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Historiography in Mass Communication

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Fifty Years of Hip Hop Historiography

By Mark Bernhardt ©

Bernhardt

This last academic year I taught a class on the history of African American music in the twentieth century and supervised several graduate students' research projects on music's role in Black civil rights activism. Since I'm a media historian, American popular music in the twentieth century has long been an interest of mine, and given how much of it was developed by African Americans, it is impossible to understand this music's history without understanding African American history. With its place at the intersection of cultural studies and media studies, scholars in many different fields have produced an extensive body of work on African American music as a form of social and political activism and how this media engages its audience through messaging. With the creation of Blues, Jazz, Rock 'n' Roll, R&B, and Hip Hop, and their many subgenres, African Americans expressed their thoughts on life in the United States and the need for change.

In analyzing Hip Hop's place within the legacy of Black activist

Mark Bernhardt is a history professor at Jackson State University. His forthcoming book is tentatively titled *American Opportunity, American Hospitality: 1950s U.S. Sitcoms' Cold War Messaging about Middle Class Accessibility and Assimilation for Marginalized Peoples.*

music, the journalists and academics who have written about the genre have focused on several major themes. Most prevalent is what Hip Hop tells us about the Black experience in the United States and examining how that experience varied in different parts of the country. A hotly debated question that arises is whether Hip Hop's messaging is negative or positive. Does the glorification of violence, drug use, and misogyny or promotion of community, call for action standing against racism, and support for feminism come through loudest? Another important theme has been Hip Hop's influence, both on U.S. culture and in reaching an international audience. As the genre continues to evolve, those who study it are delving into and expanding newer fields of analysis as well as looking at how Hip Hop is addressing old issues in new ways.

The form that Hip Hop analysis has taken has evolved since the genre's creation in the 1970s, which reflects who perceived the genre as important and why. Music scholar Gail Woldu describes the three groups who have been responsible for producing the body of literature on Hip Hop, starting with "devotees" who had a deep passion for the genre and were most connected with the underground press, then adding journalists and cultural critics who published in mainstream magazines and journals, and finally including academics who published scholarly articles and monographs. She also traces the major themes in this writing. In the late 1970s and early 1980s most Hip Hop analysts focused on the characteristics of the genre as a musical form that combined beats and lyrics as part of a new rhythmic style. By the 1990s, attention turned toward the themes of politics, violence, and sexism. In the early 2000s there was more scholarly analysis of the culture, diving more deeply into the conditions from which Hip Hop arose and its significance as a means for African Americans to describe their experiences

as a group marginalized by both race and class.[1] As it became a topic of study, underground and mainstream presses exposed how Hip Hop captures the feelings of despair and rebellion within Black communities in the post-civil rights era. Academics then placed the music into a larger context of national social, cultural, and political issues, and this work is ongoing.

Historians of the genre generally credit DJ Kool Herc for Hip Hop's creation while DJing at his younger sister's Halloween party in 1973, using twin turntables to play extended drum breaks. DJs became neighborhood celebrities, eventually giving way to MCs who developed studio engineered beats as opposed to working exclusively from turntables as the music became more commercialized. Later, artists began speaking rhymes over this music, which became known as Rap, with "Rapper's Delight" by the Sugar Hill Gang the first known recorded Rap song. It was not long before Rap became a means for political expression that delved into the racism African Americans confronted daily, openly speaking about poverty, violence, drug addiction, and other social problems. Over time, Hip Hop has had a major impact on American culture, through dance styles, fashion, movies and television, language, and advertising.[2]

Looking at Hip Hop as a form of social expression, historian Robin Kelley's *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* introduces Hip Hop artists as members of a long line of working-class African Americans who have engaged in cultural and political resistance.[3] Providing historical context for this type of activism, sociologist Theresa Martinez focuses on how Hip Hop was born from poor African Americans' resistance to the conditions of their neighborhoods. This urban underclass was socially and economically isolated from the rest of the nation. The music they created builds on their distrust of the police and

healthcare system, fear of the government, and never-ending racial oppression.[4] Complicating this discussion about Hip Hop's race and class messaging, Communication Studies scholar Murray Forman notes that while certain components of Hip Hop are shared nationally, the genre does not capture the entirety of the racial experience. Rather, it sheds light on conditions in specific parts of the country. In this way, the music is quite diverse. Gangsta Rap, for example, only reflects the conditions for certain African Americans, and it varies from city to city.[5] Demonstrating this point further, Courtney Terry (Humanities), Regina Bradley (English), and Stephanie Evans (African American Studies) analyze Hip Hop in the context of the southern United States and how it constructs Black identity for people in that region during the post-Civil Rights era.[6] Thus it is clear that Hip Hop is not monolithic, reflecting an array of African American experiences and exposing people around the country and the world to the complexity of what it means to be Black in the United States.

Counterculture journalist Steven Hager was among the first to bring knowledge about Hip Hop culture to a wider audience with his book *Hip Hop: The Illustrated History of Break Dancing, Rap Music, and Graffiti*. He provides a visual introduction to the early origins of Hip Hop and related expressions within Black communities.[7] Sociologist Tricia Rose's *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* was one of the pioneering academic works in the study of Hip Hop, providing an overview of its history, styles, themes, and technology. In doing so, Rose examines the racial and sexual politics of the genre. Deconstructing the stereotypes of "gangsta Rap," she demonstrates that Hip Hop contains complex narratives about the nation's character and Black experience in the post-industrial United States.[8]

S. Craig Watkins, a scholar of radio, television, and film, continued

the study of Hip Hop's history with *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement*. He explores how entrepreneurs turned the genre into a major media business while maintaining a thriving underground and the political activism that stems from it with its own intelligentsia. He notes that Hip Hop has inspired its own literature, influenced film and television, and spawned its own brands, such as FUBU and Def Jam. Hip Hop's influence has been enormous, completely reinventing the music industry, and its potential is limitless with new voices constantly emerging to define what it is and where it can go.[9] With media, aside from the sale of songs and albums, Hip Hop has made especially significant contributions through music videos and the cinematic genre "hood films."[10]

African American music has a long history of political messaging, and Hip Hop is still considered the contemporary iteration of such messaging in music. Journalist James Stewart traces this history through slave spirituals, gospel, blues, and R&B to Hip Hop. Specifically in the transition from R&B to Rap, Stewart credits artists such as Sam Cooke, the Impressions, Curtis Mayfield, and Gill Scott Heron with addressing racial inequality, problems with the criminal justice system, the realities of inner-city life, and the need for action. These messages carried over into the work of Grand Master Flash and the Furious 5, Public Enemy, and Tupac Shakur.[11] Given this history, Ethnic Studies scholar Reiland Rbaka concludes that Black music and freedom struggles are intricately linked and that African American popular culture cannot be understood apart from politics.[12]

Many scholars show that the music of the Civil Rights Movement era built on the foundation of Black music as a form of activism, and this strongly influenced what Hip Hop would become. Motown played an important part in political messaging at the time, which carried over

into Hip Hop, as historian Suzanne Smith demonstrates with the connection between Detroit and the music label. Detroit was a hotbed of Black activism and artists like Diana Ross and Marvin Gaye gave voice to calls for equality that reached a mass audience through their pop songs.[13] Hip Hop also drew from the freedom songs of the era. Music historian Chris Goertzen examines how freedom songs unified activists in the Civil Rights Movement, specifically by looking at the Hattiesburg, Mississippi Voter Registration Project that was part of Freedom Summer. Though derived from spirituals and hymns, activists turned them into a unique sound that unified the movement, connecting people to a common goal, with the songs introduced in new places as activists moved through them.[14] African American Studies scholar Immani Perry provides further insight into Black protest music by examining the important role songs played at sit-ins, boycotts, and marches. They unified African Americans in committing acts of rebellion against the status quo and the danger they faced. Radio was a means for partaking in these songs — another way they spread across the country.[15] Showing the extent to which protest music stemmed from an organized effort on the part of civil rights activists, journalist and author Kim Ruehl tells the tale of Zilphia Horton and the Highlander Folk School, where Horton produced major anthems used by activists in the Civil Rights Movement and taught activists how to use song as a tool to push for social change.[16] Today, these songs still play an important role in Black protest, which sociologist David Spener attributes to their religious undertones as fostering a sense of rightness in challenging racial inequality and the feeling that they undergird a national movement against ongoing oppression.[17]

As the Civil Rights Movement lost momentum, new musical genres dominated Black expression. Communications scholar Kesha Morant

describes how Funk became an outlet for political and social protest. James Brown and Parliament Funkadelic became voices for young, poor African Americans confronting American racism. It continued the messaging of the Civil Rights Movement at a time when White Americans generally lost interest in furthering equality. She asserts that Funk served as a bridge between the protest songs of the 1960s and Hip Hop in the late 1970s.[18]

Examining how Hip Hop came to be the new genre through which African Americans connected with their quest for equality, Cultural Studies scholar Catherine Powell asserts that Hip Hop could be both entertaining and informative, describing how artists like RUN DMC, Kid 'N' Play, and Public Enemy introduced African American youth to important themes that gave them a connection to their history and could inspire them to strive for success.[19] Musicologist Robert Walser specifically details Public Enemy's role in Hip Hop messaging about African American struggles and restricted access to resources.[20] Connecting Hip Hop directly to the Civil Rights Movement through an analysis of song lyrics, historian Derrick Alridge demonstrates how ideological themes carry over into the genre through discussions of the need for self-determination, Black identity through Pan-Africanism, the struggles of poverty, and the value of education. He notes that artists such as Public Enemy and Outkast speak directly about civil rights activism in a contemporary context.[21]

In the context of these other scholars' work, historian Pero Dagbovie argues that Hip Hop's messaging is important for young African Americans because they are too far removed in time to truly understand and appreciate the Civil Rights Movement. Artists such as Kanye West, Lil Kim, and Nas incorporate historical themes in their music and in this way keep the history and ideas of the Civil Rights Movement alive

for a new generation.[22] Journalist Marcus Reeves sees Hip Hop as stemming from the Black Power Movement specifically, and that Hip Hop became a form of expression and activism for young African Americans as they lost touch with a publicly identifiable movement. Hip Hop artists became the new community and political leaders of the era.[23] Relatedly, music historian Rachel Vandagriff builds on the discussion of Hip Hop's connection to the Civil Rights Movement by analyzing the genre as the expression of a marginalized people protesting against the conditions they face. She describes how artists like Kendrick Lamar and J. Cole use their music as a call to action in an era when media has drawn attention to the rash of African Americans murdered by the police.[24] Together, these scholars show how Hip Hop continues the musical tradition of resistance, keeping young African Americans connected to the history of African Americans' experiences in the United States.

Not everyone has seen Hip Hop's messaging as positive, however. Its critics focus on its lewd and misogynistic lyrics and glorification of violence and drug use. Some scholars, like political scientist Errol Henderson and African American Studies scholar Joseph Winters, express concern that Hip Hop's focus on violence and its overall commercialization has shifted it away from its roots as protest music inspired by the Civil Rights Movement and that young African Americans could lose their connection to Black history and identity as a result.[25] Along those lines, Todd Craig (English) asserts that Hip Hop artists have an obligation to young African Americans to continue the Civil Rights Movement's messaging in their music, promoting non-violence as a way of saving lives rather than glorifying violence.[26]

Others disagree with this critique. Regarding, representations of women, Robin Roberts (English) looks at the role of artists like Queen Latifah in establishing an Afrocentrist feminism within Hip Hop that

links racism and sexism.[27] Community education scholar Jeanita Richardson and Kim Scott, a Gender Studies scholar, address the violence critics focus on, asserting that Hip Hop is not monolithic and that stereotyping the genre as merely glorifying violence diminishes the complexity of its messages. Additionally, they argue that the narrative about violence that does exist reflects problems in U.S. society. Violence is a national preoccupation evident throughout media. They claim that Hip Hop merely responds to the nation's culture of violence and the financial gains for glorifying antisocial behavior. Thus, it does not encourage violent behavior but merely paints a picture of the conditions American racism have created in Black communities.[28] Rose delves into this discussion in *The Hip Hop Wars: What We Talk about When We Talk about Hip Hop*. She offers analysis of arguments by Hip Hop critics and defenders about the genre's nature in an attempt to provide a balanced view of the genre's positive influence and potential problems.[29] Defending the genre, sociologist Yasser Payne argues that scholars need to delve more deeply into Gangsta Rap's connection with young inner-city African American men, arguing there is more to it than critics claim, especially when the life it speaks about is not one those critics have actually lived.[30] Tupac Shakur is an example of how a Hip Hop artist's music reflects the complexity of the African American experience in that he promotes activism and community uplift even though his music is criticized for glorifying violence and drug use and containing misogynistic representations of women — Hip Hop cannot be neatly characterized.[31]

As with most forms of Black popular music, Hip Hop has found an international audience. Academics have explored why this is the case and what this has done for Hip Hop's messaging. Alridge and Stewart discuss the early twenty-first century global appeal of Hip Hop through

its social, economic, and political messages that young people relate to.[32] African American Studies scholars Marcyliena Morgan and Dionne Bennett elaborate further on Hip Hop's international appeal, noting that Hip Hop, with its Afro-Caribbean roots, exemplifies the globalism found within Black communities in the United States and their growth around the world in the post-colonial era. African American artists have inspired young people in other countries to make Hip Hop their own and use it to talk about the social and political issues they face, creating a subculture youth can identify with wherever they are.[33]

Music is an essential form of human expression and plays a major role in how we understand the experiences of those like us and those who are different. No one need look far to see how important Hip Hop is in this. With its golden anniversary in 2023, Hip Hop's dissemination of political, social, and cultural messaging and its influence on media outside of music seems only to grow and reinvent itself. Hip Hop's historiography is substantial at this point, though much about the genre is still unexplored or fully developed. The genre's engagement with recent police brutality will be a major scholarly focus going forward. Sexual identity, though never ignored, is another growing field of study with the success of openly homosexual artists like Lil Nas X. Given how much Hip Hop has to tell us about the experiences of African Americans and the condition of the nation, the field will continue to produce important scholarship.

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How Media History Matters

The Media and Community Development

By H. Bailey Thomson ©

Thomson

NOTE: This is the second in our series "How Media History Matters," dealing with the significance that the news media have had in American history. We think the series will appeal especially to historians who believe historical claims need evidence to support them.

It will become clear as we publish other essays that many ways exist to justify JMC history. One monolithic explanation won't work. Bailey Thomson's essay focuses on the connection between newspapers and the economic development of their towns.

As owners of newspapers or at least representatives of the owners, modern publishers have set broad editorial policies that, in turn, have affected their communities' economic development. On important public issues they typically aligned their newspapers philosophically and singled out groups for favored treatment. Until recently, they favored,

H. Bailey Thomson (1949-2003) was a journalism professor at the University of Alabama at the time of his death. He had held a number of editorial positions at major newspapers. Most recently, he had been associate editor of the Mobile *(Ala.)* Press-Register*. Previously, he had worked as chief editorial writer of the* Orlando *(Fla.)* Sentinel *and editorial page editor of the* Shreveport *(La.)* Times*. He earned his Ph.D. in U.S. history and mass communication at the University of Alabama.*

for example, business over labor and developers over environmentalists.

The influence that publishers have exerted on their communities' development deserves closer scrutiny. A case in point is the part that the local press and its allies play in helping to set growth policy. Unfortunately, studies that have examined the careers of prominent news executives have tended to overlook their community-building role, thereby neglecting a significant function of the modern press.

Generally, studies of newspaper owners, publishers, and editors have followed three lines of inquiry. The most direct — and most prolific — has been biographical. This category includes a mixture of authorized adulation, journalistic profiles, and scholarly investigation. One shortcoming of biography is that authors often focus upon the personal lives of their subjects instead of seeking to understand the broader significance of their careers. A second line of inquiry examines the institutional histories of newspapers. Generally, such studies provide only peripheral treatment of news executives. Readers may learn a great deal about the organization and internal politics of a newspaper, but they gain few insights about how the top managers interacted with other powerful people in the community. A third major line of inquiry follows a topical approach. Authors consider various questions and then try to distill useful generalizations and comparisons from a range of journalistic experiences. Painting with a broad stroke, however, may sacrifice important details about how a publisher's policies affected the life of a community.

Three themes often inform historical works about prominent newspaper executives. One theme presents them as giants of industry, whose careers resemble those of leading executives in other industries. A less popular theme places publishers and other newspaper executives in the maelstrom of social change, where they confront difficult moral deci-

sions. For example, studies have examined the attitudes and actions of liberal southerners about race.

This chapter focuses upon a third theme: newspaper executives as boosters and builders of their communities. In the modern era, publishers typically have delegated responsibility for covering the news to subordinates, while devoting their energies to the business side of their newspapers. As local business leaders, publishers often have promoted economic growth. Toward that end, they have sought to make their communities attractive to potential employers. Such activities promise long-term dividends. By promoting economic development, for example, publishers may assure their newspapers of more advertising and circulation. By the 1970s, however, the price of rapid growth in places such as Southern California and Central Florida had become apparent to students of urban history and politics. Communities with high growth rates were stretching tax bases to pay for new roads, sewers, schools, and other expensive services that newcomers required.

Modern community-builders are spiritual descendants of the frontier press, whose publishers and editors typically used their newspapers to help build new cities and defend them against rivals. They tended to downplay political ideology in favor of local affairs, and they often were preoccupied with the growth and prosperity of their towns. If publishers and editors received subsidies for their papers, usually the money came from like-minded businessmen who were eager to build their communities, rather than from partisans seeking to promote political agendas.

Scholars of the New South have written about other antecedents of community-building, booster journalism. Paul Gaston, for example, examined efforts of prominent editors in the late nineteenth century to promote the South's economy through industrial growth and diversi-

fied agriculture. They popularized what Gaston calls the "New South Creed," which exercised a powerful influence on the thinking of subsequent generations of southerners. The creed's main tenets were sectional reconciliation, economic regeneration, and adjustment of the racial question. Editors such as Henry Grady, Richard Hathaway Edmonds, Daniel Augustus Tompkins, and Henry Watterson used their news columns to propagandize about the attractions of the region for northern capital. These New South prophets, however, tended to ignore severe social problems such as poverty, illiteracy, and racism.

Occasionally, students of modern America have examined how newspapers affect their communities' economic development. One clear articulation of such influence appears in the work of Harvey Molotch, a sociologist. He places newspapers and their publishers squarely in the middle of what he calls the local "growth machine." Business people, particularly those in development, real estate, and property investing, have promoted economic growth to increase their wealth, Molotch writes. This desire for growth typically has created a consensus among a wide range of elite groups, causing them to put aside differences and to coalesce behind promotion of their community's fortunes over those of rival cities. The modern metropolitan newspaper, in Molotch's view, helps to marshal local resources and devise strategies to attract new industries and other development. Unlike special interests, however, the newspaper usually does not champion any particular pattern of growth. Why? Monopolistic advantage has allowed it to benefit from additional circulation and advertising, regardless where growth occurs in the community. Indeed, a newspaper may act to restrain the selfishness of special interests to assure stable, long-term growth. Newspapers exercise this referee's role not only though news coverage and editorials, but also through endorsements for local elections. In Molotch's view, cities that

have more active and creative elites may indeed excel in economic growth.[1]

Molotch and other students of urban development, however, have found much that is inefficient and inequitable about growth machines. In particular, they fault newspapers for acting as cheerleaders for development. Thus, one scholar concludes, "The hallmark of media content has been peerless boosterism: congratulate growth rather than calculate its consequences; compliment development rather than criticize its impact."[2]

Clearly, inquiry into the role of newspapers in economic development remains far from exhausted. In fact, only a few studies have addressed the issue directly, although newspapers' efforts to promote growth may have had significant long-term consequences for their communities.

Martin Andersen and the Orlando Sentinel

Martin Andersen's career as a publisher in Orlando, Florida, presents a useful paradigm for understanding the relationship between newspaper policy and local economic development. As owner of morning and afternoon newspapers, Andersen conducted vigorous campaigns for better roads, new industry, and federal installations. He assumed that publishers should be active agents in their communities' development, while building their own newspaper companies in the process. Through his editorial policies and personal leadership, he helped put in place an infrastructure that eventually caught the eye of Walt Disney. In turn, Disney's decision to build theme parks just outside of Orlando propelled Central Florida to first place among tourist destinations. On the negative side, however, the metropolitan area came to suffer intensely

from problems related to growth such as snarled traffic, crowded schools, and damage to sensitive wetlands.

In such fashion, Andersen epitomized the modern newspaper executive who places priority upon building the community. Indeed, he occupied a key position within Orlando's civic-commercial elite and moved easily between writing editorials and lobbying for public projects. He considered his newspapers to be a great institution for good. At the end of his career, he expressed satisfaction that they had been "the leading influence and power" in the city.[3]

Moreover, Andersen's thirty-five-year career in Orlando, which lasted until 1966, coincided with intense efforts throughout the South to promote economic growth. State and local governments joined business-civic elites to recruit factories, military bases, and similar job-creating enterprises. Incentives included lucrative tax exemptions, industrial parks, and new roads. Newspapers such as Andersen's often served as key partners within the local community-building alliance. For example, they used editorials and news stories to help organize and promote industry-hunting campaigns. Newspapers also touted home-town advantages.

Through hard work and shrewd judgment, Andersen extended the presence of his newspapers throughout much of Central Florida, thereby enhancing their prestige and reputation. Moreover, he identified key issues that affected local development. Building roads, for example, became his passion. He wanted new highways to bring tourists and industry to the Orlando area. To get them, Andersen brazenly swapped political endorsements in his newspapers for politicians' promises to build roads. His many successes in delivering votes for candidates enhanced his mystique as a powerful publisher and inspired *Florida Trend* magazine in 1958 to name him as one of Florida's six most influential men.[4]

Florida's peculiar politics, which V.O. Key Jr. described as "every many for himself," invited strong-minded publishers such as Andersen to help fill a vacuum of power. "Florida is not only unbossed, it is also unled," Key wrote. "Anything can happen in elections, and does."[5] Between 1920 and 1940, the state's population almost doubled, and about fifty-five per cent of the people lived in urban areas, mostly larger cities. Key speculated that this diverse migration to the state had something to do with its mutable politics. Moreover, the concentration of population in cities may have accounted for the state's relatively low interest in the race issue.

Andersen was born in 1897 and grew up in Greenwood, Mississippi. There he worked as a boy in the printing shop of the local newspaper, the *Commonwealth*. He founded Greenwood High School's first student newspaper — indeed, the first of its kind in Mississippi — but he left before graduating with the class of 1915.[6] He attended Bowling Green Business College in Kentucky, but the newsroom served as his finishing school. He drifted from paper to paper, learning his trade from more experienced journalists.[7] Andersen was with the Associated Press in New Orleans when Charles E. Marsh recruited him to work for his organization. The young man quickly proved his usefulness, and Marsh made him general manager of his two newspapers in Austin, Texas. Not quite thirty, Andersen was marked for membership in the exclusive club of Marsh men.[8]

Marsh had thrived on newspapers and wildcatting, often backing ventures in both. Working alone or with his partner, E.S. Fentress, he built a chain of papers in more than two dozen cities. Imperious in looks and manners, Marsh persuaded people to do his bidding, and he shared his wealth and power generously.[9]

An important group of publishers and newspaper owners developed

under Marsh's tutelage. "If you were with Charley Marsh you were part of his establishment," Andersen recalled. "Whether you were in Texas, Florida or Washington."[10] At Longlea, Marsh's 1,000-acre estate in Virginia, Andersen met intellectuals, artists, and politicians. Marsh liked to collect such people around his flagstone terrace, with its magnificent view of river and meadow land below. Among the visitors were Col. E.M. House; Roal Dahl, the Norwegian author; and Erich Leinsdorf, who became conductor of the Boston Symphony. Another regular visitor was Lyndon Baines Johnson, who was beginning his political career in Washington. Andersen had known Johnson in Austin, but the two became better acquainted at Longlea.[11] Marsh sold Johnson and his wife land for speculation and later advised them to buy a radio station — an investment that made them wealthy.[12] "What Marsh did for Lyndon Johnson was typical of the man. He did the same thing for many others, too numerous to mention," Andersen later wrote.[13]

The likelihood that association with Marsh would lead to good fortune must have seemed remote to Andersen in 1931 when he arrived in Orlando on an Atlantic Coast Line sleeper. He had only a couple of worn suits and few candy-striped shirts he had bought in a Paris department store during a recent visit to Europe — his first. Marsh needed him to help run two newspapers he had bought in Orlando, the morning *Sentinel* and the *Evening Reporter-Star*. The understanding was that Andersen, who had earned $12,000 a year working for Marsh in Austin, would remain for three months in Orlando and draw $40 a week. Later, Marsh offered him ten per cent ownership if he would run the papers for three years.[14]

Andersen's first challenge was to avoid bankruptcy. Years later he reminisced in an interview with his former employee, Betty Jore, that the people running the papers were "tired and disgusted and broke fi-

nancially and physically.... They were glad to get rid of the property and get out of the newspapers."[15] In 1932, after President Roosevelt declared a bank holiday, Andersen responded to the shortage of money by printing script, which employees used to buy groceries and other necessities. Merchants even circulated the script or used it to pay their advertising bills. The experience had one good effect, however. "It early established a blinding faith in the paper by merchants and employees alike," Andersen wrote.[16]

In the 1930s, he did everything at the newspapers, sometimes even helping the printers. He wrote editorials, news stories, advertising, and society column notes. "He was the leader, THE MAN, and there was no mistaking it," recalled Charlie Wadsworth, a veteran of those years. Andersen would come bursting into the office late in the afternoon with a can of cigars under one arm, a stack of books under the other, and a pile of editorials and stories that he would distribute with instructions. Returning around 11:30 P.M., he would head for the composing room. His chief makeup man would not justify the front page until "The Man" had checked it out. Often Andersen would rearrange it. He and his editorial staff worked in a tiny newsroom, separated from the pressroom by a plywood partition. When the press began to roll, "Only those with the keenest hearing and loudest voice would even think about a phone call," Wadsworth remembered.[17]

Although Andersen was only thirty-three when he went to Orlando, he already possessed a demeanor that could terrorize people. Once he asked a teenager working at the newspaper to find him a picture of some national figure. The boy returned empty-handed. Andersen peered over his rimless glasses, laid down his pencil, and said, "Don't tell me your troubles — go find one!" The experience taught the boy the value of persistence, and thirty-five years later he wrote Ander-

sen to thank him.[18]

Ormund Powers went to work for Andersen in 1934 for $8 a week and remained at the newspapers until 1979. He described his boss as the Joseph Pulitzer of Florida — "one of the best educated men I have ever known."[19] Powers rose to managing editor and later was an editorial writer. Although Andersen usually treated him well, most people who worked at the newspapers lived in fear of their boss, Powers told an interviewer. "He was a frightening fellow. He was big and had those light blue eyes that seemed to see right through you. His mind was so sharp he never forgot anything."[20]

Andersen knew what he wanted: provocative newspapers. "It was new journalism for the little town of 1932," he recalled. "I made them get up at dawn, go out into their yards in their shirt-tails, walking barefoot in the dew, to get the paper."[21] He also knew that for his newspapers to prosper, Orlando had to reverse an economic slump that had begun with Florida's real-estate bust of the 1920s. One answer was boosterism, and Andersen quickly revealed his talent for promotion. "If it's good for the community, it's good for the newspapers," he told his employees, one of whom described him as "Central Florida's first and greatest promotion man ... a good teacher for many people."[22]

Andersen disliked public speaking. He felt tense before an audience, unable to relax.[23] In his early years in Orlando, he once organized a barbecue to celebrate Orlando's new congressional seat. Instead of speaking, he labored at the cooking pit.[24] With his newspapers, though, he enjoyed the greatest pulpit in town, and he used it to campaign for the community's improvements. In 1931, he organized the city's first annual Christmas parade.[25] During the depths of the Great Depression, he began a charity drive called Goodfellows Inc. It bought hams, flour, meal, grits, molasses, and clothing at wholesale prices. His employees

distributed the items on their own time on Christmas Eve. The charity continued its work until 1957.[26] To beautify the city, Andersen enlisted his employees to sell azaleas for a few cents each from a bankrupt nursery he acquired in 1932. Eventually, the newspapers offered camellias, bohenia and taebuia trees, and other plants — at prices below cost. Many of the plants still grace the city's parks and private gardens.[27]

All Roads Lead to Orlando

In 1933, Andersen began campaigning to move the state capital from Tallahassee to Orlando. He was unsuccessful, but his articles and editorials inspired a local group to meet regularly in the Roof Top Room of the Angebilt Hotel. The experience of joining his newspapers' influence with that of community leaders became the model for Andersen's crusade to build good roads in Central Florida.[28]

Orlando needed to attract tourists to overcome its economic lethargy, and good roads appeared to be the answer. Local promoters joined a region-wide movement that put road construction on a par with industry and education in the trinity of Southern progress.[29] Florida began building a statewide road system in the 1920s. Before then, roads had been primarily a local concern. In 1924, the state had completed only 748 miles of hard surfaced roads. Good roads became the major issue that year in the race for the Democratic nomination for governor. John W. Martin won on a platform of state road-building and business-like administration of state offices. By 1930, the state was maintaining 3,254 miles, and by 1945 it had 8,000 miles.[30]

Some of Orlando's most influential business leaders invited Andersen to join them as they traveled around the state to "road lettings." On these occasions, members of the state Road Board would

decide where to build, and intense lobbying by local boosters preceded the decisions. "We would collar these highway commissioners and tell them what great advantage a certain road would be if they would direct it through Orlando," Andersen later told an interviewer. "Everybody wanted some tourists. That's why you had your hotel man going and other people." The Orlando group focused in the early years on building what is now State Road 50 to connect Florida's east and west coasts.[31] Andersen enjoyed escaping from the newspaper business for a few days to join the group. "We traveled thousands of miles," he recalled on another occasion. "We'd go to Groveland or to Cocoa, realize the roads we needed and would need, talk to people. On the way home we'd stop and fish and talk. We had a lot of fun."[32]

Gov. Fred Cone gave Andersen some advice: If his group wanted roads, then it should elect politicians who could help, and it should see that some of its members were appointed by the governor to the state Road Board. Thereafter, the roads issue became a litmus test for many of Andersen's editorial endorsements, and he was explicit in describing what he wanted. "We played ball with them, and they played ball with us," he recalled.[33]

An opportunity occurred during a special election in 1954, following the death of Gov. Daniel McCarty. Charley Johns, a railroad employee who was president of the Florida Senate, became acting governor. The conservative Democrat from Starke decided he wanted to keep the office, and he began building a statewide political base.[34] Andersen was willing to oblige Johns. "The railroad conductor told me he would build the Bithlo cutoff; so I supported him," he recalled. The road, now known as State Road 5209, provides a shortcut from Orlando to Cocoa. Johns lost to LeRoy Collins, but he carried Orlando and other precincts in Central Florida.[35] Many years after the endorsement, the publisher

confessed to opportunism when he conceded that Johns "had no more business being governor than I did."[36]

Andersen still got his road, although Johns' scheme of promising too much soon became evident. His successor, LeRoy Collins, had to invalidate contracts that either were not matched by federal funds or could not be justified "by public welfare." In 1954, roads approved by Johns exceeded the Road Department's budget by $4.9 million. Another $5.3 million in contracts had been planned.

Politicians learned to fear Andersen, who seldom held back in a mean fight. A terrific blood-letting occurred in 1950, when Andersen withdrew his previous support for U.S. Sen. Claude Pepper. The incumbent's New Deal liberalism and his sympathy for the Soviet Union had earned him the sobriquet "Red Pepper." Andersen endorsed his conservative challenger, U.S. Rep. George Smathers.

With slanted news coverage, front-page cartoons, and his own columns, Andersen pummeled Pepper for weeks before the primary. For example, he delighted in reminding readers that Pepper had won the support of George Nelson, head of the Communist Party in Florida. Pepper had difficulty trying to escape from such association, Andersen wrote. "He has been to Moscow, and he has said some mighty complimentary things about Uncle Joe Stalin."[37]

Moreover, Andersen exploited tense racial feelings to bait the senator. In nearby Sanford, a free-lance photographer took a picture of Pepper shaking hands with a black woman. Andersen published the photograph, which Pepper denounced as a setup. In a bitterly sarcastic column, Andersen muddied the issue by accusing Pepper of being ashamed to shake hands with a black person. In a later column, he defended publishing the picture: "We saw nothing wrong with it. We did not accuse the senator of violating ethics or etiquette. We just printed

the picture as an illustration of his Sanford rally."[38]

Pepper suggested that he had been responsible for Andersen's acquiring the license to operate a radio station. The publisher denied the claim. To the question of why he had abandoned Pepper, Andersen responded, "We quit Claude because we didn't like the people he was running with." He then explained: "When the Communist Daily Worker came out and endorsed his candidacy, we knew we were right.... If Leftist Claude wins now, we will go as England went ... socialist."[39] Smathers got seventy per cent of the vote in Orange County. That showing accounted for almost a fifth of his margin of victory over Pepper.

Along with Smathers, a string of candidates whom Andersen endorsed carried the Orlando newspapers' circulation area. This success led *Florida Trend* in 1958 to include him among the state's six most influential men. He was usually the first to be consulted about some issue or asked to serve on a civic committee, the magazine reported. On controversial issues, "the official knows that to propose something that does not meet with the approval of Andersen might well be to kiss the project goodbye."[40]

Also enhancing Andersen's image was his success in persuading state officials to curve an extension of Florida's Turnpike inland toward Orlando to link with Interstate 75 near Wildwood. Original plans called for the road to follow the eastern coast from Fort Pierce to Jacksonville. Billy Dial had the idea for changing the toll road's route. An attorney for the newspapers and later Orlando's leading banker, he was one of Andersen's closest friends. Dial also served on the state Road Board from 1955 to 1958 — one of three members in a row from Orlando. He went to Andersen with his plan and immediately won the publisher's support. The two men met with Tom Manuel, who headed

the Turnpike Authority, and persuaded him to curve the road inland. In Orlando's favor was opposition to the new road from Daytona Beach. "They didn't want the Turnpike because they figured the tourists would just run by them and wouldn't see Daytona," Dial recalled.[41]

By this time, Andersen had smoothed over differences with Governor Collins, whom he had endorsed in 1956. During the next session of the Legislature, Andersen published editorials supporting the change in the Turnpike's route and lobbied legislators. The bill passed, and the Turnpike Authority began building the extension. "And until this good day, people in the Road Department up there call that the 'Martin Andersen Bend,'" Dial added.[42]

The Turnpike was one leg of the crossroads that eventually helped attract Walt Disney to Central Florida. The other leg was Interstate 4, which connects Tampa to Interstate 95 along Florida's east coast. The new highway opened in 1965 — the year Disney announced its plans for Central Florida. As a Road Board member, Dial fought to turn I-4 into an urban expressway by routing it through Orlando and Winter Park. Many local residents objected, fearing the road would ruin their neighborhoods. Once again, Dial enlisted Andersen's support. The publisher responded with news stories, editorials, and cartoons designed to turn the battle in favor of the downtown route. "Mr. Andersen supported us all the way through," Dial remembered. "He was for progress."[43]

Politics and Boosterism

Andersen did not appear to concern himself with political consistency, nor did he usually hold grudges. As in the case of Collins, he could change his mind about a candidate — excoriating him in one election, then anointing him in the next. A colleague remembered how "win or

lose, the day after the election he was off to more immediate matters."[44]

At heart Andersen was a community booster, and his support for various projects often determined which candidates his newspapers would endorse. Years after he retired, he summarized his attitude: "I am attracted to newspaper people who devote the majority of their time and thought to supporting and publicizing the town in which they live and which supports them."[45] On another occasion, he described himself as "just an errand boy for all the organizations for good in this Central Florida area."[46]

Andersen's views on race could be erratic. "He was capable of what was seen at the time as a pretty liberal, humane view," a former editorial employee said. "But when it suited him to engage in political demagoguery on the race issue he could." For example, Andersen took a moderate view of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in 1954 striking down school segregation. But three years later, his papers treated President Eisenhower's handling of the Little Rock school crisis as an affront to Southern dignity.[47]

In 1952, two years after he helped to defeat Pepper, Andersen wrote, "Sooner or later the colored people will get where they want to go. But our prediction is that they will get there quicker through the help of their sincere Southern friends than through political manipulators like Harry Truman who promise them the world and give them a grubbing hoe."[48] Andersen's newspapers switched and endorsed the Republican ticket because the Democrats had moved too far to the left on civil rights and labor. "Here in the South we aren't so hot about [the Fair Employment Practices Commission], nor do we think a minority of labor citizens should have their bosses traipse in and out of the White House another four years as they have in the past."[49]

A bitter strike at his newspapers in 1948 had turned him against

organized labor. The union that represented the compositors objected to the introduction of labor-saving devices for setting type. When the union members walked out, Andersen worked alongside his editors and other white-collar employees, putting out the papers for three weeks. Although the strikers continued to picket for several years, Andersen operated union-free shops after that.[50]

The publisher reserved most of his editorial for the hundreds of campaigns he waged to improve the community. He implored readers, for example, to support a bond issue for schools. "There are no pockets in shrouds. You can't take it with you, fellows...," he wrote. "To leave in this world, after you are dead and gone, a good school, is quite a heritage for those who follow behind you."[51] His other causes included building the local football stadium, placing a fountain in downtown Lake Eola, fighting for a new congressional district for Orlando, and supporting the Cross-State Canal.[52] "He was for the community. Very, very rarely printed any scandal," Dial remembered. "I've seen him cover up stories involving people in Orlando that today would be blasted across the front page." Local politicians sought his support and favor, and Andersen tore off their hides when he disagreed with them.[53]

As Orlando grew, so did Andersen's newspapers. In 1937, Marsh sold them to him on credit, but Andersen gave them back after a few years. He could not buy all the equipment he needed. Meanwhile, he had discovered that the newspapers in Macon, Georgia, were for sale. He and Marsh borrowed $150,000 to put down on them in 1940. Five years later, Andersen swapped his interest in the Macon papers for the Orlando newspapers, and he agreed to pay $1 million in long-term notes.[54]

He already had purchased property on North Orange Avenue, where he built new offices for the newspapers in 1951. The employees

finally left the hole-in-the-wall they had occupied for a new two-story building with elevators and one of the city's first escalators.[55] "Everything we made went back into the newspapers to buy new equipment. We owed all kind of money all the time, and the government was trying to make us pay dividends," Andersen recalled.[56] By the end of 1950, Orlando Daily Newspapers also had spent about $250,000 on equipment and property for two radio stations the company had acquired, WHOO-AM and WHOO-FM.[57]

Andersen invested in citrus, too. In 1950, he sold 230 acres of groves for $311,000. He had purchased the land eleven years earlier and had bought out his partner for $20,000. In another citrus operation, he joined his associates in buying 300 more acres to expand the 150-acre operation of bearing groves that the corporation owned.[58]

Meanwhile, a small notice in the paper on July 23, 1950, announced that Andersen had remarried while on a vacation trip to Europe. The previous December, he had divorced his first wife, Jane. They had two daughters, Marcia and Dorris. His new wife was Gracia Warlow Barr, a beautiful woman about half his age. Miss Barr was the granddaughter of prominent Orlandoans, and her mother wrote for the Orlando papers. The couple honeymooned on the French coast before coming home in mid-August.[59]

For the next decade, Andersen's papers continued to grow and prosper. Andersen reached the zenith of his influence in the mid-1960s before selling his newspapers to the Chicago Tribune Co. By 1963, their circulation had quadrupled to 135,000, and they employed 700 people full-time. They published special editions for outlying areas, as well as a Negro edition. The newspapers circulated in thirteen counties in Central Florida and in 115 towns.[60]

Friend of LBJ

That same year, Andersen's old acquaintance Lyndon Baines Johnson became president, following the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Having the Texan in the White House opened a door for Andersen to promote projects in the Orlando area, thereby extending his influence. Andersen and Johnson were never close friends, but each found the other useful. In 1955, for example, Andersen's newspapers became the first in the nation to endorse Johnson for president. The manner in which that endorsement occurred illustrates how Andersen often operated on a moment's whim, quickly deciding a course of action. He and Dial were discussing presidential politics one evening and lamenting the Democrats' choice of candidates. The publisher suddenly announced that he knew a politician in Texas and would call him. The man was Johnson, then the majority leader of the U.S. Senate. Andersen told Johnson he was going to support him for president. The senator thanked him, but he replied that he did not have a chance of winning.[61]

Andersen kept his promise and wrote a front-page editorial to run on July 3, 1955. Earlier, he had sent his editor, Henry Balch, to Washington to prepare a magazine article on Johnson that would run the same Sunday. Just prior to publication, however, Johnson suffered a severe heart attack. Andersen published the editorial anyway, with a note praying for Johnson's recovery. Andersen wrote that he had known Johnson for "nigh on to 35 years." He lauded the senator as the candidate who could bring Southerners back to the Democratic Party.[62]

Later, Andersen revealed an additional purpose in endorsing Johnson: publicity. "It was a sort of stunt — a promotion, but a sincere one. It was not the type of thing a paper in a town as small as mine would do. But we tried to do those kinds of things to keep our readers inter-

ested."[63]

In 1964, Senator Smathers persuaded Johnson to make an overnight campaign stop in Orlando in appreciation for Andersen's editorial support for his presidential candidacy. The publisher met the entourage at the airport and rode back to the hotel with the president, where they reminisced about Charles Marsh.[64] The next day, a large and friendly crowd greeted Johnson along the parade route. Andersen later recalled that during the drive back from an appearance at a shopping mall, the president reached across the car, squeezed his leg and said to Smathers, "George, you know we have just had a fine parade. I appreciate it. We should give old Mar-ty-n here a testimonial dinner. What do you think?" But the publisher turned him down, and instead asked for a government office building or something with a federal payroll.[65]

A year later, Johnson telephoned him at a publishers' meeting in Boca Raton. The president reported that he was sending the Naval Training Device Center in Port Washington, New York, to Orlando. With the addition of a boot camp, the new base would be even bigger than the one the Air Force was closing in Orlando. Johnson told Andersen he could not print the news and advised him to go to Washington and talk with U.S. Rep. Bob Sikes, a Democrat from Florida. Sikes was chairman of the subcommittee on military construction for the House Appropriations Committee, and he would have to announce the new naval center.[66]

Sikes had wanted the base for his Pensacola district. "When I broke the news to the congressman, he looked at me as if I were some sort of a thief who had stolen his pride and joy," Andersen remembered. "I kept insisting that we in Orlando would do anything necessary to help out with the naval training station, but he told me not to bother. He was gruff and just walked away from me, saying nothing more."[67]

Andersen and his friends continued to lobby in Washington, with the help of Smathers. At one point, the senator had to answer charges by the New York delegation that moving the Navy facility to Orlando would cost taxpayers a lot of money. To the contrary, Smathers argued, the Navy already had inspected the Air Force base that had been declared surplus and found it to be ideal for a training center.[68]

Robert H. B. Baldwin, undersecretary of the Navy, arrived in late December 1966, to announce that Orlando would be the home of the Naval Training Device Center and the new Naval Training Center. He promised that the $82 million base would be a showplace.[69] The announcement coincided with presentation of the city's prestigious John Young Award to Andersen. Johnson sent a laudatory telegram, which was read to the audience. Andersen responded in a letter, "I want to thank you for this public recognition. It sets me up in my town as I am about to retire from active journalism."[70]

By this time, Andersen had broadened his friendship with Johnson. Once the publisher and Smathers had lunch with the president in the White House. Johnson talked almost non-stop. Finally, he announced he had to take a nap and invited his two guests to his bedroom while he put on his pajamas. "He was still talking half an hour later when he went to sleep, and we left the room," Andersen later recounted.[71]

Andersen sought another favor from the administration. Brevard County, east of Orlando, strained to meet the demands of its new space industry. Workers traveling from the mainland to Cape Kennedy faced traffic bottlenecks as they waited to cross narrow bridges that spanned the Indian and Banana rivers. Andersen thought the solution should come from Washington. He shared his idea with Willard Peebles, the new member of the state Road Board who represented the Orlando area, including Brevard County. After all, the publisher reasoned, the

federal government not only had its space program at Cape Kennedy, but it also had Patrick Air Force Base nearby. Peebles appeared shocked that Andersen had not asked for any personal favors, such as building a road to his orange groves.

Actually, Andersen and the newspapers did have a large stake in Brevard County. The publisher had built circulation during the Great Depression by "encouraging men to drive through fog on narrow, rough roads at 2 a.m. to carry a handful of papers into that area...," he explained to Frederick A. Nichols, an executive with the Chicago Tribune Co. The strategy had worked. The Orlando newspapers had a circulation of 37,000 in the county, which allowed them to make up to $20,000 a month there. To serve Brevard's readers, Andersen's newspapers employed ninety people and had a new $500,000 building in Cocoa.[72]

An upstart had challenged their dominance in Brevard. In March 1966, the Gannett group began publishing a new daily newspaper called *Today*. Earlier, it had raided the Orlando papers and hired thirty-three employees from the newsroom and other departments. Andersen concluded that Gannett's policy was to drive his newspapers out of the county. He prepared to counter this aggression.[73] Helping the county secure the bridges it needed fit nicely into his strategy. "This should really put us in good favor with the advertisers and other people in important Brevard County...," he advised Nichols.[74]

Andersen decided to take the problem "upstairs."[75] Again, he teamed with Senator Smathers, who arranged for Vice President Hubert Humphrey to visit Orlando in April 1965. The occasion was a parade that the Orlando newspapers had promoted to honor a local astronaut, John Young. Humphrey nominally headed the nation's space program, but Andersen had another reason for wanting him to ride in the parade.

The publisher could make a pitch directly to the vice president for improving the flow of traffic in Brevard County. In Orlando, Humphrey listened politely to Andersen's presentation, which included blown-up photographs. Several weeks later, Smathers arranged another meeting on the subject — this time in Washington — and Humphrey agreed to preside.[76] Soon after Andersen began his crusade, the national Aeronautical and Space Administration found money to improve roads and bridges in Brevard.[77]

Indeed, the federal government agreed to pay for eighty per cent of the $4 million project, with the state paying the remainder. This arrangement allowed Brevard to have modern bridges across the two rivers. The state Road Board, which opened bids on September 28, 1965, commended Andersen for having led the campaign. It noted that he had personally arranged for Humphrey and other officials to confer on the issue. Smathers also acknowledged Andersen's role in the project, assuring the publisher that everyone "knows or should know Martin Andersen was the source of our success.... [W]ithout your knowledge and help nothing would have resulted from the meeting with the vice president."[78]

One who did not join in lauding Andersen was Al Neuharth, president of Gannett Florida, which published *Today*. The two publishers verbally sparred in the fall of 1966, when Andersen went to Cocoa to address the Rotarians — his first public speech in Brevard County. He sniped at Neuharth as a "johnny-come-lately." Andersen denied Neuharth's charge that he was trying to run the county's politics. Instead, he said, his newspapers had tried to help Brevard by championing better bridges for the past twenty-five years.[79] Responding two weeks later, Neuharth asked why all roads should lead to "Andersenville." By influencing the selection of routes for the Turnpike and Interstate 4 to favor

Orlando, Andersen had hurt Brevard, the *Today* publisher charged. He further suggested that the county might have gotten the area's new university and even the Navy boot camp had Andersen not worked to bring the prizes to Orlando. Rather than accept Andersen's claim to have Brevard's interests at heart, residents had reason to suspect "just a touch of hypocrisy," Neuharth said.[80]

Andersen might have responded to this challenge with a costly war for circulation, but by then he was only a few months from retirement. Besides, he no longer owned the Orlando newspapers, and he had to consult with higher management on major decisions. The year before, he had sold the Orlando papers to the Chicago Tribune Co. Later, he explained his reasons: "I was 68 years old and caught myself falling asleep at my desk one afternoon at 2 o'clock. I passed it off at the time but when it happened the next day and the next, I decided that I had better take whatever assets I had acquired and get while I was still mentally normal and able to make a fair deal for everybody concerned."[81] The Chicago Tribune Co. first offered him $23 million — an astounding figure, he thought. After more negotiations, the sale amounted to around $28 million when other assets were figured into the final price.

The new owner assured readers there would be no change in editorial or business policy. Andersen would remain as editor and publisher, and he would have the right to hire and fire. With the acquisition of the Orlando papers, the company expanded its holdings in Florida. It already owned newspapers in Fort Lauderdale and Pompano Beach.[82]

Disney Comes to Orlando

Timing proved propitious for the new owner. Three months after the sale, Andersen wired Francis M. Flynn, president and publisher of the

New York Daily News, another Chicago *Tribune* property, that Disney was coming to Central Florida. Gov. Haydon Burns had confirmed the *Sentinel's* scoop. One of Disney's agents had even tried to buy the Orlando papers and told Andersen that the new theme park would double their value.[83] Flynn wired back immediately, jubilant over the good news. He jokingly discouraged any deals with Disney. "Remember we're all signed, sealed and delivered."[84]

Walt Disney had selected the site himself. Flying in his company's Gulf Stream aircraft, he spied where the Turnpike intersected with Interstate 4, then under construction. "This is it," he said.[85] Disney's agents soon began buying options on the land in Orange and Osceola counties. They kept the buyer's name a secret.

Paul Helliwell, who directed the land acquisition, visited Billy Dial during this period. A leak in California threatened to blow the operation's cover. Could Dial help keep the news out of the papers? Dial suggested that they go talk to Andersen. "He'll protect you. I know that," Dial told Helliwell. Andersen listened to their story and then assembled his editors and told them he did not want to print any rumors about the land acquisition. "In other words, he stonewalled it," Dial recalled.[86]

Andersen helped the project directly on a couple of occasions. Once land agents had difficulty in persuading a local Jewish citizen to sell his forty-acre orange grove. "Dial and I confronted Martin Segal, a man of similar religion and he knew the land-owner," Andersen wrote later. "He also knew Bear Bryant, coach at Alabama, and it turned out the owner of the 40 acres was crazy about Bryant. That solved the problem for Segal and apparently for Disney."[87]

Dial insisted that neither he nor Andersen knew who was buying the land options.[88] Andersen maintained that he did not learn that the buyer was Disney until a *Sentinel* reporter named Emily Bavar uncov-

ered the story. He had been invited to Disneyland for an anniversary celebration, but he sent Bavar in his place. She was curious why Disney seemed to know so much about Central Florida, and she asked him if he were the mystery buyer. His evasive response convinced her that he was. Her story ran on October 21, 1965.[89]

A dozen years later, a writer in *Florida Trend* declared that Andersen had violated journalistic standards by keeping the Disney story "under his hat." Andersen denied the charge. "Never did Helliwell, Dial or any one else ever tell me it was a Disney project. And never did I ask," he wrote the magazine's editor. "I did not know until the eve of Walt Disney's announcement here, who was buying all the land in Osceola County. Somebody tipped me that the buyers were in Tallahassee talking to the governor. I called Haydon Burns and asked him to identify the buyers. He did. I printed it the next morning, a few hours before Walt Disney made his announcement."[90]

Andersen retired as publisher at the end of 1966. He had worked with others in the last two years to attract Disney and the Naval Training Center and to create Florida Technological University. These accomplishments would provide the area "with a guaranteed, built-in, healthy economy," he wrote his readers.[91] Ever fearful of competition from nearby cities, he warned local boosters, "We must always be on our guard for the future of our city. We have fought for it, and now we must think and plan carefully to be sure that Orlando and not Sanford and not Kissimmee or some of these smaller towns take our glory and our economy away from us."[92]

In a signed editorial, he advised local governments to get ahead of Disney's development through planning. Otherwise, he predicted, they would be relegated to the caboose while Disney took the monorail to prosperity. He praised a new study commission on local government,

which the Legislature had created, and he urged citizens to consider a new county charter that would create a mayor and nine council members. Local leadership, having been forewarned of the growth that was to come, must think large and make no little plans, he wrote.[93]

Andersen largely avoided public life after retiring from the newspapers. He toured Europe and returned to announce he had little time or inclination "to continue a life of controversy." He resigned as chairman of the Mayor's Action Committee, which was to recommend how to meet the city's needs for theater and convention facilities.[94] Smathers tried to enlist his help in raising money for Democratic candidates, but Andersen declined. Worn out from life, he preferred to spend more time "improving my health and disposition by breeding race horses and orchids.... I am sure you do not wish to disturb the soliloquies of a tired old man."[95]

Andersen died in 1986. About 200 people gathered at Rollins College in Winter Park to mourn him. Twenty-one years earlier, the college had presented him with an honorary doctor's degree, and the dean of the Cathedral of St. Luke praised him as one who "never turned back because the way was difficult" and never deserted a cause he thought was right.[96] Old friends and adversaries alike had similar praise. "No half dozen men together had near the effect on the community as Martin Andersen," declared Brailey Odham of Sanford, who as an unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate in 1954 had felt the publisher's wrath. "He believed in roads. And it has proved him absolutely correct."[97]

Conclusion

In such fashion, many citizens gave much of the credit to Andersen for Orlando's spectacular growth. His editorial leadership for more than

three decades encouraged businesses and government to lay a foundation that would encourage and support economic development. As Orlando prospered after World War II, so did Andersen's newspapers. From small dailies during the Great Depression, they grew into powerful publications with broad regional influence. Often, Andersen and his newspapers became arbiters for important decisions that influenced the development of Orlando and the surrounding area. Many times they took a broad view on growth issues, as in Andersen's incessant campaigns to build new roads. Such editorial policies looked to ensure long-term prosperity. For such reasons, Andersen is representative of publishers who have operated at the center of local "growth machines," exercising great influence upon the development of their communities.

Useful comparisons may be drawn with other journalistic proponents of community development. Eugene Pulliam, for example, became a leading force in the boom of Phoenix, where he owned the *Arizona Republic* and the Phoenix *Gazette*. His biographer relates how people often credited Pulliam for encouraging industry to locate in Phoenix and for promoting charter government, which helped clean up political corruption — an ugly sore on the city's reputation.[98] Pulliam's career, like Andersen's, lends historical support to Molotch's growth machine model. More direct evidence comes from studies of the Los Angeles *Times*, which in many ways stands as the paragon of city-building boosterism among daily newspapers. Biographers draw a direct connection between Los Angeles' growth and the ballyhoo and land-promotion schemes of the Otis and Chandler families, owners of the *Times*. One of the newspaper's hoary tenets was that the publisher enjoyed the privilege of boosting the community's growth and watching intently for prospective new industries. A similar tradition prevailed in Fort Worth, Texas, where Amon Carter, publisher of the *Star-Telegram*, became that

city's most dedicated and celebrated promoter. Carter devoted his long career to building the newspaper and the city at the same time. To accomplish his goals, he hired editors and managers who fought alongside him to encourage economic growth and solidify the paper's position as the voice of West Texas.[99]

Like many other powerful publishers, Andersen showed no hesitation in ruthlessly wielding his newspapers as partisan weapons. Typically, however, he sought political rewards for his community rather than for himself. He was a man of strong will and talent who identified entirely with the fortunes of Central Florida. At the same time, one must be careful not to overlook the weaknesses of Andersen's editorial leadership. He and his newspapers seldom transcended the cautious self-interest of the community's business class. Although he occasionally rose to address some social injustice, he typically did so in close cooperation with the downtown establishment. Clearly, the community's development enjoyed first call upon his editorial energies. In particular, Andersen could be quite shortsighted on civil rights. Unlike his contemporary Hodding Carter, who published a newspaper in Greenville, Miss., Andersen failed to grasp the larger implications of civil rights. That shortcoming, along with his occasional bouts of demagoguery, cost him membership among a small coterie of courageous publishers such as Carter who earned national reputations for editorial bravery.[100]

Nevertheless, Andersen's career well illustrates the long-term influence that a strong-minded publisher can have upon a community's growth and development. When Andersen began in Orlando, the Great Depression had sapped local citizens of optimism for the future. The young publisher persevered as a booster until wartime conditions reversed the community's fortunes. Thereafter, both Orlando and the newspapers benefited from economic growth, eventually becoming

models for regional prosperity.

Ironically, Andersen's warning that the community should plan carefully for growth inspired by Disney went largely unheeded. In 1988, the *Orlando Sentinel* won the Pulitzer Prize for editorials that deplored how the rush of development threatened to overwhelm the community's ability to provide essential services. In a series titled "Florida's Shame," the newspaper called for stronger regulations on development. Clearly, in the editorialist's view, the local Growth Machine that Andersen's editorials once fueled had run amuck.[101]

NOTES

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[3]Martin Andersen to Charles Brumback, 15 December, 1976, copy in Andersen Papers. Andersen's letters and other papers are in the private possession of his widow, Mrs. Gracia Andersen, who kindly allowed the author to use them.

[4]"Florida's Six Most Influential Men. These Have Exerted the Full Resources at Their Command," *Florida Trend*, December 1958, 11-16.

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[6]Samuel Roen, "Martin Andersen: The Man Who Built Orlando," *Central Florida*, January 1984, 58; *Orlando Evening Star*, 5 August 1965.

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[9]Robert A. Caro, *The Path to Power* (New York: 1982), 476-79.

[10]Martin Andersen to Ronnie Dugger, undated copy, Andersen Papers. Dugger wrote a biography of Lyndon B. Johnson.

[11]Ibid.; *Orlando Sentinel*, 24 January 1973.

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Carmage Walls, Stanley Calkins, Peyton Anderson, and Buford Boone.

[14]Martin Andersen, "Orlando Newspapers Had Hard Sledding To Reach The Top," *Florida Magazine*, supplement to *Orlando Sentinel*, 5 September 1965, 4-6F.

[15]Interview with Martin Andersen by Betty Jore, 2 February 1986. Copy of tape in author's possession.

[16]*Orlando Sentinel*, 15 July 1965.

[17]Charlie Wadsworth, "Hush Puppies," *Orlando Sentinel*, 30 December 1965.

[18]*Orlando Sentinel*, 23 December 1965.

[19]*Sentinel Star*, 30 September 1979.

[20]Quoted in Samuel Roen, "Martin Andersen," part two of two-part series, *Central Florida*, February 1984, 65-66.

[21]Quoted in Bob Lodmell, "Martin Andersen: One Publisher's Imprint," *Florida Magazine*, supplement to *Sentinel Star*, 29 July 1973, 12.

[22]Tommy Kline to Martin Andersen, 24 March 1981, Andersen Papers.

[23]Martin Andersen to Fuller Warren, 8 October 1966, copy in Andersen Papers. Warren was a former governor of Florida.

[24]Martin Andersen to Paul K. McKenney Jr., 25 August 1975, copy in Andersen Papers.

[25]*Orlando Sentinel*, 25 November 1964.

[26]Andersen, "Orlando Newspapers Had Hard Sledding," 7-F.

[27] "The Sentinel-Star Has A Namesake," *Florida Magazine*, supplement to *Orlando Sentinel*, 26 March 1961, 16-F; Andersen, unpublished resumé; *Orlando Sentinel*, 14 July 1966; Andersen interview with Betty Jore.

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[32]*Orlando Sentinel*, 25 April 1976.

[33]Ibid.

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[37]Martin Andersen, "Today," *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, 11 April 1950.

[38]Ibid., 11 April 1950.

[39]Ibid., 26 April 1950.

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[41]Interview with Billy Dial, 4 April 1991.

[42]Ibid.

[43]*Orlando Sentinel*, 4 March 1990.
[44]Wadsworth, "Hush Puppies," 30 December 1965.
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[46]*Sentinel-Star* Galley Proof, July-August 1962, 1.
[47]Interview with Robert Akerman, 6 May 1991.
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[51]Andersen, "Today," *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, 26 April 1949.
[52]Andersen, "Orlando Newspapers Had Hard Sledding," 7-F.
[53]Interview with Dial.
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[70]Martin Andersen to Lyndon B. Johnson, 9 December 1966, copy in Andersen Papers.
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[72]Martin Andersen to Frederick A. Nichols, 14 May 1966, copy in Andersen Papers.
[73]Andersen to Nichols, 22 March 1966, and 23 March 1966, copy in Andersen Papers.
[74]Andersen to Nichols, 25 August 1965, copy in Andersen Papers.
[75]Martin Andersen to George Smathers, 3 May 1965, copy in Andersen Papers.
[76]*Orlando Sentinel*, 28 September 1966; Martin Andersen to George Smathers, 26

April 1965, copy in Andersen Papers; George Smathers to Martin Andersen, 11 May 1965, Andersen Papers.

[77] *Orlando Sentinel*, 28 September 1966.

[78] George Smathers to Martin Andersen, telegram, 25 August 1965, Andersen Papers.

[79] *Orlando Sentinel*, 28 September 1966.

[80] *Today*, 14 October 1966.

[81] Martin Andersen to Charles Brumback, 3 September 1980, copy in Andersen Papers.

[82] *Orlando Sentinel*, 15 July 1965.

[83] Martin Andersen to Francis M. Flynn, telegram, 25 October 1965, copy in Andersen Papers.

[84] Francis M. Flynn to Martin Andersen, telegram, 25 October 1966, Andersen Papers.

[85] Richard E. Foglesong, "Baiting the Mousetrap: Driving I-4 Through Orlando," paper presented at the 1991 Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society, 9-11 May 1991, 3.

[86] Interview with Dial.

[87] Martin Andersen to Robert C. Allen, 26 December 1979, copy in Andersen Papers.

[88] Interview with Dial.

[89] Interview with Emily Bavar Kelly, 1 June 1992; Lodmell, "Martin Andersen," 11.

[90] Martin Andersen to Walker Roberts, 4 August 1977, copy in Andersen Papers. There continues to be speculation over whether Andersen suppressed the Disney story. His close friend Billy Dial insisted that he did not.

[91] *Orlando Sentinel*, 18 December 1966.

[92] Martin Andersen to Charles E. Hagar, 21 July 1967, copy in Andersen Papers.

[93] "The Man In The Engine Toots, Toots, Toots; What Say We Back In The Caboose?" *Orlando Sentinel*, editorial, 5 February 1967.

[94] *Orlando Sentinel*, 6 July 1967.

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[97] *Orlando Sentinel*, 7 May 1986.

[98] Pulliam, *Last of the Titans*, 134-36, 283-87. .

[99] Phillip J. Meek, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram: "Where the West Begins"* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1981), 12-21.

[100] Carter was an advocate himself of economic development. He regularly joined fellow civic and business leaders in Greenville in wooing industrial prospects. See Hodding Carter, *Southern Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, paperback edition, 1966), 151-153.

[101] The prize was awarded for an editorial series titled "Florida's Shame," which appeared in the *Orlando Sentinel* on 1-6 November 1989.

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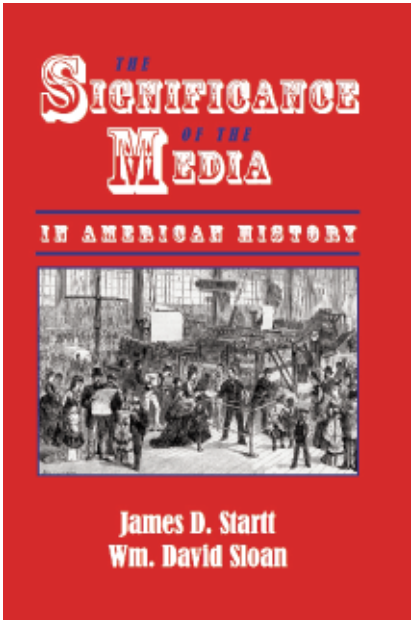

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Book Award Interview

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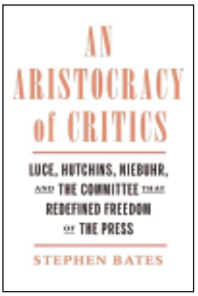
Bates



Stephen Bates won the 2021 Goldsmith Prize for the year's outstanding book from Harvard University for *An Aristocracy of Critics: Luce, Hutchins, Niebuhr, and the Committee That Redefined Freedom of the Press* (Yale University Press, 2020). It was also a runner-up for the award from the American Journalism Historians Association for the best book of the year. Mr. Bates is a professor in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. In addition to *An Aristocracy of Critics*, he has written four other books. He received his J. D. degree from Harvard Law School.

Historiography: *Give us a brief summary of your book.*

Bates: The book tells the story behind *A Free and Responsible Press*, the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, which was published in 1947. The report is canonic, an incisive and eloquent articulation of what's now called the social responsibility model of the press. Some scholars laud it as the most important statement ever produced on the role of the news media in a democracy. It's

the product of the greatest collaboration of American intellectuals in the 20th century. Robert Maynard Hutchins, the president of the University of Chicago, chaired the Commission. Its members included the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and the poet Archibald MacLeish, along with a lot of other luminaries.

Historiography: *How did you get the idea for your book?*

Bates: In college, I picked up *A Free and Responsible Press* and other Hutchins Commission publications in used bookstores. I found the Commission fascinating not just for its analysis but also for its methodology—in essence, philosophy by committee.

Historiography: *Tell us about the research you did for your book: What were your sources, how did you research your book, how long did you spend, and so forth?*

Bates: The Hutchins Commission left behind a massive official archive, including memos, background papers, book drafts, and transcripts of meetings. Several universities have complete sets. Commission members and staff also communicated privately, and most of them donated their papers to universities or the Library of Congress. Time Inc. editor in chief Henry R. Luce came up with the idea for the Commission and provided most of the funds, and he and his staff kept extensive files of their own. Ultimately, I got materials from about 50 archival collections.

The meeting transcripts proved especially valuable. Although all members of the Commission were white males, and most were current or former professors, they disagreed about principles as well as policies.

Yet most of the time, they deliberated in good faith. They listened to one another, reconsidered their views, and sometimes changed their minds. Whereas *A Free and Responsible Press* is a sermon, the meetings were debates. In some respects, they're more compelling than the final product.

Writing my book about *A Free and Responsible Press* took quite a bit longer than writing *A Free and Responsible Press*. Having tens of thousands of pages of documents is a curse as well as a blessing.

Historiography: *Besides the sources you used, were there any others you wish you had been able to examine?*

Bates: I wish I had been able to talk to some of the people involved. The last of them, a research assistant named Milton Stewart, died in 2004.

Historiography: *Based on your research for the book, what would you advise other historians in our field about working with sources?*

Bates: I found three things useful.

First, it's worth trying to track down descendants. Milton Stewart's family gave me an oral history interview they had done with him. The family of a researcher named Ruth Inglis lent me her datebooks, diaries, and correspondence.

Second, I filed Freedom of Information requests with the FBI on all Commission members and staff. The bureau, it turned out, had investigated many of them for radicalism. Some of the FBI reports included interviews with them and their colleagues as well as citations to their published writings in obscure venues. Some of these ancillary materials were enlightening even when the investigations themselves had no

merit.

Finally, finding documents is always a challenge, but the bigger challenge for me was keeping track of them. I made a spreadsheet with basic data on each one: author, recipient, date, a few words about content, and archival source. I could use it to search for a topic, or to follow a colloquy (one often finds a letter in one archive and the reply in another), or simply to locate a document. This may be obvious, but it took me a while to figure it out.

Historiography: *What were the challenges you faced in researching your book?*

Bates: The biggest challenge was cracking the Time Inc. files on the Hutchins Commission, which were in the company's possession and closed to the public. Several journalist friends of mine reached out to other journalists with current or former Time Inc. connections. Ultimately around ten people weighed in, most of whom I had never met, and the company finally said yes. Anyone writing about the Hutchins Commission now will have an easier task, because the New-York Historical Society has the files.

Historiography: **Is it possible to get too close to a research subject? How do historians maintain their neutrality of viewpoint when conducting and interpreting research?**

Bates: There's always a danger that the spirit of advocacy will overpower the spirit of inquiry. A member of the Hutchins Commission provides an example. In a renowned *Harvard Law Review* article and a subsequent book, Zechariah Chafee Jr., a Harvard Law professor, argued that

judges of the 19th century harbored a relatively libertarian perspective on free speech, which, he said, 20th-century judges should adopt. To make that case, as several legal scholars have documented, Chafee unabashedly lied about the historical record. One test of neutrality, I think, is whether a scholar's books and articles sometimes reach conclusions that conflict with his or her ideological views.

Historiography: *What new insights does your book provide?*

Bates: The conventional notion has been that Henry Luce engineered the study in the expectation that it would absolve corporate media and protect them from regulation, but the report was so hard-hitting that he disowned it. I concluded, though, that intellectual curiosity drove him to sponsor the study. He helped choose the members, and he attended several of the meetings. But for the sake of independence, Commission members asked him to stay away. This hurt his feelings, according to a member of the Time Inc. staff, and may have contributed to his displeasure with the final report.

I also found some of the report's silences noteworthy. Commission members considered the relationship between corporate capitalism and a democratic press, but the analysis in meetings and memos was superficial, and the analysis in *A Free and Responsible Press* is virtually nonexistent. Reinhold Niebuhr wanted to take a close look at the BBC model of state-supported media, but they never got around to it.

A major weakness of the report is its treatment of race. It calls for diversifying the news with no mention of diversifying the newsroom. When *A Free and Responsible Press* appeared, the *Chicago Defender* proposed a comparable study of the black press, with several men from the Hutchins Commission joined by "a half dozen outstanding Negro

scholars." The newspaper pointed out one obstacle, though: Who would pay for it? With the Commission on Freedom of the Press, Henry Luce couldn't dictate the answers, but as chief funder, he had the prerogative of framing the questions.

Historiography: *What findings most surprised you?*

Bates: Several things. First, Luce tried to get Hutchins to reassemble the Commission and rewrite the report. Hutchins, to his credit, refused. Second, Hutchins's friend William Benton extensively edited the report. He apparently even changed the title: *A Free and Accountable Press* became *A Free and Responsible Press*. Hutchins kept his involvement secret. Third, according to Time Inc. documents, the public didn't care about the report. After publishing most of it in a special section, *Fortune* got scarcely any letters. Finally, I was struck by the Hutchins Commission's standing in journalism schools as a rough index of newsroom-classroom relations. In 1947, journalism professors denounced the Hutchins Commission much as editors and publishers did. Since the 1970s, it seems as though journalism professors have denounced editors and publishers much as the Hutchins Commission did.

Historiography: *What advice would you give to people in our field who are considering doing a book in JMC history?*

Bates: If you're writing about people, it helps if you find them engrossing. Not necessarily admirable, but worth trying to figure out. If they're impassioned and eloquent, so much the better.

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Historical Roundtable: Taking a Sociological Approach to Journalism History

By Yong Volz, Will Mari, Henrik Örnebring, David Park, Thomas Schmidt, and Soomin Seo ©

Volz

Recent years have seen an increasing interest in taking a sociological approach to journalism history. The University of Missouri Press, for example, in collaboration with the University of Missouri School of Journalism, has published six books as part of the series titled *Journalism in Perspective: Continuities and Disruptions* (series editor Tim Vos). These books, some more explicitly than others, utilized sociological conceptual tools to explore historical changes in journalistic norms, operations, practices and boun-,daries, newsroom cultures and institutional arrangements.

In this roundtable, I invited three authors in the book series, Will Mari, Henrik Örnebring, and Thomas Schmidt, and also David Park

Yong Volz is an associate professor and the Roger Gafke Distinguished Faculty Fellow at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. She works primarily in the tradition of historical and comparative sociology, and her research centers on journalists and their place in history. Her published work addresses the social composition of Pulitzer Prize winners, American women journalists and feminist movements, Western missionaries and secularization of journalism in late-nineteenth-century China, and the historical making of U.S. foreign correspondents in China, among other topics.

Mari

Will Mari is an assistant professor at Louisiana State University and a past chair of AEJMC's History Division. He studies media history, media law, and especially analog-to-digital transitions and their impact on news workers. He is the author of *A Short History of Disruptive Journalism Technologies, 1960-1990* (Routledge, 2019), *The American Newsroom, A History* (University of Missouri Press, 2021) and *Newsrooms and the Disruption of the Internet: A Short History of Disruptive Technologies, 1990-2010* (Routledge, 2022).

Örnebring

Henrik Örnebring is a professor of Media and Communication at Karlstad University, Sweden, and a past chair of ICA's Journalism Studies Division. He has published widely on comparative media history, journalism studies, media convergence, and popular culture. He is the editor-in-chief of the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2020) and the author of *Newsworkers: A Comparative European Perspective* (Bloomsbury, 2016), and *Journalistic Autonomy: The Genealogy of a Concept* (with Michael Karlsson, University of Missouri Press, 2022).

Park

David Park is a professor of Communication and chair of Cinema Studies at Lake Forest College and former chair of ICA's Communication History Division. He is the author of *The History of Media and Communication Research* (with Jefferson Pooley, Peter Lang, 2008), and *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Introduction to Media and Communication Theory* (Peter Lang, 2014). He also co-edited *The Long History of New Media* (Peter Lang, 2011), *The International History of Communication Study* (Routledge, 2015), and *Communication Memory & History* (2018).

Schmidt

Thomas Schmidt is an associate professor of Critical Journalism Studies at UC San Diego. His research focuses both on the historical context and the contemporary evolution of journalistic institutions, analyzes both political culture and technological imagination, and evaluates specific journalistic tools and their implications in a larger societal context. He is the author of *Rewriting the Newspaper: The Storytelling Movement in American Print Journalism* (University of Missouri Press, 2019).

Seo

Soomin Seo is an associate professor of journalism at Sogang University, South Korea. Her work looks into news institutions and journalistic practices from historical and comparative perspectives. She has published in *New Media & Society, Journalism, Journalism Studies,* and *Journalism Practice*, among others. She is the co-editor of a forthcoming volume on communication research on North Korea, titled *Locating North Korea in Communication Research.*

and Soomin Seo, to discuss their take on the intersection of historical and sociological research, especially focusing on the promises and challenges of adding a sociological lens to trace historical developments in journalism. I also asked them about some of the sociological concepts and tools they used in their own writings as well as their recommendations of readings for newcomers who are interested in sociological studies of media history. All five scholars have written extensively on media history, but they represent two generations of scholars, who come from somewhat different early academic training (communication, philosophy, history, and public policy) and were informed by diverse sociology traditions and canons.

Volz: *Conventionally, history and sociology are considered as two different modes of inquiry, analysis, and writing. Some even argue that the lack of "common ground" between the historist and structuralist/sociologist modes of explanation makes any attempts to combine the two a vain effort. How, then, would you define the sociological approach to history?*

Mari: Sociology-informed media history, at least from how I learned it from my Ph.D. advisor and mentor, Richard Kielbowicz, involves a sensitivity to the role of cultures, institutions, social pressures, and identities, including socioeconomic considerations, in telling our true stories about the people who came before us. In other words, I don't know if media history, done well, can entirely ignore what sociology can bring to the conversation. I understand some of the tensions, but following James Carey and Linda Steiner's calls to deepen and broaden our field, thinking about societal structures and the role of power in our work can only enhance it.

Park: I would try to define it very carefully, with a concern for not allowing sociology's inclination toward theory to occlude or distort historical inquiry. John Nerone described how historians sometimes come to regard those of us in journalism history and other communication-adjacent historical projects as being "lost in a kind of religious fog." Our frequently encountered attachment to grand narratives and points of social theory leave us in some ways stuck (perhaps productively) on this admixture of history and what passes for sociology. Historical sociology is a relatively well-defined subfield of its own, and though historians are trained to be loath to burden their archival fidelity with unwarranted theoretical language, reflexive modernity has shown even stubborn historians a thing or two about the inevitabilities of narrative and social thought. In this sense perhaps history and sociology have arrived at some kind of détente with each other. This détente is implicit in the relatively recent upswing in the use of the term "humanities and social sciences (hss)," and I certainly hope that the humanities and social sciences continue to appreciate how much they can learn from each other. Regardless of any kind of programmatic thoughts I might wish to share here, the convergence between sociology and history is already quite developed and is generating a lot of good scholarship. To conclude, I would define the sociological approach to history through instantiation, by pointing to the substantial amount of published work that already blends the two allegedly separate tendencies in scholarship. I suggest we allow it to remain an emergent definition, in a manner that I think is cued up by the care and precision displayed by the best historians and sociologists.

Schmidt: As a preface I have to mention that I haven't been formally trained as a historian, nor as a sociologist. In fact, my first degree was in

philosophy, and I received a Ph.D. in Media Studies. As a result, my own approach has always been pragmatic, trying to combine the best of both worlds depending on the research question at hand. What history taught me is a focus on the contingency of social life. It sheds light on people, turning points, and specific historical formations. Sociology provides an understanding for the patterned nature of social life, its dynamics and structural manifestations. Taken together, then, a sociological approach to history illuminates how fluid social dynamics crystallize over a particular period in time into (more or less) stable formations of human life.

Volz: *Traditional journalism historiography has its heart in archival research and is centrally preoccupied with prominent figures, significant events, and paradigm-setting publications as they emerged at a particular historical time. By adopting the sociological approach, however, what kinds of additional topics can be explored, research questions asked, and sources tapped? In essence, what new insights can the sociological approach add to journalism historiography?*

Mari: The sociological approach allows for the use of other kinds of sources, including trade journals, oral histories, and autobiography (with some thoughtful caveats), but also the use of data, including records about labor and laborers (and news workers, following Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt, *are* workers). This enables the media historian to consider institutional histories, and the role of work, instead of just the role of ego and personality, when thinking about how journalism developed in this and other parts of our planet, and its role in the past but also in the present and future**.**

Örnebring: I find that a sociological mindset helps in analyzing the longue durée of journalism history. I have always been most interested in how we arrived at what we call "journalism" today, and if you are interested in that then I think you just have to have some kind of sociological framework in order to explain not just that things have changed but why they have changed. I do love reading well-researched archival work on very specific historical events or persons, but for me, sociology is necessary in order to connect (say) the 17th century study, the 18th century study, the 19th century study, and the 20th century study in order to identify where the key continuities and disruptions lie. I guess it is no accident that I have done as much work synthesizing secondary sources as I have doing archive-based work…

Park: One thing the sociological approach can give journalism historiography is an appreciation of the significance of normal operations. Prominent figures, significant events, and paradigm-setting publications matter, of course, but I like to consider a point that Ben Peters made in talking about the history of "new media." Peters posited that "media history as a scholarly enterprise has focused too much on the first time that media were new and overlooked iterant moments of renewed media." Much the same could be said about journalism history. The prominent figures, significant events, and paradigm-setting publications matter and they demand careful attention, but the connections between the obviously important figures, events, and publications reverberate across everything else. This is the shared romance of sociology and history. History and sociology remind us that there is always something going on and that something happening in one place at one time is connected to innumerable other happenings in other settings. The social history movement remains an obvious example of how history

can be found everywhere, and that there is reason to reconsider our attachments to familiar topics. The last decade has found many in academia reconsidering our own place in the perpetuation of white supremacy, misogyny, and class privilege. Certainly this is something that comes out of sociology and history alike. All of this is a long way of saying that both history and sociology have found ways to get beyond what I call the charismatic megafauna of academic topics. History doesn't need sociology for that. Sociology, at best, can help history to find ways to (as I think of it) peel back the layers of the archives to see what's going on in between the lines. Sociology can be a helpful means by which to begin asking not-too-leading questions about archival material. I think there are few more questions more helpful to historians in the archives than the Zen-koan-ish symbolic interactionist question that asks "what is going on here?"

Schmidt: To me, a sociological approach invites us to take a closer look at the dialectic between agency and structure and how it changes over time. If a sole focus on agency is shallow, the exclusive attention on structure is empty. Journalists are as much a product of their time as they shape their time. What's fascinating, then, is trying to disentangle underlying conditions from personal circumstances while paying attention to significant events and (un)intended consequences.

Seo: I have found that adopting a sociological mindset has allowed me to gain insights from the boring, repetitive and the mundane — things that most people take for granted. When I worked on the history of international reporting at the Associated Press, I realized that the stringers and the local hires were in the margins of the organization and did not get bylines. This meant they were omitted in the official com-

pany lore as well as the in-house publications and other documents in the archives. It led to a more sociological inquiry using interviews and newsroom visits. This allowed me to form a fuller picture of the locally hired journalistic labor, who performed a range of tasks from arranging transport to translating and arranging interviews. The usual distinction in journalistic labor and titles like correspondent or bureau chief lost meaning in the field. Some of the best AP stringers started out as drivers, while for others working for the AP was a family craft passed from one generation to another. For me such discoveries were made easier because of the sociological inquiry on the institutional and organizational, as well as professional, dimensions of this news institution.

Volz: *In your line of media history research, which sociological theories and concepts have informed your work most? And in what ways?*

Mari: For me, the sociology of work, perhaps best exemplified by Andrew Abbott, has been the best helpful and informative. While not a theory, per se, it interrogates the evolution of the "professions" and what it means (or, rather, meant), to be a "professional" person, or to aspire to that. Centered as it is around control of work processes, versus arbitrary (and culturally contingent) benchmarks, it especially inspired my book, *The American Newsroom: A History, 1920-1960* (2021).

Örnebring: Since most of my work to date has dealt with journalism as work (and related issues like professionalization, professional identity, and working routines) I have always leaned a lot on sociological theories in this field (this area of journalism studies has imported most of its theoretical vocabulary from sociology, after all). Early on I found Harry Braverman's labor process theory helpful in articulating journalism's

relationship with technology over time, and I cite Julia Evetts' work on professionalism in almost everything I write.

Park: For better or worse, I have spent much time immersed in the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, whose capital/habitus/field model informs much of how I study the world. Bourdieu's writing on journalism was, I think, among his worst work, but the capital/habitus/field model can prove quite helpful in prodding us to understand the relationality at work in archival data. By this I mean that Bourdieu helps to remind us how to allow oppositions and alignments between social actors (and groups) to occur in a context that gets differentially refracted through different groups and agents. Bourdieu's anthropological focus on emic meaning comes to be most useful in the archives, where one doesn't even know what to make of things until one has become thoroughly marinated in some critical mass of items. I like to think of Bourdieu's capital/field/habitus model as a half-step in the direction of assembling some kind of survey of a broader social situation that informs my understanding of individual actors in that situation, and vice versa. The model furnishes more of a set of orienting techniques for historical work than a theory per se, and I think that is the strength of Bourdieu's ideas for historical work.

Schmidt: My work builds on the (interdisciplinary) theory of institutionalism and theorizes change over time by using the concept of "discursive institutionalism" as developed by Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim Vos. In addition, the idea of "institutional emergence" as articulated by Vivien Lowndes and Mark Roberts also shaped my thinking. In my recent work on professional journalistic norms, I'm inspired by Michael Schudson's article "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism"

and his synthesis of sociological concepts stemming from Max Weber and Emil Durkheim.

Seo: James Carey's concept of communication as a ritual has been hugely influential to me. The idea that communication is more than just about words and transmission of information, and that it is a communal process with the community in the center continues to resonate in me and others seeking to capture a more holistic analysis of journalism including culture, "the cultural air we breathe" to coin a phrase from Richard Hoggart. I also appreciate the clear, approachable way Carey put his ideas together, comparing newspaper reading to attending mass, although my undergraduate students consider daily newspaper reading more like an eclectic hobby from a bygone era!

Volz: *Among your own publications, which piece do you think best utilized sociological tools in examining a historical phenomenon?*

Mari: Probably my aforementioned book is the project that was most positively impacted by sociology. But other current projects, looking at the role of technology in journalism, also draw from sociology and its epistemological tools.

Örnebring: Well, I'd have to say that in my most recent book (co-authored with my colleague Michael Karlsson) *Journalistic Autonomy: The Genealogy of a Concept* we really attempted to delve into that longue durée I mentioned earlier, tracing the idea that journalism should be independent/autonomous from its 17th century origins (when "journalism" in our modern sense did not really exist, which turns out to be important) to our present day. But I don't know if that counts as histori-

ography proper as we mostly synthesize existing scholarship… but it's very sociological, ha ha! We do some close readings of historical texts though, like John Milton's *Areopagitica* and the probably less-known *Thoughts on Civil Liberty* by the 18th century Swedish political thinker and disciple of Linnaeus, Peter Forsskål.

Schmidt: In my book "*Rewriting the Newspaper: The Storytelling Movement in American Print Journalism*" I'm using the institutional lens to analyze the evolution of narrative journalism in U.S. newspapers between the 1960s and the 1990s. The sociological approach allowed me to highlight strategic initiatives by individuals and organizations while taking into account the social and cultural currents that were creating conditions for a novel form of journalism to take root. It is a story about both creative agency and structural constraints, an attempt to analyze how standardized ways of doing journalism changed in a fundamental way.

Seo: The aforementioned article about the role of stringers, fixers and other locally hired journalistic labor at the Associated Press, titled "Marginal Majority at the Postcolonial News Agency: Foreign Journalistic Hires at the Associated Press." *Journalism* 17(1): 39-56.

Volz: *From your own research experience, what were the some of the inherent and unexpected challenges of taking the sociological approach to examining journalism history?*

Mari: I have definitely been challenged in my presumptions about the motivations of historical actors — in other words, what they were thinking about and what they thought was important about their work

and lives (and both), instead of what *I* think is important?

Park: For me it has all been unexpected. I walked backwards into all this. I proposed a dissertation about popular psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and psychology, and before long I found myself in the archives. The whole thing was very much in keeping with the advice of my graduate advisor, Larry Gross. Larry had me start with questions and domains, not with methods. The questions that interested me were (and remain) historical, so I found myself doing history. The unexpected challenge, for me, was historiography itself. I went from being a communication scholar who hoped to work with theories only to find that those theories did not serve me very well when it came time to answer the questions I had. I learned to worry less about testing theory or making grand observations and to worry much more about keeping theory from creeping into my work, which is much easier said than done (for me anyway). This is a different way of saying that the sociological inclination preceded my historical pursuits, so the challenge for me has been to try to stifle the theorizing in pursuit of better histories.

Schmidt: For me personally, a sociological approach to journalism history seems intuitive and it's just a matter of triangulating archival data with other forms of evidence in order to tease out specific historical mechanisms. My biggest surprise was that for some colleagues there's a firewall between history and sociology. For example, one reviewer of "*Rewriting the Newspaper*" wrote that historians may find the book "frustrating" because it takes a "media studies/sociology approach."

Seo: Although there has been a re-emergence of sociological approaches in journalism research with scholars like David Ryfe and Nikki Usher

conducting fieldwork in newsrooms, we still need more of those. But how many researchers can commit the amount of time and energy necessary for such research? What institutions have the resources to support such work? This is probably why sociological approaches in the non-US or comparative contexts are still rare.

Volz: *Do you see yourself more as a historian, or a sociologist? OR, do you define yourself more as a historical sociologist, or a sociological historian? And why?*

Mari: I see myself as more of a media historian whose work is enhanced by sociology, though I do admit that I am still learning how to do this better!

Örnebring: Good question. Early on in my career I simply called myself a media historian (and I often still do). But honestly, I have always been most interested in analyzing long-term historical processes and trajectories using social theory so I suppose that makes me more of a historical sociologist than a sociological historian, if that makes sense.

Park: I will answer this question in a sideways manner. I was initially interested in sociology and found myself drawn to historical questions. My intellectual imprinting on sociology, when applied to history in the context of journalism and communication more broadly, did not lead me to some beautifully titrated synthesis of sociology and history. I instead found myself considering the field of communication historically and sociologically, and arriving at the revelation that there was much work to be done to develop the position of history in communication inquiry — an issue that cuts across journalism history as well. I suppose

this means I define myself as someone whose primary goal is to build and reinforce historical communication scholarship of all kinds, which is a sociologically informed goal. What I have tried to do for the last fifteen years or so has been to take insights from sociology of science regarding the development of structures and then to apply those insights to the creation and sustenance of those structures, so that journalism history, media history, history of communication study, and more can all continue and perhaps even flourish. This is a reason why I edit the new diamond OA journal *History of Media Studies* (https://hms.mediastudies.press/) with my co-editors Jeff Pooley and Pete Simonson. The work before all of us engaged in communication-adjacent historical work is to build structures that can sustain us. We are, all of us, affected by oft-unkind developments in academe, be it the crisis in the humanities, the field of communication/journalism's vocational focus, or the frequently encountered disdain for historical work. Failure to organize ourselves more effectively could spell doom for communication history. I am becoming more of a historian in my written work, but my organizing and institution-building is all informed by sociology.

Schmidt: As already mentioned, I can't make a claim to being either one or the other. I consider myself to be a historically-minded scholar who's interested in the patterned variation of social life as it pertains to journalism and its role in society.

Seo: I am not sure if such distinction is important, but I consider myself a historical sociologist, mostly because I often start research with sociological lens. But I can tell you that Herbert Gans, who taught field research seminar at Columbia while I was a doctoral student at the com-

munications program, strongly cautioned against assumptions and theories!

Volz: *As you write about journalism history, which books and works have most informed your work or your approach to the study of journalism history?*

Mari: For me, Paul Starr's *Creation of the Media*, as well as work by Schudson, Steiner, Hardt and Brennen, has been important to my own research.

Örnebring: Besides the concepts and scholars I have already mentioned, Foucault is always there in the background when I write on journalism history — for me, journalism history is so much about finding out why all the taken-for-granted things are taken for granted, and if that is your research goal it is difficult to get past Foucault (not that I would want to!) and his ideas about governmentality and writing "the history of the present" (as expressed in Discipline and Punish). To me, Michel Foucault provides some of the best examples of how to combine history and sociology.

If we are speaking more strictly about journalism history that has influenced me, the work of Michael Schudson (from *Discovering the News* onward, really) has been very important — for me and for many others, I am sure. I remember reading *The Power of News* as a PhD student thinking, this is the kind of stuff I want to do! Linda Steiner's work is also a touchstone for me — her *Gender at Work* article from 1997 is fantastic. Her work on women journalists' autobiographies and the working conditions of women journalists over time has particular relevance for my current project, a biography of Thelma Berlack Boozer, a

Black woman journalist active in the 1920s-1940s and the first Black person to be a professor of journalism and lead a journalism school (at Lincoln University, Mo., in 1942-43).

Schmidt: I'm greatly indebted to Michael Schudson because he's a role model in combining historical interest with sociological sensitivity. His books *Discovering the News* and *The Rise of the Right to Know* were deeply influential. The late John Pauly wrote several articles and book chapters in which he called for an "institutionally situated" history of literary journalism, an approach I found to be very generative. Christopher P. Wilson's book *The Labor of Words* fundamentally shaped my way of thinking about how writing fits into the journalistic marketplace. Also, I could not have taken on any historical research without the guidance and inspiration from two of my mentors at the University of Oregon, Gretchen Soderlund and Ellen Herman.

Seo: I am obviously biased here as I studied with him, but Michael Schudson's books on early, mid- and late-20th century journalism (*Discovering the News*; *Watergate in American Memory*; *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*) are the best examples of the books on journalism history.

Volz: *For young researchers who are interested in using the tools of sociology to study journalism history, what readings or texts would you recommend for them to start with?*

Mari: I'd definitely recommend Abbott, but really also anything by the scholars mentioned above, as well as Carole O'Reilly, Juliette de Maeyer, and Henrik Örnebring, who are doing vital work in this area

outside of the U.S.

Park: I would recommend the work of Rodney Benson. Benson is a sociologist and not a historian. I find that Benson's sociology of media — and specifically his sociology of journalism — gives journalism historians terrific tools for what kinds of questions to ask in the archives. He outlines some of this far better than I could in his article "On the explanatory and political uses of journalism history" from *American Journalism* in 2013, where he shows how sociological terms (he uses Bourdieu's idea of 'the field') can be of service to historical questions of continuity and change in journalistic practice. He does something similar (without the journalism history framing) in service of a comparative analysis in his book *Shaping immigration news: A French/American comparison* (2013). His treatment of, say, interviews he conducts in his research closely resembles how I think one ought to relate to the archives, with a probing concern for connections and failed connections between different social actors, an appreciation for emergent social practice, an avoidance of familiar meta-narratives of the media, and an appreciation for the importance of the media and journalism to our lives. It's meticulous sociological work, and it calls out for historical work that wrestles with the same questions in the archives.

Schmidt: Everyone should read Rodney Benson's "On the Explanatory and Political Uses of Journalism History," Peter Burke's *History and Social Theory*, and Tim Vos' "Historical Mechanisms and Social Change." In terms of recommending historians with a sharp sociological sensibility for issues of gender and race, I'd like to mention the work of Kathy Roberts Forde and Linda Steiner.

Seo: I would start with two: *Deciding What's News* (Herbert Gans, 1979) and *The Sociology of News* (Michael Schudson, 2003). I also like Mark Pedelty's work (*War Stories: The Culture of Foreign Correspondents*, 1995) because it is a great example of research from outside the US.

Volz: *Is there anything else you would like to add?*

Mari: Thanks for the opportunity to chat about the vital role of sociology in media history.

Schmidt: I believe that a sociological approach to journalism history is particularly important when it comes to studying injustice in terms of race, class and gender. It not only analyzes how these structural inequalities come into being but also why they persist and how they are being perpetuated.

Seo: Thank you for inviting me to this great conversation. I am happy to see this conversation reflecting the reality that many of us are already thinking more organically about historical and sociological approaches to journalism.

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News and Notes

Janice Hume Wins Kobre Lifetime Achievement Award

The American Journalism Historians Association has selected Janice Hume of the University of Georgia as the 2022 recipient of the Sidney Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement, the AJHA's highest honor.

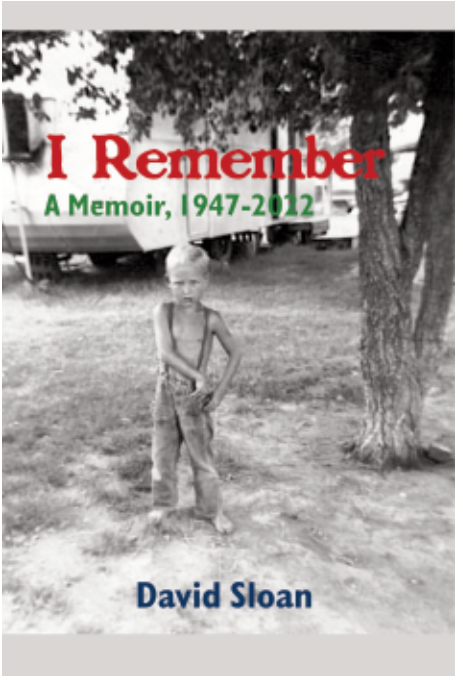
Dr. Hume is the Carolyn McKenzie and Don E. Carter Chair for Excellence in Journalism in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication.

The chair of the selection committee, Professor Emeritus Thomas A. Mascaro of Bowling Green State University, said of Prof. Hume: "The nominating and support letters for Dr. Janice Hume reflect widespread admiration and appreciation for Janice's excellence, mentorship, teaching and research contributions and for reflecting the tradition of this esteemed award."

Prof. Hume has "an exemplary record of sustained achievements through teaching, research, professional activities, or other contributions to the field of journalism history," said award committee member Dr. Carolyn Kitch of Temple University. "She has contributed to the field in all of these categories, and in a very sustained way for decades. Her own scholarship importantly situates journalism history within American cultural history. And she has steadily worked to mentor and support other journalism historians' research and teaching, expanding

"It wasn't a grandiose vision,"

the historian David Sloan says, "that led me to write my memoirs. It was a simple plan. When one dies, think of the amount of knowledge that passes on with him. If any of my descendants should ever want to know something about me after I'm gone, perhaps they can find it here."



Yet with that simple idea, he provides a chronicle that parallels seventy-five years of life in America. It takes him from a young child growing up in a poor family in Texas to 38 years as a college professor in an affluent nation.

Along the way, he shares details about such topics as college life in the 1960s, when professors encouraged students to smoke in class and Young Democrats' parties meant three kegs of beer; the schemes of students and professors today to try to get away with doing as little as possible; and his work over four decades to improve the study of media history.

To learn more about David Sloan's *I Remember,* click here or on the cover image.

her impact on the field's present and future."

The rich number of tributes from support letters speak to the sweep of Hume's record of achievement during a lifetime of service to journalism history.

"Dr. Hume most deserves recognition because she has mentored dozens upon dozens of graduate students, colleagues, and friends," said Dr. Charles N. Davis of the University of Georgia. "It's the quiet counsel, often unheralded and unheard by others, that gives a graduate student the confidence to move forward."

Dr. Erika Pribanic-Smith of the University of Texas Arlington praised Hume's stalwart participation as an AJHA and AEJMC History Division member, and credited her with "amassing a record of teaching, research, and service that makes her more than worthy of AJHA's highest honor."

Prof. Jason Lee Guthrie of Clayton State University was one of several scholars who thanked Hume for her mentorship. "I gravitated toward history first and foremost because of who Dr. Hume is as a person, her kindness, and her generosity," he said.

Prof. Alexia "Lexie" C. Little of Vanderbilt University said Dr. Hume "approaches our field with a ferocious curiosity made apparent by her wide and readily accessible internal archive of scholarship read, networks fostered, mistakes made, achievements earned, topics explored, and mentor guidance committed to heart."

Prof. Teri Finneman of the University of Kansas noted that Dr. Hume is known for her research on collective memory and obituaries. "She was interviewed on NPR about her research into 8,000 obituaries, and her commentary was fascinating," said Finneman

Dr. Hume has earned more than fifteen awards and recognitions, including AJHA's President's Award for Service, National Award for

Excellence in Teaching, the McKerns Research Grant, and multiple top paper or article awards from both AJHA and the AEJMC History Division. She was named a Southeastern Conference Academic Leadership Development Program Fellow and to the Scripps Howard Academic Leadership Academy, and has provided leadership as a long-time department chair within the journalism department at the University of Georgia's Grady College of Journalism & Mass Communication.

"The award's namesake, Sidney Kobre, fused his love of journalism and history to make an enduring legacy within the field of history," said M. Cayce Myers of Virginia Tech. "Janice Hume's career is in that same tradition."

Dr. Hume taught at Kansas State University before going to the University of Georgia in 2001. Prior to entering academe, she worked at the *Mobile* (Ala.) *Register* and *Florence* (Ala.) *Times, Tri-Cities Daily*.

Symposium on Media and Cultural Life in German-occupied Western Europe (1940-1945) – Brussels (7-8 November 2022)

During the Second World War Nazi Germany occupied the majority of Western Europe, but the mode of occupation differed substantially from place to place. Some areas were simply annexed to the Reich, while others were governed by German military authorities. Others still were administered by German and / or local civilian authorities. In all cases the Germans reauthorized local cultural production in order to create a semblance of normalcy for civilians and to further their own political and economic interests.

Although research on the cultural, political, social, and economic dimensions of propaganda in Nazi-occupied territories has a rich academic tradition, it is far from exhausted. There is still much research to

be done in local, national, and especially transnational perspectives. There is also still significant potential for interdisciplinary investigation. This symposium will contribute to the development of new interdisciplinary and transnational research on media and cultural life in German-occupied Europe. Specific attention will be paid to the opportunities and challenges offered by the digitization of archival collections, printed newspapers and audio-visual sources.

Building on the symposium "Cultures of Spectacle in German-occupied Belgium" held in Brussels in March 2020, this new symposium has a broader geographical scope (Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) and invites contributions from faculty and PhD students working on media policy and cultures in German-occupied countries during the Second World War (1939-1945). Contributions on Allied propaganda targeting occupied territories are also welcome. The symposium will take place on November 7 and 8, 2022. The symposium will be hosted in Brussels by the CegeSoma, the fourth operational direction of the State Archives and the Belgian center of expertise for the history of 20th century conflicts. (The conference venue is within walking distance of Brussels South Train Station.) Registration will be free; foods and drinks will also be provided but participants must cover their own lodging costs and make their own arrangements.

The working languages are English, French, German and Dutch.

Call for Submissions: *Journal of 20th Century Media History*

The *Journal of 20th Century Media History*, a new peer reviewed online academic journal, is soliciting original scholarly article manuscripts for its first issue. The journal is designed to be broadly interdisciplinary and address current scholarship across a wide range of subject areas. As the

title suggests, we are looking to publish historical work about topics that, in the main, focus on people, events, ideas, and practices from the 20th century. Article submissions that make use of innovative research techniques and methodologies are highly encouraged, as is research that draws attention to previously marginalized or under-represented groups or forms of media practice. The journal can be found at
https://mds.marshall.edu/j20thcenturymediahistory/
Journal of 20th Century Media History | Marshall University

Possible subject areas for articles include:

- Journalism and news
- Broadcasting (entertainment or non-fiction programming)

Film

- Propaganda and public opinion
- Political communication
- Books, reading, and print culture
- Digital communication
- Media technologies
- Law and ethics
- Advertising and public relations
- Visual communication and visual culture studies
- Biographical studies

Article manuscripts should be submitted through the link on the left hand column of the journal website. Because the publication is entirely digital, we do not have a set word count or page limit. However, manuscripts should be carefully focused and written in a format commonly used in academic publishing. Submissions should not be previously published or under consideration with another journal and authors should secure any necessary permissions prior to submitting the manuscript. Please use the current edition of *The Chicago Manual of*

Style as a guide to formatting and usage. Citations should take the form of endnotes.

The journal is edited by Dr. Robert Rabe (Marshall University, rabe@marshall.edu) and Dr. Cory Pillen (Fort Lewis College, cjpillen@fortlewis.edu). Questions about the journal or the submission process can be addressed to them. The journal will also publish reviews and scholars interested in reviewing should contact the editors.

AJHA Announces Top Papers for 2022 Conference

The American Journalism Historians Association has honored scholars representing ten universities for research papers to be presented at the 2022 National Conference. The 41st Annual AJHA Convention will take place in Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 29-Oct. 1.

Gwyneth Mellinger of James Madison University won the Wm. David Sloan Award for Outstanding Faculty Paper for "Indicting the Black Press: Securing Racial Boundaries During World War II." Mellinger also received the J. William Snorgrass Award for Outstanding Paper on Minority Journalism History.

Max Fuller of the University of Wisconsin won the Robert Lance Memorial Award for Outstanding Student Paper for "Wielding the *Blade*: J. Anthony Josey, the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade* and the Construction of a Contemporary Black Political Identity."

Both the Maurine Beasley Award for Outstanding Paper on Women's History and honorable mention for the Lance Award went to Ashley Walter of Penn State University for "'It Was *Time* That Turned Me Into a Radical': Newswomen and the Fight for Equality at Time Inc., 1970s."

W. Joseph Campbell of American University received the Wally

Eberhard Award for Outstanding Paper on Media and War for "'Protopack Journalism' in Gettysburg's Aftermath: Parsing the Extravagant Claims of the Confederacy's 'Greatest' War Correspondent."

The following honorable mentions also were awarded:

• Sloan Award — Ken J. Ward (Pittsburg State) and Aaron Atkins (Weber State)

• Snorgrass Award — George L. Daniels (Alabama)

• Eberhard Award — William B. Anderson (Elon)

• Beasley Award — Madeleine Liseblad (Cal State Long Beach) and Thomas A. Mascaro (Bowling Green, retired)

Call for papers: "Hollywood Film Style and the Production Code: Criticism and History," a special issue of *The Quarterly Review of Film and Video*

Schedule: 300-500 word proposals/abstracts, along with a short bio, to tom.brown@kcl.ac.uk by 01/08/2023.

10,000-word draft chapters will be due in June 2023 for publication in the journal in early 2024.

Almost thirty years since the *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* published a special issue on the Production Code edited by Lea Jacobs and Richard Maltby (1995; 15:4), the time is ripe for a re-consideration of the Code's aesthetic impact on Hollywood. Facing head-on the vexed question of the interaction of industry regulation with the tone and style of films themselves, the essays in the collection look closely at the detail of film form while closely considering broader and more specific histories of Production Code Administration (PCA) regulation and the self-censorship it encouraged.

The 1995 special issue was a landmark moment that bequeathed a

number of important and valuable things, including a more complex understanding of what the oft-cited shift of 1934 meant for Hollywood (i.e. the setting up of the PCA under Joseph Breen's direction). The nuances of Jacobs, Maltby et al's positions on this shift and their engagement with aesthetics are, however, sometimes now forgotten due to other broader and, I would contend, less positive consequences of the "historical turn" (and subsequent turn and turn again) of which issue 15:4 was a part: a greater reliance on "what the archive shows" *at the expense of* criticism/close film formal analysis. The disavowal of what we are calling "criticism" has seen subsequent film historians engage with film style less than may be desirable. Without in any way offering a nostalgic view of the often un-reflective and narrowly textual ways in which the study of earlier periods of filmmaking was once pursued (the introduction to the special issue will historicize the major gains and developments in the New Film Histories' understanding of the Code), we will engage directly with the relationship between "criticism" and "history" in order to offer a new equilibrium for a style-based understanding of Hollywood cinema during (mainly) the 1930s, 40s and 50s.

A number of high caliber entries have already been secured. While the call for papers is an open one (proposals will be welcomed from a wide variety of angles perhaps unimagined), we would particularly welcome essays on the following topics:

- The representation of race during the Code era (including engagement with the notorious "no-miscegenation" clause)
- Queer and non-heteronormative characterisations
- The representation of political topics, events and figures
- Criminality and policing
- Violence and the Code
- Representing religion, etc.

Essays should engage with these or other broader issues but also with the details of films themselves (perhaps via the example of particular "case studies"). The special issue's guest editor (tom.brown@kcl.ac.uk) is happy to discuss ideas in advance of submitting a proposal.

Dr. Tom Brown, Senior Lecturer in Film Studies
Film Studies Department, King's College London

History of Media Studies Offers Access to Articles on "Exclusions in the History of Media Studies."

History of Media Studies has announced an open access Special Section on "Exclusions in the History of Media Studies". The seven articles, published in English or Spanish, are introduced by the editors in English and in Spanish translation. *History of Media Studies* is a new, peer-reviewed, scholar-run, diamond OA journal dedicated to scholarship on the history of research, education, and reflective knowledge about media and communication. The articles are the following:

- "Exclusions/*Exclusiones*: The Role for History in the Field's Reckoning" — Peter Simonson, David W. Park, and Jefferson Pooley
- "Exclusiones/Exclusions: El papel de la historia en saldar la deuda histórica del campo" — Peter Simonson, David W. Park, and Jefferson Pooley
- "Antonio Pasquali. Una práctica intelectual entre América Latina y Europa (1979–1989)" — Emiliano Sánchez Narvarte
- "Constituted and Constituting Exclusions in Communication Studies" — Sarah Cordonnier
- "El imaginario textil: una interpretación alternativa en los estudios de la comunicación" — Daniel H. Cabrera Altieri

• "Inequality: The Blind Spot of Western Communication Studies" — Boris Mance and Sašo Slaček Brlek

• "Journalism via Systems Cybernetics: The Birth of the Chinese Communication Discipline and Post-Mao Press Reforms" — Angela Xiao Wu

• "Matrices y vertientes de pensamiento sobre los medios indígenas en América Latina" — Maria Magdalena Doyle

• "West Berlin's Critical Communication Studies and the Cold War: A Study on Symbolic Power from 1948 to 1989" — Maria Löblich, Niklas Venema, and Elisa Pollack

History of Media Studies is published by mediastudies.press, a non-profit, scholar-led OA publisher. The journal is affiliated with (1) the Working Group on the History of Media Studies and (2) the History of Media Studies Newsletter, which contains updates on the journal, among other relevant news.

Questions? Contact hms@mediastudies.press

Call for Papers: Information & Culture

Information & Culture seeks papers emphasizing a human-centered focus that address the role and reciprocal relationship of information and culture, regardless of time and place. The journal welcomes submissions from an array of relevant theoretical and methodological approaches, including but not limited to historical, sociological, psychological, political and educational research that address the interaction of information and culture.

Information & Culture is an academic journal printed three times a year by the University of Texas Press. It publishes original, high-quality, peer-reviewed articles examining the social and cultural influences and

impact of information and its associated technologies, broadly construed, on all areas of human endeavor.

To learn more about our submission standards or submit an article for publication in *Information & Culture*, visit our submissions page.

Interested authors should contact the editor:

Andrew Dillon

School of Information

The University of Texas at Austin

Email: adillon@ischool.utexas.edu

Madeleine Liseblad Named 2022 Rising Scholar

The editors of *American Journalism*, the peer-reviewed quarterly journal of the American Journalism Historians Association, have announced Madeleine Liseblad of California State University Long Beach as the winner of the 2022 Rising Scholar Award.

The Rising Scholar Award winner is chosen annually by the editors of *American Journalism*. The award is designed for scholars who show promise in extending their research agendas.

Liseblad receives this honor and $2,000 award in recognition of her research on radio and television broadcaster Clete Roberts. She will receive the award during the AJHA's 41st annual convention, Sept. 29-Oct. 1 in Memphis, Tenn.

"I want to show that media history research can and should go beyond print-based journalism and big names and big events in broadcasting," Liseblad said. "There are so many fantastic regional broadcasters who have accomplished great things but whose stories have not yet been told. It is wonderful that American Journalism and AJHA see value in my kind of research. I deeply appreciate the support."

Nicholas Hirshon, associate editor of *American Journalism*, said he is excited that Liseblad plans to examine the life of a lesser-known regional journalist, a welcome foray into broadcast journalism history.

"I hope this award helps her toward the tenure that her record of teaching, research, and service clearly demonstrates that she deserves," Hirshon said.

Tracy Lucht Receives 2022 *American Journalism* Best Article Award

American Journalism, the peer-reviewed quarterly journal of the American Journalism Historians Association, awarded its 2022 Best Article prize to Tracy Lucht, associate professor in the Greenlee School of Journalism and Communication at Iowa State University.

This annual award honors the best scholarship that was published in *American Journalism* between Summer 2021 and Spring 2022. Lucht's study, "Amelia Bloomer, *The Lily*, and Early Feminist Discourse in the US," appeared in the Fall 2021 edition of the journal. Lucht will receive her award during the 41st Annual AJHA Convention, scheduled for Sept. 29-Oct. 1 in Memphis, Tenn..

"This article was several years in the making and the result of a sabbatical project," said Lucht. "For me, it demonstrates the importance of revisiting the historical narratives we think we know best, paying attention to whose perspectives have driven those narratives and why. It was a special project for me, and I'm gratified to see it recognized."

Lucht thanked the *American Journalism* editors and advisory board for their support and promotion of media history.

"*American Journalism* is blessed with an embarrassment of riches when it comes to the high quality of scholarship that our authors submit each year," said Editor Pamela Walck. "That said, Dr. Lucht's man-

uscript quickly rose to the top for its clear purpose, smooth incorporation of theory, and elegant writing style."

Among the comments from the advisory board members judging this year, one noted the elegance with which Lucht made a clear and convincing argument about the impact made by Bloomer and *The Lily*, one of the first U.S. publications dedicated to advancing women's rights: "Lucht organizes her primary and secondary sources effectively and in ways that support her conclusions, which are, to my mind, a significant contribution to the literature on nineteenth-century feminist discourse in the U.S."

Another voter commented, "This is a thoughtful and well-written article that makes a good point about Bloomer's understanding that 'the personal is political.'"

Other finalists for the Best Article award were "Selling Mexico's Robin Hood: Pancho Villa and His Public Relations Campaign to Target the Press and Public Opinion" (Young Joon Lim & Michael S. Sweeney); "Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study" (Autumn Lorimer Linford); and "The Flag Unfurled: The Negotiation of Civil War Memory in Confederate Displays" (Alexia Little).

The BBC at 100 Symposium, National Science and Media Museum and Online, 13-15 September 2022

The BBC at 100 Symposium will be held at the National Science and Media Museum in Bradford and online from 13-15 September 2022. Registration is free.

To register, email marcus.collins@lboro.ac.uk indicating which days you plan to attend and whether you'll be attending in-person or

online.

For the symposium program, see https://www.lboro.ac.uk/research/crcc/events/bbcsymposium

The symposium is sponsored by the Arts and Humanities Research Council with the support of the National Science and Media Museum, the University of Bradford and Media History. The symposium is interdisciplinary, inclusive and free to attend in-person or online. It aims

- to act as a gathering of the tribes, encompassing everyone from established scholars to postgraduates
- to take stock of research about the past century of British broadcasting by scholars in history, media and cultural studies, literary criticism, music, technology and related fields
- to explore what conceptual and logistical changes are needed to foster new directions in research and teaching
- to bring together archivists and researchers to discuss how to expand access to BBC archival resources, especially audiovisual ones.

One hundred fifty academics and archivists from every continent save Antarctica participate in thirty roundtables on aesthetics, Africa and the Middle East, audiences, children, digital broadcasting, digitized archives, diversity, documentary and features, domestic and international literary programming, education, entertainment, ethnicity and sexuality, global broadcasting, the interwar period, classical, jazz and popular music, local and regional radio, mainland Europe, Northern Ireland and "The Troubles," oral and transnational histories of BBC women, politics and current affairs, popular culture and the overseas services, popular music, public service broadcasting, radio drama, realism, religion and television studies. The program is rounded out by plenary roundtables about archives and the history of broadcasting history, a tour of the NSMM's special exhibition on a century of broadcasting,

a joint book launch for twenty volumes on broadcasting history published since Covid, a gala screening of *This Is The BBC* (1960) and a symposium dinner followed by Paul Kerensa's one-man play *The First Broadcast*.

Journal of Radio and Audio Media – Call for papers on BBC Radio 1922-2022

Call for Papers: *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* Symposium Edition

Deadline for submission: 1 February 2023

Editors on behalf of the MeCCSA Radio Studies Network are Janey Gordon, Josephine Coleman, Lawrie Hallett, Emma Heywood, Richard Berry, Deborah Wilson David.

On 18 October 1922 the British Broadcasting Company was formed in order to make use of the new technology of radio broadcasting for domestic use. The company started regular radio broadcasts on 14 November, and in January 1927 it was formed into the British Broadcasting Corporation.

BBC radio has continued to be a significant force in the cultural, entertainment and information sectors of the United Kingdom's national, regional and local services and globally via the BBC World Service. It has often been considered world leading in broadcasting technological developments and has a consummate reputation for legitimacy, accuracy and impartiality.

In 2022, 100 years after its first broadcast, BBC radio retains a 50% live radio audience share in the UK, about 34 million listeners a week (RAJAR 1:2022). Its overseas services command weekly audiences of almost half a billion listeners globally (BBC Media Centre, November 2021). This tends to grow even higher during times of strife, conflict or

disaster. This symposium edition seeks to celebrate BBC radio's centenary and to examine BBC radio's future in terms of reach, purpose and technologies.

The MeCCSA Radio Studies Network is inviting papers that may — though not necessarily — touch on some of the following issues:

- The significance of 2022 as a watershed year in radio history
- The impact of BBC radio news
- BBC World Services
- BBC local radio, on-line and digital services
- BBC Sounds
- The role of BBC radio as a training ground for broadcasters
- BBC School Radio and Bite Size
- BBC radio's impact on cultural forms, music, drama and the arts
- BBC radio's financial future
- Broadcaster and audience diversity and inclusivity
- The concepts of global, national, regional and local radio
- The development of new production and broadcast practices, skills and technologies
- The impact of technological developments on radio and its future
- Digital technologies the changing nature of 'audiences'
- Appealing to new audiences, children, youth and young adults

Submitting a proposal:

Submissions for this JRAM Symposium Edition are due by February 1, 2023. Expressions of interest prior to submission are appreciated but not required. Email janey.gordon@beds.ac.uk with subject line "JRAM BBC Radio 1922-2022." Submitted manuscripts undergo a blind peer review. Manuscripts should be submitted through Manuscript Central link on

https://www.beaweb.org/wp/?page_id=571 or https://mc.manu-

scriptcentral.com/hjrs

Documents prepared in Microsoft Word are preferred and should be APA for style and citation. Manuscripts should not exceed 6500 words and should include an abstract of no more than 100 words. In addition to the manuscript bearing no reference to the author(s), the author(s) should include a separate attachment with contact information. Please fill in the manuscript information as directed on the site.

Please direct any questions in advance of your submission to the symposium editor: Janey Gordon (janey.gordon@beds.ac.uk), subject line: JRAM BBC Radio 1922-2022.

Dianne Bragg to Receive AJHA Teaching Award

Dr. Dianne Bragg has been selected to receive the 2022 American Journalism Historians Association National Award for Excellence in Teaching. She is the associate chair of the Journalism and Creative Media Department at the University of Alabama.

The award honors a college or university teacher who excels at teaching in the areas of journalism and mass communication history, makes a positive impact on student learning, and offers an outstanding example for other educators. Bragg will receive the award during the annual AJHA national conference, which will take place Sept. 29-Oct. 1 in Memphis, Tenn.

Bragg attributes her teaching success to those who taught her.

"I've been fortunate to have many wonderful teachers in my life, including AJHA founder Dr. David Sloan, who set me on this path," she said. "They taught me that the 'devil is in the details,' and I am better for it. I encourage my students to pursue topics that matter to them, and those who take that to heart often find their own passion, which

makes it such a joyful journey."

She added that the fulfillment of teaching media history is twofold.

"It combines my passions for journalism and history," Bragg explained. "Mostly, though, it is because of how much I learn from my students. They often choose research topics on subjects I have not yet explored, and so I discover a journalist I've never heard of or a publication I never knew existed. And, for them and for me, looking at the past always seems to offer a more enlightened path for the future."

Bragg's interim department chair, Dr. Michael D. Bruce, praised Bragg for her passion for teaching and student success.

"Dianne devotes an enormous amount of time coaxing and mentoring students into media historians, at least for the semester," he said.

Her colleague Chris Roberts said he has worked with her on several history-focused theses.

"She has an extraordinary ability to guide students through the long process from half-formed idea to finished thesis," he said. "Between theses and term papers, her students have created work that has been presented (and won awards) at many regional and national academic conferences — another testament to her skill."

Rebecca Robinson, one of the students whose thesis Bragg directed, also worked as a graduate assistant under Bragg.

"She truly engages her students in the subjects she teaches, whether it is a freshman in an introduction course or a senior in her (very rigorous) media law class," Robinson said. "Her extensive knowledge of mass communication and journalism history makes any class she teaches an absolute joy to take."

Bragg earned her doctorate from The University of Alabama and her bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Memphis. She has won numerous awards for her research and teaching, including

second place best faculty paper and the Jean Palmegiano Award, both from the AJHA.

Communication Booknotes Quarterly Journal Invites Book Reviews

H-NET members are invited to write critical book reviews and/or participate in the peer review process for *Communication Booknotes Quarterly Journal* (CBQ), a Taylor & Francis publication.

CBQ is a peer reviewed, annotated review on all aspects of mediated communication designed for an audience of scholars and librarians in the United States and around the world. Subject areas of interest include, but are not limited to, advertising, public relations, strategic communications, journalism, telecommunications, gender, global media, media theories, media economics, media regulation and policy, media ethics, risk communication, ethnicity/race and media, media communication history, critical/cultural studies of media, popular culture, social media, books and publishing, media and society, visual communication, gender and representation, and media management.

The journal seeks engaging, thoughtful writing from emerging researchers and advanced graduate students, as well as from seasoned scholars. Review essays range between 850 to 1,050 words. Some typical titles include the following two:

• *How Machines Came to Speak: Media Technologies and Freedom of Speech* by Jennifer Petersen

• *Political Rhetoric, Social Media, and American Presidential Campaigns: Candidates' Use of New Media* by Janet Johnson

Anyone interested in reviewing one of these titles, contact Margarita Tapia, CBQ editorial associate, at margarita.tapia@ou.edu and cc: Dr. Meta G. Carstarphen, CBQ editor-in-chief,

at mcarstarphen@ou.edu with the book title(s) and your preferred mailing address. Send at least 3-5 options, in order of preference.

The review editors explain, "We assign these on a first-come, first-served basis. Also, if there is a new (2022 or upcoming 2023) book that you would like to review that is not on our list, or if you have a newly published book, let me know. You will receive detailed guidelines and a review copy of the selected title. We expect reviews to be returned six to eight weeks after you receive the book. For example, if you reply to this call, we will expect submissions no later than October 30, 2022. Authors can expect online publication as early as late fall 2022 or early 2023. Final reviews are published with a credit line, a brief bio, and your digital (ORCID) identifier.

"Reviews are submitted through a Taylor & Francis ScholarOne website and will go through a peer review process. Also, consider becoming part of our peer reviewers' pool. Our submissions for blind review will average around 1,000 words and you can pass over an opportunity to evaluate an essay or a review at any time. To become added to our ScholarOne site, please send a separate email to margarita.tapia@ou.edu with your name, affiliation, email address, and topic areas of interest (please refer to the CBQ review areas listed above)."

Contact emails:

Margarita Tapia margarita.tapia@ou.edu

Meta G. Carstarphen mcarstarphen@ou.edu

URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/hcbq20/current

Meghan McCune Wins 2022 Dissertation Blanchard Prize

The American Journalism Historians Association has announced Meghan Menard McCune as the winner of the 2022 Margaret A.

Blanchard Dissertation Prize.

McCune, who completed her dissertation at Louisiana State University's Manship School of Communication under the direction of John Maxwell Hamilton, was recognized for "'At the Service of the Government': American Journalists in the Great War and the Agent Model of Government-Press Relations."

"I am honored to receive the 2022 Margaret Blanchard prize from such a premier association," she said.

McCune explained that her effort began when she had studied with Hamilton while he was researching *Manipulating the Masses*, his history of the Committee on Public Information, a propaganda machine created by the Woodrow Wilson administration in the early days of the Great War.

This had inspired her to look more closely at the cooperative relationships between journalists and government officials during this crucial period for American journalism. She is currently working with Hamilton on a book-length treatment of her own focus.

"My hope is that this research demonstrates the usefulness of the Agent Model as an effective analytical tool for studies of government-press relations," she said.

McCune added that her success would not have been possible without the support of the Manship School, and of her friend and colleague Elisabeth Fondren, "who acted as an important sounding board and exceptional editor for this project and many others." Fondren, who is now an assistant professor at St. John's University in New York, earned Honorable Mention for the Blanchard for 2018 dissertation, "Fighting an Armed Doctrine: The Struggle to Modernize German Propaganda During World War I (1914-1918)."

AJHA Announces Joseph McKerns Research Grant Awards

The American Journalism Historians Association has awarded four Joseph McKerns Research Grants.

The recipients are Melissa Greene-Blye, University of Kansas; W. Joseph Campbell, American University; Erin Coyle, Temple University; and Keith Greenwood, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Greene-Blye's grant will fund travel to the Sequoyah National Research Center, home to the world's largest collection of American Indian, Alaska Native, and First Nations newspapers, periodicals, and other publications. The center's newspaper collection houses nearly three thousand publications of tribal communities and governments, and Native organizations. She plans to use her research for a paper to present at the 2023 AJHA conference.

"Native editors and correspondents were strategic and intentional in their content selection, realizing what was at stake as they challenged federal policies of forced removal, forced assimilation, and, in some cases, outright genocide aimed at subjugating or annihilating the sovereign Native nations that refused to comply with America's self-appointed Manifest Destiny," she said.

A citizen herself of the Miami tribe of Oklahoma, Greene-Blye noted that of the roughly one dozen comprehensive American press histories on her shelf, only one offers more than a single line or image about the *Cherokee Phoenix* and its first editor, Elias Boudinot. Histories of the Native press offer little beyond "a laundry list of publications and dates, or biographical sketches of a few, key publishers, or editors."

"The editors of early Native American newspapers risked (and, in some cases, lost) their lives in the defense of Native American rights, freedom of the press, and the right of self-governance," she said. "Yet,

journalism history as it is traditionally taught, touts the trials, sacrifices, and stories of John Peter Zenger and Elijah Lovejoy, while leaving Native American journalist editors and allies lost in the larger history of that same journalism."

Campbell said that he plans to use the grant to examine from different angles and at different archives the confused and even bizarre newspaper reporting in the aftermath of the battle of Gettysburg in 1863. He also intends to examine civilian reactions and responses to that reporting, much of which predicted a climactic, post-Gettysburg battle in western Maryland between Union and Confederates forces. The grant will enable him to examine archival holdings at Columbia University, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library of Congress.

"I am delighted to be a recipient of a McKerns grant," he said. "I am grateful to AJHA. I hope and expect the grant to provide dimension and momentum to a project that is in its early stages."

Campbell was the recipient of a McKerns grant in 2007, which helped him complete the research for his award-winning media-myth-busting book, *Getting It Wrong* (University of California Press, 2010, 2017).

Coyle will be checking the accuracy of the Supreme Court's characterizations of press conduct, asserted in its majority opinion for Sheppard v. Maxwell, a landmark 1966 ruling about media access to trials. The case was an appeal for the conviction Dr. Sam Sheppard for the brutal murder of his wife Marilyn in 1954. The defense argued that Sheppard had not received a fair trial due to several factors, including prejudicial publicity and a carnival-like courthouse atmosphere. The majority opinion states "that bedlam reigned at the courthouse during the trial, and newsmen took over practically the entire courtroom,

hounding most of the participants in the trial, especially Sheppard." The defendant was acquitted in the second trial.

Coyle will fill in gaps in the research for a 2020 law review article, which argues there was not adequate support for the Court's assertions about the press. That article did not review journalists' archival records, coverage of the trial or retrial by Theodora "Theo" Wilson or H.D. "Doc" Quigg, two reporters for the national press who wrote a memo to the Supreme Court challenging the accuracy of its description of the trial's atmosphere, or other news coverage of the retrial of Sheppard.

"More than 500 court opinions have cited the point of law that prejudicial publicity and disruptive influences in a courtroom can undermine a criminal defendant's fair trial rights," Coyle said. "Courts must protect criminal defendants' rights to receive fair trials. They also must serve the public right to know about criminal trials by allowing the public and members of the press to observe trials. Journalists have argued that allowing journalists also may help protect defendants' fair trial rights by observing and scrutinizing court proceedings."

Greenwood's grant will enable him to conduct research about the content and presentation of photographs in *Stars and Stripes* related to the Vietnam War from 1964-1972. He will travel to Bloomfield, Mo., the location of the *Stars and Stripes* Library and Museum, which has an archive of the newspaper. He may need to fill in gaps in the publications and supporting documents by accessing archives in the Washington, D.C. area related to the Defense Department and specific military branches.

Greenwood noted that *Stars and Stripes* is unique as a publication by and for members of the military, but with a history of editorial independence. "I started thinking about how that might play out in the Vietnam era and how it would compare to what we know about civilian

media coverage" he said. "There has been some research on the newspaper during that era and how its editorial independence was challenged. I wondered how that might be apparent in the photography published in the paper."

He hopes his work will contribute to our knowledge and understanding of photojournalism in the military.

"There's a long history of armed forces using photography as documentation of their activities but also as a means to communicate with the public," he said. "But we don't know a lot about the processes or policies, and we don't know much about how this publication navigated editorial independence within a military structure. I'm hoping it will add a little more to our understanding of how our military has communicated."

Online Series on the Turkish Popular Press | "Today in 1920s Turkey: A Textual-Visual Translation Project and Experimental Database"

Yasemin Gencer invites historians to visit her open-access research and translation blog "Today in 1920s Turkey," which recently exceeded 200 posts. This project provides modern Turkish transliterations, English translations, and commentary on original content produced by the Turkish popular press in pre-alphabet reform Turkey.

The textual-visual materials considered in this series consist of illustrations, cartoons, articles, photographs, news stories, and advertisements published in various Turkish-language periodicals from the 1920s. Topics of discussion include, but are not limited to reform, modern life, science and technology, transportation, dress, family, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, sports, politics, art, consumerism, nation-building, satire, and censorship.

The direct link to the series is https://yasemingencerphd.medium.com

A convenient and searchable bibliographic master list of each of the first 200 posts is available here as a pdf, accessible through Academia. Each entry includes relevant information about the individual post as well as an active hyperlink to its page.

Questions or comments concerning this project may be directed to yasemingencerphd@gmail.com.

JHistory Calls for Book Reviewers

From Zef Segal: I am the new Books Reviews Editor for JHistory, and I welcome you to take part in H-Net Reviews.

As you are well aware, H-Net Reviews play an increasingly prominent role in academic discussions, taking advantage of the flexibility and relative speed of online publication while maintaining the highest scholarly standards. And, under the H-Commons platform, list editors can easily cross-post reviews from other networks, greatly expanding the potential readership for reviews published on our network.

I am excited to create a pool of JHistory reviewers, but to do so I need your help. Reviewers should have demonstrated intellectual expertise and experience in the history of journalism, media, and mass communication. Advanced graduate students as well as those who have completed their doctorate are invited to review for JHistory.

If you wish to join the pool, please send an email to zefsegal@gmail.com with a subject heading "JHistory Reviewer" and include a CV as an attachment. In addition, please provide the following information:

- areas of specialization for which you would be a qualified reviewer

(i.e., discipline, historical period, and a brief list of related topics)

• languages other than English in which you can competently read scholarly work

Please also note whether you have reviewed for any H-Net feed in the past.

I expect to begin commissioning reviews shortly. Please be aware that JHistory cannot accept unsolicited offers to review specific books. However, we do welcome suggestions of events and books for which we could locate a qualified reviewer. Please note that H-Net Reviews holds strict guidelines for avoiding potential conflicts of interest among authors and reviewers. Therefore we cannot accept suggestions of books to review by the authors themselves.

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