Historiography

in Mass Communication

Volume 8 (2022). Number 5

Historiography in Mass Communication

Editorial Purpose

This journal publishes essays dealing with the study of mass communication history and of history in general. (It does *not* publish articles about historical events, episodes, people, etc., as one finds in, for example, historical research papers.)

Copyright

Essays

This journal invites historians to submit essays. They may be original ones written specifically for this journal, or they may be from material that the authors already have (such as classroom lectures, AJHA presidential addresses, etc.).

Essay length may vary from 500 to 5,000 words.

To submit an essay for consideration, email a Word file to the editor at historiography.jmc@gmail.com

We place importance on the credentials of authors and normally expect an author to have published at least one history book. As you consider submitting an essay, please note that *Historiography* does not go through multiple "revise-and-resubmit" stages. In essence, we expect authors to have an expertise and to "get it right" from the beginning.

If you have an essay accepted for publication, you will be required to affirm that you are the owner of it and that it violates no law.

Your essay will include a copyright notice that you are its owner. However, you must agree that your essay may be used in accord with the following policy: The essay may be used for personal research purposes and for classroom teaching material. Multiple copies may be made for classroom teaching. However, no one (other than yourself) may sell the essay or include it in any collection that is sold.

Historiography in Mass Communication

Volume 8 (2022). Number 5

Contents

After you download the pdf of this issue, you can go directly to an article by clicking on its title.

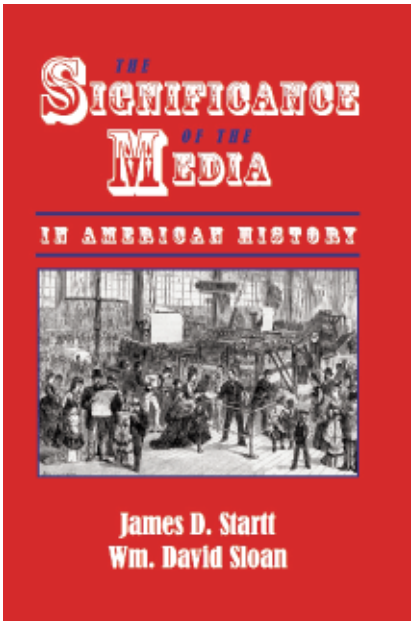
PRAISE FOR

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEDIA IN AMERICAN HISTORY

"...a masterful job of exploring the subject through a range of well-chosen and representative essays..." — *Choice*

"...set[s] a standard for media history..." — *Journalism Quarterly*

"...compelling, fresh, ... thought-provoking ..." — *Journalism Educator*



To purchase a copy, or to learn more about this important book, click on the cover image.

In Memoriam: David B. Sachsman

August 16, 1945 – October 4, 2022

Sachsman

Dr. David Sachsman died Tuesday, October 4. He was the director of the Symposium on the 19th Century Press, the Civil War, and Free Expression. He had held the position since 1993.

Under his supervision, the Symposium became a leading annual conference for research in mass communication history.

Starting in 1997, he edited periodic collections of research papers presented at the Symposium. Usually working with other Symposium participants, such as Debbie van Tuyll and Kit Rushing (the Symposium's co-founder), he published nine books from its proceedings.

At this year's Symposium, held November 3-5 in Chattanooga, Tenn., a special session commemorated his life and contributions. Prof. Thomas Terry of Utah State University moderated it. Prof. van Tuyll, an eminent authority on the press and the Civil War, was one of the speakers. Other participants included Steven R. Angle, chancellor of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga; Richard Brown, former UTC Executive Vice-Chancellor for Administration and Finance; Felicia McGhee, head of the UTC Communication Department; and James Ogden, Historian for Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.

Dr. Sachsman, the son of Edgar and Susan Sachsman, was born August 16, 1945, in New York City. He is survived by his widow, Judy Mittleman Sachsman, and a son and a daughter, Jonathan and Susanne, along with four grandchildren.

After receiving his Ph.D. in public affairs communication in 1973 at Stanford University, he taught at Rutgers University until 1978, when he moved to California State University, Fullerton. In 1991 he moved to the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga as the holder of the George R. West Chair of Excellence in Communication and Public Affairs. In 1993 he and Dr. Rushing founded the Symposium on the 19th Century Press.

As the Symposium director, Dr. Sachsman initiated the project of producing books from its program. The titles include the following:

The Civil War and the Press (with S. Kittrell Rushing, Debra Reddin van Tuyll, and Ryan P. Burkholder, eds.), 1999

Memory and Myth: The Civil War in Fiction and Film from Uncle Tom's Cabin to Cold Mountain (with S. Kittrell Rushing and Roy Morris Jr., eds.), 2007

Words at War: The Civil War and American Journalism (with S. Kittrell Rushing and Roy Morris Jr., eds.), 2008

Seeking a Voice: Images of Race and Gender in the 19th Century Press (with S. Kittrell Rushing and Roy Morris Jr., eds.), 2009

Sensationalism: Murder, Mayhem, Mudslinging, Scandals, and Disasters in 19th-Century Reporting (with David W. Bulla, ed.), 2013

A Press Divided: Newspaper Coverage of the Civil War, 2017

After the War: The Press in a Changing America, 1865-1900 (with Dea Lisica), 2017

The Antebellum Press: Setting the Stage for Civil War (with Gregory A. Borchard, ed.), 2019

The Civil War Soldier and The Press (with Katrina Quinn, ed.), 2023

Along with history, Dr. Sachsman did work related to environmental journalism. He wrote several books on the subject. Since 2006 he had served as managing editor of the international journal *Applied Environmental Education and Communication*.

In 2002, on the tenth anniversary of the 19th-century symposium, its Steering Committee recognized Dr. Sachsman and Dr. Kittrell for their work. Prof. Hazel Dicken-Garcia of the University of Minnesota, the president of the steering committee, made the formal presentation.

"Books and articles written about the Civil War," she said, "fill many, many library shelves (someone estimated about a decade ago that between 50,000 and 100,000 works existed then about the Civil War); and numerous, numerous books and articles have been written about the 19th-century American press and about related free expression issues. A small but respectable number of works link these subjects.

"But I believe that, before 1993, there was no conference to bring together scholars interested in these areas as a linked unit. David Sachsman, Kittrell Rushing and several others — mobilized and energized primarily, I think, by David Sachsman — implemented the idea of such a conference to be held annually.

"What a wonderful idea!

"And not only was such a conference a great idea in its own right; but conducting such a conference in tandem with the rich local history [around Chattanooga] associated with the Civil War was ingenious! Like most great ideas, the genius of this one leaves one thinking: 'Why didn't someone think of it before?'

"For ten years now, this conference has been a forum for numerous scholars to come together to discuss their work, share their ideas and generate more ideas and more research in an enriched and enriching

environment of relaxed (but constantly engaging), supportive, very productive inquiry that builds continually upon inquiry. How many people have presented papers in this forum in these ten years? How many papers have been presented? How many new ideas for research have been 'born' out of, and nurtured by, this environment?

"Encouragement for scholars, especially younger researchers who are just beginning to present their work publicly, has been a hallmark of this conference. The genius of the work of David Sachsman and Kit Rushing is responsible. I wish to associate myself with the eloquent words of Nancy McKenzie Dupont, who expressed more eloquently here today than I can her gratitude for what, I believe, we all gain here. We have all learned and benefited in countless ways from the intellectual creativity of Professor Sachsman and Professor Rushing.

"Words are inadequate to express appreciation for their accomplishments and their encouragement for those who assemble here. Nor can words adequately express appreciation to them for establishing a unique forum for scholarship that keeps growing and growing and growing.

"Those of us who have attended this conference over the years have benefited from the imaginative, encouraging and tireless efforts of David Sachsman and Kittrell Rushing, and it is high time we at least let them know it. So, since words fail us, we decided to present at least a token to symbolize the appreciation, admiration, respect and friendship we feel toward them.

"On behalf of all those who have attended the conference at any time during these ten years, we present to each of you, David Sachsman and Kittrell Rushing, a plaque honoring your work for this conference and your leadership in, and contribution to, scholarship…. On behalf of us all, our heartfelt thanks to you both!"

CLICK HERE TO RETURN TO TABLE OF CONTENTS

In Memoriam: Nancy Mackenzie Dupont

June 20, 1952 – December 25, 2021

By Debra Reddin van Tuyll ©

van Tuyll

Nancy Mackenzie Dupont, professor emerita of journalism at the University of Mississippi, died on December 25, 2021, following a long illness. She was 69.

Nancy worked as an academic for twenty-eight years, following a lengthy career as a television broadcaster. Her bachelor's and master's degrees were from Loyola University of New Orleans, where she also taught before moving to the University of Mississippi in 2006 where she not only worked with the student television station but also sponsored the hockey team.

She was the co-author of *Journalism in the Fallen Confederacy* and author of many conference presentations, book chapters, and journal articles.

Nancy and I were colleagues in so many ways. She finished her Ph.D. at Southern Miss the same year I started mine at South Carolina. Our research interests were similar — Civil War-era Southern journal-

Debra Reddin van Tuyll, a professor emerita at Augusta University, is the author or editor of five books. Her most recent is The Confederate Press in the Crucible of the American Civil War. *She has received the Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement from the American Journalism Historians Association and the Donald Shaw Award for Lifetime Achievement from the Symposium on the 19th Century Press.*

ism, though we moved into other areas as we worked through our careers.

Because of that shared interest, it was only natural that we met at the annual Symposium on the 19th Century Press, Civil War and Free Expression. I don't remember what year that was — likely 1997, because that was my first year at the conference, and I suspect she had already been once or twice.

She and I became good friends through the years, and in our later years would add on side-trips when we traveled to conferences, especially the Transnational Journalism History conferences that were annual before the pandemic. Paulette Kilmer from the University of Toledo and Nancy's college roommate and best friend Sarah Halverson Burnette were our fellow travelers. Those trips, of course, gave the four of us the opportunity to become even closer friends.

So, when Nancy's health decline became obvious in 2021, Sarah and I fretted to one another about our worries, made only worse when we both managed visits following the worst of the pandemic and right after her retirement. We monitored and helped as best we could from our homes far from Oxford — Sarah more than I. And when we got word at Christmas last year that Nancy had passed away much more quickly than either of us had anticipated, we decided the best way to remember our friend was with a trip to Scotland.

Nancy was a proud member of Clan Mackenzie. As a child and youth, she had spent many summers back in the Mackenzie lands with her parents. Her family was close to the current clan chief, John Cromartie. So, as Sarah and I planned our memorial travels for Nancy, I suggested that we include in the trip a donation to the clan library of a book Nancy, Joe Hayden (University of Memphis) and I had written a few years previously, *Journalism in the Fallen Confederacy*.

Nancy Dupont and husband, J.C.

The circumstances of the book coming to fruition had a lot to do with my suggestion. Nancy had wanted to go up for full professor at Mississippi, and her dean told her she had to have a book out to get that promotion. Nancy, who hadn't yet written a book, asked me to co-author something with her, and we brought in Joe Hayden, another long-time colleague, on the project. The happy ending is that we finished the book and she got her promotion.

And, after we had a lovely October visit to the western Scottish highlands, a copy of the book is now snuggly ensconced in the library at Castle Leod, John Cromarite's home and the seat of Clan Mackenzie.

Cromartie hadn't seen Nancy in many years, probably not since the 1980s, as far as we could determine. He asked for an email that detailed what happened with her in the intervening years.

The answer is, a lot. Nancy was the first person ever to win in the same year the two most prestigious awards given by the AEJMC Broadcast and Mobile Journalism awards, the Edward L. Bliss Award for Distinguished Broadcast Journalism Education, and the Larry Burkum Service Award.

She had worked in broadcast journalism for thirteen years when her husband J.C. Dupont urged her to head to Southern Mississippi University to work on her Ph.D. and pursue a career in academia. J.C. and Nancy were consummate partners. He regularly attended academic conferences with her until a stroke sidelined him the last few years of

her career.

Her dissertation research dealt with secession newspapers in Mississippi. She found that newspapers in the Magnolia State were just as divided on the question as those throughout the South. In keeping with regional practice, Nancy found, once the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter, most newspapers got behind secession, even those that had previously been staunchly Unionist.

She continued to develop that research strain once she completed her degree, and she became one of the "regulars" at the Symposium on the 19th Century Press, Civil War and Free Expression. Much of her work was published in the books that grew out of the symposium.

In her later years, Nancy expanded her interests to Civil War-era New Orleans newspapers and particularly the African-American press that developed there once the city fell in 1862. She also worked in the area of transnational journalism history and the Irish-American press as it presented in New Orleans.

She began her professional career doing the weather at WLOX in Biloxi, according to her college roommate, Sarah Burnette. Sarah said that they actually attended weather classes together at night school at the Biloxi community college.

From Biloxi, she went to work for television stations in Charlotte, N.C., Chattanooga, Tenn., Phoenix, Ariz., and Pensacola, Fla., eventually leaving weather for producing.

Following her stint at Pensacola, she moved to WDSU in New Orleans, Sarah said, where she earned her first graduate degree and started teaching at Loyola. A few years later, she completed her Ph.D. at Southern Miss.

As students at Loyola, both Sarah and Nancy worked for the campus radio station doing remotes and on-air shifts for radio. They also

created news and features for the school-owned WWL.

When Nancy died last Christmas, she left behind many friends and colleagues who miss her and her gracious wit, and many, many former students who will carry on her legacy as skilled and passionate professionals.

CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS

Historical Roundtable: Journalism History Detectives: Digging for Documents; Evaluating the Evidence

By Leonard Ray Teel, Maurine Beasley, David Copeland, Michael Murray, and Betty Houchin Winfield©

Teel

My vocation as a professional historian often leads me to deal with questions of evidence. The historian must collect, interpret, and then explain his evidence by methods which are not greatly different from those techniques employed by the detective, or at least the detective of fiction.... The reasoning processes of historians and detectives ... are similar enough to be intriguing." — Dr. Robin Winks, *The Historian as Detective*

The five historians in this presentation share the results of researching, interpreting, and explaining evidence discovered on a variety of subjects by using investigative methods resembling those of detectives.

Leonard Ray Teel, professor emeritus at Georgia State University, has published five books, including two journalism histories that won national awards. In 2014 the American Journalism Historians Association gave him its Sidney Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement. In 1995 he founded the Center for International Media Education and co-founded the Arab-U.S. Association for Communication Educators.

Q: *Beginning with your earliest published research, what was the impetus of the detective work you conducted? And what were some sources having the greatest impact and influence on you as a fledgling journalism history detective?*

Beasley

Maurine Beasley is a professor emerita of the Philip Merrill College of Journalism, University of Maryland College Park. She is the author, editor or co-editor of eight books dealing mainly with the experiences of Washington women journalists. In 1996 the American Journalism Historians Association gave her its Sidney Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement. She received her Ph.D. in American Studies from George Washington University.

Copeland

David Copeland is the emeritus A. J. Fletcher Professor, Distinguished University Professor, and Professor of Journalism at Elon University. He is the author of twelve books, more than forty journal articles and chapters, and series editor for thirty-seven volumes on media history. He received the AJHA's Kobre Award in 2010. He earned his Ph.D. in mass communication from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Murray

Michael D. Murray is a Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the University of Missouri's St. Louis campus. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri-Columbia. Prior to that, he worked for CBS News and the News Election Service. He received the AJHA's Kobre Award in 2003.

Winfield

Betty Houchin Winfield is a Professor Emerita of journalism at the University of Missouri. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Washington. She has authored, edited, or co-edited four books and two monographs. In 2003 the university awarded her its most prestigious faculty designation, a Curators' Professorship. She received the AJHA's Kobre Award in 2009.

Teel: Experience as an investigative journalist prepared me for historical detective work. For my master's thesis, University of Miami Professor Duane Koenig focused me on the African slave-labor scandal in the late 1800s implicating Belgium's King Leopold II whom European Powers had designated as the "protector" of the Africa's new Congo Free State. My research in English and French newspapers, magazines and journals for 1895-1909 documented press exposure of Leopold's savagely policed rubber tax on Congo natives that for a generation enriched both King and Belgium. Another history detective in London, Col. Charles Casolani, sent me the British government records documenting the impact of Leopold's rubber tax.

Murray: My undergraduate advisor was also the overseer of the campus radio station where I became a reporter and then news director. My fascination with reporting came because of contacts in a job I landed working for CBS News during national political campaign in 1968. I met members of the national press corps and became obsessed with how they covered the political scene, especially Richard Nixon. In classes, we were reading *Television in America* by Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang including a chapter evaluating "live" coverage of early TV political events along with Barbara Tuchman's article "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual," with reporting methods carefully dissected. Like most others in our field at that time, I was reading examples from the "New Journalism," including writing by Tom Wolfe, Hunter Thompson and, later on, *The Boys on the Bus.* There was increasing attention to TV which coincided with the developing era of documentaries and the birth of "60 Minutes." One major discovery was the recognition that little research had been done on the influence of reporting with respect to ethical considerations, including coverage of "pseudo-events" used by politicians

to attract attention. I became fascinated with documentaries in particular, including the work of program producers.

Beasley: I was covering local government in Washington for the *Washington Post* and met an elderly reporter at the District Building (D.C. Municipal Center) named Martha Strayer. Other reporters told me with awe that she had covered Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences. Strayer died before I was able to interview her, but the reference to her coverage served as a clue that the press conferences had been an important element in Roosevelt's media career — and I was interested in researching that. I tried to find material on the press conferences at the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park but little was there. I realized I needed to contact as many reporters as I could find who had first-hand knowledge of the conferences. I also read helpful articles on the press conferences by journalism historians Kathleen Endres and Betty Winfield.

Winfield: A person's experiences, environment and an era's events easily lead to scholarly projects. These variables pointed me toward my earliest scholarship during the Civil Rights era. As a former journalist, a child of the South who had many dinner-table political and historical discussions, and as a graduate of Little Rock Central High School (LRCHS) and the University of Arkansas, my University of Michigan M.A. research topic was not surprising: Southern press responses to two Constitutional issues concerning the Little Rock Central High School Crises over integration. The primary sources were southern newspaper editorials, oral history interviews, and legal documents. My mentor, legal historian William E. Leslie, taught me how to verify evidence by seeking motives and outside impacts in my historical detective work.

The rigor of that master's level work gave me the confidence to pur-

sue doctoral work at the University of Washington (UW). There, as a historian-detective I continued to gather and evaluate primarily sources and learned how to hypothesize a study, use concepts, ask relevant questions, define terms, justify my topic, synthesize overwhelming amounts of material, deduct from evidence, and even posit the worth of such research. Influential mentors were political historian Robert E. Burke, media historian William Ames, and legal scholar Don Pember.

Copeland: As a master's student in church history, I was fascinated by religious dissenters from the Reformation forward. I ran across a man named Benjamin Keach, a seventeenth-century English Baptist. He was a prolific writer and used the printing press almost exclusively to make his points about believer baptism, congregational singing, and other issues. Because most of his publications were before the 1689 Act of Toleration, he had to find printers willing to risk imprisonment for printing his work, just as he was often jailed. His life and work fascinated me, but the only way to learn anything about him was through his writings. Armed with microfilm, I was able to piece together a biography using Keach's forty-plus publications. Especially powerful for me was a series of essays he wrote to a London paper, the *Athenian Mercury*, where he argued with others over the validity of believer baptism versus infant baptism. These newspaper essays, plus Keach's other publications, changed my academic career. I had worked before grad school, and was currently working, as a reporter. I knew from Martin Luther's writings how the press had changed society. Now, I was seeing it with Keach on a more micro level. Digging into publications to explain societal change became my focus, and I decided the best path for that wasn't through religious studies but through communication research.

Q: *Provide us some background on the kind of detective work involved with one of your major historical works — or a range of works that you may have pursued. In revisiting key sources that may have made your work revelatory in uncovering latent truths, could you explain how you were assisted in making the invisible visible, thus making your writing of history more informative and interesting?*

Teel: My biography of Ralph Emerson McGill (1898-1969), sportswriter, columnist, editor and publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution* from 1931-1969, required extensive detective work, which by then was expected of an associate professor at Georgia State University. Beyond microfilm of his publications, I interviewed aging friends and acquaintances dating back to the 1920s at the *Nashville Banner* who spoke of his enterprise and accomplishments. One Nashville girlfriend, then in a nursing home, told how her parents had forbidden her to continue dating McGill because, as a sportswriter, he was outside her country-club society; she shared her regrets with my research assistant Beth Praed. In Georgia, those who knew McGill as an *Atlanta Constitution* sportswriter in the mid-1930s and then as the paper's editor from 1938 onward told me of his inspired ambition, natural talent and flaws, notably drinking. His daily front-page editorial columns became his way of guiding Southerners in a reasonable, gentle manner toward lawfulness, tolerance and racial justice. His daily messaging during federal court-ordered desegregation of Georgia's public buses, accommodations and schools was credited with guiding those who liked — and disliked him — toward societal change, ultimately receiving national acclaim, signified by the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Writing.

Murray: Some of the early CBS News programs I wrote about initially

were controversial; and entering the University of Missouri, I discovered a faculty member in the Journalism School, William Stephenson, had kept kinescopes of the two most controversial programs from "See It Now" — the Murrow-McCarthy programs, which were filmed and broadcast in 1954. Dr. Stephenson intended to conduct research on the reaction to those for as long as twenty years — but those studies never developed. I borrowed his kinescopes and dubbed them, with permission. By 1974, two decades after they were broadcast, the content was still controversial. At the urging of Professors Edward C. Lambert, Keith Sanders and Joe Wolfe, I interviewed all remaining participants, including Fred Friendly at Columbia U. and Ed Bliss, who wrote for Murrow and Cronkite and became a professor at American U. These were key sources because they participated in, then wrote about the experience. Ed edited *In Search of Light: The Broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow* and wrote the broadcast history, *Now the News*. Fred wrote *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control* and *The Good Guys, the Bad Guys and the First Amendment,* among other things. And from my research, I discovered the way the Murrow-McCarthy programs had been traditionally framed by historians were not accurate. Instead of being freestanding, they were part of a campaign of programs Murrow did with others on military decision-making and the role of the ACLU in some national free speech battles. You could more accurately dub them the concluding part of a much broader civil liberties campaign.

Beasley: I had heard that Strayer took shorthand notes on the press conferences. With a great deal of difficulty, I tracked Strayer's papers to the archives of the University of Wyoming and discovered the notes, which the archivists there had not been aware of. The notes had been written in Pittman shorthand, which was an archaic form in the late

twentieth century. Fortunately, I located one of the last Pittman writers, a shorthand reporter for the U.S. Congress, and persuaded him to transcribe the notes, which were appallingly informal — quotations from Roosevelt were mixed in with Strayer's grocery lists. But I was able to edit a book, *The White House Conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Garland, 1983). I was assisted by Donna Allen of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, who set the type for the book and had first-hand knowledge of Roosevelt's influence on women's history.

Winfield: The era again impacted my doctoral research. Shocked by Richard Nixon's contentious media relations, I began researching other presidents and their era's media to understand presidential press history, as well as public information as a necessary condition for a democracy. For a dissertation, I chose Franklin D. Roosevelt's productive mass media relations during the New Deal. Soon, I began publishing my early research, FDR's pictorial image in *Journalism History* (JH, 1978) as well as a JH article on Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences (1981). After my PhD and while I was a professor at Washington State University (WSU), I researched FDR's more secretive WWII years for a book manuscript. For over a decade I spent so much summertime at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park that I almost became a resident. As detectives acknowledge, truth is complicated. In the case of the FDR presidency, among the vast primary multi-sources were almost 1,000 press conferences, subsequent news coverage, daily press briefings, FDR's radio transcripts and speeches, official and unofficial papers, and biographies and diaries. I also conducted oral history interviews with the still living White House correspondents. Right away, I understood why this topic encompassing 12 presidential years had evaded previous research. UW history mentor Bob Burke and Harvard's Frank Freidel

kept encouraging me to break various research aspects into smaller parts, especially when the research seemed so daunting. I was able to show major White House news management tactics under various conditions, as well as the administration's coordinated communication successes and failures, and the distinct president-press wartime differences when FDR became the Commander-in-Chief. Subsequently, *FDR and the News Media* (Illinois, 1990; Columbia, 1994) became a runner-up for the 1990 Frank Luther Mott Kappa Tau Alpha research award.

Copeland: When your subject matter is centuries old, you are often limited in where you obtain information for research. Early in my studies at the University of North Carolina, I noticed that media history texts, when talking about the press of colonial America, focused almost exclusively on political content. That made sense, to an extent, because publications surely led the charge to independence. However, public prints were generally described as "boring" in relation to most of their content. My initial foray into reading those papers told me that wasn't correct. I told my adviser, Margaret Blanchard, and she provided the pearl for all my research by telling me that I must draw conclusions on what the sources say. This meant I had to read the sources. That meant reading about 8,000 papers on microfilm and microfiche from 1690-1776. I also used the first-person accounts that existed like Franklin's *Autobiography* and Isaiah Thomas' *History of Printing in America* for collaboration. Because topics often changed from one paragraph to the next and no headlines existed, the research required careful reading. What I discovered was a myriad of information about nearly anything one could imagine nestled between stories about the politics of the age. From the best material for asperging the posterior to concerts of Handel's music to women putting abusive husbands on trial, I was

able to demonstrate that colonial newspapers were a reflection of society with content as varied as the people who lived in British colonial America. That research became my dissertation and my first book, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content*.

Q: *What lessons of discovery did you learn from your earliest works — including some things that might have carried over to other publishing projects? What kinds of primary source material, possibly including oral history interviews you may have conducted, which worked out well for you? What kinds of investigations and discoveries accrued from those particular sources and how did those develop?*

Teel: Detective work must begin as soon as possible. Early findings lead to more clues and deeper understanding. Over time, people forget or lose documents or die. Interviews with folks who knew Ralph McGill in the 1920s backgrounded his transition from sports writing, notably one girlfriend among other things remembered he confessed he was tired of writing about sports, like golf. Even after promotion to the *Atlanta Constitution's* sports editor, he sought opportunities to report more newsworthy events. During a trip to Havana ostensibly to write about Latin American baseball, McGill demonstrated his higher talents by getting an exclusive interview with Cuba's embattled dictator Gerado Machado, an exclusive story headlined by the *Constitution.* Likewise, during McGill's vacation with his wife in Vienna, his article about Adolf Hitler marching into Vienna so impressed the *Constitution* management that they promoted him to a vacancy on the editorial board.

Murray: My detective work was very similar in terms of tracking down sources. I was provided with personal accounts written by participants

at the time including an unpublished memoir by Joe Wershba, a "See It Now" and then "60 Minutes" producer. I was able to transcribe the McCarthy programs and even got permission to include those as Appendices to the dissertation. I figured whatever importance they might have — including my discussion of ethical issues — the transcript might be valuable to future researchers. As a doctoral student, I was also selected by the graduate faculty to take part in a national seminar, "The Ethics of Public Discourse" at the University of Iowa and wrote a lot about the broadcasts in conjunction with that opportunity. So the writing and my ideas got a preliminary review that way and then in later years on a variety of fellowships, I kept revisiting and re-dubbing to more accessible formats, illustrating papers and lectures, long before the films focusing on Murrow-Friendly versus McCarthy, documentaries and theatrical productions had been made, although a few later ones, especially "Harvest of Shame," attracted attention.

Beasley: I learned a great deal that I used in subsequent articles and books, particularly two I wrote: *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); *Eleanor Roosevelt: Transformative First Lady* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2010), and a third that I coedited, *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001). The most useful sources aside from Strayer's notes were oral history interviews with women who had attended the conferences and the personal papers of deceased conference attendees at the library of Congress and other repositories. What I learned surprised me: Some women at Roosevelt's press conferences felt sorry for Roosevelt because they considered her unattractive, insecure as First Lady, and not an appealing subject for the society pages for which they worked. In fact, some even felt personally superior. From their comments I realized

how courageous Roosevelt had been to change the focus of the First Lady's role from that of hostess to presidential partner. I also learned that she had to surmount scurrilous underground gossip, too vile to print in the Roosevelt encyclopedia, about her looks and sexual orientation while in the White House (years before Roosevelt's intimate correspondence with journalist Lorena Hickok became public presenting evidence of a same-sex relationship). These discoveries laid the groundwork for my book detailing how Roosevelt redrew the boundaries of the First Lady's position.

Winfield: After *FDR and the News Media,* I published other White House studies from pertinent primary materials and similar research methods. Examples are Eleanor Roosevelt's media relations (1981, 1988, 1990) and then oral history interviews for Hillary Clinton's image and information controls articles (1994, 1997), and news framing of First Ladies candidates (2003), plus presidential free expression conflicts during war (1992), and legal issues for the Attorney's General during wartime stress (2004).

Copeland: I know I sound like a broken record, but answering the question What do the sources say? has guided everything that I have done. When you're working on subjects from the nineteenth century back in time, you cannot interview people. Sometimes, you can find their personal writings, but you mostly have to depend upon what was published, which usually means using newspapers, magazines, or other documents. Because I believe we can draw conclusions and create hypotheses from the primary documents of the past, I served as series editor on two projects specifically aimed at making more primary material available for everyone. The *Greenwood Library of American War Report-*

ing provides source material about every war in which the nation was involved from the French and Indian War through the War of Terror. This eight-volume, 4,000-plus-page series was completed by scholars with expertise in each event and era. By searching the primary documents and pulling examples to explain all elements of the wars and their times, we were able to provide source material and explanation about the issues facing society during times of conflict. The other project was the *19th Century American Newspapers* database for Gale Research. The goal was to provide "an as-it-happened window on the events, culture, and daily primary life" of the century. The database consists of more than 1.8 million fully searchable pages of newspapers. I was fortunate in being able to make the final call on all included material.

***Q:** What kind of support and key resources did you receive starting out as a journalism detective or media investigator? Were there any special forms of support you received that were especially helpful to you — including fellowships or visiting appointments? And if so, how did those develop?*

Teel: For my doctoral dissertation on the life and times of British activist Arnold Henry White, Professor Joseph Baylen at Georgia State University secured a $1,000 grant from the British-American Foundation in Atlanta for travel to collections in London. Then, as a tenure-track assistant professor at Georgia State University, Department of Communication travel funds aided my research on Ralph McGill (2001) and *Reporting the Cuban Revolution* (2015).

Murray: A lot of my early detective work examined false assumptions about the way the Murrow-McCarthy programs had been framed, as freestanding, as opposed to being part of a persuasive campaign. The

initial support came through fellowships from the International Radio and Television Society (IRTS) which gave me a chance to return to CBS many times. I connected with Dr. Frank Stanton through IRTS, and he secured some transcripts for me. I interviewed Walter Cronkite a number of times, and he gave me material for some publishing projects, including my *Encyclopedia of Television News*. Fellowships outside the U.S. also enhanced access in some cases. At the University of London, Roger Mudd, a former CBS White House correspondent, served a fellowship along with me. You might recall that he was involved in many big stories including Watergate and also controversial documentaries including "The Selling of the Pentagon" during the Vietnam War. Along with Walter, Roger provided quite a lot of the CBS Watergate coverage. And another well-known program of his included a highly promoted interview with Senator Ted Kennedy. As a presidential hopeful under Mudd's intense grilling, the Senator couldn't come-up with sound reasons why he should be President. He was caught flat-footed, and to many people that interview ended his prospects.

Beasley: I received advice from William R. Emerson, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, who steered me to the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute that gave me a grant. The Philip Merrill College of Journalism, University of Maryland College Park, provided additional funding and sabbatical time. To apply for support, I had to describe my research plans.

Winfield: One scholarly focus begets research support and additional studies. As a doctoral student, the UW Graduate School granted me a dissertation travel grant to the Roosevelt Library. As a WSU professor, NEH awarded me two grants for more research travel. While still work-

ing on the FDR study, I was named a Distinguished Visiting Professor at Texas Women's University (1987) to teach a summer graduate course on the Presidents and the Mass Media; a chance to test my findings and generalizations. After publication with a co-authored conference book, Edward *R. Murrow's Heritage* (1986), I received a Freedom Forum fellowship at Columbia University (1988-89) to edit and cut the FDR manuscript in half. Following the scholarly response to *FDR & the News Media*, I was awarded a Harvard's Shorenstein Fellowship at the Kennedy School (1991). There, during the Gulf War, I researched and wrote a monograph, which Harvard published: "Two Commanders-in-Chief: Free Expression's Most Severe Test" (1992).

No scholar is an island unto herself. Administrators were incredibly supportive for grants and awards: WSU Chair Thomas Heuterman and Dean Lois B. DeFleur; Missouri Dean R. Dean Mill; and Northwestern Professor/Dean Everette Dennis. Other awards also came with research funds and recognition, such as the University of Missouri system's Thomas Jefferson Award (1998) and a Distinguished Curators' Professorship (2003). Subsequent visiting professorships (UNC, 2010; Fulbright, University of Warsaw, 2012) meant that I could evaluate my research ideas.

Copeland: My greatest resource as a beginning journalism detective came in the form of a machine — a microfilm reader that Peggy Blanchard gave me. I was able to set it up at home, and, because the University of North Carolina let you check out microfilm as if it were a book, I could work any time I wanted to read colonial newspapers.

***Q:** Are there other scholars in the field of journalism history who might have aided your detective work?*

Teel: Professors Duane Koenig, Joseph Baylen, and Harold Davis grounded my detective skills. Over time I've have developed skill and style through relationships with numerous scholars in the American Journalism Historians Association, notably David Sloan and Patrick Washburn, and more recently with Michael Murray, Maurine Beasley, David Copeland and Betty Winfield.

Murray: I might also produce a long list of people involved in AJHA whose generosity I've benefited from, not the least of which are the organization's founder, David Sloan, and the organizational namesake for its key lifetime service award, Sidney Kobre. I met with both David and Sidney at regular AJHA meetings. David asked me to write a chapter on the history of TV news for a textbook he put together. When I submitted the draft, having gotten a little carried away, he said: "Mike, you've written a book on the subject. I just need one, short chapter." Why don't you publish the book and get me a summary?" I published "The Political Performers" using the resources I developed — along with the short chapter for David's *Media in America*.

With added detective work, I discovered an emphasis on contributions by regional journalists and worked one summer for the first Pulitzer TV station, KSD-TV (now KSDK) writing a station history that was excerpted in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* This led to three dozen interviews with station pioneers and two books: *Television in America* and *Indelible Images*. Reverting again to the influence of CBS, and at the invitation of a publisher, I edited the *Encyclopedia of Television News.* Two of my buddies, Barbara Cloud and Betty Winfield, AJHA diehards, advised me on a list of contributors, and Walter Cronkite and Ed Bliss reviewed sample entries. At Walter's urging, Ed wrote a Preface. Having examined Murrow programs and in conducting interviews with

folks who knew him, I tried to apply a similar approach to the broadcasts of Alistair Cooke. At one point while on an NEH fellowship with Michael Schudson, I started corresponding with Alistair. Interviews about his work included Nick Clarke and Jon Snow of the BBC; NPR's London bureau head at that time, Michael Goldfarb; and one of the last of the "Murrow's Boys," Tom Fenton and all of Alistair's producers, both in the U.S. and the UK.

Beasley: In hindsight it would have been helpful to have made contact with journalism historians who specialized in the 1930s and 1940s. While I did not do that, I did contact various faculty members in history departments knowledgeable about the Roosevelt administration.

Winfield: Many scholars impacted my work. In my early FDR research, I admired the careful scholarship of presidential historian William Leuchtenburg. Years later, we had a delightful, long discussion over lunch at UNC. Among the other inspirational scholars are Michael Schudson's social history as a model for using concepts and researching relevant questions; David Nord's impressive historical research depth; and the late Hazel Dicken-Garcia's conceptualization of a research project. She was a Distinguished Visiting Professor for our doctoral seminar as was Pam Shoemaker, who helped Mizzou doctoral students with concepts and theory building. Currently, Jill Lepore not only writes amazing history, but also creates engaging podcasts, such as "The Last Archive." If I were still teaching, I would assign her work.

These scholars and many students impacted my scholarship by relying on communication concepts to frame my detective research into journalism history for publication. Examples are newsgathering, news management, interpretive news, wartime stresses, censorship, free ex-

pression, professionalism, images, media dependency, and historical references. One study, "The Continuous Past: Historical Referents in Nineteenth Century Journalism," co-authored with Janice Hume, received the AEJMC 2007 Cathy Covert Award for the best historical publication. Around that same time, AJHA awarded me the Excellence in Teaching Award (2008) and the Sidney Kobre Award (2009). Being a historical detective bought me the pure joy of discovery and has been a major foundation for my academic career.

Copeland: Peggy Blanchard, a seasoned detective, set me, her apprentice, on the path of journalism detective work. I benefited from conversations with Don Shaw and from watching how he researched and wrote about journalism history. Betty Winfield provided sage advice early in my career. I constantly ran into the scholarship of David Sloan, and I studied closely what he wrote and how, I thought, he went about gathering information. Later, we would become close friends and collaborate. Other scholars helped me, too. John Ferré and John Coward are history detectives of the highest calibre, and I often "picked their brains" about how they did their work. Carol Sue Humphrey, Julie Williams, and I spent years figuring out how to best do research to spread knowledge of the significance of early America's journalism and printers. David Nord, I believe, is a journalism detective of the highest order. I remain in awe of his scholarship, especially *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America* and *Communities of Journalism*. The AJHA's members and meetings have been critical for me — as catalysts for digging deeper into journalism's history and what it can reveal.

CLICK HERE TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF CONTENTS

Kobre Award Interview: Janice Hume

Hume

Janice Hume received the American Journalism Historians Association's Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement in 2022. She holds the position of associate dean for academic affairs in the College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia, where she has taught since 2001. She served as Journalism Department head for nine years. Along with the Kobre Award, she has received the AJHA's National Award for Excellence in Teaching and the AEJMC's Covert Award in Mass Communication History. In 2016-2017 she was a Fellow in the SEC Academic Leadership Development Program. She has written three books and numerous articles. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Missouri.

Historiography: *Tell us a little about your family background — where you were born and grew up, your education, and so forth.*

Hume: I was born and raised in Florence, Ala., a small Tennessee River town in the northwestern corner of the state, and worked at the newspaper there, *The Florence Times Tri-Cities Daily*, during summers and holidays when I was in college. I did my undergraduate journalism degree at the University of Missouri, where I spent a lot of time at the independent student newspaper, *The Maneater*. After graduating, I worked at *The Mobile Press-Register* for more than a dozen years. In the

last six years I worked as head of the lifestyle section, which was called "Living Today" and then just "Living." I then went back to Mizzou for my master's and Ph.D. in journalism.

I have family scattered throughout the Southeast, in Alabama, Florida and Tennessee. I live in Athens, Ga., with a big fluffy rescue dog named Lewis.

Historiography: *Where, and what courses, have you taught?*

Hume: I taught for four years at Kansas State University's A.Q. Miller School of Journalism, mainly reporting classes, media history and introduction to mass communication. At UGA, I have taught feature writing, magazine management, ethics, credibility and, of course, media history at the undergraduate level and historical research methods at the graduate level. At Georgia we have small classes for freshmen called First Year Odyssey Seminars, and I teach one called "Archival Dive: Telling Stories from the Past," which introduces students to the historical archives at the university. It is a lot of fun. Now as a new associate dean I teach only a graduate teaching seminar, though I hope to add the media history class back to my schedule eventually.

Historiography: *Tell us about your background in history: When did you first get interested in historical research? How did your education prepare you to be a historian? etc.*

Hume: I have always been a reader, and I think that's an important part of doing this kind of work because nothing we study exists in isolation. We have to place ourselves in different eras and situations, and the only way to do that is through immersive reading.

My interest in historical research began in the first semester of my master's program when I took a media history seminar from Dr. Betty Houchin Winfield at Missouri. The theme of the course was American heroism, and for our final papers we were supposed to look at era press coverage of one heroic figure. I wanted to focus on a 19th-century woman, but I found very little press coverage of anything resembling a female hero. I had to pivot. Instead, I dug into Godey's *Lady's Book,* the top-circulating magazine of the era, to paint a picture of the ideal, anonymous, American woman at mid-century based on how the magazine talked about the concept of female heroism. That study ended up being part of my master's thesis and one of my first journal publications, and it sparked my interest in how the press both reflects and influences our cultural values.

I went to graduate school thinking I'd study newsroom management, but that seminar completely changed my trajectory. I took up history and never looked back.

Historiography: *Who or what have been the major influences on your historical outlook and work?*

Hume: Betty Winfield taught me how to do history, how to dig for primary sources and evaluate them through a theoretical lens with an eye toward verification. I will always be grateful to her for that. I have also been influenced by the sociologists Michael Schudson and Barry Schwartz, as well as generations of public memory scholars including Pierre Nora and Michael Kammen. James Carey's call for more cultural history, via his 1974 essay "The Problem of Journalism History," has guided many journalism historians, myself included. I admire the work of Maureen Beasley and Hazel Dicken-Garcia. As for contemporary

scholars, Carolyn Kitch's work has been a role model for my research in many ways.

Too, I have always been inspired by "in-person history" — by that, I mean the research presentations and panels at our academic conferences, and the conversations that happen in the hallways and socials. Every time I go to AJHA or AEJMC, I come away fired up to do more history or better history. I enjoy reading books and articles, of course, but I'm truly inspired and influenced by those personal interactions with historians whom I admire.

Historiography: *What are the main areas or ideas on which you concentrate your historical work?*

Hume: My research focuses on the history of American journalism as it relates to American culture and memory. I have looked at the ways that journalists use history, and the ways that historians use journalism. I have focused on things "forgotten" as well as those misremembered or manipulated. I have looked at how alternative, radical journalists co-opted historical icons to speak for their cause. Journalists do much more than simply convey information; in ways both concrete and intangible, they build historical narrative and shape what audiences believe.

Historiography: *Summarize for us the body of work — books, journal articles, and so forth — that you have done related to history.*

Hume: I am probably best known for my first book, *Obituaries in American Culture*, and the subsequent smaller studies I have done on newspaper obituaries as a reflection of American values and memory. For the book, I read more than 8,000 obituaries from 1818 to 1930 to

learn how individual citizens have been remembered publicly. An obit is a news story about a death, but it is also a tiny synopsis of what we want to remember about someone's life. Those shared attributes and accomplishments of the deceased represent an "ideal," a value, which changed as our cultural values changed. The silences were important, too, because they represented people, attributes and actions that were not valued. Not everyone's life was commemorated. Inclusion, I found, was an important ethical issue for obituary writers and editors.

My second book, *Journalism in a Culture of Grief*, co-authored with Carolyn Kitch, had some historical elements but was more of a contemporary look at the rituals of death as portrayed in media. My third book moved away from death and focused on how journalists told the story of our nation's founding. *Popular Media and the American Revolution: Shaping Collective Memory* doesn't look at how the press covered the war, but rather how it looked back at the war and helped Americans build a national narrative.

I have also published twenty-eight journal articles and book chapters, most looking at collective memory in some form or another, and a monograph on how nineteenth-century journalism used historical referents.

My non-traditional historical contributions include the 2017 digital exhibition "Look Forward Georgia: Civil Rights and the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism," with Jason Guthrie, in partnership with the Georgia Humanities Council and the Pulitzer Prize Board, and the 2020 reacting game, "Atlanta 1913: Justice for Mary Phagan and Leo Frank," with Andrea Briscoe Hudson, in partnership with the Georgia Humanities Council and funded by the University System of Georgia Affordable Learning Pilot Grant. The game is published via *Communication Open Textbooks*.

Historiography: *Of the books and articles you have written, from which ones did you get the most satisfaction?*

Hume: I probably enjoyed my third book, *Popular Media and the American Revolution*, most because I had already been promoted to professor. That took some of the pressure off and allowed me to take my time. It's not a long book, but I had fun with it. I also really enjoyed the articles/projects I published with graduate students who are now professors themselves — Amber Roessner, Noah Arceneaux, Jason Guthrie, Andrea Briscoe.

Historiography: *We realize that it is difficult to judge one's own work — and that the most accomplished people are often the most modest — but if you had to summarize your most important contributions to the field of JMC (journalism/mass communication) history, what would they be?*

Hume: I think my work as a whole adds to our understanding of the relationship between journalism and collective memory. I'm proud of it. But, honestly, I think my most important contribution has been in mentoring and teaching graduate students here at UGA who have gone on to become great researchers and media history teachers. I have tried to pass along some of the things Betty taught me.

Historiography: *As you look back over your career, if you could do anything differently, what would it be?*

Hume: I have been extraordinarily fortunate in that I've never had a job I didn't like. How many people can say that? However, if I have to point to something, I wish that I had slowed down a bit. I felt (mostly

self-imposed) pressure to publish, publish, publish, and sometimes that meant doing studies of convenience rather than really thinking about what I wanted my whole body of work to contribute. History shouldn't be rushed.

Historiography: *Tell us about your "philosophy of history" (of historical study in general or of JMC history in particular) or what you think are the most important principles for studying history.*

Hume: My philosophy of history is pretty old-school. Good history should be grounded in primary sources that have been vetted and interpreted based on a deep understanding of their historical context. Good history should ask important new questions. It should be honest. It should tell stories that matter, written in the most accessible way possible.

Historiography: *What are the historian's responsibilities beyond teaching and research?*

Hume: We are all busy with our students, committees, outreach, administrative work and research, with our families, homes and lives. It's hard enough to find time in the day for our own research projects, much less time to help someone else. Yet things like reviewing (constructively and thoughtfully) manuscripts or conference papers, mentoring, judging book and dissertation competitions, and writing external review letters for emerging historians are critically important for the health and well-being of JMC history. This kind of service takes time, but it makes a real impact. We need to support each other.

Historiography: *How would you evaluate the quality of work being done today in JMC history — its strengths and weaknesses?*

Hume: I think there is some terrific work being done in JMC history, presented at our conferences and published in our journals. As a reviewer, I am sometimes disappointed in studies that are poorly designed and lack context and theory, but I also often read manuscripts and think, "I wish I had thought of that!" We need to make sure that rigorous historical research methods classes survive and thrive.

Historiography: *What do you think we in JMC history need to be doing to improve the status of JMC history in (1) JMC education and (2) the wider field of history in general?*

Hume: In terms of JMC education, I think we should focus on making sure the journalists and professional communicators we train understand the importance of history, not just the history of journalism-advertising-public relations but American and world history. All "news" can be informed by the past.

As for research, I am as guilty of this as anyone, but I think we shrink from submitting our work beyond the journals strictly in our JMC disciplines. Our work would be known more broadly if we put it out there!

Historiography: *What challenges do you think JMC history faces in the future?*

Hume: I believe the biggest challenges to JMC history come from economic disruption in media industries and the rapid technological

changes in journalism. I fear that universities, particularly research institutions, won't have room for media historians. We fill the few academic lines that come open every year with data analysts, social media experts, digital and virtual reality scholars, and media economists. Media history seems old-fashioned and irrelevant, which of course it is not. History is more important than ever, but it is, by definition, not shiny and new. Our doctoral students see that, and I worry that these circumstances will drive them away. We need to nurture new historians and support not just their research, but their careers.

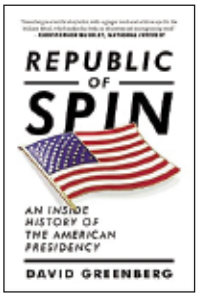
Thank you for inviting me to participate in this Q&A.

CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS

Book Award Interview

By David Greenberg ©

Greenberg



David Greenberg won the 2017 Goldsmith Prize for the year's outstanding book from Harvard University for *Republic of Spin: An Inside History of the American Presidency* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2016). Another of his books, *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image*, won the 2004 award from the American Journalism Historians Association for the best book of the year. The following interview is for *Republic of Spin*. Dr. Greenberg is a professor of history and of journalism and media studies at Rutgers University. He received his Ph.D. in American history from Columbia University.

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

Greenberg: *Republic of Spin* is a history of the creation and development of the White House spin machine, from Theodore Roosevelt through Barack Obama. It weaves together the story of three groups of people who were central to spin's emergence. First are the presidents and other politicians who established and refined new tools, techniques, practices, and institutions to shape their images and messages. Second are the political aides in fields like advertising, public relations, speechwriting, polling, and media consulting — a new 20th

century breed of professional, trained in the traffic in word and image, who remade what it meant to practice politics in the 20th century. Third are the journalists, intellectuals, and other analysts who sized up this emerging world of spin and tried to make sense of it for the public. Collectively, the stories of all these people trace a larger narrative of the development of political spin — and especially presidential spin — in our times.

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

Greenberg: My first book was *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image*. The book told the history of Nixon as a symbol in our political culture. In my research, I discovered that one reason Nixon was so deeply hated — well before Watergate — was that he was seen in the 1950s as a soulless manipulator of his image, a creature of the new era of television and public relations. But as I looked into these issues further, I realized that as powerful as this critique of Nixon was, and as important as he was to postwar image politics, he wasn't quite the pioneer in image-making that his critics alleged. I saw that presidential image-making had a longer history. Of course, we could trace this history all the way back to the Greeks — and in the book I do deal a little bit with this early history. But for my purposes, I saw the early 20th century as a key moment — with the rise of mass media and what has been called the "public presidency." So I thought to tell the story of these changes in presidential communication, and in public understandings of the presidency and of politics, and how they played out into our own times.

Historiography: *What was the state of the historical literature about the topic at the time you began work on your book?*

Greenberg: To start at a very general level, political historians these days tend to focus mostly on policy and to neglect political culture, ideas, and symbolism. Conversely, a lot of the theoretical work on political symbolism lacks historical content. So there has never been a significant historical literature on presidential spin.

That said, there were many niche subfields that I drew on. It's such a sprawling historiography that it might help if I break it down.

First, there were works of political science focused on the presidency and presidential communication. Probably the best of these, though quite old by the time I began my book, was Elmer Cornwell's *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*. There were also more recent works like Jeffrey Tulis's *The Rhetorical Presidency* that paid a lot of attention to the issues I was interested in, although their history tended to be episodic and deployed for making some other point, not for the purpose of relating the history itself.

Second were case studies of individual presidents and their press relations, or how they managed the press in relation to a particular event, like a war. In a few cases, such as the important work of James Pollard (again, quite old by the time I came along), books might cover multiple presidents or even all of them. But mostly these were deep dives without an expansive chronological sweep.

Third came works dealing with political persuasion and propaganda. As I've said, these books are often weak as historical accounts. Even more problematically, most of them take a crude or simplistic view of persuasion or propaganda or spin as something close to malign brainwashing, wherein nefarious presidents (or business leaders or whoever) hoodwink the innocent masses into going to war, supporting bad policies or candidates, and so on. The trick with these books is to strip away their heavy-handed politics and find the useful information that they

contain.

Fourth were biographies (or sometimes just magazine profiles or short studies) of key figures in the history of spin, starting with early 20th century figures like Ivy Lee, Edward Bernays, Albert Lasker, and Bruce Barton, to name just a few, and continuing through the century.

Finally, there were journalistic works that had rich material for me to draw on. Sidney Blumenthal's *The Permanent Campaign*, for example, profiled many of the top consultants of the 1980s. Joe Klein's *Politics Lost* laments how media consultants got too much power in politics.

There might well be some other categories of history, biography, political science, journalism, and communications studies that I'm leaving out. Remarkably, though, no historian had ever tried to pull all this material together to tell the story I wanted to tell.

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?*

Greenberg: The book took me almost ten years. One reason was that there were so many diverse literatures to master, which were not really in conversation with one another. I also had previously not worked much in the first half of the 20th century, and while of course I knew a lot of the political history, there was a great deal more to learn.

Another question for me was how much archival work to do. I realized early on that it would be impossible to bake this cake from scratch. There would be no way to get into the archives of every figure who appears in the book. I had to rely on secondary works. Indeed, the work is in large part a work of synthesis. But I did feel a need to dig into the primary source material in many places. One problem with a lot of the

historical work done by people in media studies or communications is that their mastery of the history is weak and they don't dig into the history. They take some of the very simplified history of their predecessors at face value. Clichés and inaccuracies get repeated throughout the literature. In some places, I found myself distrusting what the secondary literature said — or simply found that the secondary literature did not address what I wanted to address — and that I had to go to archives to get closer to the source material. So many of my chapters draw on materials from the presidential libraries and from the papers of particular figures who play an important role in my story.

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

Greenberg: Absolutely. Ideally, I could have mined the papers of every major figure I discussed in the book. But this would have added years to a book that already took longer than I wanted. There were also times when I thought that the book would have benefited from including certain characters but whom I had to omit because of time and space constraints. Let me give one example. In writing about the fears of persuasion in the 1950s, I have a section on Vance Packard and his book *The Hidden Persuaders*. I like that chapter, and I think I do a nice job with it. But I make no secret of the fact that I relied a lot on Daniel Horowitz's biography of Packard. Now, while I was working on that period, I also came across the name of Eugene Burdick. He was an important political scientist who did significant work on voting behavior, who also wrote a number of popular novels including *The Ugly American* and *Fail Safe* (both somewhat well remembered today) as well as a nearly forgotten book called *The Ninth Wave*, whose themes are directly relevant to

Republic of Spin. But very little has been written about Burdick. I would love to have spent time in his papers and made him a prominent character, but telling his story would have taken many months more than telling Packard's did. There were many other cases like that as well.

I also wish I had been able to do more research — including interviewing — on the recent past. My research turned up so much rich material from the first two-thirds of the 20th century that I ended up skimping a bit on the presidents since Nixon. I wanted to finish the book in a reasonable time frame and keep the book to a manageable length. I concluded that many parts of the spin story from recent times — such as Mike Deaver's work with Reagan, or the Bush administration's case for war in Iraq — were already fairly well-known and didn't need retelling in the same way. Of course, there was more that I could have learned about these recent presidencies, and perhaps I could help people see these events in a new light, but on balance I thought that there was more value for the average reader in learning about someone like Charlie Michelson or Will Irwin, who are all but forgotten today. So Deaver is in the book, as is the Bush administration's case for war, and I think people can learn from my accounts, but I deal with them more briskly than I might have had I had world enough and time.

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

Greenberg: I'm now writing a biography of John Lewis, the congressman and civil rights hero. It is based mostly on archival and other primary sources. This has changed my view a bit. For years I was a proudly synthetic historian. I worked in archives but never fetishized them. I believed — and I still believe — that historians can make valuable contri-

butions by working extensively in published primary sources and a lot of secondary sources. That was how I did the spin book, and, as I said, for a book like that, it's the only way to go. It wasn't possible to bake the cake from scratch. But with the Lewis book, I'm rediscovering the joys of finding material far beyond even what well-researched secondary sources can tell you. It has made me appreciate anew the old wisdom that we are taught as undergraduates and graduate students that — sometimes, at least — there's no substitute for the original material.

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

Greenberg: The challenge with *Republic of Spin*, as I said, was the enormous ambition of the book. I just had so much to cover. Time and space are limited, and so are audiences' level of interest and attention. It's a big book and took me many years, and I think I wrapped it up at the right time. But I know that if I spent twice as long on it, and wrote it at twice the length, it would be a richer book. But most readers wouldn't need or want all those additional characters and stories.

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?*

Greenberg: Sure, it's possible to get too close to a subject. But historians have devised methods to make sure we maintain our professional distance. To strive to be objective is not to claim that you have uniquely authoritative knowledge about a subject or that you're free from bias. Objectivity is a method that evolved in response to the recognition that

subjectivity is everywhere. When scholars try to be objective, they're acknowledging that they do have biases, and precisely because they have that awareness, they can work to identify and correct for those biases as much as possible. We do this in all kinds of ways: seeking out arguments or perspectives that differ from our own; asking hard questions of the subjects we may feel sympathetic toward; drawing on multiple sources. Of course, at a certain point in the process one arrives at a set of judgments, and rendering judgments or interpretations doesn't make someone biased. My students often say, "I'm biased, but…" when in fact they're not biased; they're just voicing an opinion.

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

Greenberg: I'm reluctant to claim any insight of mine as brand new. But I think and hope that readers will find in *Republic of Spin* that even familiar stories are analyzed with something of a fresh perspective. For example, recently I participated in a conference on the hundredth anniversary of Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, which I wrote about in *Republic of Spin*. I suggested that rather than imagining Lippmann to have been in a debate with John Dewey, as scholars have tended to do in recent decades, it's more fruitful — and more accurate — to consider his debates with H.L. Mencken. In that context, Lippmann looks much less hostile to democracy than is commonly supposed. Also at the conference, we got to talking about George Creel, who ran the World War I Committee on Public Information. I told the audience that I discovered in my research that almost everything we think about Creel is wrong, and a good revisionist biography of him needs to be written. My own chapters on Creel, I think, will strike readers who know the literature as intriguingly revisionist. I found that, contrary to what's said in

a lot of the literature, most of the so-called propaganda he produced was in fact fairly anodyne government information, and most of the emotional "Hate the Hun" propaganda people remember from World War I wasn't the work of the Creel Committee. Anyway, every chapter, every character, of *Republic of Spin* tries to say something at least somewhat new about the key figures in the emergence of political spin.

At a more general level, the book challenges some of the folk-wisdom assumptions about spin that are rampant among the public, and also, alas, surprisingly strong among scholars. To put it succinctly, I argue that spin is not all new; that it is not all powerful; and that it is not all bad.

Historiography: *What findings most surprised you?*

Greenberg: For one thing, I was surprised to see how modern the ideas and practices were as far back as the 1920s, even to some degree as far back as Theodore Roosevelt. Reading about the ways that politicians used media to try to influence the public I realized that there's very little that is being done now that wasn't also being done in the 1920s.

It was also amazing to see how far back the "fair and balanced" attitude and rhetoric go. Almost every single person engaged in what we might call propaganda was insisting that he was simply "correcting the record."

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

Greenberg: That's a very broad question. I would probably start with basic questions: What interests you? What's been written on the subject

and how much more is there to be learned and said? What's the significance of the subject? And then I would ask how you would research it, whether it's a manageable topic, whether the sources exist that allow you to answer the questions you're curious about. I'd also urge young scholars starting out to try to strip away as much as you can your politics and focus on analytical questions. Too much scholarship in history, but especially in media studies, is warped by the author's desire to infuse the account with ideology. Finally, I would read a lot in history that is not media history per se — political, intellectual, cultural, and social history. This will help make sure that the book you eventually produce isn't stuck in the narrow silo of journalism or media history but is also of interest to other historians outside the subfield.

CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS

How Media History Matters

The Media and Popular Sovereignty

By Steven R. Knowlton ©

Knowlton

NOTE: This is the third article 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. Steve Knowlton's essay focuses on the connection between freedom of the press and self-government.

One of the most remarkable and powerful elements of the American system of government is the underlying presumption that we, the ordinary citizens, are capable of governing ourselves. That idea, often called popular sovereignty, suggesting the people are sovereign, or

Steven R. Knowlton is the author of Popular Politics and the Irish Catholic Church *(1991) and co-editor of* Fair and Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity *(2005) and of* The Journalist's Moral Compass *(1993). He worked sixteen years as a journalist before going into academia. He received his Ph.D. in history from Washington University, St. Louis. He taught at Pennsylvania State University for seven years and then at Hofstra University for twelve more. Since 2007 has been a professor at Ireland's Dublin City University.*

ultimately in charge, is such a fundamental part of the American way of thinking that it seems almost tautological — akin to noting that the sky is up or that water is wet. Of course they are, and of course we can govern ourselves. Who else should?

Why the media have exercised a significant influence in American life and history can be demonstrated with a variety of subjects. One of the important areas is the role that the media have played in promoting freedom of expression and, through it, popular sovereignty. By that term, I mean, simply, self-government.

Popular sovereignty may seem the natural order of life. Yet the idea of self-government is not so automatic as many people presume. Nearly all of the world's nations that came into being before ours, and most of those that came afterwards, do not operate under the premise of popular sovereignty, certainly not to the degree that Americans do. Before the American Revolution, most of the West operated under monarchies. Since the founding of the United States, leaders of many emerging nations have talked about self-governance, but far more often as a goal for an elusive someday. Many nations, indeed, have made great progress toward democratic self-governance, particularly in very recent years, but few, if any, have achieved the measure of popular sovereignty that the United States has. This is not to be taken as grounds for smug self-satisfaction in the United States, for our history is full of unhappy exceptions, when politicians seem to have forgotten altogether who works for whom. And all too often money and political power have corrupted the system, making a mockery of the vision of the citizen-as-governor. Further, for centuries, whole groups were deliberately denied access to the levers of power. While most of those legal barriers have been eliminated, powerful forces still exist to prevent a truly equitable distribution of political power.

Yet for all its shortcomings, the principle of self-government remains one of the most powerful components of our national political psyche. Individual autonomy has been one of the driving passions of American life, and when Americans do get together, it is often for some sense of collective autonomy, of running of their own lives, of determining their own fates, of managing their own political institutions.

There is a second phenomenon about the American system of politics, broadly defined, that is equally rare — the United States has, and has had for two centuries, arguably the freest press system on earth. First books and newspapers, then radio and for the last two generations television, have had the legal right to be almost anything they wish. Virtually since the first edition came off the first flat-bed press, critics have chronicled with alarm how the media are often scurrilous, fantastical, pandering, titillating, vengeful, irresponsible, left-wing, right-wing, tub-thumping and subversive. Some have been seen as sober, analytical, thoughtful, responsible, and boring; others as rude, callous, superficial, and tawdry. Or fawning, obsequious, profit-chasing, soul-selling, spineless, and cowardly. Or noble, honest, high-minded, public-spirited, and supremely dedicated to the highest ideal of the democratic process. In point of fact, with relatively few limitations, most notably the libel, privacy and obscenity laws, individual owners of the press may do just about anything they want. The First Amendment guarantees, not just the right to be responsible, but to be irresponsible as well.

That there is such a range of news outlets — particularly on the awful end — would neither surprise nor disappoint the political theorists who created the system of government we operate under and who provided extraordinary protection to the press. The founding generation was acutely aware of the gamble it was taking in creating a new system of government where ultimate power lay with a broad-based pop-

ulace. It was an untried experiment. These intellectual visionaries believed popular sovereignty could work, but only if the sovereign people were kept fully apprised of the workings of their governors. A free press was no guarantee that self-government would work, but nearly all agreed that without such a press the experiment would surely fail.

These two rarities — a commitment to popular sovereignty and a remarkably free press — are closely connected. Many politicians, and perhaps even more journalists, have noted the critical importance to popular self-government of a largely unrestrained watchdog press. But the case has never been made more profoundly than by an English radical lawyer named Thomas Erskine, who defended Thomas Paine in a 1792 libel suit brought by the British crown. "If the people have, without possible recall, delegated all their authorities, they have no jurisdiction to act," Erskine wrote, "and therefore none to think or write upon such subjects [as governmental behavior]; and it would be libel to arraign government or any of its acts, before those who have no jurisdiction to correct them. [However] if I am supported in my doctrines concerning the great unalienable right of the people to reform or change their governments, no legal argument can shake the freedom of the press.... It is because the liberty of the press resolved itself into this great issue, that it has been in every country the last liberty which subjects have been able to wrest from power. Other liberties are held under government, but the liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjugation to their duties."[1] A fuller explanation of the concepts contained in this short quotation from Erskine makes up the main body of this essay.

Freedom of the Press and Self-Government

The roots of the notion of popular sovereignty lie not with James Madison (1751-1836), who wrote the First Amendment, nor with Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), who wrote the Declaration of Independence (and who once made the intriguing observation, much beloved by journalists, about preferring "'newspapers over government," were he forced to choose).[2] The full quotation reveals Jefferson's commitment to the principle of popular sovereignty and to his belief that a free press was crucial to its success: "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." The political philosophy was already well-established by their day, although they and their contemporaries, as will be seen, expanded on the idea. Intellectual historians could trace the beginnings of the free-press argument to the inscription on the Greek Delphic Oracle, "Know thyself," but most people, including most journalists, need not go that far back. Where they do need to go, however, is to seventeenth-century England, where two revolutions fifty years apart shattered forever the old ideas about divinely appointed absolute monarchs and established the principles of representative government and popular sovereignty.

John Milton and the Protestant Roots of Freedom

The first half of the seventeenth century was one of increasing conflict between the Parliament and the crown over the limits of royal authority, culminating in the 1640s in civil war and the execution of King

Charles I (1600-1649). Two years into the war, John Milton (1608-1674), already well established as a major poet, stirred up a flurry of controversy over the limits of governmental authority over what today we would consider the personal lives of citizens. At the age of thirty-three, Milton, who sided with the Parliamentary rebels, had married a young woman half his age, a Royalist named Mary Powell. After just a month of marriage, Milton decided the marriage was a mistake and she returned to her parents. But in another month, Milton changed his mind again and sent a servant to fetch her back to London. When she would not return, Milton dashed off several indignant pamphlets, complaining about England's rigid divorce laws, which considered marriage and divorce to be largely religious questions, not the civil contract Milton thought they should be. Divorce in England in the 1640s was roughly equivalent to the abortion question today — a political hot button, loaded with moral fervor and guaranteed to generate as much heat as light. The notoriety afforded the divorce pamphlets drew attention to the fact that, in his rage, Milton had not secured the necessary license to print them. In Milton's day, everything published legally had to be pre-approved by the crown and printed by the Stationers' Company, a small fraternity of printers who enjoyed a monopoly on their craft. Milton's writings on divorce were missing the seal of approval, a situation roughly akin to a bootleg audio tape today or a floppy disk of pirated computer software. When Milton was accused, not only of licentiousness for demanding the right to divorce his wife, but also of not having the proper license, he responded with another pamphlet, the *Areopagitica*, in which he denounced government censorship. "Let [Truth] and falsehood grapple," he argued in the document's most famous line. "Who ever knew Truth put to the worst, in a free and open encounter?" Again, "As good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who

kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye." And, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."[3]

It is important to note that Milton's argument on free speech, although written for a political body, the English House of Commons, was essentially a religious argument. Throughout the pamphlet, Milton argues that God gave humans the freedom to choose virtue or vice, and the reason to tell the difference. "He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian," Milton argued. The falsehood in the dichotomy is not mere political error; it is sin. Godly virtue, he said, comes from vanquishing iniquity, from recognizing and renouncing the beguiling efforts of the devil. To beat the devil, one must confront sinful thought and action, not avoid them. Milton was not only arguing from a strongly Christian position, but more specifically from a strongly Protestant one. Truth, Milton argued, "came once into the world with her divine Master," i.e., Jesus Christ, "but when He ascended, and His Apostles after Him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers," i.e., Roman Catholics. One of the most central tenets of the Protestant Reformation was the individual's ability and right to read the Bible and to understand God's teaching without a priest acting as intermediary and interpreter, as the Church of Rome maintained. Thus, to argue for the ability to use reason to distinguish between virtue and vice, that is, to let truth and falsehood grapple, is a very Protestant argument. This Milton makes clear when he argued that licensing "is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth," which he said was so strong that it needed "no policies, no stratagems, no licensing to make her victorious,

those are the shifts and the defenses that error uses against her power." And if that toleration resulted in differences of opinion, so much the better, Milton said. "If all cannot be of one mind, [who thinks] they should be? This doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian, that many be tolerated, rather than all compelled." However, he went on, "I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpated...."

Thomas Hobbes and Political Theory

Milton's argument, although justly famous as a ringing endorsement for free speech, turns out, then, to be largely an argument for religious toleration, but toleration within what by today's standards appear to be very narrow limits — only Christians, and only Protestants at that. It was a contemporary of Milton's, a political theorist named Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), to whom we must turn to begin the chain of intellectual thought that will lead to the case for free speech as a political argument. It is worth noting that almost all of what were considered the truly important questions in life in the seventeenth and eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries, were considered to be at least partly religious questions. Politics, like many other facets of life, became secularized over time, but certainly in Hobbes' day religion played a very important part in worldly affairs.

Hobbes devoted much of his life to considering the ultimate source of political rule. Fascinated by the new emphasis on science in the seventeenth century, Hobbes spent considerable time with Galileo, with Bacon and with Descartes' principal disciple, Mersenne. Perhaps because of this interest in reason, Hobbes, like other political thinkers

since the Renaissance, rejected what was then the traditional argument that monarchs ruled by divine right. The new source of political power that Hobbes settled upon ultimately changed the Western world. People did not become monarchs because God wanted them to, Hobbes argued; rather people became monarchs because other people wanted them to.

In his most famous political work, *The Leviathan*, published in 1651, Hobbes argued that in the natural state — that is, in the world before humans create societies and political systems — people are entirely free to do whatever they wish. Because, in Hobbes' view, people are naturally selfish and interested only in their own well-being, people will naturally fight with each other. Further, given that people are, for all intents and purposes, equal in both physical strength and mental ability, no one person will long dominate the rest. No one can trust another in this natural world, and, none bothers to build improvements in his world, since another will inevitably take what the first has built. The result, says Hobbes, is misery and permanent chaos, a world, he says in his most famous line, with "no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."[4]

But people tire of this continual warfare and form societies for mutual benefit and protection. All members surrender the right to prey upon their neighbors in exchange for the protection against being preyed upon by those same or other neighbors. This is the beginning of what has come down in history as the idea of the social contract and marks a radically different idea about the source of original power in society. A deity has a sharply reduced role in Hobbes' model, leading to many of Hobbes' critics to claim, falsely, that he was an atheist. Hobbes

was, however, considerably less religious than was normal during the era, denying the direct, active involvement of an anthropomorphic deity in the daily lives of human beings. Theologically, he was largely what in the next century would be called a deist, often described as a believer in a "watchmaker God," a supreme being responsible for the basic structure and organization of the universe, but one who, once the world was running, generally left it alone.

The most striking things about the state that Hobbes thought it necessary to build for humankind's mutual protection are its size and its power, as indicated by the book's title, *The Leviathan*, which means a giant sea serpent or whale. As Hobbes argued the point, a strong state — in fact an absolute state — was essential to protect people from themselves. Probably because of his lack of belief in an activist, compassionate god, Hobbes was a pessimist with a dark view of humanity. Just as he was sure that in the state of nature, people would conspire against one another if they could, Hobbes was convinced that people would conspire to overthrow a weak state if they could. Thus, an all-powerful government was essential. By Hobbes' theory of natural rights, the people were initially sovereign over their own lives, but in forming a state, they irrevocably surrendered that sovereignty.

John Locke and the Sovereignty of the People

If Hobbes is properly associated with the armed struggle between King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), the rebel who defeated him, so it is appropriate that John Locke (1632-1704) is associated with William (1650-1702) and Mary (1662-1694), who took the throne by invitation. The shift in power away from the crown, inherent in the idea that monarchs can be hired and fired, is central to the difference be-

tween Hobbes and Locke. This is crucial to the development of modern democratic theory, including the all-important role to be played by a free press.

William and Mary came to the throne in 1688 in the Glorious Revolution, so called because it was accomplished with very little bloodshed and because it moved England a long way toward the idea of a limited constitutional monarchy. Shortly after Cromwell's death in 1658, the monarchy was restored — largely because no one could think of a better ruler for the country than Prince Charles (1630-1685), the son and legal heir of Charles I, whom Cromwell had deposed. But after two more Stuart monarchs, Charles II and then his brother, James II (1633-1701), the Parliamentary forces trying to curb the crown's power decided James II had to go, partly because of James' quest for power, but largely because James was a Roman Catholic, precisely the religion that English subjects had been told, virtually nonstop since 1534, was tantamount to treason. The Parliamentary leadership offered the throne to Mary, the king's daughter and the wife of Prince William of the Dutch principality of Orange. When William and Mary landed in England to claim the throne, James fled to France, hoping to mount an army there with which to regain his throne. William and Mary, by the nature of their assuming the throne by invitation, necessarily had much less power than the Parliamentary leaders who invited them, and in the years following this so-called Glorious Revolution, the co-monarchs accepted a number of Parliamentary limitations on the power of the crown. One of the critical limitations was the elimination in 1695 of licensing, the pre-publication censorship that Milton had complained of so bitterly fifty years before.

Locke set out to make sense of the enormous constitutional changes represented by the ascension of William and Mary and the deposing of

James. This is not to suggest in any way that Locke was intellectually dishonest or that he was acting as some sort of early "spin doctor" to explain away what had just happened. But it does serve as a reminder that nearly all political and philosophical thought — even the most first-rank thought, such as Locke's — originated in a specific time and place. Locke's most important work on this topic, his *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, published in 1690, borrows heavily from Hobbes for its natural-law base, but with extremely important differences. Like Hobbes, Locke begins with the assumption of natural law, the argument that people are born both equal and free. In the state of nature, before the creation of political institutions, people are at full liberty to do whatever they wish. Again with Hobbes, Locke theorized that people form a social contract, in essence hiring government functionaries to undertake for them and in their name those tasks more easily performed by a central government than by each individual. But in Locke's theory, the eventual political power — the sovereignty — remains with the people who formed the government. If the government abuses its delegated authority, the sovereign people have the eventual right to overthrow that government, violently if need be, and replace it with another one. Locke argued that revolution was justified only under the most extreme provocation and only as a last resort, but insisted that people must retain this right. As Locke put it:

> Whensoever, therefore, the legislative ... either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative, such as they shall

think fit, provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society.[5]

Locke's ideas enjoyed widespread distribution among the best political minds of his own and subsequent generations. Indeed, his philosophy is widely considered to be the wellhead of the Enlightenment with its belief in the power of reason and its sharply limited powers of the state. Locke is also widely, but not universally, believed to be instrumental in writing the law that eliminated licensing in 1695.

"Cato" and the Role of the Press

Moving toward a Lockean world centered on a rational, sovereign people had profound implications for writers and printers, which went well beyond the elimination of licensing. Such a model implied a positive obligation on the part of those ultimately in charge — the sovereign people — to keep up with the behavior of their employees — the government. And if the sovereign citizenry needed to be informed about the workings of its governor/managers, then some mechanism had to be established to pry open and keep open doors that governors almost by instinct try to close. Among the first to examine this extremely important question were two political journalists named John Trenchard (1662-1723) and Thomas Gordon (1688-1750). Beginning in 1720, they wrote a series of essays, which they published in the *London Journal* and the *British Journal*, as letters to the editor, signed with the pseudonym Cato, the Roman statesman noted for honesty and incorruptibility. Trenchard and Gordon dealt with many political topics, but among their most important and lasting essays were three that dealt with a free press. In these essays, they redefined the fundamental rela-

tionship between press and government in ways that still dominate the thinking of most working journalists today.

"The administration of government, is nothing else but the attendance of the trustees of the people upon the interest and affairs of the people," they wrote in an early essay, which directly evokes Locke's popular sovereignty argument. "And as it is the part and business of the people, for whose sake alone all public matters are or ought to be transacted, to see whether they *be well or ill transacted*."[6] Honest government officials should welcome public scrutiny and comment, Cato argued. "Only the wicked governors of men dread what is said of them." Then, in a sentence that would be picked up literally hundreds of times in the colonies before the revolution, Cato wrote, "Freedom of Speech is the great bulwark of liberty; they prosper and die together."

If "the people" had a right to know whether "all public matters" were "well or ill transacted," then the phrase "freedom of speech," and, by extension, freedom of the press, had to mean a great deal more than just the absence of licensing or prior restraint. It implied concepts familiar today, but unheard-of at the time — open meetings, open records, press access to governmental deliberation and so on. But Trenchard and Gordon were not finished with the idea of freedom of the press. In a later issue, they took up the question of libel, which, in a sense, went even farther in challenging the existing thinking. With the earlier letter, Cato had provided the rationale for a new, much broader, definition for freedom of speech. With the essay on libel, Cato explicitly denied the validity exiting law and argued for completely new statutory regulations. Truth, Cato said, could never be libelous; else journalists could not do the job they needed to do, to keep track of the government and report on their misdeeds. Under the existing British law, truth not only was no defense, truth made the libel worse. Here's why. Libel simply

means defaming someone by writing derogatory things about that person. Under British common law, libel became a crime because the person so defamed was thought likely to get back at the libeler, perhaps using physical force and thus disturbing the public peace. Say a newspaper reports that Lord Fortescue went to London last weekend and lost heavily at the gaming tables. If that story is false, then Lord Fortescue can deny the story and, if need be, produce the friends with whom he actually spent the weekend hunting in Yorkshire. But if the story is true, then Lord Fortescue is less likely to deny it successfully and is more likely to deal with the libeling editor by pounding him with his walking stick, thus disturbing "the king's peace." Thus the dictum, "The greater the truth, the greater the libel." But Cato explicitly denied that principle of law. Without denying the possibility that a truthful defamation could lead to violence, Cato argued that supporting popular sovereignty was more important still.

Cato defended existing law against some defamations against private persons. "The discovery of a small fault may do great mischief, or ... the discovery of a great fault can do no good," Cato wrote, and the defamation should therefore be prevented by law. Further, "Ignorance and folly may be pleaded in alleviation of private offenses." But these defenses do not hold up against the overwhelming need of providing the sovereign people with information about their hired magistrates and governors. "The exposing therefore of public wickedness, as it is a duty which every man owes to truth and his country, can never be a libel in the nature of things." Cato went even farther and declared it tantamount to treason *not* to inform the public of official malfeasance. "I know not what treason is, if sapping and betraying the liberties of a people be not treason, in the eternal and original nature of things. Let it be remembered for whose sake government is, or could be appointed, then

let it be considered, who are more to be regarded, the governors or the governed."

And in a line that seems to anticipate the sweeping protections not achieved until the 1964 *Times v. Sullivan* decision, Cato said, "Slander is certainly a very base and mean thing. But surely it cannot be more pernicious to calumniate even good men, than not to be able to accuse ill ones." Cato's ideas were hardly adopted unanimously in England, nor even among the Whigs during this period of formation of the modern two-party political system in England. But Cato did well represent the emerging thinking of a portion of the emerging Whig philosophy, a more liberal, more democratic thinking that came to be known as Radical Whig.

The Zenger Trial

In the American colonies, Cato's letters struck an important and resonant chord and became the "most widely read, reprinted and important transmission to America of the Radical English Whig ideas on government and the press."[7] The most famous of the colonial papers to reprint Cato was John Peter Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal*, the subject of the most important libel trial in colonial America. This is true even though by today's standards, it seems as if the two key elements in the case — the defendant and the verdict — were wrong. The defendant seems wrong because Zenger (1697-1746) was merely the printer, not the writer or the editor of the defamatory articles. To charge him with libel for articles written by others is tantamount to arresting the proprietor of a copy shop today for copying material a customer brought in off the street — lawyers argue technical culpability, but it hardly seems that the print shop operator should be the *only* person charged. And the

verdict seems wrong because while Zenger's acquittal was and is a great victory for a free press and the Lockean ideas of popular sovereignty, under existing law Zenger should have been convicted.

In 1733, Zenger was hired by political opponents of the governor of New York to print a new, anti-administration newspaper. After a number of attacks on the administration appeared, the governor, William Cosby, had Zenger arrested for libel, which, under law, was an open and shut case. But the politicians who actually ran the paper hired the colonies' most famous lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, to defend Zenger. In a famous defense summation, Hamilton convinced the jury to do two things — first to insist that they, the jury, had a right to decide whether the articles attacking Cosby were libelous, when the law was clear that judges, not juries, made that decision. Second, Hamilton convinced the jury to allow truth as a defense for libel, when, as has been shown, under law, the truth of a defamation exacerbated a libel, rather than mitigated it.

American Ideas of Press Freedom

While it is true that the Zenger case changed nothing *de jure*, that is, in law, it is also just as true that the case *de facto*, in fact, changed a great deal. The notions of a free press contained in the Zenger case were picked up and retold in newspapers all over the colonies in the generation leading up to the Revolution, particularly in the years immediately before 1776. Cato's phrase about free speech being the "bulwark of liberty" shows up in a great many arguments of journalists and radical pamphleteers. Yet, there was still the older, more traditional idea of what the term "free press" meant, the idea of no prior restraint, the free speech and press that Milton argued for. This argument was most suc-

cinctly and most influentially made by William Blackstone (1723-1780), whose *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols., 1765-69) was the virtual Received Word in British legal circles in the late eighteenth century. According to Blackstone, a free press meant what it had come to mean in 1695 with the elimination of licensing. "The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state," Blackstone wrote. "But this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal behavior when published."[8]

From the context, we can be reasonably sure what Cato and his followers meant by a free press. We can also be quite sure what Blackstone meant. Unfortunately, we cannot know with absolute certainty which definition — Cato's or Blackstone's — the key figures in the revolutionary generation meant by the term because the documents simply do not tell us. There is evidence on both sides, none of it truly conclusive. For example, Thomas Paine (1737-1809), the most famous of all the pamphleteers ("These are the times that try men's souls") agreed with Blackstone. Paine wrote, "The term liberty of the press, arose from a fact, the abolition of the office of Imprimatur.... The term refers to the fact of printing free from prior restraint and not at all to the matter printed, whether good or bad."[9]

That appears to be pretty good evidence, yet Paine wrote this passage only in 1806, and furthermore, while he was a skilled and inspiring writer, he was far from being a first-rate political thinker. His thoughts on the meaning of the term can hardly be considered "best evidence."

The best evidence should come from James Madison, who not only wrote the First Amendment, but also was the best reporter at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, which produced the U.S. Constitution. Alas, it does not. The press was strictly barred from the sessions that cre-

ated the most open government in history, but Madison kept meticulous notes, which he agreed could be published posthumously. Madison's notes contain only two references to the idea of a free press. In late August, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina wanted to include in the constitution a line guaranteeing that "The liberty of the press shall be inviolably preserved," but the suggestion seems to have died for lack of interest.[10] Nearly a month later, Pinckney brought the idea up again: "Mr. Pinckney ... moved to insert a declaration that the liberty of the Press should be inviolably observed." But Roger Sherman of Connecticut answered, "It is unnecessary. The power of Congress does not extend to the press. On the question, it passed in the negative" by a vote of seven to four. That is all there is in Madison's notes of the convention.

The constitution was adopted without any guarantee of a free press or any of the other civil liberties now enumerated in the Bill of Rights. Madison and many of his political allies initially opposed an enumeration of civil liberties — what became the Bill of Rights — because they thought a list was unnecessary and could cause more harm than good. The argument ran that the framers were building a nation of limited government, that is, a government that could only do those things it expressly was permitted to do. However, according to this argument, if the Constitution were to include a list of things the government could not do, there would be a dangerous implication that government could do everything not expressly forbidden. Since any such list of prohibitions was bound to be incomplete, the inclusion of such a list was, by implication, giving the government more power than it had earlier. On the other side was the "necessary and proper" argument. This side noted that Congress was empowered to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and

all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States...." A power-hungry government — and it was widely presumed that all governments, by definition, were — would use this provision to nibble away at the people's liberties unless the most important protections were explicitly made off limits. This latter argument eventually carried the day, and the First Amendment, along with the rest of the list of basic civil liberties, was passed in 1791.

The Sedition Act of 1798

But still, even though the amended Constitution now said, "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press...," it was still unclear what freedom of speech really meant. The nation took a huge step toward clarification before the turn of the century when the Federalist Congress, under President John Adams, passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, which certainly did abridge freedom of speech if the term meant anything more than Blackstone's definition. It was during the debates surrounding the Sedition Law that the broader notion of free speech really took hold.

The law was passed in reaction to the French Revolution, which is probably the most significant political development in Europe of the modern era.[11] While the American Revolution has turned out to be of enormous consequence, for generations the French rebellion was seen as more significant. To many, perhaps most, political thinkers at the time, the American Revolution was primarily a matter of some of Britain's overseas colonies breaking free, as much for economic as for political reasons. But the French Revolution was a violent turning of political orthodoxy on its head, the overthrow of the very embodiment of statehood, the French *ancien régime*, and its replacement with a form of gov-

ernment dedicated to Enlightenment principles. The French Revolution's adherents were ecstatic with the possibilities the revolution contained. The young English Romantic poet, William Wordsworth, captured the spirit when he wrote in *The Prelude*, "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, But to be young was very heaven!" But the revolution's opponents, including Adams and the Federalists, saw in the French Revolution chaos and anarchy, particularly after the heady optimism of 1789 was replaced by the grisly excesses of 1793 and the Terror. Once in power, the Federalists passed the Alien Act to keep French sympathizers out of the country, and the Sedition Act to silence those already here.[12]

During the vigorous debate on these restraints, particularly the Sedition Act's restrictions on free speech, many able writers made the connection Cato had made between free speech and popular sovereignty. That connection allowed no room for the Blackstonian narrow definition of the Stationers' Company licenses. Since Milton, many people had argued for freedom of conscience and freedom of expression as essentially a religious right. John Locke had weighed in with his own thinking on free speech, but he included his essay on the topic as one of his "Four Letters on Toleration in Religion." That association continued across the eighteenth century down to many thinkers in the revolutionary generation, including Thomas Jefferson. But by the turn of the nineteenth century, the argument for free expression completed its expansion from the world of religion to the increasingly distinct world of secular politics.

One of the more powerful arguments to come out of the debates over the Sedition Act was made by Tunis Wortman (1773-1822), a Jeffersonian, i.e., pro-French, lawyer in New York. "Government is, strictly speaking, the creature of society originating in its discretion, and de-

pendent upon its will," he wrote.[13] Applying Lockean ideology to the notion of the press, Wortman argued that not only was it in the public's best interest to know what its governors were up to, it was also in government's interest to keep its masters, the people, informed. "The powers of society are always adequate to the destruction of its political institutions, whenever such determination is rendered universally prevalent," Wortman argued. "Unless the public mind becomes enlightened, what principle or what law is possessed of sufficient energy to prevent it from leading to the most violent acts of outrage and desperation...." Therefore, he concluded, "In every rational theory of society, it should therefore be established as an essential principle, that freedom of investigation is one of the most important rights of a people ... it is equally the solid interest of government and of society, that the public mind should become enlightened: for the progress of knowledge must become an effectual preventative of ... violent revolution...."

Another Antifederalist, John Thomson, took the popular sovereignty argument in a slightly different direction. He argued that since the first article of the Constitution had guaranteed that speeches in Congress "shall not be questioned in any other place," why should the Congressmen's masters, the sovereign people, settle for anything less. If Members of Congress "are at liberty to say what they please in Congress, why should they abridge this right in the people? ... Why should ... the servants or agents of the people ... impose restrictions upon the thoughts, words, or writings of their sovereign." A good Lockean, Thomson argued, "That power who has created them ... can by a fiat of its will reduce them again to the level of private citizens. If free discussion be advantageous to them, it must be equally so to the people."[14] If it seems clear that Thomson was evoking Locke, it is certain that he was also thinking of Milton; the epigraph of his book is this Milton quote

from the argument against licensing: "I will sooner part with life itself, then with that liberty, without which life is not worth having — I will sooner suffer my eyes to be put out than my understanding to be extinguished."[15]

James Madison and the Purpose of Press Freedom

Certainly one of the most cogent arguments about the purpose of a free press in the American system comes from James Madison himself. It was Madison, who, after coming around to agree that a list of guaranteed civil liberties was the safest course, wrote the First Amendment. His explanation of its meaning came in a companion report to a set of resolutions passed by the Virginia legislature opposing the new federal Sedition Law. In that report, Madison explicitly rejected the notion that freedom of the press in the United States could mean nothing more than the common law definition of no prior restraint. But for the Sedition Act to be constitutional, he said, that narrow Blackstonian definition would have to be accepted. "This idea of the freedom of the press, can never be admitted to be the American idea of it, since a law inflicting penalties on printed publications, would have a similar effect with a law authorizing a previous restraint on them," Madison argued. "It would seem a mockery to say, that no law should be passed, preventing publications from being made, but that laws might be passed for punishing them in case they should be made." Then Madison explained Blackstone's definition might work in England, but why something closer to Cato's was needed in the United States. The difference was one of sovereignty. "In the British government," he wrote, "the danger of encroachments on the rights of the people, is understood to be confined to the executive magistrate. The representatives of the people in the leg-

islature are not only exempt themselves, from distrust, but are considered as sufficient guardians of the rights of their constituents against the danger from the executive." Therefore, since Parliament is presumed to represent the people, Parliament is all-powerful, and "all the ramparts for protecting the rights of the people, such as their magna charta, their bill of rights, etc., are not reared against the parliament, but against the royal prerogatives. They are merely legislative precautions against executive usurpations." Under that political philosophy, "an exemption of the press from previous restraint by licensers appointed by the king, is all the freedom that can be secured to it."[16]

But it is very different in the United States, Madison wrote. "The people, not the government, possess the absolute sovereignty." Therefore, "the legislature, no less than the executive, is under limitations of power. Encroachments are regarded as possible from the one, as well as from the other." Therefore, the ramparts against tyranny have to be erected on two fronts to guard against abuses by both the executive and the legislature. The rights of the people, Madison wrote, "are secured, not by laws paramount to prerogative, but by constitutions paramount to laws. This security of the press requires, that it should be exempt, not only from previous restraint by the executive, as in Great Britain, but from legislative restraint also; and this exemption, to be effectual, must be an exemption not only from the previous inspection of licensers, but from the subsequent penalty of laws."

His explanation of the critical role of a free press in fostering government by popular sovereignty is as good as any ever made, and, had he made it a decade earlier, it is likely that a major controversy in American journalism history would never have occurred. But some scholars, most notably Leonard Levy, have been suspicious that Madison was silent on the subject during the writing of both the Constitution and

the Bill of Rights themselves, but explained the idea only years later when it was clearly in his party's political self-interest to do so.[17] However, other scholars have countered that the entire revolutionary generation had been using the term "free press" in the broader sense for half a century and more and so there was no need to define in writing what all of them already knew. On this question, as in other areas, determining original intent has been something of a Holy Grail to American historians, an elusive goal but one that seems on the face of it well worth pursuing. However, as the biographer of the great First Amendment scholar, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., has noted, it may not really matter much. "Maybe [the framers] did not know what they meant; or perhaps they intended to allow the First Amendment and the rest of the Constitution to be interpreted and reinterpreted as times and circumstances changed." In any event, because the U.S. Supreme Court is the final arbiter, "The First Amendment means what the court says it means."[18]

Restraints on Freedom of Expression

What the government, and what the high court, has said the First Amendment means has changed dramatically over time. The federal government has frequently tried to limit freedom of expression, usually during periods of great unrest, either during a foreign war itself, or during widespread civil discontent at home. And sometimes, most notably during the turbulent years just after World War I, the Supreme Court has agreed to these limitations. However, as will be shown, it was also during a period of great social upheaval at home, the civil rights movement of the 1960s, that the broadest protection of free speech principles ever enunciated was adopted by a unanimous Supreme Court.

Press and government collided during the next war, at the close of the War of 1812. Just after General Andrew Jackson's great victory at the Battle of New Orleans, the *Louisiana Gazette* published a story announcing the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war. Jackson, perhaps aware that the hosannas afforded his great victory would be muted if it became common knowledge that the battle was fought more than two weeks after the treaty was signed, demanded a retraction, arguing that the war was not really over until the treaty was ratified. Jackson reminded the paper's editor, Godwin B. Cotton, that the area was still under martial law and forbade him to print anything else about the war effort without submitting it first to military censors. Cotton duly printed Jackson's order, but added an editor's note. "We cannot submit to have a censor of the press in our office," he complained, "and as we are ordered not to publish any remarks without authority, we shall submit to be silent until we can speak with safety — except making our paper a sheet of shreds and patches — a mere advertiser for our mercantile friends."[19]

Government has not restricted itself to times of war to try to rein in what it considers to be the dangerous and irresponsible tendencies of unrestricted speech and press. During the 1830s, for example, there was considerable debate in Congress on how, if at all, northern abolitionists could be prevented from spreading their message to the slave-holding South.[20] But it was most demonstrably during wartime that government saw the greatest need, and the greatest justification, for curbing the press, popular sovereignty questions notwithstanding. During the Civil War, President Lincoln ordered editors arrested for criticizing the war, prompting a vote of censure from a group of citizens in Albany, New York. Lincoln wrote a letter of explanation to the group's leader, financier and Democratic political leader Erastus Corning, and sent

copies to a number of newspapers, explaining why he ordered the arrests. Under the cover of liberty of speech and liberty of the press, Lincoln argued, southern sympathizers had "hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways.... He who dissuades one man from volunteering or induces one soldier to desert, weakens our Union cause as much as he who kills a union soldier in battle." And since, in Lincoln's judgment, history has shown that desertion from the military can be prevented only by fear of the death penalty, "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert.... I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal, a great mercy."[21]

Yet even during wartime, some editors have continued to plug away at the question of popular sovereignty. Joseph Medill, the great editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, did, despite the special nature of the Civil War. In the fall of the first year of the war, as the realization was just setting in that the war would not end quickly, Medill wrote a brilliant justification of press criticism of the war effort. "We have duties to the public which we must discharge," he argued. "By their own assumptions, or by quasi popular consent, leading and influential journals like our own, are in some sort regarded as watchmen on the walls, to look for approach of danger toward what their readers hold dear." Editors, he wrote, "have had thrust upon them the duty, not always pleasant, of acting as conservators of the public good, often at the expense of their private interests." That duty extended beyond the simple passing along of facts. "They do not often create, but they shape and give directions to public sentiment. They are the narrators of facts, the exponents of policy, the enemies of wrong." And wartime was no different, nor were warriors

immune. A journalist's job did not change during war, although Medill conceded that it became more delicate because newspapers "deal with excited opinion, with passions painfully aroused, and with fears that know no reason." Still, Medill claimed, "We know of no reason to exempt the military from criticism and, if necessary, vigorous denunciations, that does not apply to the civil servant in public life. There is nothing especially sacred in epaulettes though worn by a popular idol. On the contrary," he wrote, "we hold it to be a duty to denounce all who stand in the way of the triumph of the good cause, and it matters little to us whether those who impede it are of our own faith and party, or belong avowedly to the enemy."[22]

Joseph Pulitzer, the great editor of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and later of the New York *World*, never wavered from the same conviction, although for Pulitzer, the question was not so much whether warriors should be immune from journalists' scrutiny, but whether corporate titans should be. The United States' economy experienced explosive growth in the generation following the Civil War, with the result that by the turn of the twentieth century, dozens of the best minds in journalism turned their attention from the strictly political nature of the ideal of popular sovereignty and focused more on the financial corruption of the ideal. Newspaper journalists trained under Pulitzer and like-minded editors such as E.W. Scripps and, to a much lesser extent, William Randolph Hearst, turned to the magazine format of *McClure's* and its rivals, largely because magazines' different constraints of time and space were more conducive to what we now call investigative journalism, but at the time was stuck with Theodore Roosevelt's term of opprobrium, "muckraking." In this light, the muckraking era was not so much a radical change from the earlier periods, but a logical extension of the old ideals. There was new technology by 1900, which made pos-

sible photographs, multi-column headlines and large display type, all ingredients of journalism's shrill scream usually associated with the terms "yellow journalism" or, a little later, "tabloid journalism." But intellectually, the primary difference between Pulitzer and Cato was simply a different serpent to drive from the garden. Pulitzer realized, and wrote about, the new corrupter long before his tawdry descent into sensationalism during his circulation war with his less-principled archrival, Hearst.

In 1879, on the first anniversary of his purchase and rebuilding of the *Post*, Pulitzer explained the philosophy of what would come to be called muckraking as well as anyone would ever would, although the term itself would not be coined for another generation. "What is the great demoralizer of our public life?" he asked. "Of course, corruption. And what causes corruption? Of course, the greed for money." Again, "And who offers the greatest temptations to that greed? Corporations. And what are corporations? All monopolies, all special privileges, all classes favored by law." Pulitzer was a Democrat and wrote as one, not so much as a political partisan, as seems so often to be the case in the late twentieth century, but because, as he saw it, Democrats were democrats and Republicans were autocrats. "Democracy means opposition to all special privileges," he wrote. "Republicanism means favoritism to corporations. The Jay Goulds and Tom Scotts and Vanderbilts are all Republicans. So are ninety-nine out of a hundred bank presidents...." Pulitzer argued that money corrupted both the body politic and human morals. "Money is the great power of to-day. Men sell their souls for it. Women sell their bodies for it. Many who seem to be better prostrate themselves before it. Others worship it.... It is the growing dark cloud of our free institutions. It is the natural great enemy of the Democracy. It is the irresistible conflict of the future." The force of the wealthy was

so powerful, he wrote, "that the issue of all issues, after all, is whether the corporations shall rule this country or the country shall again rule the corporations."[23]

Reaction and Restriction

However much Pulitzer believed money was the great evil, others saw greater evils still, and 1917 brought two of them, quite closely related, to the forefront of public consciousness. In that year, the United States entered World War I, against the strong wishes of a large and vocal minority of the population. Also in that year the Bolshevik revolution made real what for half a century had been the capitalist world's greatest cacodemon — international communism. The two events were related, because many of the war's most vociferous opponents came from the political left and were thus considered sympathizers with the Russian revolution.

When Lenin came to power, he inaugurated an era every bit as profoundly challenging to the existing order as was the French Revolution more than a century before. Reaction in the United States, and across the West, was parallel to the reaction to the earlier overturning of the *ancien régime* — supporters of both revolutions were wild with excitement and hope for the future, while conservative opponents were so horrified they felt justified in a level of censorship and repression, which, in calmer times, they would never have endorsed.

The government's response to opposition to U.S. war aims was the Espionage Act of 1917, strengthened and broadened the following year with a series of amendments usually called the Sedition Act of 1918. "May God have mercy" on opponents of the war, said U.S. Attorney General Thomas Gregory, "for they need expect none from an outraged

people and an avenging government."[24] A series of prosecutions followed, leading to a string of Supreme Court decisions, which established, somewhat ironically, the approximate modern limits of free speech. The first of these cases was *Schenck v. United States*, in which a Philadelphia area socialist named Charles T. Schenck was convicted under the Espionage Act of mailing leaflets to conscripts, urging them to resist induction. In the Supreme Court's 1919 decision in the Schenck case, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes announced the most famous test of the limits of free speech, whether the speech in question presented a "clear and present danger" to the government. The irony is that Holmes was writing for the majority, and arguing that Schenck's pamphlets did indeed present just such a danger.

But two years and several free speech cases later, Holmes apparently rethought the matter. In the case of *Abrams v. United States*, five Russian immigrants were convicted of distributing leaflets protesting U.S. military efforts to undermine the new Russian government. Their convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court, but Holmes, this time in dissent, made an argument that could have come straight from Milton's *Areopagitica* and John Locke's *Second Treatise*. As dearly and as deeply as some hold their beliefs and thus naturally wish to stifle their opponents, "The ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas — that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes can safely be carried out." That, he wrote, "at any rate is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment." Yet, he went on, "Every year if not every day we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge. While that experiment is part of our system," he wrote, "I think that we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to

check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death...."[25]

New York Times v. Sullivan

In the 1930s, free speech won in a few cases, most notably *Near v. Minnesota* in 1931 and *DeJonge v. Oregon* six years later, but suppression won in a series of court decisions after World War II, during the next period of anti-Communist fervor in the United States. It was not until 1964, when the high court ruled unanimously for free speech in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, that the present-day notions of free speech became fully accepted in law. The Sullivan case arose, not out of the newspaper's efforts at crusading journalism, but out of a paid advertisement. The ad, which sought to raise money for the civil rights efforts in the South, including defense fees incurred by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., complained of police abuses of King and others. L.B. Sullivan, Commissioner of Public Affairs in Montgomery, Alabama, sued for libel, claiming that the ad defamed the police and, by extension, him as head of the department. Two levels of Alabama courts agreed, holding that inaccuracies in the ad, most of them minor, meant the *Times* could not defend itself on grounds of truth. The paper appealed to the Supreme Court, which unanimously overturned the Alabama courts and in so doing established what has for a generation been the essential principle of free speech. The decision, written by William J. Brennan, broadened truth as a defense in libel cases to protect some falsehoods as well. Brennan wrote that to win, a plaintiff must prove not only falsehood, but "actual malice" as well. Actual malice was defined as either knowledge that was printed was false, or a "reckless disregard" for whether it was true or not. "Erroneous statement is in-

evitable in free debate," Brennan wrote, and "it must be protected if the freedoms of expression are to have the 'breathing space' that they need ... to survive."[26]

And why do these flawed freedoms of expression need to survive at all? For his answer, Brennan went back to first principles, back to James Madison's broad definition of a free press as a critical element in this nation's experiment in self-government, that is, in popular sovereignty. Brennan quoted Madison and the 1798 Virginia Resolutions at length. Then he dug out a speech of Madison's from 1794 in the House of Representatives: "If we advert to the nature of Republican Government," Madison had written, "we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the Government, and not in the Government over the people." Brennan cited again the Virginia Resolutions: "In every state, probably, in the Union, the press has exerted a freedom in canvassing the merits and measures of public men, of every description, which has not been confined to the strict limits of the common law. On this footing the freedom of the press has stood; on this foundation it yet stands...." Brennan concluded this portion of this vital opinion with his own thoughts. "The right of free public discussion of the stewardship of public officials was thus, in Madison's view, a fundamental principle of the American form of government." So it was in Brennan's view, and, because the Supreme Court is the final arbiter, so it is in ours as well.

Conclusion

For more than two centuries, reporters have poked around the corridors of power, asking presidents, state senators, city managers, planning commissioners, and a host of others what they were doing. With more or less accuracy, with greater or lesser concern for fairness, with carefully

crafted nuance of interpretation, or with machine-gun rattle of unsorted data bits, these journalists have passed on the answers to their questions and their probings. The ways in which they pass this information along comes in many forms: the scoop, the smear, the documentary, the exposé, the news conference, and the news analysis. Noble souls and charlatans have been in the news trade, just as public servants and public thieves have been in government. But across time and space and for a bewildering variety of short-term goals and long-term visions, information has continued to flow concerning the people's governors and how they are doing their jobs. "Other liberties are held under government," Thomas Erskine said during the libel trial of his famous client, Thomas Paine, "but the liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjugation to their duties." Just as store managers have a right to know what their clerks are up do, so too do the sovereign people have a right to know what their hired representatives are doing. All quarter-billion of us cannot sit in on the meetings, the hearings, the trials and the whole range of other forums in which our national employees do our bidding. But others can go in our stead, and report back to us. Those who go for us, the journalists, thus provide the truly critical link of information, which allows sovereignty to remain with the citizenry. Money and sloth and chicanery and a host of other factors keep the flow of information imperfect, sometimes shamefully so. The same and other factors keep the citizenry from being as universal as it doubtless should be. Those are flaws well worth working on.

But they should not obscure the principle behind them — not that a free flow of information will guarantee popular rule, but that it will allow it.

NOTES

Cited in Leonard W. Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 286.

To Lord Edward Carrington, 16 January 1787, in Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: Jefferson Memorial Assoc., 1904-1905), 2: 418-19.

John Milton, *Areopagitica*, ed. J.C. Suffolk (London: University Tutorial Press, 1968), 126.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Michael Oakeshott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), 82.

John Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1690; rev. pap. ed., New York: Macmillan, Hafner Press, 1947), 233.

London *Journal*, 4 February 1720, No. 15, "Of Freedom of Speech," collected as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters*, 4 vols., 3d. rev. ed., (London: W. Wilkins, T. Woodward, J. Walthoe, and J. Peele, 1733) 1: 97.

Lucas A. Powe, Jr., *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 37.

Blackstone, Commentaries 4:150-153.

Thomas Paine, *The Political Writings*, 2 vols. (Boston: J.P. Mendum, 1856), 2: 464-65.

James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* (1840; reprint ed., New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), 486.

In any case, until the Russian Revolution of 1917, which ushered in three-quarters of a century of anti-Communist fervor. With the recent collapse of the Soviet Union that the 1917 revolution inaugurated, the French Revolution may again come to be considered as the most significant political event since the Reformation.

The constitutionality of the law was never tested, and the law expired in 1801. The Supreme Court did not deal with the law at the time. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declared it unconstitutional more than a century later in an opinion in another important free speech case just after World War I.

Tunis Wortman, *A Treatise Concerning Political Enquiry and the Liberty of the Press* (New York: George Forman, 1800), 23.

John Thomson, *An Inquiry Concerning the Liberty and Licentiousness of the Press and the Uncontroulable Nature of the Human Mind* (New York: Johnson and Stryker, 1801), 18.

These passages, while an accurate representation of what Thomson said, are still something of a secondary argument to the work's major theme. Thomson's main point

is the intriguing and innovative argument that expression of thought must be left free because what people think is largely beyond their control.

Virginia. General Assembly. House of Delegates, *The Virginia Report of 1799-1800* (1850; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 220.

See Leonard W. Levy, *Legacy of Suppression* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1960). He revised the manuscript, accommodating much of the criticism, and published the result as *Emergence of a Free Press*.

Donald L. Smith, *Zechariah Chafee, Jr.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 20-21.

Cited in Anthony St. Clair Colyar, *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols. (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce, 1904), 1: 351.

For an excellent analysis of this and other nineteenth-century developments in press freedom, see Donna Lee Dickerson, *The Course of Tolerance* (New York: Greenwood, 1990). For an impassioned and thoughtful examination of the slightly broader topic of limitations of the whole range of civil liberties during times of war, see Michael Linfield, *Freedom Under Fire* (Boston: South End Press, 1990).

New York Tribune, 15 June 1863, cited in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 6: 263-66.

Chicago Tribune, 3 October 1861.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10 January 1879.

Congressional Record, Volume 149, Number 158.

Abrams et. al. v. United States 250 U.S., 616.

New York Times Co. v. Sullivan 376 U.S., 271-72.

CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS

News and Notes

(Please note: Announcements are from the organizers of the activities.)

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, the editors 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, it doesn't 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.

AEJMC Solicits Entries for History Book Award

The AEJMC's History Division is soliciting entries for its annual award for the best journalism and mass communication history book. The winning author will receive a plaque and a $500 prize at the August 2023 AEJMC conference in Washington, D.C. Attendance at the conference is encouraged as the author will be invited to be a guest for a live taping of the Journalism History podcast during the History Division awards event.

The competition is open to any author of a media history book regardless of whether they belong to AEJMC or the History Division. Only first editions with a 2022 copyright date will be accepted. Entries must be received by February 1, 2023. Submit four hard copies of each book or an electronic copy (must be an e-Book or pdf manuscript in page-proof format) along with the author's mailing address, telephone number, and email address to

Gwyneth Mellinger, AEJMC History Book Award Chair
James Madison University
54 Bluestone Drive, MSC 2104
Harrisonburg, VA 22807

If you have any questions, please contact Book Award Chair Gwyneth Mellinger at mellingx@jmu.edu. Additional information can be found at https://mediahistorydivision.com/about/history-book-award/

Call for Papers: International Association for Media and History Conference 2023: FUTURE [of] ARCHIVES

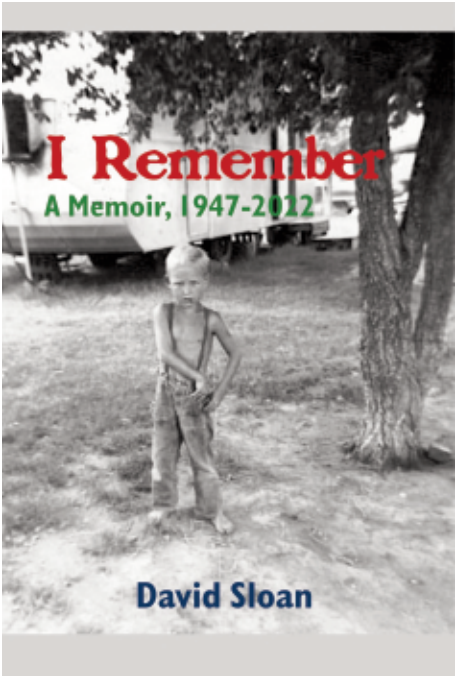
Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada 20-22 June (in-person)
http://iamhist.net/2022/09/call-papers/

Deadline for submissions (20-minute presentations, panels of three 20-minute papers, or practice-based research/workshops): 16 January 2023

Archives have always played a considerable role for research and creation, especially in film and media studies. By virtue of their form and content, archives put at the forefront questions of possible and alterna-

"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.

tive historiographies and the shaping of memories and invites reflection on forgetting. Ranging from censorship to emancipation, archives are often source and reason for debate, powerplays and struggles as they can be object of censorship, but also sources and ways of emancipation. They are not only sites of memory, but also sites and signs of social and cultural change. There has been an increased scholarly interest in archives since the arrival of digital tools and the Web, and the concept of the archive itself has been questioned, discussed, and redefined.

This conference aims to revisit these archival transformations by bringing into focus archives' blind spots, notably in relation to their accessibility and ecological dimensions. How do existing archival institutions, associations or private collectors and archivists address technology and media transformations? What are the current and future challenges of … archive research? Use? Configurations? What type of 'new' archives can be imagined and created in relation to technology and media transformations?

The IAMHIST Conference will be particularly interested in proposals dealing with media archives (film, radio, video, television, Web, photographs, etc.) but also warmly welcomes archives that use media and technology institutionally (museums, associations, vernacular archives etc.).

IAMHIST invites scholars, archivists, practitioners, and artists to send a proposal that concerns one or more of the following topics:

- Archives and accessibility
- Archives, restitution, and memory
- Archives and social justice
- Archives and ecology / sustainable archives
- Archives and decolonization
- Case studies of archival use in media history research

- Archives and (media) storage
- Re-use of archives in research, artistic projects, and practice
- Archival material in film and arts
- Reflections on how to archive research/scholarly activities
- Vernacular, private, and institutional archives
- History of media archives
- Financing and funding of archives
- Internationalization of archives
- Local and regional archives
- Archives, memory, and nostalgia
- Archives and emotion

The deadline for submissions is 16 January 2023. You can submit proposals here: iamhistconference2023@gmail.com

Individual paper proposals should consist of a title, an abstract of 200 to 300 words and a short biography. IAMHIST especially welcomes proposals from early career researchers and practitioners. Panel proposals (of three papers) are welcome; they need to be registered by one individual presenter of the panel who must include the title of the panel and all paper abstracts and short bios. IAMHIST also accepts proposals for archival, artistic or multimedia/practice-based projects or workshops. Proposers are welcome to discuss their topic suitability with the conference organizers in advance of the deadline.

Notifications of decisions will be sent alongside additional information on travel and accommodation by early February 2023; registration will be open by that day. Registration fees will be kept as low as possible and depend on several funding opportunities that the organizers are currently seeking. Conference attendees are expected to be members of IAMHIST – there will be an opportunity to join at the time of registration.

Information about IAMHIST membership can be found here: http://iamhist.net/membership/.

AJHA Elects Officers and Board Members

The American Journalism Historians Association elected a new second vice president and three new board members during its 41st annual convention in Memphis, Tenn.

Debra van Tuyll, professor emerita, Augusta University, will serve as second vice president during 2022-23, beginning a three-year tenure that will culminate in her serving as the organization's president in 2024-25.

Elected to the board were Elisabeth Fondren of St. John's University; Tom Mascaro, Bowling Green State University (emeritus); and Ashley Walter of Utah State University. Their three-year terms span from 2022 to 2025.

Van Tuyll served on the AJHA board from 2005-2008 and 2016-2019. In 2019 she was awarded AJHA's highest honor, the Kobre Award, in recognition of her exemplary record of sustained achievement in journalism history. She retired as a full professor from Augusta University in June 2021.

"I'm so excited to serve AJHA as second vice president. This organization has been integral to my career as well as the source of some of my most valued colleagues and friends. I look forward to paying back and paying forward all this organization and those friends and colleagues have done to support me through my career," said van Tuyll.

Fondren is an assistant professor of journalism in the Collins College of Professional Studies at St. John's University. She has served on the AJHA Curriculum Committee and was part of the 2020 Co-

ordinating Committee for the Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference. She currently serves on the Blanchard Doctoral Dissertation Prize Committee.

"I am truly honored to have been elected to the AJHA Board of Directors. I am delighted to help advance AJHA's mission, and I look forward to contributing international perspectives on journalism history research and teaching," Fondren said.

Mascaro retired as a full professor from Bowling Green State University in December 2019. He has served as chair of the Service Awards Committee, a judge for the AJHA Book Award competition, and a referee for the annual convention's paper selection. He also is a long-time reviewer for *American Journalism*.

"As this is my first year on the board, I expect to do a lot of listening and to try to contribute thoughtfully to issues that arise. One area of interest to me in the future, though, is to develop publicity through AJHA to re-educate others about the value of journalism to a free, democratic society, especially during a time of numerous assaults on truth," Mascaro said.

Walter is a postdoctoral teaching fellow at Utah State University. She is a member of the AJHA Oral History Committee and served for two years as editorial assistant for *American Journalism*.

"I've been fortunate to receive a ton of support from AJHA since I joined in 2017. I see this board position as a way for me to give back and pay forward the kindness I've received," Walter said.

AJHA's new president will be Mike Conway of Indiana University, who served as second vice president from 2019-2021 and as first vice president from October 2021-October 2022.

Tracy Lucht of Iowa State University will serve as first vice president, and Ken Ward of Pittsburg State University will serve as treasurer.

Erika Pribanic-Smith of the University of Texas-Arlington will continue executive director.

Internet Histories Volume 6 Issue 1-2 Available Online

The journal *Internet Histories* Volume 6 Issue 1-2 is available online.

This is a special double issue "Dead and Dying Platforms" by guest editors Muira McCammon and Jessa Lingel.

Two articles are Open Access, and one is Free Access for a limited time.

The issue may be accessed here:

https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rint20/6/1-2

Contents:

Editorial: "Situating dead-and-dying platforms: technological failure, infrastructural precarity, and digital decline" by Muira McCammon & Jessa Lingel

Roundtable: "Dead-and-dying platforms" with Muira McCammon, Diami Virgilio, Cody Ogden, Kevin Ackermann, Ethan Zuckerman, Robert Gehl, Saima Akhtar, Sultan Al-Azri, Catherine Knight Steele, Amber M. Hamilton, Anat Ben-David, Sarah Wasserman, Sara Namusoga-Kaale and Joy Lisi Rankin

Articles:

"Why does a platform die? Diagnosing platform death at Friendster's end," Frances Corry

"'Tom had us all doing front-end web development': a nostalgic (re)imagining of Myspace," Kate M. Miltner and Ysabel Gerrard

"The four deaths of Couchsurfing and the changing ecology of the web," Karolina Mikołajewska-Zając and Attila Márton

"Porn bans, purges, and rebirths: the biopolitics of platform death

in queer fandoms," Diana Floegel

"'Everything on the internet can be saved': Archive Team, Tumblr and the cultural significance of web archiving," Jessica Ogden

"Forgotten passwords and Long-Gone exes: the life and death of Renren," Lianrui Ji

"'They're describing Yelp in 1992!': revisiting the Blacksburg Electronic Village," Tamara Kneese

"The rise and fall of MapQuest," Rowan Wilke

"'Yakety yak: Don't talk back': An autopsy of anonymity gone awry," Kathryn Montalbano

"r/WatchRedditDie and the politics of reddit's bans and quarantines," Julia R. DeCook

"A 'lifetime of indentured servitude:' rights, labor, and gender anxieties in a dead men's rights newsgroup," Alexis de Coning

"The death of GeoCities: seeking destruction and platform eulogies in Web archives," Katie Mackinnon

Book Reviews:

Social Media and the Automatic Production of Memory: Classification, Ranking, and Sorting of the Past, Ben Jacobsen and David Beer, rev. by Kira Allmann

Wikipedia @ 20, stories of an incomplete revolution, Joseph Reagle and Jackie Koerner, eds., rev. by Helen Hockx-Yu

Annual Conference on the History of Recent Social Science

Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University
9–10 June 2023

This two-day conference of the Society for the History of Recent Social

Science (HISRESS), at Uppsala University in Sweden, will bring together researchers working on the history of post-World War II social science. It will provide a forum for the latest research on the cross-disciplinary history of the post-war social sciences, including but not limited to anthropology, economics, psychology, political science, and sociology as well as related fields like area studies, communication studies, history, international relations, law, and linguistics. The conference aims to build upon the recent emergence of work and conversation on cross-disciplinary themes in the postwar history of the social sciences.

Submissions are welcome in such areas including, but not restricted to the following:

The interchange of social science concepts and figures among the academy and wider intellectual and popular spheres

Comparative institutional histories of departments and programs

Border disputes and boundary work between disciplines as well as academic cultures

Themes and concepts developed in the history and sociology of natural and physical science, reconceptualized for the social science context

Professional and applied training programs and schools, and the quasi-disciplinary fields (like business administration) that typically housed them

The role of social science in post-colonial state-building governance

Social science adaptations to the changing media landscape

The role and prominence of disciplinary memory in a comparative context

Engagements with matters of gender, sexuality, race, religion, nationality, disability and other markers of identity and difference

The two-day conference will be organized as a series of one-hour, single-paper sessions attended by all participants. Ample time will be set

aside for intellectual exchange between presenters and attendees, as all participants are expected to read pre-circulated papers in advance.

Proposals should contain no more than 1000 words, indicating the originality of the paper. The deadline for receipt of abstracts is February 3, 2023. Final notification will be given in early March 2023 after proposals have been reviewed. Completed papers will be expected by May 5, 2023.

Published or forthcoming papers are not eligible, owing to the workshop format.

The organizing committee consists of Jenny Andersson (Uppsala University), Jamie Cohen-Cole (George Washington University), Philippe Fontaine (École normale supérieure Paris-Saclay), Jeff Pooley (Muhlenberg College), and Per Wisselgren (Uppsala University).

All proposals and requests for information should be sent to submissions@hisress.org

Internet Histories Solicits Articles

The journal *Internet Histories* invites historians to submit articles. Information about submission can be found at http://www.tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=rint20&page=instructions.

IAMHIST Masterclass on Media and History: Call for Participants

Thursday 12 January 2023. To be hosted online via Zoom, between 3-5pm CET/2-4pm GMT/9-11am EST

Are you a graduate or doctoral student, post-doctoral researcher, or

young professional currently working on a project in which you engage with issues concerning historical film, radio, television and digital media or issues in media history? Are you interested in presenting your project to a small group of experts and peers? Then this online masterclass of the International Association for Media and History (IAMHIST) may be just what you are looking for. The masterclass deliberately has a broad scope, including any research in the field of media and history.

Participants are expected to give a short introduction to their project and to prepare some central questions for discussion. The group including participants as well as senior members of IAMHIST will engage with your project and discuss sources and strategies for developing it further.

The masterclass will be held online via Zoom and is designed to be a small-scale networking event for emerging scholars and media professionals and an opportunity to engage with peers and leaders in the field in a less formal setting than an academic conference. There is no charge for attendance.

To apply for this event, please send a 300-word proposal of your project and a short biography to IAMHIST President Leen Engelen (leen.engelen@kuleuven.be) and IAMHIST Vice-President Tobias Hochscherf (tobias.hochscherf@fh-kiel.de). Deadline is 16 December 2022.

2023 Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference: Call for Proposals

Deadline for proposal submissions: 10 p.m. EST (U.S.) Feb. 15, 2023.

The Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference, co-

sponsored by the American Journalism Historians Association and the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, is accepting submissions for its 2023 conference, to be held virtually via Zoom.

This free, one-day, interdisciplinary conference welcomes faculty, graduate students, and independent scholars researching the history of journalism and mass communication. Topics from all geographic areas and time periods are welcome, as are all methodological approaches. This conference offers a welcoming environment in which participants can explore new ideas, garner feedback on their work, and meet colleagues from around the world interested in journalism and mass communication history

When: Saturday, April 15, 2023, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Eastern (U.S.) time

Where: Virtual (Zoom)

Proposals for paper presentations, research-in-progress presentations, or panels are all welcome. Your proposal should detail your presentation topic and offer a compelling rationale for why this research would interest an interdisciplinary community of scholars.

Papers are completed research studies. The paper should be attached to the submission (as a Microsoft Word document or PDF) along with an abstract of up to 500 words.

Research-in-progress (RIP) proposals are projects that are currently underway and that would benefit from collegial feedback in a conference setting. The conference eagerly welcomes such work and prides itself on being a forum for generative thinking and feedback. RIP proposals should be described in an abstract of up to 500 words.

Panels are pre-constituted presentations from multiple scholars working on similar topics or using similar methodological approaches.

Panels generally consist of 3-4 scholars. To submit a panel proposal, please include an overview of the panel along with abstracts for each of the individual projects/presentations. The overview and the individual abstracts each may be up to 500 words.

The themes listed below are meant as helpful suggestions, but submissions are not in any way limited to these areas.

- misinformation/disinformation/propaganda
- right-wing/left-wing political commentary
- journalism foregrounding of the experiences of historically marginalized communities, particularly indigenous, African American, Asian American, Latinx, and/or LGBTQIA+
- feminist reporting and commentary
- coverage of various social and political movements (e.g., environmental, civil rights, women's rights, consumer protection)
- small weekly newspapers
- public relations history

Panels: "how tos" for working with digital archives; attracting new funding for research

Submissions should be emailed to JJCHC.submissions@gmail.com. Please remove any identifying information from your abstract and attach it to your email as a Microsoft Word document or a PDF. In the body of your email, please include your name, preferred email address, and institutional affiliation and title/rank (if applicable). If you are submitting a panel proposal, please include that information for all panel participants.Authors will be notified as to whether their proposals were accepted no later than March 15, 2023. Please direct any questions to one of the conference co-chairs: A.J. Bauer, ajbauer2@ua.edu; Theresa Russell-Loretz of Millersville University, theresa.russell-loretz@millersville.edu; Ray Begovich of the

University of Indianapolis begovichr@uindy.edu.

Call for Papers: Rethinking Histories of Popular British Film and Television

Proposal deadline: Friday 24 February 2023
Send proposals to: britishfilmandtvnorthumbria@gmail.com
Send queries to: Dr Johnny Walker at
johnny.walker@northumbria.ac.uk

Northumbria University's Department of Arts, with financial support from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, presents Re-thinking Histories of Popular British Film and Television, a two-day conference to be held on campus at Northumbria University, UK, 15-16 June 2023. This event will take place face-to-face.

Colleagues are invited to submit proposals for presentations on any aspects of "popular" British film and television history, broadly defined, which advance scholarly understanding in this area. This conference is intended to be a "state of the field" event – an opportunity to reflect on and reassess the past and look ahead to the future of British film and television historiography.

Keynote presentations from Dr Beth Johnson (Leeds), Dr Laura Mayne (Hull), Prof .Sarah Street (Bristol)

Papers might address, but are by no means limited to, the following themes:

- Genre
- Distribution/exhibition/circulation
- Policy
- Key figures in front of, and behind, the camera: e.g. actors, direc-

tors, producers, distributors, exhibitors

• Promotional strategies

• Methodological concerns

• Preserving the past: archives and the future of British cinema and television history

• Histories of British film and television within the academy

• British films and television programmes in national and international contexts

• Lost continents – which areas of production are overlooked today, and why?

Abstracts for single presentations, practical outputs, or panel proposals comprising the details of 3 presentations/works, should be submitted to britishfilmandtvnorthumbria@gmail.com, by 24 February 2023. Acceptance notices will be sent out by the end of March 2023.

Single paper/practical output proposals must include:

• Title of presentation/practical output

• Name of speaker/creator, plus affiliation where appropriate

• Abstract (300 words)

• Speaker bio (50 words)

Panel proposals must include the above information for each of the three speakers, plus an overall title for the panel itself, and a rationale of 200 words.

Individual presentations/works should not exceed 20 minutes in length.

Delegate rates, which includes refreshments on both days, are as follows:

£20 (employed)

£15 (students/precariously employed/unemployed)

Please send any questions to the organiser, Dr Johnny Walker at

johnny.walker@northumbria.ac.uk .

The event is made possible with funds from the AHRC, and the fellowship "Raising Hell: British Horror Film of the 1980s and 1990s," PI: Johnny Walker.

CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS