

The New York Times



The New York Times (NYT)^[b] is a national daily newspaper based in New York City. A newspaper of record, it is the second-largest newspaper by print circulation and one of the longest-running newspapers in the United States. *The New York Times* is published by The New York Times Company, a publicly traded company; since 1896, the company has been chaired by the Ochs-Sulzberger family, including its current chairman and the paper's publisher, A. G. Sulzberger. The *Times* is headquartered at The New York Times Building in Manhattan. *The New York Times* covers domestic, national, and international news, and comprises opinion pieces, investigative reports, and reviews.

The *Times* was founded as the *New-York Daily Times* in 1851 by *New-York Tribune* journalists Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones as a conservative newspaper, assuming *The New York Times* name in 1896. The *Times* actively sought to challenge William M. Tweed, the political boss of Tammany Hall, contributing to his 1873 arrest. *The New York Times*'s coverage of the Tweed Ring earned the paper national recognition. After financial difficulties in the years following the Panic of 1893, *Chattanooga Times* publisher Adolph Ochs gained a controlling interest in the company. Under Ochs, *The New York Times* experienced significant financial revitalization, expanding its scientific coverage and garnering international recognition. In 1905, the *Times* moved into the *Times Tower* on Times Square, later moving to 229 West 43rd Street.

Following his death in 1935, Ochs was succeeded by his son-in-law, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, who began a push into European news. During World War II, *The New York Times* began an international edition that persisted until 1967. The *Times* was subject to intense Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security investigations and the paper was accused of employing communists. Sulzberger resigned in 1961, appointing Orvil Dryfoos as his short-lived successor. A newspaper strike in 1962 and 1963 drastically altered the New York newspaper scene. Sulzberger's son-in-law Arthur Ochs became publisher in 1963 after Dryfoos's death, adapting to a changing newspaper industry and introducing radical changes. *The New York Times* was involved in the landmark Supreme Court case *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964).

The New York Times

All the News That's Fit to Print

The New York Times



Type	Daily newspaper
Format	Broadsheet
Owner(s)	The New York Times Company
Founder(s)	Henry Jarvis Raymond George Jones
Publisher	A. G. Sulzberger
Editor-in-chief	Joseph Kahn
Managing editor	Marc Lacey Carolyn Ryan
Staff writers	1,700 (2023)

In 1971, *The New York Times* published the *Pentagon Papers*, an internal Department of Defense document detailing the history of the United States's involvement in the Vietnam War. Then-president Richard Nixon attempted to prevent the *Times* from publishing the papers through a restraining order. In *New York Times Co. v. United States* (1971), the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark decision that the First Amendment guaranteed the right for *The New York Times*, in addition to *The Washington Post*, to publish the *Pentagon Papers* under its protection of freedom of the press. The *Times* began a gradual progression to digital technology in the 1980s and launched [nytimes.com](#) in 1996. In the 21st century, *The New York Times* has shifted digitally amid the decline of newspapers.

The New York Times has received 137 Pulitzer Prizes as of 2023, the most of any publication, among other accolades. The *Times* was one of the last newspapers to utilize color photography, with the first color photograph appearing on *The New York Times*'s front page in October 1997, giving the paper the nickname the "Gray Lady".^[4] The *Times* has expanded to several other publications, including *The New York Times Magazine*, *The New York Times International Edition*, *The New York Times Book Review*. In addition, the paper has produced several television series, podcasts—including *The Daily*—and games. *The New York Times* has been involved in several controversies in its history.

History

1851–1861: Origins and initial success



The first issue of the *New-York Daily Times* on September 18, 1851

Seven newspapers in New York titled *The New York Times* existed prior to the *Times* in the early 1800s.^[5] In 1851, journalists Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones befriended each other while working for Horace Greeley at the New-York Tribune. Conscious of the profits Greeley was making, the two formed Raymond, Jones & Company on August 5, 1851.^{[6][7]} The first issue of the *New-York Daily Times* was published on September 18, 1851, in the basement of 113 Nassau Street. The *Times* frequently culled from European newspapers at the time and from within the United States, particularly in California; the paper's debut occurred during the California Gold Rush.^[8] Raymond assured that the *New-York Daily Times* would adhere to conservatism and radicalism when necessary and hold true to the doctrines of Christianity and republicanism.^[9] Sold for one cent (equivalent to \$0.35 in 2022), the first issue of the *Times* established Raymond's principles:^[10]

Founded	September 18, 1851
Headquarters	<u>620 Eighth Avenue</u> <u>Manhattan, New York,</u> <u>U.S.</u>
Country	United States
Circulation	10,000,000 news subscribers ^[a] (as of November 2023)
Sister newspapers	<u>International Herald Tribune</u> (1967–2013) <u>The New York Times International Edition</u> (1943–1967; 2013–present)
ISSN	<u>0362-4331</u> (https://www.worldcat.org/search?fq=x0:jrn1&q=n2:0362-4331) (print) <u>1553-8095</u> (https://www.worldcat.org/search?fq=x0:jrn1&q=n2:1553-8095) (web)
OCLC number	<u>1645522</u> (https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1645522)
Website	nytimes.com (http://nytimes.com)

[Media of the United States](#)
[List of newspapers](#)

We shall be Conservative, in all cases where we think Conservatism good;—and we shall be Radical in everything which may seem treatment and radical reform. We do not believe that everything in Society or exactly wrong;—what is good we desire to preserve and improve; what is bad we desire to extirpate, or reform.

The *New-York Daily Times* was well received by conservatives. In particular, Greeley wrote that it was the "best paper published in New York for ONE cent a copy, and cannot fail to attain wide circulation and correspondent influence", although he threatened to drop any carrier of the *New-York Tribune* who also chose to carry the *Times* several days prior. By contrast, James Gordon Bennett Sr., the editor of the *New York Herald*, ignored the *Times*. At the time, the *New York Herald* was shunned for its sensational coverage while the *New-York Tribune* isolated itself from upper and middle class readers for its radical social reforms. Despite Greeley's threatening notice, carriers took on the *Times* regardless. Additionally, a dozen printers and some editors from the *Tribune* left to join the *Times*.^[11] The brownstone that occupied 113 Nassau Street lacked gas lighting, dumbwaiters, and commonplace speaking tubes. In spite of this, by its ninth issue, the *Times* boasted that it had been circulated ten thousand times.^[12]

Emboldened by its success, the *New-York Daily Times* experimented with multiple formats. The paper published the *Weekly Family Times* to circulate in rural areas; the weekly issue of the *Tribune* attributed to much of Greeley's success. However, rail transportation in the United States created advances in circulating daily newspapers, forcing the paper to discontinue the *Weekly Family Times* in the 1870s. A Semi-weekly *Times* lasted several years longer. The prevalence in rail transportation also ended the *Campaign Times* for presidential years. The *Times for California* was started in 1852 and circulated when mail boats could be sent to California from New York. The effort failed once local California newspapers came into prominence.^[13] On its one-year anniversary, the *New-York Daily Times* announced it had printed 7,550,000 copies and circulated 24,000 copies a day, although these figures were contested by Bennett. The following day, the price of the *Times* increased to two cents (equivalent to \$0.7 in 2022).^[14] Early investors of the company included Edwin B. Morgan^[6] and Christopher Morgan.^[7]

By September 1854, the *New-York Daily Times* purchased 138 Nassau Street, the site of the *Potter Building*. The *Times* was among the publications to hear about the *SS Arctic* disaster and quickly penned a paragraph and headline, although the *New York Herald* had obtained an exclusive interview with a messenger for the *Adams Express Company* who arrived on the *Huron*. The *Times* sought to copy the interview and a former *Herald* employee, John Long, obtained the story at 4 a.m., despite the publication locking its doors until 9 a.m. By 8 a.m., the *Times* had published the story. Demand for the story was so high that presses kept running until 11 a.m. Fletcher Harper Jr., the publisher of the *New-York Daily Times*, paid Long US\$50 (equivalent to \$1,628.52 in 2022). The *SS Arctic* disaster story remained a legend among *Times* staff until the publication received another exclusive story on the sinking of the *SS Oregon* in 1883. The stunt, although ethically questionable, earned Raymond recognition. Simultaneously, he earned credit for a *Republican Party* speech in which he backed *Kansas*'s admission into the *Union*.^[15]

By 1856, the brownstone on 138 Nassau Street became inadequate.^[16] Raymond, Jones & Company purchased the *Brick Presbyterian Church* in 1857, following the congregation's egress to *Murray Hill*.^[17] Architect Thomas R. Jackson designed a five-story Romanesque Revival building at the 41 Park Row site.^[18] Ground broke on the building on May 1, 1857, and the cornerstone was laid on May 21.^[19] When the *New-York Daily Times* moved into the building a year later, the paper became the first housed in a building specifically constructed for a newspaper.^[20] Although the building ultimately spurred a trend in newspaper building architecture, its construction miffed Greeley and Bennett. On September 14, 1857,

Raymond shortened the paper's name to *The New-York Times*. Bennett questioned *The New-York Times*'s circulation figures in mid-December 1861; the paper fired back by straying away from its intentions to stay neutral and instead devoted two full front-page columns to depicting Bennett as Satan.^[19]



41 Park Row, the headquarters of *The New-York Times* until 1905.

1861–1869: Civil War, expansion, and Raymond's death

In the 1860 presidential election, *The New-York Times* was a leading Republican newspaper. The paper unusually showed a degree of confidence in Abraham Lincoln as the Republican Party's ticket; entering the 1860 Republican National Convention, senator and noted anti-secessionist William H. Seward was regarded as the frontrunner, and the *Times* favored Seward regardless.^[21] Between the election and the Battle of Fort Sumter, *The New-York Times* was editorially guided by Henry Jarvis Raymond's belief to maintain a Union but to defend it if attacked in order to test the strength of the "country and a constitutional government".^[22] During the Civil War, the *Times* experienced a transformation necessitated by the public's demand for recent updates in the war. To gather updates, *The New-York Times* relied on correspondents in Confederate states rather than telegraphs from the Associated Press. The practice was not without controversy; the *Times* was requested to fire a Charleston correspondent over accusations that he was a secessionist. *The New-York Times* responded by affirming his support for the truth, later reinforced by his arrest for being a suspected Federal spy while watching the Second Battle of Fort Sumter. Raymond also served as a correspondent with the support of the *Times*'s Washington bureau, covering the First Battle of Bull Run.^[23]



The Tribune building during the New York City draft riots.

The New-York Times correspondents competed against other newspapers to gather as much information as possible. A rumor within the Union Army, though not within the *Times*'s offices, stated that a *Times* correspondent was fortunate to escape during the Battle of the Wilderness. One night, Ulysses S. Grant and George Meade discovered a *Times* correspondent hiding in the bushes notating the strategic plans of the Army of the Potomac. The correspondent was nearly shot by a subordinate officer while observing Ambrose Burnside's corps. Benjamin C. Truman, a distinguished war correspondent, reported on the Confederacy's repulse in the Battle of Franklin four days before the Department of War heard from John Schofield.^[24] The casualties of the Civil War were not entirely felt from the reporters in the field. Opposition to the Civil War had mounted in New York and, on July 13, 1863, a series of violent disturbances broke out Lower Manhattan against conscription. Thousands of Irish American rioters set flame to the draft registration office and attacked the *New-York Tribune* office. Warned by the attack on the *Tribune*, the staff of the *Times* armed themselves with Gatling guns through Lincoln's friendship with Raymond.^[25] Financier and Winston Churchill's grandfather Leonard Jerome held a significant interest in The New-York Times Newspaper

Establishment and offered his services during the riot. By 7 p.m., the rioters learned of the *Times*'s weaponry and chose to once again attack the *Tribune* instead, chanting, "We'll hang old Horace Greeley to a sour-apple tree". Raymond sent sixteen men armed with Minié rifles to the *Tribune*'s office to stave off the mob while two hundred policemen marched onto Printing House Square. *The New-York Times* remained prideful in its coverage of the event.^[26]

The Civil War drove *The New-York Times* to purchase more presses and to stereotype, an approach tested by the *New-York Tribune* and met with failure. On April 20, 1861, eight days after the attack on Fort Sumter, the *Times* began issuing a Sunday edition of the paper. *The Sunday Times* was introduced at the same price as the main paper but, by 1862, had gone up to three cents (equivalent to \$0.98 in 2022). The *Times* followed that same year before both papers went up in price to four cents (equivalent to \$0.75 in 2022) in 1864, where it would remain until 1883. By May 2, circulation had gone up by 40,000 issues.^[27] In 1865, the paper experienced two major shifts in its layout. On April 15, 1865, *The New-York Times* reported on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln by blackening the borders, and did so the following day.^[c] In December, the paper extended its columns from six to seven—in line with *The London Times* at the time—drawing criticism from newspapermen, who thought that New York could not support such a format.^[29] Simultaneously, as a consequence of Raymond's politics, *The New-York Times* temporarily suffered a reputational loss. In August 1866, Raymond attended the National Union Convention in Philadelphia. He suspected that the outcome of the body—comprising Republicans and Democrats—may be the result of Copperhead politics. He composed the Philadelphia Address to endorse Andrew Johnson and held that the secession of the Confederacy was an insurrection. The address cost Raymond his position as chairman of the Republican National Committee as Republicans accused him of ceding to Democrats. The *Times*'s rivals seized on the opportunity to gain an advantage.^[30] According to Raymond, the incident cost the paper US\$100,000 (equivalent to \$1,998,636.36 in 2022).^[31]

The final three years of Raymond's life saw several developments in *The New-York Times*. Amid a break with moderate reconstructionists, the *Times* criticized Johnson on his stance on repaying the national debt with fiat money. In 1868, *The New-York Times* supported Grant. Raymond established three principles for the *Times* to follow. The first was to object to "easy but unsound money"—including Greenbacks and later free silver. The paper did not support Samuel J. Tilden in the 1876 presidential election nor William Jennings Bryan in the 1896 presidential election, falling in line with the National Democratic Party. *The New-York Times* also supported reforming the tariff and introducing a merit system into civil service.^[32] The *Times* also became involved in local issues; in 1868, the paper opposed the Erie Railroad. On June 18, 1869, Raymond died. The following day, *The New-York Times* wrote a sobering obituary.^[33]

At an annual salary of US\$9,000 (equivalent to \$197,865 in 2022),^[34] George Jones inherited the company and took over its editorial and financial end.^[35] When his father died, Henry Warren Raymond was a student at Yale University.^[36] While Raymond finished his education, *The New-York Times*'s directors—composed of Jones, Leonard Jerome, and James B. Taylor—elected John Bigelow editor.^[37] The Black Friday of 1869 occurred that year when investors Jay Gould and James Fisk cornered the gold market. Gould and Fisk depended on Grant's neutrality and his brother in law, Abel Corbin. The *Times* published an article by Corbin promoting gold, but its prose was rendered innocuous after financial editor Caleb C. Norvell suggested that Corbin had an ulterior motive to "bull gold". Shortly after Black Friday, Bigelow left *The New-York Times*. Horace Greeley proposed purchasing the *Times*, to which Jones told him he would never sell out." George Shepard was chosen to replace Bigelow. Among Shepard's hires was Louis J. Jennings, a journalist who would later become editor after Shepard retired, following a series of attacks by the *New-York Tribune*.^[38]

1869–1876: Jones era, the Tweed Ring, and national recognition

Under Jones, *The New-York Times* actively sought to challenge William M. Tweed and the Tweed Ring. The death of Taylor, who was a business partner of Tweed's through the New-York Printing Company, in September 1870 allowed the *Times* to attack the Tweed Ring.^[40] *The New-York Times*, with the exception of *Harper's Weekly* through Thomas Nast, was the only newspaper in New York that actively went against Tweed; municipal advertising created a virtual hush fund.^[41]

No money that could be offered me [Tweed wrote] should induce me to dispose of a

Jennings publicly questioned Tweed's wealth—having gone from bankruptcy in 1865 to owning a mansion on Madison Avenue and 59th Street—in an editorial on September 20. Amid his accusations, other papers would come to Tweed's defense. Jennings feuded with the New York World in the following days over his editorial.^[42] The Sun jovially suggested a monument of Tweed, a "benefactor of the people", should be erected, although a great deal of readers seriously.^[43] The Sun later attacked Jennings, writing that his career was "doomed".^[42] The New-York Times and Harper's Weekly's reporting did not elicit a strong response from readers themselves.^[44] In October, the Astor Committee—of which John Jacob Astor III was a member—found no wrongdoing, and the Tammany faction was reelected that year.^[45]

In January 1871, county auditor James Watson was killed in a sleighing accident. The Times's reporting of the accident a week prior mentioned Watson's US\$10,000 (equivalent to \$244,277.78 in 2022) mare, though readers remained unfazed. To replace Watson, Tweed hired Matthew J. O'Rourke, who secretly worked for James O'Brien, a former sheriff and Tammany insurgent. Through William Copeland, a tax accountant and O'Brien adherent, O'Rourke was able to obtain incriminating entries in the Tweed Ring's books. O'Rourke attempted to offer the books to The Sun, who rejected his offer.^[46] In March, Tweed proposed purchasing The New-York Times for US\$5,000,000 (equivalent to \$122,138,888.89 in 2022), much to Jones's chagrin. Tweed's offer was publicly rejected in the Times on March 29.^[47] On July 8, 1871, The New-York Daily Times published the first of these books. The Times published the second set on July 19, after the Orange Riots subsided. The release of the Tweed Ring's books severely damaged Tweed; he offered Jones US\$5,000,000 to suppress the stories. In early 1871, Raymond's widow considered selling her stock to Tweed. Jones wired to multimillionaire Edwin D. Morgan, who came out of rural retirement to block the move. The New-York Daily Times continued its coverage from July 22 to 29. Tweed was tried in 1873 and sentenced to twelve years in prison, although he only served a year. For their coverage of the Tweed Ring, the Times received praise from newspapers nationally.^[48]

Despite recognition and a steadfast stock price, The New-York Daily Times's circulation numbers remained low^[d] and the paper regularly paid high dividends, despite low salaries and living costs.^[50] The New-York Tribune was able to use the Times's continuous coverage of Tweed to cover the Great Chicago Fire and the Great Boston Fire of 1872 in greater detail, although the Times was able to cover the Franco-Prussian War through transmissions.^[51] In the years following the Tammany campaign, the editors of the Times reconciled their beliefs with the overall Republican Party. In May 1872, the Liberal Republicans gathered to oppose Ulysses S. Grant's reelection bid and the Radical Republicans. At the convention, the Liberal Republicans nominated Horace Greeley. The New-York Times chose to attack Greeley for his beliefs and did not resurface his admiration for Fourierism. The appointment of John C. Reid as managing editor allowed the paper to cover the trial of Henry Ward Beecher in full, a feat unheard of in journalism, though not without criticism from readers who felt that the continuous coverage was vulgar.^[52]

single share of my property to the Tammany faction, or to any man associated with it, or indeed to any person or party whatever until this struggle is fought out.

—George Jones,
March 29,
1871^[39]

1876–1896: Democratic support, Jones's death, and financial hardship

Ahead of the 1876 presidential election, the Times's editors rejected a third-term for Grant and did not believe James G. Blaine would be a proper candidate. Jennings's radical Republicanism clashed with Jones's moderate beliefs, and he plotted to solidify control of The New-York Times to further his agenda and forge the paper into an organ of the party through the estate of James B. Taylor. Jennings's efforts were stopped when Jones purchased Taylor's stock for US\$150,000 (equivalent to \$4,122,187.5 in 2022) on February 4, 1876, a figure widely reported in financial circles; rival papers refused to believe that the stock was worth that much and accused the Times of inflating the price by bidding against Jennings and that part

of the price represented "back dividends". Jennings resigned several months later and became a Member of Parliament. John Foord of the Connolly books succeeded him until 1883. Entering the election, *The New-York Times* was a Republican paper with a streak of independence. Emboldened by the political controversy surrounding the Mulligan letters, which prevented Blaine from receiving the nomination, the *Times* supported Rutherford B. Hayes and vehemently attacked Samuel J. Tilden.^[53]

[The *Times*] will not support Mr. Blaine for the presidency. It will advise no man to vote for him, and its reasons for this are perfectly well understood by everybody that has ever read it.

—*The New-York Times*, June 7, 1884^[54]

The New-York Times supported James A. Garfield, Hayes's vice president who won the 1880 presidential election, during Roscoe Conkling's comity.^[55] Frank D. Root of the *Times* exposed the Star Route scandal in 1881, the same year that the paper exposed New York Supreme Court justice Theodoric R. Westbrook's support for Jay Gould in controlling the Manhattan Railway Company and a US\$250,000 (equivalent to \$7,581,034.48 in 2022) fund for Grant, the latter earning the *Times* more recognition than shock. These exposés sustained *The New-York Times* in the 1880s. In April 1883, Charles Ransom Miller succeeded Foord as editor-in-chief.^[56] Amid breaks in the Republican Party in 1884,^[57] the *Times* supported neither Blaine nor Chester A. Arthur in an editorial on May 23. Although much of the editorial staff believed the paper should support the Republican ticket, the editorials reflected the populous.^[58] On June 7, following Blaine's nomination, in an editorial titled, "Facing the Fire of Defeat", *The New-York Times* officially disassociated with the Republican Party.^[59]

Citing his gubernatorial experience, *The New-York Times* supported Grover Cleveland in the 1884 presidential election. The paper took a financial hit from a net profit of US\$188,000 (equivalent to \$5,904,542.86 in 2022) in 1883 to US\$56,000 (equivalent to \$1,823,940.74 in 2022), although much of the loss was incurred by the *Times* decreasing in price from four cents (equivalent to \$1.26 in 2022) to two cents (equivalent to \$0.65 in 2022).^[60] *The New-York Times* continued to support Cleveland for upholding many of the ideals laid out by Henry Jarvis Raymond.^[61] In the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, the *Times* faced a changing media landscape, both from within New York and internationally as the Second Industrial Revolution began. *The New-York Times* published the Spanish Treaty of 1884 on December 8 through cable; at a purported cost of US\$8,000 (equivalent to \$260,562.96 in 2022), it is the most expensive cable message the paper has received. Through Harold Frederic's cable letter, readers in New York were able to understand global affairs, including the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, which overthrew Pedro II.^[62]

As the Dickensian New York dissipated, the *Times* covered how Charles F. Brush's arc lamps replaced gaslight on Broadway, elevated railroads on Third Avenue, and Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope. A mellower editorial page slowly went under the influence of Edward Cary, a Quaker. The technological advancements in New York made up for a slower news cycle. *The New-York Times* was the first publication to cover the sinking of the SS Oregon on March 14, 1883.^[63] Despite supporting Cleveland in the 1888 presidential election, the *Times* did not accept Democrat David B. Hill.^[61] In part prompted by the construction of the New York Tribune Building,^[20] construction on a second building at 41 Park Row began in 1888 using designs from Beaux-Arts architect George B. Post. Reconstructing the building posed a logistical challenge, as employees of the *Times* needed to work while the new building was erected. The new building gradually took form over the next year, and by April 1889, construction completed.^[64] Jones would speak fondly of the new building,^[64] although annual profits dropped from US\$100,000 (equivalent to \$3,257,037.04 in 2022) in the mid-1880s to US\$15,000 (equivalent to \$488,555.56 in 2022) in 1890.^[65]

In the final year of Jones's life, *The New-York Times* undertook an active effort to undermine the financial wrongdoings of the New York Life Insurance Company through W. C. Van Antwerp. The New York Life Insurance Company personally sued Jones and Miller, but later asked how the company could fix its

wrongdoings and appointed John A. McCall president of the company.^[66] On the morning of August 12, 1891, Jones died at his home in Poland, Maine. The borders of the next day's paper were blackened and an editorial was written detailing his significance to the paper;^[67] it was stated that "no writer of the *Times* was ever required or asked to urge upon the public views which he did not accept himself".^[67] Although his heirs owned a great majority of stock in the *Times*,^[68] they were not journalistically minded.^[65] Jones's son, Gilbert, was trained in *The New-York Times*'s office, but neither him nor Jones's son-in-law, Henry L. Dyer, could manage the business properly. The profits left by Jones to his children were without regard for where they came from, and the rest of the family did not hold the paper with value. In late 1892, the staff of *The New-York Times* learned that the company would likely be sold to a man antithetical to Raymond and Jones's values, although the will stipulated the paper should never be sold.^[69]

On April 13, 1893, the *Times* was sold to the New-York Times Publishing Company, a company managed by Cary, George F. Spinney, and chaired by Miller, for US\$1,000,000 (equivalent to \$32,570,370.37 in 2022).^[e] The company that Miller, Spinney, and Cary received was financially unsustainable. Fundamentally, *The New-York Times*'s business model depended on leaner newspaper production, and the *Times* did not implement cost accounting. The presses were dilapidated; the Linotype machines were leased.^[71] With Jones left his expertise on how to manage the rusted printing machines.^[68] The men soon discovered that they had rented a building on 41 Park Row at US\$40,000 (equivalent to \$1,302,814.81 in 2022), not the structure. The rivalry between William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer encouraged the two men to engage in increasingly sensationalist journalism. The free silver movement in 1893 that ultimately led to an economic depression gave the paper a death blow.^[72] The men could not find money to carry on the paper nor advertising, although they were able to sell US\$250,000 (equivalent to \$8,142,592.59 in 2022) in debenture.^[73] In December 1891, the *Times* increased to three cents (equivalent to \$0.98 in 2022), a move that furthered the paper's decline. To advertise the new price, Jones had the borders printed in color.^[74]

1896–1900: Ochs's purchase and revitalization

In May 1895, *Chattanooga Times* publisher Adolph Ochs considered purchasing the *New York Mercury*, a dying Democratic publication that supported the free silver movement, at the behest of his acquaintance Leopold Wallach. Ochs was still recovering from the panic of 1893 and did not want to build up another newspaper business in the South; a deal for the *Nashville American* fell through.^[75] Wallach was a noted opponent of free silver but befriended some of the "silver senators" who built the *Mercury* into a Democratic organ. Likewise, Ochs supported the gold standard, as did the *Chattanooga Times*.^[76] By the fall of 1895, Ochs was actively interested in purchasing the *New York Mercury* but stipulated that he must have control over its editorial content. He thoroughly examined the paper's plant and financials. The deal fell through in March 1896 after the *Mercury*'s owners included a clause allowing them to vacate the plant and after Ochs discovered that the United Press was unwilling to transfer publishers.^[77]

On March 12, 1896—his 38th birthday—Ochs received a telegram from Harry Alloway, a member of *The New-York Times*'s Wall Street staff. Alloway, who had previously met him at a trip to Tennessee in 1890, informed Ochs of the *Times*'s situation and proposed that he should purchase the paper. *Chicago Times-Herald* publisher H. H. Kohlsaat convinced him that he would have the caliber to run *The New-York Times*,^[78] and, after talking with stockholder Sam Thomas and Computing-Tabulating-Recording Company founder Charles Ranlett Flint,



In 1896, *Chattanooga Times* publisher Adolph Ochs purchased *The New-York Times*.

Alloway gave Ochs the opportunity to purchase the *Times* if he ran it for at least a year without incurring debt. After hearing that Alloway persuaded Thomas and Flint, Wallach became as eager as Ochs was.^[79] Ochs began meeting with other figures, including Charles Ransom Miller, Flint, and Spencer Trask. Flint and Trask developed a plan to reorganize the company, but it required more money than Ochs could provide. A portion of stockholders believed that *The New-York Times* should consolidate with *The New York Recorder* to form the Times-Recorder Company.^[80] Efforts to consolidate the two companies fell through after Miller and Edward Cary put the *Times* into the receivership of Alfred Ely, who doubted Ochs's ability to stave off Hearst, Pulitzer, and James Gordon Bennett Jr., but had a change of heart upon meeting with him.^[81]

Rumors in Printing House Square began circulating, with the most prominent stating that Wall Street would control *The New-York Times* with Ochs at the helm. The rumor cited J. P. Morgan and August Belmont's ownership of US\$25,000 (equivalent to \$879,400 in 2022) in debenture. In mid-June 1896, stockholders accepted Ochs's plan to form a new company with a capital of 10,000 shares worth US\$100 (equivalent to \$3,517.6 in 2022). As a persuasive, Ochs offered fifteen shares for US\$1,000 (equivalent to \$35,176 in 2022) bond. He purchased 1,125 shares of stock through bonds worth a total of US\$75,000 (equivalent to \$2,638,200 in 2022) and placed the remaining stock, 3,876 shares, in escrow, giving him 5,001 shares of the 10,000 shares.^[82] The plan was declared operative on July 2.^[83] Court proceedings dragged throughout the summer; Ochs accused Elys of intentionally delaying the court procedure and told his wife, Effie, "He will certainly not be on my board of directors. He has cooked his goose with me. He has given me entirely too much anxiety to enlist my future friendship."^[84]

I have succeeded
'way beyond my
fondest hopes,
and with God's
help will maintain
the position with
credit. I am a
lucky fellow.

—Adolph Ochs,
August 18,
1896^[85]

On August 13, 1896, Ochs officially purchased *The New-York Times*, and he was formally installed at 3:30 p.m. on August 18, the same day he moved into his office at 71 Park Row. The following day, the *Times* carried his declaration of principle, drafted with Effie. In the following months, he would come to know his staff. He displayed a particular admiration for Henry Loewenthal, a business-minded editor who eventually became managing editor until 1904. With Loewenthal, Ochs introduced a section entitled, "Arrival of Buyers"^[f] on September 20, 1896, that solidified *The New-York Times* as a merchant's newspaper. Loewenthal himself received a Monday financial review on November 8, 1897, eventually becoming a separate *Times* publication titled *The Annalist*. Ochs's focus on business news was met with ridicule from general news reporters, but ultimately brought new readers and advertising. In comparison to other publishers, he expanded the letter to the editor section and allowed critics of the *Times* to write to editors. Ochs respected Frederick Craig Mortimer, a columnist, and allowed him to start a section titled "Topics of The Times". Mortimer retired in 1926 and was replaced by Simeon Strunsky.^[87]

By 1869, readers sought to buy newspapers that were exclusively newspapers. Charles Anderson Dana's *The Sun* favored features over full coverage of the news. Newspapers that billed themselves as exclusively news—the *New York Mercury*, *The New York Recorder*, and the *New-York Commercial Advertiser*—were dying. The *New York Tribune* purchased the *Recorder* that year and inherited the paper's use of lithographs. In one Sunday issue, the *Tribune* gave away a lithograph of a basket of strawberries and a bottle of champagne. The move was so controversial that the *Tribune* ended the lithographs. Pulitzer's *New York World* berated the *Times* for "[losing] US\$1,750,000 [equivalent to \$6,155,800 in 2022]". Ochs continued to run the *Times* as usual as Dana mounted attacks against the paper and yellow journalism. He implemented a series of trivial changes, including removing Miller's fiction, altering the kerning and thinning the columns, bought better newsprint and ink, removed advertisements that generated the paper no revenue, and implemented datelines. He purchased nascent automatic space-equalizers to speed up

production. The Sunday supplement, first issued on September 6, 1898, focused on current events, in comparison to the reused material other newspapers used at the time.^[88] In December, *The New-York Times* became *The New York Times*.^[85]

In October, the staff of *The New-York Times* tentatively chose the slogan, "All the News That's Fit to Print", but created a contest to decide a better name, judged by *The Century Magazine* editor Richard Watson Gilder. Entries were limited: the motto or phrase could not exceed more than ten words—a clause many contestants ignored—and the *Times* ignored entries from women. The author of the winning submission would receive US\$100 (equivalent to \$3,517.6 in 2022). A variety of slogans were entered in thousands of postcards, including rhymes—"We use all news fit to peruse"—and at least one acrostic—"The Information Mankind Earnestly Seeks"—with many containing a "pure" or "clean" undertone. The winner was D.M. Redfield of New Haven, Connecticut, who penned, "All The World's News, but Not a School for Scandal".^[89] Although Ochs enjoyed the slogan, he ultimately stuck with his original slogan, first printed on October 25, 1896. It became a part of the front page on February 10, 1897. The contest earned the paper further recognition nationally; the slogan has since become a leitmotif of American journalism.^[90] The slogan was also materialized in electric lights on the north side of the Cumberland Hotel on 22nd Street and was chanted by a group of *Times* staff marching in the Sound Money Parade.^[91]

The Spanish–American War in 1898 brought about a new set of challenges for Ochs. Hearst and Pulitzer were able to send dispatch boats and correspondents at a rate met only by Bennett. *The New York Times* prominently displayed the Associated Press's coverage to compensate and entered into a combination with the *New York Evening Mail* and the *Commercial Advertiser*; neither effort succeeded. In a final move, he lowered the price back to one cent (equivalent to \$0.35 in 2022) in October. The announcement was met by condemnation. *The Journalist* argued that readers would pay for any price and that the *Times* would not attract new readers. *The Buffalo Express* invoked Raymond and Jones's legacy in their critique. Yellow publications spread the rumor that *The New York Times* was being financed by Tammany Hall leader Richard Croker and that lowering the price would benefit the Democratic Party. Firmly, Ochs pushed forward. Within a month, production increased from five to eight times more in some districts. Within a year, circulation went from 25,726 to 76,220.^[92]

1900–1908: Ochs era, international recognition, and Times Tower

In January 1900, Adolph Ochs sent for his brother and *Chattanooga Times* general manager, George, to print a special edition of *The New York Times* at that year's Paris Exposition. At a cost of US\$50,000 (equivalent to \$1,758,800 in 2022), George established six Linotype machines, an octuple Goss press, and a stereotyping plant. The plant was ready by March; it was visited by Leopold II of Belgium, who personally shook hands with Ochs.^[93] The special edition ran from June to October of that year. In *Inter Ocean Publishing Co. v. Associated Press* (1900), the Supreme Court of Illinois ruled that the Associated Press was a public utility, allowing *The New York Times* to receive full membership from its Class B status. In addition, Ochs became a chartered member and served on its board for twenty years. The reorganization committee was dissolved on July 1.^[94] In October, an alliance with *The Times of London* was discussed. Charles Frederic Moberly Bell, manager of *The Times of London*, proposed lending stories to the *Times* for a minimum of US\$10,000 (equivalent to \$351,760 in 2022) and forming the *International Times*. The resulting paper could have had an impact on Bennett's *Paris Herald*, but plans failed to



Times Tower, the headquarters of *The New York Times* until 1913.

materialize. At least one factor was that Ochs may have been labelled an Anglophile.^[95] *The New York Times* later purchased exclusive rights to *The Times of London*'s coverage and shared expenses during special events, such as the Russo-Japanese War.^[96]

By 1901, *The New York Times* was an independent Democratic newspaper, though it supported Republican William McKinley in the 1900 presidential election for his support of sound money, which Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan did not affirm.^[97] The *Times* continued to expand into the 20th century, particularly after the death of Queen Victoria and McKinley's assassination.^[98] Ochs planned a new building at 233 Broadway—the site of the present day Woolworth Building—in fall 1900 that would "wake up the natives".^[99] On July 1, 1902, the paper closed a deal to construct a new building at 42nd Street as the 233 Broadway plan fell through, much to Ochs's benefit; the construction of the first line of the New York City Subway contributed to northward growth,^[100] while Park Row was stagnant. The site at 42nd Street was a triangular plot between Broadway and Seventh Avenue, where the Pabst Hotel stood.^[101] In a front-page article, *The New York Times* claimed that the new building's proximity to a New York City Subway station would expand the paper's circulation.^[102] Architect Cyrus L. W. Eidlitz was hired to draft up plans for the building and site clearing began in December.^[103] Ochs's daughter, Iphigene Bertha Ochs, laid the cornerstone on January 18, 1904, murmuring, "I declare this stone to be laid plumb, level and square."^[104] The building—still under construction—was used to announce that Theodore Roosevelt won the 1904 presidential election by searchlight;^[105] the *Times* supported Democrat Alton B. Parker that year.^[106]

Following multiple delays and pluvial weather,^[103] the Times Tower opened on New Year's Eve to fireworks at a cost of US\$2,500,000 (equivalent to \$81,425,925.93 in 2022).^[107] The following morning, men from the Mergenthaler Linotype Company and R. Hoe & Company brought the machinery from 41 Park Row to the Times Tower by horseback. New Hoe presses and Linotype machines were purchased.^[108] Much of the building was paid for with sums from The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, owned by James Hazen Hyde. Despite being financially invested by Equitable Life, *The New York Times* routinely covered the Armstrong Investigation, a New York State Legislature investigation into various life insurance companies initiated by alleged corporate malfeasance when Hyde hosted a Versailles-themed costume ball and was accused of spending US\$200,000 (equivalent to \$6,514,074.07 in 2022) through the company. Worried that Hearst may discover he was an Equitable debtor, Ochs told Marcellus Hartley Dodge Sr.—the grandson of arms dealer Marcellus Hartley who knew Ochs, that he wanted to take up the loan from Equitable and an additional US\$300,000 (equivalent to \$9,771,111.11 in 2022), offering his majority share in the *Times* as collateral. Dodge secretly put the stock certificates in a safety deposit box until 1916, when *The New York Times* paid the loan.^[109]

In February 1904, Ochs hired Carr Van Anda, a reporter for *The Sun*, as managing editor.^[110] Van Anda extensively covered the Russo-Japanese War through *The Times of London*. The war dispatch detailing the Battle of Port Arthur for *The New York Times* was the first wireless report of a naval engagement.^[111] The telegraph was conducted by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co, who would continue to work with *The New York Times* thereafter, including transmitting the first account of an ocean disaster when the crew of the SS Cymric saved several dozen men aboard the St. Cuthbert, a freighter set ablaze in 1908 off Cape Sable Island. Under Van Anda, the *Times* entered an agreement to syndicate stories with the Chicago Tribune, including the account of the St. Cuthbert explosion. *The New York Times* was the first publication to report on explorer Robert Peary's expedition to the North Pole. Peary first contacted the New York Herald and requested two men who had gone over to the *Times*. The *Herald*'s editor expressed little interest in covering Peary's expedition; the *Times*, by contrast, paid Peary US\$4,000 (equivalent to \$130,281.48 in 2022) for exclusive rights to his story.^[112] A year later, surgeon Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the North Pole before Peary and sold his story to the New York Herald. English journalist Philip Gibbs publicly

downplayed Cook's claims in an interview with him in which Cook admitted that the only people who witnessed his feat were Eskimos. Several days later, Peary telegraphed that he had made it to the North Pole.^[113]

1908–1918: Political realignment, the *Titanic*, and World War I



229 West 43rd Street, the headquarters of *The New York Times* until 2007.

In June 1908, Van Anda recruited Oscar King Davis to obtain William Howard Taft's platform amid breaks in the Republican Party's policy. Through senator William Borah, Davis obtained the platform and published it, much to the chagrin of the White House.^[114] *The New York Times* continued to oppose William Jennings Bryan's candidacy, supporting Taft in the 1908 presidential election. In the 1912 election, the *Times* supported Woodrow Wilson in an editorial. Wilson attributed his victory to the editorial; at the time, his gubernatorial record was marked by radicalism, much of which was subsided. *The New York Times* affirmed its support for Wilson amid fears that moderate factions of the Democratic Party would not support him. The *Times* did not entirely support Wilson's policies but disavowed the conservatism of Champ Clark. The paper continued to support Wilson through his presidency, including the passage of the Underwood-Simmons tariff.^[115] That year, Ochs began the tradition of lowering a lit ball on New Year's Day from the Times Tower.^[116] The Times Square Ball is dropped every year.^[117]

In the following years, *The New York Times* actively attempted to get exclusive coverage. In May 1910, Glenn Curtiss attempted to claim the US\$10,000 (equivalent to \$314,071.43 in 2022) prize set by the New York World by flying from Albany to New York City in a single day. Van Anda had boarded a New York Central Railroad train to follow his plane with Curtiss's wife, Lena, a maneuver deemed "too dangerous" for a lagged *World* reporter.^[118] In the early morning hours of April 15, 1912, the Associated Press released a bulletin stating that the RMS Titanic had reportedly signaled that it had hit an iceberg to a Marconi station. Thirty minutes later, the *Titanic* flashed an SOS signal and sunk. White Star Line executives reassured journalists that the *Titanic* was unsinkable. Against editors in New York and London, Van Anda sent his secretary and head of the archival library Tommy Bracken to unearth as much as possible about the *Titanic*. The issue of *The New York Times* that morning included a four-line header. The issue also included a two-column advertisement for a *Titanic* voyage later that week.^[119] By April 19, the *Times* had estimated 1,595 had died, though a Senate inquiry determined that 1,517 had died. The edition of *The New York Times* that day became a collector's item.^[120]

By 1911, *The New York Times* required more physical space; its staffing had increased and the growth of the metropolitan area necessitated more mechanical equipment, particularly for *The Sunday Times*. The mechanical basement was excavated a further 65 feet (20 m), though the *Times* continued to face pressures to circulate more copies. In March 1911, the paper purchased the fee simple from 221 to 229 West 43rd Street, from theatre owner Lee Shubert. Connected to the Times Tower through pneumatic tubes, the buildings would serve as an annex for the mechanical and editorial departments. Mortimer J. Fox was contracted to erect a building at 229 West 43rd Street.^[121] Work began in March 1912 and completed in August 1913; during construction, the *Times* printed issues from the building. By the time of its completion, six hundred employees occupied 229 West 43rd Street, making *The New York Times* one of the largest employers in the area. The *Times* made the building its headquarters on February 2, 1913,^[116] but continued to use the Times Tower for publication and subscription offices until 1961.^[122] In April 1913, *The New York Times* added an eighth column.^[123]

World War I presented journalistic difficulties that had not been experienced in *The New York Times*'s coverage of the American Civil War. Adolph Ochs worked out a news exchange with *The London Chronicle* to enhance the *Times*'s coverage of the war. Several correspondents were present in the German Empire as *Times* reporters; Frederic W. Wile was the first until his arrest, followed by Cyril Brown until the United States entered the war. Garet Garrett arrived in Berlin in 1915. *The New York Times* published the so-called British White Paper, hundreds of correspondence letters between the Foreign Office and the Central Powers leading up to the United Kingdom's declaration of war against Germany. A day later, the *Times* provided Kaiser Wilhelm II's perspective through Wile. *The New York Times*'s two-sided approach continued into its coverage of the war itself, including the occupation of Lille, the Battle of Liège, and the siege of Namur. The Sunday issue contained war photographs in the rotogravure section with exceeding quality.^[124]



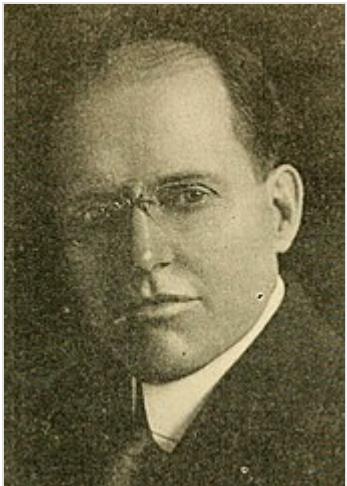
The *New York Times* on July 29, 1914, announcing that Austria-Hungary had declared war on Serbia.

Although *The New York Times* editorially believed that Austria and Germany were at fault for the war, the paper published documents from the war in full, without commentary. Supporters of German accused Ochs of giving in to *The Times of London* owner Lord Northcliffe's bias, while readers who sided with the Allies were not pleased with German arguments being presented alongside Allied arguments. Accusations that the *Times* gives in to British interests reoccurred in a Senatorial Committee in 1915; Montana senator Thomas J. Walsh insinuated editor-in-chief Charles Ransom Miller and Van Anda acted on behalf of the British in opposing Wilson's ship-purchase bill, questioning deletions from a London dispatch stating that British steamship lines were outrageously charging American refugees that were not present in the *New York World* or the *New York Tribune*.^[125] In particular, Walsh stated that he "was informed" through a letter he received claiming from a member of the gentlemen's club the Junior Constitutional Club that a "well-known Englishman" was supporting Ochs with money to gain control of the paper. The letter appeared to be signed by an Arthur M. Abbey; the writer was never identified and never came forward.^[126]

The United States's entrance into World War I affected the paper's operations. Logistically, the war increased cable costs from US\$15,000 (equivalent to \$342,623.38 in 2022) to US\$750,000 (equivalent to \$17,131,168.83 in 2022). War fever spread through *The New York Times* and several employees served in the war. Julius Ochs Adler, Ochs's nephew, went to serve overseas in the 77th Infantry Division. Five employees died, including Joyce Kilmer of the Sunday department, who became a sergeant in the 69th Infantry Regiment.^[127] Invigorated by a peace bid by Austria, Miller—whose previous work earned him much praise, wrote a controversial editorial advocating for Austria's position. The *Times* was accused of "running up the white flag" as scorn and denunciatory letters rolled in upon the paper. The Union League Club, comprised of the most influential men in New York, scheduled a meeting to consider publicly denouncing *The New York Times*. Much to Ochs's surprise, several members refused to attend the meeting. New York Central Railroad president Chauncey Depew defended the paper in a letter to club secretary Henry C. Quimby, as did jurist Elihu Root and entrepreneur Frank Woolworth.^[128]

1918–1928: Continued scientific coverage

In the days following the end of World War I, *The New York Times* continued its coverage of the war. Van Anda sent correspondent Edwin Leland James to the Rhine and Walter Duranty to occupied Germany. James, Duranty, Charles H. Grasty, Charles Selden, and Ernst Marshall worked under Richard V. Oulahan on covering peace negotiations. James offered to provide the *Times* with a preliminary copy of the Treaty of Versailles, but the paper had already obtained the treaty through a *Chicago Tribune* reporter who gave the treaty to Borah. Van Anda opened a total of twenty-four telephone lines. The June 10, 1918 issue of *The*



Carr Van Anda promoted scientific coverage in *The New York Times*.

New York Times carried the treaty in full. The *Times* was able to obtain and publish several exclusive stories during the Paris Peace Conference despite the disapproval of some readers. Editorialy, the *Times* supported the League of Nations wholeheartedly even as the United States refused to join. As the conference continued to play out, *The New York Times* returned to its coverage of technological advancements, such as the first transatlantic flight completed by a Curtiss NC-4.^[129] From 1896 to 1921, daily circulation increased from 9,000 to 323,000 and annual advertising lineage from 2,227,000 to 23,447,000 lines.^[130]

The New York Times focused on scientific news more than any other paper, an importance shared by E. W. Scripps of Scripps-Howard. Much of the *Times*'s scientific coverage was done by John Swinton, an editorial writer. In 1860, Swinton wrote three and a half columns regarding the reprint of *On the Origin of Species* (1859) by Charles Darwin. An academic who studied astronomy and physics at Ohio University, Van Anda was eager to report on Albert Einstein in 1919. Einstein, a relatively unknown European theoretical physicist, formulated the equivalence principle and used the principle to test the gravitational pull of the Sun as an object passed close to its photosphere. The solar eclipse of May 29, 1919 provided the Royal Astronomical Society with a tangible way to test Einstein's theory, attracting the attention of Van Anda. The Einstein contention of general relativity juxtaposed the Newtonian theory of gravitation and the *Times*'s coverage of the findings of the eclipse provided Americans with an introduction to Einstein, though other newspapers remained uneasy of his theories.^[131]

The *Times* was involved in the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun through Van Anda's knowledge of Egyptian hieroglyphs. Van Anda sent Russell Owen to Princeton University for a photograph of a stele and discovered that eventual pharaoh Horemheb had attempted to erase Tutankhamun's signature in place of his own. The Horemheb forgery was a theory proposed by French Egyptologist Le Grain but never developed. Egyptologist Philip K. Hitti called the discovery a "most remarkable example of scholarly intuition and acumen". Several weeks later, Alva Johnston was sent to cover the American Association for the Advancement of Science's support of evolution, much to the ire of William Jennings Bryan, John Roach Stratton, and other fundamentalists. The next day, the *Times* carried the first newspaper story about isotopes and alpha particles. Johnston's coverage earned him a Pulitzer Prize in 1922. *The New York Times* also carried crime stories, including extensive coverage of the shooting of architect Stanford White in 1906. Broad coverage occurred when the paper felt that injustice had occurred, such as the lynching of Leo Frank.^[132]

On July 18, 1922, Charles Miller died. His obituary covered the following day's editorial page, and Ochs, the *Times* editorial board, and Miller's associates followed his body to the Woodland Cemetery. Miller left his holdings in *The New York Times* to his two children; he was replaced by Rollo Ogden, a former *New York Evening Post* journalist.^[133] The *Times* experienced another loss with Van Anda's retirement in 1925. Prior to retiring, Van Anda had two major stories. In late July 1923, president Warren G. Harding fell ill. Van Anda sent Jim Hagerty to the president. Hagerty was staying at the Okema in Ludlow when he received news that Harding had died. By luck, Edward Klauber called the Okema attempting to reach Hagerty but had reached a line in Rutland with Calvin Coolidge's stenographer, Edwin Geisser. Geisser gave Klauber as much detail as he requested, and the *Times* had exceptional coverage of Coolidge's inauguration. The day Van Anda retired, *The New York Times* had thorough coverage of the solar eclipse of January 24, 1925.^[134] Frederick T. Birchall was appointed managing editor in 1925, bringing a bout of liberalism with sports bylines.^[135]

Throughout 1924, *The New York Times* continued to experience much of the success that it had earlier in the century. The paper's gross income exceeded US\$20,000,000 (equivalent to \$341,514,563.11 in 2022) that year while its Wide World photo service had one hundred employees by 1925. The *Times*'s global coverage was supported by a superheterodyne receiver on top of 229 West 43rd Street to receive dispatches from the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, Italy, and Switzerland later expanding to Japan, China, and the Dutch West Indies. William Beebe gave readers stories from the tropical sea while Auguste Piccard reported from the stratosphere. By the end of the year, circulation was up to 351,000 and advertising lineage increased to 26,000,000.^[136] Despite Van Anda's departure, the *Times* continued to support scientific discoveries. In 1927, Ochs hired Waldemar Kaempffert, a science writer whom journalist Meyer Berger considered to be the first member of an editorial board exclusively devoted to science. Ochs would hire William L. Laurence three years later. Laurence and Kaempffert were frequently the first to report on new developments in science, such as sulfa drugs, penicillin, adrenocorticotropic hormones, and cortisone.^[137]

1928–1939: Ochs's death, first Sulzberger era, and interwar period

By 1928, *The New York Times* had a gross income of US\$27,000,000 (equivalent to \$460,151,162.79 in 2022).^[139] In August 1930, Herbert Pulitzer, grandson of Joseph Pulitzer, met with Ochs at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel to discuss selling the New York World, much to Ochs's surprise. Pulitzer suggested disposing of the Morning World and the Sunday issue to focus on the Evening World. Discussing the proposition with Arthur Hays Sulzberger and Julius Ochs Adler, Ochs returned to the Ritz-Carlton. He contended that Pulitzer should instead put out a newspaper similar to the Daily Mail—a "condensed but not sensational" newspaper—and did not believe it was appropriate for the "ultraconservative" *Times* to acquire the paper, believing William Randolph Hearst's New York American to be a more suitable consolidator. General manager Florence D. White stated that if Ochs rejected the offer, the paper would be sold to Ogden Mills Reid's nascent New York Herald Tribune, formed in 1924 by the merger of the New York Herald and Tribune, which would present Ochs with a serious threat. In February 1931, the Morning World and the Sunday World ceased to exist and the Evening World was consolidated into the Scripps-Howard Telegram, becoming the New York World-Telegram.^[140] In April 1932, James became managing editor when Birchall went to Berlin. His final stories covered his experience in the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin's totalitarian and autocratic rule.^[141]

I am deeply distressed to learn of the passing of my old friend. His great contribution to journalism and to good citizenship will always be remembered.

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 13, 1935^[138]

Ochs's authority decreased into the 1920s as his health began to deteriorate.^[142] On April 8, 1935, at approximately 1:45 p.m., Ochs suffered a cerebral hemorrhage following a long illness. An ambulance took him to Newell Sanitarium. Surrounded by his brother, his sister and her husband, his nephew, and his granddaughter, Ochs died at 3:55 p.m. As his body was laid to rest at the Temple Israel Cemetery in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York City's flags were half-staffed. On May 7, the board elected Sulzberger as president and director. Adler became general manager. The following day, the *Times* editorial page carried Sulzberger's creed to continue Ochs's work. Under his will, Ochs's heirs inherited the Chattanooga Times. Sulzberger urged picture editor Charles M. Graves to hold off on any radical changes to the paper's layout for at least a year and attempted to reduce operating costs, including considering selling *The Annalist*, *Current History*, and *Mid-Week Pictorial*. Drawing contrast with his predecessor, Sulzberger supported wirephoto—a technology disdained by Ochs in the last years of his life after it was discovered the Associated Press did not consult him on using it.^[143] Sulzberger's interest in wirephotography gave rise to an increase in photography in the *Times* in general; the *Times* was able to wire a photograph of the wreckage of the USS Macon (ZRS-5) from San Francisco, startling users of the Associated Press's wirephoto service.^[144]

Sulzberger inherited a *Times* still reeling from the Great Depression; circulation numbers in 1935 were two-thirds of what they were in 1929.^[145] Over the next several years, he would cull many of the paper's publications, including *Current History* and *Mid-Week Pictorial* in 1936, though both publications faced an impending demise; the *Sunday Times* depreciated much of the value of *Current History* under Lester Markel, while *Mid-Week Pictorial* subdued as a result of the transition to wirephoto. The rotogravure section in the Sunday issue was also incorporated into *The New York Times Magazine* in 1942, an idea conceived by Markel decades prior but prevented by a newsprint shortage and Ochs's illness. *The Annalist* was sold to *McGraw-Hill Publishing* in October 1940 and *World Wide Photos* was sold to the Associated Press in 1941. Continuing to adhere to Ochsian principle, *The News of the Week in Review* was started in the Sunday issue. The weekly review was another Markel idea, but it faced opposition from Ochs, who assumed that readers read every issue for that week in full. The *Review* debuted on January 27, 1935, when Ochs's illness affected his ability to read every issue, bringing about substantial circulation.^[146]

Officially it is just a civil war they are fighting in Spain, but people for whom realities count more than diplomatic amenities are starting to call it the Little World War.

—Arthur Hays Sulzberger,
November
1936^[147]

In February 1937, *The New York Times* started a column titled, "In Europe"—later "Affairs in Europe" and eventually "Abroad"—written by correspondent Anne O'Hare McCormick.^[148] McCormick was previously noted for reporting on fascism in Europe, warning of Benito Mussolini's rise in 1921.^[149] As Sulzberger took the reins from Ochs, fascism continued to grip Europe; Mussolini prepared to go to war with Ethiopia, Adolf Hitler founded the Wehrmacht to fulfill the goal of retaking Nazi Germany's lost territory and to annex new territories. Domestically, the New Deal faced opposition while the Great Depression continued.^[145] The Spanish coup of July 1936 precipitated the Spanish Civil War. While in Seville, Frank Kluckhohn was the first to report on thirty-two German and Italian planes supporting the Nationalist faction. Germany and Italy did not want their intervention in the war to be publicized and the revelation nearly cost Kluckhohn his life, forcing him to flee Spain.^[150] By 1938, a tense air surrounded much of the world as the Anschluss and the occupation of Czechoslovakia solidified the beginning of a global war.^[151] During this time, *The New York Times* faced its own issues. On February 22, 1937, editorial head Rollo Ogden died. Sulzberger appointed John H. Finley to Ogden's post in April, though Finley would retire in November 1938 but retained his role in the *Times* as editor emeritus; Charles Merz became the head of the editorial page. Finley suffered a coronary embolism^[152] in his sleep in March 1940. On the morning of May 6, 1937, Ochs's widow, Effie Wise, died. Sulzberger continued to feign neutrality until June 1938.^[153]

The paper experienced an editorial shift^[154] as a byproduct of Charles Merz's shared ideology with Sulzberger.^[155] While the *Times* shifted its spacing to cover more of the war, the paper's editorials had a strong crusading spirit; though this belief was in opposition to what Ochs had established, Sulzberger and Merz felt as though the paper was firmly established as a newspaper for news and could properly split its editorials from its news. *The New York Times* was compelled to establish that the United States had an international role to play and that it needed to defend itself, government structure, and civil liberties to uphold democracy. The *Times* urged the United States to impose sanctions, as Europe had, on Italy following the country's war in Ethiopia. Through dwindling hope for the League of Nations in other newspapers, *The New York Times* wrote that the United States must shoulder its responsibilities "as a world power". The most extensive of these editorials came in February 1937, when the *Times* vehemently

opposed Roosevelt's efforts to expand the Supreme Court. Fifty editorials were written before Roosevelt ultimately ended his plan six months later.^[156] Gay Talese described *The New York Times* of the 1930s as a Roman Catholic paper.^[157]

1939–1945: World War II, the Manhattan Project, and international edition

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. At the Reichstag building, Hitler gave a speech accusing Poland of attacking Germany heard by *The New York Times*'s radio room. The Sunday issue of the *Times* on September 3 carried a seldom-used top line reading, "Chamberlain Announces Britain Is At War With Germany". The issue carried Neville Chamberlain's full shortwave address to the United Kingdom. As World War II continued, the *Times* used large-scale headlines to update readers on the development of the war, including the occupation of Denmark, the invasion of the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Belgium.^[158] As Ochs had focused on delivering the news over advertisements during World War I, Sulzberger made room for developments in World War II. The *Times* reported on several exclusive stories, including the Yugoslav coup d'état.^[159] The war also resulted in several casualties. Byron Darnton, a war correspondent covering the Pacific War, was killed by an American B-25 Mitchell bomber in New Guinea; his work was valued by Douglas MacArthur. Other casualties include London correspondent Bob Post who died during the bombing of Wilhelmshaven in February 1943.^[160]



The New York Times newsroom, pictured in 1942.

The New York Times experimented with several ideas and forged its own political structure. The *Times* rejected the "Independent Democrat" label during the Ochs era and supported Republican Wendell Willkie in 1940, believing that an unprecedented third term for any president would not be beneficial for the country, though forwent the third term principle to support Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 under the presumption that he would win the war over a nascent candidate. As *The New York Times Magazine* flourished and the *Times* grew to the largest staff in the world, Sulzberger ran a women's column, "News of Food", that received criticism. Sulzberger established the "Fashion of The Times"—a fashion show held in the Times Hall—amid hesitation from editorial staff; Ochs had run fashion contests as far back as 1913. The fashion show was much the work of Virginia Pope, a fashion editor who ran several smaller fashion shows in women's clubs but desired a larger audience. The Fashion of the *Times* earned the paper substantial gains. In 1944, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) approved the *Times*'s acquisition of WQXR-FM, marking the first non-*Times* investment since the Jones era.^[161]

Amid World War II, Sulzberger and his assistant, James Reston, traveled from Habbaniyah, Iraq to Tehran to meet Donald H. Connolly at the Persian Gulf Service Command Headquarters. Connolly's men supplied Allied troops; while beneficial, they felt that their work was disconnected from combat, monotonous, and tedious in extreme hot temperatures. Sulzberger proposed keeping the troops informed to improve their morale. The *Times* would provide the armed forces with an eight-page paper subtitled *Overseas Weekly*, an effectively smaller version of *The News of the Week in Review*. Army Special Services was initially eager to work with *The New York Times* but backed out upon realizing that other newspapers would be infuriated if they discovered that the *Times* was the sole provider of news to the troops. An aide to Connolly suggested that the *Times* could be sold as a commodity through the Army & Air Force Exchange Service. *The New York Times* cast matrices in plastic and flew them to Iran. Bookkeepers could not accept free commodities, so the issues were sold at US\$7.20 (equivalent to \$121.76 in 2022). The *Overseas Weekly* issue was a success and would later be available in Japan through *The Asahi Shimbun* and in Germany through the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.^[162]

By the end of World War II in 1945, over nine hundred employees of the *Times* had left to serve in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Delegates at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in April 1945 were surprised to have received a four-page copy of *The New York Times* dated at 2 a.m. The special edition facsimile was the first of its kind; it was set in type in New York and sent to an Associated Press receiver at the San Francisco Chronicle Building at 901 Mission Street. The paper negatives were processed at the Richmond Independent processing plant. Through the conference, the *Times* provided the United Nations delegates with this service for free. *The New York Times* would attempt facsimile in February 1948 to fourteen department stores in New York and the Columbia University School of Journalism. For Roosevelt's death, Sulzberger turned to the blackened borders that were present for the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, but limited its scope to the Roosevelt editorial. To triumphantly declare the signage of the German Instrument of Surrender and the end of World War II in Europe, the *Times* used a rare four-line display foremost proclaiming, "The war in Europe is ended!"^[163]

The staff of *The New York Times* questioned the sudden disappearance of science reporter William L. Laurence in April 1945, though managing editor Edwin Leland James and Sulzberger were vaguely aware of his assignment. Leading up to World War II, Laurence was versed in the activities of the Columbia University Physics Department, including the discovery of Uranium-235. Writing for The Saturday Evening Post in September 1940, Laurence publicized the atomic bomb race between the United States and Germany. Copies of the paper in public libraries were seized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and soon thereafter scientists sought to avoid Laurence. He theorized that they were working on an atomic bomb and did not attempt to investigate the matter further. The United States government requested Laurence's services in April 1945 and he was made the historian of the Manhattan Project. Laurence regularly spoke to the project's director, Leslie Groves, and provided eyewitness accounts of the tests, including Trinity. Believing the tests to be major stories themselves, Laurence wrote a confidential letter to Sulzberger.^[164] The staff of the *Times* learned through the atomic bombing of Hiroshima that Laurence was the sole witness of the Manhattan Project.^[165]

1945–1955: Continued period and staff changes

In November 1945, the 44th Street Theatre was demolished. In its place, 229 West 43rd Street was expanded, leaving the building adjacent to Sardi's and the Paramount Theatre. By February 1948, the annex was combined with the old building, improving production capacity by more than half. The expansion gave the composing room a total of 40,000 sq ft (3,700 m²) and more than one hundred linecasting type machines. In April 1950, additional floorage was provisioned to WQXR and WQXR-FM.^[166] By 1951, the *Times* had an editorial staff of 1,350;^[167] despite its size, the paper was an agile news machine. On April 11, 1951, at 1 a.m., MacArthur was relieved of his duties by Harry S. Truman. Within the hour, White House correspondent William H. Lawrence had dictated the story and sent it to the presses. At the Keith-Albee Building, the *Times*'s Washington, D.C. bureau watched MacArthur address Congress the following week. Among the staff present was Anthony Leviero, the former White House correspondent before Lawrence who traveled to Wake Island with MacArthur and Truman for a conference. Leviero hastily penned a story detailing the conference, including MacArthur's assertion that China would not intervene in the Korean War—an event that resulted in a series of defeats ultimately leading to MacArthur's relief.^[168]

In December 1951, James died. He was succeeded by Turner Catledge.^[169] Under Catledge, *The New York Times* established daily news conferences in his office, eliminating the role of bullpen editors—such as Neil MacNeil—who determined the placement of stories and their size relative to the paper.^[170] Catledge staffed several positions,^[171] including appointing Robert Garst and Theodore Menline Bernstein as associate editors.^[172] According to Gay Talese, Catledge favored Bernstein; Garst was delegated to housekeeping roles and as acting managing editor.^[173] In 1953, *Times* photoengravers went on strike for two weeks. During the strike, *The New York Times* did not publish for the first time in its history. Supported

by most *Times* employees, staff who crossed the picket line were ostracized.^[174] John Randolph was removed as picture editor in January 1954 after placing a photograph of newly-weds Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio kissing on the front page.^[175] Clifton Daniel became *The New York Times*'s Moscow correspondent—the only permanent Russian correspondent for a Western newspaper—in 1954; Catledge ordered Daniel back to New York on Arthur Hays Sulzberger's orders in November 1955 after Daniel developed an ulcer.^[176]

1955–1961: McCarthyism and Sulzberger's resignation



Senator James Eastland investigated the *Times* in 1955 and 1956.

The New York Times was subject to intense investigations by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, a Senate subcommittee that advanced McCarthyism and investigated purported communism from within press institutions. From December 1955 to January 1956, forty-four subpoenas were issued against current or former employees of the *Times*. The investigations divided the staff of *The New York Times*, comprising current Communist Party USA members—including a copyeditor caught editing a *Times* dispatch from Moscow, former members turned conservatives, and opponents of McCarthyism.^[177] *The New York Times*'s management reckoned with retaining Ochs's values and denouncing the investigation; *Times* management believed that the paper was being specifically singled out for its opposition to Senate Internal Security Subcommittee chairman James Eastland's values, as well as those of his colleague William E. Jenner and subcommittee counsel J. G. Sourwine, by condemning segregation in Southern schools, the methods used by other congressional committees, and McCarthyism.^[178]

Sulzberger believed that *The New York Times* was not a sacrosanct institution above a congressional investigation and stated his opposition to communism, urging employees not to plead the Fifth Amendment. A *Times* copyreader who did not reveal his political leanings appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and plead the Fifth Amendment; Sulzberger dismissed the copyreader. The American Civil Liberties Union issued a letter of protest as a result of the dismissal. Sulzberger published the letter and his response in *The New York Times*. The letter polarized readers and was poorly received in some quarters, including by Ochs's nephew John Bertram Oakes. Sulzberger and his son-in-law, The New York Times Company president Orvil Dryfoos, drafted a statement in November 1955 to justify dismissing further employees.^[179] The rising cost of newspaper production and the recession of 1958 cut into *The New York Times*'s profits in the years following the investigations.^[180] By 1959, Sunday edition numbers necessitated a west side expansion of 229 West 43rd Street. The annex was used primarily for publishing the Sunday issue, which had a circulation of 1,600,000 by 1967 and varied in weight between four and seven pounds.^[181]

Dryfoos's role in *The New York Times* increased after 1958, when Sulzberger suffered a stroke.^[182] In January 1961, following an account in *The Nation*, a *Times* correspondent in Guatemala reported of an offensive against Cuba. Correspondent Tad Szulc was in Miami while being transferred from Rio de Janeiro to Washington, D.C. and discovered invasion plans on the Bay of Pigs. Szulc appeared to Dryfoos and Catledge to inform them of the invasion; both men were hesitant to publish the story, with Dryfoos believing that the *Times* could be blamed for bloodshed if the invasion failed. The men called James Reston, Sulzberger's assistant, who advised them not to publish "any dispatch that would pinpoint the timing of the landing". The decision was criticized by Bernstein and news editor Lewis Jordan. The Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 was a failure for the United States; then-president John F. Kennedy summoned Catledge to chide him for not publishing further information.^[183] On April 25, 1961,^[182] amid poor health, Sulzberger resigned and appointed Dryfoos as his successor.^[184] As publisher, Dryfoos sought to expand *The New*

York Times into the Pacific Coast.^[185] The endeavor was a logistical challenge for the *Times*, which insisted on using Linotype machines. *The New York Times* diverted the Western editions copies to Teletypesetters that could transmit keystrokes to Los Angeles. Led by Andrew Fisher,^[186] the Western edition was identical to the New York paper.^[187]

1961–1964: Newspaper strike and Dryfoos's death

By 1962, increasing newspaper production costs, higher wage demands, and the emergence of television advertising presented existential threats to the newspaper industry. In response, publishers implemented automated printing presses. Typographers viewed the automated machines as an attempt to replace them. The New York chapter of the International Typographical Union was led by Bert Powers, who regularly disputed with publishers; Powers advocated for higher wages, bolstered pension and welfare funds, and additional sick days. Powers particularly feared automatic typesetting machines and believed that printers should develop their own identity. On December 8, 1962, the New York Typographical Union declared a strike against *The New York Times*, the Daily News, the New York Journal American, and the New York World-Telegram & Sun. Printers picketed outside the offices of their publishers, inadvertently affecting the New York Daily Mirror, the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Post, the Long Island Star Journal, and the Long Island Daily Press, who were forced to stop their presses and lock their doors.^[188]

The strike immediately affected the routine media consumption habits of New Yorkers; some readers abandoned newspapers altogether, turning to television, news magazines, or books. Other readers who continued to read newspapers read *The New York Times* through the paper's Western edition mailed from California or turned to other newspapers such as The Wall Street Journal and Women's Wear Daily, including out-of-state newspapers such as The Philadelphia Inquirer and The Christian Science Monitor. Financially, printers were supported by union funds and state insurance; newspaper and business owners were most affected.^[189] New York mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. and labor negotiator Theodore W. Kheel were able to forge an agreement on March 31, 1963. The agreement guaranteed a thirty-five hour workweek, achieved a common contract expiration date, limited the use of automated equipment, and increased salaries.^[190] The strike left New York with three remaining papers—*The New York Times*, the Daily News, and the New York Post—from a dozen in 1930.^[191]

Following the strike, Dryfoos visited Puerto Rico. While in Puerto Rico, he was administered to a hospital in San Juan for an illness. Dryfoos was then flown to Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York, where he was pronounced dead on May 25 of a heart ailment, potentially due to the strike.^[192] Dryfoos was mourned by Kennedy, secretary of state Dean Rusk, United Nations secretary-general U Thant, politician Adlai Stevenson II, French statesman Jean Monnet, then-president of Mexico Adolfo López Mateos, Nigerian politician Jaja Wachuku, and his funeral at Temple Emanu-El attracted two thousand mourners. After Dryfoos was buried, weeks of ambiguity followed as *The New York Times* did not have a publisher to replace him; the Sulzberger family believed that he would live through the 1970s. Arthur Hays Sulzberger was restricted to a wheelchair, while his son, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, did not have enough experience to run the paper. Arthur Ochs's mother, Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, favored Reston. On June 20, Arthur Hays announced that Arthur Ochs would become *The New York Times*'s next publisher, the youngest person to serve the role.^[193]

1964–1966: Second Sulzberger era and *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*

Dryfoos's death brought significant alterations to *The New York Times*. Following Sulzberger's accession, general manager and vice president Amory Bradford resigned; Bradford's reputation was tarnished after an article by A. H. Raskin following the strike besmirched him and accused him of being pugnacious.^[190] Bradford was succeeded by Harding F. Bancroft, a descendent of churchman Richard Bancroft. The *Times*

retained many of its executives and printed their names above the editorial page.^[194] In January 1964, Sulzberger ceased publication of the Western edition that had routinely been published since October 1962. Though Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger was one of the wealthiest women in the United States at the time—her net worth was estimated by *Fortune* to be between US\$150 million (equivalent to \$1,262,296,650.72 in 2022) and US\$200 million (equivalent to \$1,683,062,200.96 in 2022) by 1968—the strike cut deep into the *Times*'s reserves and circulation numbers for the Western edition decreased despite demand for the *Times* in the Pacific Coast.^[195]

Sulzberger believed that *The New York Times* could not follow in his father or grandfather's steps, holding tradition inviolable but adjusting to nascent technologies and adapting to a precarious newspaper industry. *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal* began to improve their coverage, occasionally providing superior political and economic coverage than the *Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times* led the United States in advertising lineage, bolstered by the diversified *Times Mirror Company*. The *Los Angeles Times* began to modernize its advertising sector with computing, analyzing circulation trends; *The New York Times* began modernizing in 1964 with the purchase of a *Honeywell 200* that would perform the accounting work of twenty five employees. The *Honeywell 200* was placed in a windowless room on the seventh floor of 229 West 43rd Street.^[196] Despite his fiscally-driven changes, Sulzberger did not cede on *The New York Times*'s coverage. The *Times* continued to publish full texts of speeches and documents such as the *Warren Commission* report on the assassination of John F. Kennedy.^[197]

In an attempt to centralize executive authority and dismiss elderly employees, Sulzberger appointed *Turner Catledge* executive editor on September 1, 1964,^[198] a newly created post that gave Catledge more control over *The New York Times*'s content. Catledge's position allowed him to serve as a regent for the journalistically unaware Sulzberger.^[199] Catledge's promotion drew the ire of Lester Markel, the displaced head of the Sunday *Times*, who was not supportive of his collectivist ambitions nor Bernstein's additions that drew from Markel's former prerogatives; most of all, Markel believed that *The New York Times* was no longer above other papers and no longer held itself in an esteemed position.^[200] Dryfoos's death shifted editorial weight from Washington to New York, particularly after the resignation of Reston's associate *Wallace Carroll*.^[201] Sulzberger did not seek to lose Reston, the Washington bureau chief, and made him an associate editor; Sulzberger appointed *Tom Wicker* as his successor on Reston's behest, much to Moscow correspondent *Max Frankel*'s scorn.^[202]

The New York Times erroneously claimed that thirty-eight witnesses saw or heard the *murder of Kitty Genovese* in March 1964 but did not act upon the attack. *Times* reporter Martin Gansberg's figure gained weight with *Loudon Wainwright Jr.*'s reporting in *Life* and editor *A. M. Rosenthal*'s book *Thirty-Eight Witnesses* (1964). Rosenthal stated that he heard the number thirty-eight from then-police commissioner *Michael J. Murphy* at Emil's Restaurant and Bar. Then-attorney general *Charles Skoller* told *Jim Rasenberger* in 2004 that there were "half a dozen that saw what was going on"; Skoller's interview was republished in the *Times*. *The New York Times* acknowledged its error in *Robert D. McFadden*'s obituary of perpetrator *Winston Moseley* in 2016.^[203] The murder of Kitty Genovese was an early example of the bystander effect based on the *Times*'s reporting^[204] and has been attributed to the creation of *9-1-1* in the United States.^[205] One witness claimed that his father called the police, reporting that a woman was "beat up" and "staggering around".^[206]

On March 29, 1960, "*Heed Their Rising Voices*", an advertisement placed by the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South, appeared in page twenty-five of *The New York Times*. The advertisement described the *civil rights movement* among black students, including an



Arthur Ochs Sulzberger became the publisher of *The New York Times* in 1963.



The Times was sued over "Heed Their Rising Voices"

"unprecedented wave of terror" that police forces met protesters with. The advertisement spoke out against the actions taken by Montgomery Police Department in Montgomery, Alabama; a number of the advertisement's assertions were proven false. Montgomery Public Safety commissioner L. B. Sullivan, despite not being named in the advertisement, sued the *Times* for defamation seeking US\$500,000 (equivalent to \$4,946,006.75 in 2022) in damages. Alabama courts and the Supreme Court of Alabama sided with Sullivan before the case was taken to the Supreme Court. In New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, the Court unanimously ruled in a landmark decision^[207] that newspapers cannot be held liable for defamatory statements unless made with actual malice.^[208]

1966–1971: Changing landscape and additional papers

A shift in the New York newspaper landscape in 1966 significantly benefited *The New York Times*. In April 1966, three failing publications—the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Journal-American, and the New York World-Telegram—agreed to merge to form the New York World Journal Tribune. Union workers went on strike against the New York World Journal Tribune from April to September 1966,^[209] delaying the paper's debut until the end of the strike; the World Journal Tribune would shut down in May 1967.^[210] As *The New York Times*'s circulation numbers increased to 875,000 in 1966—an increase of 100,000 from the previous year—and 900,000 following the New York World Journal Tribune's closure, Sulzberger increased the paper's advertising rates. The increased rates drew criticism from advertising director Monroe Green; Green would retire at the end of 1967, allowing Sulzberger to consolidate the advertising, production, and circulation departments under Andrew Fisher.^[211]

In 1967, the international edition was discontinued, faced with an annual loss of US\$1.5 million (equivalent to \$13,164,670.66 in 2022) and decreasing circulation against the Paris Herald Tribune, which had recently entered a partnership with *The Washington Post*. Sulzberger purchased a stake in the Paris Herald Tribune, forming the International Herald Tribune.^[212] The World Journal Tribune's collapse left New York with one remaining afternoon paper, the New York Post. Sulzberger considered a second afternoon paper that would break from the *Times*'s traditional prose, appearing more in form as the New York Herald Tribune. Several names were considered, including *The Evening Times* and *The Metropolitan*, before *New York Today* was chosen, later the *New York Forum*. Rosenthal was named the editor of the *Forum*. The pages were set in type in August 1967 and locked. Three employees—Rosenthal, James L. Greenfield, Stephen A. O. Golden—were authorized to be there that morning. A stringer, Jim Connolly, repeatedly grilled the men on what the paper would look like before being asked to leave by a security guard. Two hundred copies were printed in total; forty-five copies were sent to news executives before being recalled, while the remaining copies were locked in a safe in the corporate treasurer's office. Sulzberger ultimately did not print further issues of the *New York Forum* after several weeks.^[213]

Wicker's tenure as the Washington bureau chief was met by animosity from Catledge and Daniel. Greenfield, Rosenthal's protégé, embodied their efforts to replace the aloof and distant Wicker. Catledge, Daniel, Rosenthal, and Greenfield attempted to persuade Sulzberger into appointing Greenfield in February 1968; the men nearly succeeded, but Reston vehemently opposed the plan and stated that the staff of the Washington bureau would resign en masse. A visibly stressed Sulzberger informed Catledge that he would not go through with the plan and appointed Frankel instead. Upon learning of Sulzberger's intentions, Greenfield told Rosenthal, "Abe, don't ever ask me to come into this place again." Greenfield resigned on

the spot and reportedly told Arthur Gelb that he "couldn't face cleaning out his desk", asking if Gelb would send him his favorite sweater and other items from his drawer. Greenfield returned to *The New York Times* in September 1969 as the paper's foreign editor under Rosenthal, who became managing editor.^[214]

1971–1972: The *Pentagon Papers* and *New York Times Co. v. United States*

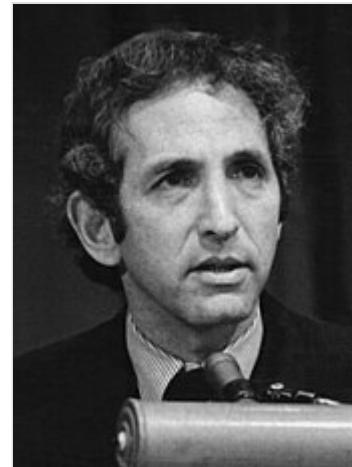
Driven by a speech by Randy Kehler opposing the Vietnam War, RAND Corporation employee Daniel Ellsberg began photocopying pages of a Department of Defense report detailing the United States's involvement in the war, later known as the Pentagon Papers.^[215] Throughout 1970 and 1971, Ellsberg attempted to approach prominent politicians that could disseminate the *Pentagon Papers*, including the foremost congressional opponent of the Vietnam War, George McGovern, in January 1971, and wrote a letter to *The New York Times* in November 1970 describing the war as "immoral, illegal, and unconstitutional". McGovern told Ellsberg that he should go to the *Times*; reluctantly, he called reporter Neil Sheehan in February.^[216] In March 1971, reporter Neil Sheehan met with Ellsberg and agreed to publicize the papers if *The New York Times* agreed to protect Ellsberg's identity.^[217]

Several weeks later, Sheehan and his wife Susan, a writer for *The New Yorker*, checked into a hotel in Cambridge, Massachusetts under a fictitious name to copy the papers.^[218] When the Sheehans arrived in Cambridge, Ellsberg informed Neil that he could only read—not copy—the *Pentagon Papers*, because they would then be property of *The New York Times*. In *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers* (2002), Ellsberg stated that he was concerned that the *Times* would not publish the documents in full and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation could become aware of the papers. To Neil, Ellsberg's concerns were "about going to jail" and his cavalierness towards exposing the documents to members of Congress. After confiding to his wife, who told him to "Xerox it", Neil believed that Ellsberg was too dangerous and began photocopying the documents at multiple copy shops in Boston after he had left on vacation.^[217]

The New York Times faced a race to publish the documents once they were photocopied. Greenfield stored the documents in his Manhattan apartment before they were moved to a suite at the New York Hilton Midtown. Sheehan and Allan M. Siegal primarily worked on sifting through the documents, meticulously citing each statement; other reporters joined in, including Hedrick Smith, E. W. Kenworthy, and Fox Butterfield. Despite the *Times*'s legal counsel Lord Day & Lord advising against publishing the papers, nearly informing the Department of Justice, the *Pentagon Papers* appeared on the front page of *The New York Times* on June 13, 1971, though it was placed beside an article on the wedding of then-president Richard Nixon's daughter Tricia Nixon Cox, the New York City budget, and India–Pakistan relations.^[215]

The *Times* must respectfully decline the request of the attorney general, believing that it is in the interest of the people of this country to be

The following day, *The New York Times* received a telex from then-attorney general John N. Mitchell telling the publication to halt its publication of the *Pentagon Papers* and to return the documents to the Department of Defense. After the *Times* stated its intention to continue publishing the papers, the Department of Justice sought a restraining order against the seven reporters and editors involved and the fifteen executives listed on the masthead. *New York Times Co. v. United States* moved quickly to the Supreme Court; oral arguments by *The New York Times*'s legal defense, led by Alexander Bickel, were heard on June 26. In a 6-to-3 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark decision that the *Times* and *The Washington Post*, who began publishing the *Pentagon Papers* on June 18 after



Daniel Ellsberg provided *The New York Times* with the *Pentagon Papers*.

informed of the material contained in this series of articles.

—*The New York Times*, June 15, 1971^[219]

Ben Bagdikian persuaded the publication, could publish the *Pentagon Papers*.^{[215][219]} Notably, *The New York Times* the following day did not contain images on the front page.^[220]

In May 1972, the National Committee for Impeachment paid *The New York Times* US\$17,850 (equivalent to \$124,879 in 2022) for a two-page advertisement urging the House of Representatives to impeach Nixon for the war. *Times* pressmen derided the advertisement; New York Printing Pressmen's Union chairman Richard Siemers called the advertisement "traitorous" and "detrimental to the boys in Vietnam and prisoners of war". The pressmen demanded that the *Times* remove the advertisement and later asked for space in the paper to express their opinion to no avail. Nixon was pleased with the pressmen and sent an emissary to convey his thanks, charging the committee with violating the Federal Election Campaign Act. Nixon-appointed judge James L. Oakes sided with the committee in October.^[221]

1972–1977: Watergate scandal and Central Intelligence Agency investigations



The Watergate Office Building was broken into in June 1972.

On June 17, 1972, the Watergate Office Building, the Democratic National Committee's headquarters, was broken into. Unbeknownst to the general public, the intrusion was performed by five individuals—Virgilio Gonzalez, Bernard Barker, James McCord, Eugenio Martínez, and Frank Sturgis^[222]—who were paid by Nixon's fundraising organization Committee for the Re-Election of the President. *The Washington Post*—a political paper—placed its article on the event on the front page, unlike *The New York Times*, who sought to be cautious. Tad Szulc, who was familiar with some of the individuals from their involvement in the Bay of Pigs invasion, was eager to cover the story but could not connect the Cubans to the Central Intelligence Agency and his source was

concerned that the Nixon administration was monitoring journalists's phone calls, particularly after the publication of the *Pentagon Papers*. *The Washington Post* covered the Watergate incident extensively, primarily the work of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. Woodward was provided with information from Federal Bureau of Investigation associate director Mark Felt under the pseudonym "Deep Throat".^[223]

The Washington Post's first major breakthrough occurred on August 1,^[224] when Woodward and Bernstein reported that a US\$25,000 (equivalent to \$174,900.56 in 2022) cashier's check to Nixon's re-election campaign was deposited in a bank account operated by Barker. The *Post* missed the first edition but reported the story on the second, averting the potential for *The New York Times* to report on it.^[225] According to former reporter Robert M. Smith, acting Federal Bureau of Investigation director L. Patrick Gray discussed details of the intrusion with Mitchell at a Washington, D.C. restaurant a month later. Smith informed an editor at the *Times*'s Washington bureau, Robert H. Phelps, who took notes on the conversation; Smith left Washington the following day to attend Yale Law School. The bureau focused on the Republican National Convention in the days after the lunch and Phelps left on a monthslong trip to Alaska. Phelps later stated that he had "no idea" where the notes went.^[226]

The New York Times remained delayed to *The Washington Post*'s reporting, including reporting on an October 10 article that stated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation established that the Watergate burglary was an act of political sabotage committed by the Nixon re-election campaign. The *Times* article did not cover the broad conclusions but rather the accusations against Donald Segretti, a political operative who was the only individual named in the *Post*'s reporting.^[227] By 1973, *The Washington Post* cemented

its lead in reporting the Watergate scandal through its trifecta of stories on the cashier's check, Mitchell's control of a secret fund to spy on Democrats, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry.^[228] As Congress gathered information, the *Post* eased its coverage, giving *The New York Times* an opportunity to enhance its own coverage. The *Times*'s efforts were spearheaded by Seymour Hersh, who exclusively reported on Dwight Chapin's departure and the first link between the White House and the operation.^[229]

Woodward and Bernstein turned to *The New York Times* in April 1973, inviting Hersh to dinner on April 8.^[g] Bernstein asked Hersh what the *Times* would read the following morning in jest; the following day's issue of *The New York Times* contained James W. McCord Jr.'s testimony that the Committee for the Re-Election of the President paid the conspirators off.^[231] In May, reporter John M. Crewdson discovered that the Federal Bureau of Investigation wiretapped the phones of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Sunday Times*, six members of the National Security Council, and three high-ranking Foreign Service officials. With Christopher Lydon, Crewdson obtained the Huston Plan and published details on it.^[232] During the Watergate scandal, the *Times* lost multiple editors who were displeased with the *Post*'s exclusives, including Gene Roberts.^[233] The scandal resulted in an impeachment inquiry against Nixon and House Committee on the Judiciary hearings that culminated in his resignation on August 9, 1974, and Gerald Ford assuming the presidency.^[234]

The New York Times faced a push for inclusivity driven by second-wave feminism. In February 1972, the Women's Caucus of the *Times* was formed. The group sent Sulzberger a five-page letter in May detailing the paper's shortcomings in recruiting female employees. In 1974, Betsy Wade—a member of the caucus—sued *The New York Times* under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *Elizabeth Boylan et al. v. New York Times Co.*^[h] would represent hundreds of women, from reporters to clerks. The lawsuit was settled in October 1978; A. M. Rosenthal later asserted that he would have had to testify against his employees. The *Times* was forced to pay US\$350,000 (equivalent to \$1,570,357.14 in 2022) and establish an affirmative action program.^[236] Concurrently, a movement developed to incorporate the alternative honorific Ms. for women. Protesters gathered outside 229 West 43rd Street to advocate for Ms. to be included in *The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage*. Though Sunday editor Max Frankel supported the idea, Sulzberger and Rosenthal did not.^[237]

Hersh remained skeptical of the Central Intelligence Agency following the Watergate scandal and he published several exposés into the agency. In October 1974, Hersh published an article on the Central Intelligence Agency's role in the 1973 Chilean coup d'état that deposed Salvador Allende. In December, he published an article revealing the existence of Operation CHAOS, a domestic espionage program that illegally surveilled over ten thousand citizens, aided by the National Security Agency. The Hersh charges were given legitimacy by James Jesus Angleton's dismissal, leading to the President's Commission on CIA Activities within the United States.^[238] Hersh intended to publish an article on Project Azorian, a Central Intelligence Agency project to recover the Soviet submarine K-129 using the Glomar Explorer, but neither Jim Phelan nor Wallace Turner could verify the story's veracity.^[239] *The New York Times* published its story after the Los Angeles Times had published theirs.^[240] By 1976, Rosenthal was convinced that the Central Intelligence Agency was still involved in the *Times*'s operations and urged the paper to sue under the Freedom of Information Act.^[241]

1977–1980: Financial difficulties and newspaper strike

The exodus of readers to suburban newspapers in New York City—such as Newsday in Long Island and Gannett newspapers in Westchester County—contributed to *The New York Times*'s decline during the 1970s. Circulation decreased from 940,000 in 1969 to 796,000 in 1976 according to figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulations and advertising lines decreased eight million from 1970 to 1975. Rosenthal identified the relative success of New York as a

Visions of vegetables dance in his sleepless head, along with recipes for pork

publication that specialized in service journalism. Rosenthal, an editor vehemently opposed on perceived attempts to compromise on the *Times*'s news operations, balked at attempts from executives to add a food coverage section to *The New York Times* in 1974; his opposition subsided when Sulzberger began ordering cuts to newsroom spending. In June 1976, Rosenthal wrote a proposal to introduce additional sections to the *Times*, attempting to garner new audiences.^[243]

A weekend section to *The New York Times* debuted in April 1976, followed by a home and sports section and culminating in a science section in November 1978.^[244] The additional sections were poorly received; *Time* devoted a cover story to critiquing the sections and *New York* wrote that the *Times* was soiling its reputation in an image of "middle-class self-absorption" amid "New York's crumbling cityscape".^[242] Despite negative reception, the sections reversed *The New York Times*'s declining circulation. In May 1977, the *Times* sold more advertising lines than it had at any point in the paper's history.^[245] The home section, which began in March 1977, was led by architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable for several issues before Paul Goldberger took the reins. The sections marked a lighter tone for *The New York Times* and featured articles from writers Lois Gould and William Zinsser, the latter of whom wrote a jovial article on the New Haven jogging phenomenon.^[242]

In response to work rulings initiated by *The New York Times*, the *New York Post*, and the *Daily News* that drastically reduced manning requirements, pressmen began a trilateral strike against the papers on August 10, 1978, later joined by other unions.^[246] The strike saw the emergence of newspapers established to capitalize on the landscape, including *The City News*, *The New York Daily Press*, *The New York Daily Metro*, and *The Graphic*.^[247] Not The New York Times was published in September by a group of *Times* editors, including Christopher Cerf and George Plimpton.^[248] During the strike, *The New York Times* missed the short-lived papacy of Pope John Paul I. Not The New York Times chronicled the papacy of Pope John Paul John Paul I, whose name is an amalgamation of John Paul I, John Lennon, and Paul McCartney, lasting nineteen minutes. Not The New York Times had included the factual detail that his successor would not be Italian; Pope John Paul II, who succeeded John Paul I, was Polish.^[249] The strike ended on November 5,^[247] though the *New York Post* resumed publication a month earlier after owner Rupert Murdoch signed a contract with the pressmen.^[246]

1980–1986: Coverage of the AIDS epidemic and increasing circulation

Under Rosenthal, *The New York Times*'s coverage of the beginning of the AIDS epidemic was muted. In November 1980, a gunman armed with an Uzi submachine gun fired into the Ramrod, a leather bar in the gay liberation epicenter of Greenwich Village, killing two people and injuring six. The *Times* reserved its coverage in the metropolitan section and did not run a front-page story on AIDS until May 1983, when assistant secretary for health Edward Brandt Jr. described the epidemic as a priority for the Public Health Service; San Francisco Chronicle reporter Randy Shilts later told Fresh Air's Terry Gross that a synagogue bombing in Paris that had occurred one month prior was featured prominently on the front page. The National Gay Task Force wrote to Sulzberger to urge *The New York Times* to increase its coverage of the AIDS epidemic, and the Gay Men's Health Crisis noted that the *Times* did not run a story for a gathering it hosted in Madison Square Garden that attracted tens of thousands of people. The AIDS epidemic presented a challenge to the otherwise puritan *Times*, which abstained from lurid, subterranean descriptions of gay venues that attracted attention from inspectors, unlike the *New York Post* and the *Daily News*. By contrast, Frankel deliberately highlighted grotesque activities—such as anal intercourse—in his editorials.^[250]

chops liégeoise, treatises on termite detection, shopping guides to \$44 canvas bags and \$1,850 'Love' pendants from Tiffany.

—*Time*, August 15, 1977^[242]

In 1982, circulation numbers were estimated to be 929,000. In October 1985, *The New York Times* would reach one million daily papers, a record it would hold until September 1986.^[251] Concurrently, Sulzberger began considering a *Times* without Rosenthal. In March 1983, he told Sydney Gruson that there would be a new publisher and executive editor. Rosenthal promoted several editors—Craig R. Whitney, Warren Hoge, and John Vinocur—in an effort to prove his testament to the editors that would succeed him.^[252] An epidemic would affect *The New York Times* when twenty-nine employees working at 229 West 43rd Street came down with a pneumonia-like disease in June 1985. New York City Department of Health epidemiologists surveyed the building and commissioner David Sencer made an assessment in July determining that the employees were infected with Legionnaires' disease. Medical director Howard R. Brown informed the *Times* that *Legionella pneumophila* could have made its way through the ventilation system; *The New York Times* then changed all of its fan-room filters.^[253]

Through opinionated phrases and unattributed characterizations, the article established a tone that cast its subject in an unfavorable light.

—*The New York Times*, August 7, 1985^[254]

The New York Times published a profile of U.S. News & World Report publisher and real estate developer Mortimer Zuckerman in August 1985 as Zuckerman and Rosenthal entered the same social standing. The article claimed that Zuckerman "conquered New York's real-estate world", particularly following his successful bid to develop the New York Coliseum property on Columbus Circle. On the morning of the story's publication, Zuckerman called Rosenthal to enumerate its errors. The *Times* published an editors' note two days later. The note surprised several editors in the newsroom, including the profile's author, Jane Perlez. Former *The Atlantic Monthly* editor Robert Manning asked if Zuckerman "cast a spell" on him, and journalist Murray Kempton called the note a "genuine rudeness to Perlez" in his *Newsday* column. Rosenthal disregarded the criticism and rejected being persuaded to write the note. A month later, *The Village Voice* ran a cover story with an illustration by Edward Sorel depicting Rosenthal's head as a tank turret, decapitating Sydney Schanberg, who was removed from the opinion pages by Sulzberger on Rosenthal's request.^[255]

Sulzberger expedited Rosenthal's retirement to prevent his son, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr., from having to remove Rosenthal himself. Rosenthal felt that the younger Sulzberger had contempt for the institution after he appeared in socks, scolding him after he appeared in Rosenthal's office. Sulzberger assumed that Rosenthal's publicized personal life—chronicling his relationships with actress Katharine Balfour, one of his secretaries, and newspaper editor Shirley Lord—was contributing to his erratic management. Rosenthal's behavior in the office concerned other employees; Harrison Salisbury compared Rosenthal to Oedipus, who is said to have gouged out his own eyes in *Oedipus Rex* after realizing he had committed patricide and incest. Sulzberger later told Alex S. Jones and Susan Tiffet for *The Trust* (1999) that Rosenthal was close to a nervous breakdown. Despite concerns, Rosenthal continued to serve through his editorship, redesigning the *Metropolitan Report* and dispatching Maureen Dowd to Washington.^[257]

Rosenthal didn't have a nervous breakdown, but he was close to it.

—Arthur Ochs Sulzberger,
1999^[256]

The alternate honorific Ms. became an apparent issue by April 1986. Assistant managing editor Craig Whitney informed Sulzberger in September 1985 that, at a meeting with reporters and editors, the honorific was vehemently inquired about.^[258] Feminist journalist Paula Kassell purchased ten shares of The New York Times Company to gain access to a shareholders meeting. In April 1986, she challenged Sulzberger to convene a panel of language experts to come to a decision. Kassell was informed that the debate would not need to take place because *The New York Times* had begun to adopt the new style. Editors of Ms. walked into the *Times*'s offices to give a basket of flowers for Rosenthal.^[237] The policy was officially changed in June.^[256] Simultaneously, Sulzberger attempted to persuade Rosenthal to retire, inviting him to an Italian

restaurant that month and offering him an opinion column. In September, Rosenthal informed his son and Associated Press reporter Andrew that Max Frankel would succeed him and Arthur Gelb would become managing editor.^[259] Rosenthal officially resigned on October 11, 1986.^[260]

1986–1992: Newsroom changes and Sulzberger's resignation

Frankel's tenure as executive editor was highlighted by characteristic and ideologic change from his predecessor. Frankel complimented editors whom he felt had written great articles and bantered with employees. He focused on covering the AIDS epidemic with greater fervor, assigning several employees to the task, but remained wary. The prohibition on using the word "gay" was not lifted until July 1987.^[261] Frankel viewed *The New York Times*'s volumetric prose unfavorably compared to newspapers such as *USA Today*, whose articles were significantly shorter. An amateur painter, he focused on the design of the *Times* and believed that stories should be able to be read in full on the front page, much to the displeasure of Sulzberger's wife Carol.^[262] Despite defining himself antithetically to Rosenthal,^[260] Frankel would take an aggressive approach to the front page, later describing his position as "authoritarian and dictatorial".^[263] Rosenthal requested that Frankel appoint John Vinocur as managing editor and hire Andrew. Frankel rejected promoting Vinocur as he was not familiar with him—Vinocur would go on to run the *International Herald Tribune*; he had worked with Andrew before at the Associated Press and hired him.^[264]

Several editors positioned themselves to replace outgoing Washington bureau chief Bill Kovach, who was appointed in 1979 in an effort to decrease the bureau's autonomy. Frankel's accession furthered the disdain Kovach had for him; Frankel did not place Kovach's name on the masthead. Kovach resigned in 1986 to work for *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. The need for a bureau chief increased amid the Iran-Contra affair, a political scandal that was the largest political story since the attempted assassination of Ronald Reagan. Deputy Washington editor Howell Raines was rejected for his weak foreign policy and his "tendency to not think conceptually". Frankel rejected former London bureau chief R. W. Apple Jr. after harshly reviewing his London chiefship and national editor Dave Jones out of fear that he would "coddle and shelter" the bureau's staff rather than challenging them. Whitney was ultimately selected despite lacking experience in Washington. To that end, he selected Apple and Paris correspondent Judith Miller as deputy editors. The idea of hiring Miller came from the younger Sulzberger.^[265]

Frankel sought to advance *The New York Times*'s Washington coverage against *The Washington Post*. To wit, he delegated determining which stories the late-night staff should match to the Washington bureau rather than the night editors in New York; the Washington Bureau received a copy of *The Washington Post* at 11 p.m. The *Times* achieved initial success with Whitney, whose coverage of the Iran-Contra affair and George H. W. Bush and Bob Dole's jostling for the Republican presidential nomination. The paper's successes would diminish after then-senator Gary Hart dropped out of the Democratic presidential primaries amid a report from the *Miami Herald* alleging that he engaged in an extramarital affair with Donna Rice Hughes. Within the week, Whitney sent thirteen letters to presidential candidates demanding their biographical, sexual, professional, and personal information. The perceived invasion of privacy was denounced by columnists Anthony Lewis and Rosenthal. *Chicago Tribune* columnist Mike Royko telephoned the *Times*'s public relations office to ask for the marital histories of Sulzberger and the editors.^[266] Frankel was displeased with Miller's performance, describing her as " dismissive, mistrustful, and disrespectful" in a letter to Whitney.^[267]

My view of this bureau before I got here was that it was fat and lazy—a few

In July 1987,^[269] *The New York Times* issued a correction for an account of testimony it published several days prior. The erroneous article, written by Fox Butterfield, reported that National Security Council lieutenant colonel Oliver North testified to the congressional committees investigating the Iran-Contra affair that Central Intelligence Agency director William J. Casey intended to create a fund to facilitate the sale of arms to Iran. Before its publication, Butterfield's article was

terrific seasoned reporters, a few terrific but unseasoned Washington reporters, and a whole room full of just average ones.

—Craig Whitney,
1987^[268]

read by Joseph Lelyveld, who raised suspicions over the lack of a direct quote from North; Washington bureau reporters could not produce a quote after the story was published.^[270] Despite facing no resistance from other editors,^[271] Frankel realized that the story was incorrect after speaking with Lelyveld and issued a prominent and unprecedented^[272] correction on the front page. The Washington bureau faced further troubles when Whitney, who was displeased with the Washington bureau, formed a list of correspondents he felt did not have journalistic flair or who rarely broke stories and reassigned five to New York. The reassessments caused an uproar in the bureau. Congressional correspondent Martin Tolchin likened it to the Saturday Night Massacre and forty-one employees signed a letter in disagreement. *The Washington Post* learned of the discontent, much to Frankel's chagrin. Whitney later described the incident as the "biggest mistake" he had ever made.^[273]

In November 1988,^[274] displeased with Whitney's performance, Frankel appointed London bureau chief Raines as Washington bureau chief and Whitney as London bureau chief.^[275] Unsentimental and aggressive, Raines sought to resuscitate a bureau that founder under Whitney. Several days after becoming bureau chief, Raines had a speaker Miller used to telephone into news meetings without attending them in person removed, eventually moving her to the New York media desk. Raines formed a list of reporters who would receive better stories, exasperating journalists who were not on the list. Raines's style attracted attention from publications such as Spy, who particularly noted his eccentricities, such as installing a hotline in the clerks's desk specifically for his use.^[276] In July 1989, Lelyveld was made deputy managing editor. Bernard Gwertzman—whom Lelyveld had wanted to serve as his deputy—was appointed foreign editor. Gwertzman would run the foreign desk during the Revolutions of 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, the Gulf War, negotiations to end apartheid in South Africa, the Oslo Accords, and the Yugoslav Wars, in what Lelyveld described as the "greatest run of foreign news since World War II".^[277]

By 1987, Sulzberger had demonstrated a waning interest in *The New York Times*, becoming chairman of the Metropolitan Museum of Art that year. Frankel spoke to Sulzberger Jr. rather than his father when discussing budgetary cuts following Black Monday. In April 1988, Sulzberger appointed his son as deputy publisher from assistant publisher. Sulzberger Jr. was juxtaposed to the social and cultural beliefs held by his father; though he bantered with employees and invited them to his Central Park West apartment upon arriving in New York in 1986,^[278] Sulzberger Jr. did not express the same outwardness upon being made assistant publisher, believing that a publisher should not befriend his employees. Likewise, he did not involve himself in the civic fabric of New York. Sulzberger's involvement with wealthy New Yorkers became an issue when Walter Annenberg deliberated donating his US\$1 billion (equivalent to \$2,148,546,298.56 in 2022) collection of Impressionist artworks to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1991,^[279] but disapproved of the *Times*'s mention of his father Moses's tax evasion charges when referencing his name. After Sulzberger expressed that the mentions of his father were gratuitous to Lelyveld, Annenberg asked that Michael Kimmelman's review would be "devoid of zingers".^[280] On January 16, 1992, Sulzberger resigned.^[281]

1992–1994: Third Sulzberger era and the Internet

In September 1992, Sulzberger Jr. announced that he would shift the posts of three editors, Jack Rosenthal, Hoge, and Raines. Rosenthal replaced Hoge as editor of *The New York Times Magazine* while Raines became editorial page editor. Rosenthal would later be made assistant managing editor as part of the arraignment.^[282] Raines would continue directing coverage of the 1992 presidential election until November,^[283] and he would take control in January 1993.^[284] Raines identified with Harry S. Truman's

political philosophy of appointing one-sided economists and felt that the editorial board should reflect objectivity, ending Rosenthal's prohibition on the words "must" or "should". Sulzberger Jr. and Raines believed in environmental causes and saw a use for the board in carrying their beliefs; Robert B. Semple Jr. was empowered to write an opinion piece against the opening of a gold mine near Yellowstone National Park. Raines attracted criticism for his oft-acidic opinion pieces, in which he branded Senate Republican leader Dole as a "churlish partisan", resulting in his denunciation on the Senate floor. *The New Yorker* notably questioned Raines's negative perception of then-president Bill Clinton, a Democrat, and *The New York Observer* chastened him in an article. Despite support from Sulzberger Jr., the editorial page drew critique from Frankel—who said it was "too often shrill"—and Lelyveld—who found its language and tone excessive.^[285]



Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr. became the publisher of *The New York Times* in 1992.

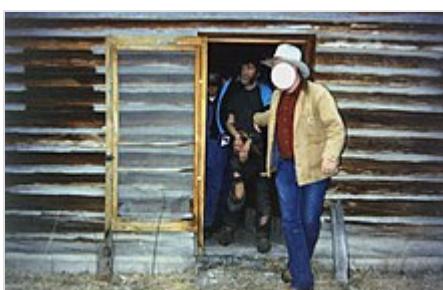
The Internet represented a generational shift within the self-certitude *The New York Times*. Among the Internet's most prominent skeptics from within the *Times* was Sulzberger, who negotiated The New York Times Company's US\$1.1 billion (equivalent to \$2,228,380,557.48 in 2022) acquisition of The Boston Globe in 1993. Sulzberger reaffirmed his support for print media in a speech at the Midwest Research Institute in May 1994, comparing the Internet to the unkempt highways in India. The dichotomous Sulzberger Jr. unequivocally disagreed with his father, speaking to employees of *The New York Times* in February of that year to defiantly state that the paper must pursue digital endeavors. In June 1994, @times appeared on America Online's website as an extension of the *Times*. @times featured news articles, film reviews, sports news, and business articles. Articles were retained for twenty-four hours as a result of a deal signed by The New York Times Company in 1983 giving Mead Data Central, the parent company of LexisNexis, electronic rights to *The New York Times*'s content. In December 1994, the Mead Corporation sold Mead Data Central to Reed Elsevier,^[286] giving the *Times* digital rights to its content.^[287] In its first week, @times's message board had over two thousand postings, but criticism over the service's lack of conviviality grew, particularly in comparison to Time's online offerings.^[288]

Frankel intended to retire in 1994, exacerbated by the impending customary age at which he should retire, his wife Joyce Purnick's breast cancer diagnosis. In June 1993, Frankel told *The New Yorker* that he was overworked and overburdened. In his tenure, *The New York Times* was criticized for naming the woman who accused William Kennedy Smith of rape in 1991, an incident that drew righteous indignation from tabloids,^[289] faced dissenting opinions from within the Washington bureau, and issued a front-page correction. On April 7, 1994, Frankel resigned.^[290] Sulzberger Jr. named Lelyveld as his replacement.^[291] In one of his final decisions, Frankel promoted metropolitan editor Gerald M. Boyd to assistant managing editor in September 1993 and placed his name first on the masthead, putting Boyd in contention to replace him. The appointment created a rift between Lelyveld and Boyd, the former of whom felt he was not qualified enough. Lelyveld had instructed Boyd on how the lede story for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing should be written; Boyd dismissed him, giving Lelyveld admiration for Boyd.^[292] Lelyveld did not have an affection for any particular editor to serve as his managing editor, particularly Boyd, but selected Gene Roberts, the aging executive editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* who let Lelyveld report on the Chappaquiddick incident in 1969.^[293]

1994–1998: The New York Times Electronic Media Company and changing landscape

By 1994, several employees of *The New York Times* had begun to access the Internet through Internet service providers such as Panix and the Pipeline,^[294] the latter of which was created by *The New York Times Magazine* alumnus James Gleick.^[295] Technology reporter John Markoff, who notably covered the pursuit of computer hacker Kevin Mitnick,^[296] established an email address under the domain name nyt.com in 1990. Markoff moved the address to Internex, an Internet service provider in Menlo Park, California, in 1994. The email was compromised by Mitnick, who erroneously believed that Markoff was attempting to track him down; in actuality, physicist Tsutomu Shimomura had assisted the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) with locating Mitnick at the time and he was arrested weeks later.^[297] In July 1994, internet services manager Gordon Thompson sent the first email communiqué to the nytimes.com address from his Panix account. In November, senior information and technology editor Richard J. Meislin created a web page on an internal server to list resources for *Times* editors known as Navigator, later made public. It remained regularly updated until February 2007 and sporadically updated until 2014.^[294]

Convinced of the capabilities of the Internet by a dinner he had with Meislin and Thompson,^[i] Lelyveld assembled four employees—news desk editor Kevin McKenna, special projects executive editor William Stockton, advertising executive Daniel Donaghy, and information systems employee^[298] Steve Luciani—to develop a website for *The New York Times* at Sulzberger Jr.'s request. Changing media dynamics introduced a sense of urgency to the team; organizations that traditionally co-existed with the *Times*—such as America Online, Yahoo, and CNN—succeeded digitally.^[299] The expansion of websites such as Monster.com and Craigslist threatened *The New York Times*'s classified advertisement sales, which accounted for US\$300 million (equivalent to \$559,770,846.59 in 2022) in revenue in 1996.^[300] In June 1995,^[301] *The New York Times* Company appointed businessman Martin Nisenholtz president of its digital media subsidiary. Nisenholtz reported directly to Lelyveld and general manager^[302] Russ Lewis, an unusual arraignment for a *Times* executive.^[303] Gwertzman was assigned to direct the editorial operations of the website.^[302] The team chose the domain name nytimes.com, believing that Markoff's nyt.com would be confused for the New York Telephone.^[297]



The New York Times's publication of Industrial Society and Its Future (1995) led to the arrest of domestic terrorist Ted Kaczynski.

In June 1995, two packages mailrooms of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* addressed to then-deputy managing editor Warren Hoge and then-deputy managing editor Michael Getler respectively. The packages contained a copy of Industrial Society and Its Future (1995), a Luddite essay. The manifesto was written by Ted Kaczynski, a domestic terrorist known as the "Unabomber" who mailed and planted sixteen mail bombs between 1978 and 1995, killing three people and injuring twenty-three others. The packages contained a note stating that he—addressed as "FC" for "Freedom Club"—would "desist from terrorism"^[304] if the publications published Industrial Society and Its Future. *The Washington Post* publisher Donald E. Graham and executive editor Leonard Downie Jr. met with Sulzberger Jr. and Lelyveld to coordinate their response. Joined by *Post* president Boisfeuillet

Jones Jr., the men met with FBI director Louis Freeh and attorney general Janet Reno. Freeh and Reno suggested that the publications publish the manifesto as a pamphlet or book, an idea the men rejected for its difficulty. Kaczynski's essay appeared on September 19.^[i] Critics, such as the American Journalism Review, objected to giving into such demands in fear of creating a copycat effect, though *The Washington Post* reported that most readers from outside of the Washington, D.C. area requested reprints and souvenir copies. Sulzberger Jr. defended the publication of Kaczynski's essay citing the credibility of his threat given his experience. Kaczynski's brother David recognized the penmanship of the essay in the *Times* and reported his suspicions to the FBI; Kaczynski was arrested in April 1996.^[306]

On January 19, 1996, at exactly 11:59 p.m., nytimes.com was launched at the Hippodrome Building but formally announced on January 22 in order to give engineers the weekend to resolve any issues. Sulzberger Jr., Lelyveld, and Lewis sent a case of French champagne to the building.^[307] The website required users to register an account; according to Nisenholtz, this was done for company-wide and advertiser analytics purposes. Jim Romenesko, then-writer for the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, was the first person to register an account on the site after attempting to access it for a month.^[308] In the initial hours following the website's official launch, one reader was recorded to have registered every second. By March 1997, one million people had registered an account in comparison to the 1.1 million weekday print subscribers and the 1.6 million print subscribers on Sundays. The website was rudimentary, consisting of four stories and minimal photographs and designs, though it contained an interactive crossword puzzle and a calculator for determining the income tax one would pay under tax reforms promised by Bob Dole, the Republican nominee in the 1996 presidential election. nytimes.com was free to access and did not implement a paywall for readers in the United States, though an international paywall of US\$35 (equivalent to \$65.31 in 2022) a month was put into effect until July 1997.^[309]

1998–2001: Clinton–Lewinsky scandal and conflicts with online editors

Lelyveld remained defiant against what he perceived as journalistic irresponsibility, leading *The New York Times* with alternate articles in the days following the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. In January 1998, Drudge Report published an article alleging Bill Clinton was involved in a sexual relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky and *Newsweek* had held off on publishing investigative reporter Michael Isikoff's article on the affair. Though *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* published articles on the Drudge Report's articles, the *Times* did not. In *The Washington Post*, Frankel expressed contempt for organizations that chose to cover the story. *The New York Times* devoted little attention to Clinton denying the allegations on *60 Minutes*. Lelyveld's hesitation subsided when special counsel Ken Starr, appointed in the wake of the Whitewater controversy, began formally investigating the scandal and sent several subpoenas. Then-investigative reporter Jeff Gerth was the first to report on a meeting Clinton had with his personal secretary Betty Currie in which discussed the investigation. The Clinton–Lewinsky scandal tested Lelyveld's commitment to journalistic standards and he reluctantly published a story from national editor Dean Baquet about a semen-stained dress Lewinsky had kept.^[310] *The New York Times* published its first issue in color on October 16, 1997.^[311]

On September 14, 1998, the hacker group Hackers for Girlies allegedly gained superuser access^[312] to *The New York Times*'s servers and displayed pornographic imagery on the website in retaliation for Mitnick's arrest, in what constituted as the first cyberattack against a major news organization. *Times* employees were made aware of the intrusion at 10:20 a.m. but did not resolve the issue until 7:30 p.m. Nisenholtz suspected the cyberattack may have been timed following the release of the *Starr Report* several days earlier.^[313] The *Times* garnered controversy over its coverage of the federal government's investigation into Wen Ho Lee, a nuclear scientist employed at Los Alamos National Laboratory. Lee, unnamed, allegedly gave classified nuclear documents to China. Over the next eighteen months, *The New York Times* published over three hundred pieces in relation with the investigation into Lee and China's access to government secrets. In December 1999, Lee was indicted by a federal grand jury and imprisoned without bail. The punitive conditions of his confinement were criticized and *The New York Times* drew ire from civil rights groups for failing to investigate the Federal Bureau of Investigation's dubious claims. In September 2000, the *Times* ran an editors' note acknowledging its errors.^[314]

Editors in the newsroom often clashed with online editors. In July 1996, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* wrongfully identified security guard Richard Jewell as the suspect in the Centennial Olympic Park bombing during that year's Summer Olympics. Department of Justice reporter David Johnston cautioned against naming Jewell after Federal Bureau of Investigation senior officials told him they did not believe the case against Jewell was strong. While the print edition of *The New York Times* did not name Jewell, nytimes.com

editors named him within a headline. The death of Diana, Princess of Wales represented a dichotomy between Gwertzman and Lelyveld; her death warranted dynamic updates on the website. Gwertzman's faster pace reporting was antithetical to the beliefs of editors who did not want their names attached to incomplete or unpolished articles. Meislin and Gwertzman relied upon wire stories from Reuters and the Associated Press to ensure the website was frequently updated, motivating reporters who would balk at events they could have covered. In August 1999, managing editor Bill Keller called political editor Jerry Gray to propose he staff a twenty-four hour newsroom for nytimes.com.^[315] Like Keller, Nisenholtz was a critic of the traditional news cycle implemented nytimes.com, believing that websites such as Yahoo and CNN were "kicking [The New York Times's] ass".^[316]

By 1999, the New York Times Electronic Media Company^[317] was operating nytimes.com, boston.com, nytoday.com, golfdigest.com, and winetoday.com.^[318] The company was also responsible for maintaining *The New York Times*'s digital archives, including negotiating with news retrieval services such as Dow Jones & Company and LexisNexis.^[319] The prospects of making the Electronic Media Company a standalone company became more apparent as companies such as The Walt Disney Company and Barnes & Noble began spinning off their digital divisions. The servers hosting nytimes.com could not sustain increases in web traffic; the website crashed during the 71st Academy Awards and the Martha's Vineyard plane crash that killed John F. Kennedy Jr.^[320] In May 1999, Times Company Digital—later named New York Times Digital in March 2000^[321]—was made its own separate division that reported to The New York Times Company's corporate office, not the newspaper division.^[318] The New York Times Company announced a US\$100 million (equivalent to \$169,932,367.15 in 2022) initial public offering of Times Company Digital with Goldman Sachs in January 2000. In October, the Nasdaq Composite crashed as part of the broader dot-com crash. New York Times Digital was forced to furlough over one hundred people and the company withdrew its initial public offering.^[322]

2001–2002: September 11 attacks

By December 2000, Lelyveld was preparing to retire.^[323] Lelyveld believed that Keller should replace him,^[324] though Sulzberger Jr. felt that *The New York Times* needed new management.^[323] Howell Raines was a self-described agent of change and appealed to Sulzberger Jr.'s progressiveness, though criticisms of his tenure appeared in *Spy* and circulated throughout the newsroom. Nonetheless, several notable editors supported Raines, including Max Frankel, Janet L. Robinson, and Baquet—a close friend of Lelyveld. Gerald M. Boyd stated that it "really wasn't a contest". Sulzberger Jr. inquired about Raines's management style after the criticisms surfaced to editorial editor Phil Taubman, to which Taubman assured him that Raines had become more gracious.^[325] Raines's appointment created a tumultuous transition of power. Lelyveld appointed Jill Abramson as Washington bureau chief and Nicholas Kristof as associated managing editor of the Sunday edition. Following the announcement, Lelyveld attempted to redesign the *Times* in his interregnum. The redesign was opposed by Raines, who called him a lame duck.^[326]

Raines became executive editor on September 5, 2001.^[327] On September 11, nineteen terrorists^[328] hijacked four passenger jets. The hijackers crashed two planes—American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175—into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, collapsing the skyscrapers. A third plane, American Airlines Flight 77, crashed into The Pentagon, while a fourth plane, United Airlines Flight 93 was headed towards Washington, D.C. but crashed in rural Pennsylvania after a passenger revolt.^{[329][330]} That morning, most metropolitan editors with *The New York Times* had gone to vote in the New York City mayoral primaries and were told not to show up before noon; the election marked the end of New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani's term. Mass phone communications overloaded cell phone networks as reporters and readers attempted to call the *Times* about the attack, including eyewitness accounts. Anne Cronin, a features editor asked to fill-in for the early morning, was among the only employees in the building at the time. Deputy managing editor John M. Geddes gave Cronin his phone as he attempted to

pull airline advertisements. Cronin directed six typists from the classified advertisements department to a conference room, instructing clerks to send eyewitness calls to the conference room and telling the typists to transcribe calls.^[331]

Sulzberger Jr. called Raines to report that the World Trade Center had gone up in flames. As Raines began to leave, Sulzberger Jr. called again to report that a second plane had hit the towers. When he arrived at the office, Cronin gave him an overview of the initial story assignments. Raines inspected each photograph from photographers with *The New York Times* and wire service photographers as they came in. The photos included *The Falling Man*, a photograph taken by Associated Press photographer Richard Drew depicting an unidentified man descending from the North Tower; Raines compared the photograph to Robert Capa's *The Falling Soldier* (1936). The issue of the *Times* the following day did not trim photographs between editions. It included a close-up in-color of the towers engulfed in flames beneath a large headline that read, "U.S. Attacked". Raines felt that the headline evoked the attack on Pearl Harbor and its design recalled "The Shuttle Explodes", a headline used for the Space Shuttle Challenger disaster.^[332] United Nations correspondent^[333] Serge Schmemann wrote the cover story for the print edition, while James Barron wrote for nytimes.com. A news alert was sent five minutes after the first plane hit.^[334] Robert D. McFadden, a journalist with whom *The New York Times* entrusted writing stories of significant importance to, attempted to get to the office from his rental home in East Hampton. McFadden arrived too late to write a story on the attacks, but assistant managing editor Susan Edgerley informed him that he would be doing lede-alls on the attacks going forward.^[335]

Dispatching over three hundred reporters,^[336] the following day's issue of *The New York Times* contained sixty-six articles on the attacks, and the editorial and Op-Ed page was devoted to the attacks.^[337] That morning, Raines ordered the Washington bureau to investigate the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency. Three weeks later, Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post* reported that FBI investigators found a leaflet containing Muslim prayers and last-minute instructions in the luggage of Mohamed Atta, the hijacker of American Airlines Flight 11 and the ringleader of the attacks. Raines, livid, chastised Abramson and reminded her of the *Times*'s missteps during the Watergate scandal. *The New York Times* faced difficulty chronicling the loss of life. Four days after the attacks, metropolitan editor Christine Kay created a section titled "Portraits of Grief"^[k] using fliers from the New York University Medical Center. The section included short essays detailing the lives of victims of the attacks. The initiative earned praise from Al Hunt of *The Wall Street Journal*. By the end of the project, 2,400 people had been described.^[339]

Anxiety and sorrow engulfed *The New York Times* in the months following the attacks, and a growing disdain for Raines mounted. A series of letters containing anthrax spores were mailed to the offices of several news organizations in the wake of the attacks. Several days after the first reported death, Judith Miller opened a package containing a white powder. The area was evacuated and the substance was determined to be harmless. Raines was displeased with Lelyveld's hastened appointment of Abramson and sought to remove her. Abramson told him that she had children in high school and did not want to leave the Washington, D.C. area. Raines favored Moscow bureau chief Patrick Tyler for Abramson's position and brought military correspondent Michael R. Gordon. Raines felt that Miller could make up for shortcomings he perceived existed in the Washington bureau and told Abramson to give her *carte blanche*. Boyd and Andrew Rosenthal's incessant requests to the bureau irked editors; John Broder, Abramson's deputy, referred to upper management as "the Taliban" in a call with Rosenthal. In one instance, Raines requested



The New York Times extensively covered the September 11 attacks.

Never have I, or many I work with, seen so much second-guessing and micromanaging.

—Glenn Kramon, September 2001 [340]

the bureau to write a story on the George W. Bush administration's restrictions on civil liberties following the attack. When Abramson informed Raines that the bureau had already written that story, Raines reprimanded her for speaking up against him. [341]

2002–2003: Controversies over the Iraq War

In August 2002, Brent Scowcroft, the national security advisor under Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush, opposed growing belligerence by Bush and vice president Dick Cheney over Iraq and Saddam Hussein in an opinion piece for *The Wall Street Journal*. Scowcroft argued that a war with Iraq was unwarranted, holding that the United States had no evidence to connect Hussein to the September 11 attacks, and that a war could spell greater doom for the region. Scowcroft's foreign policy experience gave greater weight to his pacifism;

Republican figures such as then-House majority leader Dick Armey and then-senator Chuck Hagel previously advocated for Scowcroft's positions. Tyler and Department of State reporter Todd S. Purdum began writing an article on Scowcroft's comments, using an essay former secretary of state Henry Kissinger wrote in *The Washington Post* to satisfy Raines's ambition. The article attracted criticism from conservatives, who particularly directed their attention towards Raines; Raines's condemnation of former secretary of defense Robert McNamara did not escape critique. *The Weekly Standard* wrote that *The New York Times* had a publicly displayed bias and *The Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer criticized the paper for "editorializing about a coming American war". [342]

That year, *The New York Times* published several articles advocating against an invasion of Iraq, citing the potential for an increase in the price of oil, a refugee crisis, and a perpetual war. Then-national security advisor Condoleezza Rice bemoaned the *Times*'s coverage to White House reporter David E. Sanger. In late August, Cheney spoke at that year's Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars using Kissinger's comments. After Raines rereviewed *The Washington Post* article, finding that the conclusion made by Tyler and Purdum was incorrect, two editors' notes were issued. On September 8, Gordon and Miller published a story claiming that senior officials allege that Iraq had purchased aluminum tubes. Cheney and Rice subsequently appeared on Sunday morning talk shows and referenced the story. Speaking to the United Nations General Assembly on September 11, [343] Bush repeated claims of Iraqi aluminum tubes. The story represented an erroneous [344] institutional failure—the theoretical use of aluminum tubes to produce nuclear material was subject of debate—and *The New York Times*'s credibility was leveraged by Cheney and Rice to provide a *casus belli* for war. [345] In March 2003, the United States officially invaded Iraq, beginning the Iraq War. [346]

Iraq has made several attempts to buy high-strength aluminum tubes used to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon.

—George W. Bush, September 11, 2002 [343]

The New York Times began extensively criticizing the Augusta National Golf Club, the host of the annual Masters Tournament, in August 2002 for refusing to admit women, an endeavor that began with feminist Martha Burk. [347] In November, the *Times* ran a story criticizing CBS for continuing to air the Masters Tournament. The continuous coverage attracted criticism from *Slate*'s Mickey Kaus and Jack Shafer, and Glenn Kramon compared the Augusta story to a crusade. In December, the *Daily News* reported that *The New York Times* had pulled two sports columns written by Harvey Araton and Dave Anderson for disagreeing with the paper's position on Augusta; Araton had questioned if misogyny in sports should be condemned at a broader level, while Anderson had disagreed with an editorial calling on Tiger Woods to pull out from the Masters Tournament. Tensions had flared in the newsroom as a result of the *Daily News*'s

story. Boyd, who lead the newsroom while Raines negotiated the *Times*'s acquisition of the *International Herald Tribune*, wrote a memo on the same day.^[348] Raines disagreed with Boyd's judgement and published the columns upon returning to the newsroom.^[349]

2003–2004: Jayson Blair and Raines's resignation

From 2002 to 2003, journalist Jayson Blair—regarded as prolific and with praise from Raines for his work^[350]—made several noted egregious errors and his behavior alarmed metropolitan editor Jonathan Landman. In October 2002, a series of coordinated shootings occurred in the Washington metropolitan area.^[351] Boyd assigned Blair to the story after The Baltimore Sun and The Washington Post routinely had exclusive stories The New York Times did not have. Blair reported that Maryland United States attorney Thomas M. DiBiagio halted an interview as suspect John Allen Muhammad was going to confess. The Washington Post publicly refuted the allegations and quoted DiBiagio. In February 2002, Landman sent Blair a negative evaluation for his substance abuse and consistent inebriation. In March, Landman sent a note to associate managing editor Bill Schmidt and head of recruiting Nancy Sharkey urging them to stop Blair from writing for the *Times*. Blair's editors prepared a list of steps for him to follow; Boyd blocked the enforcement of the list as probation, believing that it could open the paper up to a discrimination lawsuit.^[352]

On April 28, 2003, a reporter for The Washington Post called Blair to question him about apparent plagiarism in an article he had purportedly written from Los Fresnos, Texas. The article bore a resemblance to an article about Juanita Anguiano, a mother whose son Edward was the last soldier found missing in action in Iraq, written on April 18^[353] by San Antonio Express-News reporter Macarena Hernandez,^[354] whom he had met years earlier at a minority recruitment program. National editor Jim Roberts called him the following day.^[355] Roberts inquired about Blair's recollection of the house he had visited. Blair accurately answered his questions using his access to The New York Times's computerized photo archive. Schmidt interviewed Blair the following morning and concluded that Blair's story was plagiarized after he stated that the car rental office at the airport was closed; a cursory check determined that it was open. The next morning, Blair resigned before Schmidt could fire him and stated he was considering suicide. The *Times* publicized the affair on May 2 with an editors' note.^[356]

The widespread fabrication and plagiarism represent a profound betrayal of trust and a low point in the 152-year history of the newspaper.

—*The New York Times*, May 11, 2003^[357]

The Blair scandal severely damaged The New York Times's reputation and credibility,^[358] and was an incident largely unparalleled in scope.^[359] Boyd began assembling several editors the morning the editors' note appeared. Boyd's secretary summoned several employees—legal correspondent Adam Liptak, business correspondent^[360] Jonathan Glater, beat reporter^[361] Jacques Steinberg, and editor Lorne Manly, who was promoted to permanent media editor that morning after serving in an acting position. Liptak, Glater, Steinberg, and Manly would investigate Blair's falsehoods as *Times* reporters,^[362] later joined by Kramon^[363] and investigative reporter Dan Barry.^[364] Kramon and Manly requested Raines and Boyd recuse themselves from the editing process of their report; Allan M. Siegal was hired to oversee their work.^[365] The team faced arduous working conditions, pressure to release a story,^[366] and rising tensions with Raines.^[367] Despite agreeing to not read the report until it was finished,^[368] Raines appeared on PBS NewsHour and stated that Blair had plagiarized thirty-six stories, a number produced by the team.^[369] The report was published in full on May 11.^[370] The examination dominated New York media amid a relatively quiet news cycle following the end of the invasion of Iraq.^[371] In an email the following day, Raines announced the formation of a Siegal-led commission to investigate Jayson Blair's mistruths and resolve issues from within the newsroom.^[372]

Criticism of Raines and Boyd mounted in the wake of the Blair scandal. Raines held a town hall meeting on May 14 at the [Loews Astor Plaza](#).^[373] The meeting shifted its focus from Blair to Raines and Boyd; in a galvanizing moment, Landman's deputy editor Joe Sexton criticized Raines and questioned why Blair's sources were not questioned on the sniper attacks story, swearing at one point. Enraged, Raines fired back and chided him for swearing in a public venue.^[374] On the morning of June 4, Sulzberger Jr. announced Raines and Boyd's resignations. After Raines and Boyd had left the building, Sulzberger Jr. announced Lelyveld would serve as interim editor.^[375] Speculation over Lelyveld's replacement coalesced around [Bill Keller](#), [Dean Baquet](#), and [The Boston Globe](#) editor [Martin Baron](#). Baquet, then managing editor of the [Los Angeles Times](#), and Baron reassured their staff that they would not be leaving. Despite their previous work at [The New York Times](#), Baquet and Keller were not presently employed at the publication and their appointment would be unprecedented. On July 14, Sulzberger Jr. announced Keller would be the next executive editor.^[376]

2004–2007: Judith Miller and further Iraq coverage

In April 2003,^[377] Judith Miller returned to Iraq to cover the country's [weapons of mass destruction](#) program. As a [journalistic embed](#), Miller observed the Mobile Exploitation Team Alpha (MET Alpha) unit unsuccessfully search for weapons of mass destruction. Miller's reporting attracted ire from other reporters, editors, and executives. Baghdad bureau chief [Patrick Tyler](#) and his predecessor, [John Fisher Burns](#), were chagrined over her reporting of Iraqi dissident [Ahmed Chalabi](#); Miller had written an article Chalabi after being informed that the bureau intended to write its own article on him. Newsroom staff viewed her as untrustworthy and suspected that Miller was protected by Raines and Boyd despite producing stories discrediting [The New York Times](#).^[378] In May, [The Washington Post](#)'s [Howard Kurtz](#) surfaced an email from Miller to Burns admitting that her foremost source was Chalabi^[379] after circulating within the Washington bureau. Miller's behavior concerned Lelyveld in his tenure as acting executive editor. Keller informed Miller that she could no longer write about Iraq or weapons of mass destruction.^[380]

Despite Keller and Jill Abramson's intentions, criticism did not subside over [The New York Times](#)'s coverage of Iraq. In February 2004, former [Columbia Journalism Review](#) executive editor [Michael Massing](#) published *Now They Tell Us: The American Press and Iraq* in [The New York Review of Books](#), offering a scathing critique of the *Times* for failing to address Miller's reporting.^[381] [Daniel Okrent](#), who was appointed [public editor](#) in December 2003,^[382] was receptive to Massing and other critics's grievances. Okrent told Keller that he would devote several weeks to review [The New York Times](#)'s coverage. Concerned, Keller felt that the criticisms needed to be publicly addressed before Okrent published his findings. Over the course of three days, Abramson discovered several stories written by Miller that were not up to the *Times*'s journalistic standards. In one article resurfaced by Abramson, Miller claimed that an unidentified scientist informed the team that Iraq had destroyed chemical weapons and biological warfare equipment days before the invasion began. The claim lacked independent confirmation and "should not have been published".^[383]

In October 2004, days before the [2004 presidential election](#), [The New York Times](#) reported that 380 tons of high explosives had disappeared from Al Qa'qaa, an Iraqi weapons facility. The report was seized upon by Democratic candidate [John Kerry](#) against Bush. The White House and conservatives challenged the article's accuracy, claiming that the explosives were removed prior to the invasion. As the *Times* prepared to publish its article critical of the Bush administration, Keller initially decided against publishing an article disclosing [warrantless surveillance](#) by the [National Security Agency](#) following the September 11 attacks. Central Intelligence Agency correspondent [James Risen](#) and [Department of Justice](#) correspondent [Eric Lichtblau](#) attempted to persuade Keller, Abramson, and Washington bureau chief Phil Taubman. The conspicuous timing of the article and

What we did not anticipate was the extent to which the explosives story would generate a firestorm of hostility towards [The New York Times](#).

the government's urging that its publication would put national security at risk.^[385] In December 2005, the article appeared after Risen had threatened to include it in his forthcoming book *State of War* (2006).^[386] The article contributed to the Senate's refusal to renew the *Patriot Act*; New York senator Chuck Schumer said that the report "greatly influenced [his] vote". The White House and conservatives criticized *The New York Times* again, and left-wing media criticized the publication for indirectly assisting in Bush's successful reelection.^[387]

—Bill Keller,
December
2004^[384]

In February 2002,^[388] the Central Intelligence Agency dispatched former ambassador Joseph C. Wilson to Niger to investigate claims that Saddam Hussein had purchased yellowcake, a substance that could be used for uranium enrichment.^[389] Wilson questioned the factual basis of the war in various opinion pieces for *The New York Times*. In one such opinion piece in July 2003, Wilson held that justification for the invasion of Iraq relied upon fabricated and distorted evidence.^[390] A week after the opinion piece, Robert Novak publicly disclosed that Wilson's then-wife Valerie Plame was a covert Central Intelligence Agency agent, a potential violation of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act. The Department of Justice opened an inquiry into Novak's actions as possible retaliation against Wilson and named Patrick Fitzgerald as special counsel in December 2003. Fitzgerald subpoenaed Miller in June 2005, whom he suspected had received information from Cheney's chief of staff Scooter Libby. Sulzberger Jr. and Keller fervently rallied the *Times* around Miller,^[391] but their position became untenable after an examination by three employees in October determined Miller spoke to Libby several times.^[392] Miller resigned on November 9.^[393]

Concerned of the advertising potential on the Internet, Sulzberger Jr. sought additional revenue sources for *The New York Times*. In September 2005, the *Times* imposed its first domestic paywall on nytimes.com with TimesSelect. *The Wall Street Journal* remained the only newspaper in the United States to implement a paywall by TimesSelect's introduction; the *Los Angeles Times* had attempted a paywall approach but abandoned it. The service provided readers with content from writers such as Maureen Dowd, Thomas Friedman, Bob Herbert, and one hundred free articles per month from *The New York Times*'s archives. TimesSelect debuted at US\$49.95 per year (equivalent to \$74.84 in 2022), in comparison to the US\$481 (equivalent to \$720.72 in 2022) metropolitan readers paid per year for daily home delivery. TimesSelect was loathed by columnists who saw their readership decrease. Friedman noted that he had accrued international readers who were unwilling to pay, and he provided free access codes to TimesSelect. The service was discontinued two years later after nytimes.com had generated enough advertising revenue.^[394]

2007–2011: The New York Times Building and the Great Recession

By October 1999, The New York Times Company began considering a new headquarters on Eighth Avenue in an effort to adhere to technological demands and expansions. Revitalization efforts along 42nd Street, particularly following the construction and occupancy of 4 Times Square by Condé Nast and other buildings—such as 3 Times Square for Reuters and 5 Times Square for Ernst & Young—created viability in the area for *The New York Times* to construct its headquarters there.^[395] The New York Times Company selected Forest City Ratner as the developer for its Eighth Avenue building in February 2000.^[396] Following several bids, Italian architect Renzo Piano's proposal was accepted in October.^[397] Fox & Fowle was selected as Piano's co-architect.^[398] The New York Times Building began construction in late 2004 and *Times* employees began occupying the building in June 2007.^[399] That month, *The New York Times*'s printing operations moved to the new building.^[400] The building cost a projected US\$1 billion (equivalent to \$1,411,330,444.55 in 2022).^[398]

The Great Recession presented significant challenges to the newspaper industry, which had faced years of declining circulation and advertising. The scandals that had affected *The New York Times* decreased profits further; The New York Times Company earnings decreased from US\$450 million (equivalent to



The New York Times Building, the headquarters of *The New York Times* since 2007.

\$743,713,587.67 in 2022) in 2001 to US\$292.5 million (equivalent to \$453,179,175.48 in 2022) by the end of 2004.^[402] The recession ended several publications, forced other publications to end print circulation, and resulted in bureau closures and layoffs. Classified advertisements in real estate furthered their decline from websites such as Craigslist with the subprime mortgage crisis that preceded and concurred with the Great Recession. Company executives believed that the *Times* was sustained by loyal readership, though the Sulzberger's dynasty attracted criticism from investors, who noted the US\$600 million (equivalent to \$870,980,521.62 in 2022) loss from *The Boston Globe*'s performance in 2006 and US\$1.1 billion (equivalent to \$1,552,463,489.01 in 2022) debt as a result of an ill-conceived share buyback.^[403]

The newspaper industry exited a harrowing 2008 and entered 2009 in something perilously close to free fall.

—Pew Research Center,
2008^[401]

The New York Times Company enacted a series of cost-cutting decisions as a result of the Great Depression and exacerbated by *The Wall Street Journal*, a newspaper reinvigorated by Rupert Murdoch following his acquisition of Dow Jones & Company in August 2007.^[404] Sulzberger Jr. sought to reduce the newsroom's budget by US\$10 million (equivalent to \$13,591,962.91 in 2022). In February 2008, dozens of employees were fired in what the Newspaper Guild described as the Saint Valentine's Day Massacre. Continued layoffs did not financially sustain *The New York Times*. In September, the *Times* ended its metropolitan section, followed by dividend reductions—a financial setback for the Sulzberger family, many of whom depended on the dividends and advertisements on the front page. The New York Times Company was forced to borrow US\$250 million (equivalent to \$339,799,072.64 in 2022) from Mexican billionaire Carlos Slim. *The Atlantic* writer Michael Hirschorn suggested that *The New York Times* could go out of business by May 2009. By December, the *Times* was worth US\$1 billion (equivalent to \$1,364,045,292.38 in 2022). *The New York Times* would cut over one hundred jobs over the next two years.^[405]

In March 2008, courts reporter William K. Rashbaum received a tip regarding a federal investigation into Emperors Club VIP, an international escort agency. An attempt to identify an unnamed client, purportedly a wealthy New York political figure, began out of fear that the Daily News or the New York Post would learn of the investigation. Several reporters cross-referenced the travel records of then-governor of New York Eliot Spitzer with the client. On March 10,^[406] upon returning from a jog, Spitzer noticed a reporter from *The New York Times* in the lobby of 985 Fifth Avenue,^[407] the apartment where he lived. Spitzer suspected that the reporter was there as part of the investigation and immediately rushed to the governor's office. Spitzer's departure expedited the article's publication online, a break from tradition; reports of significant importance were published online concurrently with printing presses. The prostitution scandal marked the legitimacy of nytimes.com for publishing news as the print form of the *Times*. Spitzer resigned a week later.^[408]

2011–2015: Online paywall and the *Innovation Report*

The New York Times's economic downturn had renewed discussions of an online paywall, and executives began analyzing online business models as an alternate source of revenue by January 2010.^[409] Sulzberger Jr. proposed a paywall that could be disabled in the event of a major story.^[410] By January 2011, *Times* employees were still working on the paywall system, spending US\$40 million (equivalent to \$52,035,502.96 in 2022) to US\$50 million (equivalent to \$65,044,378.7 in 2022) on the project.^[411] On

March 28, 2011,^[1] *The New York Times* implemented a metered paywall across nytimes.com. Readers would be able to access twenty articles for free before being having to pay, a deviation from the absolute approach taken by *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Financial Times*,^[413] though readers could access links from incoming websites for free.^[412] The paywall debuted with three subscription services paid every four weeks, US\$15 (equivalent to \$19.51 in 2022) for access to nytimes.com and a mobile app, US\$20 (equivalent to \$26.02 in 2022) for access to nytimes.com and an iPad app, and US\$35 (equivalent to \$45.53 in 2022) for an all-access subscription.^[410] Over ten thousand readers initially signed up, and nearly four hundred thousand people had signed up by 2012.^[414] In March 2012, the number of free articles was reduced to ten.^[415]

On September 6, 2011,^[416] Keller retired. Sulzberger Jr. appointed Abramson as executive editor,^[417] the first female executive editor in *The New York Times*'s history. Within weeks, Abramson had installed a new managing editor, two assistant managing editors, and several national desk editors.^[418] Abramson's characteristic investigations into corporate and government malfeasance carried into the *Times*'s coverage—often including multimedia elements,^[419]—earning the publication four Pulitzer Prizes.^[420] In December 2012, *The New York Times* published "Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek", a multimedia feature by John Branch regarding the Tunnel Creek avalanche earlier that year. "Snow Fall" was viewed by over three million people.^[421] By 2013, Abramson expressed doubts about her longevity as executive editor; newly appointed chief executive Mark Thompson's ambitions conflicted with Abramson's and newsroom evaluations assessed her as difficult to work with.^[422] In April 2013, *Politico* published an article depicting Abramson as a struggling editor.^[423] On May 14, 2014, Sulzberger Jr. dismissed Abramson, naming Dean Baquet as her replacement, the first African-American executive editor.^[424]

The New York Times needs to accelerate its transition from a newspaper that also produces a rich and impression digital report to a digital publication that also produces a rich and impressive newspaper.

—The Innovation Report, March 24, 2014^[425]

During Abramson's tenure, *The New York Times* commissioned an internal report assessing the paper's transition into online platforms as nytimes.com traffic fell by half from the previous year.^[426] The eight-person^[427] Innovation Commission^[428] was overseen by Sulzberger Jr.'s son A. G. Sulzberger,^[429] who opposed Abramson's conventional ideas as editors left for position at online-focused publications such as BuzzFeed, The Guardian, and The Huffington Post.^[430] According to committee member Adam Bryant, systemic change was not the commission's goal.^[431] The *Innovation Report* was presented to a limited group of executives and editors on paper in March 2014. The committee argued that the *Times* as a business included data analysts and programmers, citing *The Guardian*'s American editor Janine Gibson's work transitioning the paper online using social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Sulzberger's committee found that editors were often unable to promote their work. The report included passages of discontent between Abramson and newsroom. Though it called for a reconsideration of the business-newsroom relationship heralded by Abramson, it included praises of her performance. Abramson read the *Innovation Report* as critical of her performance from the Sulzberger family.^[432] Abramson agreed to publish an abridged version of the report with a memorandum from her and Baquet endorsing its recommendations. One day after Abramson's dismissal, BuzzFeed writer Myles Tanzer obtained a full copy of the *Innovation Report* and subsequently published it.^[433] The report earned praise from the newspaper

industry;^[434] Nieman Journalism Lab director Joshua Benton wrote that the *Innovation Report* was one of the "key documents of this media age" and admitted crying over its poignancy.^[435]

2015–2018: 2016 presidential election, Donald Trump, and Sulzberger Jr.'s resignation

The New York Times contributed to the elevation of the Hillary Clinton email controversy as a national story,^[436] believing that readers were "highly interested" in the controversy,^[437] and the publication was critical of Hillary Clinton as a whole.^[438] On March 2, 2015, national security correspondent Michael S. Schmidt reported that Clinton had used a private email server while conducting business as secretary of state.^[439] In April,^[440] the *Times*, *The Washington Post*, and Fox News obtained exclusive deals to pursue a storylines within *Breitbart News* contributor Peter Schweizer's book *Clinton Cash*.^[441] *The New York Times* subsequently published an article reporting that the Clinton Foundation received undisclosed payments from the founder of Uranium One chairman Ian Telfer as the Russian government assumed control of the company.^[440] The article and *Clinton Cash* became the basis for the Uranium One controversy. In July, Schmidt and Matt Apuzzo wrote an article claiming that the Department of Justice had opened a criminal investigation into Clinton; the Department of Justice had opened a security referral into Clinton's email practices instead.^[442]

The New York Times's editorial board endorsed Clinton for the presidency^[443] and offered a concurring opinion in opposition to Donald Trump for his "false and outrageous allegations" and "xenophobic nationalism".^[444] The *Times* temporarily removed its online paywall in the days leading up to the 2016 presidential election.^[445] *The New York Times*'s coverage of the election was distinguished by data-driven visual journalism^[446] featuring live forecasts, an interactive map, and an online chat.^[447] The *Times* predicted that Clinton would win the presidency and prepared the headline "Madam President" in the hours before the election results were finalized.^[448] A defining feature of *The New York Times*'s online coverage was "the needle", a thermometer dial showing the probability of Clinton or Trump winning. To represent the dial's margin of error, the needle of the dial fluctuated.^[449] The needle initially favored Clinton but shifted to Trump by 10:00 p.m.^[446] The *Times* reused the needle for the 2018 elections with a baseline at zero and a less prominent role.^[450] As Trump emerged victorious in Florida, journalists hastily rewrote stories and headlines. National political correspondent Alex Burns quickly rewrote a profile for Trump; by contrast, a profile for Clinton had been written days earlier.^[446]

In an upset victory,^[451] Trump was elected president. *The New York Times* ran the headline "Trump Triumphs".^[447] The *Times* became subject to criticism for its inaccurate prediction—attributed to neglected voter discontent in the Rust Belt—and Democrats attributed Clinton's loss to the *Times*'s coverage of the email controversy. The New York Times Company's executive committee gathered the following morning to discuss how a Trump presidency would affect the publication.^[452] Several days later, Trump tweeted that the *Times* was losing thousands of subscribers due to its "very poor and highly inaccurate coverage"; *The New York Times* added tens of thousands of subscriptions in the week following Election Day, its largest one-week rise since 2011.^[453] Then-editorial editor James Bennet proposed adding more conservative columnists to round out the *Times*'s predominantly-liberal opinion writers.^[454] Months after the election, Bennet hired *The Wall Street Journal* editorial editors Bret Stephens and Bari Weiss. Stephens, in his debut column, questioned scientific consensus on climate change, and Weiss questioned whether Christine Blasey Ford's allegations of sexual assault against Brett Kavanaugh should affect his Supreme Court nomination, drawing indignation.^[455]

On October 5, 2017,^[456] *The New York Times* published an article by journalists Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey alleging that dozens of women had accused film producer and The Weinstein Company co-chairman Harvey Weinstein of sexual misconduct, allegations that had been rumored for decades prior. The article included a testimonial from actress Ashley Judd and states Weinstein paid eight settlements to victims, including actress Rose McGowan. The investigation created an imbroglio within The Weinstein Company; the company's board of directors proposed removing Weinstein.^[457] *The New Yorker* published a separate exposé into Weinstein on October 10 with additional details of forced oral and vaginal sex.^[458] The *Times*'s investigation precipitated a broader range of allegations against hundreds^[459] of notable figures^[460] known as the Weinstein effect^[461] and was the catalyst for the #MeToo movement.^[462] In February 2018, The Weinstein Company filed for bankruptcy.^[463] Weinstein was indicted in May^[464] and convicted in February 2020; in March, he was sentenced to twenty-three years in prison.^[465]

The New York Times Company has focused on circulation figures for revenue after subscription-based revenue surpassed advertising in 2012,^[466] and acquired produce review website *Wirecutter* in October 2016 for US\$30 million to integrate the website's reviews into *The New York Times*'s lifestyle coverage.^[467] The company reported its largest increase in digital subscribers in February 2017 amid criticisms from Trump and following the 2016 election,^[468] twice the growth in the third quarter.^[469] In an attempt to fundamentally alter the editing process, The New York Times Company offered copyeditors buyouts, effectively eliminating the standalone copy desk,^[470] and vacated the public editor position.^[471] By November 2017, the *Times*'s revenue shifted towards digital subscriptions^[472] and experienced exceptional performance amid a struggling media landscape; in December 2017, Carlos Slim reduced his investment in *The New York Times*.^[473] In October 2016, Sulzberger Jr. appointed his son, A. G. Sulzberger, as deputy publisher.^[474] On December 14, 2017, Sulzberger Jr. announced his resignation as publisher, appointing Sulzberger to the position.^[475]

2018–2020: Fourth Sulzberger era and the COVID-19 pandemic

Sulzberger became publisher of *The New York Times* on January 1, 2018,^[475] following efforts from Sulzberger's cousins, Sam Dolnick and David Perpich, to succeed Sulzberger Jr.^[476] Trump's relationship—equally diplomatic and negative—marked Sulzberger's tenure;^[477] *The New York Times* found nearly three hundred public instances of Trump disparaging the *Times* by May 2019, including calling the paper an "enemy of the people" in four separate tweets.^[478] In July 2018, Sulzberger and Bennet attended an impromptu and off-the-record meeting with Trump and then-press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders at the White House.^[479] Trump violated the agreement of the meeting several days later by tweeting about it. In response, *The New York Times* issued a statement criticizing Trump's "deeply troubling anti-press rhetoric".^[480] In January 2019, Trump spoke with Sulzberger, joined by White House correspondents Peter Baker and Maggie Haberman.^[481] Sulzberger criticized Trump in an opinion piece for *The Wall Street Journal* in June 2019.^[482] In October, Trump instructed federal agencies to end subscriptions to the *Times* and *The Washington Post*.^[483]



A. G. Sulzberger became publisher of *The New York Times* in 2018.

We believe publishing this essay anonymously is

On September 5, 2018,^[485] *The New York Times* published "I Am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration", an anonymous essay by a self-described Trump administration official later revealed to be Department of Homeland Security chief of staff Miles Taylor.^[484] In the opinion piece, Taylor provides several criticisms of Trump, including his relationship with Russian

the only way to deliver an important perspective to our readers.

—The New York Times, September 5, 2018^[484]

president Vladimir Putin, his threat to democracy and the "health of [the United States] republic", and his "erratic behavior". The article details discussions among Cabinet members of using the Twenty-fifth Amendment to remove Trump; Taylor reserves that "no one wanted to precipitate a constitutional crisis".^[486] According to multiple aides and allies, Trump was "volcanic" upon learning of the opinion piece and the contention of discontent within his Cabinet.^[487] Trump called for a Department of Justice investigation into the author^[488] and criticized *The New York Times* on Twitter.^[489] The anonymity of the essay resulted in speculation online as to the author's identity.^[490] Taylor revealed that he had written the article days before the 2020 presidential election.^[484]

The New York Times has extensively investigated Trump's tax records since 2016. In September 2016, investigative journalist Susanne Craig anonymously received three of Trump's tax returns from 1995.^[491] The returns were published in an article on October 2, 2016. The documents show that Trump declared a US\$916 million (equivalent to \$1,759,184,101.33 in 2022) loss, a substantial deduction that could have eliminated the federal income taxes Trump owed for his role on *The Apprentice* or his salary as chairman and chief executive of Trump Hotels & Casino Resorts.^[492] Trump acknowledged that he used the loss to avoid paying federal income taxes during his second presidential debate with Clinton.^[493] Two years later, *The New York Times* published the results of its investigation into Trump's taxes, disproving his claims of self-made wealth and alleging that he committed tax schemes.^[494] The New York State Department of Taxation and Finance stated it would investigate the claims,^[495] though the article did not produce a significant audience.^[496] *The New York Times* published another report in September 2020, detailing Trump's tax returns through 2017 and 2018.^[497] The article was the subject of a lawsuit filed by Trump against his sister Mary and the *Times* in September 2021.^[498] The lawsuit was dismissed in May 2023^[499] and Trump was ordered to pay nearly US\$400,000 in legal fees in January 2023.^[500]

The COVID-19 pandemic fundamentally altered *The New York Times*'s workplace, pushing The New York Times Company to implement remote work. The computer and technical assistance department sent over four hundred monitors to *Times* employees within weeks.^[501] *The Times* created an obituary series titled "Those We Lost" to profile a subset of COVID-19 deaths. From March 2020 to June 2021, obituaries for five hundred people were written by nearly one hundred journalists.^[502] The pandemic and the George Floyd protests led to uncertainty as to Baquet's successor, a discussion centralized around Bennet, Joseph Kahn, and Clifford J. Levy;^[503] in June 2022, Kahn was appointed executive editor.^[504] The increase in home cooking during the pandemic led to an increase in traffic to *The New York Times*'s cooking website equivalent to traffic experienced during Thanksgiving the previous year, necessitating improvements to the website's infrastructure.^[505] *The Times* prominently integrated graphs into its front pages, expressing job losses with a bar chart extending into the right column. In one front page, a spike map of COVID-19 deaths extended into *The New York Times*'s nameplate for the first time.^[506]

The New York Times has tracked COVID-19 cases in the United States since March 2020. Initial tracking, including the cluster of pneumonia in Hubei and cases in the United States in January and February, relied upon a Google Sheet. A significant increase in COVID-19 tested the *Times*'s approach as the spreadsheet became cumbersome to edit and unresponsive. The federal government faced challenges in creating a reliable federal dataset, making COVID-19 case numbers a decentralized effort among states; available local data varied from PDFs to dashboards, and what constituted a case was ambiguous. *The New York Times* created a Node.js-based web application that could scrape information from several different sources in March 2020. The *Times* made its dataset publicly available on GitHub that month. By June, *The New York Times* was staffing six developers with scraping data and more than one hundred employees were

involved in data collection efforts. In February 2021, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention expanded its reporting to include county data and case numbers decreased due to vaccination efforts. As a result, *The New York Times* has winded down much of its efforts.^[507]

Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, editors in the graphics department have created visuals to represent the death toll of COVID-19.^[508] On May 23, 2020, the front page of *The New York Times* solely featured *U.S. Deaths Near 100,000, An Incalculable Loss*, a subset of the 100,000 people in the United States who died of COVID-19 comprising the entire page. The project was the work of Simone Landon, an assistant graphics editor who sought to meaningfully express the lives lost. According to design director Tom Bodkin, it is the first time the front page of *The New York Times* lacked images since they were introduced.^[509] The *Times* has used various images and graphics to express COVID-19's death toll since then, including an image of Austin-based artist Shane Reilly's yard^[510] featuring one flag for every Texan who died from COVID-19 for 200,000 deaths in the United States. In February 2021, the front page of *The New York Times* contained a timeline graphic with one dot for every person who died of COVID-19 for 500,000 deaths due to COVID-19. A version of the graphic appeared online in January.^[508]



U.S. Deaths Near 100,000, An Incalculable Loss, the front-page article on May 24, 2020.

2020–2023: Tom Cotton's opinion piece, broader diversification and *The Athletic*

On June 3, 2020,^[511] *The New York Times* published "Send In the Troops", an opinion piece written by Arkansas senator Tom Cotton arguing for military action in response to the George Floyd protests. According to the National Review Online and a town hall following the piece, the idea of solely arguing for the invocation of the Insurrection Act of 1807 was suggested by the *Times*.^[512] The opinion piece drew outrage from employees and an open revolt ensued;^[m] one thousand newsroom employees signed a letter against the piece as Sulzberger defended it on the basis of a "principle of openness to a range of opinions".^[455] Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell sardonically compared the opinion piece with others written by Russian president Vladimir Putin and then-Iranian foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif.^[519] An internal review found that a "rushed editorial process" had occurred and that Bennet had not read Cotton's opinion piece.^[520] *The New York Times* vowed to redevelop its opinion section.^[521] On June 7, Bennet resigned. Kathleen Kingsbury was named as his replacement.^[522] Bennet-appointee Bari Weiss resigned on July 14 after criticism mounted of her characterization of a meeting regarding "Send In the Troops".^[523]

The New York Times Company has acquired several companies and expanded to various ventures in an effort to diversify, a strategy devised by chief executive Meredith Kopit Levien.^[524] By July 2020, *The New York Times* had ten scripted television series and three feature documentaries in production.^[525] The *Times*' partnered with FX and Hulu to produce *The New York Times Presents*, a television documentary series, in July 2020;^[526] the series was nominated for a Primetime Emmy Award for Outstanding Documentary or Nonfiction Special for *Framing Britney Spears*.^[527] In June 2021, *The New York Times* published *Day of Rage: How Trump Supporters Took the U.S. Capitol*, a video investigation reconstructing the events of the January 6 United States Capitol attack. *Day of Rage* involved an estimated fifteen to twenty journalists^[528] and was shortlisted for the Academy Award for Best Documentary Short Film.^[529] The New York Times Company acquired Serial Productions, the production company behind *Serial*, in July 2020, after acquiring journalism audio service Audm in March.^[530]

In January 2022, The New York Times Company acquired The Athletic, a sports journalism website founded in 2016, for US\$550 million,^[531] in an effort to gain more subscribers. The acquisition is the second-largest in the company's history.^[532] David Perpich became publisher of The Athletic. As publisher, Perpich integrated The Athletic into The New York Times's All Access bundle with The New York Times Cooking, The New York Times Games, and Wirecutter. The acquisition of The Athletic marked a shift in the Times's reporting of sports as the sports department focused on less traditional sports coverage;^[533] in 2015, The New York Times put New York Knicks writer Scott Cacciola on a sabbatical from Knicks coverage after the team had a beleaguered season.^[534] In July 2023, the Times disbanded its sports department, relying on coverage from The Athletic.^[535] The move was condemned by the New York Times Guild as a union busting attempt; The Athletic is not part of a union.^[536]

2023–present: Artificial intelligence

The New York Times has opposed the use of artificial intelligence by employees, an effort led in the Times's corporate office by chief product officer Alex Hardiman and editorially by deputy managing editor Sam Dolnick and other senior editors, according to Vanity Fair. A memo written by director of photography Meaghan Looram and deputy managing editors Dolnick and Steve Duenes explicitly disallowed employee use of generative artificial tools. The New York Times has dedicated at least sixty employees to artificial intelligence working groups;^[537] during The New York Times Company's annual hackathon in July 2023,^[538] employees suggested artificial intelligence to develop chatbots for the Times's cooking website and a gift suggesting system for Wirecutter. In August, Semafor reported that The New York Times would not join a media organization coalition led by IAC Inc., formed to negotiate content rights with technology companies.^[537] That month, the Times updated its terms of service to disallow content scraping^[539] and blocked OpenAI's web crawler through robots.txt.^[540] NPR reported that The New York Times Company was considering legal action against OpenAI^[541] that could force the company to eliminate ChatGPT's dataset, according to Ars Technica.^[542] In December, The New York Times hired Quartz co-founder Zach Seward to lead artificial intelligence efforts.^[543]

In December 2023, The New York Times Company sued OpenAI and Microsoft in the District Court for the Southern District of New York, retaining law firm Susman Godfrey and Rothwell, Figg, Emst and Manbeck.^[544] According to the lawsuit, The New York Times began negotiations with OpenAI and Microsoft in April; such efforts did not produce any outcomes. The Times alleges that Browse with Bing, a feature that allows ChatGPT to access the internet, produced material significantly similar to Wirecutter's content, but did not attribute its content to Wirecutter and removed referral links to other websites.^[545] The lawsuit argues against the fair use arguments posed by technology companies because artificial intelligence tools are able to reproduce copyrighted content.^[546] Additionally, the lawsuit cites several instances of artificial intelligence confabulations in ChatGPT incorrectly attributed erroneous information to The New York Times. The Times requested for the defendants to be responsible for billions of dollars in damages and for the companies to delete training data and chatbot models containing copyrighted content from The New York Times.^[545] In a public statement in January 2024, OpenAI claimed that the Times had manipulated the results of its assessments.^[547]

Organization

Management

Since 1896, *The New York Times* has been published by the Ochs-Sulzberger family, having previously been published by Henry Jarvis Raymond until 1869^[548] and by George Jones until 1896.^[549] Adolph Ochs published the *Times* until his death in 1935,^[550] when he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Arthur Hays Sulzberger. Sulzberger was publisher until 1961^[551] and was succeeded by Orvil Dryfoos, his son-in-law, who served in the position until his death in 1963.^[552] Arthur Ochs Sulzberger succeeded Dryfoos until his resignation in 1992.^[553] His son, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr., served as publisher until 2018. *The New York Times*'s current publisher is A. G. Sulzberger, Sulzberger Jr.'s son.^[475] As of 2023, the *Times*'s executive editor is Joseph Kahn^[554] and the paper's managing editors are Marc Lacey and Carolyn Ryan, having been appointed in June 2022.^[555] *The New York Times*'s deputy managing editors are Sam Dolnick,^[543] Monica Drake,^[535] and Steve Duenes,^[556] and the paper's assistant managing editors are Matthew Ericson,^[557] Jonathan Galinsky, Hannah Poferl, Sam Sifton, Karron Skog,^[558] and Michael Slackman.^[559]



The New York Times
Building

The New York Times is owned by The New York Times Company, a publicly traded company. The New York Times Company, in addition to the *Times*, owns Wirecutter, The Athletic, The New York Times Cooking, and The New York Times Games, and acquired Serial Productions and Audm. The New York Times Company holds undisclosed minority investments in multiple other businesses, and formerly owned The Boston Globe and several radio and television stations.^[560] The New York Times Company is majority-owned by the Ochs-Sulzberger family through elevated shares in the company's dual-class stock structure held largely in a trust, in effect since the 1950s;^[561] as of 2022, the family holds ninety-five percent of The New York Times Company's Class B shares, allowing it to elect seventy percent of the company's board of directors.^[562] Class A shareholders have restrictive voting rights.^[563] As of 2023, The New York Times Company's chief executive is Meredith Kopit Levien, the company's former chief operating officer who was appointed in September 2020.^[564]

Journalists

As of March 2023, The New York Times Company employs 5,800 individuals,^[524] including 1,700 journalists according to deputy managing editor Sam Dolnick.^[565] Journalists for *The New York Times* may not run for public office, provide financial support to political candidates or causes, endorse candidates, or demonstrate public support for causes or movements.^[566] Journalists are subject to the guidelines established in "Ethical Journalism" and "Guidelines on Integrity".^[567] According to the former, *Times* journalists must abstain from using sources with a personal relationship to them and must not accept reimbursements or inducements from individuals who may be written about in *The New York Times*, with exceptions for gifts of nominal value.^[568] The latter requires attribution and exact quotations, though exceptions are made for linguistic anomalies. Staff writers are expected to ensure the veracity of all written claims, but may delegate researching obscure facts to the research desk.^[569] In March 2021, the *Times* established a committee to avoid journalistic conflicts of interest with work written for *The New York Times*, following columnist David Brooks's resignation from the Aspen Institute for his undisclosed work on the initiative Weave.^[570]

Bureaus of *The New York Times*

Location	Chief
  Afghanistan and Pakistan	Christina Goldbaum ^[571]
 Albany, New York, United States	Luis Ferré-Sadurní ^[572]
 Andes, South America	Julie Turkewitz ^[573]
 Baghdad, Iraq	_____ ^[574]
 Brazil	Jack Nicas ^[575]
 Brussels, Belgium	Matina Stevis-Gridneff ^[576]
 Beijing, China	Keith Bradsher ^[577]
 Berlin, Germany	Katrin Bennhold ^[578]
 Cairo, Egypt	Vivian Yee ^[579]
 Chicago, Illinois, United States	Julie Bosman ^[580]
 Eastern and Central Europe ^[n]	Andrew Higgins ^[581]
 Houston, Texas, United States	J. David Goodman ^[582]
 Istanbul, Turkey	Ben Hubbard ^[583]
 Kyiv, Ukraine	Andrew Kramer ^[584]
 Jerusalem, Israel	Patrick Kingsley ^[585]
 Johannesburg, South Africa	John Eligon ^[586]
 London, United Kingdom	Mark Landler ^[587]
 Los Angeles, California, United States	Corina Knoll ^[588]
 Miami, Florida	Patricia Mazzei ^[589]
 Mid-Atlantic, United States ^[o]	Campbell Robertson ^[590]
 Moscow, Russia	Anton Troianovski ^[581]
 Mexico City, Mexico	Natalie Kitroeff ^[591]
 New England, United States	Jenna Russell ^[592]
 New York City Hall, New York, United States	Emma Fitzsimmons ^[593]
 New York Police Department, New York, United States	Maria Cramer ^[594]
 Paris, France	Roger Cohen ^[595]
 Persian Gulf ^[p]	Vivian Nereim ^[596]
 Rome, Italy	Jason Horowitz ^[597]
 San Francisco, California, United States	Heather Knight ^[598]
 Seattle, Washington, United States	Mike Baker ^[599]
 South Asia ^[q]	Mujib Mashal ^[601]
 Southeast Asia ^[r]	Sui-Lee Wee ^[602]

 Seoul, South Korea	Choe Sang-Hun ^[603]
 Shanghai, China	Alexandra Stevenson ^[577]
 Sydney, Australia	Damien Cave ^[604]
 Tokyo, Japan	Motoko Rich ^[605]
 United Nations	Farnaz Fassihi ^[606]
 Washington, D.C., United States	Elisabeth Bumiller ^[607]
 West Africa ^[s]	Ruth Maclean ^[608]

Editorial board

The *New York Times* editorial board was established in 1896 by Adolph Ochs. With the opinion department, the editorial board is independent of the newsroom.^[609] Then-editor-in-chief Charles Ransom Miller served as opinion editor from 1883 until his death in 1922.^[610] Rollo Ogden succeeded Miller until his death in 1937.^[611] From 1937 to 1938, John Huston Finley served as opinion editor; in a prearranged plan, Charles Merz succeeded Finley.^[612] Merz served in the position until his retirement in 1961.^[613] John Bertram Oakes served as opinion editor from 1961 to 1976, when then-publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger appointed Max Frankel.^[614] Frankel served in the position until 1986, when he was appointed as executive editor.^[615] Jack Rosenthal was the opinion editor from 1986 to 1993.^[616] Howell Raines succeeded Rosenthal until 2001, when he was made executive editor.^[617] Gail Collins succeeded Raines until her resignation in 2006.^[618] From 2007 to 2016, Andrew Rosenthal was the opinion editor.^[619] James Bennet succeeded Rosenthal until his resignation in 2020.^[522] As of 2023, the editorial board comprises fourteen opinion writers.^[620] The *New York Times*'s opinion editor is Kathleen Kingsbury^[621] and the deputy opinion editor is Patrick Healy.^[558]

The *New York Times*'s editorial board was initially opposed to liberal beliefs, opposing women's suffrage in 1900 and 1914. The editorial board began to espouse progressive beliefs during Oakes' tenure, conflicting with the Ochs-Sulzberger family, of which Oakes was a member as Adolph Ochs's nephew; in 1976, Oakes publicly disavowed with Sulzberger's endorsement of Daniel Patrick Moynihan over Bella Abzug in the 1976 Senate Democratic primaries in a letter sent from Martha's Vineyard. Under Rosenthal, the editorial board took positions supporting assault weapons legislation and the legalization of marijuana, but publicly criticized the Obama administration over its portrayal of terrorism.^[619] Since 1960, *The New York Times* has endorsed Democratic candidates, supporting a total of twelve Republican candidates and thirty Democratic candidates.^{[622][623][t]} With the exception of Wendell Willkie, the *Times*'s Republican presidential endorsements have won the general election. In 2016, the editorial board issued an anti-endorsement against Donald Trump for the first time in its history.^[624]

***The New York Times* editorial board**

- Binyamin Appelbaum
- Michelle Cottle
- David Firestone
- Nick Fox
- Mara Gay
- Jeneen Interlandi
- Lauren Kelley
- Alex Kingsbury
- Kathleen Kingsbury
- Serge Schmemann
- Brent Staples
- Farah Stockman
- Jyoti Thottam
- Jesse Wegman

Unionization

Since 1940, editorial, media, and technology workers of *The New York Times* have been represented by the New York Times Guild. The Times Guild, along with the Times Tech Guild, are represented by the NewsGuild-CWA.^[625] In 1940, Arthur Hays Sulzberger was called upon by the National Labor Relations Board amid accusations that he had discouraged Guild membership in the *Times*. Over the next few years, the Guild would ratify several contracts, expanding to editorial and news staff in 1942 and maintenance workers in 1943.^[626] The New York Times Guild has walked out several times in its history, including for six and a half hours in 1981^[627] and in 2017, when copy editors and reporters walked out at lunchtime in response to the elimination of the copy desk.^[628] On December 7, 2022, the union held a one-day strike,^[629] the first interruption to *The New York Times* since 1978.^[630] The New York Times Guild reached an agreement in May 2023 to increase minimum salaries for employees and a retroactive bonus.^[631] The Times Tech Guild is the largest technology union with collective bargaining rights in the United States.^[632]

Content

Circulation

As of November 2023, *The New York Times* has ten million subscribers, with 9.41 million online subscribers and 670,000 print subscribers,^[633] the second-largest newspaper by print circulation in the United States behind The Wall Street Journal.^[634] The New York Times Company intends to have fifteen million subscribers by 2027.^[633] The *Times*'s shift towards subscription-based revenue with the debut of an online paywall in 2011 contributed to subscription revenue exceeding advertising revenue the following year, furthered by the 2016 presidential election and Donald Trump.^[466]

Opinion

The New York Times has run editorials on its front page twice. On June 13, 1920, the *Times* ran an editorial opposing Warren G. Harding, who was nominated during that year's Republican Party presidential primaries.^[635] Amid growing acceptance to run editorials on the front pages,^[636] such as the Detroit Free Press, The Patriot-News, The Arizona Republic, and The Indianapolis Star, *The New York Times* ran an editorial on its front page on December 5, 2015, following a terrorist attack in San Bernadino, California, in which fourteen people were killed.^[637] The editorial advocates for the prohibition of "slightly modified combat rifles" used in the San Bernadino shooting and "certain kinds of ammunition".^[635] Conservative figures, including Texas senator Ted Cruz, The Weekly Standard editor Bill Kristol, Fox & Friends co-anchor Steve Doocy, and then-New Jersey governor Chris Christie criticized the *Times*. Talk radio host Erick Erickson acquired an issue of *The New York Times* to fire several rounds into the paper, posting a picture online.^[638]

Newsletters

In October 2001, *The New York Times* began publishing *DealBook*, a financial newsletter edited by Andrew Ross Sorkin. The *Times* had intended to publish the newsletter in September, but delayed its debut following the September 11 attacks.^[639] A website for *DealBook* was established in March 2006.^[640] *The New York Times* began shifting towards *DealBook* as part of the newspaper's financial coverage in November 2010 with a renewed website and a presence in the *Times*'s print edition.^[641] In 2011, the *Times* began hosting the *DealBook Summit*, an annual conference hosted by Sorkin.^[642] During the COVID-19 pandemic, *The New York Times* hosted the *DealBook Online Summit* in 2020^[643] and 2021.^[644] The 2022

DealBook Summit featured—among other speakers—former vice president Mike Pence and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu,^[645] culminating in an interview with former FTX chief executive Sam Bankman-Fried; FTX had filed for bankruptcy several weeks prior.^[646] The 2023 DealBook Summit's speakers included vice president Kamala Harris, Israeli president Isaac Herzog, and businessman Elon Musk.^[642]

In June 2010, *The New York Times* licensed the political blog *FiveThirtyEight* in a three-year agreement.^[647] The blog, written by Nate Silver, had garnered attention during the 2008 presidential election for predicting the elections in forty-nine of fifty states. *FiveThirtyEight* appeared on nytimes.com in August.^[648] According to Silver, several offers were made for the blog; Silver wrote that a merger of unequals must allow for editorial sovereignty and resources from the acquirer, comparing himself to Groucho Marx.^[649] According to *The New Republic*, *FiveThirtyEight* drew as much as a fifth of the traffic to nytimes.com during the 2012 presidential election.^[650] In July 2013, *FiveThirtyEight* was sold to ESPN.^[651] In an article following Silver's exit, public editor Margaret Sullivan wrote that he was disruptive to the *Times*'s culture for his perspective on probability-based predictions and scorn for polling—having stated that punditry is "fundamentally useless", comparing him to Billy Beane, who implemented sabermetrics in baseball. According to Sullivan, his work was criticized by several notable political journalists.^[652]

The New Republic obtained a memo in November 2013 revealing then-Washington bureau chief David Leonhardt's ambitions to establish a data-driven newsletter with presidential historian Michael Beschloss, graphic designer Amanda Cox, economist Justin Wolfers, and *The New Republic* journalist Nate Cohn.^[653] By March, Leonhardt had amassed fifteen employees from within *The New York Times*; the newsletter's staff included individuals who had created the *Times*'s dialect quiz, fourth down analyzer, and a calculator for determining buying or renting a home.^[654] *The Upshot* debuted in April 2014.^[655] *Fast Company* reviewed an article about Illinois Secure Choice—a state-funded retirement saving system—as "neither a terse news item, nor a formal financial advice column, nor a politically charged response to economic policy", citing its informal and neutral tone.^[656] *The Upshot* developed "the needle" for the 2016 presidential election and 2020 presidential elections, a reviled thermometer dial displaying the probability of a candidate winning.^[657] In January 2016, Cox was named editor of *The Upshot*.^[658] Kevin Quealy was named editor in June 2022.^[659]

Political positions

According to an internal readership poll conducted by *The New York Times* in 2019, eighty-four percent of readers identified as liberal.^[660]

Crossword

In February 1942, *The New York Times* crossword debuted in *The New York Times Magazine*; according to Richard Shepard, the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 convinced then-publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the necessity of a crossword.^[661]

Cooking

The New York Times has published recipes since the 1850s and has had a separate food section since the 1940s.^[662] In 1961, restaurant critic Craig Claiborne published *The New York Times Cookbook*,^[663] an unauthorized cookbook that drew from the *Times*'s recipes.^[664] Since 2010, former food editor Amanda Hesser has published *The Essential New York Times Cookbook*, a compendium of recipes from *The New*

York Times.^[665] The *Innovation Report* in 2014 revealed that the *Times* had attempted to establish a cooking website since 1998, but faced difficulties with the absence of a defined data structure.^[666] In September 2014, *The New York Times* introduced NYT Cooking, an application and website.^[667] Edited by food editor Sam Sifton,^[664] the *Times*'s cooking website features 21,000 recipes as of 2022.^[668] NYT Cooking features videos as part of an effort by Sifton to hire two former *Tasty* employees from BuzzFeed.^[664] In August 2023, NYT Cooking added personalized recommendations through the cosine similarity of text embeddings of recipe titles.^[669] The website also features no-recipe recipes, a concept proposed by Sifton.^[670]

In May 2016, The New York Times Company announced a partnership with startup Chef'd to form a meal delivery service that would deliver ingredients from The New York Times Cooking recipes to subscribers;^[671] Chef'd shut down in July 2018 after failing to accrue capital and secure financing.^[672] *The Hollywood Reporter* reported in September 2022 that the *Times* would expand its delivery options to US\$95 cooking kits curated by chefs such as Nina Compton, Chintan Pandya, and Naoko Takei Moore. That month, the staff of NYT Cooking went on tour with Compton, Pandya, and Moore in Los Angeles, New Orleans, and New York City, culminating in a food festival.^[673] In addition, *The New York Times* offered its own wine club originally operated by the Global Wine Company. The New York Times Wine Club was established in August 2009, during a dramatic decrease in advertising revenue.^[674] By 2021, the wine club was managed by Lot18, a company that provides proprietary labels. Lot18 managed the Williams Sonoma Wine Club and its own wine club Tasting Room.^[675]

Archives

The New York Times archives its articles in a basement annex beneath its building known as "the morgue", a venture started by managing editor Carr Van Anda in 1907. The morgue comprises news clippings, a pictures library, and the *Times*'s book and periodicals library. As of 2014, it is the largest library of any media company, dating back to 1851.^[676] In November 2018, *The New York Times* partnered with Google to digitize the Archival Library.^[677] Additionally, *The New York Times* has maintained a virtual microfilm reader known as TimesMachine since 2014. The service launched with archives from 1851 to 1980; in 2016, TimesMachine expanded to include archives from 1981 to 2002. The *Times* built a pipeline to take in TIFF images, article metadata in XML and an INI file of Cartesian geometry describing the boundaries of the page, and convert it into a PNG of image tiles and JSON containing the information in the XML and INI files. The image tiles are generated using GDAL and displayed using Leaflet, using data from a content delivery network. The *Times* ran optical character recognition on the articles using Tesseract and shingled and fuzzy string matched the result.^[678]

Content management system

The New York Times uses a proprietary^[679] content management system known as Scoop for its online content and the Microsoft Word-based content management system CCI for its print content. Scoop was developed in 2008 to serve as a secondary content management system for editors working in CCI to publish their content on the *Times*'s website; as part of *The New York Times*'s online endeavors, editors now write their content in Scoop and send their work to CCI for print publication. Since its introduction, Scoop has superseded several processes within the *Times*, including print edition planning and collaboration, and features tools such as multimedia integration, notifications, content tagging, and drafts. *The New York Times* uses private articles for high-profile opinion pieces, such as those written by Russian president Vladimir Putin and actress Angelina Jolie, and for high-level investigations.^[680] In January 2012,

the *Times* released Integrated Content Editor (ICE), a revision tracking tool for [WordPress](#) and [TinyMCE](#). ICE is integrated within the *Times*'s workflow by providing a unified text editor for print and online editors, reducing the divide between print and online operations.^[681]

By 2017,^[682] *The New York Times* began developing a new authoring tool to its content management system known as Oak, in an attempt to further the *Times*'s visual efforts in articles and reduce the discrepancy between the mediums in print and online articles.^[683] The system reduces the input of editors and supports additional visual mediums in an editor that resembles the appearance of the article.^[682] Oak is based on ProseMirror, a [JavaScript](#) rich-text editor toolkit, and retains the revision tracking and commenting functionalities of *The New York Times*'s previous systems. Additionally, Oak supports predefined article headers.^[684] In 2019, Oak was updated to support collaborative editing using [Firebase](#) to update editors's cursor status. Several Google Cloud Functions and Google Cloud Tasks allow articles to be previewed as they will be printed, and the *Times*'s primary [MySQL](#) database is regularly updated to update editors on the article status.^[685]

Style and design

Style guide

Since 1895, *The New York Times* has maintained a [manual of style](#) in several forms. *The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* was published on the *Times*'s [intranet](#) in 1999.^[686]

The New York Times uses [honorifics](#) when referring to individuals. With the [AP Stylebook](#)'s removal of honorifics in 2000 and [The Wall Street Journal](#)'s omission of courtesy titles in May 2023, the *Times* is the only national newspaper that continues to use honorifics. According to former copy editor Merrill Perlman, *The New York Times* continues to use honorifics as a "sign of civility".^[687] The *Times*'s use of courtesy titles led to an apocryphal rumor that the paper had referred to singer [Meat Loaf](#) as "Mr. Loaf".^[688] Several exceptions have been made; the former sports section and [The New York Times Book Review](#) do not use honorifics.^[689] A leaked memo following the [killing of Osama bin Laden](#) in May 2011 revealed that editors were given a last-minute instruction to omit the honorific from [Osama bin Laden](#)'s name, consistent with deceased figures of historic significance, such as [Adolf Hitler](#), [Napoleon](#), and [Vladimir Lenin](#).^[690] *The New York Times* uses academic and military titles for individuals prominently serving in that position.^[691] In 1986, the *Times* began to use [Ms.](#),^[689] and introduced the gender-neutral title [Mx.](#) in 2015.^[692] *The New York Times* uses initials when a subject has expressed a preference, such as [Donald Trump](#).^[693]

The New York Times maintains a strict but not absolute obscenity policy, including phrases. In a review of the Canadian [hardcore punk](#) band [Fucked Up](#), music critic [Kelefa Sanneh](#) wrote that the band's name—entirely rendered in asterisks—would not be printed in the *Times* "unless an American president, or someone similar, says it by mistake";^[694] *The New York Times* did not repeat then-vice president [Dick Cheney](#)'s use of "fuck" against then-senator [Patrick Leahy](#) in 2004^[695] or then-vice president [Joe Biden](#)'s remarks that the passage of the [Affordable Care Act](#) in 2010 was a "big fucking deal".^[696] The *Times*'s profanity policy has been tested by former president [Donald Trump](#). *The New York Times* published Trump's [Access Hollywood](#) tape in October 2016 containing the words "fuck", "pussy", "bitch", and "tits", the first time the publication had published an expletive on its front page,^[697] and repeated an explicit phrase for fellatio stated by then-White House communications director [Anthony Scaramucci](#) in July

2017.^[698] *The New York Times* omitted Trump's use of the phrase "shithole countries" from its headline in favor of "vulgar language" in January 2018.^[699] The *Times* banned certain words, such as "bitch", "whore", and "sluts", from *Wordle* in 2022.^[700]

Headlines

Journalists for *The New York Times* do not write their own headlines, but rather copy editors who specifically write headlines. The *Times*'s guidelines insist headline editors get to the main point of an article but avoid giving away endings, if present. Other guidelines include using slang "sparingly", avoiding tabloid headlines, not ending a line on a preposition, article, or adjective, and chiefly, not to pun. *The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* states that wordplay, such as "Rubber Industry Bounces Back", is to be tested on a colleague as a canary is to be tested in a coal mine; "when no song bursts forth, start rewriting".^[701] *The New York Times* has amended headlines due to controversy. In 2019, following two back-to-back mass shootings in El Paso and Dayton, the *Times* used the headline, "Trump Urges Unity vs. Racism", to describe then-president Donald Trump's words after the shootings. After criticism from FiveThirtyEight founder Nate Silver, the headline was changed to, "Assailing Hate But Not Guns".^[702]

Online, *The New York Times*'s headlines do not face the same length restrictions as headlines that appear in print; print headlines must fit within a column, often six words. Additionally, headlines must "break" properly, containing a complete thought on each line without splitting up prepositions and adverbs. Writers may edit a headline to fit an article more aptly if further developments occur. The *Times* uses A/B testing for articles on the front page, placing two headlines against each other. At the end of the test, the headlines that receives more traffic is chosen.^[703] The alteration of a headline regarding intercepted Russian data used in the Mueller special counsel investigation was noted by Trump in a March 2017 interview with Time, in which he claimed that the headline used the word "wiretapped" in the print version of the paper on January 20, while the digital article on January 19 omitted the word. The headline was intentionally changed in the print version to use "wiretapped" in order to fit within the print guidelines.^[704]

Nameplate

The nameplate of *The New York Times* has been unaltered since 1967. In creating the initial nameplate, Henry Jarvis Raymond sought to model The London Times, which used textura popularized following the fall of the Western Roman Empire and regional variations of Alcuin's script, as well as a period. With the change to *The New-York Times* on September 14, 1857, the nameplate followed. Under George Jones, the terminals of the "N", "r", and "s" were intentionally exaggerated into swashes. The nameplate in the January 15, 1894 issue trimmed the terminals once more, smoothed the edges, and turned the stem supporting the "T" into an ornament. The hyphen was dropped on December 1, 1896, after Adolph Ochs purchased the paper. The descender of the "h" was shortened on December 30, 1914. The largest change to the nameplate was introduced on February 21, 1967, when type designer Ed Benguiat redesigned the logo, most prominently turning the arrow ornament into a diamond. Notoriously, the new logo dropped the period that remained with the *Times* up until that point; one reader compared the omission of the period to

"performing plastic surgery on Helen of Troy." Picture editor John Radosta worked with a New York University professor to determine that dropping the period saved the paper US\$41.28 (equivalent to \$362.29 in 2022).^[705]

Print edition

Design and layout

As of December 2023, *The New York Times* has printed sixty thousand issues, a statistic represented in the paper's masthead to the right of the volume number, the *Times*'s years in publication written in Roman numerals.^[706] The volume and issues are separated by four dots representing the edition number of that issue; on the day of the 2000 presidential election, the *Times* was revised four separate times, necessitating the use of an em dash in place of an ellipsis.^[707] The em dash issue was printed hundreds times over before being replaced by the one-dot issue. Despite efforts by newsroom employees to recycle copies sent to *The New York Times*'s office, several copies were kept, including one put on display at the Museum at The Times.^[708] From February 7, 1898, to December 31, 1999, the *Times*'s issue number was incorrect by five hundred issues, an error suspected by *The Atlantic* to be the result of a careless front page type editor. The misreporting was noticed by news editor Aaron Donovan, who was calculating the number of issues in a spreadsheet and noticed the discrepancy. *The New York Times* celebrated fifty thousand issues on March 14, 1995, an observance that should have occurred on July 26, 1996.^[709]

The New York Times has reduced the physical size of its print edition while retaining its broadsheet format. *The New-York Daily Times* debuted at 18 inches (460 mm) across. By the 1950s, the *Times* was being printed at 16 inches (410 mm) across. In 1953, an increase in paper costs to US\$10 (equivalent to \$109.38 in 2022) a ton increased newsprint costs to US\$21.7 million (equivalent to \$296,414,676.62 in 2022) On December 28, 1953, the pages were reduced to 15.5 inches (390 mm). On February 14, 1955, a further reduction to 15 inches (380 mm) occurred, followed by 14.5 inches (370 mm) and 13.5 inches (340 mm). On August 6, 2007, the largest cut occurred when the pages were reduced to 12 inches (300 mm),^[u] a decision that other broadsheets had previously considered. Then-executive editor Bill Keller stated that a narrower paper would be more beneficial to the reader but acknowledged a net loss in article space of five percent.^[710] In 1985, The New York Times Company established a minority stake in a US\$21.7 million (equivalent to \$296,414,676.62 in 2022) newsprint plant in Clermont, Quebec through Donahue Malbaie.^[711] The company sold its equity interest in Donahue Malbaie in 2017.^[712]

The New York Times often uses large, bolded headlines for major events. For the print version of the *Times*, these headlines are written by one copy editor, reviewed by two other copy editors, approved by the masthead editors, and polished by other print editors. The process is completed before 8 p.m., but it may be repeated if further development occur, as did take place during the 2020 presidential election. On the day Joe Biden was declared the winner, *The New York Times* utilized a "hammer headline" reading, "Biden Beats Trump", in all caps and bolded. A dozen journalists discussed several potential headlines, such as "It's Biden" or "Biden's Moment", and prepared for a Donald Trump victory, in which they would use "Trump Prevails".^[713] During Trump's first impeachment, the *Times* drafted the hammer headline, "Trump Impeached". *The New York Times* altered the ligatures between the E and the A, as not doing so would leave a noticeable gap due to the stem of the A sloping away from the E. The *Times* reused the tight kerning for "Biden Beats Trump" and Trump's second impeachment, which simply read, "Impeached".^[714]

In cases where two major events occur on the same day or immediately after each other, *The New York Times* has used a "paddle wheel" headline, where both headlines are used but split by a line. The term dates back to August 8, 1959, when it was revealed that the United States was monitoring Soviet missile firings and when Explorer 6—shaped like a paddle wheel—launched. Since then, the paddle wheel has been used

several times, including on January 21, 1981, when Ronald Reagan was sworn in minutes before Iran released fifty-two American hostages, ending the Iran hostage crisis. At the time, most newspapers favored the end of the hostage crisis, but the *Times* placed the inauguration above the crisis. Since 1981, the paddle wheel has been used twice; on July 26, 2000, when the 2000 Camp David Summit ended without an agreement and when Bush announced that Dick Cheney would be his running mate, and on June 24, 2016, when the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum passed, beginning Brexit, and when the Supreme Court deadlocked in *United States v. Texas*.^[715]

Printing process

Since 1997,^[716] *The New York Times*'s primary distribution center is located in College Point, Queens. The facility is 300,000 sq ft (28,000 m²) and employs 170 people as of 2017. The College Point distribution center prints 300,000 to 800,000 newspapers daily. On most occasions, presses start before 11 p.m. and finish before 3 a.m. A robotic crane grabs a roll of newsprint and several rollers ensure ink can be printed on paper. The final newspapers are wrapped in plastic and shipped out.^[717] As of 2018, the College Point facility accounted for 41 percent of production. Other copies are printed at 26 other publications, such as The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, The Dallas Morning News, The Santa Fe New Mexican, and the Courier Journal. With the decline of newspapers, particularly regional publications, the *Times* must travel further; for example, newspapers for Hawaii are flown from San Francisco on United Airlines, and Sunday papers are flown from Los Angeles on Hawaiian Airlines. Computer glitches, mechanical issues, and weather phenomena affect circulation but do not stop the paper from reaching customers.^[718] The College Point facility prints over two dozen other papers, including The Wall Street Journal and USA Today.^[719]



The New York Times's distribution center in College Point, Queens

The New York Times has halted its printing process several times to account for major developments. The first printing stoppage occurred on March 31, 1968, when then-president Lyndon B. Johnson announced that he would not seek a second term. Other press stoppages include May 19, 1994, for the death of former first lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and July 17, 1996, for Trans World Airlines Flight 800. The 2000 presidential election necessitated two press stoppages. Al Gore appeared to concede on November 8, forcing then-executive editor Joseph Lelyveld to stop the *Times*'s presses to print a new headline, "Bush Appears to Defeat Gore", with a story that stated George W. Bush was elected president. However, Gore held off his concession speech over doubts over Florida. Lelyveld reran the headline, "Bush and Gore Vie for an Edge". Since 2000, three printing stoppages have been issued for the death of William Rehnquist on September 3, 2005, for the killing of Osama bin Laden on May 1, 2011, and for the passage of the Marriage Equality Act in the New York State Assembly and subsequent signage by then-governor Andrew Cuomo on June 24, 2011.^[720]

Online platforms

Website

nytimes.com has undergone several major redesigns and infrastructure developments since its debut. In April 2006, *The New York Times* redesigned its website with an emphasis on multimedia.^[721] In preparation for Super Tuesday in February 2008, the *Times* developed a live election system using the Associated Press's File Transfer Protocol (FTP) service and a Ruby on Rails application; nytimes.com experienced its largest traffic on Super Tuesday and the day after.^[722]

nytimes.com is supported by online advertising and subscriptions. In response to legislation such as the General Data Protection Regulation in the European Union and California Consumer Privacy Act in California, *The New York Times* developed its own advertising data program for its direct-sold advertising business in June 2020.^[723]



nytimes.com

The New York Times began using live blogs as chats for the 2012 Republican Party presidential debates, later using Slack for the 2016 Republican debates,^[724] and covered the November 2015 Paris attacks with a live blog.^[725] Live blogs begin with a primary post affixed before the live updates to overview the event.^[726] The *Times* has used several other live formats, including a live chat—used during the inauguration of Joe Biden to provide side-by-side commentary with live coverage, a live briefing—used during the COVID-19 pandemic for incremental updates over a longer span of time, and a live blog—used during the trial of Derek Chauvin for quickly-changing events. Live blogs feature long-form articles woven with short observations.^[727] The COVID-19 pandemic shifted *The New York Times*'s approach, requiring synchronous collaboration from reporters in different time zones and necessitating the use of email, encrypted apps, chat groups, Google Docs, and phones; the live briefing for the pandemic is the longest-running briefing the *Times* has run.^[728] The COVID-19 pandemic involved the use of relays from New York to Hong Kong, Seoul, and London.^[729]

The New York Times added an anonymous tip page in December 2016 with support for WhatsApp, Signal, encrypted email, and SecureDrop as part of an initiative by deputy investigations editor Gabriel Dance and then-information security director Runa Sandvik.^[730] By March 2017, the additional channels had revealed audio from Hillary Clinton in reaction to the 2016 Democratic National Committee email leak, queries from Donald Trump's transition team indicating skepticism of foreign aid, and regulations preventing Wells Fargo from offering severance pay in the aftermath of a cross-selling scandal.^[731] The article on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's raid of Michael Cohen's office began with an online tip. The *Times* receives hundreds of tip submissions per day.^[730] The submissions were initially added to a spreadsheet managed by Dance,^[731] but are now added to a database.^[730] In October 2017, *The New York Times* added Tor network support to nytimes.com using Enterprise Onion Toolkit. The *Times* rebuilt its Onion service and issued a new address in 2021.^[732]

In late 2007, *The New York Times* introduced a comments section to its articles. The *Times*'s comments section is manually moderated;^[733] as of 2017, twelve moderators are responsible for approving comments at a rate of twelve thousand comments per day. *The New York Times*'s comment section does not tolerate, among other things, personal attacks, obscenities, and profanity, in an effort to ensure cogency. The moderation team uses an internal rulebook to determine potentially rule-breaking comments. In one comment, the community desk questioned the use of the word "prostitute" in a comment critiquing Republican lawmakers for having "sold themselves to the privileged few", with one moderator stating that it was acceptable as a verb. The comment was rejected nonetheless.^[734] Comments are enabled on an individual basis. As a result, fewer articles are opened for comments on weekends.^[735] In June 2017, *The New York Times* partnered with Jigsaw and Instrument to develop Moderator, a moderation tool that uses machine learning trained on the *Times*'s sixteen million comments to determine if a comment should be approved.^[736] The introduction of Moderator allowed the *Times* to expand the number of articles with comments enabled.^[737]

Applications

The NYTimes application debuted with the introduction of the [App Store](#) on July 10, 2008. [Engadget's](#) Scott McNulty wrote critically of the app, negatively comparing it to *The New York Times*'s mobile website.^[738] An iPad version with select articles was released on April 3, 2010, with the release of the first-generation iPad.^[739] In October, *The New York Times* expanded NYT Editors' Choice to include the paper's full articles. NYT for iPad was free until 2011.^[740] The *Times* applications on iPhone and iPad began offering in-app subscriptions in July 2011.^[741] The *Times* released a web application for iPad—featuring a format summarizing trending headlines on Twitter^[742]—and a Windows 8 application in October 2012.^[743]

Efforts to ensure profitability through an online magazine and a "Need to Know" subscription emerged in [Adweek](#) in July 2013.^[744] In March 2014, *The New York Times* announced three applications—NYT Now, an application that offers pertinent news in a blog format, and two unnamed applications, later known as NYT Opinion^[745] and NYT Cooking^[666]—to diversify its product laterals.^[746]

Podcasts

The Daily is the modern front page of *The New York Times*.

—Sam Dolnick, speaking to *Intelligencer* in January 2020^[747]

The New York Times manages several podcasts, including multiple podcasts with Serial Productions. The *Times*'s longest-running podcast is *The Book Review Podcast*,^[748] debuting as *Inside The New York Times Book Review* in April 2006.^[749]

The New York Times's defining podcast is *The Daily*,^[747] a daily news podcast hosted by Michael Barbaro and, since March 2022, Sabrina Tavernise.^[750]

In October 2021, *The New York Times* began testing "New York Times Audio", an application featuring podcasts from the *Times*, audio versions of articles—including from other publications through Audm, and archives from *This American Life*.^[751] The application debuted in May 2023 exclusively on iOS for *Times* subscribers. New York Times Audio includes exclusive podcasts such as *The Headlines*, a daily news recap, and *Shorts*, short audio stories under ten minutes. In addition, a "Reporter Reads" section features *Times* journalists reading their articles and providing commentary.^[752]

Games

The New York Times has used video games as part of its journalistic efforts, among the first publications to do so,^[753] contributing to an increase in Internet traffic.^[754] The *Times* began publishing Persuasive Games's newsgames in May 2007, including *Food Import Folly*,^[755] a video game about the Food and Drug Administration's import inspection process.^[756] *The New York Times* released *Gauging Your Distraction*, a video game about mobile phones and driving safety developed by psychology professors David Strayer and David E. Meyer, in July 2009.^[757] In November 2016, the *Times* released *The Voter Suppression Trail*, a video game inspired by *The Oregon Trail* (1985). In the game, players play as either a white programmer from California, a Latina nurse from Texas, or an African-American salesman from Wisconsin, and attempt to vote in the 2016 presidential election. While the white programmer is able to vote with ease, the Latina nurse and African-American salesman experience long voting lines, strict voter identification laws, and election observers supportive of Donald Trump.^[758] *The Voter Suppression Trail* was developed by Chris Baker, Brian Moore, and Mike Lacher of GOP Arcade^[759] and is the first game to debut on the Op-Docs page.^[760]

The New York Times has developed its own video games. In 2014, *The New York Times Magazine* introduced *Spelling Bee*, a word game in which players guess words from a set of letters in a honeycomb and are awarded points for the length of the word and receive extra points if the word is a pangram.^[761] The game was proposed by Will Shortz, created by Frank Longo, and has been maintained by Sam Ezersky. In May 2018, *Spelling Bee* was published on nytimes.com, furthering its popularity.^[762] In February 2019, the *Times* introduced *Letter Boxed*—a game in which players form words from letters placed within a box by connecting them, attempting to use all of the letters,^[763] followed by *Tiles*—a matching game in which players attempt to form the longest sequence of tile pairings—in June 2019, and *Vertex*.^[764] In July 2023, *The New York Times* introduced *Connections*, a game in which players form connections between groups of words.^[765] In April, the *Times* introduced *Digits*, a number-based game; *Digits* was shut down in August.^[766]

In January 2022, The New York Times Company acquired *Wordle*, a word game developed by Josh Wardle in 2021, at a valuation in the "low-seven figures".^[767] The acquisition was proposed by David Perpich, a member of the Sulzberger family who proposed the purchase to Knight^[768] over Slack after reading about the game.^[769] *The Washington Post* purportedly considered acquiring *Wordle*, according to *Vanity Fair*.^[768] At the 2022 Game Developers Conference, Wardle stated that he was overwhelmed by the volume of *Wordle* facsimiles and overzealous monetization practices in other games.^[770] Concerns over *The New York Times* monetizing *Wordle* by implementing a paywall mounted,^[771] *Wordle* is a client-side browser game and can be played offline by downloading its webpage.^[772] *Wordle* moved to the *Times*'s servers and website in February.^[773] The game was added to the NYT Games application in August,^[774] necessitating it be rewritten in the JavaScript library React.^[775] In November, *The New York Times* announced that Tracy Bennett would be the *Wordle*'s editor.^[776]

In April 2009, *The New York Times* released a crossword application for iOS developed by Magmic.^[777] A sudoku application developed by Magmic was released in October.^[778] NYT Crosswords debuted on the Google Play Store in November 2016.^[779] In April 2017, the application was added to the Amazon Appstore. NYT Crosswords supports saving across devices and nytimes.com.^[780] In March 2023, NYT Crosswords was renamed to NYT Games to address the application's other games, including *Wordle*, *Spelling Bee*, *Tiles*, and *Sudoku*. According to Jonathan Knight, chief executive of The New York Times Games, the *Times* was concerned over how the application would rank in search results for "crossword".^[781] In May 2007,^[782] *The New York Times* released *The New York Times Crosswords* for the Nintendo DS. The game, developed by Budcat Creations and published by Majesco Entertainment, features *The New York Times* crossword puzzles from March 2004 to November 2006. *The New York Times Crosswords* includes a campaign mode, in which the player solves seven successive puzzles with increasing difficulty.^[783]

Social media

In October 2017, *The New York Times* issued guidelines for its journalists, exercising neutrality, transparency, and professionalism. The *Times* revised its guidelines in November 2020 to reflect the use of blocking and muting on Twitter.^[784] Then-executive editor Dean Baquet urged journalists to use social media less in a letter to employees in April 2022, removing the requirement to maintain a presence on social media. The letter followed a public feud between outgoing technology reporter Taylor Lorenz and White House correspondent Maggie Haberman on Twitter and the resignations of opinion editors James Bennet and Bari Weiss in 2020 following backlash online;^[785] Lorenz faced social media harassment following a segment on *Tucker Carlson Tonight* in March 2021, in which eponymous host Tucker Carlson accused Lorenz of being privileged. *The New York Times* subsequently released a statement defending Lorenz and calling Carlson's comments "calculated and cruel".^[786] Baquet additionally announced an initiative to support journalists experiencing harassment.^[785] *Times* reporter Ryan Mac was among several journalists

suspended on Twitter in December 2022.^[787] @nytimesworld was mistakenly suspended in November 2017 after tweeting about Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau's apology to indigenous peoples in Newfoundland and Labrador.^[788]

The New York Times maintains a social media presence for breaking news events^[789] and has fifty-five million followers on Twitter as of March 2023.^[790] Following reports that Twitter would charge businesses US\$1,000 per month to retain their verification status in February 2023,^[791] The New York Times stated that it would not pay for verification in a statement in April.^[792] Twitter chief executive Elon Musk removed @nytimes's verification status after the statement was released,^[793] though it was reinstated later that month.^[794] Other affiliated accounts, such as @nytimesarts, retained their verification status.^[795] Musk repeatedly insulted the Times after making the decision, writing that the paper was "propaganda".^[796] In August, Musk criticized The New York Times for publishing an article describing South African political party Economic Freedom Fighters leader Julius Malema's chants of *dubul' ibhunu* as an literal call to violence; the article quoted Musk as stating that Malema was advocating for white genocide.^[797] A report from The Washington Post revealed that Twitter was throttling links by five seconds to the Times from its link shortener t.co.^[798] In October, @nytimes's verification status was removed.^[799]

Virtual and augmented reality

In February 2018, The New York Times published an augmented reality article for iOS devices, allowing readers to view three-dimensional models of Olympic athletes Nathan Chen, J. R. Celski, Alex Rigsby, and Anna Gasser.^[800] Augmented reality technology was used in a David Bowie feature in March, with support for Android's ARCore platform.^[801]

Other services

In June 2012, The New York Times signed a content deal with news aggregation service Flipboard, allowing users to read content from the Times on the service.^[802] The New York Times Company and German mass media company Axel Springer invested US\$3.8 million in Dutch online news platform Blendle, a service that allows users to pay for access to individual articles,^[803] acquiring a joint stake in the company.^[804] The New York Times signed a deal to license its content on Blendle in the Netherlands and Germany by 2015.^[805] Blendle debuted in the United States in March 2016^[806] with the Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Economist, and the Financial Times, releasing a mobile application in May.^[807] In March 2011, Amazon announced that subscriptions to The New York Times through its Kindle e-readers would grant access to nytimes.com,^[808] followed by the Barnes & Noble Nook in April.^[809] In March 2023, Amazon ceased sales on newspaper subscriptions through Kindle Newsstand^[810] and canceled existing subscriptions in September.^[811] In February 2013, the Times offered fifteen free articles to Starbucks customers per day,^[812] an offer added to the company's loyalty program in 2016.^[813]

The New York Times was formerly^[814] available on Apple's news aggregator service Apple News and was among several publications to partner with Apple, debuting with the service in November 2015.^[815] A study by the Tow Center for Digital Journalism found that the Times was among the largest publications on Apple News.^[816] In March 2019, The New York Times dramatically reduced the coverage it provides to Apple ahead of the company's announcement of a subscription service for Apple News; then-chief executive officer Mark Thompson stated that the Times should be "intelligent in the way [it thinks] about [its] partnerships with these platforms" and announced a similar reduction it would impose on Facebook.^[817] The New York Times was not included in Apple News+.^[818] In June 2020, the Times ceased distributing its articles in Apple News. Then-chief operating officer Meredith Kopit Levien stated that Apple News does not allow for the Times to control the "presentation of [its] report". Apple told The

Verge that *The New York Times* only provided a few stories per day.^[819] In May 2023, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that The New York Times Company had signed an agreement with Google to feature the Times's content on Google News for US\$100 million over three years.^[820] In December, *Wirecutter* and *The Athletic* joined Apple News+.^[821]

Other publications

The New York Times Magazine

The New York Times Magazine and *The Boston Globe Magazine* are the only weekly Sunday magazines following *The Washington Post Magazine*'s cancellation in December 2022.^[822]

The New York Times International Edition

The New York Times in Spanish

In February 2016, *The New York Times* introduced a Spanish website, *The New York Times en Español*.^[823] The website, intended to be read on mobile devices, would contain translated articles from the Times and reporting from journalists based in Mexico City.^[824] The *Times en Español*'s style editor is Paulina Chavira, who has advocated for pluralistic Spanish to accommodate the variety of nationalities in the newsroom's journalists and wrote a stylebook for *The New York Times en Español*.^[825] Articles the Times intends to publish in Spanish are sent to a translation agency and adapted for Spanish writing conventions; the present progressive tense may be used for forthcoming events in English, but other tenses are preferable in Spanish. The *Times en Español* consults the Real Academia Española and Fundéu and frequently modifies the use of diacritics—such as using an acute accent for the Cártel de Sinaloa but not the Cartel de Medellín—and using the gender-neutral pronoun *elle*.^[826] Headlines in *The New York Times en Español* are not capitalized. The *Times en Español* publishes *El Times*, a newsletter led by Elda Cantú intended for all Spanish speakers.^[827] In September 2019, *The New York Times* ended *The New York Times en Español*'s separate operations.^[828] A study published in *The Translator* in 2023 found that the *Times en Español* engaged in tabloidization.^[829]

The New York Times in Chinese

In June 2012, *The New York Times* introduced a Chinese website, 纽约时报中文, in response to Chinese editions created by *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Financial Times*. Conscious to censorship, the Times established servers outside of China and affirmed that the website would uphold the paper's journalistic standards; the government of China had previously blocked articles from nytimes.com through the Great Firewall,^[830] and the website was blocked in China until August 2001 after then-general secretary Jiang Zemin met with journalists from *The New York Times*.^[831] Then-foreign editor Joseph Kahn assisted in the establishment of cn.nytimes.com, an effort that contributed to his appointment as executive editor in April 2022.^[832] In October, 纽约时报中文 published an article detailing the wealth of then-premier Wen Jiabao's family. In response, the government of China blocked access to nytimes.com and cn.nytimes.com and references to the Times and Wen were censored on microblogging service Sina Weibo.^[831] In March 2015, a mirror of 纽约时报中文 and the website for GreatFire were the targets for a government-

sanctioned distributed denial of service attack on GitHub in March 2015, disabling access to the service for several days.^[833] Chinese authorities requested the removal of *The New York Times*'s news applications from the App Store in December 2016.^[834]

Awards, recognition, and criticism

Awards

As of 2023, *The New York Times* has received 137 Pulitzer Prizes,^[835] the most of any publication.^[836]

Recognition

The New York Times is considered a newspaper of record in the United States.^[v] The *Times* is the largest metropolitan newspaper in the United States;^[840] as of 2022, *The New York Times* is the second-largest newspaper by print circulation in the United States behind *The Wall Street Journal*.^[634]

A study published in *Science, Technology, & Human Values* in 2013 found that *The New York Times* received more citations in academic journals than the *American Sociological Review*, *Research Policy*, or the *Harvard Law Review*.^[841] With sixteen million unique records, the *Times* is the third-most referenced source in *Common Crawl*, a collection of online material used in datasets such as *GPT-3*, behind *Wikipedia* and a United States patent database.^[842]

The New Yorker's Max Norman wrote in March 2023 that the *Times* has shaped mainstream English usage.^[843] In a January 2018 article for *The Washington Post*, Margaret Sullivan stated that *The New York Times* affects the "whole media and political ecosystem".^[844]

The New York Times's nascent success has led to concerns over media consolidation, particularly amid the decline of newspapers. In 2006, economists Lisa George and Joel Waldfogel examined the consequences of the *Times*'s national distribution strategy and audience with circulation of local newspapers, finding that local circulation decreased among college-educated readers.^[845] The effect of *The New York Times* in this manner was observed in *The Forum of Fargo-Moorhead*, the newspaper of record for Fargo, North Dakota.^[846] Axios founder Jim VandeHei opined that the *Times* is "going to basically be a monopoly" in an opinion piece written by then-media columnist and former BuzzFeed News editor-in-chief Ben Smith; in the article, Smith argued that the strength of *The New York Times*'s journalistic workforce, broadening content, and the expropriation of *Gawker* editor-in-chief Choire Sicha, *Recode* editor-in-chief Kara Swisher, and *Quartz* editor-in-chief Kevin Delaney. Smith compared the *Times* to the New York Yankees during their 1927 season containing Murderers' Row.^[847]

Criticism

The New York Times's coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has received criticism, and the paper's stance on Israel has been a topic of contention. In December 2022, opinion columnist Thomas Friedman and the editorial board criticized Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu in separate articles after Netanyahu formed a coalition with the far-right. In response, Netanyahu criticized the *Times* on Twitter.^[848] *The Independent* wrote that the tweet may have been related to that day's *The New York Times* crossword, which bore a resemblance to a swastika.^[849] *The New York Times* published a headline

claiming that Israel was responsible for the [Al-Ahli Arab Hospital explosion](#), attributing the explosion to claims by [Hamas](#). The *Times* issued an editors' note several days later;^[850] president [Joe Biden](#) reportedly privately expressed that the headline could have escalated the [Israel–Hamas war](#).^[851]

The New York Times has been accused of [transphobia](#). In August 2015, Weill Cornell Medicine professor [Richard A. Friedman](#) authored an opinion piece intended to be a scientific perspective on [gender identity](#). [Vox](#)'s German Lopez criticized Friedman's assessments for being incorrect, such as stating [conversion therapy](#) is beneficial to youth with [gender dysphoria](#) despite evidence to the contrary.^[852] In July 2018, then-chief theater critic [Ben Brantley](#) wrote a review of *Head over Heels* misgendering an oracle character portrayed by drag queen [Peppermint](#). The *Times* altered the review and Brantley apologized.^[853] In November, writer [Andrea Long Chu](#) attracted criticism for an opinion piece titled, "My New Vagina Won't Make Me Happy".^[854]

Notes

- a. Includes 9,410,000 digital-only and 670,000 print subscribers.
- b. Also referred to as the *Times*^[1] or the *NY Times*.^[2] *The New York Times* uses the domain [nytimes.com](#).^[3]
- c. The *Times* had only blackened its borders at that point for the death of [Daniel Webster](#) on October 25, 1852, suggesting that the blackened borders signified the death of a notable figure, although Lincoln was alive by the time the decision was made. Journalist [Meyer Berger](#) posed that the borders may have been blackened to draw attention to an extra.^[28]
- d. The broad circulation numbers of the *Times* during this time is unknown. In fall 1871, during the height of the Tweed campaign, *The New-York Daily Times*'s circulation numbers never exceeded 36,000—an outlier period that included the publication of the Tammany books and the election.^[49]
- e. Jones and Dyer accepted selling the paper at US\$950,000 (equivalent to \$30,941,851.85 in 2022) after a man who offered US\$50,000 (equivalent to \$1,628,518.52 in 2022) discovered that he could not pay the amount. The Jones estate ultimately received the full amount, including the aforementioned offer.^[70]
- f. The first issue was titled "Buyers In Town"^[86]
- g. In an interview with [Howard Simons](#), the managing editor of *The Washington Post* at the time, Woodward stated he and Bernstein had "a couple of dinners". Hersh only recalls one dinner.^[230]
- h. Elizabeth Boylan is Wade's married name. Wade chose to use her married name to ensure she would appear first in the list of the six initial plaintiffs in the case.^[235]
- i. Meislin claimed that he typed Lelyveld's name into a web browser during the dinner while eating rabbit, factual details that Lelyveld could not recall.^[294]
- j. Only *The Washington Post* published *Industrial Society and Its Future* as an insert as *The New York Times* did not have the mechanical capacity to publish it.^[305]
- k. The first issue was titled "Among the Missing".^[338]
- l. *The New York Times*'s online paywall was initially introduced in Canada on March 17, 2011.^[412]
- m. Attributed to multiple references: [\[513\]](#)[\[514\]](#)[\[515\]](#)[\[516\]](#)[\[517\]](#)[\[518\]](#)
- n. Based in [Warsaw, Poland](#).^[581]
- o. Based in [Washington, D.C.](#).^[590]
- p. Based in [Riyadh, Saudi Arabia](#).^[596]

- q. Based in New Delhi, India.^[600]
- r. Based in Bangkok, Thailand.^[602]
- s. Based in Dakar, Senegal.^[608]
- t. In 1896, the *Times* endorsed John M. Palmer, the National Democratic Party nominee, its only endorsement for a candidate who is not a member of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party.^[622]
- u. The national edition of *The New York Times* uses 11.5 inches (290 mm) pages.^[710]
- v. Attributed to multiple references: ^{[837][838][839]}

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External links

Official websites

- [Official website](https://www.nytimes.com) (<https://www.nytimes.com>) ↗
- [TimesMachine](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/) (<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/>)
- Official Tor site: nytimesn7cgmtshazwhfgzm37qxb44r64ytbb2dj3x62d2lljsciyyd.onion [Tor](#)
(Accessing link help)

Others

- Curated collection (<https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=nytimes>) of articles before 1923
- Works by or about The New York Times ([https://archive.org/search.php?query=%28%28subject%3A%22Times%2C%20The%20New%20York%22%20OR%20subject%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Times%2C%20The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Times%2C%20T%2E%20N%2E%20Y%2E%22%20OR%20title%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20description%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%29%29%20AND%20%28-mediatype:software%29](https://archive.org/search.php?query=%28%28subject%3A%22Times%2C%20The%20New%20York%22%20OR%20subject%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Times%2C%20The%20New%20York%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Times%2C%20T%2E%20N%2E%20Y%2E%22%20OR%20title%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%20OR%20description%3A%22The%20New%20York%20Times%22%29%29%20AND%20%28-mediatype:software%29)) at [Internet Archive](#) (archives)
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