Space, Nation, and the Triumph of Region: A View of the World from Houston

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For this article’s accompanying online component, see Cameron Blevins, “Mining and Mapping the Production of Space,” http://spatialhistory.stanford.edu/viewoftheworld.

On a rainy spring evening in 1898 the Texas newspaper editor Rienzi Johnston found himself in Chicago’s Grand Pacific Hotel for the annual banquet of the Associated Press (AP). Johnston and eighty-seven fellow editors from across the country dined alongside two full-size printing presses built out of flowers and candy while seated at tables arranged to form the initials AP. Over little-neck clams and roast snipe they listened to a series of speeches on the defining issues of the day. A prominent lawyer defended the Associated Press and its powerful national news syndicate from charges of monopoly, while a string of boisterous toasts celebrated the recent outbreak of war between the United States and Spain. In a fit of patriotism, one southern editor rose from his chair to declare that three decades removed from a bloody civil war, “Our People: they know no North, no South, no East, no West.” Johnston was no stranger to national integration. This editor of a midsize regional paper served as Texas’s delegate to the Democratic National Committee, briefly filled a vacated seat in the U.S. Senate, and was a rising leader within the AP’s ranks. Johnston moved comfortably in a web of national associations and affiliations that extended well beyond his office in Houston and the carefully arranged tables of the Chicago banquet hall.¹

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As Johnston raised his glass of champagne in Chicago on the evening of May 18, 1898, thousands of readers in Texas opened up the Wednesday edition of his newspaper, the Houston Daily Post. They were met with a flurry of news items from places scattered across space: a tornado swept across Nebraska, Spanish warships docked in Puerto Rico, and Texas’s dentist association convened in Waco. The Baltimore Orioles won both games of a doubleheader with the Philadelphia Phillies, and a fire broke out in a Houston laund- dry. Nebraska, Spain, Puerto Rico, Waco, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Houston merged into a constellation of locations that readers used to craft mental maps of the world. By printing some places more than others, papers such as the Houston Daily Post continually reshaped space for nineteenth-century Americans. Johnston’s national connections and the expansive daily geography of his paper point to a larger question: How did newspapers construct space in an age of nationalizing forces?

Historians have traditionally experienced an uneasy relationship with space and place. Some still operate under the old positivist paradigm of, in the geographer Edward Soja’s formulation, seeing space as an empty vessel for human action. In recent decades, however, the “spatial turn” in the humanities and social sciences has re-centered questions of space and place for historians. The work of Henri Lefebvre stands at the heart of this shift. The French philosopher’s The Production of Space oriented a generation of historians to the ideas that space is socially constructed and that this process is crucial to understanding a society. Far from being a passive backdrop, space is constitutive, ever-changing, and strongly tied to processes of power. Other spatial thinkers from the 1970s onward similarly worked against geography’s positivist tradition in their articulation of place. Scholars such as Yi-Fu Tuan, Denis Cosgrove, Michel de Certeau, Doreen Massey, and Edward Casey offer theoretical frameworks for how societies and individuals transform space into a particular, defined place by inscribing locations with meanings, values, feelings, and imaginings. Place is constructed through multiple channels, from lived experiences to emotional attachments to acts of naming.


Questions of space and place appear, both explicitly and implicitly, in some of the most influential historical scholarship of the past two decades. In *Gay New York* (1994) George Chauncey mapped the changing “sexual topography” of New York City as men appropriated neighborhoods, cafeterias, and bathhouses into a gay male world. Walter Johnson engaged in a rich analysis of place in *Soul by Soul* (1999) by arguing that southern antebellum slavery crystallized at the particular site of the slave market. Scholars such as Becky Nicolaides, Robert Self, and Thomas Sugrue led a wave of “new suburban history” to situate power and space in the connections between cities and suburbs. Essays on the theory of spatial history, a profusion of panels at major conferences, and even coverage by national news media indicate that spatial history is a thriving field.

My work incorporates space and place by analyzing how Johnston’s *Houston Daily Post* constructed an imagined geography between 1894 and 1901. The term *imagined geography* operates in the tradition of Lefebvre by positing the paper’s geography as an active process of social construction rather than a passive reflection of the world. Newspapers print, and thereby privilege, certain places over others. The *Houston Daily Post* demonstrates how a middling regional newspaper produced space in relation to the large-scale forces reshaping late nineteenth-century America. Although the ubiquitous phrase “the annihilation of time and space” had become by the 1890s, in the words of one historian, a “stale metaphor,” this breathless cliché encapsulated national developments that defined the age. Technologies from the telegraph to the railroad to the telephone knit the continent together. Standard Oil, Carnegie Steel, and their fellow behemoth corporations reshaped the political economy, while groups such as the American Railway Union, the

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Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the People's party blossomed into national organizations. Sectional divisions and disparities remained, but far-flung communities found themselves tied to ever-larger forces that subsumed region and locality. It is tempting to neatly translate these processes of integration and nationalization into how newspapers produced space. Spurred on by the sprawling news conglomerate of the Associated Press and an integrated system of information, newspapers presumably constructed an increasingly homogenized imagined geography. A deeper look at Johnston's paper, however, reveals a much more complicated process. Despite Johnston's seat at the AP banquet, the late nineteenth-century forces of nationalization, incorporation, and standardization did not neatly map onto the pages of the Houston Daily Post. Instead, the paper transmut ed them into a particular imagined geography that emphasized regional specificity rather than national integration.5

To measure and map the Houston Daily Post's production of space, I turn to an increasingly powerful instrument in the historian's tool kit: digital technology. The twenty-first century's electronic abundance presents both an opportunity and a challenge. The Houston Daily Post is one of more than 1,100 newspapers digitized by the Library of Congress's Chronicling America initiative. Even this single slice of the digital archive, however, proves massive and unwieldy: from 1894 to 1901, the Houston Daily Post printed more than 1,700 issues, 20,000 pages, and 115 million words. For perspective, a full-time researcher poring over the Houston Daily Post nonstop for eight hours a day, five days a week, would take more than three years to finish reading the paper.6

Rather than drown in a deluge of source material, I turn to “distant reading,” a method articulated most famously in the humanities by the literary scholar Franco Moretti. Distant reading seeks out macropatterns across large numbers of texts. Instead of analyzing


specific passages in Edward Bellamy’s 1887 utopian novel *Looking Backward,* for instance, the historian might track themes of utopianism across hundreds of nineteenth-century novels. This approach often necessitates the use of computers to “read” massive quantities of text. In the case of my project, I measure the frequency and distribution of specific geographic place-names across the pages of the *Houston Daily Post.* While perusing an issue of the *Houston Daily Post,* a historian might intuit that Chicago loomed large in the Houston paper’s imagined geography. A computer, by comparison, can count exactly how often the word *Chicago* appeared in every issue of every year and then map the city’s position in a hierarchy of constructed space.7 (See figure 1.)

Counting words is a blunt tool to study a complex subject. I am not trying to revive the quantitative history movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and I do not elevate digital analysis as a form of scientific “proof.” Distant reading cannot and will not replace the close reading of historical texts and the interpretation of their meaning and context. The two must be used in concert. Digital methodology played an indispensable role throughout my project in crafting new questions and uncovering hidden patterns. But computational analysis alone cannot articulate the full complexity and significance of my topic. Consequently, I weave together both digital and traditional readings of the text to present a richer understanding of how newspapers produced space. Given the recent interest in digital history and its centrality to my paper, I have written an accompanying online essay, “Mining and Mapping the Production of Space,” that elaborates on my methodology and presents interactive visualizations to map the *Houston Daily Post*’s imagined geography. Analyzing hundreds of millions of words illuminates the complex ways one newspaper produced regionally distinctive space in an age of national forces.8

The Growth of a City and Its Paper

Houston was in many ways a typical midsize American city in the 1890s. Established as a frontier outpost during the chaotic upheaval of the Texas Revolution in the 1830s, the town was transformed by railroad construction and an influx of migrants into a regional entrepôt and the state’s second-largest city by 1890. Railway lines connected Houston to the hinterlands of central and eastern Texas and western Louisiana, carrying lumber and cotton into the city and from there to national and international markets. Much like Atlanta, Memphis, and Birmingham, Houston embodied the regional urban development of the New South in the late nineteenth century. The discovery of oil in nearby Beaumont in 1901 inaugurated Houston’s dizzying ascent from a small commercial city.
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The Houston Daily Post emerged by the 1890s as the city's leading newspaper. Local businessman J. L. Watson established the paper in 1885 and quickly brought a modernizing bent to his enterprise; in 1890 he bought several linotype machines, making the Houston Daily Post one of only three papers in the nation and the first paper west of the Mississippi River to use the new technology. Under the management of Watson and the editorial direction of Rienzi Johnston (also a prominent local businessman), the paper catered to an upper-class and middle-class clientele by printing commercial information along with the standard fare of news, editorials, entertainment, and advertisements. The staunchly Democratic paper emerged by the mid-1890s as one of the two largest papers in the state, with over 9,200 daily subscribers and more than 23,500 subscribers to its weekly edition. In 1899 the national advertising trade journal Printers' Ink selected the Houston Daily Post as one of four finalists in the "Southern Sugar Bowl," a contest for newspapers in the southern half of the country that provided the best value for advertis-

ers. By the turn of the century, the Houston Daily Post was a successful commercial paper in a successful commercial city.10

Newspapers such as the Houston Daily Post were one of the primary shapers of space for nineteenth-century Americans. They were by no means the only sources of geographical information—maps of roads and rivers, letters from out-of-state relatives, or popular travelogues could all influence how people saw the world. But newspapers had the advantage of being cheap, widely available, and timely. They underlay what the historical sociologist William Roy terms “structural power,” or “the ability to determine the context within which decisions are made.” As one of the late nineteenth century’s most ubiquitous sources of information, papers such as the Houston Daily Post helped define the geographical context of the world by printing some locations and ignoring others. To understand the Houston Daily Post’s imagined geography is in part to understand the structural power of the age.11

My approach to analyzing newspapers requires a holistic conceptualization of “news” that includes the entire spectrum of a paper. I intentionally aggregate all content—feature stories, editorials, advertisements, freight tables, stock quotes, classifieds—into potential geographic sources for readers. The word Dallas in a front-page headline was given the same weight as a Dallas in a retail advertisement. This does not imply that the Houston Daily Post’s subscribers read every word of every issue equally, but it avoids biasing certain modes of reading over others. A reader looking for a new pair of gloves might, in fact, be more interested in a back-page advertisement from a Dallas merchant than in a front-page editorial by the Dallas mayor. By incorporating content such as classified ads and baseball box scores, an individual editor’s influence also diminishes. The well-heeled Johnston catered to an elite business class, but factors beyond his control also shaped the Houston Daily Post’s imagined geography: real-world events, the demands of readers and advertisers, and changes in the publishing industry.

Having aggregated the paper’s content, I then mined the Houston Daily Post for more than six hundred different towns, cities, and states. Methodological constraints limited my analysis to specific populated places rather than, say, natural features (the Platte River) or generalized regions (the far West). And while tantalizing analysis remains to be done on a global scale, the story I tell is predominantly an American one. Even within those constraints, a vast geography emerged: across 1,716 issues the paper printed more than 1.3 million instances of place-names. By measuring their frequencies and mapping their locations, I could begin to re-create the Houston Daily Post’s imagined geography of the United States between 1894 and 1901. Two distinct scales emerge in this geogra-


A View of the Nation

On a national scale, New York loomed large as the Houston Daily Post’s third most frequently mentioned place-name. On the opposite side of the country, the American West was largely ignored outside of the state of California and the urban centers of Denver and San Francisco. The newspaper covered the American South in only slightly more depth than it did the West, primarily through references to southern states and the cities of Atlanta, Memphis, and Nashville. In contrast to the West and the South, however, the Midwest (in particular, the middle and lower Mississippi River valley) stamped its imprint across the Houston Daily Post’s imagined geography of the nation. The paper printed tens of thousands of references to Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City, along with smaller cities such as Omaha and St. Paul. Mentions of midwestern states such as Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas similarly swung the paper’s gaze toward the nation’s interior during the 1890s. (See figures 1 and 2.)

Measuring and mapping how often the Houston Daily Post printed different national place-names illustrates the complex relationship between the physical or “actual” geography of the late nineteenth-century United States and the imagined geography crafted by the paper. In many respects, the space produced by newspapers reflected existing economic, political, or cultural systems. By nearly any measure—number of inhabitants, political influence, commercial activity—St. Louis dwarfed a city such as Topeka; it is no surprise that the Houston Daily Post printed St. Louis nearly twenty times as frequently as Topeka. But newspapers did not passively mirror the world. Instead, they actively defined the space of what Benedict Anderson famously termed the “imagined community” of a nation from their specific perspective in time and space. Understanding this process requires a comparison of the “actual” geography of demography and urbanization with the imagined geography of the Houston Daily Post.


I define regional primarily as places falling within the modern-day boundaries of Texas but also loosely encompassing Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana (including New Orleans), Mexico, and Cuba. I define my national scale as all American places outside of this regional orbit.

\[12\] It is possible that the West’s lowly position is attributable to my methodology, as the region’s dearth of large urban centers meant that I extracted fewer western populated places from the Houston Daily Post to begin with. Although I may have missed a collection of small western towns that the paper habitually referenced, the paper’s utter lack of attention to western states such as New Mexico or Idaho makes this unlikely. I have defined the American Midwest as comprising Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. For a cultural discussion of the Midwest as a region, see Kent C. Ryden, “Writing the Midwest: History, Literature, and Regional Identity,” Geographical Review, 89 (Oct. 1999), 511–32.

\[13\] Anderson, Imagined Communities.
The urban system of the nineteenth-century United States revolved around what Donald Meinig terms an “American Core” consisting of two connected spheres: the Northeast, centered on New York, and the American Midwest, centered on Chicago. By the 1890s New York stood at the commercial, cultural, and financial apex of the urban United States: headquarters for corporate America, the social enclave of an elite bourgeoisie, and a clearinghouse for financial information. The Houston Daily Post referenced New York more than any other city besides Houston, from the bylines of foreign news stories to its regular short features “Texans in New York” and “Gossip of Gay Gotham.” Chicago, meanwhile, had emerged by the close of the century as a booming metropolis of 1.5 million inhabitants and the primary gateway between the eastern and western United States. Whether through its coverage of the 1896 Democratic National Convention or in its daily reports on the grain market, the Houston Daily Post mentioned Chicago more frequently than any other national metropolis besides New York.¹⁵

The geographer Michael Conzen argues that New York and Chicago so dominated the late nineteenth-century urban system that their influences have to be “‘peeled away,’ in order to understand the lower levels of regional organization.” And it is precisely by “peeling away” New York and Chicago that the most striking and unexpected divergences between “actual” and imagined geography begin to emerge. Population, for instance, mapped poorly onto the pages of the *Houston Daily Post*. St. Louis was the only city besides New York and Chicago that was both one of the ten largest American cities and one of the *Houston Daily Post*’s ten most-mentioned cities. By contrast, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore (the third, fifth, and sixth largest cities, respectively), failed to appear in the newspaper’s fifteen most-mentioned places between 1894 and 1901. San Francisco, the ninth-largest U.S. city and the hub of the American West, fell outside the paper’s forty most-mentioned places. Demographically, large urban centers in the Northeast and far West were underrepresented in the *Houston Daily Post*.16 (See figure 3.)

The relative position of the American South in the pages of the *Houston Daily Post* is even more striking. The historian Harold Platt describes Houston’s pattern of municipal development during the 1890s as “typical of urban progressivism in the New South.” In many ways, Houston mirrored other cities in the region: railroad cars carried cotton through the city, while its municipal leaders battled over public works projects and instituted a deeply entrenched system of white supremacy. One would expect these regional similarities to shape the imagined geography of the *Houston Daily Post*. Instead, New South urban centers from Norfolk, Virginia, to Savannah, Georgia, to Birmingham, Alabama, were surprisingly muted in the newspaper. In fact, Atlanta was the only southern city besides nearby New Orleans to appear in the paper’s thirty most-mentioned places. A lack of southern urbanization does not explain this trend; the *Houston Daily Post* displayed a remarkable disinterest in southern states as well, with only neighboring Arkansas and Louisiana appearing in the paper’s ten most-mentioned American states (not including Texas). Despite Houston’s cultural, political, and economic connections to the South, the *Houston Daily Post* turned its gaze away from the region.17

The *Houston Daily Post* instead aligned its imagined geography along the corridor of the Mississippi River valley toward the American Midwest. At the heart of this orientation stood a commercial railroad network that had been expanding for the past half-century. In the years leading up to the American Civil War, Houston’s leaders lobbied for new

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17 Platt, *City Building in the New South*, 211. On the New South more broadly, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951); and Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York, 1992). In particular, see Edward L. Ayers’s opening discussion of the geography of the New South, which includes eastern Texas and Houston. *Ibid.*, 3–8. New Orleans was the seventh-most frequently mentioned city by the *Houston Daily Post* and Atlanta was the eighteenth. I have included the following states in the American South category: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. I have excluded Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. The top-ten states mentioned by the *Houston Daily Post* are, in order: Texas, Ohio, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, California, Louisiana, Arkansas, Iowa, and Illinois.
rail lines to run through the town to compete with Galveston’s port. At the end of the war, railway tracks radiated outward from Houston over a roughly fifty-mile radius. In early 1873 the north-south Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad extended its tracks across the Texas-Oklahoma border. Seven years later, workers completed a major line from Houston that bypassed Galveston and connected Houston to the Texas and Pacific Railroad, which stretched westward across the state to the California-based Southern Pacific. By 1890 more than two hundred train cars rolled through Houston each day.\[18\]

Upon first glance, Houston’s railroad connections gesture toward a familiar story of national integration. In the language of the nineteenth century, this industrial-age technology obliterated distance. The completion of the first transcontinental at Promontory Point in 1869 epitomized the ability of the railroad to transcend locality and region and connect a nation. The industry’s imposition of time zones in the 1880s established a single, standardized measure of time. Massive railway corporations, for better or worse, linked local communities to national and international markets while becoming some of the most influential power brokers of their day. Railroads laid their tracks across the Hous-

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ton Daily Post's imagined geography of the nation, but they did not so much homogenize space as undergird a regionally specific process of spatial production. The paper crafted a very particular imagined geography by tracing the web of railway lines snaking northward into the American Midwest and the nodes of this regional transportation network: Dallas, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, St. Paul, Chicago.¹⁹ (See figure 4.)

Digital analysis of place-names in the Houston Daily Post uncovers a skeleton of locations that mirror the midwestern railroad network, but a closer reading of the newspaper reveals the full extent and shape of this network in the paper's imagined geography. During the 1890s the Houston Daily Post dedicated a recurring section to this railroad network, “In the Railway World,” that included stories, notices, business reports, and court decisions related to the industry—a world that centered on Texas and the Midwest. The newspaper peppered this section with mundane information such as: “The slower time schedule between Chicago and Kansas City is now billed to become effective one week from today on all roads.” Railway schedules appeared in every issue, detailing the arrival and departure times for nearby locations such as Galveston and San Antonio along with distant cities such as Omaha and Chicago. Advertisements by companies such as the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad promised to whisk passengers in reclining chairs and sleeping cars twice a day from Houston to points across eastern Texas and onward to St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago.²⁰

Two factors made the “Railway World” section central to the Houston Daily Post's production of space. First, content related to the railroad industry was densely packed with geographic information. By necessity, these timetables, notices, and advertisements presented detailed lists of locations. The newspaper re-created in minute detail the daily activity of a regional transportation network: which lines connected what cities, when and where trains were scheduled to arrive and depart, and the cost of tickets to different destinations. By comparison, a typical news story on President William McKinley might print only a single location to provide narrative context. Second, the title, “In the Railway World,” sounded expansive but coverage was in fact quite parochial. The paper printed railway information related primarily to Texas and the Midwest. In doing so, it largely ignored the rapidly expanding southeastern network orbiting Atlanta, the older system of rail lines in the Northeast centered on Pennsylvania, or the long trunk lines emanating from California. The railroads purported to unite the nation by annihilating distance, but they also enabled a process of spatial production deeply marked by regional specificity.²¹

Even as the Houston Daily Post's “In the Railway World” detailed the spatial structure of the midwestern transportation network, the paper's imagined geography depended


²¹ The major western termini of the transcontinentals, San Francisco and Los Angeles, were completely peripheral for the Houston Daily Post. For an overview of southern railroads during the period, see Ayers, Promise of the New South, 9–13. For an example of the dominance of Texas and midwestern space within the “In the Railway World” section, see “In the Railway World,” Houston Daily Post, Jan. 10, 1896, p. 3, http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth83936/m1/3/.
more specifically on the system of capital that moved across that network. Although the *Houston Daily Post* offered a wide mix of content, it catered to the world of commerce. The paper produced space in part by printing information about the flow of goods and capital: stocks, futures, exports, port registers, crop reports, railroad receipts, and prices for provisioning, wholesale, or dry goods. Just as industrialization and corporate capitalism structured the physical geography of cities, farms, and factories in the late nineteenth century, so too did they structure the imagined geography of the nation’s newspapers.

Understanding the connection between commercial information and the paper’s imagined geography required me to move beyond counting word frequencies. As explained in the accompanying methodological essay, my computer program could extract place-names but it could not connect specific occurrences of places with their immediate context—identifying, for instance, every occurrence of *New Orleans* that appeared in a political election story versus in a commercial port register. Instead, I turned to sampled content analysis, or a combination of close reading, digital analysis, and statistical sampling. First, I selected a random sample of issues from the *Houston Daily Post* from 1894 to 1901 and overlaid an image of each of those pages with a grid of 1,200 cells. I then assigned each cell in the grid to a single category of content (news; advertisements; commercial data; noncommercial data; miscellaneous; and marginalia) and to multiple types of geography (Texas and its surrounding region; the Midwest; all remaining U.S. geog-

Figure 4. The “railway world” of the *Houston Daily Post* followed a network of routes and hubs in Texas and the American Midwest. *Map by Cameron Blevins and Kathy Harris, Spatial History Lab, Stanford University. Railroad data provided by the Stanford Spatial History Lab’s Shaping the West project, http://www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/project.php?id=997.*
raphy; and international places). For example, ten cells overlaid onto a story about the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad were categorized as news content containing both Texas and Midwest geography. By aggregating all 228,000 cells from the sample, I could approximate the percentage of page space dedicated to different categories of newspaper content and geographic coverage. I used this sample to produce statistically significant estimates for the entire collection, which allowed me to establish connections between content and geography in the newspaper.

Sampled content analysis revealed a telling spatial pattern: midwestern geography had a larger relative presence in commercial content than it did in any other category of content. This was not the case for other geographical places. For instance, national geography outside the Midwest appeared in commercial content at roughly the same rate as it did in traditional news-story content. Freight tables and feature stories were equally likely to contain information about national places such as Baltimore, California, or New England. By comparison, specifically midwestern geography appeared in 21.1% of commercial content but in only 8.5% of traditional news-story content. A freight table was almost 2.5 times as likely as a feature article to contain information about midwestern places such as Chicago, Iowa, or Ohio. Sampled content analysis reinforces the extent to which Houston’s connections to a larger commercial system pulled the Houston Daily Post’s production of space toward the nation’s interior.

The midwestern commercial geography of the Houston Daily Post took on even greater specificity by tracing movements along three overlapping urban orbits: Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City. In particular, the newspaper traced the flow of two major

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22 Blevins, “Mining and Mapping the Production of Space,” http://spatialhistory.stanford.edu/viewoftheworld. The random sample encompassed seventeen issues, or 1% of the entire collection. I developed a digital interface to perform content analysis on this sample. By overlaying a grid of cells onto each image of a newspaper page from the sampled issues I could calculate the percentage of page space dedicated to different categories of content and geography. The content categories were: narrative news; narrative miscellaneous (jokes, stories, sermons, etc.); advertisements and classifieds; fragmentary commercial information (stock prices, shipping receipts, etc.); fragmentary noncommercial information (weather tables, hotel guest lists, etc.); and marginalia (titles, page numbers, dates, etc.). The geographic categories were: Texas and its surrounding region; the Midwest; all remaining U.S. geography; and international places. Content categories were mutually exclusive; each cell could only be classified as one kind of content. Geographic categories were not mutually exclusive; multiple categories could be assigned to each cell. Hence, a story about a Texas senator in Washington would be classified as both Texas and non-Midwest U.S. geography. The program I developed is open source and available for download at http://www.cameronblevins.org/imagedgrid.

23 The nature of random sampling means that different samples will produce different results depending on the size of the sample and the range of variation in the collection as a whole. Therefore, I used a statistical technique called “least squares estimates” to estimate how representative my sample was for the entire collection. This produced 95% confidence intervals (CI), or ranges of values, for each of the content/geography measurements within my sample. These 95% confidence intervals indicate that if a new random sample were generated from the collection, its content/geography measurements would fall within these ranges of values 95% of the time. Hence, there is a strong likelihood that if the entire collection of 1,716 issues was measured, its content/geography measurements would also fall within these ranges. I include the 95% CI for specific content/geography measurements in the footnotes that follow. I am happy to provide my statistical estimates for the entire set of measurements upon request. On least squares estimates, see Leo H. Kahane, Regression Basics (Los Angeles, 2008), 17–36. On confidence intervals, see “Having Confidence in Data,” in Statistics for Humanities, by John Canning, http://statisticsforhumanities.net/book1/index.php?title=Chapter17.

24 Midwestern geography occurred in 21.1% (CI of 17% to 25.2%) of commercial page space and 8.5% (CI of 6.3% to 10.9%) of traditional news page space. National geography, excluding the Midwest, occurred in 27.5% (CI of 22.7% to 32.4%) of commercial page space and 28.4% (CI of 25.1% to 31.5%) of traditional news page space. On the printed space of Gilded Age newspapers, see John Henry Hepp IV, The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876–1926 (Philadelphia, 2003), 89–114.
commodities along these orbits: grain and livestock. In almost every issue, the Houston Daily Post reported on the daily market activity for these two commodities. In August 1897 the paper reported that the Chicago and St. Louis wheat markets “opened with a roar” amid a buying frenzy that pushed prices to their highest level in years. Four years later, the paper plastered “Cattle Die Mysteriously” across the top of its business section but reassured readers that the “tone of the live stock markets yesterday was steady for the choicest grades.” It also printed on that day, as it did in every issue, the prices and receipts in Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City for an array of animals: dressed beef, mast-fed hogs, Indian steers, native muttons, and choice yearlings.25

The flow of cattle and wheat across the American interior in the late nineteenth century illustrates the relationship between the production of space and a broader process of market integration. The historian William Cronon describes how the distribution and sale of goods in distant markets stripped a farmer’s wheat or a cattleman’s steer of their geographic origin: “Once within the corporate system, places lost their particularity and became functional abstractions on organizational charts. Geography no longer mattered very much except as a problem in management: time had conspired with capital to annihilate space.” Yet from the vantage point of the Houston Daily Post many places did, in fact, retain their particularity: not as origin points, but as conduits and destinations for commodities moving through a corporate system. The paper’s imagined geography reflected Houston’s pull toward specific overlapping commercial orbits: midwestern grain and livestock, Texas cotton, or New York finance. By charting commodity flows the paper articulated a capitalist system from a particular vantage point within it. But the Houston Daily Post did not just passively reflect this system; it also actively reinforced the structural power of capital in the 1890s. The paper looked to New York and the Midwest while simultaneously turning away from the booming industrial belt of the Northeast and the extractive zones of the far West. By printing some places more than others, it produced a delimited version of space for its readers. Through the seemingly innocuous channel of commercial information, the paper constructed an imagined geography deeply tied to corporate power. Newspapers such as the Houston Daily Post served as both mirror and handmaiden for a system of capital that had not so much homogenized national space as reshaped and rearranged it in specific ways.26

The Triumph of Region

Even as the Houston Daily Post produced its national geography, the paper subsumed the scale of the nation beneath that of the region. Despite a cosmopolitan business reader-


ship, the national connections of its editor, and the overwhelming integrative forces of the 1890s, regionalism flourished in the paper. By nearly any quantitative measure the *Houston Daily Post* focused its spatial production on Texas and the state’s immediate orbit. Two out of every three printed place-names fell within this region. At the top of the list, seven of the ten most frequently mentioned cities were in Texas’s region. (See figure 3.) Sampled content analysis reveals a similar pattern: 57.5% of the paper’s total page space referenced the smaller-scale geography of Texas and its surrounding area—more than double the amount containing references to other U.S. places. Not surprisingly, Texas and Houston stood in a class of their own: together, they occurred once every 210 words, or between twenty-five to thirty times per page. The *Houston Daily Post* engaged in a process of pointillism that pinned thousands upon thousands of fragmentary shards of information onto a regional geography. Articulating the contours of this geography and how the paper constructed it highlights the unexpected prominence of regionally specific space in the late nineteenth century.27

From the 1840s onward hundreds of thousands of migrants poured into Texas. Farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers planted cotton in the blackland prairie of central and eastern Texas, while ranchers moved to the plains of west Texas during the last quarter of the century. The *Houston Daily Post*’s imagined geography of the region in part mirrored this pattern of settlement. Although new ranching and railroad towns such as Abilene, Lubbock, Midland, and Amarillo sprouted up in both western Texas and in the pages of the *Houston Daily Post*, the paper’s production of regional geography tended to concentrate in the eastern half of the state. Cities in eastern Texas—Houston, Galveston, Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, Waco, and Fort Worth—made up seven of the paper’s twelve most-mentioned cities. (See figure 5.) A dense second tier of modestly populated eastern Texas towns helped fill out the paper’s production of the region: Brenham, Denton, Corsicana, Port Arthur, and La Porte. None of those towns had more than ten thousand residents, but the paper nonetheless mentioned them more frequently than it did national metropolises ten times their size. From the vantage point of New York or Chicago, these Texas towns were peripheral specks on the nation’s landscape. From the vantage point of the *Houston Daily Post*, however, they stood at the heart of the paper’s imagined geography.28

27 As previously mentioned, I define “regional” as all places falling within the modern-day boundaries of Texas, but also loosely encompassing nearby areas of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana (including New Orleans), Mexico, and Cuba. On the problems involved with identifying Texas in a regional context and its position between West and South, see Ty Cashion, “What’s the Matter with Texas? The Great Enigma of the Lone Star State in the American West,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 55 (Dec. 2005), 2–15. While 57.7% (ct of 54.1% to 59.2%) of the paper’s page space referenced places in Texas and its surrounding area, only 25% (ct of 20% to 26.8%) of the paper’s total page space contained national geography (a combination of two categories: national—non-Midwest and American Midwest). By term frequency, 66.86% of the printed occurrences of place-names were either regional or local.

I argue that the Houston Daily Post’s emphasis on local and regional space can be traced to late nineteenth-century shifts in American journalism. In the 1880s and 1890s newspapers completed a transformation from the partisan presses of the early nineteenth century into highly commercialized entities targeting a mass market of readers as consumers. Newspapers courted an ever-larger demographic to support a business model based on subscription and advertising revenue. To expand their audience, many editors took a scattershot approach to content, which grew to encompass stories, jokes, advice columns, political cartoons, municipal notices, sports scores, stock prices, court notices, and police reports. In the words of the historian Gerald Baldasty, “the American newspaper had become a cafeteria of information: it contained something for everyone.” With this diversification came a fragmentation of both form and content that changed how a paper such as the Houston Daily Post produced local and regional space.29

In Communities of Journalism the historian David Nord describes how the Chicago Times of the 1880s printed “tiny stories from everywhere on every conceivable subject
... [often] unrelated, one- or two-sentence items grouped together under headings such as ‘Slices of News,’ ‘News Nebulae,’ or ‘Local Skimmings.’” The Houston Daily Post engaged in a similar editorial process, printing hundreds of short, three- to five-line news items from across the state. Published in a section called “Short Texas Specials,” they were frequently grouped by theme: “Weather and Crops,” “Texas Marriages,” “The Fire Record” (fire reports), “A Day in the Courts” (state judicial notices), “Island City Notes” (news from Galveston), or “A Day in the City” (Houston news). Even as stories fragmented, the paper still needed to provide locations for them. The Houston Daily Post pinned these discrete items, one after the other, onto a map of the state and region.

The paper also included a dizzying range of fragmentary content that, unlike the material in “Short Texas Specials,” was largely devoid of narrative form: tables of regional temperatures, lists of letters held in the Houston post office, Texas baseball standings, local hotel guest registers, and tables of county election results. Much like the timetables or commodity prices that undergirded the geography of the Houston Daily Post’s commercial “Railway World” section, these items conveyed functional information rather than the story-driven journalism that readers today tend to think of as “news.” Often lacking actors or even events, this kind of nonnarrative content fades from the historian’s gaze. But that does not make it peripheral. The sampled content analysis described earlier in this article revealed that nonnarrative content such as advertisements or train schedules made up more than 40 percent of the newspaper’s page space. This nonnarrative content skewed far more toward regional geography than did narrative content. Nearly 70 percent of the page space classified as nonnarrative content contained regional geography. For narrative content, that number dropped to 49 percent. Region dwarfed nation in all types of content, but the trend was far more pronounced in fragmentary information than in traditional story-driven news. As the Houston Daily Post interspersed tables of data alongside columns of text, its production of space became denser and more granular. A listing of guests at the local Lawlor Hotel reads like a gazetteer: “... W.A. Fletcher, W. Wiess, Beaumont; John H. Conniﬀ, New Orleans; M.S. Hasil, Fort Worth; H. Hughes, Galveston. ...” Thirty-four names linked to thirty-four locations, all packed into a scant one-tenth of a column. Like a pointillist painter, the Houston Daily Post crafted a vision of the state and region using an endless staccato of locational pinpoints.

No section of the newspaper embodied the industry’s shift toward fragmentary and nonnarrative content more so than advertisements. The historian Pamela Laird describes how manufacturing companies increasingly turned to a growing advertising industry at the end of the century to more eﬀectively sell their products to a national consumer market. Late nineteenth-century newspapers consequently plastered their pages with hundreds of ads aimed at this consumer society, displaying products from sewing machines

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30 Nord, Communities of Journalism, esp. 115.

31 Nonnarrative content made up 42.6% of the paper (ct of 39.9% to 46%). This ﬁgure includes the categories of advertisements and classiﬁeds; fragmentary commercial information (stock prices, shipping receipts, etc.); fragmentary noncommercial information (weather tables, hotel guest lists, etc.); and marginalia (titles, page numbers, dates, etc.). Narrative content, meanwhile, made up 57.4% of the paper’s page space (ct of 54% to 60.1%). 69.7% of nonnarrative content contained regional geography (ct of 66.9% to 74.4%); 15.5% contained other national geography (ct of 12.9% to 18%). Meanwhile, 48.5% of narrative content contained regional geography (ct of 40.6% to 51.5%); 31.5% contained other national geography (ct of 24.6% to 34%). For another historian’s breakdown of diﬀerent kinds of news in a sampling of 1890s newspapers, see Baldasty, Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century, 113–37, appendix. “The Hotels,” Houston Daily Post, Nov. 15, 1898, p. 7; http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth114559/m1171.2.
to railroad tickets to the juggernauts of commercial marketing: pills, powders, and patent medicines. The *Houston Daily Post* was no different, dedicating almost one-third of its total page space to advertisements and classifieds.\(^\text{32}\) (See figure 6.)

The growth of large-scale manufacturing and a national consumer market led to a boom in professional advertising agencies during the 1890s and early 1900s. Focusing on the rise of national advertising, however, discounts the importance of local advertising for a newspaper such as the *Houston Daily Post*. National brand-name products such as Royal Baking Powder and Lea and Perrins’ Worcestershire Sauce regularly appeared in the *Houston Daily Post*, but they were overshadowed by a torrent of local and regional advertisements. Sampled content analysis showed that only 13.4 percent of the paper’s advertising page space featured national companies. By comparison, over 77 percent of the advertising page space originated in Texas and its immediate region. A typical issue from December 1898, for instance, began on the front page with an advertisement for the Houston Drug Company and ended on the back page with an advertisement for Galveston’s Tremont Hotel. The 1890s may have witnessed the coming-of-age of mass-market production and distribution, but local shopkeepers, merchants, and businessmen continued to control the advertising world of the *Houston Daily Post*.\(^\text{33}\)

Classified ads stood at the heart of regional advertising. The *Houston Daily Post* printed a page or more of classifieds in every issue, trumpeting: “The Post prints more ‘Want Ads’ than any other Texas Newspaper.” Whether that assertion was true or not, the paper undeniably printed a huge number of classifieds: on average more than two hundred per issue. They underlay not only the paper’s revenue model but also its production of regional space. Much like hotel registries and railroad timetables, classifieds were densely packed with geographic information. People who took out a want ad needed to provide details on their posting and a way for respondents to contact them, both of which often necessitated locating themselves in space. In one 1896 issue, Jack Thomas from Barnum was trying to sell a variety of hatching eggs, F. C. Sandow was renting his farm near Lynchburg, and an anonymous poster in Flatonia was looking for “a little boy to adopt about 2 years old without parents.” Most importantly for the *Houston Daily Post*, classifieds operated almost exclusively within a local and regional orbit. Although companies in New York or Chicago occasionally posted want ads for sales agents, the vast majority of the paper’s classifieds were submitted by Texans and aimed at a Texan audience.\(^\text{34}\)

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The *Houston Daily Post* produced regional space on a microscopic level by charting the small-scale movement of people, goods, and information through Houston and the surrounding area. By locating cotton crops and hotel guests and railroad depots across hundreds of thousands of discrete pieces of content, the paper constructed a dense map of local and regional space that transcended the geography of the nation. But the newspaper did not just passively chart flows and connections. It also reinforced what the sociologist William Roy terms “structural power”—the ability to control the context for making choices. The *Houston Daily Post* could not determine where people grew cotton or which trains they rode, but it could define the geography they used to decide where to farm or how to travel. The paper emphasized certain geographical contexts over others and, by doing so, undergirded a regional commercial elite. Fragmentary commercial content subtly reinforced the world view of this readership: a wholesaler looking at shipping receipts from Galveston, a land speculator perusing real-estate notices near Denison, a lawyer checking railway departure times to Dallas. Even when non-elites directly participated in the *Houston Daily Post* via classifieds, they did so under rigid structural constraints. Postings such as, “A colored girl wants a place to do general house work or cooking,” enabled an individual to shape the content of the paper, but only by participating in a regional...
system that commodified her labor along axes of race, class, and gender. The paper, and the structural power it supported, operated in the realm of the ordinary and everyday.35

The classifieds section of the Houston Daily Post is a far cry from the lavish Associated Press banquet hall in Chicago where this article began. But those ads illustrate a central paradox in the late nineteenth century’s production of space: the persistence of regionalism in an age of national forces. On first glance, the Houston Daily Post’s deep connections to the Associated Press should have defined the contours of the paper’s imagined geography. By the 1890s the Associated Press had established a powerful communications monopoly that controlled much of the journalistic landscape. The organization relied on a symbiotic relationship with the Western Union Telegraph Company to gather information from a nationwide network of agents, repackage it into a standardized “American” perspective, and redistribute the information to member papers such as the Houston Daily Post. According to the historian Menahem Blondheim, the Associated Press crafted itself into a hidden institution that “helped Americans accommodate to a common information environment. By giving news that impressed the minds of Americans a national orientation, it fostered the integration of American society.”36

Powerful new integrative forces in technology, communications, and business were indeed creating a “national orientation” during the late nineteenth century, but this process did not tidily correspond with how a newspaper such as the Houston Daily Post produced space. If the Associated Press drove the paper’s production of space, the effect would have been a homogenized vision of the nation that subsumed locality and region. Instead, the opposite occurred. The paper shaped its imagined geography of the nation along the specific commercial network that connected Houston to the American Midwest. Closer to home, the Houston Daily Post privileged region over nation through a process of spatial production that was tiny in scale, mundane in nature, and utterly ubiquitous. In short, the world looked very different from Rienzi Johnston’s office in Houston than it did from the faraway headquarters of the Associated Press.

Houston and Beyond

How did the world look from different vantage points in space or time? A brief coda offers a glimpse into the potential for digital analysis to answer this question through a comparison of the Houston Daily Post and an earlier Houston newspaper, the Telegraph and Texas Register. Just as the Houston Daily Post’s imagined geography did not necessarily mirror the “actual” geography of the urbanization or demography of the 1890s, neither did it mimic previous constructions of space. Between 1836 and 1851 the Telegraph and Texas Register operated as a semiofficial government mouthpiece, first for a fragile Texas republic and then for a newly admitted American state. Like the Houston Daily Post fifty


years later, the earlier Telegraph and Texas Register peered out at the world from its Houston printing office. But the two papers produced radically different views of the world.37

The Telegraph and Texas Register and the Houston Daily Post shared similarities: the nearby ports of Galveston and New Orleans loomed large in both, as did ever-present New York. But the differences between the two papers were stark. On a national scale, the Telegraph and Texas Register focused its gaze on coastal ports such as Mobile, Charleston, and Philadelphia. It also placed a much greater emphasis on the American South during the 1830s and 1840s, mentioning almost every southern state at a higher frequency than did the Houston Daily Post. (See figure 7.) Like the later Houston Daily Post, the Telegraph and Texas Register’s production of space was shaped by the movement of goods, people, and information within a larger system of capital. The difference, however, lay in how that movement occurred. Whereas the Houston Daily Post followed the dense railroad network of the Midwest, its predecessor emphasized the shipping channels of the Gulf of Mexico.

and the Atlantic Seaboard. (See figure 8.) Everything from dry goods to mail packets in that earlier era passed through the docks of Boston, Baltimore, Havana, New Orleans, and Galveston before reaching Houston. These changes in transportation and communication help explain the imagined geographies of the two papers.

On a smaller regional scale, the Telegraph and Texas Register struggled to define Texas as a spatial entity and printed the place-name Texas only around half as often as did the Houston Daily Post. Tellingly, the earlier paper often identified itself in relation to Mexico, referencing its southern neighbor more than five times as frequently as did the Houston Daily Post. Although the Republic of Texas laid claim to a broad swath of territory in the 1830s, encompassing all of present-day Texas, half of present-day New Mexico, and northward into present-day Colorado and Wyoming, its leading newspaper focused on a


Figure 8. The imagined geography of the *Telegraph and Texas Register* between 1836 and 1851 illustrates an earlier “view of the world” from Houston. In contrast to the later *Houston Daily Post*, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* focused on port cities in the Gulf of Mexico and the northeastern seaboard. *Map by Cameron Blevins and Kathy Harris, Spatial History Lab, Stanford University.*
small core of eastern Anglo settlement in San Antonio, Austin, Houston, Galveston, and Nacogdoches. (See figure 9.) West of these small settlements the young republic’s boundaries disintegrated. A close reading of the earlier paper during the 1830s and 1840s reveals just how much it struggled to articulate a borderlands geography wracked with violence and instability. The Telegraph and Texas Register often eschewed fixed, specific populated places in favor of vague locations married to events: “A party of Indians supposed to be Wacoes and Towaccanies, lately made a descent upon the settlements between the Guadaloupe and Colorado [Rivers], and killed the mail rider.” One editorialist admitted that the interior of Texas “is in possession of Mexico and of the Comanche Indians, and never has been in possession of Texas—and although claimed as within our boundary, has yet to be conquered.” If the later Houston Daily Post engaged in a process of spatial pointillism that anchored thousands of pinpoints in Texas, the Telegraph and Texas Register painted a watercolor portrait of the region defined by nebulous shapes and permeable borders. Electronic visualizations in the accompanying online essay, “Mining and Mapping the Production of Space,” provide an even more dramatic visual comparison between the two newspapers.

Comparing the two newspapers is a fitting coda to demonstrate the possibilities of moving beyond the Houston Daily Post in both time and space. Did the Denver Republican, the Atlanta Constitution, or the Pittsburg Times in the 1890s mirror the Houston Daily Post’s overwhelming regionalism? How did all of these papers construct international space in the context of rising American imperialism? Shifting backward in time, historians of the Atlantic world might apply computational analysis to the colonial era. The imagined geographies of newspapers from Philadelphia, Kingston, or Rio de Janeiro could illuminate the nodes and anchors of the Atlantic world and its spatial coherence as a category of analysis. As libraries and archives continue to digitize their holdings, historians will have the chance to apply digital analysis to not just newspapers but also maps, novels, account books, letters, diaries, sermons, and speeches. Recovering the imagined geography of the Houston Daily Post is an early step on the path toward a more comprehensive spatial history.


The claim that the digital age transforms the practice of history is a truism that flattens a complex process. Technology has and will continue to reshape the discipline, from the everyday practice of sending e-mails to the more profound question posed by the Journal of American History’s editor, “What is the future of the print journal in a digital age?” This article has focused on one facet of technological transformation: the scale and form of the digital archive. Vast quantities of digitized sources allow historians to ask and answer questions in fundamentally new ways. The imagined geography of the Houston Daily Post was, in part, buried under an avalanche of freight tables, price lists, classifieds, and advertisements. Unearthing the newspaper’s underlying spatial production required a computer program to calculate the frequency of more than one million place-names strewn across hundreds of millions of words. This method of analysis would have been impractical even a decade ago. And a decade from now there will be new sources and new kinds of tools to study them. That is the promise of digital history: to radically expand our ability to access and draw meaning from the historical record.41

For all of its potential, digital history is not without risk. It requires a disciplinary leap beyond the humanities and social sciences into unfamiliar fields such as engineering and computer science. Most of us lack the technical training to simply borrow methods and techniques from these fields. My project relied as much on writing computer code, building a spatial database, and visualizing data as it did on reading and interpreting

text. It would have been impossible without the help of computer scientists, geographers, and graphic designers. But collaboration only works if we can persuade our colleagues that solving historical problems can help them answer interesting questions in their own fields. Collaborative digital projects are more administratively complex than a single-author monograph, and higher overhead costs make them dependent on the ebbs and flows of grant cycles, institutional support, and the shelf life of specific technologies. Not all, or even most, will meet their goals. The discipline needs to openly acknowledge the failures as much as the successes to appraise what worked, what didn’t, and what could have been done differently.

Finally, lost in the talk of disciplinary upheaval is the fact that the traditional skills of the historian have never been more needed. The ability to instantly search millions of records requires exactly the kind of skepticism that historians have always wielded. What are a collection’s biases, gaps, and silences? Who produced the sources and under what circumstances? Current technologies such as Geographic Information Systems or tablet computers will move in new directions or eventually fade into obsolescence. But the need to recognize contingency, to offer context, to investigate nuance and complexity, will not. An individual historian will still be able to build a career using these skills and no others. It is unlikely, however, that the profession as a whole will thrive with these skills alone. In this environment, inaction is ultimately reactionary; it is as much a mistake as thinking that our traditional skills are now obsolete. Technology opens potentially transformative avenues for historical discovery, but without a stronger appetite for experimentation those opportunities will go unrealized. The future of the discipline rests in large part on integrating new methods with conventional ones to redefine the limits and possibilities of how we understand the past.