed an Oakland edition of the Examiner, so made up that it seemed to be an Oakland paper; sent it over to Oakland and distributed it in competition with our member.

The aeroplane makes this danger a menace. He can buy papers at strategic points and print these editions of local papers and invade our fields, organize offices without plants in the various smaller towns, and, with his own association, destroy the field of our own membership in the Associated Press if he controls a sufficient minority of Associated Press votes to elect directors who will sustain him. His growing minority must be offset in all towns where it is honesty advisable to divide the field by giving men who represent our ideals, memberships in the Associated Press. I have said this before, but I want to repeat it after using this illustration.

We will have to meet this menace by men of the Hearst type, who do not hold the rights of the small town editor inviolable, and with a large bunch of purchased Associated Press newspapers in the country his influence in the Association will be greater and greater. It can only be offset, as I have suggested, by putting a competitor of Hearst, who respects our standards and our code of Associated Press ethics, in every large town where the field warrants it and where this expediency will justify it.

To continue with Mr. Hearst's offenses against our standards, let me recall the fact that he fought for the right to pirate the Associated Press news, collected at vast expense by the members of the Association, and the right to peddle it to the customers of his competing news organizations. He took this fight through the New York courts and up to the Supreme Court of the United States, but he met a complete defeat in every court. But it cost us all a lot of money.