Historiography

in Mass Communication

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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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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.).

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This One Thing Historians Cannot Not Do

By Wm. David Sloan ©

Sloan

The summer after I received my Ph.D. I began work on a project that changed my future. It turned out to be a more valuable education for JMC history than my entire doctoral program had been. It laid the foundation for the remainder of my academic career. It guided every article and book that I wrote.

You can undertake the same project, and the knowledge you gain will be just as worthwhile for you as it was for me.

In fact, it's a project that every historian should undertake. It will require time, but serious historians know that all projects require time. And this project will reward you ten-fold for the time you spend on it.

In fact, if one is serious about being a historian it's hard to imagine how one can *not* do it.

I'll add this caveat: The project offers greater rewards for young his-

David Sloan, a professor emeritus from the University of Alabama, is the author/editor of more than fifty books. The founder of the American Journalism Historians Association, he is a recipient of its Kobre Award for lifetime achievement and of a variety of other awards. His book American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography won a "Best Bibliographies in History" award from the American Library Association.

torians than older ones. Every wannabe historian just finishing his or her doctorate should immediately begin work on it. Yet a mid-career historian also will find it rewarding.

Yet the truth is that hardly anyone ever will undertake the project. Most historians may not realize how necessary it is if one wants to be an informed scholar. At some universities, it might not count toward tenure or promotion. And some historians simply don't want to do the work.

When I decided to begin the project, my decision had a background. I completed my doctorate at the University of Texas in 1981. That August I presented a research paper at the AEJMC's national convention in East Lansing.

Its title was "The Purposes of the Press: A Re-interpretation of American Journalism History." As you can tell, I, being a novice, didn't shy away from thinking I knew a great deal about historiography. Not even on a gargantuan subject. And, as uninitiated as I was, I didn't fear trespassing where a person wiser and humbler mightn't have dared go. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." I ignored Pope's warning.

I had written in the paper something such as "*All* historians have explained JMC history as a progression to modern concepts about 'proper' journalism."

Afterwards, I pondered how in the world I could be so presumptuous — for I hadn't read *everything* that *all* historians had written about JMC history. So how could I claim to know what they had said or what their perspectives were?

Earlier, in my dissertation, I had chided Jim Carey and Joe McKerns for making similar claims. Each had declared that all JMC historians had written within a certain framework, or words to that effect.

The journal *Journalism History* had begun publication a few years

earlier, and its inaugural issue carried Jim's article "The Problem of Journalism History." In it, he said the *Whig* interpretation "*exclusively* dominated the field." (That's my italics, not Jim's.)

Three years later *Journalism History* published Joe's article "The Limits of Progressive Journalism History." Joe stated that all JMC historians had written within the *Progressive* interpretation.

As you can see, Jim and Joe made exclusive claims that clearly conflicted. Both couldn't be correct. Later, I met Jim and Joe, and we became friends. But friendship didn't change my doubts about their unfamiliarity with historiography.

After presenting my "Re-interpretation" paper, I reflected on how pompous I had been. I had committed the same mistake that Jim and Joe had made. Each of us had read a small portion of all works and then leaped to uninformed generalizations. How could any of us have claimed that all historians had written from a particular viewpoint? We knew only a fraction of their work. I was embarrassed to be so superficial.

So I decided to get an education: to compile a list of every book and article about journalism history ever published — and then to read them.

I won't bore you with the details of how I did the work. The skeletal description is that I began with the bibliographical essays in the textbook I was using for my undergrad history class, Mott's *American Journalism*. He briefly summarized about twenty or so works with each chapter. Mott was a prodigious historian, and when I first read his essays, I thought what an undertaking he had accomplished having read so many books. To do the work seemed overwhelming. Nevertheless, I added those titles to the nascent bibliography I started to compile.

I read those books and wrote a thematic summary on an index card

for each one. Then, I examined their bibliographies and footnotes, and added an index card for each work they included. I read those works, summarized them, and added to my growing bibliography each work that I found in their bibliographies and footnotes. And on and on.

I continued my work for eight years and eventually had a bibliography of around 2,600 articles and books.

By the way, if you're concerned that compiling a similar bibliography will take you eight or more hours a day seven days a week for eight straight years, and that you'll die at your desk, I want to reassure you that I was working on other projects at the same time and even doing things like seeing my wife and two kids.

That bibliography did, though, require a lot of time and work, but it was the most valuable thing I ever did in getting an education about JMC history.

It helped me in my own research. It helped me identify important topics in need of research. It served as the basis for a number of conference papers, research articles, books, and book chapters.

As an added benefit, it aided me with my teaching at the graduate as well as the undergraduate level. When, for example, students beginning their research papers hit a brick wall in working on the literature review, I could give them guidance.

My collection of bibliographical index cards eventually was published as a book. But before that, I kept the cards in shoeboxes on my office shelves. "Dr. Sloan," a despondent student would tell me, "I've looked everywhere, and I can find only two articles relevant to my research. What can I do?"

"Don't worry," I would answer. "Let's see what we can find."

Bernell Tripp, now an eminent professor at the University of Florida, once wrote a short essay for Mike Murray and Roy Moore's book

Mass Communication Education. She chose to tell about the shoeboxes. Here's part of what she said:

"One of the things I remember most about David Sloan as my professor was his 'magical box' of index cards. The box was the source of numerous miracles for me, or any other bewildered graduate student who would finally succumb to frustration and slink into his office for guidance on a research project.

"David would ... barely [conceal] a smile as he listened to the borderline hysterical pleas for help. Then he would calmly get up and walk to his bookcase to remove 'the box.' After briefly thumbing through its contents, he would pull out a fistful of cards, hand them to me, and remark, 'Why don't you look through these and see if some of them might be helpful?' Neither David nor his cards ever failed to provide the answers or at least clues to the solution for whatever problem I had...."

Bernell was a conscientious researcher, but I hope the collection of cards helped many other students as well.

Despite the value that a professor's knowledge of the literature can have for students, its first importance is for the researcher, for the historian.

Do you want to be a novice historian? Then be a bibliographical babe. To paraphrase Sam Cooke, "Don't know much about history. Don't know much bibliography...."

But, even if you don't want to take history seriously, you still must know, at a bare minimum, the full literature related to the small section of history you want to study. You cannot say, "I want to write only a few occasional papers on whatever topic I happen to be interested in at the time. So I need to know only the literature written about those subjects." You might be able to produce a couple of shallow studies. But if you want to produce an account that historians will take seriously, even

if it's for only one insignificant study, you must know all the literature connecting to it. The knowledge will help assure that you understand the broad context within which your subject existed.

If you wish to study how male journalists treated female sports journalists in the early 1900s, you must be familiar with the literature on such matters as newsroom practices of the period, the social roles of men and women, media coverage of sports, male sports journalists, and so on.

If you wish to study the efforts of African-American journalists to cover Congress in the 1940s, you need to know not only the limited literature on just that subject, but also the literature on the history of coverage of Congress, on political and social conditions in Washington of the period, the biographies of all the individuals who played major and secondary roles, and so on.

Without knowing the literature on such subjects, you'll find it difficult to provide a full-dimensioned study, and your work will be superficial.

Similarly, to be a real historian — or to consider yourself one — or if you wish to focus your academic career on the history of the mass media, you need to be familiar with the full body of literature on JMC history. That means you need to do a lot of reading.

It may seem as if reading the whole body of literature in one's field requires a lot of time. If you're thinking that, you're right.

As an illustration of how daunting the task can seem, I'll mention that several years ago I began trying to compile and annotate a list of works produced since my 1989 bibliography was published. Since then the opportunities for publication in JMC history have been much greater than they were a few decades earlier. The number of articles and books has multiplied. So my incomplete list includes at least 2,000

works. If we could count all the works since 1989, we probably would find more than were produced during the entire period between the early 1800s and 1989.

To read them all would require enormous effort.

But it's something you need to do if you're a historian.

Is that unreasonable? Consider other fields of history. Is it unreasonable to ask, Should literature professors who focus their entire research program on Byron need to read the entire body of work about him? Do church historians need to read all the works in their field? Should historians of the American presidency read everything?

They probably should, and some do — even though the literature on those fields is much more vast than JMC history literature.

But, to be fair to JMC historians, we recognize that most historians in those other fields probably don't read everything. They do, though, read all the major works, and when they set out to research a narrow topic, they read everything on it.

There's no reason JMC historians should demand less of themselves.

Fortunately, if you're not inclined to read everything in our field, there are aids to help you.

One is the body of bibliographies that already have been compiled. Some are annotated. All JMC historians should, at a minimum, become familiar with them. Here's an example of how they can help. Please excuse me for this personal reference to my 1989 bibliography, *American Journalism History*. Rather than reading all the works written before 1989, today's scholar can read that book, with its brief summaries. For a much fuller education, he or she can then pick the more important works and read them in their entirety.

The bibliographies that aren't annotated can also help by pointing

today's historian to books and articles on a variety of topics.

To that end, below is a list of bibliographies that I have handy. It doesn't, I'm sure, include every bibliography in our field. I've not kept current on the entire body of work that our historians are producing, and my list omits, I'm sure, some bibliographies. So this list has gaps. It would be more beneficial if it were complete. The fact of my deficient knowledge helps to illustrate why a thorough familiarity with works in the historian's field is immensely important.

African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography. James P. Danky and Maureen E. Hady (1998).

"The American Jewish Press, 1823-1983; A Bibliographic Survey of Research and Study." Robert Singerman (*American Jewish History*, 1986: 422-44).

American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography. Wm. David Sloan (1989).

"American Periodicals: A Selected Checklist of Scholarship and Criticism, 1985-1991." James T. F. Tanner (*American Periodicals*, 1991: 132-137).

"American Periodicals: A Selected Checklist of Scholarship and Criticism …." Sam G. Riley (*American Periodicals*, 1992: 163-169; 1996: 166-175; 1998: 112-120). Three articles cover 1989-1998.

An Annotated Journalism Bibliography 1958-1968. Warren C. Price and Calder M. Pickett (1970).

"Annotated Bibliography of Autobiographies by Women Journalists." Linda Steiner (*Journalism History*, 1997: 3-15).

"Annual Review of Work in Newspaper and Periodical History 1996-1998." Diana Dixon (*Media History*, 1999: 201-21).

"Annual Selected Checklist of Scholarship in American Periodicals,

1996-1999." Kim Martin Long (*American Periodicals*, 1999: 98-115).

Basic Books in the Mass Media: An Annotated Selected Booklist Covering General Communication, Book Publishing, Broadcasting, Film, Editorial Journalism and Advertising. Eleanor Blum (1980).

Bibliographies and Lists of New York State Newspapers: Annotated Guide. Paul Mercer (1984).

A Bibliography for the Study of Magazines. John Schact (1979).

A Bibliography in the History and Backgrounds of Journalism. Robert X. Graham (1940).

A Bibliography of Literary Journalism in America. Edwin H. Ford (1937).

The Bibliography of Newspapers and the Writing of History. Stanley Morrison (1954).

A Bibliography of the History of Printing in the Library of Congress. Horace Hart (1987).

"Bibliography: Scholarship on Women Working in Journalism." Catherine C. Mitchell (*American Journalism*, 1990: 33-38).

"The Black Press to 1968: A Bibliography." Armistead S. Pride (*Journalism History*, 1977: 148-53).

Blacks and Media: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography, 1962-1982. J. William Snorgrass and Gloria T. Woody (1985).

British Periodicals and Newspapers, 1789-1832: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources. William S. Ward (1972).

"Chicanos and the Media: A Bibliography of Select Materials." Felix Gutierrez and Jorge Reina Schement (*Journalism History*, 1977: 52-55).

Contributions to Bibliography in Journalism. Various authors (1948, 1959, 1960).

"Cumulative Index, Volumes 1-7 (1991-1997) Author, Subject, and

Title Index." Stacy Erickson (*American Periodicals*, 1988: 121-132). Index of articles in *American Periodicals*.

The Dutch Language Press in America: Two Centuries of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling. Hendrik Edelman (1986).

Early Periodical Indexes: Bibliographies and Indexes of Literature Published in Periodicals before 1900. Robert Balay (2000).

"English-Speaking Caribbean Media History: Bibliographic References and Research Sources." John A. Lent (*Journalism History*, 1975: 58-60).

Freedom of the Press: An Annotated Bibliography. Ralph E. McCoy (1968). McCoy compiled two supplements in 1979 and 1993, updating the bibliography to 1992.

The German Language Press of the Americas, Vol. 1: History and Bibliography 1732-1968: United States of America, 3rd. rev. ed. Karl John Richard Arndt and May E. Olson (1976).

"A Guide to Mass Communication Sources." M. Gilbert Dunn and Douglas W. Cooper (*Journalism Monographs*, No. 74, 1981).

Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography. Nicolas Kanellos and Helvetia Martell (2000).

Historical Bibliography of the Press. International Committee of Historical Sciences (1930-1935).

A History and Annotated Bibliography of American Religious Periodicals and Newspapers Established from 1730 through 1830. Gaylord P. Albaugh, 2 vols. (1994).

History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. Clarence S. Brigham, 2 vols. (1947). Another work, *Additions and Corrections to History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, appeared in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April

1961; and the entire source is continued in *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*.

"History and Literature 97: Mass Media and Culture: Reference Sources." *Harvard Library Research Guides Online*.

"History of Global Media." Sönke Kunkel. *Oxford Bibliographies Online*.

History of Journalism in the United States, a Bibliography of Books and Annotated Articles. Edwin H. Ford (1938).

"History of Mass Communication in America: An Internet Bibliography." Robert A. Rabe (2021). Online.

Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840's-1970's: An Annotated Bibliography. Dirk Hoerder and Christiane Harzig (1987).

Information Sources in Advertising History. Richard W. Pallay (1979).

Journalism: A Bibliography. Carl L. Cannon (1924).

Journalism: A Guide to the Reference Literature. Jo A. Cates (2004).

"Journalism as Art: A Selective Annotated Bibliography." Fleda Brown Jackson, W. David Sloan, and James R. Bennett (*Style*, 1982: 466-87).

The Journalist's Bookshelf, 8th ed. Roland E. Wolseley and Isabel Wolseley (1986).

"Literature and Media Change: A Selective Multidisciplinary Bibliography." Joseph Donatelli and Geoffrey Winthrop-Young (*Mosaic*, 1995: 165-86).

The Literature of Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography. Warren C. Price (1959).

"The Literature of Women in Journalism History." Marion Marzolf, Ramona R. Rush, and Darlene Stern (*Journalism History*, 1974-1975: 117-28), and "The Literature of Women in *Journalism History*: A

Supplement." Marion Marzolf (*Journalism History*, 1976-1977: 116-23).

"Media Ethics: A Bibliographical Essay." Joseph P. McKerns (*Journalism History*, 1978: 50-53, 68).

New York City Newspapers, 1820-1850: A Bibliography. Louis H. Fox (1928).

News Media and Public Policy: An Annotated Bibliography. Joseph McKerns (1985).

Newspapers: A Reference Guide. Richard Schwarzlose (1987).

The Newspapers of Nevada, 1858-1979; A History and Bibliography. Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gas (1984).

"A Preliminary Bibliography: Images of Women in the Media, 1971-1976." Virginia Elwood (*Journalism History*, 1976: 121-23).

Press Freedom and Development, A Research Guide and Selected Bibliography. Clemente Asante (1997).

"The Problems of Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography of Press Criticism in *Editor & Publisher*, 1901-1923." Ronald R. Rodgers (*Media History Monographs*, 2007: 1-40).

Radio Broadcasting from 1920 to 1990: An Annotated Bibliography. Diane F. Carothers (1991).

The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865. An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes. Henry Smith Stroupe (1956).

Reporting the Pacific Northwest: An Annotated Bibliography of Journalism History in Oregon and Washington. Floyd J. McKay (2004).

Tabloid Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography of English Language Sources. Gerald S. Greenberg (1996).

Along with JMC bibliographies, hundreds of bibliographies for

other fields of history are available. Since JMC history usually connects to other areas of history, it's helpful to be able to identify books and articles in them. The literature is staggering. Fortunately, many guides to bibliographies are available. The following list includes the main ones. Others may be found through a search on WorldCat.org.

American History: A Bibliographic Review (1985-). Its articles, features, and reviews are devoted to "American historical bibliography" broadly interpreted.

Bibliographic Index (1937-). A valuable current index that appears three times a year and examines about 2,800 periodical sources, in addition to books, annually. It includes bibliographies published either separately or as parts of books and articles. To be listed, a bibliography must have fifty or more citations.

Bibliographies and Indexes in American History (1989-).

Bibliographies in American History: 1942-1978: Guide to Materials for Research. Henry Putney Beers (1982).

Oxford Bibliographies. Online. Updated monthly.

A World Bibliography of Bibliographies, 4th ed. rev., 5 vols. Theodore Besterman (1971). Updated by Alice Toomey, 1977; 4th ed. rev., 1980.

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How Do We Get Students To, Well, LOVE Writing Papers?

By Julie Hedgepeth Williams ©

Williams

The question in this essay's title came about when an energetic young professor suggested not long ago that we consider replacing our students' traditional media history papers with a TED-style talk. Honestly, I have no problem with creative assignments, and I appreciated the enthusiasm of the young professor. What vaguely pulled my worry chain was the fact that my students who aren't creative speakers would bomb at a TED talk, although they might shine on the page. But it was just a theoretical worry. I had no plans to swap my freshman students' media history papers for a TED talk.

Little did I know, however, that the professor's recommendation was causing much bubbling angst. I started hearing from old-timers. I admit I'm an old-timer, too, despite mistakenly and perpetually thinking I must only be a couple of years older than my students. Old-timer A asked me if I had read the TED idea. She expressed shock that anyone

Julie Williams is the author of a number of books, including The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America. *She is a former president of the American Journalism Historians Association and a recipient of its Kobre Award for lifetime achievement.*

would think of cancelling papers in favor of speaking. Old-timer B contacted me, saying, "I got an e-mail from Old-timer C lamenting the fact that his students, with the passage of years, showed declining interest in learning. One of the indications was that he got an increasing number of complaints about their having to do papers." (My thought: Did they complain to his face? Those students have *some* lip! What would their mamas say?) Old-timer B also mentioned the TED talk idea. He said, "When I taught undergrad history, the class requirement that seemed to stimulate most student interest was the research paper. Besides, even if students didn't develop an interest in history, the exercise helped them develop good habits for discovery of knowledge." Old-timer B begged me to write a column on how I get my freshman students interested in writing papers.

I mentioned the above worries over students' resistance to paper-writing to my noticeably younger office-mate, whom I have no choice but to call Old-Timer D, and whose discipline is straight-up history (I mean, not media history). He said, "If we didn't assign students assignments they didn't want to do, they'd just be doing things they already know how to do, over and over." Yes, true.

So I began thinking about the headline above: "How DO you get students to love writing papers?"

My students write — a lot — and, true confession, I teach media history in a freshman Core Communications class at my university. About the time the Journalism Department gave up teaching media history, I was rescued by trends in teaching Core Communications of having professors teach Core Seminar thematically, based on their own field of research. So — JOY! — I am able to teach composition and public speaking to freshmen from all parts of the university through media history.

And yes, it's a composition course. So they *have* to write. When I was first asked to write about how I get my students interested in writing, my husband pointed out the obvious: "It's a required course, right?"

Although I can't say that all my students love writing, they do wind up writing, and some wind up loving it — and even loving research in the old newspapers. As one of them said to me, "I love the theme of this course with the old newspapers. *Everyone* can find *something* that's interesting to write about." To me, that's the KEY of keys to getting students to love writing (and, as a bonus, research).

Key idea #1: No earth-shaking greater meaning, but instead, "What's interesting?"

For years I have collected stacks and stacks of old newspapers from the colonial era to the 1970s. And I found out my university library has — every university library has — collections of historic media. My university particularly shines with Civil War press. (There are original newspapers online, too, but the rusty crusty goldy moldy oldies you can hold in your hands are more fun.)

So I haul in my personal historic newspapers each week and park them in a nook outside the library's Special Collection department. Having heard a lecture on the era, the students then spend a class period romping through Special Collection and my own collection, looking for articles or ads in the original media that interest them and about which they can write two short parts of a "Quick Paper": One part is ½ page on "What I learned about life in the era," usually based on ads; and the other part is 1½ pages of historic argument based on a theme they discern in the historic media, such as "Ads in the *Virginia Gazette* prove

that slaves held many more jobs than just field hands." It's kind of amazing what students pick as their topics — many things I would find not at all interesting, but they report jaw-on-the-floor shock. For example, a number of them each year see something interesting in the lost horse ads in the colonial *Virginia Gazettes*. Some students tally up the large number of missing horses, ultimately writing about the meaning of horses to colonial Americans, based on those ads. Still others go in a different direction, noting that the reward for a stolen horse was in some cases the same or more than for an escaped slave. Their papers draw connections between those ads, giving a glimpse of social structure and ownership attitudes in the era. Other students look for items related to their major. A nursing student was wowed by the 1760 story of a doctor who was chastised for amputating a boy's leg that had swollen to terrifying proportions. Another student, a real estate agent, wrote about an ad for a certain kind of shady loan in the 1800s — a type of loan he had thought was a modern invention. Some of my favorite topics students have come up with for the Quick Papers include people's strong belief in sea monsters in the early 1800s; how Southerners "made do" with what they had during the blockade of the South in the Civil War; and a school in Chicago in 1910 with no roof, which was hailed as a cure for tubercular students (even in winter with snow pouring down).

The key is that the students find something interesting to write about, even if — and maybe *especially* if — the topic is not earth-shattering. I don't insist that they take on the great themes of history. Some of them stumble into that sort of theme (such as the ones mentioned above who see the relative valuation of slaves against horses), but many are simply taken by the numerous reports of sea monsters in the *Cleaveland Gazette*. (Yes, Cleaveland.) They don't have to do further research to discourse about the likelihood of there actually being sea monsters or

the evolution of scientific ideas. They just have to prove to me that the *Gazette* was chock full of sea monsters. They find this to be a "crazy fun" look into the media — and people — of the past.

The ultimate goal is for students to state an argument about the content of the media in the given era and then prove it by quoting and citing. Thus an argument that "People in 1818 were terrified of sea monsters" is just as valid as "We worry today about substandard school buildings, but in 1910 in Chicago, parents praised a school with no roof and no windows as beneficial to sick children."

If the student is interested in that small (or large) glimpse into past, that's half the battle. They're hooked, and the writing becomes less intimidating. It even can be fun.

Key idea #2: Be there during the research process.

One key stop on the road to happier feelings about writing is assuring students that their ideas are OK. I'm sitting right there while they research, mainly because Special Collection isn't open at night and because I can't leave my loved old newspapers on the shelves after class. Thus, research *has* to be done during class. This turns out to be a boon. Because I'm right there, I coach the doubters ("Is it really OK if I write about sea monsters?"), as well as the ones who say, "This is interesting, but what would I say about it?" I usually try to cobble together some sort of meaning/theme on the spot for such students, even though usually they're asking about stuff in the newspapers that I had never noticed. My thought is, "If they're interested, let's find a way to write about it." For example, one student saw lots of ads for opera gloves in one Chicago newspaper on the day Lincoln's assassination was reported. "But what can I write about *that*?" she asked. Well, I said, let's count

those ads — two for opera gloves, two for opera glasses, three for operas, one for opera cloaks — all on the front page. "What does that tell you about opera in Chicago in 1865?" I asked. "I guess opera was popular," she said. That was good enough for me — it would have made a nice, provable theme for a Quick Paper — but she took it further. She added a little hesitantly, "I think that the war had just ended, so people were anxious to get back to the theater and the opera." Very good! What a breakthrough for this student, who struggled with confidence about her writing. In other words, my being there and warbling with sincere praise over her insights gave her the certainty to move forward. True, some of her classmates were going into more depth on the coverage of the Lincoln assassination, but why not write that short paper on opera? And why not warble over that topic as any other?

Key idea #3: Lots of little grades

The Quick Paper format that I mentioned above is another key to student happiness with writing assignments. I learned long ago that my undergrad students quiver (OK, so "panic" is a better word) if they think all their eggs are in one basket — such as one big research paper. The key to making them fear writing less is to break up the final grade into bite-sized pieces. That plan is imperative not only because my freshmen come from multiple majors and therefore need time to acclimate to my field of interest, but also because it becomes quickly obvious to them that they can make a mistake and not suffer dire consequences. It seems to ease the pressure, and I can't help but think that frees their attitude about writing. My students write a series of those four Quick Papers for four weeks, mirroring the fact that the university and I can show them real or repro newspapers for four eras: Colonial/Revolu-

tionary, Party Press, Civil War, Muckraking. I tell them straight up that I'll drop their lowest Quick Paper grade and their lowest Quick Speech grade (a very informal one- to three-minute oral report on something they found). I tell them the purpose of the Quick assignments is to give them confidence in finding themes and making inferences such as the student writing about opera did, above, and to smooth out their writing and make it more natural. I let them know the speeches are designed to make them understand that speaking is just telling others what you know. The short/low-value grades on those seem to help them build self-assurance before they tackle their big papers.

Key idea #4: Forget secondary sources!

Finally my classes get to the two big papers (big to them — around 5 pages each), with higher value grades. The first Big Paper assignment is to analyze/make a historic argument about images in the press in any era from the dawn of illustrated newspapers (they love *Harper's*!) to within ten years of the class. Many get fascinated by advertising (doctors advertising cigarettes, for instance, or body image ads that advised you to *gain* weight for more dates and more sex appeal). For this one, they give a PowerPoint show featuring their images. They also have a draft of the paper, a conference with me, and a mandatory rewrite — the university asks this at least once for this class, and the conference does help those stunned by the longer length of this paper.

The other high-value paper is a historic argument on a media history topic of their choice, usually derived from the wonderful tiny archives of newspaper articles on scads of subjects put together by the *Chronicling America* website. By then the students don't have a mandatory draft/conference, though I am available during class as they re-

search. Most have acquired a great deal of know-how by then and are able to draw out themes and deeper meanings with little help, if any at all. Again, the topics don't have to be earth-shattering. Following *Chronicling America*, students might be writing on media coverage of the ping-pong craze of around 1900; the introduction of Daylight Saving time; April Fools jokes of earlier eras. Some of them pick up on serious topics featured in newspapers from *Chronicling America*: The horrors of asylums; America's first serial killer; the World War I Christmas truce. It doesn't matter that some topics are sillier than others; the only goal is to make a historic argument about the content of the media (and sometimes, by then, to address a more broad-ranging meaning) and prove it by quoting and citing. And by then, most of them can do it.

One thing that helps my freshmen in tackling these bigger papers is to avoid secondary sources. My goal is for them to read and find meaning in *original* newspapers and magazines, not to tie up our short time with research into secondary sources. I'm the first to admit that won't work for a senior thesis, but for my freshmen, it's a blessing. They'll learn about literature reviews in their senior thesis courses in the distant future. I confine them to the fun of the original documents and just let the lit review go. They're allowed to use secondary sources to look up people or situations mentioned in the original documents, but they don't have to.

Results, as best I can tell

For a final extra credit "exam," I go back to where we began, a 1770 poem that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette*. It starts, "A newspaper is like a feast/Some dish there is for every guest" and goes on humorously

to list the various guests and what topics they might like in the newspaper feast ("Those who roast beef and ale delight in/Are pleased with trumpets, drums, and fighting"). I ask the students to tell how the poem came true in their own experience. Their answers are revelatory about their love of topics that they choose, the value of writing, and the value of history. As one student said, "I can confidently say that before this class, I had never read a newspaper before. However, the *Virginia Gazette* was correct in its claim that newspapers, much like a feast, have something 'for every guest.' Even though I am a picky eater, I have been able to find several 'dishes' that I have enjoyed in various newspapers across the eras." Another said, "I have written about how to cure a bite from a rabid dog, paper carpet, railroad transportation, the meat packing industry, and so much more. Each news article is a look back in history from the perspective of the people living in it, and there truly is something for everyone."

Others reported surprise. One said, "I liked the line in the poem that says that some newspapers are for those who enjoy 'High-seasoned, acid, bitter jokes.' It reminded me of a column that I wrote a Quick Paper on. It was during the Civil War era, and it consisted entirely of sarcasm and jokes! The jokes were incredibly sarcastic and witty, emotions I don't often associate with people of that time." Another said, "I wrote about a woman on trial for murdering several of her babies in 1760. The woman, a prostitute, stuck out to me because I spent the past summer living at a crisis pregnancy home in Colombia, and was with many women who were former prostitutes or had carried out abortions before. Their stories resonated with the story of this woman from almost three hundred years ago in an entirely different corner of the world. That blew my mind."

Still others admitted to gaining as a person. One student comment-

ed, "Overall, I felt like all throughout this semester, I learned a lot about what it means to research information to form a solid claim. I enjoyed getting to incorporate history into my essays as opposed to just using modern sources. I think that my knowledge of media history in addition to the practice we had with public speaking will greatly benefit me throughout the rest of my time in college and into my career." Another wrote, "Who knew that reading and analyzing papers from the basement of the library would allow me to become more open-minded, creative, and accepting of foreign ideas? I realized the craziest stories could teach me more than other history lessons had taught me. I wrote about advertisements for horses, sea serpents, women's fashion, and kidnappings. I had never learned about such abnormal but interesting topics before."

I can't claim to have definitively cracked the code on getting students to love writing papers. Most of my students would prefer going to ball games, having fun with roommates, and flirting with potential spouses rather than writing papers. But they know they *need* to write, even my students going into majors where they think they will never have to write so much as a sentence for a living. Despite that typical desire of students to ease off of studies in favor of typical college amusements, I think many of mine do grab hold of the fun of writing about history as found in the press. And that's as it should be.

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Roundtable: How Historians and Archivists Worked Through and Survived the Pandemic

By Debra Reddin van Tuyll, Thomas J. Brown, Pam Parry, Nathan Saunders, Dianne Bragg, Simon Vodrey, and Thomas C. Terry ©

van Tuyll

It's no secret that 2020 and 2021 presented unprecedented challenges for academics. Students zoned out in Zoom class meetings, if they attended at all; administrators tried creative ways of ensuring accountability; and researchers, younger ones on the tenure clock and older ones trying to maintain established research agendas, fought to maintain their work so as not to miss that universities want to see ticked off on annual reviews.

The researchers interviewed for this roundtable come from a variety of backgrounds and range from instructors (who were Ph.D. students at the time) to full professors, archivists, journal editors, and research conference organizers. Each faced his or her own struggles to stay on track, and in this

Debra Reddin van Tuyll is professor emerita at Augusta University. She is the author or editor of nine books including Politics, Culture and the Irish American Press: 1784-1963*, which she co-edited with Mark O'Brien of Dublin City University in Ireland and Marcel Broersma of Groningen University in the Netherlands. It was a 2022 Tankard Finalist for the Best Book in Journalism given by AEJMC. She is editor of the* Southeastern Review of Journalism History*. She received the 2019 AJHA Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement.*


Bragg

Dianne Bragg is an associate professor in the Journalism and Creative Media Department at the University of Alabama, where she received her Ph.D., with a concentration in history. She has served as president of the American Journalism Historians Association. She is also the organizer of the AJHA's Southeast Symposium. Her research interests are antebellum newspapers, the politics of slavery, and late 19th and early 20th century women journalists.


Brown

Thomas J. Brown is a professor of history at the University of South Carolina. He received his doctorate and juris doctorate degrees from Harvard University. His most recent book, *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, won the Tom Watson Brown Book Award from the Society of Civil War Historians. He is also the author or editor of several other books dealing with the American Civil War, most with an emphasis on memory.


Parry

Pam Parry is professor of mass media at Southeast Missouri State University. She is the author of *Eisenhower: The Public Relations President* and the co-editor of nine books, including an academic book series. She is editor of *Journalism History*. She has won awards for teaching, research, and service. She is working on two books related to Dwight Eisenhower. She received her Ph.D. at the University of Southern Mississippi.


Saunders

Nathan Saunders is the director of South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, where he also received a Ph.D. in American history. He has served as associate director of Randall Library at the University of North Carolina Wilmington, where he supervised Special Collections, University Archives, Government Information, and the Visual Art Collection. At Randall Library he was the founding director of the Center for Southeast North Carolina Archives and History.


Terry

Thomas C. Terry is a professor of journalism and communication at Utah State University, Logan. He has published in *Media History Monographs, Military Review, Journalism History, Newspaper Research Journal,* and others. His research has won awards at conferences in the U.S. and overseas. His teaching and research areas include mass communication law, reporting and newswriting, history, the Black Press, and agenda setting theory. He received his Ph.D. in mass communications at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill He then spent a year on a Defense Department post-doctoral fellowship.


Vodrey

Simon Vodrey is an instructor of journalism at Carleton University in Ontario, where he received his Ph.D. in communication. He researches and writes about political marketing, political communication, and journalism history.

roundtable, they share some of what they learned about creative ways of remaining productive during one of the worst public health crises in recent memory — the COVID-19 pandemic.

For myself, I was teaching full time during the pandemic and had health challenges beyond worrying about Covid — I was in treatment for breast cancer, so I had double reasons to isolate myself at home and delve into online resources, focus on editing projects, and work on conceptualizing projects I could undertake in better times. As is true of my colleagues who agreed to share their comments on their experiences, I survived, even thrived, and still managed to keep my research going, though I have to say researching with online newspapers is not nearly as much fun or as rewarding as even scrolling through microfilm, much less turning the pages of actual old newspapers. But, in times of crisis, as we all learned, you do what you can with what you have at hand.

Van Tuyll: *What was the biggest impediment you faced to moving forward with your research agenda, getting journal submissions, making materials available to researchers, etc., during the pandemic?*

Brown: I had several projects at different stages during the pandemic. I was fortunate to be doing a good deal of writing and editing based on research completed earlier. Accessing books was slower than it would normally have been, but the biggest impediment was in starting a new project for which I received funding to do archival research at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Parry: As editor of *Journalism History*, I found that many dedicated reviewers were overtaxed with demands from their universities, and sometimes it took more effort to secure the reviewers needed to manage the

process of accepting or rejecting manuscripts. Many scholars were impeded in terms of submitting manuscripts, and some who got a revise-and-resubmit designation found it hard to find time to revise. With patience and open communication, the journal was able to maintain its record of publishing strong scholarship, and one major reason is the commitment of the media historians who wanted to review when they could. As we are in 2024, things seem to have improved, with more manuscripts being submitted and some new reviewers on board.

Saunders: As archivists and librarians, our biggest impediment was simply the inability to access our own collections in order to respond to remote reference requests. I was at the Center for Southeast North Carolina Archives and History at the University of North Carolina Wilmington (UNCW) at that time, and we were simply not allowed on campus for about five months. After that strict lockdown ended, we then experienced several months during which we were not allowed to work in shared offices. These staffing restrictions and deficiencies seriously impaired our ability to help researchers.

Bragg: One of the difficulties I faced was the increased amount of time needed for my classes. Rather than being easier, I often had many students who wanted to book Zoom conferences. With my large media law class, that turned into a major undertaking. In my work as an associate editor with *Journalism History*, it did not seem to impact our submission rates. I think some researchers found they had more time if they had smaller classes, etc. There does seem to be a drop-off in the amount of research being done at archives for these papers as more and more materials are accessible online.

Vodrey: The biggest impediment I faced moving forward with my research agenda during the pandemic didn't impact the journalism history research that I conducted. It concerned the other area of research that I study: political marketing and political communication and, more specifically, the qualitative elite in-depth interviewing that that research relies upon. During the pandemic, my university's ethics board was hesitant to grant ethics approvals for applications relying upon interviews as a research method, fearing the spread of COVID-19 due to the scholarly prioritization of in-person interviews over telephone and online interviews. However, over time, the university consented to the prioritization of online interviews in particular, which was beneficial for both me, the interviewer, and also my interviewees who saw online interviewing as a more informal and more convenient form of participating in academic research. The end result was a higher interviewee response rate than would have been possible if online interviews were excluded.

Terry: There were numerous impediments:

- The suffocating, disorienting, and confusing feeling of isolation and confinement at home.
- A general feeling of dread brought on by the drumbeat of deaths, especially those of my age, during the first months and before the vaccines.
- The need to teach online suddenly just after Spring Break 2020 while simultaneously mastering new skills, lecturing to a camera, grappling with unfamiliar technology, and recording/posting lectures for weeks on end well after midnight in a state of near-exhaustion.
- Losing personal contact with Dr. Donald Shaw, my mentor, principal research colleague, doctoral adviser, and friend. For two decades, we would meet in Chapel Hill or Logan twice a year in addition to at-

tending and presenting at one or more conferences a year. I never saw him in person again after November 2019.

Van Tuyll: *What did you do to overcome those impediments?*

Brown: Our library staff did great work in helping me obtain books. The Massachusetts Historical Society kindly permitted me to defer the grant for archival research, which I used when the building reopened to the public.

Parry: I would contact reviewers who would reject the invitation to review a manuscript, and I would ask them why they could not review. I emphasized I understood they could not do it, but I wanted to know if there was a better time to ask. For instance, would they be available in six months, etc.? I also frequently leaned on experienced reviewers who had retired and asked them if they could take on one more review. They always said yes. Many *JH* reviewers stepped up and did multiple reviews to help me weather this period. So, I would make the invitation to review personal and I would always respond with empathy. Reviewers are volunteers, and their time is valuable. In terms of manuscript submissions, I would attend conferences and approach people who presented papers, inviting them to submit their work to the journal. I would have lunch or coffee with some authors who had ideas but wanted to flesh them out. I conducted Zoom sessions with graduate students, encouraging them to apply. I also occasionally used social media to encourage people to submit articles. I am sure that I could have done more, but I tried several avenues.

Saunders: We were of course much more flexible with respect to our

scanning policies — providing more scans for patrons than we otherwise would have. This policy change continued because the library remained closed to all but UNCW faculty and staff for the 2020-2021 academic year. This closure affected us more than other Library departments in terms of patron interaction, though. Although we have many students and faculty who used our collections, we had just as many patrons from outside of the campus community.

Bragg: While we were mostly online and when we returned to the classroom with restrictions, I found that hosting group advising sessions on Zoom was helpful. I would set a time and student could come and go. Several took advantage of this arrangement. As things got "back to normal," students no longer participated, and I abandoned that practice. For the journal submissions, I hope that more researchers will return to visiting archives when possible. So much online research is still limited, and not all documents are available. Archival research inevitably results in a richer vein of study and primary sources.

Vodrey: To overcome the aforementioned impediment, I convinced my university's ethics board of the merit and convenience (from the interviewee's perspective) of prioritizing online interviews.

Terry: Once my teaching settled into an organized pattern (and I knew which Zoom buttons to push, thanks to my daughter!), I was able to come up for air and reenergize my research agenda. Time is what it took, along with a dollop of patience. Other observations:

- Interlibrary loans became a lifeline.
- Zoom was a godsend. Meetings through Zoom actually fostered a closer and better working relationship that continues.

• Research actually became a haven from all the pandemic distractions and concerns.

• My wife and I got a rescue dog, which forced me outside and helped reset my sense of normality.

Van Tuyll: *How useful were online sources during that period, and are there any that you'd specifically recommend for other researchers?*

Brown: Online sources were tremendously important. I was fortunate to have projects for which online newspapers were key sources. I don't think I ventured far from the well-known databases, but I certainly developed a new appreciation for the Internet Archive as a lending library.

Saunders: Our own digital collections at UNCW were indispensable during this time. We had fortunately worked in the years before 2020 to digitize some of our most frequently used special collections as well as local newspapers.

Partly as way to help researchers and partly as a means of providing remote work, Center staff for the first time created subject guides to aid remote patrons. In addition to our own digital collection, staff mined the library's subscription databases and electronic government documents for relevant items to include in these guides.

Digitized government information sources found at govinfo.gov and various state sites are particularly helpful free resources and often overlooked for instruction and reference purposes.

Bragg: Online sources are good, but I found my students often focusing on Newspaper.com, which has limitations. The databases found in the

library are usually far more extensive, and there are several new ones that focus on the Black Press, periodicals, and advertisements. Then, there are also publications offering their own material online, but usually for a fee.

Vodrey: Online sources are very helpful for the historical research that I do. Thankfully the volume and supply of online sources are ever increasing. Furthermore, many online sources and databases are free of charge if you're active faculty, active staff, or an active student or grad student. The one I would recommend for scholars of any skill level (in terms of the ease of use and also in terms of the scope and scale of material it has available) is Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. It's a very valuable database for anyone interested in conducting historical research on a wide variety of subject matters.

Terry: Online resources have mainly played a minor (though important) part in my research. Fortunately, I had a great backlog of documents piled everywhere in my study staring at me and willing me to continue the momentum of my scholarship ... and making me feel guilty when I ignored their entreaties. Brick-and-mortar libraries and librarians provided microfilm and documents — scanning and mailing — and looked up random facts and compiled data when asked without the delays bureaucratic red tape often create. The spirit of everyone in academia pulling together in the face of unpredicted catastrophe is something we tend to forget amidst the weight of the political rancor that colors our memories of those times.

Van Tuyll: *Do you have advice for younger scholars on keeping a research agenda going during a time of crisis?*

Brown: I sympathize with younger scholars who tend to be working on difficult production schedules, whether for completion of the dissertation or satisfaction of tenure and promotion standards. My guess is that they are mostly savvier than I am about responding to a crisis. I would pass along that I was tremendously impressed by the work of librarians and archivists in scanning research materials.

Parry: First, you just have to survive your jobs. Some faculty have had to cover more than one person's job due to early retirements and administrative decisions not to replace people who leave the university. So many pressures and stressors are haunting higher education today. So, stay focused on keeping your job. Second, if you find some free time, one thing you can do—even if you cannot travel to archives—is nail down your literature review. Do all your secondary reading and discover the questions you need to answer. You can conduct Zoom interviews with sources, and oral histories can be very helpful during this time. Third, some archives will make copies of documents and mail them to you for a fee; you might consider which ones of those you can afford. Also, look for grants to help offset the costs. Fourth, you might need to pause your research, but don't ever hit the stop button.

Saunders: My advice would be to think expansively and broadly about the types of sources you need to craft your historical argument. Archivists and librarians very much want to help but given limited resources may not be able to digitize items quickly. Consulting with librarians and archivists to find what databases you can access immediately — and there are probably more than you think — is key in such situations. Even if sources are not housed with us, we are usually aware of other libraries' holdings related to our subject matter. For example,

even though I have never worked at UNC's Wilson library, I am broadly familiar with their holdings because I have worked at both South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina and at UNCW, and at both institutions we have directed patrons to helpful resources at UNC.

Bragg: Sometimes it is helpful to remember that completing the smallest task can be a great victory. In an imperfect world, strive to do what is possible and be grateful for that achievement. Often, going back to the basics and reading more secondary sources can be a good use of time when the actual research is difficult for whatever reason.

Vodrey: My best advice is to not despair with the research process. There are good days and there are bad days. The key is to keep moving towards your research goal — even if you're moving there slowly. Slow progress is better than no progress.

Terry: Several suggestions:

- Hold onto family and partner as tightly as possible. Go for walks even when it's raining or snowing. Especially if it's raining or snowing: Indoors can become extra glum without the sun. Force yourself to focus and do work. Really. Just go to your desk and keep to your routines. It's easy to make excuses to avoid research.
- Do not shy away from seeking out mental health help.
- Embrace whatever new technology rides to the rescue. Most of us weren't really all that familiar with Zoom before the pandemic, but then the word became synonymous with success, coping, and getting through it.
- Read a book by Jane Austen or Robert Louis Stevenson just to get

lost in another world. Watch "Schitt's Creek," "West Wing," and "Elf" as often as needed.

- Get a dog (or a cat).

Now a bit of career advice: When you're on the job hunt or considering changing jobs, look at how the leaders of your current university or the ones you're interested in handled the challenges of the pandemic. Were they understanding of health concerns? Did they provide extra money, resources, and equipment? Did they proactively and frequently communicate via email (at the very least) and provide sensible and compassionate decisions? Were they transparent and willing to try things, even if they didn't work? Did they lay-off employees — staff, faculty, food service, and maintenance — or reassign/retain them?

Van Tuyll: *Looking back on that period, what was the most important lesson you learned from trying to keep research going (or a journal in publication, archival materials available, etc).*

Parry: Keeping *Journalism History* going was easier than tending to a private research agenda, because I had a division behind me. *Journalism History* is the official journal of the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. The journal has a 50-year history and a strong body of supporters. In addition to a great staff, the journal has oversight from the division's Publications Committee and about 100 scholars who provide blind-peer reviews. In addition to editing the journal, I was the lead co-editor of a book series, and Dr. Dave Davies is my co-editor. We also have an editorial board of six scholars, and a group of more than seven authors or editors. So, it continues to be a collaborative experience. My perspective then is that scholarly research can be social. So find a research circle, buddy, or just

like-minded friends. They will help you keep going in tough times. Mine sure did.

Brown: The most important lesson was probably that the scholarly community — including librarians, editors, publishers, and university administrators — understands the needs of researchers and is generally glad to help navigate difficult situations.

Saunders: To continue with the theme — thinking expansively about what resources you actually need to get a publication across the finish line. Scholars tend to be perfectionists, but sometimes recognizing a piece is "good enough," especially during times like the COVID pandemic, is simply the best we can do.

Bragg: I think the same answer I had for number four. Just keep moving forward and be diligent in doing what you can as best you can. That's the most we should expect of ourselves during times of crisis, be they a pandemic or personal.

Vodrey: I would echo my previous answer: to not despair with the research process and the roadblocks that may materialize therein and to remember that slow progress is still better than no progress.

Terry: Winston Churchill is credited with suggesting: "If you're going through hell, just keep going." Sound advice ... and not just for trying times. Dr. Shaw once told me that the best scholars don't take summers off and never use their scholarly rearview mirrors because they're constantly moving forward, and always driving for the basket (it's a Tar Heels metaphor).

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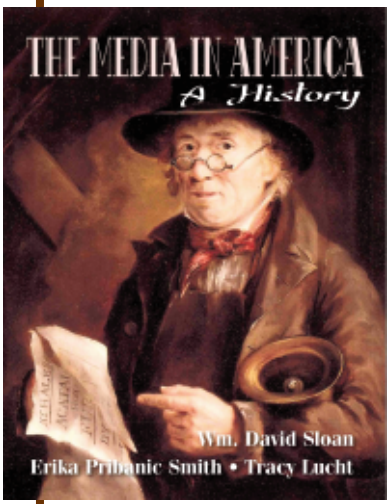

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Historian Interview

By Kimberley Mangun ©

Mangun

Kim Mangun, a professor emerita at the University of Utah, is the author of two books, a number of journal articles, and several book chapters. Before going into teaching, she worked as a freelance writer and photographer, as a newspaper reporter, on magazines, and as a photo editor for a book publisher. She received her Ph.D. in Communication and Society at the University of Oregon.

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

Mangun: I was born and raised in San Diego at a time when the metro-area population was just 844,000 (today it's 3.3 million!). Both of my parents were interested in history and culture, so I was fortunate to enjoy a childhood that included theater, music, reading, and traveling. We took three long cross-country trips in our Ford truck, camping at KOAs while we explored the US, East Coast, portions of eastern and western Canada, and the Pacific Northwest. Kodak slides show me at locales such as Mount Vernon, the Lincoln Memorial, the Seattle Space Needle, the Pony Express station in Gothenburg, Nebraska, and the

Paul Bunyan statue in Bangor, Maine. I also enjoyed some international travel: two weeks in Mexico for a language-immersion program during junior high, and five weeks in Europe during the summer of 1977 to study art history and literature.

My educational plans changed (wildly) a few times. During high school, I prepared to apply to the US Air Force Academy, which had only started admitting women in 1976. I obtained a congressional nomination, the first step in the application process, and then the Army came knocking — literally — with an invitation to test for the Army Intelligence Agency and its Defense Language Institute. I had been studying Spanish, French, and German in school and did well on the battery of tests. So I decided to pursue the opportunity to study Czech at the language institute in Monterey, California, and enter the Army as a second lieutenant. I went to Los Angeles shortly before my high school graduation to be sworn in, but the commanding officer was unavailable (unbeknownst to my recruiting officers). So, I returned to San Diego, graduated from high school, and changed my mind again. I began taking journalism classes at a local community college and also San Diego State University, then completed a BA with honors in Communications at California State University, Fullerton, in May 1981.

I worked as a freelance travel and food writer and sold articles and photos to newspapers including the *San Diego Union*, *San Diego Tribune*, *San Jose* (Calif.) *Mercury News*, *St. Petersburg* (Fla.) *Times*, and Portland *Oregonian,* and magazines such as *Oregon Coast* and *Northwest Travel*. My journalism career was varied and interesting. For example, I was the arts reporter for the *Santa Cruz* (Calif.) *Sentinel*; managing editor of quarterly magazines focused on topics such as midwifery, senior living, and travel; photo editor of coffee table books published by Black Dog & Leventhal in New York City; publisher of a monthly outdoor

recreation magazine; and a director of community outreach at the University of Oregon.

I had considered getting a master's degree, mostly for personal growth. So I took advantage of Oregon's tuition discounts for employees and entered the graduate program in communication in 1999. I started the doctoral program the following year, thanks to a pilot project that allowed faculty to invite one promising student to begin Ph.D. studies. I graduated in June 2005 with a Ph.D. in Communication and Society, and I also earned a graduate certificate in Women's and Gender Studies.

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

Mangun: My long and varied career helped me at Oregon, where I taught reporting and communication history courses as a graduate teaching fellow during my final year of studies.

I joined the Department of Communication at the University of Utah in 2006. During my 16-year career in Salt Lake City, I taught Mass Communication History, Introduction to News Writing, Voices of Utah (a capstone, diversity beat-reporting class that I created), a graduate seminar on historical research methods, Alternative Media for Minorities, and Media and the Marginalized.

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

Mangun: I became interested in historical research partway through my master's program, when I learned about Ida B. Wells. I was surprised —

stunned — that I knew nothing about her or her advocacy journalism. I read her diary and the biography by Patricia A. Schechter (years later I was delighted to finally meet Schechter at a meeting of the Western Association of Women Historians) and learned about "soaking" in primary sources from Dr. Stephen Ponder (an AJHA member) and Dr. Peggy Pascoe (an esteemed American historian). My seminar paper about Wells wasn't very good, to be honest, but it did launch the trajectory of my career. My work in journalism also helped prepare me to be a historian; curiosity, fact-checking, skepticism, storytelling, narrative, and good writing are among the skills that transferred to my new vocation.

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

Mangun: My "discovery" of Ida Wells influenced not only the balance of my graduate career, but also all my subsequent research on the African American press. My dissertation was about Beatrice Morrow Cannady, editor and later publisher of the Portland, Oregon, *Advocate* from 1912 until about 1933. I consider myself a public historian; and as such, I aim to make my work accessible to a wide variety of audiences. So, my research on Cannady and her newspaper has appeared in book form, online as encyclopedia articles, and in a documentary. In addition, I've given talks about the activist-editor to students and civic groups in Portland, and I spoke at the ribbon-cutting ceremony at the Beatrice Morrow Cannady Elementary School in Happy Valley (near Portland). I have researched other Black newspapers and editors in California, Oregon, Washington, and Alabama. All my projects explore how editors advocated for equal rights and liberties, covered civil rights,

created real and imagined communities for readers, and sustained their newspapers despite financial challenges. As a public historian, I also have written op-eds to try to connect past and present events for newspaper readers.

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

Mangun: My historical research has been published in the journals *American Journalism*, *Journalism History*, *Newspaper Research Journal*, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, and *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, and as chapters in edited books including *African Americans in the History of Mass Communication: A Reader*; *Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside the South*; *Social Justice, Activism and Diversity in U.S. Media History*; and *The Harlem Renaissance in the American West: The New Negro's Western Experience*. My articles have appeared in online encyclopedias such as the *Oregon Encyclopedia* and *BlackPast.org*, a nonprofit that annually logs millions of visitors. I have been fortunate, as well, to publish two books: *Editor Emory O. Jackson, the Birmingham World, and the Fight for Civil Rights in Alabama, 1940-1975*, and *A Force for Change: Beatrice Morrow Cannady and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Oregon, 1912-1936.*

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

Mangun: I have gained the most satisfaction from my time "spent" with Beatrice Cannady. My research has introduced her to Oregonians and brought her overdue acclaim for her commitment to civil rights.

Attending the 2019 ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Cannady Elementary School was incredibly powerful, and recent celebrations — an affordable-housing project in northeast Portland bears her name, a 75-foot mural adorns an apartment tower, an opera called *Beatrice* was commissioned for middle-school audiences — bring ongoing awareness of the activist-editor. Nineteen years after first learning about Cannady, I continue to receive emails inquiring about her civil rights work or inviting me to speak. In April 2024, I will discuss the various ways Cannady was an "exile" in Portland at a conference hosted by the University of Oregon UNESCO Crossings Institute.

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

Mangun: I believe my contributions to scholarship on the African American press are important. When I began studying the Black press in the West in 2000, few scholars focused exclusively on Black periodicals. Today, numerous scholars write about Black-owned media and their audiences. And some, like James West, winner of AJHA's 2023 Book of the Year prize for *A House for the Struggle: The Black Press and the Built Environment in Chicago*, are taking research in interesting, new directions.

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

Mangun: It's always easy to say, in hindsight, "woulda, coulda, shoul-

da." But I ended up with a great career as a result of my choices, decisions, and opportunities.

Historiography: *How would you evaluate the quality of work being done today in JMC history — its strengths and weaknesses? What challenges do you think JMC history faces in the future?*

Mangun: So much has been written about these questions and topics since James Carey penned the famous column "The Problem of Journalism History" in the first issue of *Journalism History*. Most recently, for the fiftieth anniversary of the journal, historian Maurine Beasley reflects on the status of the field and offers some suggestions for future work. One of the biggest takeaways from her column and the diversity audit of the journal commissioned by the AEJMC History Division is that there are many opportunities for future research in understudied areas including LGBTQ+, religion, (dis)ability, and race/ethnicity. I encourage graduate students and junior faculty to develop scholarship in these areas, and I urge senior faculty who often sit on tenure and promotion committees or write letters for dossiers to recognize the challenges that can accompany research projects involving marginalized or neglected areas.

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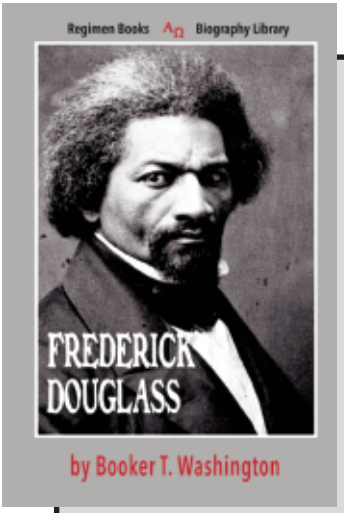

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Frederick Douglass was one of the most astounding figures in American history.

He would have been a notable character in any period, but hardly any other American rose so high above his circumstances. Born a slave, he became a leading figure during the most memorable epoch in our history — that age from the Antebellum era, through the Civil War and emancipation, and into Reconstruction and the great Industrial period that followed.

In this classic biography, Booker T. Washington — who followed in Douglass' footsteps as the most influential African American of his generation — provides a multifaceted account of his predecessor and his impact during the most momentous events in the nation's history.

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

Book Award Interview

W. Joseph Campbell ©

Campbell

Joe Campbell won the national Sigma Delta Chi award in 2011 for "Research about Journalism" for his book *Getting It Wrong*. He is a professor emeritus of communication at American University.

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

Campbell: The two editions of *Getting It Wrong* (University of California Press, 2010 and 2017) address and debunk prominent media-driven myths. These are well-known stories about and/or by the news media that are widely believed and often retold but which, under scrutiny, dissolve as apocryphal or wildly exaggerated.

In short, media myths are dubious tales masquerading as factual; typically they encourage misleading interpretations about media power and influence.

A student of mine once referred to media myths as the "junk food of journalism," which is an inspired characterization. "Junk food of journalism" means these tales are just too good, too delicious to resist.

In debunking myths, *Getting It Wrong* is aligned with the most fundamental objectives of the news media, those of fact-finding and truth-telling. In a way, the book also anticipated the on-going controversies about misinformation, disinformation, and "fake news."

Historiography: *What are some examples of "media myths"?*

Campbell: Among the best-known examples is that two journalists for the *Washington Post* — Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein — brought down the corrupt presidency of Richard Nixon through their dogged investigative reporting. It's a tale that has endless appeal for journalists, evoking David *v*. Goliath and all. But it's a media myth, what I call the myth of the "heroic-journalist."

Richard Nixon's fall was the consequence of his criminal conduct, which was exposed by the convergence of many powerful forces — newspapers being among the least decisive. Journalism's contribution to Nixon's fall was quite modest.

Media myths typically minimize the complexity of historical events in favor of simplistic, and misleading, interpretations. So instead of trying to sort through the intricacies of a long-ago scandal, it has become much easier, and far simpler, to attribute Watergate's outcome to the purported exploits of Woodward and Bernstein.

A similar dynamic helped propel the media myth of Edward R. Murrow's famous *See It Now* television program in 1954, when Murrow supposedly unmasked Senator Joseph McCarthy and ended his virulent, communists-in-government witch hunt.

Many factors converged to bring about McCarthy's downfall, not the least of which were the senator's own excesses and miscalculations. But the notion that Murrow was the giant killer is very attractive. It's

an interpretation that's easy to remember, easy to retell. Truth is, Murrow was very late in addressing the McCarthy menace. Other journalists, including the syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, were pointedly criticizing McCarthy's excesses long before Murrow got around to it.

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

Campbell: Essentially, that many well-known narratives in American journalism history are distorted by mythical elements.

These include other famous tales, such as the notion that Walter Cronkite's pessimistic, on-air assessment of the war in Vietnam in 1968 effectively swung U.S. public opinion against the conflict. The so-called "Cronkite Moment" supposedly was a decisive, media-inspired turning point.

In reality, public opinion had begun swinging against the war months before Cronkite — the respected anchorman of the *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* — delivered his assessment that the U.S. military was "mired in stalemate" in Vietnam. That appraisal wasn't very novel or even courageous. By then, "stalemate" had become a fairly orthodox view in the media and U.S. government.

Historiography: *What findings most surprised you?*

Campbell: I was surprised by the tenacity of media myths. Although they typically are simplistic, they can be tenacious and immune to the effects of debunking.

The myth of the "Cronkite Moment" is an example. It's almost too good *not* to be true, and it lives on as a misleading example of the decisive effects of journalists telling truth to power. Even Cronkite, until

very late in his life, dismissed the presumed effects of the "Cronkite Moment."

Historiography: *This year marks the 50th anniversary of Nixon's resignation. So let's return to Watergate for a moment: Why is it commonly believed that Woodward and Bernstein brought down the president?*

Campbell: Three factors explain the tenacity of the "heroic-journalist" myth. One is the best-selling book Woodward and Bernstein wrote, *All the President's Men*, which came out in June 1974, about two months before Nixon's resignation. The book was exquisitely well-timed and it offered Woodward and Bernstein's take on Watergate at a key moment in the scandal. The book is still very readable.

An even more important factor was the 1976 cinematic version of the book, also titled *All the President's Men*. More so than the book, the movie focused on the exploits of Woodward and Bernstein to the exclusion of more important figures who did much to bring down Nixon — the federal prosecutors, federal judges, members of congressional panels such as the Senate Select Committee on Watergate, justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, among others.

The book and movie introduced to popular culture the famous and shadowy secret source "Deep Throat," who met periodically with Woodward about the Watergate investigation. The identity of "Deep Throat" was kept secret for some 30 years — a secret that prompted periodic speculation as to who he was. These guessing games helped keep alive the memory of Woodward and Bernstein's reporting, and positioned them at the center of Watergate discussions far longer than they otherwise would have been.

The book, the movie, and the "Deep Throat" mystery were ingredi-

ents of an enduring and powerful media myth.

In the end, Watergate's outcome turned not on newspaper reports but on the contents of recordings that Nixon secretly made of conversations at the White House. Without that evidence, Nixon likely would have survived Watergate. Even Woodward has said as much.

It's useful to note that the existence of Nixon's tapes was a pivotal story that Woodward and Bernstein did not break.

Historiography: *But didn't Woodward and Bernstein have an agenda-setting effect, in keeping the story alive and showing the way for investigative panels like the Senate Select Committee on Watergate?*

Campbell: That's a tempting alternate explanation, but the Woodward/Bernstein agenda-setting effect was mild at best. They were very much *not* alone in calling attention to suspected misdeeds of Nixon, his top aides, and officials of his reelection campaign. They had company in reporting on the emerging scandal in 1972.

Woodward and Bernstein did some commendable reporting in those early days — such as tying John Mitchell, the former U.S. attorney general, to Watergate. But their reporting wasn't an endless series of bombshell revelations that regularly rocked the White House. In fact, by the end of October 1972, their editor said Woodward and Bernstein were "out of gas" on Watergate.

Other news outlets scored important beats, which tend to be forgotten in Watergate's historiography. The *New York Times*, for example, was first to report on the repeated phone calls placed to Nixon's reelection campaign by one of the burglars arrested inside Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., in June 1972. The botched burglary was Watergate's sig-

Campbell and Woodward in 2022

nal crime.

Also, the *Los Angeles Times* published a major Watergate story in early October 1972 based on an exclusive, on-the-record interview with the burglars' lookout man.

Edward Jay Epstein pointed out in a classic essay about Watergate that the *Post* and other newspapers were joined by entities such as the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, and by Common Cause, a foundation promoting accountability in government, in calling attention to the emergent scandal. The Democratic National Committee filed a civil lawsuit against Nixon's reelection committee, which ultimately compelled statements under oath.

In "publicizing Watergate," Epstein accurately pointed out, "the press was only one among a number of institutions at work."

Historiography: *You mention the Epstein essay: Overall, what was the state of the historical literature about the topic at the time you began work on the book about media myths?*

Campbell: Pretty scattered. Nothing had been written in a comprehensive, analytical way about media-driven myths, their emergence, their effects, their durability. Epstein's essay was essential reading about Watergate, for sure, but it came out before Nixon resigned in 1974.

A scholar or two had raised tentative questions about another very prominent media myth, that of William Randolph Hearst's purported vow to "furnish the war" with Spain in 1898. Far more often, though,

historians have invoked Hearst's supposed vow as evidence that he and his *New York Journal* fomented the Spanish-American War. That's a mythical and media-centric interpretation.

Hearst denied having declared he would "furnish the war." The artifact supposedly containing his vow — a telegram to the artist Frederic Remington in Cuba — has never turned up.

Remington went there in early 1897 on assignment for Hearst, drawing sketches of the two-year-old Cuban rebellion against Spanish colonial rule. *Getting It Wrong* points to a damning internal inconsistency of the Hearst tale: Why would Hearst have pledged to "furnish the war" when *war* — the Cuban rebellion — was the reason he sent Remington to Cuba in the first place?

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

Campbell: Like many projects, *Getting It Wrong* emerged from earlier research. In this case, a book I had written about the myths and misunderstandings of yellow journalism, as practiced by Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, and others in urban America in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. That book was *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Praeger, 2001).

Upon completing a related book called *The Year That Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms* (Routledge, 2006), I set about researching what became *Getting It Wrong*.

Along the way, there was a serendipitous twist that led me to publish with University of California Press.

An acquisition editor at the press, Reed Malcolm, had found my name online while searching for a prospective manuscript reviewer. He asked in an email if I were interested, and I agreed to write the review

for him. This was in 2005. Afterward, Reed asked if I had ever thought of writing "a sort of 'great myths in journalism'" book. He had seen my work debunking myths of yellow journalism. At the time, I was finishing the 1897 book — and planning to take on media myths as my next book project. Reed's coincidental inquiry dovetailed quite well with those plans.

So began a nearly 20-year collaboration with University of California Press, which has published three of my books, as well as follow-on editions of two of them.

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

Campbell: In all, it was about five years from idea to book-publication.

I spent many, many hours at the Library of Congress, cranking microfilm of scores of old newspapers. Reading what was written, or reported, at the time — reading primary source material — was critical. Doing so offered invaluable insights, invaluable context.

Reading what was written at the time helped me understand how critical newspapers were in promoting the erroneous notion that Orson Welles' radio dramatization of *The War of the Worlds* in late October 1938 set off nationwide panic and mass hysteria. The "panic broadcast" myth is a great story but highly exaggerated. Like most media myths, it has thin evidentiary support.

Whatever radio-induced fright there was that night in 1938, it hardly reached nationwide proportions, with tens of thousands of people taking to the streets, hysterically out of their minds, as newspapers said. More compelling is a contrary case, that by far most listeners to

Welles' program recognized it for what it was — a fast-paced and entertaining show on the night before Halloween. But the panic myth lives on, as a sort of warning about the presumptive dark power of media to sow fear and turmoil.

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

Campbell: This can happen, after publication: Sometimes, once the book is out, you find a source or sources that would have been terrific to have known about during the research and writing phases. But with *Getting It Wrong*, I don't remember encountering any such sources — sources that I regretted not knowing about.

The book's second edition, which came out in 2017, did cite new instances in which media myths had been invoked prominently, as if genuine. One example was Joe Biden's claim, made in 2011 while on a trip to Moscow, during his vice presidency. He asserted in a speech that the *Washington Post* had "brought down" Nixon. The conservative talk radio host Rush Limbaugh made a similar claim in 2013. Both anecdotes were included in the second edition, as they underscored how media myths can project broad, bipartisan appeal.

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

Campbell: I'd emphasize the importance of delving into primary source materials — of reading what was written, contemporaneously. This is a straightforward suggestion, but I'm surprised how superficially contemporaneous sources are treated, sometimes.

Also advisable is to regard warily those memoirs and recollections written long after the fact, long after the event. Memories are seldom clear, sharp, and reliable many years afterward.

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

Campbell: I say do the book. Definitely. It'll be a years-long undertaking, and it may become frustrating along the way. In the end, though, book-writing is far more rewarding than, say, stringing together a number of journal articles. More accessible, too.

Book-writers are well-advised to be generous and extensive in acknowledging the people who helped them along the way — the graduate assistants, the faculty colleagues, the interlibrary loan staff, the grant providers, the archivists, the manuscript reviewers. They all deserve mention in the book's "acknowledgements" section. And spell names correctly. Few things are more embarrassing than complimenting someone for her help — and misspelling her name.

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The Media and the Depiction of Women

By Karen List ©

List

NOTE: This is the eighth article in our series "How Media History Matters," dealing with the significance that the mass media have had in American history. We think the series will appeal especially to historians who believe historical claims need evidence to support them. It's easy, someone has said, to suggest explanations if one doesn't have to worry about facts.

It will become clear as we publish more essays that many ways exist to justify JMC's historical importance. One monolithic explanation won't work. Karen List's essay focuses on the media's role in helping to form ideas about what women's personal roles and their roles in society should be.

After women's massive entry into the workforce during World War II, *Parents Magazine* instructed them at war's end that "[t]he wife's life, her interests, were established around her husband." When he went to war, "[t]here was a feeling of meaninglessness in everyday tasks when the stimulation was missing which comes simply from living

Karen List is a professor emerita of journalism and mass communication at the University of Massachusetts. She received her Ph.D. in in mass communication history and law at the University of Wisconsin and has published widely on women in media history and on the partisan press during the early years of the American Revolution.

with a man who expects that things should be done." Women naturally shrink from taking responsibility for their children and themselves and long for a husband's protection, the magazine said, and those who wished for more independence should be able to gauge the degree to which that might be acceptable to their spouses.[1]

More recently, Susan Faludi, in her award-winning book *Backlash*, which chronicles reaction to women's progress in the 1970s and 1980s, argued that such media coverage is a pre-emptive strike against the perception that women are making great strides. She characterized trend stories on the shortage of marriageable men, ticking biological clocks, the mommy track at work, and post feminism cocooning as "a moral reproach": "These articles weren't chronicling a retreat among women that was already taking place; they were compelling one to happen."[2] Other media messages of the '80s backlash, according to Faludi, included these:

• Women are "special" and do not have what it takes to function in the real world and need the protection of men.

• Women are unhappy *because* they are free; and to find happiness, they must realize that self-realization does not come through autonomy but through exerting power from home.

• Women must take responsibility for all of their problems and accept the fact that surrendering to men is the way to take charge of their lives.

• Women ignore this advice at their peril.

The overriding message, Faludi wrote, was "go home or crack up."[3]

Such advice appeared other places as well. Columnist William Safire in 1992 informed his readers that "the new natural womanism achieves lasting partnerships and personal fulfillment."[4] And the *New York Times* quoted a Republican consultant on Hillary Clinton as a

potential first lady: "There's a certain familiar order of things and the notion of a coequal couple in the White House is a little offensive to men and women." The same article quoted the director of the Center for Women and Politics at Rutgers' Eagleton Institute: "When it comes to women, people are not ready to take more than a spoonful of change at a time."[5]

Except for the language used, the message is similar to the one sent by most periodicals throughout American history. According to Faludi, the media of the 1980s did not report on trends but created them through coverage. In the same way, earlier periodicals did not "report" on women's sphere so much as they helped create it.

The reasons the periodicals might have done so are many. Whenever women ventured into public life, their progress, both real and perceived, was a threat to male dominance in politics, business, society, and the family. Men were accustomed to being center stage in all of these arenas and for the most part unwilling to allow women on the stage at all. When one assesses reaction to women's progress in the 1980s, it is not difficult to imagine how intense and narrowly focused such reaction would have been one or two centuries earlier. In order to preserve the "natural" order of their world, male editors not only depicted women as unfit for public life but denigrated and bullied them to the point that readers may have questioned women's fitness for any life at all. The mainstream media denied women any sense of themselves, depicting a world where only men's lives counted. That was the world they lived in, the world they understood, and the world they worked to maintain. Perhaps it did not occur — or matter — to them that a woman's "lesser life does not seem lesser to the person who leads" it.[6]

Feminist battles for equality always have elicited a reactionary focus on perceived gender differences. But what Faludi called "the all-Amer-

ican repeating backlash" did not begin, as she suggested, after the Seneca Falls convention in 1848.[7] It began after the American Revolution and before the feminist movement in these periodicals. At a time when women appeared to have the opportunity to define themselves in new ways, these publications prescribed the definitions for them. Women were sent home and denied the strength of the collective spirit they had begun to experience. Although it is difficult to assess the effect of this effort on women 200 years ago, it seems obvious that women then — and women now — do not benefit from prescriptions of one right way to be.

The Role of Women in the New Republic

Women's legacy from the American Revolution was increased involvement and visibility in public life in the new republic of the 1780s and '90s.[8] The Revolution had created an environment in which women's public activity, both individually and collectively, was accepted, expected, and even encouraged. Women developed organizing skills and became a necessary part of the Revolutionary effort, providing clothing, food, shelter, and money, as well as other services for the troops. At home, they collected rags for paper and bandages, lead for bullets, and urine for saltpeter. In the marketplace, they enforced boycotts against British goods and stormed suppliers when they over charged for food or other household goods.[9]

Women's contributions were significant both to the war effort and to their own sense of worth. Philadelphia women in 1780, for example, created a national organization to raise money to help the troops. They agreed that the money should go directly to the soldiers, so that they might provide for their own needs. But when General George Washing-

ton refused that request, the women instead bought linen to make shirts. And each woman inscribed the shirts she made with her name "to emphasize [her] personal gesture of support and solidarity as well as [her] intention to contribute on [her] own terms."[10]

More than a decade later, *Ladies Magazine* reflected on the role of Revolutionary women and asked its readers to do the same: "If our modern ladies would give themselves the trouble to look back a little upon past ages, and consider the figure which the sex then made, they would meet with women, who were not only good wives, but useful subjects."[11]

But now it was the 1790s, and newspapers and magazines in Philadelphia, with the promise of the Revolution unfolding around them, were engaged in the American media's first backlash against women. *Ladies Magazine* made that clear in its depiction of women's role: "We have no occasion for the service of the ladies at present.... I would not look upon them as warriors and heroines; but as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters."[12]

Just as women, at least upper- and middle-class white women, had begun to define themselves in part through their participation in public life, newspapers and magazines in the nation's capital prescribed their role exclusively in the private sphere. In the process, the periodicals established themes in relation to women's place that recurred as the media depicted women's progress from the Seneca Falls women's rights convention in 1848 to the burdgeoning women's movement in the 1970s.

In other words, the groundwork for the media's depiction of women was laid in the 1790s, almost sixty years before the women's movement began, and the media since that time have often conveyed the same thinking on women's place that appeared in these publications 200 years ago.

That women in the new republic had progressed to some extent and that newspapers and magazines were in a position to depict that progress is clear. Many women by this time had made their mark nationally in their own right: Abigail Adams as trusted adviser to her husband, the President; Mercy Otis Warren, as historian, poet, playwright, and political satirist; botanist Jane Colden; scholar Hannah Adams; sculptor Patience Lovell Wright; poet Sarah Wentworth Apthorp Morton; novelist Susannah Haswell Rowson; and actress Mary Ann Pownall. And many lesser known women worked as printers, apothecaries, blacksmiths, shipwrights, and undertakers; ran farms and shops; and practiced law and medicine. Some worked on their own and some in the absence of husbands who had died or were travelling or carrying out other duties.[13]

A decline in patriarchal authority in families also had begun; and remaining single, delaying marriage, separating, and divorcing had become viable options for some. Contraception was used more frequently, family size gradually decreased, and child-rearing was less authoritarian. Although women still lacked legal rights, some made prenuptual contracts to protect their property after marriage, and their property interests were recognized increasingly by courts of equity.[14]

Some women had internalized the revolutionary changes occurring about them. In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* appeared in the bookstores of Philadelphia, and her ideas on broader education for women were widely accepted on this side of the Atlantic. Elizabeth Drinker, a conservative Philadelphia Quaker, wrote in her diary: "in very many of her sentiments, she ... speaks my mind."[15] The Young Ladies' Academy, the first school of its kind in the United States, opened in the city on June 4, 1787, enrolling students from every state, Canada, and the West Indies. Women learned read-

ing, writing, arithmetic, grammar, composition, rhetoric, geography, French, and the classics, as well as music, dance, painting, drawing, and needlework. Priscilla Mason, in her 1793 salutatory address to the Academy, noted that where women's place was concerned, "a more liberal way of thinking begins to prevail."[16]

These expanding educational opportunities along with the spirit of the Reformation, which encouraged individuals to interpret their own relationships with God, helped any number of women involve themselves in public life — despite their subject status — through reading, conversation, writing, and other activity. Some of Philadelphia's Quaker women in 1793 established the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor to establish free schools for female children. About 100 women in Hartford, Connecticut, and Halifax, North Carolina, formed an association to work on frugality and the purchase of only American products. Scores of other charitable, religious, reform, professional, and political associations were formed.[17]

Women also began to recognize more fully and to appreciate their involvement with and dependence upon one another, both in the larger world and at home, where they developed "shared, female-identified values, rituals, relationships, and modes of communication that were sources of satisfaction and strength."[18] From the 1790s through the mid-nineteenth century, female friendship "became a subject of their conversation, reading, reflection and writing."[19]

In this atmosphere, new-republic periodicals conveyed Enlightenment ideology and its visions of a free and equitable society — but for white men only.[20] "The promises of the Revolution," historian Linda Kerber wrote, "had not been explored for what they might mean to women. Western political theory had provided no context in which women might comfortably think of themselves as political beings. The

major theorists of the Enlightenment, the Whig Commonwealth, and the republican revolution had not explored the possibilty of including women as part of the people."[21] Women might have been more visible and Wollstonecraft might have argued that democracy should be extended to them, but republican ideology simply ignored them.[22]

New-republic newspapers and magazines, however, did not. They stepped into this ideological void regarding women by enthusiastically defining women's place. The publications resolved the tensions between republican rhetoric and women's reality by advancing the idea of "republican motherhood." Women would exercise their role as citizens in the new republic at home by influencing their husbands and sons, who then would move into the public arena. In this way, the publications endowed domestic work, albeit obliquely, with political significance. This glorification of marriage and motherhood, called "women's sphere," "women's station," "women's place," or the "cult of domesticity," was forwarded with prescriptive urgency as the answer to what role women should play in the new republic and how they should find happiness.[23]

It has been suggested that women's smallest advancements throughout American history often have been met by overly intensive campaigns to keep them in their place,[24] and that might be said of these early periodicals' prescriptions for women's role. For while it is true that some women had become more active outside the home after the Revolution, most women's lives had not changed at all.

The fifty-five male delegates to the Constitutional Convention had not believed in the liberty, equality, or even personhood of women. Abigail Adams had written to her husband in 1776: "Do not put such unlimited powers into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could."[25] But virtually unlimited power is what

most husbands had.

Women could not vote, their right to hold property was restricted, and most did not have the money or time to pursue an education. The average woman assumed her place in society based on her husband's identity and was likely to be considered inferior to him by nature and incapable of any serious thinking.[26] She married at age sixteen and had children every two years through her forties. Out of five to ten pregnancies, she might have three to eight surviving children, some still at home at the time of her death. She lost her looks and health by twenty-five. Her husband likely saw her twice a day: at breakfast when he read the newspaper and at dinner when he read the newspaper.[27] One writer said that communication between the sexes was so lacking that if a man married a woman with "tastes, disposition and character essentially different from his ... he might die without discovering his mistake."[28]

No women were immune to these conditions. While Abigail had sole responsibility for children, home, and farm during John's extended absences, he did not take seriously her request to "Remember the Ladies" as he deliberated on the country's future.[29] Sarah Morton might have been an accomplished poet, but in 1790, she apologized for her works' imperfection "from a consideration of my sex and situation; the one by education incident to weakness, the other from duty devoted to domestic avocations."[30] While Priscilla Mason in her salutatory address at the Academy advocated a Senate composed of women, she relegated their deliberations to manners and fashion.[31] And when Republican printer Margaret Bache urged *Aurora* subscribers to pay their overdue bills and asked her dead husband's archrival, Federalist William Cobbett, to stop attacking her in his news columns, she pleaded her case as "a woman, and a widow" and later "a feeble woman."[32]

Under these circumstances, one might wonder how dangerous wo-

men could have been to the natural order of things as it was perceived by the periodicals. Yet they clearly found the question of women's place compelling enough to engage a fair amount of their time and space. And the messages they sent reached a good number of people.[33]

By 1794, the *Aurora* was one of eight political party newspapers published in the city, which was the seat of the new federal and state governments and home to 50,000 of the four and a half million people then living in America.[34] The *Aurora* circulated to about 1,700 people at mid-decade, surpassed only by Cobbett's *Porcupine's Gazette* at 3,200. The rivalry between Bache and Cobbett attracted many readers to the pages of their papers, in which they detailed their respective views on the current Federalist administration and the Republican opposition. The city's other Federalist paper, John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States,* circulated about 1,200 copies. But all of the papers actually reached more people than the numbers would indicate because of pass-along readership and because so many other papers around the country copied from them.[35]

Fifteen magazines also published there during the decade, a remarkable number when one considers the fact that prior to 1794 no more than three magazines had ever published at the same time in the entire country.[36] Circulation figures for the magazines are not available, but they too were shared widely among those who read them.[37] Although the identities of newspaper editors like Bache, Cobbett, and Fenno were widely known, the magazine editors often were anonymous, and pieces generally appeared in both types of publications under pseudonyms.[38]

Both the newspapers and magazines were modeled after successful British miscellanies, carrying news of politics, both foreign and domestic, and reports of births, deaths, and marriages, as well as verse, literary excerpts, and commentary on society, morals, manners, and fashion.

The types of news appeared in different proportions, with newspapers devoting more than ninety per cent of their editorial space to political information.[39] Because of women's absence from politics, the newspapers devoted far less space to them than did the magazines.

Still, for both women and men, these publications were the most popular source available for information and opinions on issues of the day, including women's place. "It is a happy revolution in the history of the fair sex that they are now in general readers, and what is better, thinkers too," *Ladies Magazine* wrote.[40] Women wrote for and advertised in the publications, and other editorial pieces and ads were directed to their attention.[41]

Magazines specifically sought out women readers and sometimes women's contributions. The first American periodical directed in its entirety to women was *Ladies Magazine*, published from 1792 to 1793 in Philadelphia. Its allegorical frontispiece showed a woman kneeling to Liberty on a throne, presenting her with a copy of the Rights of Woman. But while it included some pieces with female pseudonyms, the editors made it clear that they admired these contributors "more as authors than esteem them as women."[42]

Women also mentioned reading and relating to the periodicals in their correspondence and journals. Abigail Adams read both *Porcupine's Gazette* and the *Aurora.* Since her politics were Federalist, she wrote that Bache's paper "tends to corrupt the morals of the common people," while Cobbett said "many good things."[43] Elizabeth Drinker was one of the women in Federalist society who quoted from Fenno's *Gazette* and thought Cobbett clever. When Cobbett left America on June 3, 1800, she wrote in her journal that although she had never seen him, "I seem to know him well."[44] One of Bache's female readers wrote to him: "I thank you for your *Aurora*. I welcome it every evening, as I would a

pleasant, intelligent friend."[45]

While women read and occasionally wrote for these periodicals, men published and paid for them; so whatever message was sent in their pages regarding women was one acceptable to men. That might help explain why as some women became more visible, the periodicals defined their role in a narrower, more restrictive way — both in terms of the messages sent and the manner in which they were conveyed.

Periodicals' Depiction of Women: the Messages

Although Philadelphia periodicals wrote about women to varying degrees, all had something to say about their condition and place. These messages can be reduced to two primary themes. First, women generally lacked the ability to get on in the public world because they were different from and inferior to men. Second, women could not find happiness through autonomy but only through affiliation with others, preferably husbands and children.

The first theme, women's inferiority in the public sphere, was soundly rejected by Wollstonecraft, whose *Vindication* was excerpted and discussed in a nine-page article in the September 1792 edition of *Ladies Magazine.* One of those excerpts read: "Who made man the exclusive judge if women partake with him the gift of reason? ... Let women share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man."[46] In other words, if women were given the same advantages, they would be men's equals.

Although the magazine publicized Wollstonecraft's views, it also pointed out that "we cannot wholly agree with our fair authoress in all the points she contends for," and other essays made that clear. Typical of the magazine's position was this excerpt from Hector: "Let women

preside in all domestic affairs, and let their judgments be decisive in the appointments of fashions; but suffer the politics of nations to be directed by men, entrust the agency of warlike matters to hands by nature more adapted to its roughness." Another essay, "Thoughts on Women," explained that was good advice because women functioned not by reason but by intuition: "The philosopher ... gets to the head of the staircase, if I may say so, by slow degrees, and counting step by step. She arrives at the top of the staircase as well as he; but whether she leaped or flew there, is more than she knows herself.... [S]he is generally lost when she attempts to reason." [47]

The *American Museum* in 1787 had made the superiority of one sex clear: "the author of nature has placed the balance of power on the side of the male, by giving him not only a body more large and robust, but also a mind endowed with greater resolution, and a more extensive reach."[48]

Ladies Magazine agreed that women "live in the most perfect indifference as to all the common difficulties of life. Placed in a situation of difficulty, they have neither a head to dictate, nor a hand to help...." Because of these limitations, another piece noted: "A girl should be taught, that her peculiar province is to please, and that every deviation from it is opposing the design of nature.... A girl is to be taught, that a degree of subjection is allotted her.... It is that state of subjection, for which nature evidently intended the female part of creation." In fact, it was dangerous for women to be too learned: "You might be dazzling, but not truly [bright], A pompous glare, but not a useful light, A meteor, not a star, you would appear, For woman shines but in her proper sphere."[49]

Some of the periodicals engaged in more advanced discussion on what women's proper sphere might be. *The Weekly Magazine*, for exam-

ple, printed Charles Brockden Brown's Wollstonecraft-inspired "Alcuin," a conversation between Alcuin and his hostess, Mrs. Carter, who argued that women should not be denied the vote because of their sex. She chafed at being "passed over, in the distribution of public duties, as absolutely nothing.... Of all forms of injustice, that is the most egregious which makes the circumstance of sex a reason for excluding one half of mankind from all those paths which lead to usefulness and honour.... Men and women ... are rational beings, and, as such, the same principles of truth and equity must be applicable to both."[50] Alcuin, although he supported equal education for men and women, responded that women were unfit to participate in politics, but superior in their own sphere — at home. Most women were content with "the post assigned them," he said, and would not employ rights of citizenship if such were extended to them.[51] Mrs. Carter might be discontented, he allowed, but she was "singular." And women generally were instructed not to "effect to be singular," or they would "render themselves ridiculous."[52] Subsequent essays explored both positions: in one Dr. Johnson mocked the idea that women were "accountable creatures," but Mrs. Knowles defended it.[53]

Despite its representation of both sides of the argument, this publication went to considerable lengths to criticize Wollstonecraft, whose "Quixotic Mania" led her to try to "extend the sphere of female duties and female obligations beyond the boundary which nature, seconded by reason and custom, had presumed to point out."[54] The writer argued: "However plainly she may have demonstrated that the order of things has been shamefully reversed, and that nature designed the men to preside at the tea-table, regulate the household, and rule the nursery; while all the offices of state and business of commerce should pass into the hands of the ladies; her theory seems but little likely to succeed."[55]

Women who tried to take part in public life were praised on rare occasions by newspaper editors who agreed with their politics. But the editors generally focused on the inappropriateness of women's participation in public life. Bache equated women with "children and fools" in terms of their ability to make political decisions, and he criticized Abigail Adams for attempting to influence her husband in regard to the Sedition Act of 1798: "that nation, who should suffer themselves to be gagged by an old woman, not only deserves gagging, but should be bound hand and foot."[56]

Cobbett agreed that women had no business claiming equality with men: "Of all the monsters in human shape, a bully in petticoats is the most completely odious and detestable."[57] He criticized the women of Middletown, Connecticut, who gathered to offer several toasts on the Fourth of July: "I remember nothing like it in any civilized country, either in ancient or modern times."[58]

All seemed to agree that women were suited not to function independently in the world but to live their lives in relation to others — preferably husbands and children. This then would be their role in the new republic: women would stay at home, but there they would blend public and private concerns by nurturing republican husbands and educating republican sons. They would embody the virtues of republican government and encourage those same virtues in their families.[59]

The key, of course, was that in order to play a part in the new republic, a woman first had to have a husband, and the publications exerted enormous effort instructing her on how to go about getting one. In fact, that quest was so central to a woman's existence that, if one is to believe the periodicals, she could not possibly have had time or inclination to think of anything else. "No happiness on earth can be so great, nor any friendship so tender, as the state of Matrimony," *Weekly Mag-*

azine noted.[60] Such happiness was not achieved through a sense of mutuality but through women's submission. The *Aurora* told women to please their husbands since "nature ... formed one sex beautiful to make the other happy," that making husbands happy was the only way to find their own happiness.[61] To love spouse, children and, through service to them, country was the over-riding message.

Although there was disagreement among the publications on the possiblity and desirability of educating women, consensus reigned on the notion that their educations should be used only to improve the lot of others. As Benjamin Rush had said: "The equal share that every citizen has in the liberty and possible share he may have in the government of our country make it necessary that our ladies should be qualified ... to concur in instructing their sons in the principles of liberty and government.... [Woman's life is] dedicated to the service of civic virtue: She educates her sons for it, she condemns and corrects her husband's lapses from it."[62]

Men, for reformation of their manners, depended on this "school for the heart" conducted by their wives, who could outshine their husbands in nothing, who "ought only to play behind the curtain; they cannot appear on the stage."[63] Any thought to education for one's own sake was pointless: "However ambitious a woman may be to command admiration abroad, her real merit is known only at home." Women were "destined to fill, in delightful succession, the stations of wife and mother, guardian of our rising offspring, counsellor of our busy anxious manhood, and the intellectual charm of our declining years."[64]

The message then was that although women were incapable of acting autonomously in the public sphere, their position at home afforded them power through their relationships with others: "It is by the art of pleasing only that women can attain to any degree of consequence or

power."[65] That was a significant message, and how it was communicated was equally as significant.

Periodicals' Prescriptions for Women: the Methodology

Historians have suggested that early periodicals held up a mirror to national life.[66] When it came to their messages regarding women, however, the publications held up not a mirror but a prescription — an ideal for women to emulate. They offered themselves as tutors: they would help women stay on the moral high road and avoid the misbehavior that could lead to their downfall. The tone taken was one of paternalistic lecturing. Women were threatened, blamed for all of their own problems, and stereotyped as the ideal was forwarded. At the same time, they were denied a true reflection of the lives that many of them lived — both because real women for the most part did not appear in these pages and because certain aspects of women's lives were invisible.

The periodicals were voices of authority when it came to disseminating this new conception of women's role. The tone almost universally was one of instruction, almost all of which was written by men and some of which came in the form of letters — from a brother to his sister at boarding school; from a father to his daughter; from a brother to his newlywed sister. The brother writing to his sister at school made it clear that she was being educated to please a husband and instruct children and, in her case, a reformation of manners was in order: "You may rest assured, the degree of my esteem and love will be proportioned to the merit, of which I shall think you possessed. Nor is it the love of brothers only that must thus be secured." This brother noted in a postscript his expectation that "you would frequently have invited me to give you some lectures," but he had been disappointed. Had she imbibed the

spirit of his many letters, "you would have been very different from what you are." [67]

The tone of these monologues indicated that membership in women's sphere was not voluntary, and its rules, not negotiable. Women were assigned to it and told to adhere to its rigid expectations. They were instructed to use obedience, beauty, and feminine guile to control the men in their lives; and they deviated from this prescribed path at their peril. If they allowed their reputations to be sullied, they invited attacks — both verbal and physical. The *Aurora* noted that one woman who was raped "probably has drowned herself."[68]

More mundane problems with unfaithful husbands also were blamed on women: "A husband may, possibly, in his daily excursions, see many women he thinks handsomer than his wife; but it is generally her fault if he meets with one that he thinks more amiable."[69] Wives in this situation were advised to enter immediately into a strict and impartial review of their conduct to discover any faults that might have offended or disgusted their husbands. They then were told to entice their husbands back home without penalty because men were said to be just what women pleased to make them.[70]

The publications also stereotyped women as giddy nonentities. An inability to participate in politics or the public sphere generally, according to the periodicals, was due in part to women's natural character defects — namely "scolding, crying, falling into fits, going to watering places, and running up bills."[71] Women were described as gathering where they could "indulge in their natural propensity to parade and ostentation." They gadded about, window shopped, attended entertainments, and tittered at cards: "such is the female nature that it constantly shows a greater proclivity to the gay and the amusive, than to the sober and useful scenes of life."[72] When women talked they did not engage

in conversation but in "eternal tattling," "gossip," "evil speaking," or "discovering Blemishes."[73] They were criticized for their focus on appearance, while at the same time instructed to use appearance to get their way with men.[74]

Wollstonecraft might have argued that women's primary ambition should be "to obtain a character as a human being,"[75] but the periodicals suggested that ambition should be focused on restraining such defects and working toward the ideal: she who was always resigned, obedient, modest, moderate, diffident, demure, delicate, affable, cheerful, simple, and soft.[76] Although the *Gazette of the United States* in 1789 spoke of "the venerable Matron" and "the blooming virgin,"[77] real women tended not to achieve that ideal, based on the content of the periodicals, until they died. The few obituaries of women that appeared in these periodicals described them in glowing terms and solely in relationship to others — "daughter, wife, mother, Christian and friend."[78]

In addition to this characterization of women, the newspapers also portrayed them as either victims of the wrong political party or paragons of patriotism, rewarding husbands whose politics were correct. The *Aurora* attacked the British and the Federalists for their barbarous treatment of women,[79] while Cobbett railed against the French and the Republicans on the same grounds.[80] The editors suggested that women should withhold sex from their husbands when they were not sufficiently patriotic; and when husbands did their patriotic duty, both editors reported on women's presenting standards to the troops. The women of York explained in *Porcupine's Gazette* how the process worked: "If you expect ever to obtain our love, be assured that can only be obtained by defending the Liberty, the Independence, and the Religion of your country."[81] On this point, the *Gazette* and the *Aurora* were in agreement: "The ladies are thus made the reward, of valor."[82] The focus was

on bosoms throbbing with fear or ardor — not on brains.

A reader does not get the sense from these pages that real women were written about. *Weekly Magazine* profiled some women authors,[83] but most of the few stories about women in public life who might have been considered role models were about women who were fictional, exotic, or long dead — sometimes because of their involvement with politics: women like Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Lady Jane Grey, the empress of Russia, the countess of Schwartzburg, Ella of Norway, and women who disguised themselves as men to accomplish some public task.[84] When the *Aurora* wrote about anonymous women who had been victimized by the British and Federalists, even Cobbett asked, "Who were these women?" When he himself wrote about a real woman, Margaret Bache, he trivialized her by calling her names: "Mother Bache," "luscious Mrs. Bache," "Peg," and "the profligate Authoress of the Aurora."[85]

The lecturing, threatening, blaming, stereotyping, and other characteristics of the periodicals thus far discussed had to do, of course, with copy that actually appeared. Equally, if not more, significant was the material that failed to appear. Women were invisible in a number of significant ways in all of the publications. The newspapers, for example, treated them almost exclusively as pawns to be manipulated in a political game. They were nonexistent even in briefs on marriage and death, in which only the fathers of the brides and/or victims were named.[86] Even the anecdotal material contributed to their invisibility: "'Why do you yawn, my love?' said a fair one to her fashionable husband. 'It is my dear because a husband and wife make but one and when alone I always feel irksome.'"[87]

In addition, stories of women's relationships with one another were largely absent. Among the thousands of pages of these periodicals only

a few pieces were found that focused on women coming together in friendship and support. For the most part, these relationships so central to women's lives were ignored, and when they were mentioned, they were condemned or trivialized.[88] Because women were stereotyped as such unattractive creatures, they clearly would not make worthwhile friends. Women were encouraged to focus on their best friends — husbands. One woman wrote that feelings for a husband were such "that friends ... were instantly forgotten."[89] They were to view other women as nothing more than rivals for men's affection. Philadelphia's *Minerva* noted: "Among women, friendship ... commences rivalships.... Whenever two pretty women are so lucky as to meet with the least plausible occasion to rid themselves of each other, they lay hold of it with so much eagerness, and hate one another so cordially, that one may easily judge what sort of affection had subsisted between them before."[90]

Overall, the newspapers' narrow conception of women as tools of their respective political parties and the magazines' prescriptive harping on making men and children happy surely must have bored if not insulted some women reading these messages. The periodicals occasionally hinted at that. Nitidia wrote in the *American Museum*: "You hear it echoed from every quarter — 'My wife ... can't unravel the intricacies of political economy, and federal government: but she can knit charming stockings.' And this they call praising a wife, and doing justice to her good character."[91] And Jenny Sarcasm noted eleven years later in the 1798 *Philadelphia Monthly* that women had paid for the right of governing their husband: "A right, sir, for which they paid no small price: For, to obtain it, and to have leisure and time to exercise it, they gave up another right — the right of governing themselves."[92] The brother writing to his sister at boarding school also noted in a postscript: "You have never expressed the least desire to have my advice."[93]

As for the newspapers, their only indication that all might not have been well in relation to women's place was an occasional ad for a runaway wife.[94]

What significance these messages and the manner in which they were conveyed had for women in the new republic may be impossible to determine. But the content of the periodicals clearly laid the groundwork for thinking on women's place as the media depicted American women's progress for the next two centuries.

Conclusion

Newspapers and magazines in the last decade of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia did on occasion offer an egalitarian view of women's roles, as in the excerpts from Wollstonecraft and the "Alcuin" dialogue. But these instances appeared as glimmers in an otherwise black hole of prescriptions for women's place. Even when advanced thinking was offered, it usually was contradicted in short order, sometimes in the same column of the same publication. The periodicals instead focused on relegating women to the narrow sphere of "republican motherhood."

Had women believed the messages sent, they would not have thought themselves fit to take part in the public sphere. They would have devoted their time to cultivating characteristics appropriate to their place and educating their husbands and sons for life in the larger world. They would not have wasted time on one another or on any activity calculated to interest or enhance them in their own right.

Some women's lives followed that formula. Most of what they read indicated to them that they did not have the strength to challenge convention and that they would pay a high price for doing so. But others moved outside the bounds of this prescribed sphere, and they did so

against the cultural currents that were embodied in and influenced by these publications.

No matter what their effect may have been, the periodicals clearly attempted to influence the course of women's development, and in so doing, they provided a basis for thinking on women's progress that would recur for the next two centuries. A few quotes from subsequent newspapers and magazines illustrate the point.

After the Seneca Falls women's rights convention in 1848, the *Mechanic's Advocate* in Albany, New York, editorialized on what had become, in its opinion, women's "high sphere": "[W]omen ... attend these meetings, no doubt at the expense of their more appropriate duties.... Now, it requires no argument to prove that this is all wrong. Every true hearted female will instantly feel that this is unwomanly.... [T]he order of things established at the creation of mankind, and continued six thousand years, would be completely broken up."[95]

The *Lowell Courier* in Massachusetts wondered what would become of "those blessed morsels of humanity whom God gave to preserve that rough animal man, in something like a reasonable civilization." And the Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript* noted: "A woman is nobody. A wife is everything."[96] Henry Raymond at the *New York Times* pointed out that women, "as they are," were not fit to vote, and he called for organization of a "Rights of Man Association."[97]

Similar sentiments were expressed in excerpts from a letter signed by the "Men's Patriotic Ass'n" in *The New Republic* when women got the vote in 1920: "[N]on-woman suffrage conditions give man the best opportunity and encouragement to maintain his present superior standing politically, commercially and professionally.... It is not the right order of affairs to expect men to take orders or directions from women."[98]

The Dessert in 1799 criticized the widespread fear that if women pursued advanced educations, they would neglect their duties to husbands, children, and homes: "In these enlightened times, when the mist of Ignorance is daily fading before the bright lustre of Reason, there is some consolation in hoping that this position will speedily disappear."[99]

Even assuming that acceptance of women's progress would come "a spoonful at a time," it is doubtful that any woman reading these periodicals would have expected the wait for "the bright lustre of Reason" to be almost 200 years — and counting.

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NOTES

[1] Therese Benedek, "Marital Breakers Ahead," *Parents Magazine,* September 1945, 20: 32, 148, 150-51.

[2] Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1991), xix, xx, 77, 81, 83.

[3] Ibid., 89.

[4] William Safire, "Macho Feminism, R.I.P.," *New York Times,* 27 January l992.

[5] "Hillary Clinton as Aspiring First Lady: Role Model, or a 'Hall Monitor' Type," *New York Times,* 18 May l992.

[6] Diane Johnson, cited in Carolyn Heilbrun, "Discovering the Lost Lives of Women," *New York Times Book Review*, 24 June 1984, 1.

[7] Faludi, *Backlash*, 48.

[8] Linda DePauw and Conover Hunt, *Remember the Ladies* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 61-62, 98, 127-28, 139.

[9] Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 8, 9, 38, 42, 99-111, 229; Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1977), 16; William H. Chafe, *Women and Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977),18-19; Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 11; Louise M. Young, "Women's Place in American Politics: The Historical Perspective," *Journal of Politics* 38:3 (1976): 295-335.

[10] Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 50. See also 46-53.

[11] *Ladies Magazine*, April 1793, 216.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 277. Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York: Free Press, 1981); Lerner, *The Female Experience*, 50-51; Young, "Women's Place in American Politics," 304; DePauw and Hunt, *Remember the Ladies*, 61-62, 97-98, 127-28, 139.

[14] Lee Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty A Better Husband: Single Women in America, 1780-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 1, 3, 27, 36, 38. See also Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1980), 229-36, and Sylvia Law, "The Founders on Families," the Dunnwoody Lecture, University of Florida School of Law, 20 March 1987, 28.

[15] Kerber, *Women of the Republic,* xi.

[16] The literacy gap between men and women closed between 1780 and 1850, but half of American women remained illiterate in 1800. Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 222.

[17] Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 54-59; Anne Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 262-75; *American Museum,* August 1797, 163.

[18] Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989), 43.

[19] Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 160.

[20] "Being created equal and having an inalienable right to pursue happiness" were considered "simply natural, 'self-evident' truths." Jeffrey Smith, *Franklin & Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3.

[21] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, xii.

[22] Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 55. See also Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 20; Terri Premo, *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785-1835* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 179.

[23] Karen K. List, "The Post-Revolutionary Woman Idealized: Philadelphia Media's 'Republican Mother,'" *Journalism Quarterly* 66 (1989): 65-75.

[24] See, for example, Carol Tavris, *The Mismeasure of Woman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

[25] Abigail Adams to John Adams, 1776, in M. Friedleander and M. Kline, *The Book*

of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762-1784 (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1975), 121.

26 DePauw and Hunt, *Remember the Ladies*, 61.

27 Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 71-72; Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill* (New York: Fawcett Columbine Books, 1980), 63-70.

28 A. Calhous, *A social history of the American family from colonial times to the present* (New York: Barnes & Noble, l945), 133. Carol Smith-Rosenberg, in "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," in Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Plack, eds., *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), 327-28, tells of an instance when a life-long friend helped a mother care for her dying daughter, then made elaborate arrangements for the funeral, which the woman's husband did not even attend. *Ladies Magazine* reported that Lady Mary Wortley Montague said if husbands and wives were separated in Paradise, "I fancy most [women] won't like it the worse for that," November 1792, 278.

29 John Adams to Abigail Adams, 1776, in Friedleander and Kline, *The Book of Abigail and John*, 123.

30 DaPauw and Hunt, *Remember the Ladies*, 128.

31 Lerner, *The Female Experience*, 215.

32 *Aurora*, 5 and 8 November1798; *Porcupine's Gazette*, 6 November 1798.

33 *American Magazine,* January 1741; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York: D. Appleton, 1930), 31-32.

34 The newspapers studied here were the Federalist *Gazette of the United States* (1789), edited by John Fenno; the Federalist *Porcupine's Gazette* (1797), edited by William Cobbett; and the Republican *Aurora* (1790), edited by Benjamin Franklin Bache, then by William Duane. See also Gary B. Nash and Billy G. Smith, "The Population of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (July 1975): 362-68. As for Philadelphia itself, the city was home to the American Philosophical Society; the first antislavery societies; a flourishing theatre; Peale's Museum, with its displays of waxworks, paintings and scientific curiosities; and Gray's Tavern, with the most elaborate landscape gardens in the country. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Witch and We the People," *American Heritage* 34: 5 (1983): 6-7. See also Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1884), 1695, and Benjamin Davies, *Some Account of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794).

35 Average newspaper circulation at this time was about 600. See Karen List, "The Role of William Cobbett in Philadelphia's Party Press, 1794-1799," *Journalism Monographs* 82 (May 1983). See also Bernard Fäy, *The Two Franklins: Fathers of American Democracy* (Boston: 1933).

36 John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4-5. The fifteen magazines studied here were *The American Monthly Review* (January-December 1795); *The American Museum* (January 1787-December 1792); *The Arminian Magazine* (January 1789-December 1790); *The Columbian Museum* (January 1793); *The Dessert to the True American* (July 1798-August 1799); *The Ladies Magazine* (June 1792-May 1793); *The Literary Miscellany* (1795); *The Literary Museum* (January-June 1797); *The Methodist Magazine* (January1797-August 1798); *The Philadelphia Magazine and Review* (January-June 1799); *The Philadelphia Minerva* (February 1795-July 1798); *The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* (January-September 1798); *Thespian Oracle* (January 1798); and *The Weekly Magazine* (February 1798-May 1799).

37 *American Museum,* begun in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1787, was one of the era's most successful magazines, with 1,250 subscribers by the end of its first year, including George Washington. It lasted five years, much longer than most. See Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 67, 24-34, 101. In 1789, there were seventy-five post offices and 1,000 miles of post roads. The Postal Act of 1792 authorized sending newspapers in the mail, but magazines could be sent only if they paid letter rates, which were considered prohibitive. Rates became more favorable in 1794, but postmasters still could determine if the extra bulk of magazines could be handled. If so, subscribers paid 20-40 percent of subscription prices for postage. See U.S. Statutes at Large, Third Congress, Session l, Ch. 23, Sec. 22, May 8, 1794; Richard Kielbowicz, "The Press, Post Office and Flow of News in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* (Fall 1983): 267-69; Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 16, 18, 46, 119-20.

38 Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America*, 6.

39 List, "The Role of William Cobbett in Philadelphia's Party Press, 1794-1799," 13-18.

40 *Ladies Magazine*, March 1793, 171.

41 Female bylines included "Miss Fair Play," "An American Lady," "A Girl of Spirit," and "A Lady in Dublin." Women advertised as shopkeepers and bookbinders and for jobs as teachers, governesses, companions, and wet nurses; and other ads for products and services were headed "To the Ladies." See the *Aurora*, 11 June, 5 and 30 July 1798, and 22 and 31 January 1799, and *Porcupine's Gazette*, 2 June, 3, 4, 6 and 9 July and 10 November 1798.

42 *Ladies Magazine,* July 1792, 69.

43 Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, 12 December 1797 and 13 March 1798, in Stewart Mitchell, ed., "New Letters of Abigail Adams," *American Antiquarian Society* 55 (April 18, 1945-Oct. 17, 1945): 321-22.

44 H.D. Biddle, ed., *Extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Drinker* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1899), 361.

45 Quoted in Fäy, *The Two Franklins*, 271. These comments are reminiscent of a woman who said recently of the *New York Daily News*: "It is a comfortable old habit. It's

like a cup of coffee in the morning." The piece in which this sentiment was expressed also quoted the *News*' then-new publisher, Robert Maxwell, as saying the paper would be "the voice of New York for the ordinary man." *New York Times,* 16 March 1991.

46 *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 189 and 196-97.

47 Ibid., 190; January 1793, 68; August 1792, 111.

48 *American Museum*, January 1787, 63.

49 *Ladies Magazine,* August 1792, 121-22.; November 1792, 260; September 1792, 171.

50 *American MuseumWeekly Magazine*, 17 March 1798, 233, and 31 March 1798, 273. See also Virginia Sapiro, *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), Ch. 1.

51 *Weekly Magazine,* 7 April 1798, 299. See also 300, 302; 24 March 1798, 232-33; 4, 7, 11 August 1798; and Mott, *History of American Magazines,*141-43.

52 *Ladies Magazine*, November 1792, 282.

53 *Weekly Magazine*, 18 August 1798, 81. See also 4 August 1798, 13.

54 Ibid., 13 April 1799, 19. See also Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 28.

55 *Weekly Magazine,* 13 April 1799, 20.

56 *Aurora*, 1 and 17 August 1798.

57 *Porcupine's Gazette*, 27 July 1798.

58 Ibid., 12 June 1798. See also 19 June, 14 July and 6 August 1798.

59 Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 213, 227-30.

60 *American MuseumWeekly Magazine*, 10 March 1798, 153. See also *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 182; April 1793, 220. *American Museum*, June 1788, 485, also pointed out the danger of either spouse "being happy out of the company of the other."

61 *Aurora,* 4 July 1798. See also *American Museum*, December 1788, 489-91, March 1789, 223, and December 1792, 308; *Universal Magazine,* 20 February 1797, 284-85; the *Key*, 13 January 1798, 5-7; *Weekly Magazine*, February 1798, 122-23; *Philadelphia Magazine*, May 1799, 257-59. For a limited discussion of mutuality in marriage, see *Ladies Magazine,* July 1792, 64, and *Weekly Magazine*, 24 March 1798, 232-33.

62 Kerber, *Women of the Republic,* 228.

63 *Town and Country,* December 1784, 339; *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 36-37; *American Museum*, June 1798, 486-87.

64 *American Magazine,* May 1788, 368-69; *Weekly Magazine,* 4 August 1798, 15.

65 *The Dessert,* 2 February 1799, np; See also the *Key*, 31 March 1798, 98.

66 Tebbel and Zukerman, *The Magazine in America*, 7.

[67] *American MuseumLadies Magazine,* June 1792, 20-22, 35-37; October 1792, 233. See also November 1792, 260, and *American Museum*, September 1790, 118-20.

[68] *Aurora,* 6 June 1798.

[69] *Ladies Magazine,* September 1792, 177. See also June 1792, 36; *American Museum*, October 1798, 312; *Philadelphia Minerva*, 27 February 1798, 122.

[70] *Ladies Magazine,* June 1792, 64. See also 23-24 and September 1792, 17-18.

[71] *Philadelphia Monthly*, February 1798, 83.

[72] *Ladies Magazine***,** February 1793, 125; December 1792, 126. See also *Town and Country*, May 1784, 25; *Weekly Magazine*, February 1798, 122.

[73] Two women playing cards and talking about other women grasping for husbands and not paying bills were described as "demure sluts." *Ladies Magazine,* December 1792, 8, 24, 39-40; May 1793, 274; *Weekly Magazine,* 9 February 1799, np.

[74] *Ladies Magazine,* July 1792, 78; October 1792, 206-09;*Weekly Magazine*, 23 March 1799, 376.

[75] *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 191.

[76] Ibid., June 1792, 264; September 1792, 170; October 1792, 252; January 1793, passim; April 1793, 219-20, 227-28. *Town and Country,* December 1784, 337; *American Museum*, March 1792, 99, 194.

[77] *Gazette of the United States*, 29 April 1789. See also *Aurora,* 10 November 1798.

[78] *Porcupine's Gazette,* 26 July1798; "Narrative of the Cure of Susannah Arch," *Methodist Magazine,* January 1797, 80-84; "Amelia: A Moral Tale," *Literary Museum,* nd, 45-47.

[79] *Aurora,* 6 November 1798; 19 January, 12, 18, and 21 July, 13 August, and 18 November 1798; and 7, 11 and 15 January 1799.

[80] *Porcupine's Works* (London: Crown & Mitre, 1801), 6: 343; 9: 216.

[81] *Porcupine's Gazette,* 13 July 1798. See also 10 March and 8 July 1798.

[82] *Aurora,* 19 November 1798.

[83] *American MuseumWeekly Magazine* reviewed books by women from March through May of 1799: see, for example, 9 March, 279, 13 April,12-20, and 4 May, 110-12.

[84] *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 180-81; December 1792, 51-54; January 1793, 97-102; *American Museum,* March 1792, 210; the *Key,* January 1798, 10-11.

[85] *Porcupine's Gazette,* 17 July 1798; 6 and 30 November 1798.

[86] Ibid., 4 June and 17 July 1798. See also List, "Two Party Papers' Political Coverage of Women in the New Republic," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (1985): 152-65.

[87] *Aurora,* 29 December 1798.

[88] See List, "Reflections on Realities and Possibilities: Women's Lives in New Republic Periodicals," unpublished paper, AEJMC History Division, Boston, Mass., August 1991.

[89] *Ladies Magazine,* June 1792, 80. See also August 1792, 127, and *Town and Country*, May 1784, 26, for stories about women whose marriages ended their female friendships.

[90] Philadlephia *Minerva,* 30 April 1796, np. See also *Dessert to the True American,* 26 May 1799, np.

[91] *American Museum*, January 1787, 53.

[92] *Philadelphia Monthly*, February 1798, 83.

[93] *Ladies Magazine,* October 1792, 234.

[94] *Porcupine's Works,* 9:344.

[95] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Johnson Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 1: 802-03.

[96] Ibid., 804.

[97] *New York Times*, 18 March 1859, 4; 6 February 1860, 4; 18 October 1851, 2.

[98] Philip Littel, "Books and Things," *The New Republic*, 11 February 1920, 21: 319.

[99] *The Dessert*, 9 February 1799, 3.

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News & Notes

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

Award Call: Best Journalism and Mass Communication History Book

The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication's History Division is soliciting entries for its annual award for the best journalism and mass communication history book. The winning author will receive a plaque and a $500 prize at the August 2024 AEJMC conference in Philadelphia. Attendance at the conference is encouraged as the winner will be honored at a History Division awards event. The author also will be invited to discuss the winning book during a live taping of the Journalism History podcast, which traditionally takes place during the reception.

The competition is open to any author of a media history book regardless of whether they belong to AEJMC or the History Division. Only first editions with a 2023 copyright date will be accepted. Entries must be received by February 1, 2024. Submit four hard copies of each book or an electronic copy (must be an e-Book or a pdf manuscript in publisher's page-proof format) along with the author's mailing address, telephone number, and email address to:

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

If you have any questions, or to submit electronic copies, please email Book Award Chair Gwyneth Mellinger at mellingx@jmu.edu.

Gerry Lanosga. Published on behalf of AEJMC History Book

Award Chair Gwyneth Mellinger.

Margaret A. Blanchard Dissertation Prize

Submission Deadline: Feb. 15, 2024

The AJHA Margaret A. Blanchard Doctoral Dissertation Prize, given for the first time in 1997, is awarded annually for the best doctoral dissertation dealing with mass communication history. An honorarium of $500 accompanies the prize, and a $200 honorarium is awarded to each honorable mention.

Eligible works shall include both quantitative and qualitative historical dissertations, written in English, which have been completed between January 1, 2023, and December 31, 2023. For the purposes of this award, a "completed" work is defined as one which has not only been submitted and defended but also revised and filed in final form at the applicable doctoral-degree-granting university by December 31, 2023.

To be considered, please submit the following materials *in a single e-mail* to the address below:

1. A cover letter from the applicant containing complete (home and work) contact information (postal addresses, phone numbers and e-mail addresses). The letter should express a willingness, should the dissertation be selected for a prize, both to attend the awarding ceremony and to deliver a public presentation based on the dissertation at the 2024 American Journalism Historians Association Annual Convention Oct. 3-5 in Pittsburgh, PA.

2. A letter of nomination from the dissertation chair/director or the chair of the university department in which the dissertation was written.

3. A single PDF containing the following (with no identifying in-

formation):

- A 200-word abstract.
- The dissertation table of contents.
- A single chapter from the dissertation, preferably not exceeding 50 manuscript pages (not including notes, charts or photographs). The chapter should, if possible, highlight the work's strengths as a piece of primary-sourced original research.

4. In a separate PDF but in the same e-mail, a blind copy of the complete dissertation.

To be considered, all identifying information — including author, school, and dissertation committee members' names — must be deleted from items 3 and 4 above.

Nominations, along with all the supporting materials, should be sent to AJHAdissertationprize@gmail.com

Direct any questions to Blanchard Prize Chair Pete Smith at gsmith@comm.msstate.edu

2024 Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference

The Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference — co-sponsored by the American Journalism Historians Association and the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication — will be held in person on March 15 in College Park, Md. (Originally scheduled for New York University, the conference has been moved because of campus construction near the conference location.)

Info and Registration

The one-day interdisciplinary conference welcomes faculty, graduate students, and independent scholars researching the history of journalism and mass communication, including advertising and public rela-

tions. Topics from all geographic areas and time periods are welcome, as are all methodologies. The joint conference offers a welcoming environment in which participants can explore new ideas, garner feedback on their work, and meet colleagues from around the world interested in mass communication history.

When: Friday, March 15, 2024, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Eastern (U.S.) Time

Where: Philip Merrill College of Journalism, University of Maryland.

Registration fee: $80, including boxed lunch. Free for graduate students, with optional boxed lunch at cost.

Questions?

Contact committee co-chairs Ray Begovich of the University of Indianapolis, begovichr@uindy.edu**;** Theresa Russell-Loretz of Millersville University, theresa.russell-loretz@millersville.edu; Rob Wells of the University of Maryland, robwells@umd.edu.

AEJMC History Division Award Calls

The History Division recently announced several award calls. Click on each link for more information, including submission requirements and deadlines.

Covert Award in Mass Communication History

Donald L. Shaw Senior Scholar Award

Additionally, the AEJMC Standing Committee on Teaching released its call for the 19th annual Best Practices in Teaching Competition. Details are available here. Winners will be announced by March 15 to enable submission to DIG GIFT competitions, including the History Division's Jinx Coleman Broussard Award for Excellence in the Teaching of Media History.

New North Star: Call for Papers

The Editors of the *New North Star* invite authors to submit original research articles, which have not been previously published in other journals or books. The *New North Star* is a peer-reviewed, annual, open-access online journal, published by the *Frederick Douglass Papers*. The journal features new scholarship on the activities and ideas of the nineteenth century African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass and the world with which he interacted. Articles that assess Douglass's impact on events following his lifetime, including current events, are also desired. The *New North Star* is looking for articles from a broad range of disciplines, ranging from history to literature, and communications to anthropology. Likewise, in the spirit of Douglass's own varied interests, works of fiction and poetry on topics pertinent to his life and times will also be considered for publication. In future volumes, the *New North Star* will also feature interviews with authors of new scholarship on Douglass as well as reviews of recently published literature. The journal is intended to help bridge the gap between new scholarship and the classroom, and articles describing new techniques on teaching Douglass and his world are also welcome. The *New North Star* is maintained by the staff of the Frederick Douglass Papers at Indiana University Indianapolis (IUI) and hosted by the university library's Center for Digital Scholarship.

The editors are generally seeking articles between 12 and 25 pages in length, excluding title page and references, but exceptions will be considered. Submissions are accepted year-round. This call for submissions will be open until June 1, 2024. A new call will go out next year.

If you are interested in contributing to the *New North Star*, please submit your manuscript as a Word document file formatted according to the "formatting and templates" requirements and "style guidelines"

specified in the "Instructions for Authors" listed on the journal's website https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/NNS. A final checklist of what to include in your submission is also provided for your convenience.

For submission and editorial questions please contact:
Jeffery A. Duvall (jduvall@iupui.edu)
John R. Kaufman-McKivigan (jmckivig@iupui.edu)

Amber Roessner, Rachel Grant Named New Editor and Associate Editor of *American Journalism*

The American Journalism Historian Association announced the selection of Amber Roessner as the incoming editor of its flagship publication, *American Journalism*. Roessner, a professor in the University of Tennessee's School of Journalism & Electronic Media, was recommended by the AJHA Publications Committee and approved by the Board of Directors.

"It is a true honor to serve as the next editor of *American Journalism*, a journal that has made significant impact on our field since 1983," Roessner said. "I hope to continue in the tradition of past editors, such as David Sloan, John Pauly, Wally Eberhard, Karla Gower, Jim Martin, Barbara Friedman, Ford Risley, and Pamela Walck, leaders in our field, who have shaped and been shaped by our work. I am humbled by this opportunity and promise to continue giving my heart to this organization and our scholarship in this new role."

Roessner is the author of two books, *Jimmy Carter and the Birth of the Marathon Media Campaign* (Louisiana State University Press) and *Inventing Baseball Heroes: Ty Cobb, Christy Mathewson and the Sporting Press in America* (LSU Press), and the co-editor of *Political Pioneer of the Press: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Her Transnational Crusade for Social Jus-*

tice (Lexington Books). She has published articles in *American Journalism*, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* and *Journalism History*, among others. She won the 2021 AEJMC History Division's Covert Award honoring the best mass communication history article published in the previous year for her 2020 *Journalism History* manuscript, "The Voices of Public Opinion: Lingering Structures of Feeling about Women's Suffrage in 1917 U.S. Newspaper Letters to the Editor."

An AJHA member since 2006, Roessner is serving her second term on the Board of Directors. She previously has chaired the Nominations and Elections Committee, and has served on the Book Award Committee, the Blanchard Dissertation Prize Committee, and as chair of the Graduate Student Committee.

A former prize-winning sportswriter for the *Gainesville Times*, Roessner also worked as an associate editor of the *Athens Magazine*, editor of *Gainesville Life*, and as a freelance contractor for regional media organizations and non-profit organizations. She earned her Ph.D. in mass communications at the University of Georgia's College of Journalism and Mass Communication.

"The Publications Committee was impressed by Amber's scholarship and her service to AJHA over the years," said committee chair Ford Risley. "We are confident she will be an outstanding editor of *American Journalism*."

Since her appointment, Roessner has been working with the outgoing editor, Pamela E. Walck, on transitioning into the editorship. She will begin an apprenticeship during the summer of 2024 and will officially take over as editor with publication of the Winter 2025 issue.

"I hope to encourage a continued legacy of excellence by promoting many of the existing initiatives unveiled by recent editors, including the

impactful essay series and teaching the journal initiative established by Friedman and then-associate editor Kathy Roberts Forde and the digital media reviews and conversations adopted by the existing editorial staff, under Walck's leadership, while encouraging a diversity of voices and scholarship," Roessner said.

Roessner will continue to work with editorial staff members assembled during Walck's tenure. Lisa Bolz, an associate professor at Sorbonne University's CELSA in France, serves as the digital media review editor, and Jason Guthrie, an assistant professor of communication and media studies at Clayton State University, serves as interim book review editor. Rachel Grant, an assistant professor at the University of Florida, will succeed Nicholas Hirshon, an assistant professor of communication at William Paterson University, at the end of his term as associate editor in December 2024.

"I am honored and excited to be the next associate editor," Grant said. "The journal and its research are extremely valuable in expanding our knowledge in mass media history. I am ready to work with its new editor, Amber Roessner, and continue the work done by many in AJHA."

Grant's research focuses on media studies of race, gender and class. She has conducted extensive research on media activism, historical and contemporary social movements, such the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Power movement, and #BlackLivesMatter. Her work has been published in *American Journalism*, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* and *Visual Communication Quarterly*, among others.

Roessner will reach out to leaders in the field of journalism history to step into any roles that become vacant.

"In the meantime, I am so thrilled to continue learning from my peers in this role and for the opportunity to work with existing editorial

staff and Rachel Grant in her new role as associate editor, and I hope to continue to elevate the journal and to amplify our community's voices," Roessner said.

AEJMC History Division Names Next *Journalism History* Editor

The History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) is pleased to announce that Dr. Perry Parks will be the next editor of its journal, *Journalism History*.

The History Division officers unanimously voted to accept the Publications Committee's recommendation to select Parks, an assistant professor in the School of Journalism at Michigan State University.

"Dr. Parks' vision for the journal, his professional background, and his service commitment and research focus, make him the ideal person for moving *Journalism History* forward," said Maddie Liseblad, chairwoman of the division's Publications Committee. "He is a perfect fit for the position and a tremendous asset to our division."

Parks' research seeks to broaden and amplify the reach of historical approaches. He focuses on the contingent development of accepted contemporary norms such as news values, to help people imagine more open and equitable futures. Parks is the author of over thirty journal articles. He is also the author of the book *Making Important News Interesting: Reporting Public Affairs in the 21st Century* (Marion Street Press, 2006), and several book chapters. In addition, Parks has served as a co-guest editor of a special issue for *Mass Communication and Society*.

In 2023 Parks received the History Division's Top Reviewer Award, and in 2020 he received the Exceptional Service Award. He has served on the division's Executive Committee and as a Social Media Coordinator for *Journalism History*. Parks has also served as head of AEJMC's Cultural and Critical Studies Division. He is a former news

reporter and editor, working in various roles at the daily newspaper *The Virginian-Pilot* and as a regional editor for the hyperlocal online news network *Patch*.

"A critical understanding of the past is fundamental for generating nuanced knowledge of the present and enabling more inclusive and compassionate futures," Parks said. "*Journalism History's* essential role is to ensure that scholars across disciplines are attuned to where our present-day media came from, how it developed, who it privileged, who it neglected, and who it harmed. Equally important is pointing to moments of inspiration and disruption that made positive change possible, so future media scholars and practitioners are not bound by the dominant narratives of the past. I am excited to support researchers in theorizing and amplifying these moments."

Parks will serve as an apprentice under current editor Pam Parry (Southeast Missouri State University) beginning in March and then begin his three-year term as editor in August 2024.

"Perry will be a great editor for *Journalism History*," said Rachel Grant, chairwoman of the History Division. "He brings years of experience and service with AEJMC and the History Division. He also has produced award-winning research and has extensive knowledge of the field."

Adopted as the official journal of the History Division in 2018, *Journalism History* is well respected as the oldest peer-reviewed journal of mass media history in the United States. Continuously published since 1974, this scholarly journal is a quarterly publication that features excellent scholarship on media history.

In addition to content about traditional journalism, *Journalism History* welcomes submissions with historical angles on visual communication, public relations, advertising, scholastic journalism, media diversi-

ty, sports media, the business of journalism, media technology, oral history, media law and ethics, and documentaries. The journal also encourages cross-disciplinary and global collaboration so that the content of the journal increasingly reflects media history outside of U.S. borders and across disciplines.

For more information about the journal and how to submit, visit https://journalism-history.org/.

Fellowships at the New-York Historical Society, 2024-25

The New-York Historical Society is now accepting applications for its fellowship program for the 2024-2025 academic year. Leveraging its rich collections documenting American history from the perspective of New York City, New-York Historical's fellowships — open to scholars at various times during their academic careers — provide scholars with deep resources and an intellectual community to develop new research and publications.

Contact: If you have any queries regarding fellowships, please email fellowships@nyhistory.org.

Website: https://www.nyhistory.org/careers/fellowships

Fellowships Description: The New-York Historical Society offers several long-term fellowships during the academic year. Applicants are advised that they may not participate in external employment while holding a fellowship; fellows must be fully in residence during the term of their fellowships. See below for instructions and application checklists for each fellowship. Deadlines are listed below. With any queries regarding fellowships, please email fellowships@nyhistory.org and visit https://www.nyhistory.org/careers/fellowships.

Helen and Robert Appel Fellowship in History and Technology: This ten-month residential fellowship supports a scholar who earned their Ph.D. at least one year before the start of the fellowship and whose research project explores the impact of technology on history. Applications for this fellowship should specify collections in New-York Historical's Library that will be crucial to the research project. The fellowship will carry a stipend of $60,000, plus benefits; it begins September 3, 2024, and lasts through June 30, 2025.

The application deadline is *February 15, 2024*. Apply here.

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship: This 10-month fellowship supports a scholar who completed their formal training and received their final degree or certificate at least one year before the start of the fellowship. The fellow, who should have a strong record of accomplishment within their field, will be in residence at the New-York Historical Society to work on a research project that makes use of resources and collections at the Society. There is no restriction relating to age or academic status of applicants. Foreign nationals are eligible to apply if they have lived in the United States for at least three years immediately preceding the application deadline. The fellowship will carry a stipend of $50,000, plus benefits; it begins September 3, 2024, and lasts through June 30, 2025.

The application deadline is *February 15, 2024*. Apply here.

Robert David Lion Gardiner Foundation/Mellon Foundation Fellowship: This 10-month residential fellowship supports an early career scholar whose research project expands on the understanding of New York State, City, and Long Island History. The project must include a research plan based on the collections and resources of New-York His-

torical. Applicants must have earned their Ph.D. at least one year before the start of the fellowship. The fellowship will carry a stipend of $60,000, plus benefits; it begins September 3, 2024, and lasts through June 30, 2025.

The application deadline is *February 15, 2024*. Apply here.

George Champion Research Fellowship: This one-year residential research fellowship supports a scholar who will use the George Champion Papers to publish a peer-reviewed journal article or academic book directly relevant to the collection. The fellow's research project may make use of other collections in the Patricia D. Klingenstein Library but it must primarily utilize the George Champion Papers and should focus on topics related to the collection such as banking, economics, business history, or New York City urban development in the 20th century. There is no restriction relating to academic status of applicants. The fellow will be in residence at the New-York Historical Society for one year from September 3, 2024, to August 29, 2025. The fellowship will carry a stipend of $60,000, plus benefits.

The application deadline is *February 15, 2024*. Apply here.

Research Fellowships at the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2024-2025

The Massachusetts Historical Society will sponsor dozens of research fellowships for the 2024-2025 academic year, ranging from short-term support to long-term residency. The MHS collections primarily consist of manuscripts, as well as books, pamphlets, maps, newspapers, graphics, photographs, works of art, and historical artifacts.

In addition to receiving funding, MHS Research Fellows become part of a scholarly community that includes other current fel-

lows, MHS staff, Boston-area scholars, and former fellows. They have the opportunity to present their own research, attend seminars, and join MHS staff and other fellows for weekly coffees.

For the latest information on our fellowship offerings, please see our website.

Questions? See our FAQ or e-mail fellowships@masshist.org.

Start your application today!

New England Regional Fellowship Consortium
Deadline: February 1, 2024

The Society also participates in the New England Regional Fellowship Consortium. These grants provide a stipend of $5,000 for a minimum of eight weeks of research conducted at three or more participating institutions. NERFC offers approximately two dozen fellowships each year. Learn more.

Suzanne and Caleb Loring Fellowship
Deadline: February 15, 2024

For those studying the U.S. Civil War, the Boston Athenaeum and the MHS will offer one Suzanne and Caleb Loring Fellowship on the Civil War, Its Origins, and Consequences. Fellows spend at least four weeks at each institution. This fellowship carries a stipend of $6,000. Learn more.

MHS Short-Term Fellowships
Deadline March 1, 2024

Most MHS Short-term Fellowships carry a stipend of $3,000 to support a minimum of four weeks of research in the Society's collections. One application automatically puts you into consideration for any ap-

plicable short-term fellowships. Graduate students, faculty, and independent researchers are welcome to apply. We will offer more than twenty short-term fellowships in the coming year. Learn more.

AJHA Seeks New Editor for *The Intelligencer*

The American Journalism Historians Association is seeking an editor for *The Intelligencer*, the organization's electronic newsletter. The editor solicits essays, edits copy, and posts to a monthly blog distributed to members. The editor works with officers, committee chairs and members to generate content, including teaching essays, research essays, and other material on topics relevant to AJHA's mission. The editor also serves as an ex-officio board member and attends AJHA Board meetings.

If interested, please submit a resume and a letter explaining why you would make an effective editor to Ford Risley, Publications Committee Chair, at jfr4@psu.edu by February 15.

2024 AEJMC History Division Paper Call

The History Division invites submissions of original research papers and extended abstracts on all aspects of media history for the AEJMC 2024 conference in Philadelphia. All research methodologies are welcome.

Papers will be evaluated on originality and importance of topic; literature review; clarity of research purpose; focus; use of evidence to support the paper's purpose and conclusions; and the degree to which the paper contributes to the field of journalism and mass communication history. The History Division presents awards for the top three faculty papers and top three student papers.

Papers should be no more than 25 double-spaced pages, not including notes, references, or appendices. Papers should have 1-inch margins

and use 12-point Times New Roman font. Authors should also submit a 75-word abstract. Multiple submissions to the division are not allowed, and only one paper per author will be accepted for presentation in the History Division's research sessions. Authors of accepted papers are required to forward papers to discussants and moderators prior to the conference.

Papers must be electronically submitted using the services of All Academic; you will find the link here. The deadline is 11:59 P.M. (Central Daylight Time), April 1, 2024. Please make sure there is no identifying information in the body of the paper or in the electronic file properties. Papers uploaded with author's identifying information will not be considered for review and will automatically be disqualified from the competition. Please refer to the AEJMC general paper call for this year's online submission guidelines, specifically how to submit a clean paper for blind review, including advice on self-citation.

Student Papers: Undergraduate and graduate students enrolled during the 2023-24 academic year may enter the Warren Price Student Paper Competition. The Price Award recognizes the History Division's best student paper and is named for Warren Price who was the History Division's first chair. Student papers should include a separate cover sheet indicating their student status but omitting the author's name or other identifying information. Students who submit top papers are eligible for small travel grants from the Edwin Emery Fund. Only full-time students not receiving departmental travel funds are eligible for these grants.

Diversity in Journalism History Research Award: In addition to rewarding the top faculty and student papers, the outstanding submission on diversity in journalism history research will receive a $100 prize.

Notes: Completely fill out the online submission form with au-

thor(s) name, affiliation, mailing address, and email address.

Papers are accepted for peer review on the understanding that they are not already under review for other conferences and that they have been submitted to only ONE AEJMC group for evaluation. Papers accepted for the AEJMC Conference should not have been presented to other conferences or published in scholarly or trade journals prior to presentation at the conference.

Papers submitted with both faculty and student authors will be considered faculty papers and are not eligible for student competitions.

At least one author of an accepted faculty paper must attend the conference to present the paper. If student authors cannot be present, they must make arrangements for the paper to be presented.

If a paper is accepted, and the faculty author does not present the paper at the conference, and if a student author does not make arrangements for his/her paper to be presented by another, then that paper's acceptance status is revoked. It may not be included on a vita.

Authors will be advised whether their paper has been accepted by May 20, 2024, and may access a copy of reviewers' comments from the online server. Contact the division's research chair if you are not notified or have questions about paper acceptance.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT CALL: AEJMC will accept extended abstracts for the 2024 conference. The extended abstract format is suitable for authors who are sufficiently along in the research process to address the content elements described below, but have not had sufficient time to prepare a full paper. Extended abstracts must be uploaded as a single file to the AEJMC All Academic site by the existing conference submission deadline of 11:59 p.m. CDT April 1, 2024. Authors whose extended abstracts are selected for presentation at the conference must still submit their full paper, with all identifying author informa-

tion, to the All Academic site by 11:59 p.m. CDT, July 15, 2024. Extended abstracts may be submitted to only one division or interest group.

To preserve the value of fully developed research papers, extended abstracts will not be eligible for History Division or AEJMC conference-wide awards, aside from the division's top extended abstract award.

Notes: The length of extended abstracts must be at least 750 words but no more than 1,500 words. A 75-word (max.) summary of the abstract should precede the abstract itself. References and summary are excluded from the word count.

Extended abstracts should contain all of the same content sections/elements that would normally be used in a paper submissions. The key difference is the length of the submission format.

For authors considering the extended abstract option, data collection and analysis must be at least 75% complete to meaningfully report tentative findings and conclusions. Authors should clearly report how far along the data collection and analysis phases are, respectively, and explain what steps remain as well as the anticipated value/contribution of these steps, so that reviewers can assess the foundations on which conclusion are based. Extended abstracts will be reviewed and scored using evaluation criteria specific to the abstracts and not the same as those used for full papers.

When submitting in this format, authors must select the "Extended Abstract" option in All Academic AND include the words "Extended Abstract" at the start of their paper title (e.g., "Extended Abstract: [Your paper title]"). Authors should clearly indicate the same on the title page of their submission. Submissions that are not appropriately labeled may be rejected.

When creating the file for upload, please insert the 75-word summary of the abstract at the beginning of the extended abstract, so that this is what readers and reviewers see first. Please ensure all identifying author information has been removed for extended abstract submissions and that title pages do not contain author information. Please reference the AEJMC Uniform Paper Call for information about how to ensure this information is removed to ensure a blind review.

Other than the extended abstract format (including length differences) and ineligibility for award competitions, all other AEJMC Uniform Paper Guidelines apply. Please review these here.

Important Paper and Abstract Submissions Information: Upload papers and extended abstracts for the AEJMC 2024 conference beginning January 15, 2024. Submitters should follow instructions on the front page of the submission site to create your account and complete the information required.

Before submitting your paper/abstract, please make certain that all author identifying information has been removed and that all instructions have been followed per the AEJMC uniform call. Take every precaution to ensure that your self-citations do not in any way reveal your identity.

History Division Research Paper and Extended Abstract Contact: For more information, contact History Division Research Chair Melissa Greene-Blye at melissagreene-blye@ku.edu.

AEJMC History Division Celebrates Fifty Years of *Journalism History*

The History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) is celebrating fifty years of continuous publishing of its journal, *Journalism History*. Published since 1974, *Journalism History* is well respected as the oldest peer-reviewed journal

of mass media history in the United States.

"*Journalism History* has served as an excellent research journal for media historians to document the impact of mass media from various time periods, perspectives, and cultures," said Rachel Grant (University of Florida), chairwoman of the History Division. "In a time where the importance of history is being questioned, the History Division is proud to promote quality research."

Journalism History was the vision of Tom Reilly, a professor at California State University, Northridge. Founding editor Reilly launched the journal as an independent publication in the spring of 1974. In 1985 his colleague Susan Henry took over editing duties. The journal moved to the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, in 1991 when Barbara Cloud became its editor. Nine years later, in 2000, the journal moved to Ohio University under the editorship of Patrick Washburn. He shepherded the journal until 2012 when his colleague Michael S. Sweeney took over. It is thanks to Sweeney that the journal is now a publication of the AEJMC History Division. He approached the division to adopt *Journalism History* as its official academic journal.

Sweeney stepped down in 2018. Gregory Borchard (University of Nevada, Las Vegas) edited the journal from 2018 to 2021 when current editor, Pam Parry (Southeast Missouri State), took over. Parry will officially step down in August 2024, and Perry Parks (Michigan State) will take over as the eighth editor in the journal's history.

Journalism History has experienced tremendous growth in the last couple of years under the tutelage of editor Parry and Teri Finneman (University of Kansas), a former chairwoman of the History Division's Publications Committee. Today the division supports its journal with a continuously updated website, newsletters, and fresh podcasts. The journal recently conducted a diversity analysis of all its research articles,

and offers grants to stimulate research related to broadcasting, strategic communication, certain periods in history, race/ethnicity, LGBTQ+, and disabilities. There is also an effort to improve the journal's international presence, both in terms of submissions and reviewers.

"*Journalism History* is well positioned for another fifty years of publication," said Maddie Liseblad (CSU Long Beach), current chairwoman of the division's Publications Committee. "I am sure Tom Reilly would be proud of what his journal has become and its planned future direction."

The History Division will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary in several ways. The journal will have open access articles throughout the year, starting with one from the first publication year, Maurine Beasley's "Pens and Petticoats: Early Women Washington Correspondents"(https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00947679.1974.12066751). Beasley is one of *Journalism History*'s most published authors. The *Journalism History* podcast will also re-promote some of its most popular shows, including the #1 downloaded *Why Does Journalism History Matter* episode. In addition, the journal will have a special commemorative March issue, with items from key people who have contributed to *Journalism History* throughout the decades. The journal's milestone birthday will also be celebrated at the AEJMC conference in August.

Journalism History welcomes content about traditional journalism as well research with historical angles on visual communication, public relations, advertising, scholastic journalism, media diversity, sports media, the business of journalism, media technology, oral history, media law and ethics, and documentaries. The journal also encourages cross-disciplinary and global collaboration so that the content of the journal increasingly reflects media histo-

ry outside of U.S. borders and across disciplines.

For more information about the journal and how to submit, visit https://journalism-history.org/.

AJHA Auction Volunteers Needed

Thanks to the incredible generosity of AJHA members, we were able to raise more than $2,500 for graduate students at our auction during our Columbus conference.

Let's top that at our 2024 conference in Pittsburgh.

To help make the auction an even bigger success, we're forming a committee of volunteers. Committee members are needed who can help brainstorm ideas, promote the auction, load donated items onto the website, or help out at the conference. If you're only able to assist with one of these things, that's fine. If you're able to assist with more than one, that's even better.

The time commitment will be light — no more than five to ten hours over the next year. It's a great way to get involved in AJHA if you're a new member or stay involved if you're a not-so-new member. And yes, you can put it on your c.v.

All of the money raised by the auction will once again go to the Michael Sweeney Graduate Student Travel Stipend to help the new generation of journalism historians be able to afford to travel to our conferences.

Are you able to help? Please let me know by the end of January.

By Jon Marshall

j-marshall@northwestern.edu

Andie Tucher Named 2023 Best Podcast Guest

Andie Tucher of Columbia University is the winner of the 2023 Best

Podcast Guest Award from *Journalism History*.

Tucher is the guest of "Episode 121: The Colonial Press," which was released in February 2023. It was the top-rated episode of that year, drawing over 500 downloads.

Executive producer Ken Ward said the episode helped listeners understand current problems as part of much broader themes in journalism history. "Stories like these provide the essential context necessary to appreciate the present," Ward said. "We're proud to celebrate Tucher's interview and the attention it brought to such an important topic."

AEJMC's History Division will recognize Tucher at its 2024 Awards Gala at AEJMC in August in Philadelphia.

Edward Alwood, Caitlin Cieslik-Miskimen and Jordana Cox were other top-rated podcast guests of 2023.

The Journalism History podcast passed the 100,000-interactions mark in 2023. The show's episodes have been downloaded more than 64,000 times and listened to in all 50 states and over 100 countries. Its transcripts have been viewed more than 53,500 times.

Journalism History podcast episodes are available wherever you listen to podcasts, as well as at https://journalismhistorypodcast.podbean.com/. Show transcripts are available at https://journalism-history.org/podcast/.

2023 H-Net Election Results

Please join us in congratulating the winners of the 2023 H-Net Election.

President-Elect: Andrew Kettler

Vice President for Networks: Caroline Waldron

3 At-Large Council seats:

Andrea Calilhanna
Kat Ringenbach
Margaret Sankey

The H-Net Council is always glad to hear from members of the H-Net Community with feedback and ideas. Please do not hesitate to contact us!

Sincerely,
Evan Rothera, H-Net President-Elect

Award Call: Covert Award in Mass Communication History

Entries Due March 31

AEJMC's History Division announces the 40th annual competition for the Covert Award in Mass Communication History for entries published in 2023.

The Covert Award recognizes the author of the best mass communication history article or essay published in the previous year. Book chapters in edited collections published in the previous year are also eligible. The AEJMC History Division has presented the award annually since 1985.

The $400 award memorializes the esteemed Dr. Catherine L. Covert, professor of journalism at Syracuse University (d.1983). Cathy Covert was the first woman professor in Syracuse's Newhouse School of Journalism and the first woman to head the History Division, in 1975. Prof. Covert received the AEJMC Outstanding Contribution to Journalism Education Award in 1983.

Submit an electronic copy in PDF form of the published article/ essay/chapter via email to Covert Award Chair, Dr. Elisabeth Fondren, fondrene@stjohns.edu, by March 31, 2024.

The publication may be self-submitted or submitted by others, such

as an editor or colleague. Essays published exclusively online require date of publication, URL, verification of originality and authorship, and the essay in pdf format.

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