Historiography

in Mass Communication

Volume 7 (2021). Number 1

Historiography in Mass Communication

Editorial Purpose

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

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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.

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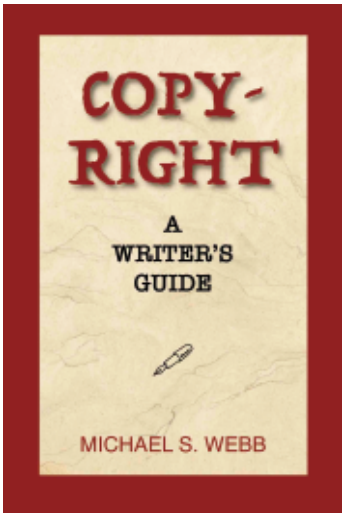
A WRITER'S GUIDE



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This book is a practical resource for writers, for journalism students, for teachers — and for historians who need to know if they need permission to use material.

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- What constitutes copyright infringement, as well as the amount of money the owner of a copyright may recover in a lawsuit
- How to protect yourself from the consequences of violating another's copyright

The Author: Michael S. Webb is a practicing lawyer who has taught media law at both Georgia State University and Clark University in Atlanta.

The Whig Interpretation

By Wm. David Sloan ©

Sloan

The year 1974 was a big one for JMC historiography.

Other years have been important. We can point to, for example, 1982. That was the year the American Journalism Historians Association was founded, followed by the launch of its research publication, *American Journalism*. Both the organization and the journal have helped stimulate vitality in the study of history.

We might even say immodestly that, in our own small way, the founding of this journal, our *Historiography in Mass Communication*, marks the year 2015 as a minor milestone.

Of course, a number of other years and events could be named, but for recent times 1974 was a pivotal one. I use the word "recent" relatively because half a century, even for historians, can be a long time. When we consider how many events have occurred in the last forty-seven years, we can grasp how important two from 1974 are. Their impact is with us still.

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

The first event I refer to is the founding of the journal *Journalism History*. Tom Reilly, a professor at California State University-Northridge, was the creative mind behind it. He served as its editor until 1985.

As a personal note, I will mention that it was through Tom that I was introduced to the world of scholarly publishing. *Journalism History* carried the first research article I ever did. It was a study on George Wisner of the 1833 *New York Sun* that I wrote as a grad student.

In later years I met Tom a couple of times and found him to be gracious and helpful. He retired from teaching in 2001 but lived only another year, dying of prostate cancer at the age of 67.

Journalism History continues to this day and remains important to the vitality of JMC historiography.

The second event was publication of the lead article in the first issue of *Journalism History*. It was Jim Carey's essay "The Problem with Journalism History." The article had an impact on approaches in our field greater perhaps than any other work since then.

Readers familiar with it know that Carey urged historians to develop "the cultural history of journalism." Since then, many have attempted to apply his proposal, and I estimate that about one-third of JMC historians today think of themselves as cultural historians in the sense that Carey intended.

Carey's impact with the article didn't stop with cultural history. He argued another point that also is familiar to many historians. It was his idea that JMC historians had written with a "Whig" interpretation. Since 1974 up until today one can find frequent references to "Whig history" in articles and books in JMC history.

Because the notion is general, if not ubiquitous, I've been unable to divest myself of the feeling that it deserves some discussion. Whenever

JMC historians mention "Whig history," some give the impression that they know what it is and that readers share the writers' understanding. Others know nothing about it other than what they have read in Carey. Whig history is a topic that JMC historians need to consider. There's been, though, little concrete discussion. It was, I believe, John Nerone who included a paragraph on it in a book back in the 1980s, but I'm not aware of any article or book that has attempted to discourse on the notion at any length.

So here goes a brief explanation of the Whig interpretation and what Carey said about it. It is not a complete explanation, but it will highlight the major points.

Carey borrowed the term from Herbert Butterfield, a British historian. In 1931 Butterfield published a book titled *The Whig Interpretation of History*. He didn't originate the term "Whig history," but he did elaborate the concept, and it is his explanation that historians usually have in mind when they talk about Whig history.

He defined it as the tendency of historians to understand the past in terms of progress to the present. Thus, Whig historians are present-minded and anachronistic. They tell history from the viewpoint of the present and read the present back into the past. Butterfield called it "Whig" history because he had principally in mind British historians who believed history had been progressing politically and democratically toward England's parliamentary system. When, however, historiographers refer to Whig history, they often have in mind an approach that deals with subjects other than British political history. "Whig history" can mean broadly an approach that assumes inevitable progress toward the present.

When Carey used the term, he was thinking of it in this latter sense. He said that the "whig interpretation … views journalism history as the

slow, steady expansion of freedom and knowledge from the political press to the commercial press, the setbacks into sensationalism and yellow journalism, the forward thrust into muckraking and social responsibility." He then expounded briefly, "Sometimes written in classical terms as the expansion of individual rights, sometimes in modern terms as growth of the public's right to know, the entire story is framed by those large impersonal faces [sic] buffeting the press: industrialization, urbanization and democracy." (p. 4)

By identifying the Whig tendencies of JMC historians, Carey did a valuable service for historiography. Even though a few earlier JMC historians had discussed interpretive perspectives, it was Carey who first brought widespread attention to the issue.

Nevertheless, Carey's explanation has several weaknesses, and today's historians need to be aware of them to avoid falling into error.

First, Carey overstated the number of JMC historians who were "Whig." Many historians were not, even though Carey wrote that the Whig interpretation "exclusively dominated the field."

The Whig perspective, or at least something similar to it, was certainly the one most widely employed in 1974, but Carey seems not to have spent much time reading works in JMC history, and so he appears unaware of the views of most JMC historians. He lamented, for example, the fact that the field didn't have "a thoroughgoing Marxist interpretation," and yet it had. To cite two examples: John Chamberlain's *Farewell to Reform* (1932) and James Aronson's *The Press and the Cold War* (1970).

Carey was familiar with Frank Luther Mott's *American Journalism*, which he could classify as "Whig." It had been the dominant textbook since the 1940s, including all the years Carey had been in academia, and one suspects that Carey assumed all but a few historians shared Mott's

perspective.

In fact, a great many historical works published before 1974 did not resemble the "Whig" perspective. The Progressive interpretation, to cite one instance, had produced a number of major works, and it is hard to mistake it as Whig. Even the Nationalist and Romantic interpretations, which usually included a notion of progress and resembled Butterfield's Whig definition, didn't fit Carey's Whig description.

If one wants to understand JMC historiography, one needs not to fall into the error of thinking, as Carey did, that all historians fit into one monolithic school.

The second problem with his explanation is how he defined historians' concept of the nature of the progress of journalism historically. He said it was expansion of freedom and knowledge, advance from the political to the commercial press, regression into sensationalism and yellow journalism, and progress into muckraking and responsibility.

Carey was certainly correct that many historians assumed that journalism had progressed from the political to the commercial press, that freedom had expanded, and that sensationalism and yellow journalism were setbacks.

Considering that Carey himself was not mainly a student of JMC history, it is admirable that he was able to identify some of the features that many historians considered to be journalistic progress.

Nonetheless, his explanation was not precise enough. His surgical tool was a butter knife rather than a scalpel. The perspective of historians whom he apparently had in mind when he termed them "Whig," is not best defined by the characteristics that he identified.

Rather than fitting Carey's "Whig" description, their perspective was that of "proper" or "professional" journalism at the time they were writing. Those historians go back to the 1870s, when Frederic Hudson

wrote his *Journalism in the United States, From 1690 to 1872*. To Hudson and the many historians who followed in his footsteps, including Frank Luther Mott, JMC history seemed to be the story of how "proper" journalism had originated, how it was practiced, and how it had progressed to reach the successful, legitimate stage it was in during each historian's own time. In brief, to those historians the history of American journalism was the story of how the press developed in its professional characteristics as defined at the time they were writing.

The correct standards of professional journalism, however, changed with time. During the period of yellow journalism, for example, some historians with a professional perspective praised sensationalism, even though later historians with a professional perspective decried it. Thus, Carey's definition of "Whig" would fit the later historians but not the earlier ones.

One might reason that Carey did not intend for the word "Whig" to fit the earlier historians. Certainly, one may employ terms in very specific ways as one chooses. If we wish, we could define "Whig" historians as those who fit Carey's description of Whig historians. But that reduces the number of truly "Whig" historians. If "Whig" doesn't apply to the earlier historians, then we can't argue, as Carey did, that the Whig interpretation had exclusively dominated JMC historiography.

The issue is muddied even more by Carey's assertion of the importance of "industrialization, urbanization and democracy" "buffeting the press." Some pre-1974 historians of proper journalism occasionally had mentioned those forces, but most didn't. And when they did, they usually didn't argue that the forces had buffeted, battered, driven, or shaped journalism. Instead, they tended to say that innovative journalists had taken advantage of the forces — or even that it was journalism that influenced them, rather than vice versa.

The idea that such large forces influenced journalism comes not from a Whig interpretation but from a cultural one, such as Sidney Kobre's sociological argument from the 1940s. In fact, an emphasis on the importance of large outside forces seems contrary to the Whig view.

But let's return to the question of what we should call historians who thought in terms of journalistic progress if we don't label them as "Whigs."

Here we're faced with a dilemma, and it is not just the third problem we must deal with in understanding Carey's terminology, but it is the crux of the matter.

In introducing his discussion of Whig historiography, Butterfield wrote of British historians who were "Protestant, progressive [in the sense of progress], and whig [as opposed to Tory], and the very model of the nineteenth century gentleman." Even though historiographers sometimes refer to Whig history as simply an approach that emphasizes progress, it has strong overtones of political history, and British political history in particular.

Because of those connotations, "Whig" doesn't seem the most appropriate for referring to a school of American JMC historiography. In fact, we would be well advised to use the word only with caution.

But what name should we give the school?

Accept my apologies here for falling into some personal history.

A few months ago as I unpacked boxes of books from my office at the University of Alabama — which I vacated nine and a half years ago — I came across my doctoral dissertation, which I wrote in the late 1970s. Out of curiosity, I scanned through its introduction and, to my surprise, discovered that I had written about Carey's "Whig" discussion. I had briefly noted, even back then, problems with the "Whig" label, but I stumbled trying to come up with a definitive name for the school

of historians who emphasized journalism's origin, progress, development, and practice of proper professional standards. In fact, at various points I used all the words "origin," "progress," and "development."

Then in the 1980s as I wrote conference papers and journal articles, and then a book, dealing with JMC historiography, I faced my own dilemma of what to call that school. It couldn't be called "Whig" because of the problems with that term. My preferred word was "Professional" — but I quickly realized that if I referred to the school as "Professional historians," those historians could be confused simply as historians who are not amateurs. My second choice was "Progress," but that term too closely resembled "Progressive," and I couldn't discard "Progressive" because the Progressive School is so well established in American and, as a result, JMC historiography.

I finally settled on "Developmental," not the best word but the only satisfactory one I thought was left. Most of those historians whom Carey would identify as Whig fit within the Developmental school, but the school also includes many others who don't fit his categorization.

I'm still not fully satisfied with the name "Developmental." So I sympathize with Jim Carey in his efforts to define and name a school of historians.

And I admire what he was able to accomplish. Even though he got much of his historiography wrong, he was plowing ground few previously had worked. It is easy to understand why what he wrote forty-seven years ago had the impact that it did.

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How to Solve a Crisis with Historiography and Avoid Becoming a Potato

By Debra Reddin van Tuyll ©

van Tuyll

One month to go. One month before my co-editor, Mary M. Cronin, and I had to deliver a book manuscript to our publisher, a chapter author contacted us to say he couldn't complete his chapter.

That, of course, led to a frenzy of panicked emails. We had to have the chapter. Whom could we get to write it on such short notice? Especially when that chapter would require in-depth knowledge of Civil War military history.

We went back and forth on some names, but we weren't coming up with anyone we felt comfortable asking to research and write a chapter from scratch in a month.

Except, it occurred to me, my husband. I'm married to a military historian. One who has taught the Civil War for more than thirty years. He had the background. Would it be possible to turn him into a jour-

Debra Reddin van Tuyll, a professor at Augusta University, is the author or editor of five books. Her most recent is The Confederate Press in the Crucible of the American Civil War. *She received the American Journalism Historians Association's 2019 Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement.*

nalism historian — at least temporarily — and get him to write the chapter on how newspapers in the western United States covered the military aspects of the Civil War? Would I be imposing on marital vows if I even asked? I have been married to him a couple of years longer than he's been teaching about America's bloodiest conflict. Surely, I could impose.

Well, desperation won out, and I asked. Not surprisingly, he sighed, gave me the stink-eye, but finally capitulated. We had our new chapter author: Hubert van Tuyll had signed onto the project!

He had only a couple of conditions: First, I had to show him how to use Chronicling America and the Thompson/Gale database of nineteenth century newspapers. Easy enough.

Second, a little harder, I had to explain what journalism historians look for in scholarship about issues of coverage, which meant I had to sit down and actually think about what I look for and why I look for that kind of information in particular. I had to think through what the point is of even examining coverage — why does it matter how newspapers covered a particular topic? What's the "So What?" — the question with which my graduate research methods professor tortured us all as we struggled to come up with research ideas he would approve. Coverage of Princess Diana's death, which was fresh news at that point, didn't meet the "So, what?" threshold he set. Would coverage of Civil War military affairs — especially coverage by newspapers that were so far away from the action they might as well have been in Europe or South America?

True, those were all rhetorical questions to some degree, for, clearly, coverage is an important topic for journalism history. The vast majority of conference papers, journal articles, and books seem to deal with coverage at least to some extent. That is the heart of journalism, after all.

No less a luminary than James W. Carey declared that the history of journalism is the history of reporting. Reporting and coverage are pretty much synonymous.

But how do you communicate all that backs up Carey's claim to, yes, a trained historian, but one whose field usually has him counting the number of boots America sent to Russia in the World War II Lend-Lease program or tracking down shadowy figures who used cryptic telegraph messages to warn neutral countries that invasion troops were headed their way? How do you acquaint said historian with journalism historiography in short order?

Ultimately, we managed it, and Hubert got his chapter in on time.

Once Mary and I got the manuscript shipped off to the publisher, I asked my husband what he'd learned about doing journalism history from this project and how challenging moving into a new field of history was. His answers offer some insights for journalism historians as to how our colleagues in other fields of history see our work and methods.

Fortunately, Hubert said he actually found significant value in taking on so alien a project. His exact comment was stated confidently, baldly, "If you never step outside of your comfort level, you are a potato."

Intellectual growth, he continued, is an obligation for scholars. It is something academics have to do if they are to grow in their understanding, which is the basis of creating new knowledge. Stretching one's intellectual muscles by learning a new methodology or a new way of looking at a phenomenon is useful but not always possible, Hubert explained. He may have taught the Civil War for 35 years, but with his focus being on the military aspects of the conflict, he went into the project knowing very little about how the war was perceived, or even what people knew about it, in the West.

As a result of this project, he now has a far better understanding of what happened in the west with regard to the Indian fighting as well as what people there knew about what was happening in the main theatres of war. That may require a new slide to be added to his Civil War PowerPoint.

Hubert has always valued being at what was initially a regional state university where, if a faculty member was doing any research at all, he or she was applauded.

At the larger flagship universities, though, faculty members don't always have the opportunity to pursue a new interest, he continued. Instead, they find success by continuing to mine the lode they began with.

Hubert has been even more eclectic in his publishing than I have. He started out as a Sovietologist, but when the Berlin wall came down, he realized he would need to reinvent himself. So, based on his dissertation on the World War II Lend-Lease program with Russia, he became a historian of World War II. Later, his interests shifted to the Low Countries during World War I and how they used diplomacy to maintain their neutrality (or not, in the case of Belgium). Now, he is working on a book that explores what one can learn from the various Anglo-Celtic civil wars, beginning with the English Civil War (1641-1652) and going through the Irish Civil War (1922-1923) — and including the American Civil War.

His chapter wasn't so off his beaten track after all, except that instead of using newspapers only as source materials, he had to figure out how to use them as the focus of his study. Hubert has used newspapers in his research before — as source material, but not as the topic of research itself. In his World War I diplomacy study, he looked at Dutch newspapers to see how propaganda was used to shape public opinion about the Entente and government activities.

Studying newspapers as a phenomenon themselves was new and a bit daunting given his deadline.

"It was very different from my usual historical research," he recalled. "And that required me to read the newspapers differently."

The biggest issue he faced — and this won't surprise readers of this journal — was figuring out what sort of framework to use and which newspapers to focus on, and then hope he made the right choices. He found the most daunting part of the project to be figuring out how to defend his decisions on framework. He worried that someone might argue, "Well, the *Northern Idaho Radiator* said this. You're saying Idaho newspapers said that." He settled on the old "preponderance of the evidence" rule he learned in law school, and that is applicable to history as well. One newspaper may make a particular argument, but if the majority of them make the opposite argument, scholars should usually go with the majority.

The other factor that gave him trouble was sorting out the partisan perspectives of the western newspapers. They might have agreed in general on the facts of an issue, but there were nuances of opinion that had to be sorted out, considered, and contextualized. He found the most frustrating aspect of the project to be when major newspapers did not cover a battle or a military issue, but small-town, low-circulation ones did. He was not as likely to trust the smaller papers to represent general opinion.

In the end, Hubert says breaking out of his comfort zone was definitely worth it. He says his work for this chapter will be helpful in his Anglo-Celtic civil wars project. It helped him fill in gaps in his knowledge about the West during the Civil War, and it taught him how to develop a methodology using newspapers as the objects of study.

Ultimately, Hubert's understanding of the subtleties of historiogra-

phy helped him successfully complete his chapter, even though his historiographical knowledge was not in journalism history. It also gave him a better understanding of what I do and why I might spend five hours — or sometime five days — tracking down a particular newspaper so I can see how it handled an issue. We both learned from one another about doing historical research during this project.

The telling of this tale is not a typical academic piece. No formal language, no database searches, no citations. As the New Journalists of the 1960s argued, though, some stories can't be told using standard professional methods, and I believe this one fits into that category, for its purpose is different from the standard historiographical analysis. It is intended to be both a guide and a cautionary tale for our colleagues on putting together an edited book during a pandemic (and is likely applicable in other types of crises as well).

Anyone who undertakes editing a book with multiple authors is taking a huge risk. Historians, unlike many other mass communication researchers, typically work alone. They are independent beasts who like to go into their caves with ten books and emerge with eleven. Even with a partner who is as sound and talented and dedicated and wonderful as Mary Cronin, risks abound, and the biggest one is that a chapter author will have to drop out.

The cautionary part of this tale is intended to remind our colleagues to have a back-up plan for solving problems — maybe even create a sound crisis-management plan just as the PR practitioners have at the (former) nuclear bomb plant across the Savannah River from me. The COVID-related crisis that disrupted just about everything last spring proved especially trying for higher education when so many schools pivoted to online-only instruction and decided on the same for the fall. Doing so meant many extra hours of course preparation, and that time

had to come from somewhere. For our colleague who had to drop out, it came from her research time.

Maybe the moral of this story is not to edit books during pandemics, though that is probably unrealistic. When we started the project, we could hardly have predicted it would come to fruition during the 21st century version of the Black Plague.

The more uplifting, if perhaps scary, moral is that it pays to break out of our comfort zones from time-to-time. Hubert acquired skills and knowledge that will help him advance his current book project. We both suffered a bit of stress along the way — okay, we both suffered a lot of stress along the way — but for him, the outcome was expanding his research toolbox so he could work more efficiently with greater insight once he returned to his usual bailiwick.

This will be the fifth book I've edited. Only one other has been as problematic, and that one was due to major, massive, HUGE disagreements among the editors that led to knock-down, drag-out fights and broken friendships. The advantage to an edited book is that, by spreading the work among multiple people, you can get it finished quicker (usually). The disadvantage is that you have to rely on other scholars.

Perhaps the final moral should be this: Pick your partners well. Think of it as going into a type of scholarly marriage, because it's going to be a lot like that. You have to rely on one another, and that takes a lot of trust, a lot of faith. I couldn't have had a better co-editor than Mary Cronin. She is a workhorse and a knowledgeable and skilled researcher of the first caliber. That's what you want in a co-editor. And having a spouse who just happens to be a historian, too, can come in handy to help with those last-minute crises.

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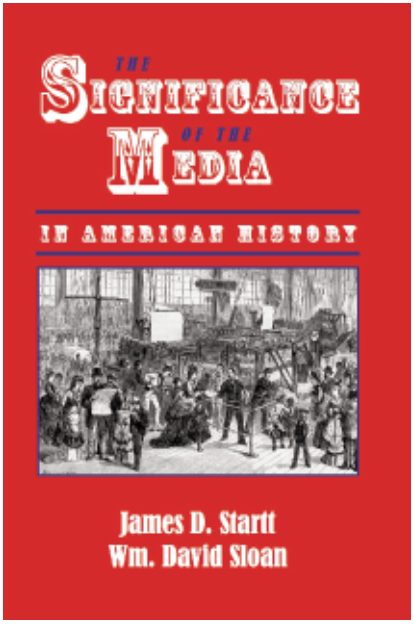

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Historical Roundtable: Writing the Historical Dissertation – and Converting It to a Book

By Erika Pribanic-Smith, Melita Garza, Matthew Pressman, Rich Shumate, and Carrie Teresa ©

Pribanic-Smith

If you ask leaders and longtime members of the American Journalism Historians Association about their experience with the organization, a common theme emerges: most first attended an AJHA conference as a graduate student. Hooked at that first conference — or by the journalism history class that led them there — many of those students go on to write historical theses and dissertations. According to the AJHA's 2019 History in the Curriculum Report, 227 students at the schools surveyed had completed historical master's theses during the prior 10 years, and 136 had completed historical dissertations.

Unlike the student papers that typically result from one semester's research, the historical dissertation is a culmination of years of doctoral study. It may pull together ideas generated and research performed

Erika Pribanic-Smith is an associate professor of journalism at the University of Texas at Arlington. A former president of the AJHA and former chair of the AEJMC History Division, she is the co-author of Emma Goldman's No Conscription League and the First Amendment *(Routledge, 2018).*

throughout the student's coursework, or it may veer down an entirely different path — perhaps loosely inspired by that prior work but certainly executed with research and writing skills learned and honed along the way. That dissertation project often becomes a scholar's first book, with anything from minor tweaking to major revision.

Each year, the best mass communication history dissertation in the nation receives AJHA's Margaret Blanchard Dissertation Prize (ajha.wildapricot.org/Blanchard). In this roundtable, four Blanchard Prize winners who have converted their dissertations into books discuss their research pro-

Garza

Melita Garza is an associate professor of journalism at Texas Christian University. Winner of the 2013 Blanchard Prize for her dissertation completed at the University of North Carolina, she is the author of They Came to Toil: Newspaper Representations of Mexicans and Immigrants in the Great Depression *(University of Texas Press, 2018).*

Pressman

Matthew Pressman is an assistant professor of journalism at Seton Hall University. Winner of the 2017 Blanchard Prize for his dissertation completed at Boston University, he is the author of On Press: The Liberal Values that Shaped the News *(Harvard University Press, 2018).*

Shumate

Rich Shumate is an assistant professor in the School of Media at Western Kentucky University. Winner of the 2019 Blanchard Prize for his dissertation completed at the University of Florida, he is the author of The Liberal Bias Rebellion: How Coverage of Goldwater Made Conservatives Hate Media *(Lexington Books, forthcoming).*

Teresa

Carrie Teresa is an assistant professor of communication and media studies at Niagara University. Winner of the 2015 Blanchard Prize for her dissertation completed at Temple University, she is the author of Looking at the Stars: Black Celebrity Journalism in Jim Crow America *(University of Nebraska Press, 2019).*

cess as well as how they prepared their work for publication.

Pribanic-Smith: *How did you get into historical study? Was it an interest going into your graduate program, or did you discover it while pursuing your degree?*

Garza: I came to doctoral work after more than two decades in journalism both in the United States and abroad, and with an MBA from the University of Chicago. It was 2009, the tail end of the Great Recession, and I had just left Bloomberg News. So I thought I'd focus my dissertation on something related to contemporary media coverage of the worst economic turndown since the Great Depression. Sitting in a journalism history course one day at UNC Chapel Hill, I was struck by the narrow canon and construction of American journalism as a field of historical study. I began to think of journalism history as a place to tell the untold and little told story, which is what every journalist and researcher wants to do. If I had it to do over again, I would probably go for a Ph.D. in history.

Pressman: Well, I was in a history Ph.D. program. So I had no other option! But I went into the program knowing I wanted to focus on the history of American journalism. As an undergraduate history major I had written a senior thesis on post-World War II France, but my work at *Vanity Fair* — where I had the opportunity to do some writing and reporting about the news media — turned me on to the idea of journalism history.

Shumate: I discovered historical research during my Ph.D. program in mass communication at the University of Florida, when I got interested

in analyzing media coverage of Barry Goldwater's 1964 acceptance speech. Back when I was a newspaper columnist, I had written a piece on how this speech was considered radical at the time but rather innocuous by today's standards of political rhetoric. So I began to investigate news media framing of the speech and its relationship to historical memory, which eventually led me to the topic of my dissertation on the perception of liberal news media bias as it emerged in the early 1960s.

Teresa: When I started my Ph.D. coursework in Temple's Media and Communication program, I was really interested in gender ideologies in popular culture. I had not at all considered the possibility of studying media from a historical perspective until my second year of coursework, when as an elective I took Carolyn Kitch's Journalism History course. That course introduced me to the eventual object of study of my dissertation, the twentieth-century Black press. In that course I wrote what would become my first journal article, "'We Needed a Booker T. Washington … and Certainly a Jack Johnson': The Black Press, Johnson, and Issues of Representation, 1909–1915," which I later revised into a chapter for my book.

Pribanic-Smith: *How did you decide on the topic for your dissertation?*

Garza: As I mentioned, I came into the doctoral program straight from working as a financial journalist, and I came with the thought that I would research a topic related to contemporary business news. Catalyzed by the graduate journalism history course, however, I began thinking that the last thing that was needed was another study of the elite white mainstream media, although those projects generate much cachet. I also wanted to work on a dissertation that few others would

either conceive or be able to execute. I recalled stories of my grandparents in San Antonio, Texas, reading the Spanish-language newspaper *La Prensa.* I knew that it was a highly significant American newspaper that had circulated nationally and in Mexico, and it deserved far more attention than it had received. I also knew that San Antonio was pivotal in building Spanish-language radio and television, and for building the identity of the modern Mexican American in the United States. As I looked into this more, I was also struck by the parallel anti-immigrant attitudes found in the Great Recession and the Great Depression. In the 2000s, a spate of "show me your papers" type anti-immigrant legislation was proliferating across multiple states, and I found that similar anti-immigrant debates raged during the 1930s. I decided to focus my work on the mediated representation of Mexicans and immigrants in *La Prensa* as compared to the independent English-language *San Antonio Express*.

Pressman: I knew I wanted to tackle something big and broad. I started with a somewhat grandiose question in my head — something along the lines of "when did the American press become contemporary?" By that I meant when did metropolitan newspapers and other mass-audience outlets adopt the characteristics we associate with them today? I felt like people assumed they knew the answer — and I had my hunches too — but I wasn't aware of any work that examined the question in a systematic way using empirical methods. After many hours of browsing historical newspapers on ProQuest, I settled on the years from 1960-1980 as the key period. Although I wanted to look at changes in the news industry as a whole, I also wanted to do case studies of two major newspapers, and I decided on the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

Shumate: My topic really flowed from two earlier papers I had written and presented at conferences focusing on news media coverage of conservatism in the early 1960s. My original idea was a broad look at this aspect of media history, but I later refined it to look specifically at the emergence of the perception of liberal media bias, focusing on news coverage of events during the period when conservatism emerged as a political force in the early 1960s. I ended up focusing on the idea that the perception arises from conservatives' need to foster and maintain social identity, which took me somewhat away from history toward social psychology. Donald Trump was elected as I was writing the dissertation, which made the topic much more relevant.

Teresa: After I wrote my first historical study in Carolyn's Journalism History course, I knew that I enjoyed historical research and wanted to pursue a historical dissertation, but narrowing down my dissertation topic was a bit more of a process. The paper that I had written in that course, an analysis of Black press coverage of Jack Johnson's championship reign, provided the basis of my dissertation topic, and there was a period when I toyed with the idea of dedicating the whole project to coverage of Johnson himself. I moved away from that idea, though, when I realized that in my original Johnson paper, I was asking much broader cultural questions that applied beyond just him: What did Black press celebrity coverage look like, how did it develop as a distinct journalistic style, what were its predominant themes, and how did that coverage relate to the struggle for freedom? From there, it only made sense to expand my inquiry beyond coverage of Johnson to try to figure out through an inductive reading of these newspapers who else was famous during that period, and how they were received by the Black journalists who covered them.

Pribanic-Smith: *How did the process for researching and writing your dissertation compare to other historical research you've pursued?*

Garza: At UNC Chapel Hill, the third year of our Ph.D. program was largely freed up to devote exclusively to dissertation research, which was immensely helpful. I recall one of my history professors, Malinda Maynor Lowery, saying during my second year: "You'll never have more time to devote to research than you do right now." That was a frightening thought, because I felt that I needed every second to wrap my arms around this project, which I was conducting in two languages. This project, like a lot of my work since, was inter-disciplinary. I discovered that much of what had been written about Spanish-language media historically had been done by anthropologists, sociologists, historians with a capital "H," and by researchers in Spanish and English departments. When you consider all the work that has been done in Spanish-language journalism in other fields, the wide gap in the field of journalism history becomes all the more apparent.

Pressman: In short, the process was the same, but more of everything! For the research, I started by reading all of the secondary sources I could find, then I moved on to published primary sources. Before heading off to the archives, I wanted to make sure I'd be knowledgeable enough about the issues and institutions I was researching so that I could use my limited time for archival research effectively. (It also took a little while to schedule and line up funding for research travel, so it made sense to read through as much published material as I could in the meantime.) Oral history interviews were another important source for me, and that's where I focused my energy after getting most of my archival research done. In some cases I was able to ask my interviewees

about stuff I'd found related to them in archival collections. Although I was still feeling the pull of research — I had looked through countless back issues of *Nieman Reports* and *Quill*, but there were still so many more, plus *Editor & Publisher*! — at a certain point I forced myself to put on the brakes and start writing. I was fortunate to receive a dissertation-completion fellowship from Boston University, so I had a whole academic year to devote to research and writing, without any teaching commitments or coursework.

Shumate: The research for the dissertation was much more extensive. I spent three months traveling around the country looking at archives with material from publications and prominent journalists in the early 1960s. By the end, I had more than 8,000 files of material, mostly JPEGs of artifacts shot at the archives I visited. Not all of this proved useful to the final dissertation project, but I now have an archive of material that will allow me to continue research in this era. If I had to do this project again, I would be more careful in managing scope.

Teresa: I really learned how to do historical research while writing my dissertation (in a trial-and-error sort of way), so it has had a huge influence on how I approach historical research generally. Using the lessons I learned writing my dissertation, I'm much more open to where evidence takes me, much more careful about managing scope, and much better able to hone in on sources, rather than just casting a wide net and hoping that something useful passes by my desk. When I was transforming the dissertation into a book, I expanded my time period and therefore my primary source archives a bit, and I had some funding from my home institution to travel to two physical archives. I felt much more confident in my investigatory skills and way more organized than

I had been when I wrote the dissertation.

Pribanic-Smith: *Primary source materials are crucial to our work as historians. As a graduate student completing dissertation research, how did you access the primary sources that you needed?*

Garza: Finding copies of *La Prensa* and the *San Antonio Express* was initially difficult. I was able to mine some microfilm copies at the Duke University Library. The process was initially confounded because at the time, the UNC Chapel Hill Library did not have the Hispanic American Newspapers database, which includes *La Prensa*. The UNC Library, through interlibrary loan, borrowed some microfilm of the *San Antonio Express* from the UT Library. So I was able to access a limited number of rolls to study to write an initial paper. I received a summer research grant from the UNC Graduate School and was able to do research at the University of Texas Libraries, which had microfilm editions of the *Express* as well as the Hispanic American Newspapers database. Looking at the digital newspaper editions alone is very tempting, but it is important to do both. I found some important articles in the microfilm that weren't available digitally. Later I found copies of the *Express* in different online databases, and again, some articles I found in one database, I didn't find in the other. It is important to cover all your databases!

Pressman: I thought a lot about the availability of primary sources when I was mapping out my topic. I chose the *New York Times* and *LA Times* as case studies in part because their company records were open to research. I was living in Boston at the time, and there were some archival collections in that area that had relevant materials (especially the

David Halberstam papers at Boston University and the NY Times Women's Caucus records at the Radcliffe library). But the two most important collections for me were the *New York Times* company records (at the New York Public Library) and the *Los Angeles Times* records (at the Huntington Library, near Los Angeles). The archivists at both places were wonderfully helpful. I was able to arrange a few brief trips to New York and one week-long trip to California — I tried to make my way through as many boxes and folders as I could. Thanks to the research I had done in advance, I could tell pretty quickly which documents were worth photographing for my files and which ones I could skip past. Interviews were another key source for me, and I'm grateful that so many people who had worked at the *New York Times* and *LA Times* were willing to speak with me. I was a little worried that they would give me the brush-off — I was an anonymous grad student, after all — but in the end I managed to speak to about 3/4 of the people I had hoped to interview.

Shumate: My research focused first on the Library of Congress, which had much of the material I needed, particularly archives of defunct newspapers such as the *Washington Evening Star* and the *New York Herald-Tribune*. Some of the archives I visited — such as the Wisconsin Historical Society and the Briscoe Center in Austin — specialize in journalist/journalism materials, and they provided a lot of bang for the buck. New York was another key stop, primarily resources at the New York Public Library. I also went to Princeton and Yale. In the end, I had to prioritize and cross off some of the more far flung places from my list in the interest of time and money. One thing I discovered with archival research was that it was difficult to know if a collection would be useful until I actually sat down and went through the boxes. Also, archival ma-

terial of early TV (1950s and 1960s) is very, very difficult to obtain, although collections from figures such as Walter Cronkite and David Brinkley may contain transcripts of programs.

Teresa: I had the good fortune of being able to work with robust digital newspaper archives through ProQuest Historical Newspapers and America's Historical Newspapers. Working with digital archives obviously made it possible to access a lot of the primary sources that I needed without worrying about the logistics of visiting physical archives, but my research process was the same as it would have been had I had physical newspapers in my hands: I read inductively; copied, saved, and archived anything that I thought could be useful; and relied on triangulating with other archival sources as well as secondary sources to construct a timeline and biographies of each of the central figures that formed my dissertation.

Pribanic-Smith: *While you were working on your dissertation, how much did you think about what you were going to do with it after you graduated (such as turning it into a book)? Did that influence your dissertation process at all?*

Garza: The predominant mode for research output in journalism programs is the journal article. This is the typical end product for social scientists, and I think that emphasis is debilitating to journalism historians. Unlike in UNC's History Department, doctoral students pursuing journalism history aren't oriented to the prospect of developing their dissertation into a book from the beginning, and I strongly feel they should be. That said, as I uncovered rich material at every turn, I began to see the potential for developing my dissertation into a book, though

I knew that I would want to explore additional material in undertaking that process. I knew I wanted to make an important mark with this work. Part of disrupting the canon included putting Spanish-language journalism on an even playing field with English-language journalism and releasing it from the tired view of ethnic media as "the underdog."

Pressman: From the start I knew I wanted to make my dissertation into a book. So that influenced my process throughout, beginning with the choice of topic (I wanted to avoid anything narrow or arcane). I also tried to relegate most of the historiography to the footnotes, because I knew I'd be asked to cut down on that in any eventual book. I wanted to include some narrative bits too (in addition to description and argument), but I didn't succeed in that as much as I would've liked.

Shumate: I intended to turn my dissertation into a book from the beginning, so I tried to write in a style that would allow for translation from dissertation to book form, which sped up the book writing process. My biggest regret was using APA Style in my dissertation to save time, which then required me to find page numbers for footnotes when I wrote the book. This, I do not recommend.

Teresa: I actually wrote my dissertation (with my committee's blessing, of course) as the first draft of a book. Turning the project into a book was the plan from the day I wrote the first word of it.

Pribanic-Smith: *How similar is your book to your dissertation? Describe the process you went through to convert your dissertation into a book.*

Garza: Distance from the dissertation is essential for development of

the book, in my view. I needed time for my ideas to percolate, and to consider additional theories, material, and ideas that I hadn't been able to incorporate in my dissertation due to time constraints. I also knew that I wanted to add another important journalistic voice into my study, in this case, William Randolph Hearst's chain-owned *San Antonio Light*. In order to pursue the book with the sweep that I wanted it to have, the inclusion of Hearst's national perspective was essential. Going through years of the *Light* took more time, but it gave the book additional heft. I also received a grant from TCU to study the papers of *La Prensa's* publisher, Ignacio Lozano, at the Huntington Library, providing new insights into the workings of that newspaper. The book also includes material from the Hearst archives at Berkeley's Bancroft Library, which offered important background on the *Light's* operations during the Great Depression. The book includes theoretical lenses that shed light on this historical period as well. My dissertation applied public memory to the usurpation of the city's Spanish-immigrant heritage, especially the Franciscan missions, to serve as a source of Anglo identity and pride. In the book, I also deepened the theoretical discussion of race and civil rights and applied these to the media analysis. Incorporating all this new material required extensive re-writing and re-organizing of material throughout the book.

Pressman: There is a lot of overlap between my dissertation and book, partly because I conceived of the dissertation as a template for the book. I even kept most of the chapter titles. The biggest changes I made were to add a chapter taking my story from 1980 to the present and to write a new introduction. But I made substantial changes throughout the manuscript too. I incorporated feedback from my dissertation committee as well as from my excellent editor at Harvard University Press, An-

drew Kinney — every few pages there was a paragraph or two that I cut and another paragraph or two that I added. I have to say that was my favorite part of the process. I find editing and revising much more enjoyable than writing the first draft!

Shumate: In turning the dissertation into a book, I had to reconceive the organization from scratch, as the dissertation chapters did not translate into a cohesive narrative for the book. So while I was able to use parts of the dissertation in the book narrative, the structure turned out to be quite different. I also found that I needed to add new material to the book to make this structure work. The two areas of the dissertation that were least useful to the book were the methods section and the background material in the literature review, which needed to be condensed.

Teresa: Ironically, though I wrote my dissertation as a book draft, the two works look completely different. I reorganized chapters, did additional archival research, reframed some of my key findings, and shifted my time period slightly. While most people talk about revising the "dissertation-ese" in order to make the transition into a book, I found myself working to re-narrativize the work, to tell a story that did not quite emerge in a compelling way in the dissertation version.

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Historian Interview

By Mark Bernhardt ©

Bernhardt

Mark Bernhardt, a history professor at Jackson State University in Mississippi, is the author of more than twenty journal history articles. His forthcoming book, *Lampooning the Poor in 1950s Sitcoms*, is under contract to McFarland and Company. His research in JMC history covers an array of subject matter, including the American West and media portrayals of minorities. He has received the Joseph McKerns Research Grant from the American Journalism Historians Association, the Jackson State University Award for Excellence in Teaching, and the Mississippi Humanities Council Teaching Award. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Riverside.

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

Bernhardt: I grew up in Vacaville, California, where my parents and two sisters still reside. Both of my parents were teachers, and they emphasized the importance of education. Following in their footsteps, my siblings and I all pursued careers in education in one way or another. One of my sisters is a high school math and economics teacher, and the other is a speech pathologist at an elementary school. My desire to be-

come a professor had already emerged before high school. Not only did I want to teach like my mom and dad, I wanted to write. I loved reading, and I developed a tremendous respect for those who wrote to teach.

Upon starting college I chose history as my major. I earned my B.A. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, becoming interested in the history of the American West, film, and journalism. Going on to California State University, Sacramento, for my M.A. degree I continued working in the field of journalism history. For my Ph.D. I went to the University of California, Riverside. There I worked as a teaching assistant for the Women's Studies department and was mentored by Dr. Christine Gailey and Dr. Amalia Cabezas. This sparked my interest in Gender Studies and intersectionality, another of my current research fields.

Now in Mississippi, I am currently a professor in the History Department at Jackson State University, where I serve as assistant department chair and graduate program coordinator. My wife (who is also a teacher) and I enjoy traveling, fish-keeping, spending time with our cats and dogs, and binge-watching television shows. I am also pursuing my goal to visit every Major League Baseball stadium (27 out of 30 so far), and I play my steel drum, though no longer with a band since leaving California.

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

Bernhardt: Actually, professionally, I've never done anything other than teach. Upon completing my B.A. degree I worked as a substitute teacher in the local public schools for two years while going through my M.A. program. I quickly learned that teaching K-6 students can be a huge challenge, which gave me a whole new sense of respect for my par-

ents' careers. The highlights from that job were the occasions when I covered for high school history classes and the teachers gave me the opportunity to teach lessons. Through my Ph.D. program I served as a teaching assistant and taught classes through California State University, San Bernardino to prepare teachers for the state's history education qualifying exam. After graduation I remained at UC Riverside as an adjunct professor and continued working for CSU San Bernardino and then obtained a tenure-track position in Jackson State University's History Department.

Q: *What courses have you taught?*

Bernhardt: At UC Riverside I taught Sexualities and Culture for the Women's Studies Department and History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality in the United States; United States, 1945-Present; and Senior Research Seminar for the History Department. Though none of these courses were designed with a media studies focus, I showed students how media is involved in shaping societal views on sexuality, gender, and other historical issues. For the senior research seminar I did have the students focus on media history as it related to historical events, figures, and issues that interested them. At Jackson State I have taught seventeen different courses on various historical topics, incorporating media studies into them all where I can. Currently I teach four in the field of media history: U.S. Media History, Filmmakers' Responses to Political Debates and Policies in the United States, Filmmakers' Responses to Social Change and Conflict in the United States, and Filmmakers' Interpretations of the War Experience. These classes have proven popular and draw students from many different departments.

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

Bernhardt: For as long as I can remember I've had an interest in history. The elementary school history projects were my favorite; and, when visiting my great aunt's house, I spent a lot of time browsing through her encyclopedias reading about historical events and figures. My junior high history classes reinforced my love for history, though I wasn't yet thinking about it as a potential career. It was Jody Wara's history class my junior year in high school that confirmed for me that I wanted to make studying history my profession. As I was a history major, historical research was obviously a central part of my education, and over time I was drawn to media history. Classes that I took from Dr. Kerwin Klein and Dr. Anthony Adamthwaite at UC Berkeley sparked my interest in film as a field of historical study through the way they used films as primary sources to teach history. My senior thesis section, which focused on San Francisco history is how I became interested in journalism history. I was fascinated by Philip Ethington's description of the newspaper war between William Randolph Hearst and the de Young brothers in his book *The Public City*. While at UC Riverside I read Joshua Brown's *Beyond the Lines* and was inspired by his analysis of what images that appeared in the Gilded Age press revealed about the social tensions of the time. My dissertation research focused on how newspapers reinforced gender, race, and class norms through the images they published of violence in the coverage of murder cases and wars. More than anything though, it was Dr. Kathleen Cairns at CSU, Sacramento who drew me into media history. A former journalist with a Ph.D. in history, her class on media history affirmed for me that the

interest I developed in journalism history at UC Berkeley was the field of study I wanted to pursue. What I learned from her helped direct my pursuits at UC Riverside and in my career as a historian.

Q: *Who or what have been the major influences on your historical outlook and work in the field of mass communications?*

Bernhardt: There have been a number of scholars whose work has influenced and shaped my own. In looking at how media use the visual to shape our understanding of the world around us, Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* was instrumental in getting me started while in graduate school. Richard Slotkin's work on the American West and books like Laura Belmonte's *Selling the American Way: Propaganda and the Cold War* have proven valuable to me for examining how our understanding of social and political ideas are promoted and the role media can play in that. John Berg and Susan Sontag have contributed to structuring my analytical approach in looking at messaging in photojournalism. Anna McCarthy's *The Citizen Machine: Governing by Television in 1950s America*, has done the same for television. While Dan Schiller's *Objectivity and the News* and Gerald Baldasty's *The Commercialization of the News in the Nineteenth Century* focus on newspapers in specific time periods, I've found their studies on objectivity and news as a business useful for understanding how other media in different eras operate as well. Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge's work on intersectionality have provided me with a framework for analyzing how media engage with race, gender, class, etc. Charles Ramírez Berg, Alan Nadel, Herman Gray, and Donald Bogle have helped me establish a framework for examining how race is addressed in media. E. Ann Kaplan has done the same for gender and Diana Kendall and George Lipitz for class.

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

Bernhardt: Early in my career my research primarily dealt with newspapers, and film was a secondary field of interest. More recently I have shifted to studying television. Public engagement with media is at the heart of my work, which examines how media simultaneously influences people's perceptions of what is going on around them and is influenced by public opinion in portraying the world. This is especially relevant today as our society grapples with concerns about who controls media messages and how the public consumes those messages. My work covers a wide range of topics and media but has some major themes: how ideas about masculinity and race influenced media discourse about war and U.S. westward expansion, the ways in which media portray the perceived nature of the transnational North American West as shaping the lives and identities of those who live or venture there, and analysis of media depictions of people (real and fictional) through the framework of intersectionality within U.S. society.

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

Bernhardt: As a historian I take an interdisciplinary approach in my work, drawing on an array of other fields, such as media, gender, and ethnic studies. Writing about the press coverage of war, one of my essays, "'Boys are Running off to the Wars by Scores': Promoting Masculinity and Conquest in the Coverage of the Mexican-American War" (*American Journalism*), compares the manner in which New York publishers Moses Yale Beach and James Gordon Bennett promoted the

Mexican-American War through illustrations that linked conquest with the fulfillment of certain masculine ideals, attempting to make the war appear more appealing either to men who embraced martial manhood (which idealized physical strength and violent behavior) or restrained manhood (which emphasized civility). An example of my work on the North American West, "'I'm in the Empire Business': Markets, Myth, Race, and the Conquest of the American West in Breaking Bad" (*Journal of Popular Culture*) examines *Breaking Bad*'s explanations for Walter White's success building a drug empire that draw on the myths of white intellectual superiority, regeneration through violence, and individualism and demonstrate how history and myth are blurred in the way the U.S.-Mexico borderlands region is understood.

Intersectionality has been central to my research on crime. I focus on gender and class intersections in my study on the Lindbergh kidnapping, "What Kind of Parents are You? The Discussion of Expectations for Parents in the Press Coverage of the Lindbergh Kidnapping" (*Journalism History*), which shows how the public dialogue about Charles and Anne Lindbergh's conformity to society's accepted gender roles within the family unit that was part of the press coverage exposed class tension during the Great Depression.

In my current book project, *Lampooning the Poor in 1950s Sitcoms*, I evaluate American television in a global context to analyze the Cold War messages sitcoms put forth that both alleviated lingering concerns about poverty following the Great Depression and opposed Soviet claims attributing American poverty to racial and gender oppression. Generally sitcoms reflected the dominant perception that the United States had become a nation of middle-class citizens. The portrayals of those left behind characterized their financial struggles as resulting from personal shortcomings, including laziness, poor judgment selecting a

spouse, or cultural backwardness, and not systemic issues, such as failed political policy, gender inequality, or racism. My findings demonstrate that these personal shortcomings are most often seen in specific groups, typically people in the best position to avoid poverty in reality (white men and married white women), while those most likely to fall into poverty (people of color and never-married, divorced, or widowed women) rarely do in sitcoms. This made it appear that no one had any special advantage in achieving economic success. Opportunity was available to all if you made the right life choices.

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

Bernhardt: I believe it would have been beneficial as a graduate student to have taken a few classes in media studies. I didn't consider at the time how such classes could have given me a better theoretical foundation in the field that would have helped me early in my career to get my work published more easily. I also see now that it would have been helpful to join some JMC organizations earlier in my career for the purpose of attending conferences, networking, and keeping up on the literature. Being in a history department, I joined the organizations to which people with Ph.Ds in history belonged but didn't branch out across disciplines until later.

Q: *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.*

Bernhardt: My philosophical approach for studying JMC history spe-

cifically is based on the fact that all media productions — newspaper articles, published illustrations and photographs, films, television programs, etc. — convey messages, often intentionally but sometimes not. Understanding the importance of those messages requires historical contextualization. This typically requires going beyond looking at what is happening in the time period during which media productions are created because media messages often have deep historical roots. It's essential to trace those roots.

Q: *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?*

Bernhardt: Admittedly, I'm still relatively new to JMC in that I've belonged to JMC history organizations for only a few years, have attended a small number of conferences, and am not privy to what goes on within JMC programs. From what I've learned thus far, I think improving the status of JMC history in JMC education requires greater collaboration between history and JMC programs. For JMC programs looking to include instruction on the history of the field, there may well be faculty in the school's history department who can teach courses or assist in developing curriculum. Likewise, for history departments that don't offer courses in the field, if the school's JMC program has faculty teaching JMC history, cross-listing or at least letting history departments know about the classes would give more students the opportunity to learn about this important field.

Whose obligation is it to reach out to the other? I don't know. I've been the one to reach out to my school's Mass Communications Department and let them know about the classes I teach that they may

want to promote as electives for their students. The first time I approached them their chair was responsive to this idea. Unfortunately they were replaced the next year by a chair who rejected such collaboration out of fear that students interested in mass communications history might leave their program for ours. Their newest chair has been willing to reopen the discussion of how we can work together. Because my school's Mass Communications Department does not have a history education initiative, it made sense for me to approach them. For programs that do have a history education initiative, reaching out to history departments seems logical. Perhaps programs have reasons for not doing it, whether fear of losing majors, as was the case at my school, or something else. Or maybe this is already happening more than I know.

Breaking out of our silos is something I believe will also improve the status of JMC history in the wider field of history. Something that has stood out to me as a member of JMC history organizations is how few history faculty I've encountered at JMC history conferences or seen publishing in journals like *American Journalism* and *Journalism History*. Likewise, few mass communications faculty seem to attend conferences or publish in history journals beyond those sponsored and produced by mass communications organizations. Both groups are missing out on the benefits of more open dialogue. If conferences and journal publications are any indicator of how much JMC and history programs work together in this shared field, they aren't doing it. Is it possible to do better?

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Book Award Interview

By Vincent DiGirolamo ©

DiGirolamo

Vincent DiGirolamo won the 2019 Frank Luther Mott-Kappa Tau Alpha Research Award for *Crying the News: A History of America's Newsboys* (Oxford University Press, 2019). The book also won the Frederick Jackson Turner Award from the Organization of American Historians, the Philip Taft Labor History Book Award, and the Eugenia M. Palmegiano Prize in the History of Journalism. Dr. DiGirolamo is an associate professor of history at Baruch College, CUNY. He received his Ph.D. in history from Princeton University.

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

DiGirolamo: *Crying the News* is a bottom-up history of the American press from the 1830s to the 1930s. On one level, it's an occupational study of the mostly poor, unwaged youths who distributed the nation's newspapers, and who, I argue, were integral to the growth of the industry, the support of their families, and the diffusion of knowledge. At one point, I wanted to subtitle the book "A Subaltern History of Print Capitalism," but I decided that was too highfalutin.

So, it's a history of newsboys, but it's also a newsboys' history of the

United States — one told from the perspective of those who retailed the breaking stories that would make up that history. Their ranks included boys of all races and ethnicities, but also girls, women, disabled people, and the elderly. The book sheds light on their kaleidoscopic yet distinctly working-class experience of economic booms and busts, political campaigns and crises, and social upheavals and reforms.

Unlike most child workers, newsboys became cultural icons — symbols of Young America in the 1840s and 1850s, and personifications of press freedom, free enterprise, and upward mobility throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, I had to simultaneously chart the history of real newsboys and imagined newsboys, and pay attention to what I concluded to be a dialectical relationship between the two. These youths inspired artists and writers whose work influenced popular attitudes and practices, which in turn helped shape the children's lives and life chances. So, *Crying the News* is both a social and cultural history of one of the most familiar and fabled figures in industrial America.

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

DiGirolamo: I got the idea for the book some 30 years ago while running the hills behind UC Santa Cruz. I had been a labor journalist in San Francisco before entering graduate school and when casting around for a research project I found myself penciling the word "kids" into the margin whenever a book or essay mentioned children. I wasn't aware of the history of childhood as a subfield, but I had taken an inspiring NEH summer seminar with labor historian Herbert Gutman at the CUNY Graduate Center, and I thought I could say something fresh about child labor. Most books on the subject focused on the reform movement, not the children. They also tended to adopt the reformers' moral viewpoint.

I wanted to ask Gutmanesque questions of young workers that were usually reserved for adults, such as: Who were they? How were they recruited and disciplined? How did they organize themselves? What resources did they draw on? What did they do off the job? And how did their work affect their status in the family and their lifelong attitudes about class, power, and politics? Women's and gender history also interested me, and I wanted to explore how working-class children acquired knowledge about sex and attitudes about masculinity. I settled on news peddling because it was the first and most common work experience of American boys, including my father and uncles, who peddled papers and shined shoes throughout the Great Depression. I grew up with their stories of street life in Boston, and I knew that the street would be an interesting workplace to study. I also felt certain that the press was ripe for an inquiry that focused on its labor practices rather than its editorial stands.

Q: *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?*

DiGirolamo: My sources were varied and scattered. They included sociological documents such as reformers' reports, municipal studies, court records, newspaper and magazine articles, trade journals, and convention proceedings from associations of newsvendors, circulation managers, and trade unionists. My literary sources consisted of carriers' addresses, traveler's accounts, memoirs, diaries, oral histories, sermons, novels, poems, playbooks, and songsters. The visual record was equally rich, consisting of illustrations, genre paintings, comic strips, photographs, advertisements, murals, and silent movies. One surprising similarity between the waif fiction of the 1840s and the newsboy movies of

the early 1900s is that both were primarily temperance tracts. I also made use of objects such as newsboy badges, buttons, whistles, and wagons. Newspapers were also part of the material culture of newsboys, who transformed them into toys, bedding, and long underwear.

My research spanned two distinct eras of archival technology: the predigital and digital. In the 1990s I visited libraries and historical societies in dozens of cities. I rifled through card catalogs, vertical files, and, if I was lucky, handwritten newspaper indexes compiled by librarians or volunteers. The staff was invariably helpful in bringing items to my attention. I remember the day a librarian at the American Antiquarian Society laid an 1850s pamphlet on my table written by a prominent New York judge who had communed with the ghost of a dead newsboy and thus received a first-hand account of his life and death by cholera. How does one begin to analyze a source like that? With glee!

Early on, I also worked with a private collector, Peter Eckel, whose collection of newsboy prints, pamphlets, and memorabilia filled an entire room in his house. One choice item was a scrapbook kept by the wife of the superintendent of the Newsboys' Lodging House in New York. The collection was eventually acquired by Princeton University's Firestone Library. One measure of the changes I encountered during this process were the shifting security regulations in archives. When I started out, some places did not allow you to bring in a laptop; only paper and pencil. By the time I finished this policy was often reversed: laptops only.

The digitization of newspapers and other archival material transformed research from a process of looking for needles in haystacks to scanning haystacks throughout the world with a veritable metal detector. Word-searchable databases allowed me to identify scores of newsboy strikes, homes, laws, unions, charities, crimes, and accidents that

might never have come to my attention. It also helped me fill gaps in my research by focusing on cities in the Deep South or Far West where I had gathered relatively little information. This abundance permitted me to see patterns that I would otherwise have missed, such as the fact that newsboy licensing schemes invariably followed newsboy strikes. These ordinances were responses to children's militancy more than to adults' reform efforts.

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

DiGirolamo: I didn't leave too many stones unturned. One of the best — or worst — pieces of advice I got in graduate school was not to publish anything on a subject until I had read everything written about it. An art historian likewise told me that I should never write about a painting unless I had seen it with my own eyes. I respect these high standards, but they can take their toll. I wish I had personally viewed every painting I discuss in the book, but I sometimes made do with reproductions. I regret not traveling to see the archived garments of the tragically mistreated dress reformer-newswoman Ana Perkins in Cleveland. It also would have been nice to tour a newsboys' lodging house. I did visit the one on Tompkins Square in New York designed by Calvert Vaux, but only after it had been divided into condos. Still, there was something to be gained by taking in the scale and solidity of the place, and imaging what it might have felt like for a homeless waif to find himself ensconced in a mansion purpose-built for homeless waifs like himself.

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

DiGirolamo: I would make three friendly suggestions. First, I would remind them that not all sources are on the Internet. I would encourage them to visit archives and consult unpublished sources not intended for public consumption. Would we trust a history of a union or a corporation based solely on their annual reports and promotional material? I don't think so.

Second, I would suggest that they not overlook visual sources, or regard them as mere illustrations, but treat them as important documents in their own right. I found many cases, particularly in the antebellum era, in which artists established the tropes and narratives by which newsboys were understood, and editors hired writers to spin stories based on the pictures.

Third, I would encourage real interdisciplinary engagement. Many of us value this kind of research, but we can't do it adequately without becoming conversant with the theories and methods of other disciplines, or without receiving feedback from experts in those fields. I had the benefit of friendships and fellowships in which I interacted with scholars across disciplines. Those encounters led me to constantly question what I might be missing due to my own disciplinary blinders. I'd ask myself, for example, what an anthropologist might make of newsboy nicknames or mourning rituals, or how an economist or social geographer might understand turf wars and the underground real estate markets in which children literally bought and sold street corners.

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

DiGirolamo: The main challenge was feeling that I knew enough about my subjects and the eras in which they lived. It also took me a while to realize that I had to tell the story chronologically and locate different

generations of newsboys in particular times and places. I created my own trade-specific periodization: Children of the Penny, 1833–1865; Children of the Breach, 1866–1899; and Children of the State, 1900–1940. But within these eras I still had to master the historical literature on the Civil War, Gilded Age, Progressive Era, etc., to ascertain how the newsboys' story might not just add to our understanding of the periods but somehow alter it. In the meantime, I encountered myriad other topics, such as literacy, philanthropy, disability, and education, each of which has its own vast literature, debates, and pitfalls, which I felt I needed to know. It's an endless challenge if you let it be. Years ago, I prodded a friend who was struggling to finish a book on science fiction pulp magazines, saying, "Come on, it's not rocket science." He said, "Well, actually it is." I can better empathize with him now.

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

DiGirolamo: There is always a tendency to overestimate the importance of our subjects — to assert how impossible it is to truly understand a society unless you understand whatever it is we happen to be working on. Some of this is harmless hype. But with children there is the special danger of sentimentalizing them, unconsciously adopting Victorian notions of childhood innocence or contemporary middle-class standards of good parenting. It's also possible to exaggerate children's historical agency — the degree to which they were able to exert their will, despite their subordinate position in society. What's worse, however, is failing to recognize the genuine historical agency that children and other marginalized groups have demonstrated throughout his-

tory.

The antidote is to consider multiple perspectives. In my case, that meant paying attention to the racial, ethnic, and gender divisions within the ranks of newsboys, and noting their ability to embrace the racism and sexism of their elders as well as to reject it. It also meant considering news peddling from the points of view of their parents, publishers, and reformers, few of whom can fairly be cast as heartless villains. That children were exploited — used for profit — is undeniable. But there is always a thin line between exploitation and opportunity. Newsboys walked that line every day. Historians need to be equally sensitive to moral ambiguities.

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

DiGirolamo: Just in terms of the history of journalism, I've shown that the newspaper industry was one of the most important child welfare institutions in the country. Newspapers not only provided work for them, but also offered a wide range of enticements, such as newsboys banquets, outings, schools, bands, baseball leagues, and boxing tournaments. Newspaper publishers and circulation experts of the 1880s were pioneers of corporate welfare schemes and scientific management practices. The most successful knew that building character and circulation were one and the same thing.

I've also shown that there was no clear-cut distinction between child labor and adult labor; people of all ages and backgrounds sold and delivered newspapers. They worked for wages and profits in all kinds of labor systems, including slavery. Indeed, I discovered that America's first newsboy was not Benjamin Franklin but an anonymous slave owned by Boston postmaster John Campbell. It's a small discovery, but

one that highlights the harsh reality behind this founding myth. In short, I've shown newsboys to be much more complex than the striving "little merchants" depicted in Horatio Alger novels.

But I think the book's main contribution, beyond its many arguments, is that it presents a vivid social history of the changing world of newspaper distribution and the role of working-class youth over the course of a century. I didn't just take the existing history and add children to it because no such history existed. In the process, I have added a host of new characters to the American story. Many of the usual suspect are here — Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Jacob Riis, Joseph Pulitzer, Jane Addams, Al Capone, but so are many of their little-known contemporaries, young people such as Johnny Morrow, Didley Dumps, Doc Aubery, Noodles Fagan, Winnie Horn, and Aaron Charity, who also have something to say about the American experience.

Beyond that, and this may be too ambitious a claim, *Crying the News* offers a valuable case study of how culture works. It focuses on one social practice — child news peddling — and traces how it — and the meanings attributed to it — changed over time along a moral continuum that ranged from public service to social evil. How could the same activity be regarded so differently? The answer lies in the cultural images, political institutions, and economic interests at play.

Q: *What findings most surprised you?*

DiGirolamo: The presence of sexual bartering and exploitation in the news trade surprised me when I first encountered it in sources from the 1850s. The references were veiled, but they became much more explicit and frequent in the early 1900s when social investigators focused on

this aspect of street life. They also exposed the role of newsboys in distributing pornography and steering customers to brothels.

I was also surprised by the sheer number of newsboy strikes I found. The famous 1899 strike against Hearst and Pulitzer depicted in the musical *Newsies* was not an anomaly. It was preceded and followed by scores of similar actions in every part of the country, including one during the Civil War that was regarded as a mutiny. Newsboys also formed unions. Most were short-lived affairs, but some passed bylaws, collected dues, and affiliated with the Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, or Industrial Workers of the World. Who knew?

Finally, I was also surprised by the naked self-interest of newspaper publishers in the 1930s who valiantly opposed child labor in other industries while preserving their own access to boy labor by invoking First Amendment rights.

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

DiGirolamo: I think the real measure of a field's importance is the degree to which outsiders need to pay attention to it. Works of labor, women's, and French history used to be widely read by scholars in other fields because their questions, findings, and methods were so fresh and applicable. That's the ultimate goal: to be read widely and for years. So, my advice is to "go big" and strive to bring out the broad implications of your work.

I would also advise people to work faster than me, and resist trying to be the last word on a subject. The possibility of success diminishes as the years tick by; spouses, editors, and colleagues tend to give up on you. I was lucky in this regard. By the same token, the allotted time of

a graduate program or tenure clock, or the standard length of a university press monograph may not be sufficient to your needs. Listen to your advisers. Heed your editors. Take advantage of their expertise. Meet the big deadlines with "the best available version of the truth," as we learned in journalism school. But hustle, haggle, and hold fast to your own vision of the book.

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Materiality in Media History

By Will Mari ©

Mari

The materiality-turn in journalism and mass-communication history both breaks from *and* continues the focus on the history of objects and artifacts that many scholars in our field have followed since its inception. And yet the materiality approach *is* distinct in that it traces its roots to science and technology studies (STS), and is exemplified by the work of Bruno Latour, but also Francois-Xaxier Vaujany, Nathalie Mitev, Stewart R. Clegg, Trevor Pinch, Ronald Kline, JoAnne Yates, and Lisa Gitelman, to name a few STS scholars.

Some of these names may be unfamiliar to media historians, but all have examined the historical roles of objects embedded in human systems and the role of agency in such systems. Their research and theoretical approaches are worth considering and may prove helpful for the media historian.

Thus, the purpose of this essay is to outline the current state of the field with regards to media history and materiality-based approaches, and to call for further exploration of our field with them.

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Materiality's Promise

Media historians have used materiality-led approaches to examine a variety of issues, including the role of television in politics, the use of the ballpoint pen, the use of the radio car in reporting news, the industrial journalism of the *Chicago Tribune*, and the rise of newsroom computerization, among other topics. Along the way, they have embraced connected ideas from media archeology and spatial theory to help understand the meaning and importance of *place* for history.

When media historians incorporate considerations of *materiality* explicitly into their research, they are adding depth and complexity to what is often a more narrative-driven field of inquiry. There is nothing wrong with the latter, but thinking about what the "stuff" of newsroom life was like, to the people who used it, or what it felt like to inhabit and work in specific places and times, adds an element of reality that grounds history in the lives of actual people. Historians have been taking a similar approach in subtle ways for some time.

But following the cultural turn of the 1970s, which focused on unrepresented groups and topics, the material turn of the 1990s in our sibling disciplines, including journalism studies, sociology and American studies, has now come full force to media history.

This focus on materiality —"thinginess," and its limits, as Michael Schudson put it in an important 2014 essay in *Journalism* — continues to matter and is not a passing fad. In "What Sorts of Things are Thingy? And What Sorts of Thinginess are There? Notes on Stuff and Social Construction," Schudson takes up the question and, more importantly, the limitations of a materiality approach — placing a label on something does not make it so. And "things" are not just material things, for that matter, but can sometimes include practices and conventions

(granted, with things built into them):

> A Thing is no less a Thing for being a cultural convention or a social practice to which, to some extent, individual human volition must bow. The news interview was invented in the late 19th century. I don't think journalists think of the interview as having been invented but as natural, always there. It has been black-boxed over time. It is a Thing. But it is a complicated thing, a two-part Thing. It is a social thing.…

Schudson is speaking directly to materiality's connections to Actor Network Theory, a challenging theoretical approach that defies easy definition, but one that speaks to the shared agency (or at least the imbued agency) between humans and technologies. In that sense, then, when media historians are speaking of materiality, strictly, they speaking of a different approach, one grounded in the ways tools change people, and vice versa.

They are, in this sense, using a new set of foundational presumptions. *But* perhaps the reason why media historians can feel confident in looking at the role of objects in journalism is that they have, in fact, already cultivated a materiality sensibility, or sensitivity, to the role of tools in history.

In Barbara Friedman's 2014 essay in *American Journalism*, "Is That a Thing? The Twitching Document and the Talking Object," while she outlined the positive impacts the "material turn" was having on media history, and where the impact of such thinking might go next, she noted that "the ability to think *with* things rather than *through* things surely will give us wider range to talk *about* things important to our field." (italics Friedman's).

"More than props," she concluded, "the material artifacts of our field, examined in their historical context and in their complex 'thingness,' can lead us to new understandings about the origins and evolution of our field."

Friedman explored this issue more with Kathy Roberts Forde in their June 2015 essay, "'Things That Talk:' Materiality in Media History," also in *American Journalism*. The issue contained two other articles by Rachel Plotnick and Michael Stamm, on ink and vanilla, respectively, and their relationship to journalism's production processes.

Materiality's Limits

In the past seven years or so, in response, media historians have embraced the materiality approach, applying it to studies of journalism's "objects," including everything from pica sticks, portable typewriters, 35mm cameras, telephones, typewriters and cars.

It is also true that for generations media historians have used histories of things to provide background to political or intellectual histories, and examples of this kind of work include research by Gleason Archer, Lawrence Lichty, and Lewis Weeks, among others. An examination of the bibliographies of Warren Price and Calder Pickett, Roland and Isabel Wolseley, and, earlier, Carl Cannon also shows a long interest in "stuff" by journalism studies scholars and journalism historians alike.

One of the strengths of the newer, British and continental approach to materiality is that it adds *onto* media history, instead of taking away from it. Like older approaches, but with some key differences, it asks how people in history regarded technologies *during* their gradual, uncertain transitions, and as these tools were being used. It is focused on the *ontologies* of things, and research along those lines can be found at

the Université Paris-Dauphine, in France, and its Organizations, Artifacts and Practices (OAP) workshops, run by scholars such as Francois-Xaxier Vaujany and Nathalie Mitev, at the Université de Montréal's Artefact Lab and the University of Colorado's Media Archeology Lab, among other centers.

As Ben Peters points out in a 2009 essay in *New Media & Society*, "And Lead us not into Thinking the New is New: A Bibliographic Case for New Media History," every "medium may have a few basic ideas (e.g. telegraphy or distance writing) that take many forms in material technologies." In studying their expression, it is important to see their long, convoluted paths.

Borrowing from Lisa Gitelman and her *Always Already New* (2006), and from older ideas from Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilizations* (1934), Peters is interested in the specifics of thing-use and their meanings *for* the people who used them, in their places and times.

And yet two distinctions are necessary here.

The first involves how materiality-as-approach works in media history versus how it functions in related fields such as sociology. Daniel Miller, a professor of anthropology at University College London, says that for the latter field materiality is perhaps best understood as something deeply embedded in culture and power. On a simplistic level, it has to do "simply" with things, but on a grander level, it is more epistemological — who are we as historians acting in and within history?

There is also the Marxist-materialist understanding of history, which is related intrinsically to systems and structures of production, i.e. labor and capital. Andrew Jones and Nicole Boivin, at the University of Southampton and the University of Oxford, have argued that the material turn here is a new and different, if sometimes problematic, phenomenon, influencing fields as diverse as economics and anthropol-

ogy.

Both these interpretations of materiality can help media historians by expanding their disciplinary boundaries and encouraging creative engagement with journalism studies, among other related disciplines. David Ryfe, in a 2017 essay, "News Routines, Role Performances, and Change in Journalism," has urged his fellow scholars to take a "practice theory" approach that is similar to how traditional journalism histories can be enhanced within, and in conversations with, materiality.

Examples of Materiality in Media History

It may help to illustrate this distinction with some further examples.

What scholars such as Nikki Usher, Brian Creech, Susan Keith, Juliette De Maeyer, Michael Stamm and Rachel Plotnick have done during the latter part of this past decade is powerfully embed media history into concrete *communication* contexts.

Usher is coming primarily from journalism studies, but she represents an encouraging trend in which researchers from this close relative to media history are becoming more engaged with the latter. C.W. Anderson and Matthew Powers are examples of this crossover, with both having written essays about the importance of media history to journalism studies scholars. Usher's *Place/Space, Knowledge, and Trust in Journalism*, published in *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* in 2019, connects media history to journalism studies via a place-based study of newsroom buildings.

De Maeyer's article with John Delva on the history of newsroom computerization, "When Computers Were New: Shifts in the Journalistic Sensorium (1960s–1990s)," published in July 2020 in *Digital Journalism*, is another example of media historians grounding their work in

histories of material objects. In their case, the focus is on desktops, screens and word-processing, and journalists' reactions and adoptions of these new digital tools. I explored similar themes in my 2019 book on this same phenomenon in the American context, *A Short History of Disruptive Journalism Technologies*, looking at the long transition from analog to digital devices in newsrooms during the latter decades of the Cold War.

Brian Creech's 2017 article in *Journalism* on the 35mm camera, specifically the Leica ("A Newsmaker's Tool"), examines the flexible "material epistemology" of cameras. It carries forward arguments by Susan Keith in her 2014 article, likewise published in *Journalism*, "Horseshoes, Stylebooks, Wheels, Poles, and Dummies: Objects of Editing Power in 20th-century Newsrooms." In this piece, Keith argues for more mid-century historical contexts for boundary objects, or tools that delineate who is in and out of an occupation's mandate or membership (think typewriters, telephones and pica sticks again), and in so doing uses Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone's 2001 book, *The Form of News: A History*. Barnhurst and Nerone argued that reporters and editors fought over authority in newsrooms, with the balance of power shifting over time from the latter to the former.

Plotnick's "Tethered Women, Mobile Men: Gendered Mobilities of Typewriting," published in 2019 in *Mobile Media & Communication*, shows this material sensibility. Plotnick examines the portable typewriter, concluding that "it is critical to understand typewriting technologies not as fixed, single-purpose, or single-location devices, but rather as fluid, contextual, and socially shaped devices that producers and users co-constructed."

Michael Stamm, in his 2018 book, *Dead Tree Media: Manufacturing the News in Twentieth-Century North America*, reinvigorates the

work of the late Harold Innis and his comparative, transnational, economic history, exploring how the *Chicago Tribune* made its own paper with Canadian trees, sawmills and workers. Stamm's work follows a long line of histories of vertical integration and the connections between manufacturing and journalism.

Stamm's is a synthesis approach, bringing in political, economic and social history. On the one hand, while it contains traditional journalism-history elements (such as a brief bibliography of Robert McCormick, the *Tribune*'s publisher), it also goes into fresh directions, as when Stamm explores the intersection between material goods (paper) and the global economy (via Canadian exports). It is therefore a good example of media history that uses materiality in its core arguments.

The work of Denitsa Yotova, looking at Jacob Riis and his use of the stereopticon (i.e. "magic lantern"), Julide Etem's research on American "film diplomacy" during the interwar years and early Cold War, and Lori Emerson's examination of desktop computers during the 1990s — all of these also demonstrate a "hands-on" methodology that is related to media history and materiality. A collection of essays on the topic, edited by Nick Hall and John Ellis (*Hands on Media History*, 2020), might be of use for those interested in applying these ideas to their teaching and research.

Next Steps for Materiality and Media History

Media historians can continue to incorporate ideas of materiality in several specific ways.

First, media historians can read journals outside of our community, but that often include work that closely parallels our own, including *Journalism Studies*, *Journalism*, *Digital Journalism* and *Journalism &*

Mass Communication Quarterly. Many of the media-history projects underway now, and being published in these kinds of journals, involve scholarships steeped in materiality approaches.

Second, media historians should aim to incorporate, when appropriate, ideas of materiality, and of space and place, into our work, not only for the journals named above, but also in *Journalism History*, *American Journalism*, *Media History,* the *Journal for Media History*, and other such publications.

Third and finally, we should push for more sophisticated, systematized materiality(ies). These honor older, tried-and-true approaches to journalism history, but reach a bit beyond them in creative ways.

In other words, as with Stamm's work, how is one object built out of others, or how did the *conception* of the use of this object come to be? In the case of the digital tools being used to produce journalism away from newsrooms, often remotely, for instance, what are the origins of "portability" as a concept *and* as a set of tools, prior to the advent of the computer, the car and even the telegraph? Before, then, the idea of "mobility"?

Ideas and physical expressions of the portable, as Plotnick showed with women and typewriting, varied quite a bit throughout the twentieth century, and so it could be interesting to see how early TV versus radio versus print reporters thought of the notion, at various points. Was a tape recorder, microphone and camera "heavy" and "unwieldy" to the latter but acceptably bulky to the former?

There are other, similar beliefs worth interrogating, with materiality in mind.

By bringing a holistic approach to the "stuff" of history into our research, and again one that is an extension of a long line of doing so, we can enrich our field.

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