

MICHAEL EMERY ■ EDWIN EMERY ■ NANCY L. ROBERT



The PRESS AND AMERICA

AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY OF THE MASS MEDIA

NINTH EDITION

Ninth Edition

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AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY
OF THE MASS MEDIA

Michael Emery

Late, Professor of Journalism
California State University, Northridge

Edwin Emery

Late, Professor Emeritus of Journalism
and Mass Communication
University of Minnesota

Nancy L. Roberts

Professor of Journalism
and Mass Communication
University of Minnesota

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Preface

Journalism history is the story of humanity's long struggle to communicate: to discover and interpret news and to offer intelligent opinion and entertaining thoughts in the marketplace of ideas. Part of the story has as its theme the continuing efforts to break down the barriers that have prevented the flow of information and ideas on which public opinion is so largely dependent. A separate and less appreciated challenge has been the internal battle by some journalists against the bias and self-censorship that has plagued so much of journalism.

Another aspect of the story is concerned with the means, or media, by which essential news, opinion, and other desired information reach the public, from the days of the handwritten "newes letter" to the printed page, radio, television, and more recently, enhanced cable and computer services. Important to this story are the heroes and villains, as well as the bit actors, who created the complex matrix of modern communication. The development of America's journalism is thus inherently and integrally related to the cultural identity of its people.

This ninth edition of *The Press and America* honors the inestimable contributions of Edwin Emery and Michael Emery to the field of journalism history. Until his death in September 1993, Edwin Emery was involved in planning the rewriting, organization, and illustration of text, along with changes in the extensive bibliography that was his province from the book's debut in 1954. This ninth edition also marks the passing of Mary Emery, Edwin's wife and Michael's mother, whose love and support quietly helped shepherd *The Press and America's* first eight editions to press. And the ninth edition marks the passing of Michael Emery, who began his association with the third edition and assumed responsibility for updating and strengthening the manuscript. Michael Emery died in December 1995, just as the eighth edition, for which my assistance had been procured, was being published.

With little warning, I found myself assuming single-handedly the responsibility for the ninth edition, fulfilling a promise to my coauthor and his family. It has been both challenge and privilege. Edwin Emery was my doctoral advisor and colleague at the University of Minnesota, and his son Michael was my good friend and colleague. I have tried to honor their ideas, contributions, and memory while providing a fresh, critical perspective.

The ninth edition, the first without the Emerys' direct voice, has both familiar features and innovations. The examination of American life and the American media remains

the heart of the book. The Bibliography and Notes are again presented chapter by chapter at the back of the text, an organization that facilitates both the listing of rapidly expanding new research and the shifting of extensive data listings to the Notes as reference sources. Mass communication researchers may locate in earlier editions some secondary data and older bibliographical citations necessarily eliminated from these pages in the updating process. For this edition the annotated bibliography has been completely revised to reflect current research and to remain an invaluable research tool for students wishing to undertake further research.

The title, *The Press and America*, was chosen in 1949 when work began on the first edition because the newspaper industry was dominant. There was only a smattering of interest in the history of radio, and television was in its infancy. Since then there have been many changes in media roles and communications technologies. For reasons of tradition and continuity, our title remains the same, reflecting as always the emphasis placed on the correlation of journalism history with political, social, economic, and cultural trends. In this interaction, the media have had their influence on the course taken by the United States. Conversely, the conditions and influences present in each historical era have cumulatively determined the shape and character of the media. Within this framework emerges the special story of the men and women of journalism and of the institutions and traditions they created. This story ranges from newspaper editor James Franklin to Katharine Graham; from opinion-molder Horace Greeley to Edward R. Murrow; from radical publicist Sam Adams to I. F. Stone; from talented writer Tom Paine to Tom Wolfe.

There is extensive examination of all the media: newspapers, press associations, magazines, book publishing, advertising, public relations, photojournalism, motion pictures, radio, television, cable, and the Internet. Thus in the 1920s, the stories of radio's David Sarnoff and *Amos 'n' Andy*, of Hollywood's David Wark Griffith and Charlie Chaplin, of the newspapers' Adolph Ochs and the *New York Daily News*, of the *Reader's Digest* and the *New Yorker*, and of the rise of advertising agencies and public relations counsels become interrelated. With words and pictures the book surveys landmark events in communications history, probing significant issues, personalities, media organizations, and trends, all the while tracing how major events in U.S. history were covered by reporters, editors, and broadcasters and how other writers, advertisers, and advocates influenced American life.

For this edition, the historiography was completely revised to reflect the most up-to-date scholarly interpretations for every period of U.S. history, from the colonial period to the present. The aim is to help students understand and interpret journalism history as well grounded within the context of sound historical scholarship.

The last four chapters, dealing with more contemporary mass media developments, have been extensively updated to reflect current debate as well as a historical perspective on issues such as media technology (the Internet and cyberpublishing), the impact of media mergers, public journalism, media ethics (for example, the paparazzi and privacy), and the First Amendment (for example, implications of the Telecommunications Act of 1996). The previous edition's Chapter 20, The Surviving Newspaper Press, has been eliminated, with the most essential information incorporated elsewhere in the book. This results from one of the major objectives that guided this revision: to present students with the most essential information by adding more interpretation and analysis rather than simply recounting overwhelming factual data (as a sort of "textbook of record").

Other key characteristics of this edition include an examination of the Clinton presidency; a continuing critical look at distressing trends in the journalism world; continued analysis of problems with sex and violence in television programming; data about women

and minorities in the media and the gay/lesbian press; updates on the ownership patterns of major media organizations; new public opinion surveys regarding media credibility; revised circulation, audience, and sales data for major media, with the addition of new tables; and profiles of leading television news figures and networks and discussion of the pros and cons of new technology, including privacy and other ethical and legal concerns.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due many people who have aided this venture during five decades. For this edition, criticisms and suggestions for change in the sections dealing with contemporary mass media and society were elicited from Professor Jean Ward, emerita, and Marilyn Jackson, adjunct, University of Minnesota, the School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Katherine Meerse and David E. Woodard, Ph.D. graduates in history, University of Minnesota, provided an invaluable critique of the book's historiography.

I have been greatly aided by my graduate research assistant, Genelle Belmas, who took special responsibility for updating the media ethics and law sections as well as writing completely new sections on public journalism, the Internet, and the Telecommunications Act. She also provided outstanding general research assistance as well as great help in securing photo copyright permissions, always with good humor. A Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota, she holds a master's degree in political science from the University of Wisconsin. Her studies at Minnesota have emphasized media law and ethics, journalism history, and graphic design, and her dissertation is a study of Internet law, including the areas of pornography, privacy, and hate speech. She brought a rich intellectual background and perspective to this project, and it is much better because of her contributions, for which I am deeply grateful.

Other University of Minnesota students and colleagues who read parts of the manuscript, offered suggestions, and/or gave considerable moral support were Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Sara Evans, Kathleen Hansen, Nahid Kahn, and Al Tims. Ben Huset contributed information on satellites, and Rodger Streitmatter of American University provided current circulation figures on the gay and lesbian press.

The debts for aid with earlier editions can be acknowledged here only in part. A substantial acknowledgment is due Professor Henry Ladd Smith, then of the University of Wisconsin, co-author with Edwin Emery of the first edition. Of great assistance was research compiled by the late Professor Emeritus Robert W. Desmond of the University of California, as well as research findings organized and compiled for *Journalism History* by its founder, Professor Tom Reilly of California State University, Northridge, and his successors, Professor Susan Henry, also of Northridge, and Professor Barbara Cloud, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Professor Harold L. Nelson of the University of Wisconsin has given many suggestions for text revisions, particularly in the colonial period, and gave invaluable assistance during work on the first edition. Others who provided aid for previous editions are Professor Victoria Goff, University of Wisconsin–Green Bay, who contributed to material dealing with Spanish-language and frontier journalism for the eighth edition; Dr. Félix Gutiérrez, Freedom Forum; Professor Emeritus Donald M. Gillmor of the University of Minnesota in the legal area; and Professor Irving Fang, also at Minnesota, in sections dealing with broadcasting. Journalism bibliographers on whom we have most depended are Warren C. Price, University of Oregon; Calder M. Pickett, University of Kansas; Eleanor Blum, University of Illinois; and Christopher H. Sterling. Thanks are also due Jan Nyberg, Severeid Librarian at the University of Minnesota.

Manuscript critics (with university affiliations) have been Professors Ralph D. Casey, Minnesota; Frederick B. Marbut, Pennsylvania State; Kenneth E. Olson and Richard A. Schwarzlose, Northwestern; William H. Taft, Missouri; Bruce Westley, Kentucky; Calder M. Pickett, Kansas; Sam Kuczun, Colorado; Ted C. Smythe, California State, Fullerton; George Everett, Tennessee; Ernest C. Hynds, Georgia; Peter Mayeux, Nebraska-Lincoln; and Peter Mellini, San Francisco State. Mention must be made of past aid by journalism professors (with affiliation): Ralph O. Nafziger and William A. Hachten, Wisconsin; Quintus C. Wilson, Northern Illinois; Roland E. Wolseley, Syracuse; Paul Jess, Kansas; Sharon Murphy, Bradley; Barbara Reed, Rutgers; Corban Goble, Kentucky; Warren Francke, Nebraska-Omaha; Betty Winfield, Missouri; Henry G. La Brie III, Boston; John D. Stevens and Marion Marzolf, Michigan; and Everette E. Dennis, Freedom Forum.

Other critics: David Nord, Indiana; Jeffery Smith, Iowa; William E. Ames and Richard B. Kielbowicz, Washington; Donald L. Shaw, North Carolina; Randall L. Murray, California Polytechnic, San Luis Obispo; Ralph E. Kliesch, Ohio; Joseph P. McKerns and Paul Peterson, Ohio State; Harvey Saalberg, Angelo State; Fenwick Anderson, Southern Connecticut State; Robert V. Hudson, Michigan State; R. Smith Schuneman, Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Raymond B. Nixon, Edwin H. Ford, and J. Edward Gerald, Minnesota; Catherine Cassara, Bowling Green State University; and Rodger Streitmatter, American University. The debt to the many scholars and writers whose contributions to media history are listed in the notes and bibliographies also is acknowledged.

Special thanks is given to our editor at Allyn and Bacon, Karon Bowers, and her assistant Scout Reilly. The indexing work of David E. Woodard was greatly appreciated. Thank you to the many friends who offered help and encouragement, especially John Arnold, who provided much relief dog care. And I deeply appreciate the kindness and support of all members of the Emery family, especially Alison and Laurel (Edwin and Mary Emery's daughters and Michael Emery's sisters) and Lu (Michael Emery's widow).

N. L. R.

About the Authors

The first edition of *The Press and America* won the coveted Sigma Delta Chi national research award, the highest in the field of journalism.

Michael Emery, Ph.D., was Professor of Journalism at California State University, Northridge. He was author of *On the Front Lines: Following America's Foreign Correspondents Across the Twentieth Century*, and co-editor of *Readings in Mass Communication* and of *America's Front Page News, 1690–1970*. He was a contributing editor of *Journalism History* and a consultant to the Freedom Forum's Newseum project. He was a United Press International correspondent and was a freelance foreign correspondent who contributed to the *Village Voice*, *Los Angeles Times*, and other media while reporting from the Middle East, Yugoslavia, and Central America.

Edwin Emery, Ph.D., was Professor Emeritus of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota, where he was a faculty member from 1945 to 1984. He was president of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, editor of its research journal, *Journalism Quarterly*, from 1964 to 1973, and author or co-author of 11 books, including *Introduction to Mass Communications*. He was honored with the Sigma Delta Chi national award for his *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association*, the AEJ Bleyer and Blum awards, the American Journalism Historians Association's Kobre award, and a Guggenheim Fellowship. He was a former United Press bureau manager and World War II war desk editor.

Nancy L. Roberts, Ph.D., is Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota, where she is also an adjunct faculty member of the Program in American Studies. She has been president of the American Journalism Historians Association, book review editor for its journal, *American Journalism*, and head of the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. She is author of *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary*; *Dorothy Day and the "Catholic Worker,"* and numerous articles for magazines and newspapers including *Americana*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Introductory Bibliography

Indispensable references for students of the history of American journalism are Margaret Blanchard, ed., *History of the Mass Media in the United States: An Encyclopedia* (Chicago, London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), whose entries provide excellent overviews and bibliographies relative to the economic, political, technological, and other developments that affected the mass media and/or vice versa; Warren C. Price, *The Literature of Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959), which has 3147 entries; and Warren C. Price and Calder M. Pickett, *An Annotated Journalism Bibliography, 1958–1968* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), which has 2172 entries, including some from pre-1958. Entries are particularly full in the areas of general journalism histories, specialized and individual histories, biographies, and narratives of journalists at work. Other sections cover press appraisals, press law, international communication, magazines, radio and television, public opinion and propaganda, communication theory, techniques of journalism, journalism education, periodicals of the press, bibliographies, and directories. British and Canadian journalism is well covered.

A superb single volume of bibliography for mass communication, and one that updates the Price-Pickett work by two decades, is Eleanor Blum and Frances Wilhoit, *Mass Media Bibliography: An Annotated Guide to Books and Journals for Research and Reference* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), continuing Dr. Blum's 1972 and 1980 editions of *Basic Books in the Mass Media*. The compilers selected 1947 entries. Also extremely useful are Eleanor S. Block and James K. Bracken, *Communication and the Mass Media: A Guide to the Reference Literature* (Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1991); Christopher H. Sterling, James K. Bracken, and Susan M. Hill, *Mass Communications Research Resources: An Annotated Guide* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998); and Jo A. Cates, *Journalism: A Guide to the Reference Literature*, 2nd ed. (Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1997), which presents about 800 sources on print, broadcast, and Internet journalism. Current annotated bibliography is reported in *Communication Booknotes Quarterly*, edited by Christopher H. Sterling and published by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

For listings of American newspaper files, Clarence S. Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1947) is the guide to surviving early newsprint (updated and corrected in the April 1961 *Proceedings* of the Society and a 1962 edition; the Society published chronological

tables to accompany Brigham in 1972). Winifred Gregory's *American Newspapers, 1821–1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York: Wilson, 1937) has diminished usefulness since libraries began to discard their more recent bound volumes in favor of microfilm. The Library of Congress publishes *Newspapers on Microfilm*, updating periodically, listing microfilm holdings of libraries newspaper by newspaper.

The largest single newspaper collection for the entire period of American history is at the Library of Congress; the largest for the colonial period, at the American Antiquarian Society. Ranking high in overall strength are the libraries of the Wisconsin State Historical Society and Harvard University; the Bancroft Library of the University of California is famous for its western U.S. collections as well. Strong in importance for their regions are the New York Historical Society, New York Public Library, Chicago Historical Society, University of Chicago, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Connecticut Historical Society, and the Kansas State Historical Society. Noteworthy for general collections are the University of Missouri, University of Minnesota, Yale University, University of Washington, UCLA, University of Illinois, University of Texas, Duke University, and the Western Reserve Historical Society. The motion picture, broadcast, and recorded sound division of the Library of Congress houses 100,000 motion picture films, 80,000 television programs, a half-million radio broadcasts, and more than 1.5 million sound recordings.

The major U.S. museum exhibit is the Newseum, opened in 1996 by Freedom Forum at its Arlington, Virginia headquarters. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington offers an artifacts exhibit, "Information Age: People, Information & Technology." New York City is home to the extensive Museum of Television and Radio, the American Museum of the Moving Image, and the Museum of Modern Art's research center for film study. Another film museum is California's Hollywood Studio Museum. The International Center of Photography has New York showings. Portland houses the substantial American Advertising Museum, and the Smithsonian has established a Center for Advertising History. Broadcast collections are found at the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Museum of Broadcast Communications, Chicago (especially early radio), and at UCLA. Cartoon museums are housed in Boca Raton and Orlando, Florida, and in San Francisco.

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American Periodicals and Newspapers, 1828–1982: Bibliography, Publishing Record and Holdings (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), and *Women's Periodicals and Newspapers from the 18th Century to 1981* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982). For broadcasting, see Diane Foxhill Carothers, *Radio Broadcasting from 1920 to 1990: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1991), an indispensable guide, and Michael Murray, "Research in Broadcasting: An Overview of Major Resource Centers," *American Journalism*, 1:2 (1984), 77.

Two encyclopedias are a chronological history: *Mass Media* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), by Robert V. Hudson, and *The Encyclopedia of American Journalism* (New York: Facts on File, 1983), edited by Donald Paneth. Two valuable reference-research guides are *The Aspen Handbook on the Media*, edited by William L. Rivers, Wallace Thompson, and Michael J. Nyhan (New York: Praeger, 1977), and *Electronic Media: A Guide to Trends in Broadcasting and Newer Technologies, 1920–1983*, edited by Christopher H. Sterling (New York: Praeger, 1984). Three biographical dictionaries are Joseph P. McKerns, *The Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), detailing some 500 newspeople in a variety of media positions; *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Journalists* (New York: Garland, 1986), edited by William H. Taft; and *American Newspaper Journalists*, edited by Perry J. Ashley in four volumes of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Chicago: Gale Research, 1983 ff.), followed by four volumes, *American Magazine Journalists*, edited by Sam G. Riley. Also quite useful are these Dictionary of Literary Biography volumes: *American Literary Journalists, 1945–1995*, edited by Arthur J. Kaul (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997); *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920*, edited by Stephen E. Smith et al. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1998); and *American Newspaper Publishers, 1950–1990* (Detroit, Gale Research, 1993).

The earliest annual directory of U.S. periodicals was *George P. Rowell & Co.'s American Newspaper Directory* (1869), superseded by *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual* (1880), later titled the *Directory of Newspapers & Periodicals* and after 1990 the *Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media*. A standard U.S. source is the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook* (1921), which also includes international listings. From London, *Benn's Press Directory* (1846) has separate *United Kingdom* and *International* volumes annually. The *Willings Press Guide* (1874) is international in scope, focusing on Britain.

Two major bibliographies for the study of American history are *A Guide to the Study of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1960), and the *Harvard Guide to American History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974). The former, although less voluminous, carries extensive annotations lacking in the latter. The United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1989 published a *Handbook for the Study of the United States*, edited by William Bate and Perry Frank, with basic bibliographies in American studies, including journalism and the media, film, popular culture, history, law, and politics. Two source books are *The American History Sourcebook* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), edited by Joel Makower, and John A. Garraty's *1001 Things Everyone Should Know about American History* (New York: Doubleday, 1989).

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Press, 1980), a book of 20 essays planned by the American Historical Association; John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); John Clive, *Not by Fact Alone* (New York: Knopf, 1989), essays on the writing and reading of history; David W. Noble, *The End of American History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), a revisionist's denial of America's uniqueness; and Barbara Tuchman, *Practicing History* (New York: Knopf, 1981), which discusses her views on the writing of history and the role of history in society. Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis* (New York: Wiley, 1978), explores 19 approaches to historical study; James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle examine historical method in terms of debatable episodes in *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (New York: Knopf, 1986); and quantification techniques are discussed in Robert P. Swierenga, *Quantification in American History* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), and Roderrick Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Method for Historians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973).

For well-balanced discussions of trends in American historiography, see *The New American History*, rev. and exp. ed. edited by Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), a book of 13 essays planned by the American Historical Association that examine recent trends in U.S. history; and Gerald N. Grob and George A. Biliias, *Interpretations of American History: Patterns and Perspectives*, Vol. 1, *To 1877*, 6th ed. (New York: Free Press, 1992), and Vol 2, *Since 1877*, 6th ed. (New York: Free Press, 1992). Also useful may be Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1968), by a one-time consensus advocate; John Higham, *Writing American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), by a critic of the newer schools; and C. Vann Woodward, ed., *The Comparative Approach in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1968). Bibliographies in this volume identify leading exponents of these various approaches to American history.

For historiography in journalism and mass communication, the best single volume is John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980). Others include James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1989); Lucy Shelton Caswell, ed., *Guide to Sources in American Journalism History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989); Jo A. Cates, *Journalism: A Guide to the Reference Literature*, 2nd ed. (Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1997); and M. Gilbert Dunn and Douglas W. Cooper, "A Guide to Mass Communication Sources," *Journalism Monographs*, LXXIV (November 1981). Two chapters on historiography by David Paul Nord and MaryAnn Yodelis Smith are found in Guido H. Stempel, III, and Bruce H. Westley, eds., *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989). Also consult Hanno Hardt, *Critical Communication Studies: Communication, History, and Theory in America* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992). The Freedom Forum Media Studies Center at Columbia University in 1991 published for the American Society of Newspaper Editors' Newspaper History Task Force a book containing a lengthy bibliographical essay on books about journalists and a detailed inventory of major U.S. newspaper archives. Titled *Untapped Sources: America's Newspaper Archives and Histories*, it was written by Jon Vanden Heuvel.

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Women's Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in a New Area of Historical Scholarship" (477–489); and others. Additional articles include 22 in an issue entitled, "Defining Moments in Journalism," *Media Studies Journal*, 11:2 (Spring 1997), 1–177; Wm. David Sloan, "Historians and the American Press, 1900–1945," *American Journalism*, 3:3 (1986), 154–166; "A Conversation with Edwin Emery," *Journalism History*, 7:1 (Spring 1980), 20–23; ". . . A Conversation with James W. Carey," *Journalism History*, 12:2 (Summer 1985), 38–50; and a symposium, "Seeking New Paths in Research," with essays by Garth S. Jowett, Richard A. Schwarzlose, John E. Erickson, Marion Marzolf, and David H. Weaver, in *Journalism History*, 2:2 (Summer 1975), 33–47.

Notes for the 20 chapters begin on page 576. In some cases, chapter notes will include supplementary reference material (names of individuals, lists of newspapers, other valuable research resource data). Annotated bibliographies listing books, monographs, and periodical articles in mass communication—as well as representative background histories—appear chapter by chapter beginning on page 607. The index begins on page 681.

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