

Historiography

in Mass Communication



Volume 10 (2024). Number 4

Historiography in Mass Communication

Editor

Wm. David Sloan

Editorial Board

David Bulla
Augusta University

Elisabeth Fondren
St. John's University

Bernell Tripp
University of Florida

Erin Coyle
Temple University

Thomas A. Mascaro
Bowling Green State University

Debra van Tuyll
Augusta University

Bruce Evensen
DePaul University

Leonard Ray Teel
Georgia State University

Yong Volz
University of Missouri

Editorial Purpose

This journal publishes articles 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

The contents of this website, including the contents of the digital journal *Historiography in Mass Communication*, are copyrighted.

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 10 (2024). Number 4

Contents

From the Editor: "The First Duty of Historians"	1
Debra Reddin van Tuyl, "True Facts: History in a Post-Truth Age"	7
W. Joseph Campbell, "Seven Suggestions for JMC Historians"	15
Historian Interview: Ross F. Collins	19
Book Award Interview: Ken J. Ward, <i>Last Paper Standing</i>	31
Roundtable: "Media and Public Affairs History" Elisabeth Fondren, Keith Greenwood, Meghan McCune, Natascha Toft Roelsgaard, and David D. Perlmutter	37
How Media History Matters: Bruce J. Evensen, "The Media and the American Character"	57
News & Notes	91

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

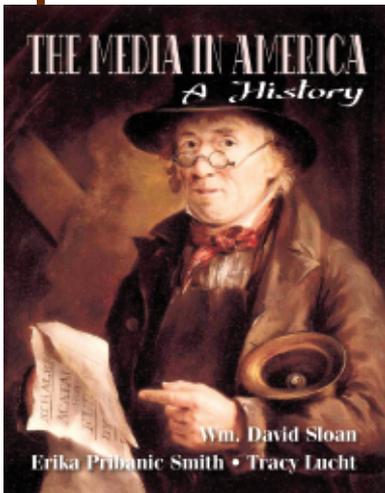
Terms of Use: The essays in *Historiography in Mass Communication* may be used for personal research purposes and for classroom teaching material. Multiple copies may be made for classroom teaching. However, no essay may be sold or be part of any collection that is sold. Violations of copyright are subject to prosecution.

NEW, 12th
Edition!

THE MEDIA IN AMERICA

JMC history's leading textbook

For more than thirty years, **THE MEDIA IN AMERICA** has been the leading textbook in the field of JMC history. Previous editions have been used at as many schools as all the other textbooks combined.



The reason for its success is simply the high standard it uses for the study of history. For example, it is the only textbook that relies mainly on primary sources.

And your students will appreciate the **price**. **THE MEDIA IN AMERICA** costs less than half the price of other major textbooks in the field and, in fact, is lower than for *used* copies of most of them.

The new, 12th edition is available for consideration. To request an exam copy, please email the publisher at

vision.press.books@gmail.com

Thank you for considering it as your textbook.

The First Duty of Historians

(and why some historians shirk it)

By Wm. David Sloan ©



Sloan

Historians are bound to many duties. But only one is supreme. Yet many challenges make it difficult to achieve.

Historians are responsible to society, to high ethical standards, to proper use of methodology. They must be fair-minded in dealing with people and judicious in dealing with material. They must offer well-informed, thoughtful, honest explanations. They must help readers think analytically. They must help them appreciate the past, comprehend issues of the present, and understand society and other people.

Historians have responsibilities to themselves and to the community of historians. They must be candid about their perspectives. They must be self-reflective about their own views and think critically about their thinking.

They must be honest and trustworthy, “practicing their craft with

David Sloan, a professor emeritus from the University of Alabama, is the author/editor of more than fifty books. The founder of the American Journalism Historians Association, he is a recipient of its Kobre Award for lifetime achievement and of a variety of other awards.

© 2024. The author owns the copyright to this article.

integrity” and “honoring the integrity of the historical record.” That standard comes from the American Historical Association.

Historians must avoid conflicts of interest. That means they must, among other obligations, refrain from peer-reviewing articles and reviewing books when they have, as Antoon De Baets expresses it in *Responsible History*, a “conflict or harmony of interests” with either the topics or the authors. The Organization of Concerned Historians has adopted that standard.

That’s a long list, but I probably have overlooked several responsibilities.

In fact, the first duty of historians doesn’t appear in the list.

Their first duty is to the true past.

Expressed another way, their duty is to *give an accurate account of the objective past.*

Historians’ essential, primary responsibility is to construct a chronicle that renders the past as it really was. Theirs is an obligation to tell readers the knowable truth as best as possible.

Why is it of utmost importance that we historians try to explain history as it truly was — that in good faith we seek to capture accurately the experience, the thought and feeling, the life of a time past?

The answer is simple, yet its consequences vast.

History can benefit us only if what we think we know about it is correct. No contractor could build a skyscraper if the blueprint were all wrong. Nor can people make wise decisions founded on a history that is erroneous. If we have a faulty understanding of the past, if the history that historians construct is just a fabrication, then it provides no foundation for our beliefs. If what people know of the past is fantasy, then any views they build on it will be frail or, worse, fictive.

That is just as true in mass communication as it is in economics or

The First Duty of Historians

education, in democracy or autocracy, belief or atheism, geology or archaeology — in fact, in the study of anything that has a past.

We must have accurate history if we are to profit from it.

That answer isn't difficult to understand, but some historians aren't aware of it or they simply ignore it. Others just find it inconvenient — because it doesn't square with their desire to use the past to support their own views.

Their approach rejects the highest purpose of history. In some historical writing, even in the field of JMC history, the historians begin with their own isms and then try to make the past conform. Ancient theologians were fond of saying that “in the beginning God created Man in His own image, and ever since then man has been trying to create god in man's image.” Historians sometimes commit the same error. They recreate the past according to their own prejudices.

But history yields its value only if historians first seek to describe and explain the actual, factual past.

Of what value is history if we want to use it to help us understand an issue of today but don't know what the past in fact was? How can history help us comprehend media partisanship today if our comprehension of it in the past is defective? How can we use history to help us understand the meaning of the First Amendment in 2024 if our historical accounts of it in 1791 are mistaken? If our chronicles of the past are flawed, they provide no help with the present.

That statement does have a caveat. It's this: A fake account of the past can benefit the faker if it helps to advance the faker's cause in the present. Sham historians, even in the JMC field, sometimes skew the past in order to use it for their own purposes.

They do a disservice to history.

Without a truthful rendering, histories become mere fiction and

benefit only the fibbers.

As important as historians' main duty is, impediments stand in the path to achieving it. Most of them represent bias in one form or another. Bias may wear many faces. Especially prevalent in the scholastic milieu are prejudices arising from political partisanship, ideological Cultural Studies and radical multiculturalism, Critical Theory, deconstruction, and even preferences for such a worthy cause as diversity when they excite the historian's passion. Good historians should keep biases at arm's length, not embrace them.

But it's not impossible for historians to achieve their main duty. In fact, they have been doing it for generations. Even as others have been seduced by the biases that roam throughout popular and academic culture, many continue to practice good historiography.

So how do historians fulfill their main duty? It's not hard. They simply adhere to the tenets of historiography.

Obviously, the first step is to evade the impediments. Honest historians try to avoid bias. They refrain from being partisans. They're vigilant against the dangers that ideological approaches such as Critical Theory and radical multiculturalism pose. They don't allow ardor for an ism to supersede their commitment to good history.

They're open-minded. They're particularly thoughtful about opposing points of view. They respect opinions that disagree with their own. They exhibit a sense of humility.

They focus on the past. They're more interested in history than today. They don't let an interest in the present distort their understanding of earlier times. They don't use history to try to validate their views about the present.

They avoid beginning their study with preconceptions about what they'll find. They start with clear eyes and a clean view, unmarred by

The First Duty of Historians

either uninformed notions or unmindful predispositions. They're excited about what they might uncover, but they don't know what it will be. They don't know the destination they will reach before they start on the road to discovery.

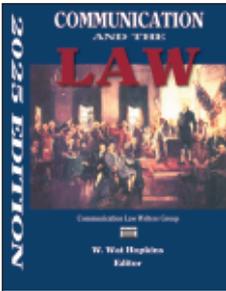
They use historical methodology properly. They immerse themselves in sources. They're exhaustive in their research. They understand the principles of working with both primary and secondary sources. They evaluate all sources rigorously. They're alert not to prefer sources that buttress their own views.

They're self-reflective. They ponder their presumptions. They have a long history of examining their own thought. They continue to do so every day. They don't take positions or offer explanations without understanding their own persuasions. They work conscientiously at knowing themselves.

Only by fulfilling their duties to historiography, to others, and to themselves can historians perform their first duty. Only by being true historians can they be true to history.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)

GET A FREE EXAM COPY OF THE 2025 EDITION



978-1-885219-97-8

Communication and the Law is in its 26th year of publication, and it has been used at more than 130 schools. New schools have been adopting it with each new edition. We believe its popularity confirms that professors recognize its superior quality.

A distinguishing feature of *Communication and the Law* is that a **new, updated edition is published each year**. Thus, you can be assured that your students will have the most timely information in one place, rather than in a textbook and a separately published supplement.

Each year, the **prices of other books continue to go up**, but the suggested retail price of *Communication and the Law* is only \$64.95. That is **lower than for any other textbook in the field** — in fact, less than for used copies of other books.

If you do not already have a copy of the 2025 edition, email your request to vision.press.books@gmail.com

Vision Press

“Outstanding Textbooks at Affordable Prices”

True Facts: History in a Post-Truth Age

By Debra Reddin van Tuyll ©



van Tuyll

Historians face tough times today. In the 1980s and 1990s, scores of scholars were schooled in deconstructionism and postmodernism. These two philosophical approaches to language, truth, and fact were the products of work by European scholars such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, and Jean-François Lyotard, the first to use the term “postmodernism” in an academic work. Postmodernism taught those scholars to be skeptical of anything claiming to be truth, objective reality, even morality. Lyotard and other postmodernists see knowledge as socially conditioned, or socially constructed rather than objectively real.¹ By way of example, for a postmodernist, a red pen is not just a red pen; it is a symbol of dominance when wielded by teacher or professor.

The dominance of postmodernism and deconstructionism, as well as post-structuralism, has led some scholars, including some in mass communications, to accept the notion that truth cannot be fixed and that facts are actually only an individual’s perception of a phenomenon. Admittedly, America’s current theatre-of-the-absurd political culture,

Debra Reddin van Tuyll, professor emerita at Augusta University, is the author or editor of nine books. Her most recent is The Midwestern Press in the Crucible of the American Civil War (co-edited with Mary Cronin). She also has two forthcoming books dealing with the early Irish press and transnational journalism. She received the American Journalism Historians Association’s 2019 Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement. She is the 2024-2025 AJHA national president.

© 2024. The author owns the copyright to this article.

combined with Kellyanne Conway's invention of "alternative facts," could lead even the staunchest positivist to question just how real reality is.²

Given the prevailing intellectual climate and that the predominant research methods in mass communication tend toward the social scientific testing of theory, it is not surprising that some historians find themselves drifting toward a more theoretical approach to their work. This tendency is likely amplified by demands from reviewers for statements of theoretical framework and methodology to be addressed prior to publication or presentation.

All of this overlooks the fact that historical research is traditionally atheoretical. In his editor's preface to R. G. Collingwood's 1946 work *The Idea of History*, T. M. Knox maintained that, as of the 19th century, historians adopted the positivist epistemology to drive their work. Consequently, the focus is on reason and knowledge. Objective reason and knowledge that is grounded in verifiable facts.³ A historian's verifiable facts are not the same as those of a scientist, Collingwood would argue in the main body of the book. After all, historians typically, though not exclusively, study people who are long dead and events that have long since passed. Consequently, they are reconstructing the past from available evidence, evidence that often is sketchy and incomplete. No, Collingwood argued, history is a particular type of thinking that focuses on what people in the past have done. Its purpose, he argued, is to create human self-knowledge so as to explain human nature.⁴

Take, for example, the 19th-century notion of the cult of true womanhood. Women of the 19th century were taught their place was within the home, that to be true women, they were to be pious, pure, submissive, and domestic.⁵ Of these four characteristics, piousness was considered the most important, as illustrated by the Rev. J. J.

Worcester, Jr., at a time when women were agitating for more rights. He reminded his parishioners that “She who seeks to make herself what God meant her to be has the sure promise of success; she who seeks to make herself something else than God meant her to be is fore-doomed in reaching the goal, and to become dwarfed and deformed in the attempt.” Women, the good reverend continued, existed to balance out men; “to supply his defects.” Further, he argued that a woman’s “sphere” was her home and her “work” was “to inspire, to purify, to elevate, to ameliorate, to comfort, and to adorn.”⁶ This idea was prevalent in 19th-century America and had a profound influence on how women lived their lives at least up to the Civil War. As Stephanie McCurry explained in her work on gender relations and slavery in low country South Carolina, “Patriarchal prerogatives were deeply embedded in the law of every state in Antebellum America...”⁷

One of the first academic works to examine the notion of the cult of true womanhood described it as a means of holding a woman “hostage in the home.” Author Barbara Welter agreed with the Rev. Worcester that piousness was the chief characteristic of a true woman. Religion was a source of strength for women, and it allowed social engagement that did not really remove women from their place inside the household gate — the private sphere. She also enumerated the other characteristics that mark the cult of true womanhood: piety, domesticity, and submissiveness.⁸

In this work, and in others since, Welter explains why women were, as some historians claim, seemingly so invisible in the 19th century. Theirs is one interpretation of the nature of women in the 19th century. It is one heavily influenced by 20th-century feminist theory, and it uses that theory to frame an explanation for why people behaved the way they did in an earlier time. Two problems arise, however. First feminist

thought as it existed in 1966 did not exist in 1860, hence it may not be an appropriate mechanism for explaining human behavior 100 years earlier. Second, if one delves deeply enough into the history of the time, it seems questionable whether all women of the period would have bought into the idea of the cult of true womanhood.

For example, a feminist movement was budding by mid-19th century. That movement focused more on suffrage than broad equal rights but certainly represents a step beyond the household gate and into the public sphere, particularly when one considers that the suffragists often worked in tandem with abolitionists to address not one but two social wrongs.⁹ Harriet Beecher Stowe breeched all sorts of social norms when she published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* under her own name, for she definitely stepped outside the household gate and into the public limelight. Her work became the epicenter for the most significant national debate of her lifetime, a debate that women did not shy away from.

The national debates over slavery and suffrage emboldened women who had previously accepted their being hostages at home to speak out publicly. Julia Tyler, wife of the former president John Tyler, denounced Stowe's book in a public letter published first in the *Richmond Enquirer* but picked up by other newspapers. In that letter, she declared that "all the thinking women," whether from the South or the North would denounce the meddling of "a circle of well-placed British ladies" who had been inspired by fictional works to encourage American women to embrace abolitionism. Tyler was annoyed enough by the book to step outside the sphere to which she acknowledged God had assigned women and pen a response to the petition. She wrote, "There are some of the concerns of life in which the conventionalities are properly to be disregarded, and this is one of them."¹⁰

Other women, such as Louisa McCord of South Carolina, a slavery

apologist who fell more into the gestalt of true womanhood, wrote widely on the economics and political culture of slavery, but she only stepped partially outside the household gate. She published all she wrote only under her initials, and she wrote only as long as her husband was alive. She, too, took on Stowe's fiction-based indictment of slavery in a formal review in the *Southern Literary Review*. She referred to the book as appealing to "second-rate literary taste(s)." ¹¹

From a "bigger-picture" perspective, Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray examined political involvement by Antebellum women in the North and discovered that their experience in America's political culture was not so different from that of men. Women were heavily involved in writing and thinking about politics, even to the point of informally running campaigns in some instances. One of their examples was Persis Sibley Andrews, wife of Charles Andrews, a Democratic member of the Maine state legislature who depended on Persis to help him win his campaigns and dig him out of political quagmires. He even considered his campaigns for office to be theirs, not just his. In September 1850, when her husband was running for the U.S. House, Persia boldly stated, "I love politics." The Zborays concluded that the women they studied showed "little trace ... of the domesticity, religion, benevolence, or reform that so much dominate accounts of women's history before the Civil War. Rather, these women demonstrate that they could and did speak in a decidedly unalloyed political register." ¹²

In essence, the works cited here present two views of the nature of American women and their involvement or non-involvement in 19th-century public life. If history were as scientific a field as some try to make it, it would be possible to formulate a theory, devise an experiment or survey to test that theory so as to achieve findings to support

one or the other of these interpretations of the political lives of 19th-century women. However, history is not scientific. It is not something that can be studied, with few exceptions, via the scientific method, nor even the theory-grounded social scientific methods used by other types of mass communication researchers. Instead, historical research methodology is much closer to legal methodology. As is true of the law, historical research is grounded in evidence and the interpretation thereof. To prepare for a case, a lawyer finds all the threads of evidence available, and she uses them to create as complete a picture of what happened as possible — who did what to whom with what effect, in communication parlance. It may be an incomplete picture — eye witnesses are notoriously unreliable; security cameras may not have been working; DNA evidence may be inconclusive. Likewise, the historian tries to reconstruct a situation based on available records. The end product is “an objective, factual historical narrative.”¹³

Who is right about the role of women in the 19th century? Welter? The Zborays? Both? Neither? Likely, both have some handle on the truth, but ultimately, the truth of the role of women in the 19th century is unknowable. It is something that can be “theorized” about, though not in the way social scientists build theory. Rather, in a historical context, to theorize is to suggest possibilities.

As a research group of computer scientists observed in an article encouraging the use of historical methodology in their field, “Historians are notoriously practical.” They choose their methods based on the questions they are trying to answer. They ground their work in perceivable evidence. The writer continued, “At the core of all historical research is evidence and its careful handling.”¹⁴

This reliance on facts and evidence, as opposed to acceptance of a more relativistic or theory-based methodology, places historians very

much outside the norm in a post-truth, post-fact era when the belief in objectivity, reason, and intellectual purity are not just out of vogue but down-right doubted. That does not mean that historians should change their methods, regardless of how many reviewers demand statements of methodology or inquire into what theory is driving the project. It means, just as the aforementioned computer scientists have realized, that historical method, grounded in objective reasoning and analysis of facts, is valuable. It means historians should be in the fray fighting for a place at the mass communication table, for they have something of equal, if not greater, value to offer both professional and academic communications practitioners: truth, as far as it can be discerned, and facts.

NOTES

¹ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, trans., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1979]); Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1997).

² Aaron Blake, "Kellyanne Conway says Donald Trump's team has 'alternative facts.' Which pretty much says it all," *Washington Post*, 22 January 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/22/kellyanne-conway-says-donald-trumps-team-has-alternate-facts-which-pretty-much-says-it-all/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.051ba4ffd9d1.

³ T. M. Knox, Editor's Preface to R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1946), 1.

⁴ Collingwood, *ibid.*, 5, 7, 9-10.

⁵ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 202; Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. xii.

⁶ J. H. Worcester, Jr., "Womanhood; Five sermons to young women preached at the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Chicago," (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1885 [?]), 10-11, 16.

⁷ Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85.

⁸ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18:2 (1966): 151-153.

⁹ Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women and Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Suzanne Marilley, *Women Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820 to 1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ "Mrs. Julia G. Tyler to the Dutchess of Sutherland and Others," *New York Times*, February 5, 1853; Robert E. Bonner, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 194.

¹¹ Louisa S. McCord, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," *Southern Literary Review* (January 1853), 83; Richard C. Lounsbury, ed., *Louisa S. McCord: Selected Writings* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), 13.

¹² Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Voices Without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2010), 13, 98-99. 110.

¹³ Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 10.

¹⁴ Jaana Porra, Rudy Hirschheim, and Michael S. Parks, "The Historical Research Method and Information Systems Research," *Journal for the Association of Information Systems* 15:9 (2014): 539.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)

Seven Suggestions for JMC Historians

By W. Joseph Campbell ©

Joe Campbell received the 2024 [Sidney Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement](#) from the American Journalism Historians Association. Following are excerpts of remarks he delivered on accepting the award. The AJHA presented the award at its convention in Pittsburgh, Pa., in early October.



Campbell

In keeping with a spirit of courteous “rabblous-ing,” allow me to offer seven suggestions for enhancing high-quality research in journalism history.

(1) My first suggestion dates to the mid-1990s and lessons learned during my days at UNC-Chapel Hill.

My PhD adviser at Carolina, the late [Bob Stevenson](#), urged his students to recognize the critical importance of addressing the “so what?” question in scholarly research — to go beyond the descriptive to include an analytical patina in books, papers, chapters, and dissertations, and explain *why* it matters, *why* scholars should be aware of the research.

Bob reasoned that by ignoring the impertinent but vital “so what?” question, scholars risked being confronted with even more withering questions — such as “who cares?” and “why bother?”

W. Joseph Campbell is professor emeritus of communication at American University in Washington, D.C. He earned his Ph.D. in mass communication at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has written seven solo-authored books, the latest of which is [Lost in a Gallup](#).

© 2024. The author owns the copyright to this article.

It was a lesson that shaped my academic career, and the books and papers and commentaries that I have written. “So what?” indeed.

I encourage you, fellow journalism historians, to be sure your research doesn’t shy from “so what?” and make clear how your work contributes to the field: What does it tell us more broadly about media history? And what about this research is so important that scholars, especially media scholars, ought to be familiar with it?

(2) Distantly related to the primacy of the “so what” question is my second suggestion: There is no shame in self-promotion.

In fact, scholars almost have to be self-promoters these days: not egregious, over-the-top self-promoters, but gentle if persistent self-promoters — in their department, in their school, in their university, in their associations, and, especially, in their research.

Self-promotion is particularly vital when a scholar comes out with a new book.

Few publishers these days will spend more than a few weeks or a couple of months marketing and promoting the book; so it falls to authors to do much of it.

If you think about it, self-promotion also is a way of promoting journalism history. There’s no need to be squeamish about calling attention to your research; in doing so, you’re calling attention to journalism history as well.

(3) Related to self-promotion is my third suggestion — which is to strive, to the extent you can, to share your research with popular audiences, by writing op-eds, agreeing to podcast interviews, accepting media interviews, and even suggesting to C-SPAN that one of your classes would be a fine fit for its “[Lectures in History](#)” series.

By all means, let media relations staffers at your college or university know what you’re doing: Tell them of your interest in speaking to

Seven Suggestions for JMC Historians

popular audiences. Talking about your research helps promote journalism history, and helps keep it relevant beyond the academy.

(4) Fourth, strive to inject even-handed rigor into your work, and avoid the temptation to treat research papers as polemics, as opportunities for pushing an agenda. Or for drawing conclusions unsupported by logic or evidence.

I've seen, on recent occasions, a few extreme and implausible accusations infiltrate research papers.

The late Don Shaw at UNC-Chapel Hill, a father of [agenda-setting theory](#), used to say that conference papers were a bit like vaudeville, a little more free-wheeling than journal articles. I'm sure he didn't mean that almost anything goes.

He surely would not have green-lighted conclusions unsupported by fact or logic. Or by academic rigor.

(5) My fifth suggestion is to embrace and encourage [viewpoint diversity](#), in research and in the classroom. Do battle against the echo chamber and the homogeneity of political thought. Take pains to allow space for the expression of evidence-backed contrarian views.

Doing so is to enhance the texture and quality of scholarship. And it's intellectually engaging to expose views to scrutiny and critique and evidence-based contrary interpretations — which can improve the quality of argument and discourse.

After all, history — and media history — repeatedly tell us that received wisdom often is in error. Or steeped in mythology. Steeped in [media myth](#).

(6) Sixth, I suggest imposing — or self-imposing — a limit of 150 words on negative reviews of research papers, as a way both to lessen the sting felt by the author and focus the reviewer's assessment and suggestions.

There is no need to deliver repeated negative hits in making the point the paper needs more work before it's ready for conference presentation. There is no need for snotty or gratuitous comments lobbed from behind the [cloak of anonymity](#) — comments such as this paper should have been better submitted as a “work in progress.”

If the paper is incoherent, or makes outlandish claims and unsubstantiated conclusions, by all means reviewers should say so.

But restrict such criticism to no more than 150 words. That's adequate. That will do.

(7) Finally, I encourage you to support the AJHA endowment, as a way to help ensure the organization's longer-term financial health and stability. There was some talk at last year's convention about the endowment, and I hope it receives more attention here in Pittsburgh.

With that in mind, I will in a few moments hand [AJHA treasurer] Ken Ward an envelope containing a check payable to AJHA, for \$100, to help further support the endowment.

Thank you for your courtesy, and thank you, again, for this wonderful honor and recognition.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)

Historian Interview

Ross F. Collins ©

Ross Collins is a professor of journalism at North Dakota State University. He received his Ph.D. in French history from University of



Collins

Cambridge. His research specialties include the press of Third Republic France (1871-1940), World War I (1914-1918), and American frontier journalism (1865-1890). He has written five books and edited three others. Among them are *Children, War and Propaganda*; *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815-1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States* (with Jean Palmegiano); *World War I & World War II, the European Theater* (in the series Greenwood Library of American War Reporting); and *World War I: Primary Documents on Events from 1914 to 1919* (in the series Debating Historical Issues in the Media of the Time).

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

Collins: I'm originally from Minnesota, where my Norwegian ancestors on my mother's side settled in the 1880s. I grew up as an only child of a single mother. She was a daily newspaper reporter during a tough time for women in journalism. I never met my father. I attended a Catholic school through grade six, then a state-supported institution through secondary school, and then undergraduate and graduate education. As an undergraduate at Minnesota State University Moorhead I

© 2024. Ross Collins owns the copyright to this article.

Collins

double-majored in history and mass communication with a minor in French. M.A. in European cultural history from University of Warwick, UK; Ph.D. in French history from University of Cambridge, UK.

My first wife, Julie, died in 2004. I will never forget the flowers and card of sympathy from the AJHA, sent by the indefatigably kind Carol Sue Humphrey. Many AJHA members met my second wife, Kanako, who is from Japan, at the Dallas conference. She works as a pharmacist. My hobbies include bridge, stamp collecting, woodworking and pack-ratting. I also teach yoga.

***Historiography:** What did you do professionally before going into teaching?*

Collins: I began as a newspaper photojournalist, moved into reporting, and then into public relations. I freelanced for three years until I realized I couldn't really pay the rent from that effort. I worked in public relations at both Minnesota State-Moorhead and the University of North Dakota.

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

Collins: I taught writing, photography and design at Minnesota State and University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, before moving to North Dakota State University, Fargo, in 1993. At NDSU I have taught 20 different courses both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, including mass media history to undergraduates and, as a seminar, to graduate students.

***Historiography:** Tell us about your background in history: When did you*

Historian Interview

first get interested in historical research? How did your education prepare you to be a historian? etc.

Collins: I used to tell people it began with an undergraduate class on World War I. However, I was going through my mother's boxes — she saved everything — and came across a history test I had taken in seventh grade, topic, the Civil War. I got an A! So I guess I had an early knack. Possibly my mom's packrat tendencies prepared me for the warm feeling of comfort I have working in archives. As a journalism major, I came to recognize the close ties of journalism and history, and so I added a second major in history. I thought a master's in history could enhance my abilities as a journalist, and I wanted to get out of the Midwest for a while. So I applied to history programs in the UK. It was my first introduction to real research in history. I did end up choosing a topic related to World War I, for both master's and Ph.D. I guess I wanted to make up for the "B" that I got in that class as an undergraduate.

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

Collins: I had undergraduate history instructors whose passion pulled me into the discipline. At that time there were no PowerPoints, YouTube videos, or Internet resources. There was only one person standing in front of a class with a chalkboard, hoping to kindle enthusiasm in a topic that students presumed must be boring. I'm afraid my own teaching has seldom met their rigorous standards. Clearly my master's and Ph.D. advisors dominated my approach to actual scholarship, as we would expect. Both were social and cultural historians who had rigorous

standards for scholarship that probably I also seldom meet. But I will say that possibly the biggest single influence to a career in the discipline has been members of the AJHA. Instead of ignoring new members, as I've found to be the case in many academic organizations, established AJHA members swooped in to introduce themselves and to offer opportunities for me to participate. Committee appointments, publishing opportunities, and evaluation for tenure — the AJHA was there for me. Despite what I think is my tendency to be a loner and a bit, well, bluff, I ended up where I never expected to be — as 2018-2019 president of this great organization. (Okay. I ran unopposed.)

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

Collins: Almost all my post-graduate education has been in social and cultural history. Historians will disagree on what that means, but my experience emphasized study of cultural structures and influences outside of traditional political history. While my graduate advisors were not journalism historians, they readily agreed that journalism history was within the parameters. Both my master's thesis and Ph.D. dissertation emphasized aspects of journalism in Britain and France before and during the World War I years. When I moved to Fargo for a tenure-track position at North Dakota State University, I realized I would be far from European archives and so I should choose a second research area. Most reasonable, considering where I was, seemed to be western frontier journalism. Specifically, I have taken a closer look at frontier journalism during the long drive era of the cattlemen and cowboys, 1866-1890.

A few years ago a publisher asked me to consider writing a cultural

history of chocolate. It occurred to me that this research would bring me back to my academic roots in cultural history, but in a new area far from my focus of the last 30 years. I found the opportunity refreshing and challenging — and I did manage to pull in a little journalism history. I loved how this book turned out, and I think readers would love it too, but unfortunately, as is so often the case, publishers priced it at a level aimed at libraries, not general public.

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

Collins: I have published or edited eight books, three monographs, 22 scholarly articles and five encyclopedia chapters on aspects of journalism and history. Two were edited textbooks, one in copy editing and the other in photography. I am pleased to say two articles were in *American Journalism* and three in *Journalism History*, the flagship publications of our discipline.

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

Collins: Probably the book on children and war, *Children, War and Propaganda*, first published in 2011 and republished in an extensively revised edition in 2023. It still amazes me to see how much children were expected to do during the world wars, and how cleverly they were used as propagandists for war. A sadder part of the work discusses how children today have moved from propagandists to actual warriors.

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?

Collins: My accomplishments certainly have been modest compared to some of my AJHA colleagues who have become titans of our discipline. Perhaps most satisfying to me is a monograph I published early in my academic career, “The Development of Censorship in World War I France,” *J and MC Monographs*, 1992. At the time this was an almost completely unexplored area, even in French-language scholarship, and this monograph was a first introduction in English. Later scholars noticed, and have built on this early effort, so that by now it’s pretty much been overtaken by new work. But isn’t that what we want as historians? Others build on what we have done, to learn and understand in better detail, more accurately, and more completely. I am pleased that I played an early role in the growing international scholarship of world war journalism and propaganda.

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

Collins: I didn’t jump into new research quickly enough after finishing a Ph.D. As an assistant professor at a research university, I should have put scholarship first, but instead I got lured by interesting projects like creating my own website at the dawn of the technology, or promoting my department by writing my own CD. As fun as that was, by the time I was 50 I still had not published very much of significance, at least not in my estimation. Several scholars in my age group or younger got the jump on me, publishing what became significant books on ideas that I

had but didn't act on quickly enough. I could have done better.

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.*

Collins: I have tried to bring three basic principles to all my historical research. One, history must be written based on evidence, and most of that evidence should be primary. When I was researching World War I history for a Ph.D. dissertation, I became convinced that the origin of Wilson's 14 Points was in fact Georges Clemenceau, then the French prime minister. I wrote this into my dissertation. I was pretty excited about this perhaps brilliant insight. My advisor thought otherwise. “You must remove this,” he said. “You have little evidence. It's not persuasive. Historians must refrain from speculation.” I removed it, sadly, and became wiser.

Secondly, we need to begin with no preconceptions regarding events in the past. We should not begin with a statement of what we think happened, a hypothesis, as is often the case in the social sciences. The reason we don't do that is because in historical research it is too easy to simply choose the primary evidence that supports the viewpoint we want to be correct. We may begin with a question. Now, I may want Clemenceau to be behind the 14 Points, and I may be able to find something to support that. But what if instead I ask a question, “Did Clemenceau write the 14 Points?” Then I quickly realize that while I may find a bit of evidence, the truth is that the evidence is weak and unpersuasive. Don't decide what you want to find before examining the evidence. Perhaps we should re-read Sherlock Holmes.

Thirdly, historians need to understand the past based on the values

of the past, that is, on its own terms. Present-mindedness is actually behind much of the familiar and sometimes angry debates we see today in American politics and society. The conservative side would hope to curtail debate over unpleasant historical verities from the country's history. The liberal side would hope to limit public acceptance of past leaders who may have held views we find incompatible with today's values.

I recently had an informal debate with a local newspaper columnist who declared that because Woodrow Wilson was racist, we must remove his name and legacy from every public place. I pointed out that while Wilson surely was racist, in the early 20th century that had been a norm. I asked our AJHA colleague Jim Startt, who wrote important work on Wilson, for advice. We have to acknowledge Wilson's shortcomings, he said, but also acknowledge his significant contributions. As societies, we tend to presume past centuries were misguided, and that in fact today's generation now holds the perfect truth. This societal narcissism clouds our understanding of the past, and historians may be as guilty of it as anybody.

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

Collins: Certainly the reach has extended into areas we once ignored, including women's history and history of minorities. I hope we'll see more work covering LGBTQ history. We see a little more international and transnational journalism history, although I don't think it's enough. As AJHA president my first goal was to expand interest in international research, and to tighten contacts with journalism historians in Britain and France. I failed, partly, I think, because the pandemic hit only a few months after my term ended.

Historian Interview

Some historians have copied the social science format in historical writing, which includes a literature review, presentation of method and research question, results and discussion. While some of this is all right, it doesn't really fit well into traditional methods of historical research, particularly a "literature review." APA style also does not work well for historical research, although more and more journals are requiring it.

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?*

Collins: I believe we have seen deterioration, despite efforts by some of our discipline's big names. It seems that mass media history is less and less a required part of journalism education, and less and less of interest to students. I used to regularly count at least a dozen students in my undergraduate journalism history class. Now I no longer get enough interest to run the class under new university minimums. It makes me sad to think that I may never teach history again.

Part of the reason, perhaps, reaches beyond just our own field. Journalism as a profession is under political and economic siege. Polls show that politicians who so enthusiastically discredit legacy journalism seem to be gaining traction. The Internet has destroyed the old newspaper funding model. We don't know what will replace it. Professional journalism does not have the power it once had, does not attract the attention it once did. I'm afraid, however, that I don't have any answers.

As for our discipline of mass media and journalism history, we need to more aggressively promote ourselves. I realize many have said this before, but we still don't do a good job. I certainly am as guilty as any-

one. And when I say promote, I also mean we should promote our own work. We need to be more confident and assertive in presenting our research to not only fellow historians but also the public. I will note that Teri Finneman's recent history podcast series is an excellent example of how we might do that. But generally, we historians, as many of us began in journalism, do not seem very comfortable with self-promotion. We tend to be a humble lot, undoubtedly too humble.

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

Collins: Many of us have spent decades of effort to bring journalism history closer to the mainstream, to raise awareness among not only other academics but a larger public. In some ways we have been successful, as I noted. But we in the United States seem to be snared into a larger concern regarding history's general status in an academic atmosphere that seems to show increasing marginalization of the humanities. We see fewer students in many universities, and those who do enroll seem less interested in humanities study. I come from an international perspective that combined modern language study with work in European history. Today's students seem to reflect an American society that has become more insular, less interested in international affairs, and more presumptuous of America as the world's default. We don't think it is worthwhile to learn foreign languages anymore — the world speaks English, right? Modern languages study around the country has taken a drastic tumble. More than 650 departments closed in the last three years, according to the Modern Language Association. French, my research area, lost the most.

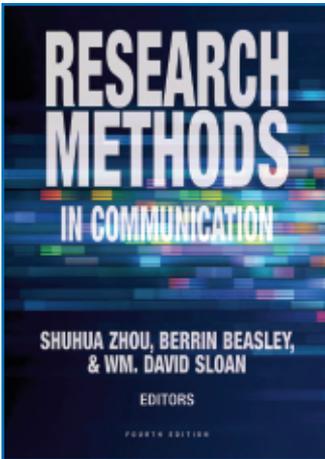
Study of language is closely related to study of history, often a

Historian Interview

requirement. But we see smaller history departments with fewer majors, according to trends followed by the American Historical Association. When young Americans turn away from history and language study, universities looking for ways to cut corners find these disciplines to be a tempting target.

And yet...we see people in public office and positions of authority becoming almost obsessive in their bending of history to suit political agendas. We see on one side an angry group hoping to deny unpleasant verities of United States history. On the other side we see an angry group hoping to eliminate those historical leaders whose views today we find unpalatable. Ignorance of truth in the past, distrust giving way to enmity of traditional journalism, present-mindedness toward historical figures, and an almost smug ignorance of a world beyond the country's borders. These trends scare me.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)



The Best General Methods Book for History Students

Research in communication offers a wide array of methods. Social science methods remain important even as methods in the humanities – such as *historical methods* – and professional studies have gained in-

creasing emphasis. Yet most textbooks barely mention the latter methods.

Research Methods in Communication includes them all. We think you will find that it is clearly the best book for covering the wide range of methods – not only the quantitative but the qualitative ones also – that scholars in the field use.

To make certain *Research Methods in Communication* provides your students the best instruction, each chapter is written by an expert on the chapter topic. So you can be confident that, as your students begin to study methods, they will have the very best guides.

A **teacher's manual** is available when you adopt the book. The CD contains sample syllabi, 25 PowerPoint presentations, and multiple-choice quizzes for each chapter.

To request an exam copy, email vision.press.books@gmail.com

VISION PRESS

Outstanding textbooks at affordable prices

Book Award Interview

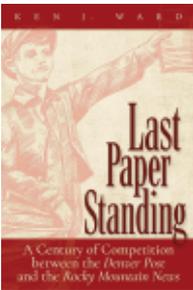
Ken J. Ward ©

Ken Ward won the American Journalism Historians Association's 2023 award for the best book of the year for his *Last Paper Standing: A Century of Competition Between the Denver Post and Rocky Mountain News*. Dr. Ward is an assistant professor of communication at Pittsburg State University in Pittsburg, Kansas. He earned his Ph.D. from Ohio University's E.W. Scripps School of Journalism. His research focuses on the journalism history of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain regions.



Ward

Historiography: Give us a brief summary of your book.



Ward: *Last Paper Standing* is a history of the competition between the *Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News*, two newspapers that fought for control of the Denver newspaper market for over one hundred years. In it, I draw on manuscript collections, interviews with company executives and journalists, and evidence in the newspapers themselves to explore the strategies and tactics used by the newspapers to try to best one another in Denver.

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

Ward: I grew up on the Eastern Slope of Colorado in a tiny town called

© 2024. Ken Ward owns the copyright to this article.

Hugo, about one hundred miles away from Denver. Despite the distance from the city, I remember the phone at home being bombarded by appeals to subscribe to the papers in the late '90s and receiving giant, sometimes inch-and-a-half thick Sunday papers delivered to town. When in the city, I remember seeing people hawking individual copies of the paper in medians, someone here waiving copies of the *News*, someone over there pushing the *Post*, during the penny war. Even as a kid, this spectacle, which I now know was an anachronism — a slippage of the 19th century into the 1990s — stood out as unusual.

I also just loved reading the *Post* as a kid. At the time, it has a section called “Denver and the West” that drew Denver into a broad regional context that really appealed to me. It was also my window into the rest of the world. So when it came time to write a dissertation, I wanted to involve the *Post* in whatever story I told. It turned out to play a starring role.

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

Ward: Pretty good, actually, which made getting started on the project a little easier. Both of these papers had received book-length biographies before. That made identifying some of the major plot points, especially for the earlier parts of the story, a little easier. Early *Post* history, for instance, is covered in Bill Hosokawa’s *Thunder in the Rockies*, and Robert Perkin wrote a biography of the *News* titled *The First Hundred Years*. There are lots of smaller works as well.

The problem with much of what had been written, though, was that it often came from perspectives inside the papers and was therefore pretty laudatory. That actually helped determine what became one of

Book Award Interview

my main objectives in writing the book — to counter the celebratory histories presented in those accounts. I tried to write a more even-keeled history, one with rational actors in competition with one another and in the context of their time and space rather than a story with heroes and villains. Given some of the characters in the book, such as *Post* publisher F. G. Bonfils, that wasn't always easy.

That's the early history. While a lot had been written about the first half of competition between these two papers, there was very little about the second half. That's something this book does that's wholly new.

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?*

Ward: The types of sources used in each chapter of the book vary depending on the time period addressed in each. Sources were particularly scarce in the first chapter, which deals with the founding of the *News*. There, surviving testimony from folks like *News* founder William Byers were important. As time goes on in the book, the breadth of sources became much richer, opening to include things such as correspondence among the papers' managers, board meeting minutes, and so on. By the end of the book, the sources were so varied as to include things like financial documents, editorial budgets, and oral histories with living executives such as former *Post* publisher Dean Singleton and *News* publisher John Temple. The primary data collection and analysis took place over the course of about two years.

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

Ward: Oh, there are always more people to interview, and more sources you know must be lurking out there, waiting to be discovered. I managed to get ahold of everything that seemed centrally concerned with this project. I'd have loved to spend more time talking with the people who were at these papers in the last couple of decades covered in the book. But I'm thankful to have gotten what I did.

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

Ward: I don't know. I'm optimistically calling this my "first" book because while I'm hopeful about the future, I'm also acutely aware that my experience is still limited.

One thing I did for this project that others may or may not find useful is treating my visits to archives as "raids." I knew I had tons of material to get through and limited time to get it. So rather than trying to sort through things at the library, I set up a camera and tripod and duplicated *everything* in many of these collections. I then took everything home, sorted things out using a cataloging program (Adobe Bridge, in my case), and began my analysis. I don't know if this is common practice or not. It worked well for me, though.

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

Ward: I'd never done a book-length project before. This research began as my dissertation. So I could extend that point further — when I started out on this, I was really still only beginning to really understand academic research as a whole. I'd successfully completed a thesis and writ-

Book Award Interview

ten publishable research, but I didn't have time-tested strategies for organizing information or finding the right sources to draw upon. A benefit of that was that the process was organic to this project, and the way I do research today is built on the foundation of what I built when starting this work. But having more tactics for effective researching would certainly have aided some parts of the process.

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?*

Ward: The standards of journalistic objectivity, at least as I understand them, serve the historian well. Let your bias lead you to be passionate about topics and learn about them avidly. Then use the practices of objectivity, including verification, contextualization, and seeking out contradictory information to make sure your bias doesn't get away from you.

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

Ward: There were a few things I walked into the project wanting to know. First, I wanted to know what had caused the penny war of the late '90s — the period in which you could subscribe to either of these newspapers for less than a penny a day. The answer to that question led me to want to understand whether the JOA that ended that fight was a good thing for Denver readers. And I wanted to know why, of the two, it was the *News* that had closed. The book answers those questions.

But this book also just provides a distanced and nuanced history of these two newspapers. I'm drawn by inclination to the frontier era of

newspapering, but much of the history of that era is populated by stories that treat history like a Western. In reality, there weren't black hats and white hats — there were rational actors making calculated decisions. Journalism historians have done a lot of work to contextualize and correct the cliché, Wild-West presentation of frontier newspapering, and the history of the *Post* and *News* needed the same kind of attention. I think my book does that.

Historiography: *What findings most surprised you?*

Ward: I really didn't expect cable TV to play as big a role as it did in the final reckoning, but it's central to the answer to the question of why it was the *News*, rather than the *Post*, that folded. Dean Singleton and his MediaNews Group, which owns the *Post*, were dependent on the success of their newspaper in Denver. Scripps, which owned the *News*, wasn't. In the '00s, Scripps was much more interested in its cable TV channels, which it had recently spun off into a separate company. With its profitable cable TV channels protected from their increasingly costly newspapers, it was far less interested in making a stand in Denver. The story is more complicated than that — but if you want to know the rest of it, read the book.

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

Ward: If you're thinking about it, just go for it. Tackle a big question and approach as though you'll publish it as a book. If things go sideways, you always have a parachute: just spin it off into a few articles instead.

[CLICK HERE TO
RETURN TO TABLE
OF CONTENTS](#)

Roundtable: Media and Public Affairs History

By Elisabeth Fondren, Keith Greenwood,
Meghan McCune, Natascha Toft Roelsgaard,
and David D. Perlmutter ©



Fondren

Research about media and public affairs, or exploring the dynamics of media, press, and political communication, demonstrates the role of an informed press and a skeptical public, as well as the multidirectional flows of information and the power of imagery. The four scholars participating in this roundtable come from a variety of backgrounds, and each one has a unique research approach. All of them study the history of media and public affairs, focusing on press-state relations, propaganda, bias, transnational and foreign reporting, diversity and social justice themes, visual images, and the impact of photojournalism. In this roundtable, they share their perspectives and experiences on how propagandists, foreign correspondents, publicists, and audiences have sourced, created, spread, and countered information. These scholars also explore how messages and individual agents have pierced the veil of government secrecy and censorship, and what happens when new information that comes to light can bring about change in society. Collectively, their historical scholarship reveals much about the universal nature of mass information, journalism practices, and enduring questions of media control.

Elisabeth Fondren is an associate professor of journalism at St. John's University in New York. She holds a Ph.D. in Media and Public Affairs from LSU's Manship School. Her research examines the history of international journalism, government propaganda, military-media relations, and censorship during wartime.

© 2024. Elisabeth Fondren owns the copyright to this article.

Fondren, Greenwood, McCune, Toft Roelsgaard, and Perlmutter

Fondren: *What makes research on media and public affairs topics important in the field of journalism history?*

McCune: My research largely focuses on the Progressive Era, which was



Greenwood

Keith Greenwood is an associate professor at the Missouri School of Journalism. He teaches courses in the history of American journalism and the history of photojournalism. His research focuses on photojournalism topics. He is a former board member of the AJHA and currently heads AEJMC's Visual Communication Division. His research includes studies of framing in photojournalism over time and studies of viewers and their perspectives on photographs.



McCune

Meghan McCune is an independent researcher with a Ph.D. in Media & Public Affairs from Louisiana State University's Manship School of Mass Communication. Her research focuses on the government-press relationship, democracy, press freedoms, and the Progressive Era press. Her work has appeared in Intelligence and National Security, Preservation, Digital Technology and Culture (PDT&C), the Historian, American Journalism, and the Conversation.



Perlmutter

David D. Perlmutter is a professor of media & communication at Texas Tech University. His interests include political visual communication, especially during wartime. He is the author of Visions of War (Oxford, 1999) and Photojournalism & Foreign Policy (Lexington, 1998) as well as author or co-editor of eight other books, dozens of academic monographs, and hundreds of popular press essays.



Toft
Roelsgaard

Natascha Toft Roelsgaard is an assistant professor of journalism at Muskingum University in New Concord, Ohio. She holds a Ph.D. from the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University. Her research investigates themes of mass communication, social justice, and minority-press history. She is the co-author of Journalism and the Russo-Japanese War: The End of the Golden Age of Combat Correspondence (Lexington Books, 2019).

a unique time for journalists as technological developments of the 19th century created vast new opportunities for reporters. But journalists, like many Americans at the time, also struggled to adjust to a changing society. The 19th-century influx of immigrants, rise of large cities, and rapid industrialization challenged the traditional values and long-standing practices of small-town America.

Many journalists began pushing progressive reforms forward by writing investigative pieces that exposed corruption and mismanagement, and they began to use the words publicity and reporting interchangeably. In response to reporters' growing power and influence, government officials expanded their bureaucratic apparatus, which included public relations, propaganda, and publicity efforts that specialists coordinated. To understand the modern press' development, then, we must understand its relationship to those in power. A study of the government-press relationship provides important insights into the ideas of press freedoms, democracy, and independent journalism.

Greenwood: Research in these areas is important largely due to their importance to society. Journalism is often called the first draft of history. Historical research related to public affairs topics provides insight into the journalism practices that created the stories the public saw, and it gives us some insight into the topics and perspectives society held at the time. Journalism provides a mirror to society, so by studying the history of media accounts of public affairs topics, we get a sense of what society's values were at that time.

It's also important for providing comparisons and contrasts to modern media practices. Understanding the history of how topics were covered provides some context to assess current practices. As an example, there has been plenty of belief in the last decade about bias and par-

tisanship in media, but with knowledge of historical practices, such as during the partisan press era of the early 1800s, we can better understand and explain the degree to which bias and perceived partisanship are actually features of modern journalism.

Toft Roelsgaard: The study of media and public affairs through a historical lens provides insight into journalism's evolution and its impact on public discourse and policies. It offers us a framework for understanding journalists' function as gatekeepers of information over time, the challenges and tribulations journalists face in their truth-telling roles, and journalism's direct entanglement with the production of political and social knowledge in a democratic society.

Furthermore, the intersection of media and public affairs research highlights journalism's advocacy function by underscoring the media's role in promoting reforms and challenging government narratives. At the same time, it also spotlights how the news media has aided governments in perpetuating propaganda efforts and controlling public narratives during crises. Conducting historical research on the relationship between media and public affairs allows scholars and, by extension, the public to recognize patterns in media framing, power dynamics, and reporting practices. It helps us understand the evolution of media's role in society and the impact of journalism on public opinion, ultimately providing a critical resource for contemporary media professionals and journalism scholars to understand current news media functions and hierarchies.

Perlmutter: In preface, almost all the focus in my career has been on visual images, although I have included within that category the development of new media technologies and venues like social media and AI,

which are dominated by visual images. All my answers, thus, will be “picture” focused.

Journalism has been famously described as the first draft of history. So, it is intrinsically interesting to look as far back as we can to when historical events were described by anything that approximates reporting on the scene. We also know that those first drafts are often hasty, incorrect, biased, even purposely engaging in disinformation or serving as tools of propaganda. Researchers from many different disciplines in humanities and social sciences, then, not just those within the traditional field of media and communication, can ask about the evolution of the “story” of a historical event over time to the present day. Journalism history is not an island; the evolution of news and reporting is often dependent on successive changes in politics, public affairs, government, public opinions and attitudes, new technologies, and commercial/economic progression. In short, it is important to dive into the narrative history of journalism but place it within the complex matrix of everything else going on in society and in history itself. Just to take one example, we often fail to discuss the history of journalism within the history of culture: the former can be said to be an expression of the latter. What defines news, who comprises its audience, what are its possible influences and effects, what actual outcomes might result from news — the forms, styles, and conventions of news media, and even the kind of people, demographically and psychographically, who participate in news production — are determined culturally, not just through economics and politics.

Fondren: *Can you share the overarching research question of your work? What is the central argument of your scholarship?*

McCune: My research focuses on the relationship between government officials and journalists in the early 20th century. I am most interested in how that relationship changed over time and how it was influenced by national crises, like the Great War, and political and social reform movements, like the Progressive Movement.

Although media historians acknowledge that the American press during the Great War was generally supportive of the war effort and often highly patriotic in its war coverage, the closeness and cooperation between individual journalists and government officials — and how this closeness affected war reporting and growing ideas about journalistic independence — has not been adequately described or analyzed.

Understanding the full extent of cooperation between journalists and government during the Great War is not only relevant to our understanding of Progressive-Era journalism but also has contemporary relevance. The widespread cooperation shows us that governments often see journalists operating overseas as assets they can harness for their own aims. In addition, an advocacy-oriented press may be more likely to cooperate with government to achieve long-held goals. The experiences of Great War reporters, then, is in many ways a cautionary tale for journalists today. While journalists have a role to play in securing and defending democracy, partnering with the government to achieve a result — even a high-minded one — undermines democracy and press independence in ways journalists themselves often do not recognize.

Greenwood: An oversimplified answer would be “Why do news photographs look like they do?” I am interested in the content of news photographs, the photojournalists who made them and the environment in which they worked. Looking at the photographs and how they were presented tells us about the way in which people and issues were framed

at a certain period of time. But that framing doesn't happen in a vacuum. Studying photographers' backgrounds and motivations provides insight into the content of the photographs. Studying the organizations the photojournalists worked for is critical to understanding the limits put on photojournalists and the rationale behind editorial decisions that determine publication.

I would say the central argument is that news photographs can have impact on public understanding, and understanding how those photographs came to be involves a complex set of questions.

Toft Roelsgaard: My research investigates themes at the intersection of mass communication, social justice, and minority press history. More specifically, the journalistic advocacy work of historically marginalized communities, the weaponization of the law to suppress marginalized communities and media organizations, and military-press relations during war times. Centrally, I seek to explore how the news media has been used to promote unconstitutional practices, advocate for and realize political reform, and expose social and criminal injustices. Given that much of media history and war correspondence scholarship lacks diverse voices and experiences, my research centers on the work of previously underrepresented or overlooked groups, including women, immigrant reporters, working-class reporters, and the Black press. A central argument in my scholarship is how important it is to center the experiences and work of historically marginalized journalists and media organizations to gain a more comprehensive and truthful understanding of journalism's historical functions and public influence, as well as to dismantle the boundaries that have defined journalistic authority and legitimacy over time.

Perlmutter: A master hypothesis that I've been investigating across many case studies in human history, from the latest developments in media technology to prehistoric early expressions of the "first media," is "believing is seeing." I was always doubtful about the commonplace "seeing is believing" because I kept finding examples of how human beings, from the earliest cave paintings through modern AI imagery, changed their visions of the world — literally in visual images and the words describing them — to what they believed the world should be rather than what it really was. They did so in a thousand ways, depending on the technologies of media platforms, creation, and distribution. For an early instance, the cave paintings of the Franco-Cantabrian region overwhelmingly portrayed large "meat" animals, although we know from the archaeofaunal record that the peoples of the time opportunistically depended most heavily on small animals and fish and wild-growing vegetables and fruits. Moreover, they conducted hundreds of activities other than big-game hunting. Yet to them, many parts of their daily life and world were politically and culturally irrelevant in their expression compared to the cult of providing the massive caloric pay package of a large, potentially dangerous mammal. To flash forward 30,000 years, I have studied the icons of photojournalism and note their selection, framing, editing, and differentiated distribution, and above all purposive captioning as having multiple powers to affect human history itself. Believing is seeing, and we tend to produce pictures that reinforce our beliefs, also believing those that we want to see.

Fondren: *In researching tensions between government messages, censorship, photography, and the role of (foreign) correspondents, what do you find enjoyable and rewarding?*

McCune: The memoirs of journalists like Ray Stannard Baker and Charles Edward Russell provide fascinating insights into their internal struggles about what it meant to be a journalist at a time of great change, and how their progressive advocacy influenced their reporting.

In one interesting passage, for example, Baker questioned whether he crossed a line with his enthusiastic support of President Woodrow Wilson. “I have not perhaps been discriminating enough in my criticism of Wilson (as in the coming December article) — I have perhaps accepted him too completely,” Baker wrote in his memoir *American Chronicle*. “It is dangerous to accept any leader, especially a political leader, without reserve. He cannot be wholly right.” When Baker joined Wilson at the historic Paris Peace Conference after the end of the Great War, Baker wrote often in his diary about the tensions between his own desire for more transparency with the press and Wilson’s distance from journalists. On one hand, Baker understood the delicate nature of peace negotiations, but on the other hand, Baker believed transparency with the press would lead to more public support for any resulting treaty.

These are the moments I find most interesting and rewarding — when the tensions and struggles of early 20th century journalists echo the tensions we see today. Research helps us understand that questions of journalistic integrity and journalistic independence are longstanding. Understanding factors that influence those historical questions provides insight into today’s many debates over our media landscape.

Greenwood: Partially the hunt and partially the understanding. By the hunt I mean the research into the policies and practices affecting government messages, photography and censorship. It’s enjoyable to identify and explore the different places those policies and practices come from, and the people involved in crafting and applying them. Looking

for areas that aren't immediately obvious is challenging and fun, which I suspect most historians would echo.

By the understanding I mean then developing an understanding of how those policies and practices define the content that is used to inform the public. Learning the answer to the question of “what information did the public have to understand events?” is satisfying. It tells us a lot about messaging and reception.

Toft Roelsgaard: This type of research offers an opportunity to dissect the multifaceted relationship between government narratives and the news media. This includes examining the complexities of government-media relations, media framing, ethical implications of journalistic practices, transnational trends, and the critical role of foreign correspondents in informing public discourse, particularly during times of crises. Studying these topics through a historical lens allows us to appreciate the nuances and evolution of journalistic agency and resilience, especially in political environments where the press has limited freedoms. Seeing how previous journalists have challenged government narratives and adapted their reporting practices amidst external pressures — and often come up with creative ways to do so — is especially rewarding.

Photography adds another fascinating layer to the study of journalism history, as visual media often leave a more immediate impression on the human brain than text. The overlap of photography and censorship is especially intriguing as images can be powerful tools for both manipulation and advocacy. I find foreign correspondence and photojournalism practices of the early 20th century particularly fascinating as the time marked an era when the fields rapidly evolved, and foreign correspondents and visual media came to serve as intermediaries between

local realities and global audiences.

Perlmutter: I recall meeting in the 1990s a group of “new news” photographers in the People’s Republic of China. They were describing how they were self-consciously the first generation in almost 40 years to try to escape the traditional government absolute control of the camera, where they would be told where to show up for “news” and what pictures to take. Today, especially with the advent of AI-generated near-photoreal images, there is constant tension about the effects, truth value, and external validity of news imagery. On the one hand, there are many forces and voices, especially among younger media producers and consumers, demanding authenticity and truth. Certainly, even within the political sphere and journalistic tradition, trying to produce news and information that is as accurate as possible is still upheld as an ideal. But political, commercial, and even nihilistic individuals, groups, and entire governments are actively trying to destroy any standards of news as a source of useful and accurate information. Reporting that seeks to be truthful and reliable, even if that might be an impossible standard, is a foundation of democratic institutions and governance. So the various battles fought in every instance of reporting to entire systems of news and technology are not only intellectually fascinating but also highly relevant for our future. While these struggles are certainly manifest in domestic news, in this era of war and geopolitical clashes of nations, the international dimension over news and information is even more important.

Fondren: *How and why do you choose your projects?*

McCune: I am currently researching journalists and editors’ discussions

of patriotism in the trade press before, during, and after the Great war. This project is only possible because archives of some trade magazines, including *Editor & Publisher*, are available online. As an independent researcher, I must consider access to archives and databases when beginning a project.

Greenwood: Like many historians, I look for questions and topics that are unique and, therefore, have room for study. Photojournalism is an area of media history that has received less attention, and there are lots of questions within photojournalism that have yet to be explored. I've studied some photographers who worked out of the mainstream, and more recently I've been working on the history of photojournalism in publications with specialized audiences.

I also look for projects that can have some relevance to understanding modern photojournalism. I enjoy examining historical practices and identifying ideas that can then be explored in more modern photojournalism. The comparison provides understanding about the evolution of the field and understanding of patterns that are consistent but also unique. For example, there are some predictable patterns historically in the adoption of technological innovations, but also variability as society becomes more tech-centric and changing economies force restructuring in journalism organizations.

Toft Roelsgaard: Most of my research ideas come from reading. Whether reading the news, academic journals, or browsing digitized archives, I find that reading leads to fresh ideas and connections. I often find new ideas when I am deep in another research project. When you spend hours or days browsing through archives, you find all kinds of treasures and untold histories. That is why I always have an idea note-

book — in fact, I have several — at hand. That way, I can build my own little archive of potential research projects I would eventually like to revisit and explore further.

Perlmutter: I like to think that I travel along a research archipelago. Typically, the questions left from one investigation suggest the next, and I hope never to run out of new territories to explore. Two of my earliest studies set me off in the direction that I still follow. I conducted a visual ethnography of a police department, riding along with the officers, taking pictures for documentation and photo elicitation purposes, asking how the officers felt and how the public seemed to express the contrast of stereotypes of police and police work with what I was actually encountering with them. At the same time, my dissertation was a visual (photos, cartoons, maps, etc.) content analysis of the People's Republic of China in elite print U.S. news magazines and newspapers from 1949 to 1989. Both projects asked essentially questions of representation, selection, focus, editorial positioning, persuasion, and historical context about pictures in culture. Since then, I have conducted three tracks of research: one looking at the history of visual images, going back as early as arguably the first medium — cave paintings — as “news”; the second examining specific famous images, what I have called “icons of outrage,” that have garnered much greater attention and are purported — but, as I have found, do not necessarily have — powers of government and policy decision-making; and third, developments in new media technologies and how they affect news, public affairs, and political communication. The rapid rise of AI, especially in creating imagery with astoundingly high veridicality and verisimilitude, is just the latest island of the archipelago on which I have landed a boat of exploration. I do not think it will be the last.

Fondren: *How has the field changed since you began doing your own work?*

McCune: Recent scholarship that centers institutional power dynamics, underrepresented voices and interdisciplinary approaches has changed the field in a positive way. This scholarship has challenged me to consider my own research in a new light. For example, women journalists and their cooperation with government officials during the Great War deserves more attention.

Greenwood: One thing I've noticed is the evolution of the role of theory in driving historical research. The field has moved from a somewhat straightforward account of an event or a person's impact to a more rigorous assessment of meaning and impact driven by theory.

A second way the field has changed is that more source material is digitized now. We're still a long way from digitizing all of the old analog files, but a lot of material is accessible online now, which enhances the work historians and their students can do.

That digitized material will be necessary to utilize the next wave of technological change — artificial intelligence. AI is already changing qualitative analysis software, making it much easier to organize source materials, identify patterns and link them across sources.

Toft Roelsgaard: I think there has been a much greater focus on transnational journalism practices in the last few years, challenging the notion that journalism must be studied and understood solely in its national context or by comparison to other national contexts and practices. This is a fascinating development as the transnational approach explores global interconnectedness, technological advancements, and

the inclusion of non-Western perspectives. I see this as a push to explore the complexities and nuances of journalism practices and media influence in non-Western regions but also spotlight the influence of the more peripheral actors (such as social media users, citizen journalists, and bloggers) in shaping journalism, especially in the age of digital media.

Perlmutter: I feel that I should start out by describing important structural, economic, and professional changes. Today's new and emerging scholars at research universities are under tremendous pressure to (a) produce work that is highly quantitatively impactful by systems of measurement that were designed for the STEM fields and (b) be involved in federal grant achievement. Neither of these efforts are in themselves negatives, and I have supported them as an administrator, but I hope that we see these ambitions as being part of a complex and thoughtful package of possible outcomes that show somebody's quality as both an intellectual and a scholar. Second is an undilutedly positive development. When my career began in the mid-1990s there was definitely a set of almost poisonous divisions in "journalism and mass communication" among the so-called "green eyeshades" (the professionally oriented faculty), the "Renaissance-ers" (the qualitative and humanities-oriented scholars), and the "Chi-squares" (the social scientists). In addition, many of the industry-professional types looked down upon any research as unrelated to practice. As someone who engaged in alumni outreach for 15 years, I can attest that, industry-wide, these walls of separation have crumbled, or at least been severely reduced. Almost everyone in industry believes in the power of data-driven decisions originated by research of some kind. Scholars of all types are collaborating, often in response to specific prompts by private foundations and federal grant

agencies. It is much more of a multimethod, multidisciplinary, and multi-mind era of asking questions about media and communication; the now several generations of scholars and industry professionals, including those who teach in the academy, should be applauded for their spirit of collaboration and mutual respect.

Fondren: *What challenges have you faced when engaged in researching and writing media and public affairs history?*

McCune: Forming an argument based on primary sources and scholarship requires creativity, insight, and boldness. But we must always remain true to our sources and question our own assumptions and biases. In this way, historians and journalists go about their work in similar ways: questioning the motivations of their sources and pledging a commitment to accuracy and truth above all else. The challenge, however, is to be bold in our arguments and assertions when the evidence is strong.

Greenwood: One challenge is that despite the advancements made in digitizing, it's still a small amount of all the available material. Identifying where items are stored and arranging access is a challenge.

Other challenges are related more to history that relies on visual data. There are typically smaller amounts of data to work with compared to text. Stories that extend across multiple columns in a newspaper might have one or two photographs,

Another challenge is reproduction of source materials in published research. Visuals can't be "quoted" in the way that text can be. A paragraph can't be pulled from a photograph, it typically has to be reproduced in its entirety. That provides a challenge for fair use arguments

with copyright when seeking to include photographs or other visual materials.

Toft Roelsgaard: Some overarching challenges I encounter when conducting research on media and public affairs history are language barriers and access to archival materials. Another central challenge is the need for more diversity in mainstream media histories and journalism scholarship. Given the often Americentric focus of journalism history and scholarship, it can be challenging to integrate diverse experiences and perspectives since documents and data pertaining to these topics are often not digitized and, in worst-case scenarios, not preserved in archives. When undertaking any form of historical research, I always find myself asking, “What makes a true archive?” and “Who decided what was worthy of being preserved and what was omitted in the process?”

Perlmutter: Some of these challenges are very obvious — e.g., there is unlikely to be one single archive or repository that contains all the related documents and information that pertain to your topic. To take an early example, for one of my first academic papers I studied the visual iconography of the Waffen-SS, the military wing of the German World War II SS. I specifically wanted to look at their photography created by their own propaganda photographers of themselves. I was lucky that there was an archive at that time in Koblenz, Germany, that I could visit and do a deep dive. At the other end of the spectrum, when I wrote a book called *Blogwars* in 2007-2008 about the rise of political blogging, practically the entire internet was a resource, and there were thousands of people I could have spoken to. It was more a matter of running out of time than of running out of data. Still other times, research resources appear fortuitously. I was doing work for a book on the history of the

visualization of warfare and found that, although the photographer who had created beautiful, sharp color prints of the Lascaux cave in France had passed away, his widow still had the photo negatives, and I was able to purchase from her copies of those negatives for reproduction. This is a last notation about difficulties: If you are using non-public domain visual images such as those you are fine, but if you are studying news photographs or paintings, visual communication research is probably the most expensive because of the need to buy rights for reproduction and publishing.

Fondren: *How do you see the contribution that your own work has made to our understanding of media and public affairs history?*

McCune: My research argues for a new descriptive model of government-press relations to fill the gaps left by other models. The Agent Model of Government-Press Relations argues that Great War reporters effectively worked as instruments, or agents, of the government. They used their journalistic access to advance government objectives and accepted public and secret government assignments at the behest of government officials. This is in contrast the other models of cooperation. The Collaborative Model and the Exchange Model, for example, describe journalists deferring to government officials as credible sources of foreign affairs information or cooperating with government for the reward of journalistic access. In addition, scholars often date the origins of this cooperation to the Cold War, when journalists partnered with the Central Intelligence Agency to further U.S. objectives overseas. By showing that this pattern occurred decades before, my research opens new avenues of research and raises important questions of our historical understanding of Progressive-Era journalism and the government-press

relationship of the 20th century and today.

Greenwood: I hope it's added some additional dimensions for historians and students to consider. Focusing on photojournalism brings in another avenue for exploring journalism's connection to social issues and public affairs, and exploring institutional and organizational aspects related to the production of photojournalism adds to our overall understanding of the factors that determine journalism content overall.

Toft Roelsgaard: My research examines the intersections of identity, culture, and media representations by foregrounding the work and narratives of often-overlooked journalists. This type of research, I believe, is essential to reclaim space for correspondents and media organizations that have been excluded or undermined in dominant histories. I have been fortunate to contribute to two book chapters in a forthcoming *Routledge Companion to Transnational Journalism History*, which explores both war and international correspondence from a transnational perspective. Each chapter highlights the transformative potential of technology in reshaping journalistic practices and dissects traditional power structures of knowledge production to facilitate a more inclusive narrative.

Perlmutter: I have worked towards the following: (1) Establishing that the visual component of media and public affairs should be studied and appreciated just as much as the lexical/verbal; (2) The onset of new media technologies, from film to television to the internet to AI, is an incredibly important nexus where we can look at how media and public affairs transforms in some ways but still retains eternal principles of structure and meaning; (3) As said, believing is seeing. Audiences tend

to view images through the preconceptions and prejudices of their minds. A prime example: most of the imagery of the World War II Holocaust was created by the people who supported or perpetuated it directly. Obviously, they “saw” those pictures very differently than most, but not all, modern audiences; (4) The power(s) of pictures are complicated and often independent of each other. In my studies of news icons, I found that, unfortunately, a majority of the popular commenters such as journalists, editorialists, the public, and even scholars in other fields tended to conflate the supposed effects of images without doing any actual research to establish what happened and parse out differential effects. So, for example, a news icon might have a powerful emotional or aesthetic effect, but when looking at public opinion or other forms of survey data or some of the oral history project data, we find that it did not have an actual effect of changing public opinion. In short, a picture can have some powers but not others. So, a government might change its policy because it thinks that people are being affected by a picture, and a picture can be famous, celebrated, and prominent generation after generation because writers, even historians, say it was powerful but research does not necessarily bear out this assertion.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)

The Media and the American Character

By Bruce J. Evensen ©

NOTE: This is the eleventh article in our series “How Media History Matters,” dealing with the significance that the mass 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’s easy, someone has said, to suggest explanations if one doesn’t have to worry about facts.



Evensen

Many ways exist to justify JMC’s historical importance. JMC historians make a mistake if they focus on just one explanation, whether it be “cultural history,” materiality, Progressivism, or any other interpretation. They shouldn’t put all their eggs in one basket. One

monolithic explanation won’t work.

In the following essay, Bruce Evensen examines the media’s role in helping to create and sustain a unique American character, which involved the ideas of both individual autonomy and communal integration.

The current cottage industry in research relating mass communication to national character argues that the “American mind” is powerfully shaped by the “myth-making power” of the media.¹ In this equation, a passive, often undifferentiated public is narcotized and be-

Bruce Evensen is a professor of communication at DePaul University. He has written a number of books, including Truman, Palestine and the Press: Shaping Conventional Wisdom at the Beginning of the Cold War and When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum and Storytelling in the Jazz Age.

© 2024. Vision Press owns the copyright to this article.

numbered by the menace of media effects.² Purveyors of the “deep civilization perspective,” out to define the “psychoculture” central to human behavior and social experience, have emphasized the capacity of media to alter consciousness by story-telling techniques that make sense of the stuff of everyday living.³

An interdisciplinary enthusiasm to see the corrosive effects of mass media on the “American mind” often gives only the vaguest outlines of the patient under consideration. It seems to imply that an ever-idealized, receding past is drowned in the wash of mass media messages, beginning in the 1920s, the decade in which the word “media” first gained currency.⁴ It is at this time, presumably, that a consumption culture is born and “media” comes to define democratic citizenship in the realm of product choice.⁵

The interwar appetite to bite the biscuit of “industrial folklore,” elaborated on ever since by disparagers of “mass mind,” “mass society” and “working class culture,” saw the pervasiveness of mass media messages as evidence of their power.⁶ The analysis reduces national character to the qualities of a good customer and depicts human society as helpless in the face of forces it neither understands nor has the will to oppose. The pattern of imputing qualities to “national character” is hardly the invention of contemporary cultural investigators. And a brief summary of this detective work tells more about the investigators than crimes allegedly committed.

Twenty-five centuries ago Herodotus and Hippocrates wrote that democratic government and a favorable climate distinguished Athenians from their enfeebled Asian neighbors. To Aristotle, Greek superiority was more a matter of internal development than external conditions. Once the nation had united, Aristotle conceived of no better people than Hellenists to rule the world. In more modern times, Alphonse

Louis de Prat de Lamartine in France, Heinrich Von Treitschke in Germany, and George Bancroft in the United States shared the conviction that national character predicted commanding futures for their countrymen.⁷

Nineteenth-century conceptions of “national character” in America appear bound by Thomas Jefferson’s idealization of the freedom-loving, self-reliant individual and Alexis de Tocqueville’s material conformist. Subsequent historians have attempted to square this discrepancy. David Potter points out that a commitment to equality of opportunity is common to both models. David Riesman describes the difference in terms of an American’s private and public life, the inner-directed man of passionate independence and the outer-directed man who aims to please. Other historians argue that modernity has fundamentally altered national character and that while Jefferson’s noble yeoman might once have been the standard, industrialization and bureaucracy have made de Tocqueville’s majoritarian money-maker the model. Henry Steele Commager contrasted this change in 19th- and 20th-century portraits of the American character. But Carl Degler and others have argued that the national character of 19th- and 20th-century Americans may be more alike than dissimilar.⁸

In recent years skeptics have openly challenged the idea that Americans share a national character. Lee Coleman has observed that “almost every conceivable value or trait” has been imputed to American character. Warren Susman has led a generation of social historians who have argued that the cultivation and projection of “personality” competes with character in orienting the self to society and in representing the society to itself. Some contemporary intellectual historians take those reservations a step further. They wonder whether historical thinking in the twenty-first century can accommodate the search for general claims

about the nature of the American character.⁹

Just as historians thought they would never agree on what constituted America's national character, social and behavioral scientists were finding acculturation patterns uniting people groups. Margaret Mead had no doubt that shared attitudes within a population formed common character. Clyde Kluckhohn's statistical models confirmed that Americans and Englishmen alike in age, sex, class, and vocation would still differ from one another in how they viewed the world and their role in that world.¹⁰

How and why Americans differ from other people groups is a question that has absorbed cultural investigators. Their probe has focused on communication patterns that go beyond the mere "self-preservation of the species." Victor Turner calls this leisure world a place of personal "transparency" in the otherwise "opaque surface of everyday living." It is a space, these analysts argue, where 20th-century Americans have tended to define themselves. Public play, researchers in culture and communication suggest, has become a collective form of "thinking out loud," and the activities society most celebrates are really stories Americans are telling about themselves.¹¹

Sociologists see participation in sports and sports spectatorship as a place where American national character is both forged and reflected. Some see sports as a mechanism of social control, a site where consent and conformity are taught and power and privilege reinforced. Others see the "crucible of sport" in terms of voluntary association, where individuals help define themselves and their society. The game becomes a measure of character because it demands what "ordinary life" inhibits — individual initiative beyond what is merely required. For Emile Durkheim, sports participation and spectatorship are the "moral equivalent of religious activity" because they encourage the "moral remaking

of individual as well as collective life.” For Johan Huizinga, 20th-century sport is a secular ceremony, where mass mediated heroes and villains describe tensions and ambiguities within the social order. The struggle on the field of play serves as a metaphor for man’s reluctant encounter with modernity.¹²

Communication historians have begun analyzing the links between mass media and sports as a way of investigating American culture and corporate capitalism. In tracing the historic roots of the “sports-media complex” they have emphasized the role of sports reporting in mass entertainment and communal bonding. Telling tall tales of ritualized combat commodified sports heroes while selling newspapers and the infant radio to an increasingly larger audience. The effect during the 1920s was to have the mass-mediated sports world serve the interests of commerce and popular fantasy. The press and radio, according to these authors, played a central role in sustaining a culture of consumption, a realm where sports spectators were served compensatory pleasures by sports writers and editors expert in depicting cultural crises through the stories they spun.¹³

SPORTS JOURNALISM IN THE JAZZ AGE

This essay examines sports journalism during America’s jazz age as a way of investigating the evolution of national character. The decade of the Twenties has preoccupied cultural and intellectual historians more than any other because of its perceived place in the painful transition from “an era that was comprehensible” to the “bafflement” and “anxiety” implicit in 20th-century living. George Santayana signaled the beginning of the struggle when he observed “civilization” seemed to be disappearing and a new civilization taking its place. Willa Cather called

it an era in which “the world broke in two.” The era’s journalists chronicled a similar sense of moral uncertainty and social uprootedness. A veteran editor noted, “Since the war the public mind has become highly excited. The national nerves have not returned to normal.” A nation of 110 million that had known “unity of purpose” and something approaching “spiritual resolve” during the Great War now appeared to suffer from “moral anesthesia.” A country “young and bursting with energy” seemed paradoxically enervated, torn between cynicism and sentiment.¹⁴

This ambivalence is expressed in the media’s coverage of the decade’s major spectacles. In Lindbergh’s trans-Atlantic flight and the joyous celebration that followed, John William Ward finds an ultimate irony. The public adulation of rugged individualism is in the context of one of technology’s greatest triumphs. The media’s portrayal of Lindbergh’s flight as “a public act of regeneration” reflected a “deep sense of moral loss” in a decade marked by social and political corruption. Lawrence Levine describes the period’s great dualism as a tension between progress and nostalgia, a search for simplicity and escape in an era desperate for heroic figures. One hundred million Americans weekly attended 20,000 motion picture theatres during the Twenties, and when love idol Rudolph Valentino died in 1926, tens of thousands of New York City mourners rioted for a glimpse of his corpse. The *New York Daily Graphic* ran a front-page picture of “the Sheik” meeting the Great Caruso somewhere over the Great Divide.¹⁵

Several weeks later, Jack Dempsey, “the Manassa Mauler,” came out of a three-year retirement to defend his heavyweight title against Gene Tunney. Press coverage leading up to the match and the professional controversy that followed it provide a case study of how the media personified cultural disputes in the 1920s and in so doing reflected

the crisis of national character in America's jazz age. This essay analyzes that coverage in Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, the three cities originally scheduled to host the title bout. Their depiction of "the greatest battle since the Silurian Age" is more than mere hyperbole. It goes to the heart of a nervous generation's struggle over self-conception and the role of mass media in reflecting and informing that crisis.

Creating a Frankenstein

Malcolm Bingay was appalled that "the worst fight in the history of heavyweight championships" had received more media attention and a larger gate than any sporting event in American history. The managing editor of the *Detroit News* berated fellow editors for "creating a Frankenstein" out of "a cheap fight." One hundred thirty thousand people, 700 of them ringside reporters, watched Tunney's one-sided decision, in a broadcast heard by an estimated thirty million listeners across four continents. Two thousand millionaires, three members of the Coolidge cabinet, most of official Washington, and the many governors, bankers and movie stars attending the spectacle at Philadelphia's newly built Sesquicentennial Stadium were "the greatest outpouring of prominent persons" ever gathered in a public place at one time. Western Union and Postal Telegraph had hurriedly installed more than 100 wires to transmit the two million words that would be filed on the fight, while 100 miles away three *New York Times* stenographers, working in relays, provided a verbatim record of Graham McNamee's call of the historic contest.¹⁶

Marvin Creager, the managing editor of the *Milwaukee Journal*, resented Bingay's challenge. It was a "fundamental human instinct to be interested in conflict," he claimed. It was the editor's responsibility "to

print the news as it happens” whether “he likes it or not.” Creager urged editors to trust “the plain horse sense and common decency” of readers and to realize “the millennial age” would not be delayed by satisfying reader interest in the fight game. Jazz age editors ignored prizefighting at their peril, Charles Dennis of the *Chicago Daily News* noted. It had become “an elemental feature of life,” proof “that men are still red-blooded.” To minimize the importance of the Dempsey-Tunney tussle was to ignore the unsteady state of public opinion and the role of combat in defining “human nature.”¹⁷

Newspapers had increasingly turned to sports since the turn of the century in defining national character. America watcher James Bryce suggested the nation’s sports pages reflected and encouraged a middle class “passion for looking on and reading about athletic sports.” According to social historians, as sports gained respectability with the middle class during the first two decades of the 20th-century, it became associated with personal regeneration, social renewal and “a desire to live forever.” The image of Teddy Roosevelt as the national embodiment of vigor further legitimized preoccupation with sports as a test of individual capacity and character. By the Twenties an estimated twelve million Americans watched boxing matches or fought themselves. Military training for doughboys during World War I had included lessons in the manly art. Another fifteen million Americans annually watched football or played the sport. Ten million attended baseball games. Four million golfed. One million played tennis. Two hundred thousand ran track. One hundred thousand played soccer. Sports, and media attention to it, had significantly rationalized the leisure time of a growing fraction of the middle class and was celebrated in the popular literature of the youth culture as a proving ground for the thoroughly modern man and woman.¹⁸

The Media and the American Character

Four billion dollars was spent on seats to sporting events during the decade of the Twenties, an enthusiasm not lost on circulation managers of the twelve billion newspaper pages annually produced in the United States. Dempsey fights got million dollar gates and raised short-term circulation fifty per cent in some cities. That was why circulation managers voted Dempsey the greatest boon to circulation in twenty years. Dempsey was a skinny legged Colorado hobo with a high pitched voice and a knockout record over unknowns when his wily manager Jack Kearns brought him to New York just after the outbreak of the First World War. Kearns “hawked” the unassuming teenager to newspaper offices throughout the city and used personal publicity to force fights with local challengers. “Like a strip teaser,” Kearns observed, “I always figured you couldn’t get anywhere without exposure.” Kearns built Dempsey up as a “killer” and made sure he scowled, went unshaved and soaked his face in brine to “look the part.” New York sports writers Ring Lardner, Grantland Rice, Damon Runyon and Paul Gallico embraced the image. Said Gallico, creating and cultivating sports “legends” was a “meal ticket” few papers could pass up.¹⁹

Public excitement reached new heights in the weeks leading up to Dempsey’s title defense against Tunney. Associated Press established a separate sports department with eight men assigned to cover the big bout. Just before the fight four more reporters were hired. United Press followed by trebling its sports coverage to participating papers. International News did the same, raising from 5,000 to 45,000 the word hole daily filled by sports reporters.²⁰

The American Society of Newspaper Editors, organized in 1923 to “protect the integrity of the profession,” found that forty per cent of all local news coverage was now devoted to sports with the number rising to sixty per cent in many of the nation’s largest dailies. Editors con-

fessed they were “worn out” trying to keep their sports departments from “going hog wild.” City editors and managing editors “were uncertain how this young giant should be handled” and complained that publishers did not care how big the sports page was “so long as it had advertising.” Circulation managers found that one of every four readers bought a paper primarily because of its sports page and urged editors “to play sports to the limit.” An ASNE probe found a fifty per cent increase in sports news over twenty years “with no end in sight.”²¹

The controversy over sports reporting reflected deepening tensions within jazz age journalism. The emergence of the tabloid press with its emphasis on crime news, pictures and self-promotion led to charges the industry had been overrun by “ham-minded men who are forcing newspapers to be ham hooks with which to get their ham.” Newspapers, critics charged, were now “gigantic commercial operations” that compelled publishers “to appeal to larger and larger masses of undifferentiated readers.” Editors argued that the growing independence and lucrative salaries of certain sports writers symbolized the profession’s loss of moral direction. Three of every four sports departments, ASNE investigators found, edited their own copy and sent it directly to the composing room, permitting puffing “that would not be tolerated on any other page.” Heywood Broun, who promoted himself as the “highest paid reporter in the country,” defended “personal journalism” over “emotional commitment to conventionality.” Gallico concurred. Playing big fights as “high drama” was only giving circulation and readers what they wanted.²²

Chicago: “The Greatest Boxing City in the World”

Two of Chicago’s leading dailies played improbable roles in publicizing

plans to hold the Dempsey-Tunney title fight at Soldiers Field sometime in September 1926. The *Chicago Tribune* and the *Herald and Examiner* might have been expected to give front page play to fight promoter Tex Rickard's July 18 press conference indicating Chicago was his first choice to host "the battle of the century." And it might have been supposed that the papers, embroiled in a protracted and sometimes violent circulation war, would divide on the fight. But what could not have been anticipated were the sides the two old rivals took and what it says about media ambivalence towards sports spectacles during America's jazz age.

William Randolph Hearst, who had hurriedly launched the *Herald and Examiner* in 1900 to further his presidential ambitions, adored boxing. He attended many of Dempsey's title defenses and would be ringside in Philadelphia the evening Dempsey lost his title to Tunney. Hearst had been a pioneer in seeing the relationship of sports reporting to readership and had quadrupled the size of the *New York Journal's* sports section while locked in a circulation war with Joseph Pulitzer. Hearst ordered his editors to fill their pages with "gee whiz emotion" instead of "a lot of dull stuff that readers are supposed to like and don't." Those readers, he insisted, were "the great middle class" who read the Hearst press because it fought "the reactionary interests of predatory corporations" which "are used selfishly to promote the welfare of reactionary interests rather than the welfare of the public."²³

Hearst had in mind the *Chicago Tribune* of Col. Robert R. McCormick, which only fourteen months before had moved its four thousand member payroll to a thirty-six-story office building on the Chicago River, a building of Gothic gargoyles and tower befitting the son of a U.S. envoy to the courts of the Hapsburgs and Czar Nicholas. Educated at Groton and Yale, McCormick had an affinity for polo and fox-hunt-

ing and was a self-conscious “promoter of commerce” proud of the “quality” of the *Tribune’s* readership. The paper’s daily circulation of 700,000, 1.1 million on Sundays, made it the widest circulating morning paper in America. Its annual advertising of 100,000 columns made it the most profitable. With this status came the *Tribune’s* dedication to the “highest ethical standards” of the profession. Managing editor Edward S. Beck had been one of five founding fathers of ASNE but McCormick did not see that getting in the way of “telling a good story.”²⁴

The *Herald and Examiner*, by contrast, operated on the city’s near west side in a broken down warehouse “unventilated since the days of Queen Victoria.” The “Madhouse on West Madison” so offended Hearst’s aesthetic sensibilities he refused to enter it. While the *Tribune* had a half acre of newly polished floor space, the madhouse was a cramped, dank, noisy dungeon where “the clatter of telegraph and typewriter” mixed with the “shouts and cursings” of “millionaire heiresses” and authors-in-waiting who competed with one another “for the glamour and low pay” of newspaper work. The *Herald and Examiner’s* sports editor was Warren Brown, a veteran of boxing ballyhoo, who had touted Dempsey as a “killer” before his title fight with Jess “the Giant” Willard in 1919. Dempsey’s destruction of Willard, seven knockdowns in the first round and a bloody victory in three, led to his anointing as “a saddle-colored demon, a mountain lion in human form.” Dempsey remembered his friends; and two years later the new champ hired Brown to do publicity on his first film, “A Day with Jack Dempsey.”²⁵

Brown, however, refused to give in to pre-fight euphoria and opposed staging the title bout in Chicago. He would have none of Tunney’s overripe prediction that the championship match would make Chicago “the greatest boxing city in the world.” As much as he admired Dempsey’s pledge “to slug toe to toe” with Tunney, Brown

wondered whether Chicago was ready for the “flare, blare and hokum” of a heavyweight championship. Brown noted that Illinois had legalized boxing only three months before and “had yet to be educated to the sport’s splendor.” Brown argued that Chicagoans “must be brought along gently” to see “lesser fights staged and managed with intelligence, honesty and good sense.” For that reason he urged Rickard to take his fight to New York.²⁶

The *Tribune* castigated Brown for his timidity. Staging the title fest was a matter of “civic pride” because it would be “another step in making this city the all around sports center of the country.” The paper marginalized the protest of the city’s ministerial association which “depre- cated the brutality of commercialized sport.” The *Tribune* predicted Rickard, a former “cowpuncher, marshal, saloonkeeper, woodsman, prospector and high stakes gambler” would deliver the fight and ran a cartoon with fans demanding “bring on the cauliflower.” The paper’s Westbrook Pegler reported the “refined” challenger of “plucked eye- brows” had “left grammarians fainting” and put the population in a “rich, creamy lather of excitement.”²⁷

On July 27 the state boxing commission, under pressure from a coalition of religious and civic organizations, banned the bout. It refused to license a “brutal spectacle that ladies might attend.” Com- missioners, citing press reports, feared the fight would be a “fiasco” given Chicago’s brief history of legalized boxing and did not think a projected \$2 million gate justified an attack upon “community inter- ests.” The *Tribune* abruptly backtracked. Sports editor Don Maxwell charged Rickard must have thought Chicagoans “nit wits” to think he could “kid Chicago into helping Tex” and congratulated commis- sioners for “calling his bluff.” Pegler implied Chicago sportsmen were inexperienced in bribe-taking; so Rickard decided “to pay the ice bill in

Gotham.” But Brown could boast that “the *Herald and Examiner* was the first and only paper in Chicago in on the real score” and that his “intimate” knowledge of the fight game had served Chicago well.²⁸

Chicago’s brush with boxing history would have to wait until the following year when Tunney decisioned Dempsey in their famous “long count” rematch. Sixteen men died of heart attacks listening to Graham McNamee’s call of the fateful seventh round when Dempsey floored Tunney but failed to take him out. Poets mourned the passing of their terrible “king” with “that God in heaven smile.” The Hearst press took its share of abuse from the self-consciously respectable press for “lowering the whole tone of American journalism” by “gathering garbage from the gutters of life.” But when it briefly appeared in 1926 that Dempsey would fight Tunney in Chicago, it was the establishment *Tribune* and not the working class *Herald and Examiner* that got the story right. A much ballyhooed bout might have been “good business,” but a divided city had yet to reckon with the morality of a high stakes “blood sport.” Chicago’s press reflected this ambivalence and served as spokesman for competing visions of community that fought for the city’s future during America’s jazz age.²⁹

“A Hard, Primitive Man” Vs. “A Man in an Arrow Collar”

Unlike Chicago, the New York press was not double-minded on hosting a Jack Dempsey championship fight. Rickard had opened Manhattan’s palatial Madison Square Garden a year before largely on the strength of the \$8.3 million he would make in promoting Dempsey’s five million dollar fights. The *New York Times* praised Rickard’s “Midas touch” at promotion and “the master practitioner’s instinctive understanding of the public passion for spectacular exhibitions.” When Ric-

kard died suddenly on January 6, 1929, 140 special-duty policemen held back 10,000 mourners who filed by the promoter's \$15,000 bronze bier. Paul Gallico of the *New York Daily News* thought no one better personified "sheer, naked immorality" during America's jazz age than Rickard, a "self-made showman" who made the "dirty business" of prizefighting respectable by carefully cultivating "the better classes." Rickard's capacity to "give the public the Dempsey it wanted" made going to a Dempsey fight "a great human drama" that fed the era's appetite for self-observation.³⁰

What divided the *New York Daily News*, the nation's leading tabloid, and the *New York Times*, the country's paper of record, was who Dempsey should fight. The New York Boxing Commission insisted Dempsey defend his title against Negro challenger Harry Wills before fighting Tunney. Following Chicago's surprising pattern, New York's leading tabloid endorsed the action of civic authorities, and its quintessential establishment paper promoted a Dempsey-Tunney showdown. Paul Gallico, sports editor on the *News*, warned a Dempsey-Tunney fight would signal "a colored man may not try for the heavyweight championship of the world." But the *Times*' boxing expert, James P. Dawson, could see "no good reason" to delay a Dempsey-Tunney confrontation. "The public has waited quite a few years to see something happen," Dawson wrote, and could be forgiven for thinking boxing commissioners "lost in a fog."³¹

The *Times*' readiness to back the bout stemmed from Rickard's success in exploiting Dempsey's "punches of paralyzing force" to elevate boxing from a "vulgar display" of man's primal instinct to the status of cultural spectacle. Dawson notes that Dempsey's fights were eagerly followed by "the 'best' people," a fact not lost on *Times* publisher Adolph S. Ochs. For three decades he had promoted the *Times* as "a clean news-

paper of high and honorable aims” targeted towards “a serious-minded readership.” The strategy had sent the paper’s circulation soaring from less than 19,000 to more than 350,000 and half a million on Sundays. This pushed annual earnings from \$500,000 to \$18 million, increased yearly advertising from 2.2 million to 25 million lines and boosted the weekly payroll to \$100,000 for more than 2,000 employees.³²

Times editorial page editor Garet Garrett thought Ochs’ ambition to produce New York’s socially approved paper was guided by his working-class background and innate sense of “crowd consciousness.” This led to thirteen pages of fight coverage when Dempsey knocked out French champion George Carpentier in July 1921 and a one-column headline for the competing “Harding Ends War.” A *Times* editorial praised Dempsey as symbolizing the frontier spirit that conquered the Indians and beat the Germans. Two years later *Times* ace reporter Elmer Davis hailed Dempsey as “an Assyrian king” when he whipped Tommy Gibbons. Ochs declared that “it takes money — lots of money — to be a great newspaper” and, since boxing was now “a major fixture on the entertainment calendar of the nation,” there was no good reason to ignore it.³³

Ochs scoffed at “office boys and stock girls” who bought a newspaper “to look at pictures and read little snatches of news.” He hoped one day they could be “trained” to read a more literate paper. His criticism of the immensely popular *New York Daily News*, which told stories in pictures and language that could be easily visualized was mild compared to those who charged the paper with “common pandering to the meretricious tastes of the masses.” The paper had been the brainstorm of Robert McCormick’s cousin Joseph Patterson, who patterned it after British tabloids that were fifty per cent pictures. Launched in 1919, the *News* soon became America’s leading seller and sold at two cents to

keep it well within reach of its working class readership. Philip Payne, Patterson's managing editor, thought "thinking visually" the secret of the paper's success. "Our editors are taught to think in terms of pictures all the time," he said. "The rush of big city living" meant each story must be "told in a flash with the reader feeling he's actually seeing the event."³⁴

The story-telling of its sports page was central to the popularity of Patterson's paper. Gallico recalled that Patterson had a fundamental faith in writing that gave readers "a first hand account" of an exciting experience. He made the twenty-five-year-old Gallico a featured columnist and the paper's sports editor in 1923 after he fought an exhibition round with Dempsey. "God liked the idea," Gallico recalled, because the image of Dempsey as "perfect fighting man" with "a bottomless well of cold fury" made him a fan favorite. In an era of personal publicity, a *News* sports writer observed, Patterson's sports page "latched onto sports celebrities it could cultivate." Among these no one stood larger than Dempsey. Gallico considered the champion a "slayer of ogres," a man who "fought our battles." The Dempsey the press had helped create was his generation's "most-loved athlete" because he was "a beloved alter-ego," a "hard and primitive man" who "fought to survive" in the growingly impersonal world of corporate America where the individual was threatened with alienation and anonymity. Media preoccupation with Dempsey's public and private life meant "you knew Dempsey better than a member of your own family." As a result, Gallico admitted, many reporters became "blinded by our own ballyhoo." Dempsey's unspoiled affability and cultivated brutality made him a fascination. "We loved Dempsey," Gallico observed. "We were a cult of Dempsey worshippers."³⁵

The same could not be said of Tunney. Gallico considered him a

“tactless and boastful youth,” a “snob” who “strolled through the sewers of the fight game” with “unspectacular, workmanlike efficiency.” The “nice people” may have embraced the “fighting marine” because he did not “smoke, chew, or womanize.” But this “violated the image of a pugilist” among reporters who found him affected and arrogant. If Dempsey was a warrior, Tunney was “a no account clerk, a man in an arrow collar ad.” Dempsey was a symbol of the individual who overcomes, Tunney a manifestation of collaborative caution, a student challenger well-schooled by his handlers in the strategies of defense. The press and public embraced Dempsey for “a gameness that went deeper than his consciousness,” and at better than two to one odds thought Tunney’s “studied concentration” no match for the champ’s “steel fists.”³⁶

Thousands of fight fans thronged Pennsylvania Station on the afternoon of August 4 hailing the arrival of the champion in Gotham. The *New York Times* considered it a sign the public had outvoted the state licensing commission and was “demanding” the Dempsey-Tunney fight. But the commission insisted Dempsey fight Wills first. In an open letter to the *Daily News* Tunney charged commissioners with Tammany-inspired “incompetency.” Gallico countered. Tunney had “attacked the dignity of the state of New York” by “giving a swift kick to its athletic commission.” Tunney retorted “only a knave or fool” would believe a “crackpot” like Gallico, but the damage was done. The commission refused to budge. As Rickard hurriedly left New York to arrange the title fight in Philadelphia, the *Times* castigated boxing authorities for “losing” the match, and the *News* bid good riddance to a “glamourless snob” Dempsey would soon “sock back to Shakespeare.”³⁷

Philadelphia: "Saving a City's Reputation"

It took Tex Rickard less than forty-eight hours to seal a deal with Philadelphia officials and to announce "the greatest boxing event ever" would be staged September 23 at the city's newly built Sesquicentennial Stadium. The city's haste in approving the bout stemmed from the financial collapse of its highly touted celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Rickard's offer of \$100,000 in earnest money and the hope the city might realize millions more in pre-fight and fight night profits spurred the settlement. With it, the city planned to pay off more than 700 creditors suing to recover \$3 million from a sesquicentennial authority whose staging of a civic spectacle highlighted deepening divisions within a city struggling over its own identity.³⁸

City fathers had urged Philadelphians to "show good citizenship" and "civic pride" in backing a celebration of the city's "spiritual and cultural heritage." Philadelphia's sesquicentennial would serve as "a hearty handclasp to the nation" and stand as a testimonial to the shared values and common purposes that had made America a land "blessed by God." The promotional campaign produced \$5 million in local donations and led to the purchase of an 800-acre site south of the city, where an estimated fifty million visitors would come during the seven-month run of "the greatest international exhibition ever."³⁹

The real meaning of the sesquicentennial to the city's commercial interests was the opportunity to promote Philadelphia's "material and cultural progress" and to project it as "a leading industrial and business center." Central to this purpose was an \$11 million advertising campaign, the most expensive ever launched, targeting 10,000 newspapers and 250 of the country's largest organizations with the message it was

their “patriotic duty” to come to the sesquicentennial. Every out-of-towner would spend an average \$100 in Philadelphia, the Chamber of Commerce estimated, meaning \$35 million to the local economy.⁴⁰

The city’s double-mindedness over the ultimate meaning of its civic spectacle reflected a withering of a controlling vision that had animated Philadelphia’s Quaker founding and framed its early self-identity. Urban historians have noted that a commitment to “egalitarian individualism” and a faith in self-reliance bound together Friends in a “holy experiment on the Delaware.” The city’s belief in success and the right of the individual to pursue it “without interference from pulpit or class authority” made Philadelphia a quintessential American city and laid the foundation for the 20th-century’s “hyper-active commercial town, governed by standards of factory and market” and leaving vast urban masses without a sense of consensus or necessary direction. A city once defined by the values emanating from it was now a monument to the estrangements of industrial living, a private and fragmented city with no habit of community life, guided by “corporate sentiment.”⁴¹

Philadelphia’s struggle over self-identity, apparent in a well-publicized failure to close the city’s 1,000 speakeasies, was magnified by a June 27, 1926, vote of its forty-member exposition board to suspend the city’s 132-year-old “Blue Laws” and keep the sesquicentennial open Sundays. The action, justified as an emergency measure to help stem the sequi’s estimated \$8 million in losses, provoked deep resentment among civic and religious leaders and their congregations who charged in a petition signing campaign that the city was “breaking faith with honor and its own history” in transforming a solemn communal celebration into “a glorified side show.” At a packed protest rally, the city’s ministerial association demanded an end to rule by “rich men” who put business interests ahead of the will of “the common people.”⁴²

The Media and the American Character

Philadelphia's establishment press split over the seven day sesquicentennial issue. The *Inquirer*, the *Public Ledger* and the *Evening Bulletin*, with 266 years of faithful service in furthering the city's financial interests, broke ranks on supporting the sabbath. The *Inquirer*, long known as the Republican bible of Pennsylvania, editorially castigated "the malicious and ignorant organized opposition" who "knocked the exposition." The paper's publisher, Col. James Elverson, Jr., thought it "a burning shame and disgrace" that certain "self-serving individuals" had divided the city on Sunday openings. The *Public Ledger* of publishing giant Cyrus H. K. Curtis fumed that Philadelphia's "honor and good name" were at stake in assuring the sesquicentennial was a success. The paper charged that the ministerial association's threatened boycott of the sesquicentennial was calculated to "defeat the Exposition and tarnish Philadelphia's reputation as the trustee of the Nation."⁴³

The dean of Philadelphia publishers, seventy-four-year-old William McLean, a fifty-four-year veteran of Pennsylvania's newspaper wars, sided with sabbath supporters. An *Evening Bulletin* editorial charged sesquicentennial officials had "broken faith" with Philadelphia history by "dishonoring the sabbath." It had provoked a major split in the city and led to a boycott, a court suit and a withdrawal by more than two dozen organizations from their participation in the sesqui celebration. Statewide protesters issued an urgent appeal to Gov. Gifford Pinchot, begging him to intervene "to save the city's reputation." After initial uncertainty, Pinchot replied there was "regretably" nothing he could do.⁴⁴

The announcement the city would stage the Dempsey-Tunney title fight further alienated those who felt betrayed by the secularizing of the sesquicentennial. Their charge that the match would "debase" the city and transform "the celebration of America's cultural and moral vision"

to “a commercialized game of graft, fakery and greed” received little attention in the press, including the *Evening Bulletin*. Instead, the *Inquirer*, the *Public Ledger* and the *Bulletin* went all out to hype the fight, competing with banner headlines, extras and a massive publicity campaign designed to stimulate circulation. The *Inquirer* parroted Rickard’s rhetoric in claiming “the greatest crowd ever” would attend “the greatest boxing event ever” in “the greatest Stadium ever” on the grounds of “the greatest international exhibition ever.” The *Public Ledger* reported that “business men, newsboys, trolley men, police and women of all ages” were counting down the days to the big bout. The *Ledger* built up the relatively unknown Tunney as “a man of destiny.” The *Inquirer* gave eight-column play to each fighter’s pledge he would knock the other out.⁴⁵

It was the *Evening Bulletin*, however, that bastion of “socially responsible journalism,” which warned readers to “beware of the ballyhoo blitz,” that benefited most by backing the bout. Circulation soared to half a million, third largest in the nation, on the strength of promoting a fight “that has all the world agog.” The “historic clash” was “a fitting tribute” to the city and nation, readers were told, because each fighter was a “type.” Dempsey was portrayed as a Neanderthal; Tunney a character out of Frank Merriwell. Dempsey had the “backward sloping brow of the man born to be a fighter.” Tunney had “a full and well-developed forehead — the head of a student.” Dempsey fought with “killer spirit” while Tunney was a defensive boxer of “careful habits.” The day after Tunney’s triumph the *Bulletin* ran forty-seven separate stories on “brains” victory over “brawn” and took out a full-page ad celebrating its circulation run that had made it the one of the widest selling newspapers in the nation.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

A survey of the struggle to stage the 1926 heavyweight championship fight between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney is a window to the wider world of mass mediated heroism and cultural spectacle during America's jazz age. The ambiguities and uncertainties of the period were projected onto two men who came to represent the ongoing social discourse over threats to individual autonomy and communal integration in an era of rapid industrialization and bureaucratization. Mass media stood astride this cultural and generational quarrel and reflected its growing loss of self-identity even as it gave form and substance to the public debate over what the American character was and was becoming.

Individual anxiety was an intimate part of the community wrangling that initially frustrated Tex Rickard's staging of "the greatest battle since the Silurian Age." Philadelphia eventually got the game in hopes of staving off bankruptcy associated with a previous act of self-promotion. The fight filled the city's hotels and its sports stadium but failed to rescue Philadelphia's precarious financial plight. Neither did it assuage those who saw in the celebration of a bloody contest a blatant rejection of the city's communitarian past. Critics charged that a community with no living memory of shared values left urban masses a routed and disorganized army with no shared vision of a better life.

Journalism's struggle over self-respect and professional status during America's jazz age reflected this cultural crisis in confidence. Establishment editors excoriated tabloid competitors for telling tales of cynicism and sentiment; but they were themselves expert in the art of civic boosting and self-promotion. The painful transformation of American culture from the Victorian age to its uncertain encounter with "modernity" was acutely felt in editorial offices across the country. In

the Lynds' "Middletown" everyone read his newspaper and saw chronicled there the bewildering pace and erratic course of everyday living. By describing America's mad dash to and reluctant embrace of the future, jazz age journalism captured the country's crisis in cultural authority and moderated the tensions arising from the increasing weightlessness of modern living. In so doing, the mass media served as a guide to the American character at a crucial and continuing moment in national history.⁴⁷

NOTES

¹ For a summary of the apocalyptic literature arguing major media effects over the "American mind," see Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1982) and David Crowley and Paul Heyer, eds., *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society* (New York: Longman, 1991). Early indications of the role communication research would play in defining American character can be found in Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

² The image of a somnambulist public appears in Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: New American Library, 1965), 51-56, an early and popular formulation on the "narcosis" of media effects.

³ Willard D. Rowland, Jr., "Foreward," in *Communication in History*, vii-x, eds., Crowley and Heyer. Bruce E. Gronbeck, Thomas J. Farrell and Paul A. Soukup, eds., *Media, Consciousness and Culture: Explorations of Walter Ong's Thought* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1991), 105; Walter J. Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1977), 315.

⁴ For a discussion of the word "media" and its relationship to the rise of the interwar "consumer culture" see Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind*, 183-84. For a critique on the consumption culture critics and their use of history to serve "ideological necessity," see Joli Jensen, *Redeeming Modernity: Contradictions in Media Criticism* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1990), 10-13 and 178.

⁵ Daniel J. Boorstin, *Democracy and Its Discontents* (New York: Random House, 1974), particularly, ch. 4, "The Rhetoric of Democracy"; and T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self Realization," *The Culture of Consumption*, eds. Richard Wrightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 3-26.

⁶ A seminal attack on media's presumed promulgation of "industrial folklore" is found in Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of an Industrial Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 98-100. See also, Raymond Bauer and Alice Bauer, "America, Mass Society, and Mass Media," *Journal of Social Issues* 16 (Summer 1960): 22 and 29. A critique on the claims of the major effects school and its misreading of the "American mind" is found in James L. Baughman, "Television in the Golden Age: An Entrepreneurial Experiment," in *Media Voices: An Historical*

The Media and the American Character

Perspective, ed. Jean Folkerts (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 417.

⁷ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), 3-31; Aristotle, *Politics*, vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 7. See also, Alphonse Louis de Prat de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists, or, Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1859) and *History of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1872), along with George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton, 1885).

⁸ For an overview on major ways historians have interpreted American character, see David M. Potter, "The Quest for a National Character," in *The Reconstruction of American History*, ed. John Higham (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 197-220. See also Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 2 (New York: Knopf, 1946), 128-29; De Tocqueville's analysis is refuted by Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 35-42, where the author emphasizes the importance of the West in shaping national character. An excellent review on writing Western history and national character is John Mack Faragher's "The Frontier Trail: Rethinking Turner and Reimagining the American West," *American Historical Review* 98 (February 1993): 106-17. For scholarship on American character as conformist, there's David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University, 1950) and Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University, 1959). Carl N. Degler makes an argument in behalf of the continuity of American national character in *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

⁹ See Lee R. Coleman, "What Is American: A Study of Alleged American Traits," *Social Forces* 19 (Fall 1941) 492-99. Also see John Higham's introduction in John Higham and Paul Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1979) and in the same edition, Warren I. Susman, "Personality and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," 212-26; Rowland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), introduction; and Russell Jacoby, "A New Intellectual History?" *American Historical Review* 97 (Fall 1992): 405-24. For the current crisis in intellectual history see Dominick LaCapra, *Soundings in Critical Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1989), 197-99 and Robert Darnton, "Intellectual and Cultural History," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1980), 326-27.

¹⁰ Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: William Morrow, 1942), 21-24; Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1949), 36-38.

¹¹ Victor Turner, *Schism and Continuity* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1957), 92; Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1974), 32-33; John J. MacAloon, *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 3-10; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 447-48.

¹² George H. Sage, *Power and Ideology in American Sport* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1990), 26-29; Barry McPherson, James E. Curtis and John W. Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport: An Introduction to the Sociology of Sport* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1989), 7-23; Pierre de Coubertin, *The Olympic Idea: Discourses and Essays* (Stuttgart: Olympischer Sport-Verlag, 1967), 99-118; John J. MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," in MacAloon, *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle*, 266-70; Chris Rojek, *Capitalism and Leisure Theory*

(London: Tavistock, 1985), 51-60; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912; reprint ed., New York: Free Press, 1965), 427-28 and 475-76; Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 195-97; Johan Huizinga, *America: A Dutch Historian's View from Afar and Near* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 113-16.

¹³ Robert W. McChesney, "Media Made Sport: A History of Sports Coverage in the United States," in *Media, Sports, and Society*, ed. Lawrence A. Wenner (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), 49-61; Robert M. Lewis, "American Sport History: A Bibliographical Guide," *American Studies International* 29 (April 1991): 35-59; John Rickards Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth Century America," *American Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1953): 39-46; John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40 (September 1953): 231-56; John Rickards Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950* (Reading, Pa.: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 243-71; Guy Lewis, "Sport, Youth Culture and Conventionality, 1920-1970," *Journal of Sports History* 4 (Summer 1977): 129-33; Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1983), introduction and 227-34. See also Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1980), 22-39 and 221-32; Benjamin G. Rader, "Compensatory Sports Heroes: Ruth, Grange and Dempsey," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (Fall 1983): 11-22; Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 176-90; Randy Roberts, "Jack Dempsey: An American Hero of the 1920's," in *The Sporting Image: Readings in American Sport History*, ed. Paul Z. Zingg (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988), 267-85; Sut Jhally, "The Spectacle of Accumulation: Material and Cultural Factors in the Evolution of the Sports/Media Complex," *The Insurgent Sociologist* 3 (Summer 1984): 41-57; Douglas A. Nover and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, *The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), 59-72 and 87-88; Warren Susman, "Piety, Profits, and Play: The 1920's," in *Men, Women, and Issues in American History*, Vol. 2, eds. Howard H. Quint and Milton Cantor (Homewood: Dorsey, 1975), 191-216.

¹⁴ Santayana is cited in Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time, 1912-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1959), see the introduction and 363-98. Cather is cited in William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), 273. For Leuchtenburg's development of the 1920s as a moral crossing for American national character, see 158-77 and 269-73. Another excellent summary on the literature of the 1920s as a "nervous" generation is Roderick Nash, *The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), 5-32. The observations of Paul Bellamy, a senior editor with the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and one of the founding fathers of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, can be found in the 1924 and 1927 proceedings of that organization. See *Problems of Journalism*, vol. 2 (Washington: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1924), 121-22; and *Problems of Journalism*, vol. 5 (Washington: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1927), 152-56.

¹⁵ See John William Ward, "The Meaning of the Lindbergh Flight," in John William Ward, *Red, White, and Blue: Men, Books, and Ideas in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University, 1969), 21-37. Also Lawrence W. Levine, "Progress and Nostalgia: The Self-Image of the 1920's," in Lawrence W. Levine and Robert Middlekauff, eds., *The National Temper: Readings in American Culture and Society* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 287-302. For differing critiques of jazz age journalism by its contemporaries, see Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927) and Simon Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938).

The Media and the American Character

¹⁶ Controversy over press coverage of the 1926 Dempsey-Tunney heavyweight fight appears in *Problems of Journalism* 5: 103-11. Bingay may have been particularly sensitive to the excesses of sports coverage. He had been a nineteen-year-old sports editor at the *Detroit News*. See unprocessed papers of Malcolm Wallace Bingay at the Detroit Newspapers office in Detroit, Michigan. For details on media coverage of the fight and lists of celebrities attending, see *Detroit News*, 21 September, 1; and 23 September 1926, 1; *Chicago Tribune*, 24 September 1926, 1; *New York Times*, 13 September 1926, 27, 19 September 1926, 3 and 5, 22 September 1926, 1, and 27 September 1926, 1 and 4. For the effect of radio coverage and Graham McNamee's dramatic call of the fight on listeners nationwide, see NBC Papers, "McNamee File," Box 2, Folder 34, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. MacNamee's goal was to make "listeners miles away feel that he or she was there with me...seeing history being made." See Graham McNamee, *You're On the Air* (New York: Harper, 1926), 1-4 and 50. McNamee's capacity "to cast a magic spell" over the listening world is recounted in his obituary. *New York Times*, 10 May 1942, 43.

¹⁷ *Problems of Journalism* 1927: 105-06 and 110. For Marvin H. Creager's journalistic philosophy see his unprocessed collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, Collection No. M62-180. The collection contains an undated typed draft by Creager titled "The Aim of the News and Feature Departments at the Milwaukee Journal." In the same collection, see also Dale Wilson, "Marvin Creager and the Kansas City Crowd," *Historical Messenger* (of the Milwaukee County Historical Society), September 1961, 2-4. On Creager's leadership role among the nation's editors, see "Milwaukee Journal Reflects Its Editor's Character," *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, No. 130, 15 September 1926, 1. Also *Problems of Journalism*, vol. 6 (Washington: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1928), 18; *Problems of Journalism*, vol. 7 (Washington: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1929), 25-28. Also, letter from Paul Bellamy to Mrs. James O. Poole, dated 4 December 1954, in Creager Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Bellamy writes Creager's daughter that her father's "rare qualities" made him a board member and later president of ASNE. In an undated, typed manuscript within the collection Creager notes a nostalgic affection for "the fight tradition." He writes that in his student days at Kansas University "we battered each other about lustily each May-day and on many other occasions throughout the school year. Many a resounding whack was struck...until our livers have never been the same since."

¹⁸ James Bryce, "America Revisited: The Changes of a Quarter Century," *Outlook* 79, 25 March 1905, 738-39; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, xv-xx and 230-34; Orrin E. Klapp, *Heroes, Villains and Fools* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 27-28; Bruce Kuklick, *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991), 11-30; David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990), 201-27. See also John R. Tunis, "Changing Trends in Sports," *Harper's* 170, December 1934, 78; Alan Woods, "James J. Corbett: Theatrical Star," *Journal of Sports History* 3 (April 1976): 174-75; Robert Goldman and John Wilson, "The Rationalization of Leisure," *Politics and Society* 7 (September 1977): 185-86; Allen Guttman, "Who's on First?, or, Books on the History of American Sports," *Journal of American History* 66 (September 1979): 353-54; Benjamin G. Rader, "The Quest for Subcommunities and the Rise of American Sport," *American Quarterly* 24 (Fall 1977): 368-69. For the role of media in facilitating the rise of sport in the early twentieth-century, see James E. Murphy, "Tabloids as an Urban Response," in *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tensions, 1918-1941*, eds. Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1984), 59-61; Jhally, "The Spectacle of Accumulation," 43-44 and 53-55; Robert H. Boyle, *Sport — Mirror of American Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), 26-28 and 40; John T.

Talamini and Charles H. Page, *Sport and Sociology: An Anthology* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 419-28; Wayne M. Towers, "World Series Coverage in New York City in the 1920's," *Journalism Monographs* 73 (August 1981): 3-11; Jesse Frederick Steiner, *Americans at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities* (1933; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), 98-100; *Problems of Journalism 1927*: 112-17.

¹⁹ For the growth of sports during the 1920s see Harry Edwards, *Sociology of Sport* (Homewood: Dorsey, 1973), 32-34. Also *Problems of Journalism 1927*: 84-85.

For Dempsey as a product of sports promotion see Jack Kearns and Oscar Frawley, *The Million Dollar Gate* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 84-85, 98-99 and 117-19; Jack Dempsey and Barbara Piatelli, *Dempsey* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 28, 42-45, 58-59 and 68-73; Jack Dempsey and Myron M. Stearns, *Round by Round: An Autobiography* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1940), 133, 145 and 215-16; Bob Considine and Bill Slocum, *Dempsey: By the Man Himself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 56-59; Nat Fleischer, *Fifty Years at Ringside* (New York: Fleet, 1958), 108-09; Nat Fleischer, *Jack Dempsey* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1972), 39-40, 59-60, 67 and 78-79. For early press accounts of Dempsey-media relations see Grantland Rice, "The Golden Panorama," in *Sport's Golden Age: A Close-up of the Fabulous Twenties*, eds. Allison Danzig and Peter Brandwein (New York: Books for Libraries, 1948), 2-3; Grantland Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1954), 116-37; Paul Gallico, "The Golden Decade," in *Sport, U.S.A.: The Best of the Saturday Evening Post*, ed. Harry T. Paxton (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1961), 3-29; Paul Gallico, *Farewell to Sport* (New York: Knopf, 1940), 13-29 and 92-107; Jerome Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 62-72; Roger Burlingame, *Don't Let Them Scare You: The Life of Elmer Davis* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1961), 95-96. For background see Randy Roberts, *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1979), 16-19; Roberts, in Zingg, *The Sporting Image*, 267-80; Rader, "Compensatory Sports Heroes," 18-21.

²⁰ For the response of wire services to the growth in the sports industry in general and Dempsey's popularity in particular, see *Problems of Journalism 1927*: 97, 101 and 108; *Problems of Journalism 1928*: 12-15; *Problems of Journalism 1929*: 26; Stanley Woodward, *Sports Page* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), 35-38; Stanley Walker, *City Editor* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1934), 115-33.

²¹ The American Society of Newspaper Editors was launched by *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* editor Casper Yost to enhance "the integrity of the profession" in the face of published criticism that journalism's only commitment was to "entertainment" and "profits." See Minutes of ASNE's first organizational meeting, held at Chicago's Blackstone Hotel on April 25, 1922, American Society of Newspaper Editors Archive, Newspaper Center, Reston, Virginia. Yost's action follows a scathing critique of the profession found in Frederick L. Allen, "Newspapers and the Truth," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1922, 44-54. For Yost's hope ASNE would restore the "dignity" of the profession, see his letter to his wife, Anna Yost, April 25, 1922, from New York City, where Yost claims creating ASNE might be "the greatest thing that was ever done for journalism." My thanks to Robert W. Yost of Webster Groves, Missouri for a copy of that letter. See also *Problems of Journalism 1927*: 98-100; *Problems of Journalism 1928*: 12-15.

²² The self-conscious efforts of ASNE's senior leadership to enhance the "integrity of the profession" focused on the promulgation of a Canon of Ethics which the leaders hoped would take "a bulldog grip on the minds of the nation's editors." See "Our Faith and Action," *Editor and Publisher*, 23 February 1924, 44; and "Editors Mean Business," *Editor and Publisher*, 3 May 1924, 26. But the code of ethics proved non-binding on members and led to charges tabloid values had infected the industry. See Ernest Greuning, "Can Journalism Be a Profession? A Study of

Conflicting Tendencies,” *The Century Magazine*, September 1924, 687-702. Also, “Sell the Papers! The Malady of American Journalism,” by an anonymous newspaperman, *Harper’s Magazine*, June 1925, 1-9; Nelson A. Crawford, *The Ethics of Journalism* (New York: Knopf, 1924), 186-239; Leon N. Flint, *The Conscience of a Newspaper: A Case Book in the Principles and Problems of Journalism*, vol. 3 (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), 292-99; Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 44, 111, 131-33, 211 and 241. See also *Problems of Journalism* 1924: 114-15; *Problems of Journalism*, vol. 4 (Washington: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1926), 99-100; *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (January 1926): 30-31; “Personal Journalism Is Coming Back — Broun,” *Editor and Publisher*, 15 March 1924, 7; Gallico, “The Golden Decade,” 173; Gallico, *Farewell to Sport*, 3-4 and 103.

²³ William Henry Nugent, “The Sports Section,” *American Mercury* 16 (March 1929): 336-38; Oliver Carlson and Ernest Sutherland, *Hearst: Lord of San Simeon* (New York: Viking, 1936), 174-75; W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York: Scribner’s, 1961), 59-60; “In Interview Hearst Speaks Plainly of His Organization,” *Editor and Publisher*, 14 June 1924, 3-4.

²⁴ For McCormick’s journalistic philosophy, see “Colonel McCormick Defines a Newspaper,” *Editor and Publisher*, 8 November 1924, 1 and 3. For Beck’s role with ASNE, see Minutes of ASNE’s organizational and first mid-year meetings, 26 April 1922 and 10 October 1922, 4-9, ASNE Archives, Newspaper Research Center. Also, Beck’s appreciation of ASNE founder Casper Yost in “ASNE Remains Enduring Memorial to St. Louis Editor,” *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 4 June 1941, 3. For background on McCormick and his operation of the *Tribune* see Joseph Gies, *The Colonel of Chicago* (New York: Dutton, 1979), 101-02; Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago Tribune: The Rise of a Great American Newspaper* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979), 378-81, 449-50 and 488-89; Frank C. Waldrop, *McCormick of Chicago* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 94; Oswald Garrison Villard, *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen* (New York: Knopf, 1926), 193-94; John Tebbel, *An American Dynasty* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1947), 75-91.

²⁵ For working conditions and personalities at the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, see Jesse G. Murray, *The Madhouse on Madison Street* (Chicago: Follett, 1965), vii and 421; Ferdinand Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst: A Social Biography* (New York: Equinox Cooperative, 139-40; John J. McPhaul, *Deadlines and Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism* (1962; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973), 226-29; William T. Moore, *Dateline Chicago: A Veteran Newsman Recalls Its Heyday* (New York: Taplinger, 1973), 15-18; James Weber Linn, *James Keeley, Newspaperman* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1937), 193-217; John Tebbel, *The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952), 129-47. For the demographics of Chicago’s Gold Coast and near west side and the *Herald and Examiner*’s subtle exploitation of that difference, see Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago’s Near North Side* (1929; reprint ed., Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976), 1-6. For Brown’s friendship with Dempsey and coverage of Dempsey’s defeat of Willard, see Nugent, “The Sports Section,” 336-37; Dempsey and Piatelli, *Dempsey*, 68-69 and 140; Grantland Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 116-18; Considine and Slocum, *Dempsey: By the Man Himself*, 56-59; Roberts, *The Manassa Mauler*, 16-19; Jack Dempsey and Barbara Piatelli Dempsey, “The Destruction of a Giant: How I Beat Jess Willard,” *American Heritage* 28 (April 1977): 72-83; Kearns and Fraley, *The Million Dollar Gate*, 98-116. See also Damon Runyon’s famous page one account of the fight in the 5 July 1919 issue of the *New York American*, which begins, “Squatting on the stool in his corner, a bleeding, trembling, helpless hulk, Jess Willard, the Kansas Giant, this afternoon relinquished his title of heavyweight champion of the world.”

²⁶ *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, 7 July 1926, 14; 11 July 1926, part 1, 15; 16 July 1926, 9; 23 July 1926, 9 and 11; and 24 July 1926, 6.

²⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, 11 July 1926, part 2, 2; 14 July 1926, 21; 18 July 1926, 1; 19 July 1926, 21; 20 July 1926, 17; 21 July 1926, 19; 22 July 1926, 13; 23 July 1926, 15 and 18; 24 July 1926, 15; and 25 July 1926, part 2, 1 and 5.

²⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, 27 July 1926, 17; and 29 July 1926, 15; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, 28 July 1926, 9 and 11; and 29 July 1926, 9.

²⁹ For Tunney's view of the "long count" and his clashes with Dempsey, see Gene Tunney, "My Fights with Jack Dempsey," in *The Aspirin Age, 1919-1941*, ed. Isabel Leighton (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), 152-68. See also Edward Van Every, *The Life of Gene Tunney, The Fighting Marine: How He Beat Dempsey* (New York: Dell, 1945); Alexander Johnston, *Ten and Out: The Complete Story of the Prize Ring in America* (New York: Washburn, 1927), 219-26; John Durant and Edward Rice, *Come Out Fighting* (New York: Essential Books, 1946), 94-107; Gene Tunney, *Arms for Living* (New York: Wilfred Funk, 1941), 121-38; Gene Tunney, *A Man Must Fight* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932), 246-80; Benny Green, *Shaw's Champions: George Bernard Shaw and Prizefighting from Cashel Byron to Gene Tunney* (London: Elm Tree, 1978), 137-66; Mel Heimer, *The Long Count* (New York: Atheneum, 1969). The poem "Dempsey, Dempsey" by Horace Gregory appears in *The American Writer and the Great Depression*, ed. Harvey Swados (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), 350-51. Criticism of sensational story-telling in the Hearst press appears in Villard, *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, 14-20; Tebbel, *William Randolph Hearst*, 129-36; Lundberg, *Imperial Hearst*, 142-46; Ben Hecht, *A Child of the Century* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 351; Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, 101-08.

³⁰ The best description of Tex Rickard is found in Paul Gallico's *Farewell to Sport*, 92-99 and 106-07. See also *New York Times*, 3 January 1929, 23; 5 January 1929, 1; 7 January 1929, 1, 22, 24, 28 and 31; 8 January 1929, 36; 9 January 1929, 1, 30 and 35; 10 January 1929, 32 and 36; 11 January 1929, 1; 12 January 1929, 10, 11 and 12; and 19 January 1929, 16. See also Rader, "Compensatory Heroes," 18-21; John R. Tunis, "Changing Trends in Sports," *Harper's*, 170, December 1934, 78; Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 131-32; James P. Dawson, "Boxing," in Danzig and Brandwein, *Sport's Golden Age*, 39-85; Fleischer, *Fifty Years at Ringside*, 99-112 and 119-37; Dempsey and Stearns, *Round by Round*, 215-16; Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 90; Roberts, *Manassa Mauler*, 137-40; *Problems of Journalism* 1927: 103-08.

³¹ *New York Daily News*, 28 July 1926, 26; and 29 July 1926, 32; *New York Times*, 2 August 1926, 14; 5 August 1926, 14; and 6 August 1926, 9. For Gallico's stunt in boxing Dempsey, see Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 62-66.

³² Dawson, "Boxing," in Danzig and Brandwein, *Sport's Golden Age*, 38-43; Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 27-42; "American Newspapers as a Whole Are Clean, Free, Capable and Meet Responsibility Honestly: An Inspiring Interview with Adolph S. Ochs," *Editor and Publisher*, 16 February 1924, 1 and 4; Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times* (New York: New York Times, 1921), 223-26; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 106-15; Villard, *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, 3-6; Meyer Berger, *The Story of the New York Times, 1851-1951* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), 527 and 565; Gerald W. Johnson, *An Honorable Titan: A Biographical Study of Adolph S. Ochs* (New York: Harper, 1946), 182-219.

³³ R.C. Cornuelle, "Remembrance of the Times: From the Papers of Gareth Garrett," *American Scholar* 36 (Fall 1967): 433, 434, 443 and 444; *New York Times*, 3 July 1921, 1-10 and 13-15, 5 July 1921, 14; and 5 July 1923, 1; Burlingame, *Don't Let Them Scare You*, 95-96; "American Newspapers," 4.

The Media and the American Character

³⁴ The editorial philosophy of the *New York Daily News* is described by Philip Payne in “What Is the Lure of the Tabloid Press?” *Editor and Publisher*, 26 July 1924, 7 and 34. See also Gies, *The Colonel of Chicago*, 46 and 74-76; John Chapman, *Tell It to Sweeney: The Informal History of the New York Daily News* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 9-12, 89-108 and 133-46; Tebbel, *An American Dynasty*, 254-59. See also obituaries of Patterson, appearing in *New York Times*, 27 May 1946, 1, 22 and 23; and *Chicago Tribune*, 27 May 1946, 1, 3 and 18. For criticism of Patterson and the tabloid press see Villard, *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, 14-41 and 209; Allen, “Newspapers and the Truth,” 44-54; Greuning, “Can Journalism Be a Profession?” 687-702; Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 41, 150 and 179; Thomas A. Lakey, *The Morals of Newspaper Making* (Notre Dame: University Press, 1924), 31-32, 71-73 and 134; Flint, *The Conscience of a Newspaper*, 292-99; Albert F. Henning, *Ethics and Practices in Journalism* (New York: Raymond Long and Richard R. Smith, 1932), 58-59; “Valentino and Yellow Journalism,” *The Nation*, 8 September 1926, 207. The development of Patterson’s class consciousness which sparked his creation of a “peoples’ paper” can be seen in his *A Little Brother of the Rich* (1908; reprint ed., Upper Saddle River, N.J.: 1968) and *The Notebook of a Neutral* (New York: Duffield, 1916).

³⁵ Gallico, “The Golden Decade,” 172-80; Gallico, *Farewell to Sport*, 13-29 and 94-103; Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 17-18, 62-65 and 72; Dempsey and Piatelli, *Dempsey*, 157-59.

³⁶ For press depictions of Tunney and how that representation differed from the public perception of Dempsey see Gallico, *Farewell to Sport*, 81-90 and 100-02; Kearns and Frawley, *The Million Dollar Gate*, 85; Rice, *Tumult and Shouting*, 140-55; Alexander Johnston, *Ten and Out: The Complete Story of the Prize Ring in America* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1927), 205-26; John Durant and Edward Rice, *Come Out Fighting* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946), 72-107; Tunney, *Arms for Living*, 102-26; Tunney, *A Man Must Fight*, 214-41; Green, *Shaw’s Champions*, 137-62; Heimer, *The Long Count*, 28-38.

³⁷ *New York Times*, 2 August 1926, 14; 5 August 1926, 14; 8 August 1926, Section 1, 1; 11 August 1926, 16; 13 August 1926, 13; 14 August 1926, 9; 15 August 1926, Section 9, 1; 16 August 1926, 13; 17 August 1926, 16; 18 August 1926, 16; and 19 August 1926, 1. *New York Daily News*, 28 July 1926, 26; 29 July 1926, 32; 31 July 1926, 20; 3 August 1926, 28; 3 August 1926, 29; 4 August 1926, 29; 5 August 1926, 28; 6 August 1926, 37; 7 August 1926, 21; 8 August 1926, 53; 9 August 1926, 25; 10 August 1926, 33 and 39; 11 August 1926, 38; 12 August 1926, 32; 13 August 1926, 34 and 36; 14 August 1926, 21; 15 August 1926, 29; 16 August 1926, 24 and 25; 17 August 1926, 28; 18 August 1926, 28; and 19 August 1926, 32.

³⁸ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August 1926, 1 and 19; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 19 August 1926, 1, 3 and 21; and 20 August 1926, 2; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 19 August 1926, 1 and 17. For a summary of Philadelphia’s struggle over competing visions of community during the jazz age see Sam Bass Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 222-23; Arthur P. Dudden, “The City Embraces ‘Normalcy,’ 1919-1929,” in *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York: Norton, 1982), 575-76; John Lukacs, *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950* (New York: Farrar, Starus and Giroux, 1981), 58-60; Fred D. Baldwin, “Smedley Darlington Butler and Prohibition Enforcement in Philadelphia, 1924-1925,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84 (Fall 1960): 352-56.

³⁹ For the strategies used by the Sesquicentennial Commission in promoting its fundraising drive see “Primer” prepared by the Sesquicentennial Commission in Collection No. 587, “Programs, Clippings, Advertisements,” Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Pageant participants are urged to show “good citizenship.” Compared to Los Angeles or

Chicago, the primer concludes, “the civic pride of Philadelphia is not as apparent.” Also in the same collection see “Official Statement of Plan and Scope” prepared by the membership committee of the Sesquicentennial Commission. Volunteers were told the sesquicentennial would enhance “the worldwide prestige of the city” and bring “invaluable publicity to Philadelphia.”

⁴⁰ The economic motivation for staging Philadelphia’s sesquicentennial is described in the “New Modified Plan for the Celebration of the Sesquicentennial Anniversary of American Independence,” Sesquicentennial Exhibition, Collection No. 587, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Compare to “Celebrating 150 Years of American Independence: A Visualization of the Spiritual, Scientific, Economic, Artistic and Industrial Progress of America and the World,” an earlier booklet produced by the Sesquicentennial International Exhibition Committee, Sesquicentennial Papers, 1926, Collection No. 1547, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For background on the sesquicentennial’s publicity apparatus, see *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 29 July 1926, 16.

⁴¹ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 4-5; Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 8-10, 531-43 and 575; E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 283-84 and 433-34; Warner, *The Private City*, 194-202; Eli K. Price, *The History of the Consolidation of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1873), 53-54; Alan Tully, *William Penn’s Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726-1755* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1977), 162-68; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 5-9.

⁴² For the clash between “Champagne Society” and “Quaker Conscience” see O.H.P. Garrett, “Why They Cleaned Up Philadelphia,” *New Republic* 38, 27 February 1924, 11-14; Jon C. Teaford, *The Twentieth Century American City: Problem, Promise and Reality* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986), 47; William G. Sheperd, “Why Criminals Are Not Afraid: General Butler’s Battle of Philadelphia,” *Collier’s* 76, 28 November 1925, 18-19; Dudden, “The City Embraces ‘Normalcy,’ 1919-1929,” 576-77; Baldwin, “Smedley Darlington Butler and Prohibition Enforcement in Philadelphia, 1924-1925,” 358-61; *Report of W. Freeland Kendrick, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, 1925* (Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia, 1926), 29-30; “Crime in the Home of Its Friends,” *Collier’s* 76, 5 December 1925, 18-19; “Crime Preserved in Alcohol,” *Collier’s* 76, 12 December 1925, 7-9; George Morgan, *The City of Firsts* (Philadelphia: Historical Publications Society, 1926), 463-70. See also *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 25 September 1925, 1; *Philadelphia Record*, 24 December 1925, 1 and 8; *New York Times*, 21 March 1953, 17. Public outrage over a seven-day sesquicentennial is captured in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 3 July 1926, 1 and 2; 5 July 1926, 1 and 2; and 23 July 1926, 8.

⁴³ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 August 1926, 8. For background on the Elverson family and the colonel’s cultivation of Philadelphia’s business community, see his obituary in the *New York Times*, 22 January 1929, 29; and 23 January 1929, 22. The *Inquirer’s* strong opposition to sesquicentennial boycotters is also reflected in the Sesquicentennial Papers of Louis F. Whitcomb. Whitcomb was the assistant director of the sesquicentennial and worked in its controller’s office. See his entries for 11 June 1926, 12 June 1926, and 24 June 1926 in Collection No. 1936, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 10 July 1926, 1; 13 July 1926, 10; 16 July 1926, 1; 23 July 1926, 1 and 10; 24 July 1926, 10; 26 July 1926, 2 and 6; 27 July 1926, 1; and 28 July 1926, 10. For background on Curtis’ \$100 million publishing empire and his “romance with the accomplishments of American business,” see his obituary in the *New York Times*, 7 June 1933, 1 and 13; and 8 June 1933, 18. Also, Dudden, “The City Embraces ‘Normalcy,’ 1919-1929,” 593; Walter D. Fuller, *The Life and Times of Cyrus H.K. Curtis* (New York: Newcomen So-

The Media and the American Character

ciety of England, American Branch, 1948), 10-20; Joseph C. Goulden, *The Curtis Caper* (New York: Putnam, 1965), 32-33; John Tebbel, *George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948), 123-32.

⁴⁴ *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 24 June 1926, 1; 28 June 1926, 1; 3 July 1926, 1 and 2; 5 July 1926, 1 and 2; 14 July 1926, 1; 16 July 1926, 1; and 23 July 1926, 8. For background on McLean and his brand of “socially responsible journalism,” see Edwin Emery, *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1950), 38 and 58; *Problems of Journalism* 1928: 25-29; *Problems of Journalism* 1929: 49-50; *New York Times*, 31 July 1931, 17; *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 18 (New York: Americana Corporation, 1963), 78.

⁴⁵ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August 1926, 1 and 19; 20 August 1926, 1, 10 and 15; 21 August 1926, 1 and 15; 26 August 1926, 15; 27 August 1926, 17; 29 August 1926, 18; 30 August 1926, 15; 2 September 1926, 17; 3 September 1926; and 19 September 1926, Sports Section, 1 and 2. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 6 August 1926, 15; 19 August 1926, 1 and 17; 20 August 1926, 13; 23 August 1926, 1; 24 August 1926, 26; 4 September 1926, 19; 12 September 1926, 24; and 15 September 1926, 15. For cooperation of sesquicentennial public relations in promoting the fight see news releases dated 30 August - 23 September 1926 in Sesquicentennial Exhibition, Collection No. 587, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For Rickard’s deft use of the press see Gallico, *Farewell to Sport*, 92-99; Dawson, “Boxing,” 38-43; Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 134-37.

⁴⁶ *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 20 August 1926, 1; 21 August 1926, 1; 23 August 1926, 1 and 2; 26 August 1926, 18; 27 August 1926, 16; 31 August 1926, 18; 2 September 1926, 18 and 27; 13 September 1926, 32; 22 September 1926, 1, 2, 23 and 26; 23 September 1926, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 19, 21, 22, 24; 24 September 1926, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 14, 21, 23, 26, 27 and 28; and 25 September 1926, 1, 2, 6, 24 and 27.

⁴⁷ Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (1929; reprint ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956), 471 and 496-98. Also, T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 41-42.

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)

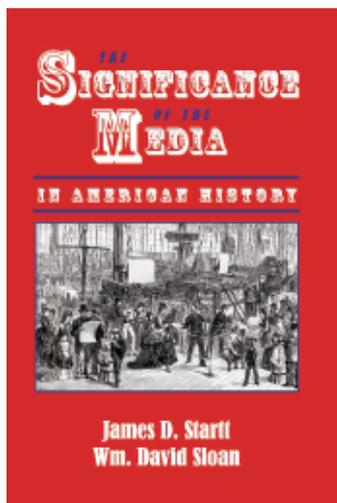
PRAISE FOR

**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.

News & Notes

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

The Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference: Call for Papers

The Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference (JJCHC), co-sponsored by the American Journalism Historians Association and the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, is now accepting submissions for the 2025 conference. Submissions will open Thursday, January 2, and the submission deadline is 11:59 p.m. Monday, January 20, 2025.

This one-day interdisciplinary conference welcomes faculty and graduate students with an interest in journalism or communication history. Innovative research and ideas from all areas of journalism and communication history and from all time periods are welcome. This conference offers participants the chance to explore new ideas, garner feedback on their work, and meet colleagues from around the world interested in journalism and communication history in a welcoming environment.

When: Friday, March 28, 2025, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Where: Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park

Registration fee: \$90, including boxed lunch. Free for graduate students, with optional boxed lunch at \$30.

Research, research-in-progress, panels, and workshop proposals are all welcome. Your proposal should detail your presentation topic and

offer a compelling rationale as to why your research would interest an interdisciplinary community of scholars.

- Papers are completed research studies and should be attached to the submission, along with the 500-word abstract.
- Research-in-progress are projects that are currently underway, and which would benefit from collegial feedback in a conference setting. The JJCHC eagerly welcomes this kind of work and prides itself as a forum for generative thinking and feedback. To submit an RIP, include a 500-word abstract of the work in the submission form.
- Panels are pre-constituted presentations around a single topic. To submit a panel, include a 500-word rationale overview, along with separate abstracts for individual presentations.

Submissions should be emailed to jjchc.submissions@gmail.com. Please remove any identifying information from your paper or abstract, and attach it to your email as a PDF or Microsoft Word document. In the body of your email, please include your name, preferred email address, institutional affiliation, and title/rank (if applicable). If you are submitting a panel proposal, please include that information for all panel participants.

The deadline for proposal submissions is 11:59 p.m. Eastern Time (U.S.) Monday, Jan. 20, 2025.

Authors will be notified as to whether their proposals by mid-February.

Conference Organizers:

Elisabeth Fondren, St. John's University, New York, NY,
fondrene@stjohns.edu

Rob Wells, University of Maryland, College Park, MD,
robwells@umd.edu

American Journalism Historians Association Elects Officers

Debra van Tuyl, Professor emerita, Augusta University, was inaugurated as president of the American Journalism Historians Association at the AJHA's October national convention.

Michael Fuhlhage, Wayne State University, became First Vice President. Pam Parry, Southeast Missouri State University, was elected Second Vice President.

Three professors were elected to the Board of Directors (for the 2024-2027 term of office). They are Julie Lane, Boise State University; Marquita Smith, University of Mississippi; and Pamela Walck, Duquesne University

Continuing members of the Board are (for the 2023-2026 term) Christina Littlefield, Pepperdine University; Mark Bernhardt, Jackson State University; and Amber Roessner, University of Tennessee; and (for the 2022-2025 term) Elisabeth Fondren, St. John's University; Tom Mascaro, Bowling Green State (Emeritus); and Ashley Walter, St. Louis University.

***Journalism History*: 2024-25 Essay Competition Call**

The *Journalism History* journal calls for scholarly essays that explore the development of journalism's norms and practices — those subtle but significant values and beliefs that define journalism within and across national and cultural contexts.

This year's competition seeks essays that explore the historical construction and development of the mosaic of professional norms and practices across cultural, generational, or national contexts around the globe. This exploration can be done through a significant historical

event or individual within a specific national context, or it can be an examination of a norm or practice's evolution over time or across cultural contexts in a given era.

Essay topics could include, but are not limited to, the development of norms, values, and practices around or in:

- Source relations and confidentiality
- “Objectivity”
- Journalistic activism
- Unique national or cultural contexts
- Emergent post-colonial contexts
- Professional specialties (sports, politics, lifestyle, visual journalism, etc).

The winning essay will receive a \$100 (US) prize. Top essay(s) will be published in the Journalism History journal; runners-up will be published on the Journalism History website.

To be considered for inclusion in the essay series, please submit the following to jhistoryjournal@gmail.com by 11.59 p.m. Pacific time December 15, 2024:

- A brief CV (including publications).
- A 100- to 200-word synopsis of the topic you plan to discuss in your essay, along with a short list of key primary and secondary sources you plan to draw from.
- An affirmation that the essay has not been proposed or published elsewhere.

Essay selection and the schedule for publication will be decided by January 15, 2025. Completed essays accepted for online publication will be due approximately two weeks before their scheduled publication date. The essays to be published in the journal will be due by March 15, 2025.

Completed essays will be 1,000 to 1,500 words, excluding citations. Authors should cite primary and/or secondary sources to support their arguments. Both abstract and full essay submissions must be in English. The Chicago Manual of Style must be used for accepted essays.

Questions may be directed to Josie Vine, online content coordinator for *Journalism History*, at jhistoryjournal@gmail.com.

Walter Wins 2024 Dicken-Garcia Research Grant

The American Journalism Historians Association awarded the 2024 Hazel Dicken-Garcia Research Grant to Ashley Walter, an assistant professor in the Department of Communication at St. Louis University.

Established in 2023, the grant provides financial assistance to graduate students and junior faculty whose work embodies the scholarly interests of Dicken-Garcia, which includes 19th- and 20th-century journalism standards; equity issues and the media; gender, identity, and the media; media and journalism ethics; international communication; Civil War journalism; and free expression/First Amendment. Dicken-Garcia mentored numerous M.A. and Ph.D. students during her 30-year career in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota.

The grant will support Walter's travel to conduct research in Associated Press and Time, Inc. archives in New York City in support of a forthcoming book project on lawsuits filed by women working at print news organizations following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Walter's book aims to uncover the stories of these women — which were un- or under-reported in the mainstream press — and follow the entire history of the suits and their long-term impact.

"I am delighted to receive a grant that honors the memory of

Dicken-Garcia,” Walter said. “I wouldn’t be where I am today without this organization and the gifts that its members have given me. AJHA members are always generous with their time and mentorship. I am honored to now receive this generous grant. I promise to repay the kindness that I’ve received.”

Cfp: IAMHIST Conference 2025 “Decentering Media Histories and Practices”. 30 June-2 July, 2025, at the University of Cape Town (Za)

Deadline: Dec 20, 2024

IAMHIST is an international organisation of scholars, filmmakers, broadcasters and archivists dedicated to historical inquiry into film, radio, TV and other media.

The study of film and media histories has long been dominated by western, often Eurocentric perspectives, in terms of content, theory and methodology. In previously colonised countries, colonial archiving projects have silenced historical accounts and profoundly altered postcolonial mediascapes. In some countries, cultures of censorship and neglect have resulted in lopsided, disintegrating or inaccessible public records. In recent years, there have been calls for an epistemological re-examination of sources, methods, and practices — to de-colonise and reimagine scholarship to include indigenous media histories as well as radical and reparative approaches to the past. In response, the 2025 IAMHIST conference seeks to shift, disrupt, and question existing scholarship by including previously excluded perspectives, histories, media, archives, practitioners and lenses. We invite proposals for papers, artists’ presentations and panel discussions on any of the following topics:

- Re-examining colonial film and media histories
- (Decomposing) colonial media representations

- Colonial archiving practices
- Archival migration and repatriation in the colonies
- Archival ownership, financing and access
- Decolonial perspectives on film and media history
- Indigenous media practices, past and present
- The history of media cultures in the Global South
- The communication practices of liberation movements
- Reparative media/the media and reparations
- Decolonising media archives
- Post-colonial media and film
- The restitution of audiovisual/immaterial archives and heritage media
- The archiving of indigenous communities, liberation movements and post-colonial practices (as colonial archives often only represent the perspective of the coloniser it is important to build/value/find archives that represent indigenous perspectives)
- The politics of archival financing
- Diasporic communication histories
- Digital engagements with archives (adaptation, manipulation, restoration)
- Contemporary reuse of archives

Individual paper proposals should consist of a title, an abstract of 200-300 words and a short biography (100 words). We especially welcome proposals from early-career researchers, archivists and practitioners. Panel proposals (of 3-4 papers) are also welcome; they need to be submitted by one individual presenter of the panel who must include the title of the panel and all abstracts and short bios. We also appreciate proposals for archival, artistic or multimedia/practice-based projects or workshops.

You are welcome to discuss their suitability with the conference organisers in advance of the deadline. You can send enquiries to IAMHIST2025@gmail.com.

Conference attendees are expected to be members of IAMHIST. Information about IAMHIST membership can be found here: <http://iamhist.net/membership/>. There will also be an opportunity to join at the time of registration.

The conference is co-organised by IAMHIST and the Centre for Film and Media Studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

The deadline for submissions is 20 December.

Please submit your proposals here:

<https://forms.gle/J5Hntu2gftoQHong6>

Full call: <https://iamhist.net/category/iamhist-conference-2025/>

Call for Papers: Media Mutations 16 International Conference: Unlocking Television Archives in the Digital Era

Date and location: May 26-27, 2025 * Bologna, Dipartimento delle Arti, Palazzo Marescotti

Organised by Luca Barra, Matteo Marinello, Emiliano Rossi (Università di Bologna), Susanne Eichner (Filmuniversität Babelsberg Konrad Wolf, Potsdam) and Anne-Katrin Weber (Université de Lausanne)

Proposals deadline: February 10, 2025

Details here: site.unibo.it/atlas/en/final-conference and here: mediamutations.org/callforpapers

The opportunity to store and preserve full records or fragments of already aired programmes has been a crucial challenge for the entire television industry since its inception, implying issues of material feasibility

ity, editorial advantage and, not least, economic viability. Despite substantial geographical discrepancies and various capacities, PSBs and legacy networks have mostly initiated in-house archives and digitised repositories. On the other hand, local channels and less institutionalised TV companies have been inconsistent, with the result that significant portions of their cultural heritage have been lost, or are barely available. Concurrently, from the second half of the 1990s, the interdependence between media and audiovisual archives has undergone a radical evolution: digitisation, recovery, preservation, access, and sharing have gradually become buzzwords of any creative chain, while video collections have been widely reinstated as tools for storytelling, memory/identity-building, and corporate branding.

The 16th edition of Media Mutations international conference — developed within the scope of the PRIN 2020 research project ATLAS - Atlante delle televisioni locali (Atlas of Local Televisions, site.unibo.it/atlas/en) — will explore and engage with the history and recent developments of TV archives, investigated both on a theoretical, technical and operational basis and with attention to their commercial potential. In an age of multi-channel and digital platforms, the use of archives as sources entails constant renegotiations of the ties between technology and memory, opening unexpected glimpses in public history and delving into the political dimension of cultural heritage's reuse, exploitation and enhancement. Accordingly, the conference aims to foster dialogue on current practices, policies and emerging trends as far as the establishment, curation and maintenance of media corporations' archives are concerned, while raising complex questions around their fair use(s). In such a frame, the coverage of minor, less-known case studies drawn from a European, international and transnational scale will be appreciated.

By bringing together academic researchers, professionals, and experts, Media Mutations 16 encourages submissions covering diverse topics, approaches and methodologies, such as:

- creation, classification and preservation of TV archives, within or beyond academic research: specificities, challenges, ethics, historiography, and methodological tools;
- the peculiarities and complexities of local, private, commercial television archives, and their relevance at a regional, national and transnational level;
- digitisation of audiovisual and non-audiovisual (e.g. production documents, press releases, sound recordings, images) sources: projects, experiences, examples;
- audiovisual archives between preservation, restoration and curation procedures;
- promotion and implementation initiatives related to TV archives and content circulation, including digital exhibitions and multimedia showcases;
- regulation: norms, laws, policies and institutional guidelines concerning TV archives;
- archival and production cultures: the use of TV archives to investigate the medium backstage and professional routines, also through the enhancement of ancillary resources (e.g. paratexts, interstitial programmes, promotional materials);
- the exploitation of TV archives for entertainment, information and other commercial uses;
- TV archives, society, and public history practices: the connection with audience, local communities, and the broader public, against the backdrop of national, regional and local identities;
- infrastructural and operational logics of digital collections: logics

and strategies for selecting and classifying documents, data management arrangements, IP and copyright protection;

- international alliances between audiovisual archives and co-operation schemes;
- audiovisual heritage and the decolonisation of archives: procedures, knowledge and communication;
- long-term conservation, social responsibility and environmental sustainability of audiovisual archives: exploitation of labour avoidance, climate-neutral digital hosting, socio-ecological footprint and related best practices;
- the integration of AI into audiovisual archives: the advancement of AI-generated content and the applications of AI and machine learning to manage and retrieve stored items.

The language of the conference is English.

Abstracts (max 250 words) should be sent to luca.barra@unibo.it, emiliano.rossi5@unibo.it, matteo.marinello3@unibo.it by **February 10, 2025**.

Please attach a short biography (max 100 words) and an optional selection of sources (up to five titles) relevant to the topics addressed in the proposal. The conference will be in person, with no option for remote presentation. Notification of acceptance will be sent by March 5th, 2025. A registration fee will be requested after notification of paper acceptance (€80 for speakers and professional attendants).

This Conference is promoted by the [Media Mutations Association](https://mediamutations.org)(mediamutations.org) and financially supported by PRIN 2020 ATLAS and DAMSLab. The Conference is also organized in collaboration with *VIEW. Journal of European Television History and Culture*, *SERIES. International Journal of Television Serial Narratives*, and the TV Studies section of ECREA — European Communication

Research and Education Association.

The acts of the conference will be published by [Media Mutations Publishing](https://publishing.mediamutations.org)(publishing.mediamutations.org). Please also note that the call for papers of *Tele-Archives. Reframing Archival Research on Local Televisions Across Europe*, winter 2025 special issue of *Cinergie* focuses on some topics covered by the conference; cross-applications are welcome. More information is be available here: cinergie.unibo.it/announcement.

Call for Papers: *Cinergie*. Il cinema e le altre arti no. 28

Tele-Archives. Reframing Archival Research on Local Televisions Across Europe; ed. by Giulia Crisanti (Sapienza Università di Roma), Myriam Mereu (Università degli Studi di Cagliari), Emiliano Rossi (Università di Bologna) and Paola Zeni (Università degli Studi di Torino)

Proposals deadline: January 10, 2025

Details here: <https://site.unibo.it/atlas/en/publication> and <https://cinergie.unibo.it/announcement/view/660>

This special issue of *Cinergie* — developed within the scope of the PRIN 2020 research project ATLas - Atlante delle Televisioni Locali (Atlas of Local Televisions, <https://site.unibo.it/atlas/en>) — intends to bring together a wide variety of contributions on local broadcasting in Europe, with a particular focus on the several ways in which archival research can delve into the evolution of media systems in different contexts, as well as investigate unexplored narratives in European television history. The existing literature has largely relied on memorialist accounts to assess the peculiarities of local TV stations. A thorough and systemic historical inquiry of Europe's commercial broadcasting is how-

ever still lacking. The CFP consequently solicits contributions addressing the many single stories of local broadcasters in relation to more general interpretations of the progressive commercialization of European television.

Italy provides an interesting case study to address the evolution undertaken during the 1980s by European televisions, but it also shows the need for a transnational and/or comparative analysis. Between 1974 and 1976, a series of rulings issued by the National Constitutional Court brought about a revolution in the country's television landscape. Together with the 1975 reform of national PSB Rai, the Court provisions opened a new era in the history of Italian broadcasting, ending State's monopoly and leading the way towards the growth of Italian local and private televisions. The ensuing commercialisation of Italian broadcasting was however connected to and sustained by larger historical transformations which cannot be confined within the nation's geographical or political borders: technological innovations in broadcasting, increased market liberalisation, progressive segmentation of consumer habits all contributed to transnationally challenge the hitherto dominant European television paradigm, prompting a greater influence of American commercial television models and programs, as well as a variety of local and national responses. The eventual introduction, in 1989, of the European directive known as "Television without Frontiers" testifies to the strong relation between larger trends impacting media landscapes all across the continent and the evolution of European television broadcasting in the 1980s.

Since they represent one of the most valuable resources to study the past, archives can be framed from a wide variety of interdisciplinary perspectives, including comparative and cross-media scholarly points of view. Lack of access to audiovisual repositories and documentary

sources referring to private TV stations has undermined a full understanding of their role and legacy. Accordingly, the recurrent absence of institutional databases demands a “patchwork” approach, fostering the adoption of an inter-textual outlook connecting the experience of local televisions with other media outlets such as newspapers, radio stations, cinema, etc. Such an integration of sources entails new strategies to collect, preserve and transmit audiovisual heritage, while providing fruitful insights into the history of broader European socio-economic and cultural developments throughout the 1980s.

Following the “archival turn” undertaken in film, media and television studies, this special issue of *Cinergie*

• will gather contributions that deal with — but are not strictly limited to — the following topics and issues:

- the role of formal and informal TV and media archives in shaping private and public memories, cultures and identities, especially in Europe and with reference to different territorial scales (i.e. transnational, national, regional, local);
- the rediscovery of hidden TV and media archives, including forgotten or marginalised figures, stories, TV programmes, genres and schedules;
- the resort to audiovisual archive to shed light on TV production and distribution patterns, with a special focus on industrial details;
- the integration, in addition to audiovisual records, of different archival sources (i.e. sound recordings, images, scripts, interviews), the role played by grey archives (i.e. those storing administrative deeds and business data) and the enhancement of oral history practices within academic research on local broadcasting;
- the technical, editorial and commercial structure of TV archives: data treatment, sampling criteria, content hierarchies and discovery

tools;

- academic, historical and public uses of archives: methodological and theoretical standpoints, limits and problems of database access between analogical and digital repositories;
- data circulation and dissemination strategies, with a special focus on local TV and commercial broadcasting;
- the evolution and survival of media archives: policies, open science practices, IP protection, alternative approaches towards the revitalisation of cultural heritage.

Please send a 300/500-word abstract and a short bio (50-100 words, in English) to Giulia Crisanti and Paola Zeni at giulia.crisanti@uniromal.it and paola.zeni@unito.it by January 10, 2025 — [subject: Cinergie Application + name surname author(s)].

Notification of acceptance will be sent by January 31, 2025.

If the proposal is accepted, the author(s) will be asked to submit the full article by May 20, 2025.

Articles (in English or Italian) must not exceed 6,000 words and may include images, clips, and links for illustrative purposes. Please provide proper credits, permissions, and copyright information to ensure that images, clips, and links are copyright-free and can be published.

Contributions will undergo a double-blind peer-review.

Expected publication: December 2025.

Please note that the 16th edition of Media Mutations international conference — Unlocking Television Archives in the Digital Era (<https://site.unibo.it/atlas/en/final-conference>), to be held in Bologna in May 26-27, 2025, will focus on some of the topics covered by the issue; cross-applications are welcome.

Call for Articles: Women's Film and Television History Network – UK/Ireland

At the Women's Film and Television History Network — UK/Ireland, we are dedicated to exploring and celebrating the invaluable contributions women have made to the evolution of film and television. We invite you to share your insights, ideas, and research with our community.

Share Your Ideas! If you have a concept or topic related to film or television that you'd like to explore, we would love to hear from you. Your perspectives are vital to our mission of amplifying women's voices in the industry.

Ways to Contribute

If you're interested in contributing but don't have a specific idea in mind, here are several opportunities to get involved:

1. **Book Reviews:** We are excited to introduce a new section for book reviews on our blog. We're starting with the following titles:

- Laura Minor's *Reclaiming Female Authorship in Contemporary UK TV Comedy* [Read more here](#)
- Marianne Kac-Vergne and Julie Assouly (eds.), *From the Margins to the Mainstream: Women in Film and Television* [Read more here](#)
- Anna Bogutskaya's *Feeding the Monster: Why Horror Has a Hold On Us* [Read more here](#)

If any of these titles pique your interest, please reach out.

2. **Interviews:** We are keen to feature interviews with contemporary women filmmakers. If you have any suggestions, please reach out.

3. **Coverage of the BFI's Woman with a Movie Camera Summit 2025:** We are looking for contributors to cover the BFI's Woman with a Movie Camera Summit. This can include a retrospective on the Sum-

mit's programme since its inception or coverage of next year's event. If you're interested in writing a retrospective, we would love to publish it as soon as possible. For those interested in covering next year's Summit, please express your interest, and we'll be in touch next year.

4. **Festival Coverage and Film Reviews:** If you would like to cover film festivals or to focus on individual film reviews or specific articles, please let us know. [Learn more here.](#)

5. **Podcast Reviews:** We welcome reviews of podcasts that explore women's roles in film, such as *Girls on Film* or *Making It: Women in Film*. If you have a specific episode or series in mind, we'd love to hear your thoughts.⁶

1. **Film and Filmmaker Pieces:** We have some ideas for pieces that seek to highlight the contributions of women in film:

- *Invisible Women:* Seek out and champion the work of women and filmmakers with marginalized identities who have been overlooked, uncredited, or excluded from the history of cinema.
- *Emerging Female Filmmakers:* Consider filmmakers such as Charlotte (*Scrapper*, 2023), Raine Allen Miller (*Rye Lane*, 2023), Molly Manning Walker (*How to Have Sex*, 2023), Charlotte Wells (*Aftersun*, 2022), Adura Onashile (*Girl*, 2023), and Georgia Oakley (*Blue Jean*, 2023).

If any of the above interests you, please get in touch with Bruna Foletto Lucas (Foletto.b@gmail.com) or Sophia Satchell-Baeza (ssatchellbaeza@yahoo.co.uk). If you're interested in pitching for our Television blog, contact Laura Minor at l.j.minor@salford.ac.uk

Thank you.

Dr. Bruna Foletto Lucas

Call for Papers: Migration in Media Histories

Migration is one of the most contested and politically charged issues of our times. Referring to a range of experiences, migration entails forms of exile, diaspora, labor migration, refugee experiences, human trafficking, and other forms of human displacement due to economic, political, or global forces. In our current “age of migration” (De Haas, Castles, and Miller 2019; De Haas 2023), the global political landscape is seeing the rise of populist, right-wing or alt-right movements with nationalist, anti-immigration agendas. The political debates on migration are fueled by a seemingly endless array of images, frames, and narratives provided and reproduced by television, film, and radio, and other (online/social) media platforms. At the same time, these media platforms are also the site of counter-narratives and political activism. Historicizing the entanglement of media and migration thereby becomes indispensable.

Within an increasingly significant body of work on migration and media, a profound historical approach is still rather underdeveloped. While many studies focus on recent representations of migration in the media, fewer studies analyze media representations of migration over time. Such studies show that historicizing of media narratives of migration and paying attention to wider temporalities can help to understand the emergence and persistence of (stereotypical) stories and images of migration, and to recognize the historical roots of contemporary media discourse of migration. Recent studies show that the rise of computational approaches offers promising opportunities for historical, cross-media, and systematic longitudinal research on media and migration. Another productive line of historical research on media and migration revolves around archives and mediated memories of migration. Various scholars engage with (marginalized) audiovisual collections, and study

the archival representation of migrant communities, and the systematic underrepresentation of these groups from heritage. Others seek to examine the remediation of archival footage of migration to demonstrate how media re-narrativize migration, and how media make (counter-hegemonic) use of mediated migratory memories in contemporary productions. Besides, scholarly work focuses on the history of multicultural programming in European broadcasting. And finally, scholars are invested in historically-informed inquiries of media technology and media use across migration contexts.

This special issue of *TMG Journal for Media History* seeks to further these promising avenues of historical research on the topic of media and migration. We welcome a variety of disciplines and approaches to realise our ambition to present unfamiliar histories of media and migration. We hence invite empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions addressing the following topics as well as other topics within the field of media and migration studies:

- Media representation/framing of migration
- Migration and the archive
- Mediated migration memories
- Histories of diasporic/migrant media production
- Histories of migrant media use/ tactics of self-representation/ media activism
- Encounters of cultural differences in film and television
- Historical perspectives on media framing of refugee/ asylum 'crises'
- Comparison of media representation of migration in two or more crises/eras
- Histories of border imaginations
- Histories of media technology/ infrastructure in migration con-

texts

- Programming for diasporic communities
- Media ethics of migration

Submission guidelines

Contributions should be in English. Abstracts should present the main research question(s), scientific literature, method, and case study the authors plan to use. They should not exceed 500 words. Please submit your abstract and a short bio to: Dr. Andrea Meuzelaar at the University of Amsterdam: (a.meuzelaar@uva.nl). Abstract submissions are due on 1 November 2024.

Selected authors shall be invited to submit an article of 6000-8000 words (including notes). Final acceptance depends on a double-blind peer review process of the manuscripts. Deadline for the manuscript is on 1 April 2025. Revised drafts are expected by 1 September 2025. The issue will be published Fall 2025. If you have questions, please contact the editors of the special issue, Dr. Gert Jan Harkema (g.j.harkema@uva.nl) and Dr. Andrea Meuzelaar (a.meuzelaar@uva.nl)

TMG Journal for Media History is an open access journal. The publication requires no payment by the authors.

Call for Proposals / ICA 2025 Preconference: "Non-Aligned Disruptions: Global Media Histories in the Wake of Decolonization"

Denver, Colorado

Thursday June 12, 2025, from 8:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.

Co-sponsored by: Center for Advanced Research in Global Communication; ICA Global Communication and Social Change Division; Communication History Division

Deadline for submissions: December 15, 2024

About the Preconference

With the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the 1960s, newly independent nations from across the Global South sought to generate channels and protocols for international collaboration that would bypass centuries-old colonial extractive dynamics. What began as a political project of high level diplomacy soon expanded into an ethos that inspired and guided numerous initiatives in the fields of scientific research, cultural production, architecture, and so on. In short, the Non-Aligned Movement was a major disruptor of the political, economic, and cultural status quo of the mid-20th century, and media and communication practices were key to this disruption. Projects like New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), Broadcasting Organization on Non-Aligned Countries (BONAC), and Non-Aligned News Agency Pool (NANAP) aimed to reconfigure the international arena of communication, from reimagining networks and technology exchange to forging new collaborative practices to respond to unique and shifting on-the-ground situations of decolonizing countries in the Global South. These projects troubled and challenged established logics of the existing institutional apparatuses and research paradigms they relied on. However, the histories of these disruptions have mostly remained unwritten or been forgotten by contemporary scholarship.

This preconference aims to examine the conceptual implications and epistemic challenges that NAM disruptions (as well as other forms of disruptions that emerged in media and communication systems of the Global South and are aligned to the spirit and objectives of NAM) continue to pose for media and communication research. How do we account for the varied projects that were simultaneously initiated in and carried out from locations such as India, Iraq, Algiers and Cuba? How does such a fundamentally transnational character of collaborative ini-

tiatives expand our grasp of global media histories? What do we make of institutional collaborations that unsettle our understandings of top-down and bottom-up activities? How should we frame the persistence of racial logics that NAM actors faced in the realm of international media governance? And how do NAM's failures, alongside the simultaneous persistence of its legacies, trouble existing conceptions of media temporalities? We will bring together scholars who are tackling these and other questions to provide a greater depth and geographical scope to media and communication studies' understanding of the long history of global connectivity. By centering historical projects of media decolonization, we also aim to advance the field's contemporary efforts to decolonize and de-canonize knowledge production.

This ICA preconference continues from two previous preconferences held in Canada and Australia respectively: "Media and Communication Studies in Global Contexts: A Critical History" and "Repressed Histories of Communication and Media Studies."

The preconference will be organized as four roundtables. We invite submissions that address one of the following roundtable topics:

- Develop critical histories of the disruptions and consolidations of media industries in postcolonial and non-aligned contexts, with a particular emphasis on institutional and political economic analysis.
- (Re)Assess the role of popular icons in the Non-Aligned Movement (e.g. from Nasser and Nehru to Mariam Makeba and Bruce Lee) across various media forms including but not limited to films and newsreels, radio, television, posters and pamphlets, music.
- Consider Non-Aligned media practices as forms of anti-colonial worldmaking and knowledge production, especially in their relation to transnational feminist, queer, disability, and other justice

movements.

- Explore contemporary re-activations of nonaligned visions in response to renewed pressures to align with or against regimes of power in the context of contemporary geopolitics.

Submission Guidelines

Authors should submit an extended abstract of 350-400 words (excluding references) to cargc@asc.upenn.edu. In a single PDF, please include: your name, institutional affiliation, email address, title of your proposed presentation, and abstract.

The deadline for submissions is December 15, 2024, 23:59 GMT.

Authors will be notified by January 30, 2025 if their abstract has been accepted.

Attendance to the preconference has a general USD 50.00 fee. Please note that we will be able to defray registration costs and provide some travel funding for panelists.

Organizers:

Eszter Zimanyi, University of Pennsylvania

Sima Kokotovic, University of Pennsylvania

Aswin Punathambekar, University of Pennsylvania

Simone Natale, University of Turin

Usha Raman, University of Hyderabad

Emily Keightley, Loughborough University

Jing Wang, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Ignatius Suglo, University of Richmond

Call for Proposals: *American Journalism* Special Issues

The AJHA's academic journal *American Journalism*, open to global

media scholarship in journalism and media history, has calls open now for two special issues.

Consider submitting to American Journalism's special issue on [Developments in Media Over Time](#). Deadline for proposals is December 20.

Consider submitting to American Journalism's special issue on the [200th anniversary of the Black Press](#). Deadline for proposals is May 15.

See below for details.

Call for Proposals: Developments in Media Over Time

American Journalism: A Journal of Media History announces a call for proposals for papers for a special issue to be published in Fall 2026 that will examine institutional developments in media that happen over long time periods. While it is common (and valuable) to explore historical developments over one or a few years and to examine the role of key individuals or media organizations, this issue will focus instead on the development of key features of media over long time-horizons.

The journal is particularly interested in long histories that provide perspectives on contemporary issues in journalism, public relations, advertising, broadcasting, and other forms of mediated communication. For example, recent research explored the violent deaths of U.S. journalists over a century or more, therein contextualizing contemporary threats to journalists. Likewise, a multi-decade study of press standards on publishing profanity provided a backdrop to approaches during the Trump campaigns and presidency. The issue also welcomes examination of historical currents in media that fell outside predominant forms or practices, such as in recent articles in this journal on the long devel-

opment of outdoor writing and history of libel by racial misidentification.

No historical media-related topics are off limits. Examples of possible areas of research include:

- Media-related jobs,
- Media genres,
- Technological developments,
- Media norms or ethics,
- Media law or policy debates,
- Media practices,
- Conceptions of, or relationships with, media audiences.

The special issue editors expect studies to place media developments in broader socio-cultural, institutional, technological, and historical contexts. The journal also values studies that address historical processes, thus helping to account for how media change happens over time. Generally speaking, this special issue will prioritize studies that ‘theorize’ their object of study – that is, that seek to explain change and help readers understand why media have turned out the way they have or why other forms have not received broad institutional purchase. For example, submissions could engage with alternative versions of histories already told and/or apply a feminist or critical race theory lens toward their subject.

Proposals should be five to ten pages, including a title or a two-sentence summary, a 250-word abstract, and a narrative that explains the scope of the project, its theme or argument, and its significance. Proposals should demonstrate familiarity with the relevant literature and historical context, as well as historiography, provide examples of primary sources, and address how the author plans to develop and structure the work.

Submission Instructions

The special issue is being edited by Tim P. Vos (Michigan State University) and Suzannah Evans Comfort (Indiana University). Proposals should be sent to Lori Amber Roessner at aroessne@utk.edu

Proposals are due December 20, 2024. Notice of accepted proposals will be communicated within a month. For accepted proposals, full papers will be due by December 1, 2025.

The 200th Anniversary of the Founding of *Freedom's Journal* and the Beginnings of the Black Press

Acknowledging that the story of the Black Press remains under-told, *American Journalism: A Journal of Media History* announces a call for proposals for a special issue to be published in April 2027 to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the founding of *Freedom's Journal* and the beginnings of the Black Press. We seek original historical research on the transformational role of the Black Press in the United States and across the globe that builds upon the groundbreaking scholarship produced since the 1970s.

On the occasion of this bicentennial anniversary, our goal is to build on foundational scholarship that has documented the power of the Black Press with work that asks new questions and presents new theoretical and methodological approaches, insights, and arguments.

Proposals should be two to five pages, including a title or a two-sentence summary, a 250-word abstract, and a narrative that explains the scope of the project, its theme or argument, and its significance. Proposals should demonstrate familiarity with the relevant literature and historical context, as well as historiography, provide examples of primary sources, and address how the author plans to develop and struc-

ture the work.

Topics may include, but are not limited to, studies of:

- Voice, agency, and identity within the Black Press;
- The politics of race and constructions of race, gender, class, and sexuality;
- The advocacy press and the struggle for racial justice and a New America;
- The global influence of the Black Press;
- The business and economics, including advertising and public relations, of the Black Press;
- The Black Press before and after the Kerner Commission report;
- Moments when the Black Press clashes with — or collaborates alongside — the mainstream, “white” Press in the United States and elsewhere;
- The Black Press and New Media — Black Owned and Operated Radio and Television Stations
- The status of the Black Press — Iterations of the Black Press in the age of digital/social media;
- the Black Press as a tool for researching family history
- New directions in the study of the Black Press, including discussions of theory, methodology and pedagogy

Submission Instructions

Authors should send proposals to Lori Amber Roessner at aroessne@utk.edu

Proposals are due May 15, 2025. Notice of accepted proposals will be communicated within a month. For accepted proposals, full papers will be due no later than December 31, 2025.

Award Call: Best JMC History Book

The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication's History Division is soliciting entries for its annual award for the best JMC history book. The winning author will receive a plaque and a \$500 prize at the August 2025 AEJMC conference in San Francisco. Attendance at the conference is encouraged as the winner will be honored at a History Division awards event. The author also will be invited to discuss the winning book during a live taping of the *Journalism History* podcast, which traditionally takes place during the reception.

Further details about the competition can be found here: <https://mediahistorydivision.com/awards/history-book-award/>

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 2024 copyright date will be accepted. Entries must be received by February 1, 2025. Submit four hard copies of each book or an electronic copy (must be an e-Book or a pdf manuscript in publisher's page-proof format) along with the author's mailing address, telephone number, and email address to:

David T. Z. Mindich, AEJMC History Book Award Chair
Temple University Journalism Department
2020 North 13th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19122

If you have any questions, or to submit electronic copies, please email Book Award Chair David T. Z. Mindich at mindich@temple.edu

[CLICK HERE
TO RETURN
TO TABLE OF
CONTENTS](#)