

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY of

HD

# JOURNALISM



ROSS EAMAN

SECOND  
EDITION

# HID

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# Historical Dictionary of Journalism

*Second Edition*

Ross Eaman

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## Editor's Foreword

Journalism, more than most professions, is seen as a higher calling, since journalists are expected to dig up the facts, assemble them logically, and present them cogently to provide the information people need to make good choices in their lives. No doubt some journalists are lazy and incompetent or just want to promote their own views. But on the whole, they have played an important social role over several centuries and will probably continue to do into the future, even if their work assumes new forms. Journalism is also an industry, since it costs money to produce newspapers, online news, and even blogs, so financial concerns enter the picture and muddy the waters. While there have been some very enlightened, progressive, and even fearlessly crusading newspapers, there have also been many of lesser value, more interested in just turning a profit.

This revised and expanded edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Journalism* continues to show both sides of the picture. It has entries on many of the finest newspapers as well as some of lesser repute, many exceptional journalists as well as a few the profession would rather forget, advances such as investigative reporting and questionable practices such as yellow journalism, and topics like the continuing struggle for freedom of the press. It covers the entire history of journalism, from the first practitioners whose news was hand-copied to those whose news appears in a digital format. It also traces the history of journalism in 50 specific countries and several hundred other entries. Despite the breadth of its coverage, the field of journalism history is so large that any work of this kind can only constitute a starting point for further research and study, so a substantial bibliography organizes recent literature in the field to facilitate this task.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor





## Preface

The history of journalism appears first and most visibly in the biographies of media owners, their many editors and journalists, various social critics of news, and a less well-known cast of educators and technological innovators. Their number includes John Wolfe, Johann Carolus, Ben Jonson, Théophraste Renaudot, and Marchamont Nedham in the early modern period; Daniel Defoe, Benjamin Franklin, John Wilkes, William “Memory” Woodfall, and John Walter I in the 18th century; Émile de Girardin, Benjamin Day, James Gordon Bennett, William T. Stead, and Joseph Pulitzer in the 19th century; and Lord Northcliffe, Henry Luce, George Seldes, Edward R. Murrow, and Walter Cronkite in the 20th. But their role can only be understood in terms of an evolving series of news media: from news pamphlets, newsletters, and newspapers through newsmagazines, newsreels, and radio and television newscasts to the online multimedia news forms of the 21st century. But even with their consideration, the history of journalism remains in the background. To bring it front and center, it is necessary to take the discursive turn that now characterizes most journalism history. Since James Carey’s famous call for a history of “the idea of a report” in “The Problem of Journalism History” (1974), journalism historians have shifted their attention to journalism as a form of discourse. This history also has a cast of characters, with both protagonists (news reports and editorials) and antagonists (hoaxes and fake news). It encompasses not only elements of news gathering and presentation such as the interview, the inverted pyramid, the summary lead, and the byline but also genres of journalism such as the *feuilleton*, the social sketch, the docudrama, and the column in all of its many forms. It is their interaction that produces the shifting and permeable but nonetheless recognizable boundary separating journalism from other forms of discourse.



## Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC	American Broadcasting Company
AFP	Agence France-Presse
ANG	American Newspaper Guild
ANPA	American Newspaper Publishers Association
AP	Associated Press (U.S.)
ASNE	American Society of Newspaper Editors
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System (U.S.)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
CP	Canadian Press (Canada)
CPI	Committee on Public Information (U.S.)
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists (New York)
C-SPAN	Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (U.S.)
EJC	European Journalism Centre (the Netherlands)
ENPA	European Newspaper Publishers Association (Belgium)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCC	Federal Communications Commission (U.S.)
FRC	Federal Radio Commission (U.S.)
GIZh	State Institute of Journalism (Soviet Union)
Glavlit	Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs (Soviet Union)
IAPA	Inter-American Press Association (Latin America)
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists (Belgium)
INA	Irish News Agency
INS	International News Service
IOJ	International Organization of Journalists
IRE	Investigative Reporters and Editors (U.S.)
NAA	Newspaper Association of America
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (U.S.)
NABJ	National Association of Black Journalists (U.S.)

NBC	National Broadcasting Company (U.S.)
NSNC	National Society of Newspaper Columnists (U.S.)
NUJ	National Union of Journalists (Great Britain; Portugal)
OWI	Office of War Information (U.S.)
PBS	Public Broadcast System (U.S.)
RSF	Reporters sans frontières
SNJ	Syndicat National des Journalistes (France)
SPJ	Society of Professional Journalists (U.S.)
TASS	Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union
UP	United Press (U.S.)
UPA	United Press Associations (U.S.)
UPI	United Press International (U.S.)

# Chronology

**59 B.C.E.** Julius Caesar ordered publication of the *acta diurna*.

**960–1127** In China, the *chao-pao* (court paper) and *xiao-pao* (illegal paper) appeared during the Northern Song Dynasty and flourished in the Southern Song Dynasty.

**c. 1140** Bernard of Clairvaux created a monastic information network to spread the new Cistercian order across Western Europe.

**c. 1350** Spanish chroniclers began recording events of interest to the *Generalitat*, or Catalan Legislative Assembly.

**1392** The *Chobo* (court gazette) was begun by royal officials in Korea; it continued on an irregular basis until 1895.

**c. 1440** Johannes Gutenberg “invented” the first moveable type printing system in Europe.

**1470** The fall of Negroponte was one of the first news events to be discussed in print.

**1476** William Caxton established the first printing press in England.

**1490** Inspired by the courier service of the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I engaged Italians Francesco and Janetto de Tassis to organize an imperial postal service across Europe by which news traveled up to 180 kilometers a day.

**1493** Pedro Martir de Angleria from Italy gathered news about the Spanish Conquest from returning captains and sent it to European courts in his *decadas* or newsletter.

**1530** The first licensing system in England was established.

**1530s** The *Neue Zietungen*, short printed news pamphlets about a single event, became common in Germany. The Italian *poligrafì* used pamphlets to satirize Renaissance humanism.

**1536** The Spanish bishop Juan de Zumárraga brought the first printing press to the Americas (Mexico City).

**1566** The first printed newsheet in Venice, the *Gazetta de la novità*, made its appearance.

**1583** Printer Antonio Ricardo began operating the second press in the Americas (Lima).

**1587** Daniele Malipiero and Annibale Cappello, writers of *avvisi* in Venice and Rome, respectively, were put to death for revealing state secrets.

**1589** John Wolfe and other London printers began publishing regular news pamphlets or news quartos about the fate of English soldiers fighting on behalf of Henry of Navarre.

**1605** Johann Carolus began printing the *Strassburg Relation*, the first newspaper in Europe.

**1615** Newsheets known as *kawaraban* (tile engraving) made their appearance in Japan.

**1620** The English poet and playwright Ben Jonson satirized news publications in *Newes from the New World Discover'd in the Moone*.

**1621** London printer Nicholas Bourne adapted Dutch *corantos* for sale to English readers.

**1622** The first obituary in an English *coranto* featured the life and death of Captain Andrew Schilling, who died in a sea battle between the fleet of the East India Company and four Portuguese warships.

**1620s** Printing speed was increased from 15 to 150 impressions per hour through the use of a counterweight.

**1627** The Greek Patriarch Cyril Lucaris founded the first Greek printing press in Constantinople with the protection of the English ambassador, though the Turks destroyed it a year later.

**1631** The first French newspaper, Théophraste Renaudot's *Gazette de France*, was given a monopoly over political news by Cardinal Richelieu.

**1637** The Spanish friar Thomas Pinpin, the "Prince of Filipino Printers," began *Sucesos Felices*, the first Philippine newsletter.

**1638** The first printing press in the American colonies was established under the supervision of Harvard College.

**1641** Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter began the first regularly published newsbook in London. The first newspaper in Spain, the *Gaceta semanal de Barcelona*, began publication on a weekly basis.

**1642** Samuel Pecke, one of the foremost English journalists of his day, began the weekly newsbook *A Perfect Diurnall*.

**January 1643** The royalist newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus* began publication and was smuggled into London to counter the parliamentary cause.

**August 1643** The newsbook *Mercurius Britannicus* was created to counter *Mercurius Aulicus*.

**1644** John Milton made the case against pre-publication censorship in *Areopagitica*.

**1647** Marchamont Nedham switched from writing *Mercurius Britannicus* on the behalf of Parliament to producing *Mercurius Pragmaticus* for the royalists.

**1650** Nedham became editor of the official English newsbook, *Mercurius Politicus*, under the general supervision of Milton. The first daily newspaper, the *Einkommende Zeitung*, was established in Leipzig by the book merchant and printer Tomotheus Ritzsch.

**1652** The first coffeehouse opened in London.

**1653** Henry Muddiman's *Kingdom's Intelligencer* was given a monopoly over English news.

**1660** The English Parliament issued an injunction against printing its votes or proceedings. The first Scottish newspaper, *Mercurius Caledonius*, began publication in Edinburgh.

**1661** The first vernacular newspaper in Eastern Europe, the *Merkuriusz Poliski Ordynaryjny*, was founded in Krakow. The *Gaceta de Madrid* began publication on an annual basis.

**1662** Under a new Licensing Act, Roger L'Estrange became Surveyor of the Press in England.

**1664** Denis de Sallo's *Journal des sçavans* was awarded a *privilège* for scientific information.

**1665** Muddiman's *Oxford Gazette* (later the *London Gazette*) provided news for the monarchy and Parliament during their relocation because of the plague.



**1666** The Danish poet Anders Bording began a versified monthly newspaper called *Den Danske Mercurius* to pay homage to the new monarchy in Denmark.

**1667** The *Gaceta de Madrid* began weekly publication.

**1672** The *Mercure galante* was founded in France.

**1674** The British East India Company set up a printing press in Bombay.

**1680** The *Edinburgh Gazette* began publication.

**1681** John Houghton, the “father of English advertising,” began *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, a profitable monthly serial.

**1690** Tobias Peucer submitted “De Relationibus Novellis,” the first doctoral thesis on journalism, to the University of Leipzig.

**25 September 1690** Benjamin Harris published the first and only issue of *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick* in Boston.

**1692** Mail service was authorized between the American colonies.

**1694** The *Mercure galante* became the *Mercure de France*.

**1695** Failure to renew the Regulation of Printing Act marked the end of pre-publication controls over the press in England.

**1700** Postmaster John Campbell began the *Boston News-Letter* as a handwritten publication.

**1702** The *Daily Courant*, the first daily newspaper in England, was founded.

**February 1704** Daniel Defoe began his *Review*.

**April 1704** Campbell began printing the *Boston News-Letter*.

**April 1709** Richard Steele began *The Tatler*.

**January 1711** Edinburgh law student Robert Hepburn produced some 40 numbers of *The Tatler*, by Donald MacStiff of the North, an imitation of Steele’s publication.

**March 1711** Steele and Joseph Addison began *The Spectator*.

**1713** Richard Steele began *The Guardian*.

**1715** The official *Gaceta de Lima* began publication in the viceroyalty of Peru.

**1720** John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon began “Cato’s Letters” in *The London Journal*.

**August 1721** James Franklin established the *New-England Courant* in Boston.

**1722** After Franklin was jailed for criticizing the local authorities during a controversy over inoculation, the *Courant* was issued by his younger half-brother Benjamin.

**1725** The first newspaper in colonial New York, the *New-York Gazette*, was founded by William Bradford. Nathaniel Ames began compiling his best-selling *Astronomical Diary and Almanack*, a model for Benjamin Franklin’s *Poor Richard’s Almanack*.

**December 1728** Samuel Keimer, an eccentric religious enthusiast, established *The Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette* in Philadelphia.

**October 1729** Benjamin Franklin purchased Keimer’s publication and shortened its title to *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

**1731** The first periodical to describe itself as a magazine, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, was founded by Edward Cave in Britain. The first newspaper in the Caribbean, the *Barbados Gazette*, was founded by Samuel Keimer.

**November 1734** John Peter Zenger, printer of the *New-York Weekly Journal*, was jailed on a charge of seditious libel, but later found not guilty.

**1737** The *Belfast Newsletter* began publication. The Spanish literary newspaper, *El Diario de Los Literatos*, was founded.

**January 1741** Andrew Bradford began the short-lived *American Magazine*, three days before Benjamin Franklin’s *General Magazine*, making it the first magazine in the American colonies. The first newspaper merger in America occurred when the *Boston Gazette* was combined with the *New-England Weekly Journal*.

**1752** Printer James Parker apologized to a grand jury for printing a “Speech of an Indian” in his *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*. The first newspaper in present-day Canada, the *Halifax Gazette*, was founded by John Bushell.

**May 1754** Benjamin Franklin designed the first newspaper cartoon in the American colonies for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*; it consisted of a snake

divided into eight sections, with each section identified as a colony and captioned “Join, or Die.”

**1758** The first daily newspaper in Spain, the *Diario noticiosa, curiosa, edudito, comercial y politico* (later the *Diario de Madrid*), was founded by Francisco Mariano Nipho with a special privilege from King Fernando VI.

**1759** The Irish-born author and journalist Oliver Goldsmith began the weekly essay paper *The Bee*. The first women’s magazine, the *Journal des dames*, began publication in France.

**1760** The annual circulation of London newspapers reached almost 10 million copies.

**April 1763** The British House of Commons declared no. 45 of John Wilkes’s *The North Briton* a seditious libel. The liberal *Public Register or Freeman’s Journal* began in Ireland.

**1764** William Brown and Thomas Gilmore established the *Québec Gazette*. The monthly newspaper *La Gazeta* began in Argentina.

**March 1766** The Stamp Act taxing the American colonies directly for the first time was repealed after a newspaper campaign against “taxation without representation.”

**November 1767** The *Pennsylvania Chronicle* began publishing “Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies” by John Dickinson. The first daily newspaper in Sweden, the *Dagligt Allehandra*, was founded.

**1769** In Britain, Henry Sampson Woodfall published the writings of “Junius,” a political essayist of unknown identity, in his *Public Advertiser*.

**1770** New England printer James Parker was arrested for printing an article by a “Son of Liberty,” but died before trial.

**1771** The British House of Commons ended its ban on parliamentary reporting.

**1774** The British House of Lords allowed reporters to cover its proceedings.

**1775** In France, a network of journals began engaging in “Frondeur journalism.”

**1776** *Pennsylvania Magazine* editor Thomas Paine’s political pamphlet *Common Sense*, which made the first call for American independence, sold

an estimated 500,000 copies at a time when the American colonies had three million inhabitants.

**December 1776** “These are the times that try men’s souls,” began Paine in the first of 16 essays known as the “Crisis” papers.

**1777** The first daily newspaper in France, the *Journal de Paris*, was founded.

**1779** The first Sunday newspaper, the *British Gazette and Sunday Monitor*, began publication, ignoring the Sabbatarian prohibition.

**1780** J. A. Hickey founded the first newspaper on the Indian subcontinent, the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*.

**1781** Gottlob Benedikt von Schirach founded the commercially successful *Politische Journal*.

**May 1783** The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* became the first daily newspaper in America, but folded less than a year later.

**1784** The first successful daily newspaper in the United States, the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, began publication. The first of a series of repressive Press Acts was instituted in Ireland. The official *Gazeta de México* was established.

**1 January 1785** John Walter I founded the *Daily Universal Register* in Britain.

**27 October 1787** New York newspapers began publishing the 85 essays comprising *The Federalist*, written under the pseudonym “Publius” by Alexander Hamilton (51 essays), James Madison (29 essays), and John Jay (5 essays) and supporting ratification of the proposed Constitution of the United States. The Yale-educated lexicographer Noah Webster began the monthly *American Magazine*, a Federalist publication, including articles on education and subjects of interest to women.

**1 January 1788** *The Daily Universal Register* was renamed *The Times* (of London).

**April 1789** Reporters were allowed access to the U.S. House of Representatives. Thomas Lloyd began publishing the *Congressional Register*. John Fenno founded the *Gazette of the United States* as a Federalist newspaper.

**1790** Pennsylvania enacted the first state law recognizing truth as a defense in cases of seditious libel and the jury's right to determine its applicability. Benjamin Franklin Bache founded the *Philadelphia Aurora*, the first anti-Federalist newspaper.

**1791** Philip Freneau established the anti-Federalist Philadelphia *National Gazette*. W. S. Bourne founded the *Observer* as a British Sunday newspaper. *El Mercurio Peruano* began publication in Lima.

**1792** The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteed freedom of the press. A new U.S. Postal Act continued to allow publishers to exchange newspapers without charge. New England journalist Robert Bailey Thomas began the long-running *Farmer's Almanac*.

**1793** Noah Webster founded *American Minerva* (later renamed the *Commercial Advertiser*). Louis Roy, the King's Printer in present-day Ontario, began publishing the *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle*.

**1794** Benjamin Franklin's best-selling *Autobiography* was published posthumously. The French Revolutionary journalist Camille Desmoulins was executed after calling for moderation against the Girondins in his journal *Le Vieux Cordelier*. Journalist Jacques Hébert was guillotined after challenging Robespierre's authority in his newspaper *Le Père Duchesne*. Activist-journalist Garlieb Merkel's pamphlet *The Latvians* (1794) called for the abolition of serfdom in Livonia and Estonia and contributed to agrarian reform. The first Armenian newspaper was published in Madras, India.

**1797** Federalist supporters wrecked the office of *The Aurora* in Philadelphia. In Britain, George Canning began publication of *The Anti-Jacobin* to attack those who sympathized with the French Revolution.

**1798** The Alien and Sedition Acts were passed by the U.S. Congress in an attempt to control the anti-Federalist press. Johann Cotta began the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Germany.

**1800** Samuel Harrison Smith founded *National Intelligencer* to cover the proceedings of the U.S. Congress.

**1801** Alexander Hamilton helped to establish the Federalist *New York Evening Post*. The newspaper *Telégrafo Mercantil, Rural, Político-Económico e Historiográfico del Río de la Plata* was founded in Buenos Aires by Francisco A. Cabello. The official *Sierra Leone Gazette*, probably the first newspaper in sub-Saharan black Africa, began publication.

**1802** William Cobbett founded the *Political Register*, a leading reform journal of the era.

**1803** The first newspaper in Australia, the *Sydney Gazette*, was founded. The first weekly newspaper in Mexico, *El Noticioso*, began publication in Mexico City.

**1805** The state of New York enacted a new libel law based on Alexander Hamilton's defense of Harry Crosswell against a charge of libeling President Thomas Jefferson; other states later followed suit. The first daily newspaper in Mexico City, the *Diario de México*, began publishing.

**1808** The first periodical in Brazil, the *Gazeta de Rio Janeiro*, was established.

**1810** Isaiah Thomas published *The History of Printing in America*. The *Correo de Comercio* and *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* were established to promote Argentine independence from Britain.

**1811** Hezekiah Niles began publishing the influential political news magazine *Niles' Weekly Register* in Baltimore.

**1812** The *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (eventually the *New England Journal of Medicine*) was founded in Boston. The Cortes de Cádiz abolished political censorship of books and newspapers throughout Spain and its empire. A new law in Sweden gave the king the power to suppress any newspaper "imperiling the public safety."

**1813** Nathan Hale founded the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the first successful daily newspaper in New England and one of the first American papers to feature editorials. The English poet, critic, and journalist Leigh Hunt and his brother John were jailed for derogatory remarks about the prince regent in their journal the *Examiner*, which they continued to edit from prison.

**1814** Historian Joseph von Görres began to develop a more political approach to newspaper journalism in Germany as editor of the *Rheinische Merkur*.

**1815** The annual circulation of London newspapers exceeded 25 million copies. The Cadiz periodical *La Abeja Espanola* was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books for satirizing the Spanish Inquisition. Robert Morrison and William Milne created the first missionary periodical in China, the *Chashisu Meiyue Tongji*.

**1817** James Harper and his brother John founded the Harper publishing house in New York City. The Gagging Acts were passed in Britain to suppress radicalism. The *Scotsman* and the *Dundee Courier* began publication in Scotland. The Argentine soldier, journalist, and future statesman Manuel Dorrego was banished for attacking the government in print.

**1819** The French government instituted a system of “caution” or guarantee money to check the growth of press. The Karlsbad Decrees forbade publication of anything “inimical to the maintenance of peace and quiet in Germany.”

**1821** Charles Alexander and Samuel Coate Atkinson founded the *Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia. In Mount Pleasant, Ohio, Quaker Benjamin Lundy founded the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, one of the first abolitionist newspapers. Alexander Boswell, son of Samuel Johnson’s biographer, James Boswell, was challenged to, and mortally wounded in, a duel by Whig politician James Stuart after his slanderous attack on him in the *Glasgow Sentinel*. The first newspaper in Greece, the *Salpìnx Helleniké*, appeared in Kalamata during the War of Independence. The newspaper *Ramillete Patriotico* was founded in the Philippines.

**1823** Peter Force began the daily *National Journal* in Washington to support John Quincy Adams for the presidency. Cuba exiled the journalist and poet José María Heredia.

**1825** The *Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy*, later the *American Journal of Pharmacy*, began pharmaceutical journalism in the United States. The Russian journalist and novelist F. V. Bulgarin founded the daily newspaper *Northern Bee* with Nicholas Grech.

**1826** The conservative French newspaper *Le Figaro* was founded in Paris.

**16 March 1827** Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm began the weekly *Freedom’s Journal*, the first newspaper by African Americans. Arthur and Lewis Tappan founded the *New York Journal of Commerce*. Reporters began covering the U.S. House of Representatives.

**1828** The weekly *Mechanics’ Free Press*, the first successful labor paper, was founded in Philadelphia. The first native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, began publication. Bermuda’s only daily newspaper, the *Royal Gazette*, was established.

**1829** In New York City, George Henry Adams founded the *Working Man’s Advocate* and Frances Wright founded the *Free Enquirer* to promote the

cause of labor. Ion Heliade Radulescu founded *Curierul Romanesc*, the first Romanian newspaper.

**1830** Francis P. Blair began the *Washington Globe* as the official organ of the Jackson administration. Thurlow Weed founded the *Albany Evening Journal*, which became a leading Whig organ. The *Penny Magazine* went on sale in Britain. The French historian and future statesman Adolphe Thiers helped to establish the journal *National*, which contributed to the July Revolution. Francisco Morazán began publishing the official *Gaceta del Gobierno* in Honduras.

**1831** Anne Royall, the first professional woman journalist in the United States, began producing the small muckraking newspaper *Paul Pry*. William Lloyd Garrison began his campaign against American slavery in *The Liberator*. William Trotter Porter founded the *Spirit of the Times*, an American sports magazine. The first newspaper in Turkish was established.

**1833** Benjamin Day founded the *New York Sun*, the first penny paper. The *Pfennig Magazin* began publication in Germany.

**1834** George Wisner began his “Police Office” column for the *New York Sun*.

**1835** James Gordon Bennett established the *New York Herald* as a penny paper. The *New York Sun* perpetrated the moon hoax. The French news agency Havas was founded. Regulation XI formally eliminated the licensing system in India.

**1836** The Helen Jewett murder trial generated a moral panic in the New York press. Charles Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers* was published in serial form.

**1837** American novelist James Fenimore Cooper filed the first of 16 libel suits against newspapers and their “atmosphere of falsehoods.”

**1838** Orestes Brownson founded the *Boston Quarterly Review*, later *Brownson’s Quarterly Review*, to spread his religious and political views. The *Times of India* was founded as an English-language weekly.

**1839** Louis Daguerre presented the first practical method of photography to the French Academy of Sciences.

**1840** In Britain, George Graham merged the *Casket* and *Gentlemen’s* magazines into *Graham’s* and began the practice of paying writers a sliding fee based on talent. New Zealand’s first newspaper, the *New Zealand Gazette*, was founded by Samuel Revens.



**1841** Horace Greeley founded the *New York Tribune*.

**1842** Benjamin Day founded the monthly *Brother Jonathan*, which later became the first illustrated weekly in the United States. Herbert Ingram founded the *Illustrated London News*, the world's first illustrated newspaper. Charles Dickens criticized corrupt journalists in *American Notes for General Circulation*, which described his tour of America.

**1843** Walt Whitman became editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, an influential liberal newspaper. Lord Campbell's Libel Act reformed the law of libel in Britain. *The Economist* was founded in London by James Wilson.

**1844** James Gordon Bennett began a daily column of news in the *New York Herald* entitled "By Magnetic Telegraph." The *New York Sun* published the balloon hoax of Edgar Allan Poe.

**1846** The American penny press used the pony express and telegraphy to cover the war with Mexico. Margaret Fuller reported from Europe for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, becoming the first woman foreign correspondent. Charles Dickens became the publisher of the *Daily News*, but left the job three weeks later. Ivan Bogarov began editing the *Tsarigradski Vestnik* (Istanbul Herald), the first Bulgarian newspaper published on a sustained basis.

**1847** Frederick Douglass, who was born a slave in Maryland but escaped at the age of 21, began the abolitionist weekly *North Star*.

**1848** The first American news agency, the Harbor News Association, began operations in New York City. A *New York Herald* reporter was jailed briefly for refusing to tell a U.S. Senate committee how he obtained a copy of a treaty under its consideration. The American emancipationist Amelia Jenks Bloomer began promoting her revolutionary ideas about dress in her periodical *The Lily*. Moses Yale Beach created the weekly *American Sun*, the first European edition of an American newspaper, and turned the *New York Sun* over to his sons Moses Sperry Beach and Alfred E. Beach. Karl Marx established the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

**1849** The German news agency Wolff was founded. In Italy, Thomas Reggio, rector of a seminary in Chiavari and future archbishop of Genoa, founded *The Catholic Standard*, the first Catholic newspaper. *Ararat* (Morning) in Tiflis became the first Armenian journal using the recently developed vernacular language Ashkharabar.

**1850** *Harper's Monthly Magazine* began as a literary publication, but later added political and social journalism under editor Henry Mills Alden. The

London *Morning Chronicle* published a series of articles on prison reform by Henry Mayhew. *The Times of India* became a daily. The first underwater telegraph was laid between Great Britain and France.

**1851** The German-born British journalist Julius Reuter, a former sub-editor of Havas, founded the news agency Reuters in London. The Qing court in China dismissed Zhang Fu's proposal to replace the traditional *Dibao* or *Jingbao* with a modern official newspaper.

**1853** Frank Queen founded the *New York Clipper*, a leading sports journal.

**1855** The British government eliminated the final "taxes on knowledge."

**1856** James P. Casey, publisher of the San Francisco *Sunday Times*, shot and killed James King, editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, after being attacked by King in one of his columns; vigilantes lynched Casey on the day of King's funeral.

**1857** The *Atlantic Monthly*, devoted to literature, art, and politics, was founded in Boston by a number of leading New England literary figures, including Oliver Wendell Holmes, who gave it its name. Cyrus W. Field began laying a cable from Valencia Bay, Ireland, to Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, with the help of ships loaned by the British and American governments.

**17 August 1858** President James Buchanan and Queen Victoria exchanged the first message over the Atlantic cable. The first regular newspaper in Beirut, *Hadiqat al-Akhbar*, was founded.

**1859** Journalist Lambert A. Wilmer published *Our Press Gang*, the first book devoted to press criticism. The *New York World* was founded. The Concordia Press Club was founded in Vienna.

**1860** The establishment of the U.S. Government Printing Office ended the system of awarding government printing contracts to Washington newspapers such as the *National Intelligencer*. Butrus al-Bustani began *Nafir Suriya* (The Trumpet of Syria) to promote Syrian consciousness.

**1861** Englishman Albert William Hansard began the *Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser*, the first foreign newspaper in Japan. In Greenland, Hinrich Rink founded the magazine *Atuagagdliutit* and hired Lars Moller as printer and later editor.

**1863** Union patriots destroyed the press of the *Columbus (Ohio) Crisis*, edited by Samuel Medary, a Democrat who opposed President Abraham Lincoln's policies. Polydore Milhaud founded the *Petit journal*, the first mass-circulation daily in France. A. A. Kraevsky founded *Golos*, the first

independent, privately owned daily newspaper in Russia. The first weekly newspapers in Israel, *Ha-Levanon* and *Havazzelet*, were founded as a voice for the Hassidic movement, but were soon shut down by the Ottomans after informing on each other.

**1864** Joseph Heco (Hamada Hikoza), a Japanese sailor who had received American education after being shipwrecked near the United States, founded the *Kaigai Shimbun* (Overseas News), the first Japanese-language newspaper.

**1865** E. L. Godkin founded *The Nation*. Swiss journalist Élie Ducommun, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Charles Albert Gobat in 1902, founded the radical journal *Der Fortschritt* (Progress).

**1866** The transatlantic cable was completed, covering a distance of 1,852 nautical miles.

**1867** The Missouri Press Association was founded. Henry Watterson, the leading Southern journalist in the post-Civil War period, became editor of the *Louisville Daily Journal*. In London, George W. Smalley organized the first American foreign newspaper bureau for Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Ali Suavi founded the political newspaper *Muhbir* in Turkey.

**1868** Charles A. Dana became editor of the *New York Sun*. The American reformer Elizabeth Cady Stanton began to edit the militant feminist magazine *Revolution*, published by fellow women's suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony. The Press Association was created in New Zealand.

**January 1869** E. L. Godkin's essay "Interviewing" was published in *The Nation*.

**1870** Britain, France, and Germany designated zones of exclusive reporting for their respective news agencies. *Havazzelet* was reopened and promoted the cause of the Jews in Palestine for the next four decades.

**1871** A direct cable link was established between Britain and Australia. The first daily newspaper in Japan, the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun*, began publication.

**1872** Thomas Nast's cartoons in *Harper's Weekly* helped overthrow the Tweed Ring in New York City. The British merchant Ernest Major founded the commercial newspaper *Shenbao* in the treaty port of Shanghai. The first daily newspaper in Tokyo, the *Tokyo Nichi-ninchi Shimbun*, began publication.

**1873** Frederic Hudson published *Journalism in the United States*. The first newspaper owned and operated by the Chinese, the *Zhaowen Xinbao*, was established in Hankou under the protection of foreign jurisdiction.

**1874** Joseph Medill, part owner of the *Chicago Tribune* since 1855, acquired a controlling interest and as editor began to turn it into one of the most powerful newspapers in the United States. Charles Nordhoff, a leading political commentator of his day, began a 15-year stint as Washington correspondent for the *New York Herald*. The *Xun Huan Ribao*, the second Chinese-owned and operated treaty port newspaper, was established in Hong Kong.

**1875** Cornell University established the first degree in journalism. Ansell Kellogg introduced the use of pre-etched printing plates, or boiler-plating, which enabled local newspaper editors to graft news, features, and columns prepared by distant reporters and editors into their own papers. The English-language newspaper *The Statesman* was founded in India. The Japanese government made it an offense for foreign residents to publish newspapers in Japanese.

**1876** Melville E. Stone founded the *Daily News*, the first penny paper in Chicago. The trans-Tasman submarine cable was completed, linking New Zealand to Australia at La Perouse near Sydney.

**1878** Godwin Parke, former editor of the Fourierist magazine *Harbinger*, became editor of the *New York Evening Post*, succeeding William Cullen Bryant.

**1879** A new U.S. Postal Act gave the press second-class mailing privileges. *Novoe vremia* installed the first rotary press in Russia. Ahmad Izzat al-Abid used his influence in official circles to obtain a license for the weekly *Dimashq*, the first privately owned newspaper in Damascus.

**1881** The United Press (UP) began operations in the United States. The satirical American weekly magazine *Judge* was founded by a group of writers and artists disenchanted with the editorship of the popular comic weekly *Puck*. An act was passed in France allowing greater freedom of the press. *La Vanguardia*, a conservative newspaper, began publication in Barcelona. William O'Brien, author of the famous "No Rent Manifesto" during the Irish land war, became editor of the nationalist newspaper *United Ireland*. The first Chinese daily, *Lat Pau*, was founded by Ewe Lay in Singapore to protect the Chinese way of life.

**1882** The Women's National Press Association was created in Washington.

**1883** Joseph Pulitzer took over and began reviving the *New York World*. The U.S. magazine *Ladies Home Journal* began publication. The Washington Press Club was created as a male social institution. Edwin Samuel Gaillard established the *American Medical Weekly*.

**1884** Edward Butler's Buffalo *Evening News* and the Buffalo *Evening Telegraph* owned by the fledgling Scripps chain began feuding editorially over presidential candidate Grover Cleveland's affair with a shop girl; when the *Telegraph* closed a year later, contemporaries blamed its "satanic journalism." *The Journalist*, a weekly magazine, began publication in the United States. The Japanese stenographer Wakabayashi Kanzō began a new method of shorthand (*sokki*) developed by Takusari Koki to transcribe oral tales for the publisher Tōkyō Haishu Shuppansha, a practice which soon spread to newspapers and magazines.

**1885** The Associated Press (AP) adopted typewriters. The New England Woman's Press Association was established. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda took over the weekly newspaper *Hatzvi* (Deer) and began using it to revive spoken Hebrew.

**3 July 1886** The *New York Tribune* typeset the first stories using Ottmar Mergenthaler's invention of the Linotype, which Thomas Edison called the eighth wonder of the world. Maryland passed the first state-level shield law in the United States. *Cosmopolitan* was founded in Rochester as a family magazine, but later moved to New York; among its contributors were Samuel Clemens, Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, and Arthur Conan Doyle.

**1887** The American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), later the Newspaper Association of America (NAA), was founded as a trade association to help daily newspapers obtain national advertising and deal with problems such as mail rates, newsprint supply, new technologies, and labor relations. James Gordon Bennett Jr. founded the *Paris Herald* as a European edition of the *New York Herald*; it became known in Paris as "Le New York."

**1888** Britain's first mass readership daily newspaper, the evening *Star*, was created in London.

**1889** The *Wall Street Journal* began publication. The Institute of Journalists was founded in Britain.

**1890** *De Telegraaf*, the leading daily newspaper in the Netherlands, was founded.

**1891** Frank A. Munsey founded *Munsey's Magazine*, one of the first mass market magazines. Drawing on a 5,000-mile trek across Siberia in the 1860s with the Russian-American Telegraph Exploring Expedition, journalist George Kennan published *Siberia and the Exile System*.

**1892** The newspaper industry trade journal *Newspaperdom* was established. A mob destroyed the offices of the *Memphis Free Speech* in retaliation for articles by Ida B. Wells attacking the practice of lynching.

**1893** Joseph French Johnson, former financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, organized the first college-based training in journalism at the University of Pennsylvania. In a speech to the Portland Press Club, Alice G. Friedlander called for equal rights for women in journalism.

**1894** Jane Cunningham Croly created the first women's pages for the *New York Daily World*. The International Congress of the Press was founded. Józef Piłsudski began the underground journal *Robotnik* to promote Polish independence.

**1895** William Randolph Hearst purchased the *New York Journal* and began a circulation war with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. William W. Price became the first White House correspondent. William Allen White bought the *Emporia Gazette* in Kansas. *Yeni Azir* (New Century), Turkey's longest running daily newspaper, began publication in Ismir.

**1896** Lord Northcliffe founded the *Daily Mail* in London, Britain's first tabloid. Richard Felton Outcault began drawing the popular comic "The Yellow Kid" in the *New York World*. The Qing court in China began issuing official newspapers to control public opinion.

**1897** Hearst began a campaign in the *New York Journal* to free Evangelina Cisneros, a young Cuban woman charged with conspiracy to assassinate a government official during the Spanish-American War. Francis Pharharcellus Church wrote the editorial "Is there a Santa Claus?" in the *New York Sun*. A breakthrough occurred in the application of halftone technology in daily newspapers. Li Boyuan began publication of *Youxi Bao*, the first "small paper" in late Qing China. The Anglican Church's Missionary Society began the first periodical publication in the British colony of Uganda.

**1898** Thomas Gowan founded the *Manila Times*, the first English-language daily in the Philippines.

**1900** Walter Hines Page, former editor of *Forum* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, founded *World's Work*. The *Topeka Daily Capital* gave the religious social

reformer Charles Sheldon its reins to edit “as Jesus would do it” for a week. Arthur Pearson founded the London *Daily Express*.

**1 January 1901** Wearing formal evening attire, Alfred Harmsworth and the staff of Pulitzer’s *New York World* produced the first tabloid as a one-time publicity stunt featuring “All the News in Sixty Seconds.”

**14 September 1901** Following the shooting and death of President William McKinley at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo by Leon Czolgosz, many newspapers blamed “yellow journalism” for contributing to the assassination.

**25 September 1901** The *New York Times* published its Jubilee Issue, including a 40-page supplement on its history. The weekly trade journal *Editor & Publisher* was founded in New York City. William T. Stead was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. V. I. Lenin described the role of journalism for revolution in *What Is to Be Done?*

**1902** Joseph Pulitzer offered Columbia University \$2 million to establish a school of journalism. *McClure’s Magazine* began publishing the muckraking journalism of Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Ray Stannard Baker. The German inventor Arthur Korn transmitted photographs using a forerunner of the fax machine. The Swiss journalist Élie Ducommun shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Charles Albert Gobat. Liang Qichao wrote the first comprehensive history of newspapers in China. The African Political Organization founded the bilingual newspaper *APO* to promote the equality of South Africans of mixed race.

**1903** Following completion of the transpacific cable, President Theodore Roosevelt sent the first telegraph message around the world—in a time of nine minutes. Lord Northcliffe founded the London *Daily Mirror*. Julian Ralph’s *The Making of a Journalist* was published. The editors of *Suabao* were prosecuted under the Chinese law against *Writing Books or Speaking about Sorcery*. John L. Dube and Nganzana Luthuli cofounded the *Hanga Lase Natal*, the first Zulu-language newspaper. The *Diario de Honduras* was shut down for criticizing the president.

**1904** Frank W. Scott set up the first full program in journalism at the University of Illinois.

**1905** Robert S. Abbott founded the *Chicago Defender* to fight for racial equality. Ogden Mills Reid succeeded his father, Whitelaw Reid, as editor of the *New York Tribune*. After being purchased by Lord Northcliffe for £4,000, the *Observer* began to rise to prominence under Editor J. L. Garvin.

**1907** The UP news agency and the National Union of Journalists were founded in the United States. Frank E. Gannett began the process of building a newspaper empire by merging his newly acquired *Elmira* (New York) *Gazette* with the *Elmira Star* to establish the *Star-Gazette*. *Editor & Publisher* absorbed *The Journalist*. The Empire Press Union was founded in Britain. In Vienna, the exiled Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky began writing polemical political articles for the press in order to support himself.

**1908** Mary Baker Eddy founded the *Christian Science Monitor* in Boston as a counterweight to journalistic sensationalism. Walter Williams established a school of journalism at the University of Missouri. The National Press Club was created for male reporters in Washington. The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded jointly to Fredrik Bajer and Swedish journalist and peace advocate Klas Pontus Arnoldson. Hani Motoko founded *Fujin no tomo*, Japan's first women's magazine. The Ottoman authorities in Mecca began publishing *al Hijaz*, the first newspaper in Saudi Arabia; it was devoted to literary materials for the country's small literate minority.

**1909** The Society of Professional Journalists was founded to defend the First Amendment rights of American journalists.

**1910** President Theodore Roosevelt unsuccessfully prosecuted Joseph Pulitzer for libel for publishing false stories about the construction of the Panama Canal based on information gathered from a group of blackmailers posing as journalists, the so-called blue pencil gang. The Kansas Editorial Association adopted one of the first codes of ethics for journalists. Two laborers were convicted of dynamiting the newspaper plant of the *Los Angeles Times* under the anti-union management of Harrison Gray Otis. The first newsreels were shown in England and France. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, known as "the reviver of the Hebrew language," founded *Ha'or* (The Light), the first daily newspaper in Palestine. The Korean newspaper *Mael Sinbo* was founded one day after the Japanese annexation.

**1911** *The Practice of Journalism* by Walter Williams and Frank L. Martin was published. E. W. Scripps began publishing the *Chicago Day Book* without ads, but it soon folded. Northcliffe sold the *Observer* to William Waldorf Astor for £45,000. The French company Pathé Frères introduced the newsreel *Pathés Weekly* to the United States.

**1912** The U. S. Newspaper Publicity Act required disclosure of ownership, identification of advertisements, and truthful circulation statements. Frank E. Gannett began building the largest newspaper chain in the United States with the purchase of the *Ithaca Journal*. The American sociologist and reformer



Paul Kellogg began editing *The Survey*, a magazine devoted to social issues. *The Herald* was founded in London as a socialist newspaper.

**1913** Max Eastman founded the artistic, witty, and irreverent left-wing magazine *The Masses* in New York City and used it to promote feminism and pacifism. Lord Beaverbrook acquired control of the *Daily Express*. The price of *The Times* of London was reduced to 1d.

**1914** Willard Straight founded *The New Republic* with Herbert Croly as editor. H. L. Mencken and George Nathan began coediting *Smart Set*. The Audit Bureau of Circulation was established. French journalist and socialist leader Jean Jaures, who cofounded the newspaper *L'Humanité*, (1904), was assassinated by a fanatical nationalist for his opposition to armed conflict with Germany.

**1916** With the aid of a line from the New York *American*, wireless pioneer Lee De Forest broadcast the presidential election returns, erroneously reporting that Charles Evans Hughes had defeated Woodrow Wilson.

**1917** Floyd Gibbons filed a 4,000-word story on the sinking of the *Laconia* on which he had been sailing to France as a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. *The Masses* was suppressed by the federal government. The Marxist literary critic and philosopher Walter Benjamin and fellow German journalist Arthur Holitscher covered the Russian Revolution of 1917.

**8 February 1918** The first issue of the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* was published by U.S. troops in Paris. Herbert Bayard Swope won a Pulitzer Prize for his reports on Germany in the *New York World*. Newspaper publisher E. W. Scripps made a personal appeal to President Woodrow Wilson to grant amnesty to war protestors jailed under the Military Service Act.

**7 November 1918** Americans began celebrating the end of World War I prematurely when the UP announced the signing of an armistice based on a cable from UP in France; a few hours later, the AP and the U.S. secretary of state denied the story.

**1919** Joseph M. Patterson founded the *New York Daily News*, the first American tabloid. Upholding wartime restrictions on freedom of speech and the press, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. declared in *Schenck v. United States* that “no citizen has the right to cry ‘fire’ falsely in a crowded theater.” The Women’s National Press Association Club was organized in Washington, D.C.

**2 November 1920** The first commercial radio station in the United States, KDKA in Pittsburgh, made its debut by broadcasting the results of the Harding-Cox presidential election, using bulletins provided by the Pittsburgh *Post*. The *New Republic* published “A Test for the News,” a study of news bias by Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz. The English journalist Philip Gibbs was knighted for his service as a frontline correspondent for the *London Daily Chronicle* during World War I. Sefanio Sentongo and Daudi Bassude founded *Sekanyoila*, the first East African newspaper owned and edited by Africans.

**1921** The family of Joseph Medill endowed the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. Clarence Walker Barron began the weekly American magazine *Barron’s* for investors. Elmer Davis, an editorial writer for the *Times*, published a *History of the New York Times*. The State Institute of Journalism was established in Moscow. The Bolsheviks created *Krest’ianskaia gazeta*, a tabloid published weekly in Moscow.

**1922** Five midwestern editors founded the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). The Northcliffe estate sold *The Times* to John Jacob Astor. Glavlit, the official organ for censorship and the protection of “state secrets,” was organized in the Soviet Union. The Bataka founded *Munyonyozi* in Kampala, Uganda, with Daudi Bassude as editor, to pursue land redistribution.

**7 January 1923** A review of Henry Justin Smith’s novel *Deadlines* in the *New York Times* used the term *newsroom* in the modern sense for the first time (previously it referred to public or subscription reading rooms). The opening of Congress was broadcast on radio for the first time. Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden founded *Time Magazine*.

**1924** The *New York Herald* and *New York Tribune* merged as the *New York Herald Tribune*. H. L. Mencken and George Nathan cofounded (and coedited) the *American Mercury*. *The Ethics of Journalism* by Nelson A. Crawford was published.

**25 October 1924** A few days before the British general election, the *Daily Mail* published a letter purportedly written by the senior Soviet official Grigori Zinoviev (but which some consider fake), which compromised the chances of the Labour party for reelection. Benito Mussolini founded the Fascist newspaper *Il Tevere*.

**1925** Harold Ross founded the *New Yorker* as the voice of the American liberal community.

**1926** Pietro Nenni, editor of the Italian Socialist party's newspaper *Avanti*, was forced by the Fascists to emigrate to France. The International Federation of Journalists was established. The Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) was organized to promote freedom of the press in Latin America, but it did not meet again until 1942 and had to fight back attempts by communists and various governments to gain control. The *Dagong bao* was founded by Wu Dingchang and edited by Zhang Jiluan in China.

**1927** *Editor & Publisher* merged with *The Fourth Estate*. Silas Bent criticized newspaper chains and sensationalistic tabloids in *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press*.

**1928** The *Scotsman* became the first newspaper to transmit pictures from Europe by telegraph.

**August 1929** In a radio address on the state of American journalism, novelist Sherwood Anderson lamented the dullness and standardization of the press. Julius Elias, later Lord Southwood, took over the *Daily Herald* and launched a series of sales gimmicks to expand circulation. The *Athens Times* began publication using a press provided by Colonel Leicester Stanhope over a century earlier.

**1930** American Anna Louise Strong founded the English-language *Moscow News* as a pro-Soviet journal. Margaret Bourke-White became the first woman photographer to be hired by a major journalism publication (*Fortune* magazine).

**1931** Cheng Shewo established one of China's first independent journalism schools.

**1932** *Walter Winchell's Journal* began on NBC's Blue Network. The *Palestine Post*, later the *Jerusalem Post*, was founded to improve relations between the Jews and their British occupiers.

**1933** The American Newspaper Guild (ANG) was founded to represent editorial workers. The Reich Ministry of Enlightenment and Propaganda was established to enforce Nazi ideology. Jibran Tuwayni established the Arabic daily *al-Nahar* in Beirut.

**1934** Louisiana governor Huey "Kingfish" Long tried to curb opposition newspapers through a 2 percent tax (later declared unconstitutional) on gross advertising receipts.

**1935** The *March of Time* made its debut in American and foreign movie theaters. Arthur Krock won the first of two Pulitzer Prizes (the second was

in 1938) as Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*. Journalism teacher George Gallup launched “America Speaks,” a syndicated public opinion poll, in some 30 American newspapers. After exposing connections between the criminal underworld and Minnesota officials, Walter Liggett, publisher of the *Midwest American*, was gunned down in front of his wife and young daughter. Norway’s journalist Carl von Ossietzky won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in German-Norwegian relations. Cheng Shewo founded the *Libao*, a popular news tabloid in Shanghai.

**1936** Henry Luce transformed *Life* magazine into the first all-photographic news magazine; its inaugural cover, a photograph of Fort Peck Dam in Montana, was taken by Margaret Bourke-White, its first woman photojournalist. Ishbel Ross’s *Ladies of the Press*, the first book-length history of American women journalists, was published. *First Principles of Typography* was published by Stanley Morrison, who designed the new typeface Times Roman in his capacity as typographical advisor to *The Times*. The British-owned *Japan Chronicle* was raided by Japanese army officers during the White Rainbow (or *Osaka Asahi*) incident.

**1937** Alice Mae Lee Jemison began campaigning for native American Indian causes in her Washington, D.C., newsletter *The First American*. Joseph W. Alsop and Robert E. Kintner began the syndicated political column “The Capital Parade” for the North American Newspaper Alliance. CBS began broadcasting *Big Town*, featuring the fictional crusading editor Steve Wilson of *The Illustrated Press*; written and directed by former journalist Jerry McGill, it used Hollywood film stars like Edward G. Robinson and Gale Gordon. Journalist Karl Radek was among the high-profile communists who confessed to treason during the (show) Trial of the Seventeen in the Soviet Union. Nnamdi Azikiwe founded the *West African Pilot* in Nigeria.

**1938** CBS’s Edward R. Murrow led the coverage of the Munich Crisis by radio reporters. Gilbert Seldes’s *Lords of the Press* was published. Most of Austria’s dailies were forced to close following the Nazi takeover.

**1939** CBS created *People’s Platform* on radio. The long-running satirical magazine *Judge* folded, despite shifting from weekly to monthly publication during the Depression. Albert Camus began to work as a journalist in Paris, where he joined the resistance and edited the underground paper *Combat*.

**6 February 1940** John H. Sengstacke, editor of the *Chicago Defender*, founded the National Negro Publishers Association. George Seldes began *In Fact*, a weekly newsletter critical of the press. *P.M.*, a liberal tabloid without advertising, was established by Ralph Ingersoll in New York City.

**January 1941** *Time* editor Henry Luce wrote an editorial announcing the “American Century.” In *Newspaperman: A Book about the Business*, Morton Sontheimer called use of the telephone a “titanic transformation . . . in newspaper operations.” James Agee’s portrayal of Alabama tenant farmers was published as *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Frank Luther Mott’s *American Journalism: A History* was published. The first TV station in the United States went on the air.

**1942** Former *Times*’ editor and CBS commentator Elmer Davis was appointed chief of the U.S. Office of War Information. French historian Marc Bloch, cofounder of the *Annales d’histoire, économique et sociale*, helped publish the Resistance newspaper *Franc-Tireur*.

**1944** The Commission on Freedom of the Press (Hutchins Commission) was created by Henry Luce. American Lawrence Dennis, publisher of the fascist *Weekly Foreign Letter* and later *Appeal to Reason*, was tried for sedition, but the charges were dismissed after a mistrial. *Many a Watchful Night*, a collection of journalist John Mason Brown’s broadcasts to the American fleet during the invasion of Normandy, was published. The Vichy government’s press agency Agence Havas was renamed Agence France-Presse (AFP). *Le Monde*, France’s newspaper of record, was founded in Paris by Hubert Beuve-Méry as a replacement for the discredited *Le Temps*. The novelist and political thinker Ignazio Silone returned from exile in Switzerland to edit the newspaper *Avanti* in Italy.

**14 August 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman summoned reporters to the White House at 7:00 p.m. to announce the unconditional surrender of Japan. Martha Rountree and Lawrence E. Spivak created the radio interview program *Meet the Press* for the MBS radio network in association with the *American Mercury* magazine. AP correspondent Joe Morton died at the Mauthausen concentration camp, the only known journalist to have been executed by the Nazis. The American journalist Robert Henry Best was convicted of treason in the United States for broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Vienna during the war. A. J. Liebling began “The Wayward Press” department for *The New Yorker*. Joseph W. and Stewart Alsop (nicknamed “Doom and Gloom”) teamed up to write the gossip and opinion column “Matter of Fact,” which later opposed the witch hunt of Senator Joseph McCarthy. William L. White’s best-selling *Report on the Russians* was attacked by the State Department and foreign correspondents such as John Hersey and Harrison Salisbury; it detailed the Katyn Forest Massacres, a raid on an American air base at Poltava, and the use of slave labor. Stanley Morrison, who later wrote a multi-volume history of *The Times* (of London),

became editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*. The Italian journalist and novelist Giovanni Guareschi helped establish the popular weekly *Candido*. Kyodo News was created as a nonprofit cooperative news agency in Tokyo. The first school of journalism in Canada was founded at Carleton University in Ottawa.

**31 August 1946** *The New Yorker* devoted its entire issue to “Hiroshima” by John Hersey. The Japanese Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association (NSK) was established to promote ethical standards in reporting.

**6 November 1947** *Meet the Press* moved to NBC TV, marking the effective beginning of public affairs journalism on American television. American editors formed the National Conference of Editorial Writers to help preserve their role. Newsmen with fellowships at Harvard University began *Nieman Reports*, a critical review published five times a year.

**4 October 1948** The popular comic strip *Pogo*, a satirical commentary on current political events by Walt Kelly, began in the *New York Star*. Network TV news began in the United States with CBS’s *Douglas Edwards and the News* and NBC’s *The Camel News Caravan*.

**1949** *The Reporter*, founded by Max Ascoli, had a circulation of 123,000, unprecedented for a journal of opinion. The Pacifica Foundation, a small network of noncommercial FM stations, was organized by Lewis Hill in Los Angeles to provide hard news and in-depth commentary along with various forms of alternative programming.

**1950** Radio Free Europe was created by the United States to broadcast news to countries behind the “iron curtain.” *Sangbad*, one of Bangladesh’s leading national dailies, was founded.

**18 November 1951** *See It Now* began on CBS television.

**1952** Fred L. Packer won a Pulitzer Prize for his cartoon lampooning Harry Truman after the president had attacked newspapers for printing information about American military installations contained in government press releases; the cartoon was captioned “Your Editors Ought to Have More Sense than to Print What I Say!”

**1953** The U.S. television program *Person to Person* went on the air. *One*, the first widely circulated gay and lesbian publication, was founded in Los Angeles.

**19 November 1954** CBS-TV began *Face the Nation* on Sunday afternoons.

**1955** William F. Buckley, Jr. became editor of the *National Review*. Edwin Fancher, Daniel Wolf, and Norman Mailer founded the *Village Voice* as an underground weekly tabloid in New York's Greenwich Village.

**1956** Abigail Van Buren began her "Dear Abby" advice column for the lovelorn in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. *TV Guide* was founded by media magnate Walter H. Annenberg, benefactor of the Annenberg Schools of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California.

**1957** Glavlit hid knowledge of a major catastrophe in the South Urals from the Soviet people.

**1959** "The Safe Car You Can't Buy" by Ralph Nader appeared in the *Nation*. Ralph Emerson McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for editorials condemning anti-civil rights violence. Journalism education began in South Africa at the Afrikaans-language Potchefstroom University.

**1960** The U.S. Congress temporarily suspended the requirement that broadcasters offer political candidates "equal time" in order to allow four prime time debates between presidential candidates John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon.

**1961** The *Columbia Journalism Review* was founded under the auspices of Columbia University's School of Journalism. The European Newspaper Publishers Association (ENPA), a nonprofit organization based in Brussels, was founded to promote freedom of the press and protect intellectual property rights.

**1962** Walter Cronkite succeeded Douglas Edwards as the evening newscaster for CBS-TV. Some 387 news documentaries flooded American prime time television. *Der Spiegel* was accused of treason and temporarily shut down after publishing an article critical of German military preparedness. The journalist, activist, and scholar Ruth First, who helped to organize the South African Communist Party and campaigned against apartheid, was interned for 117 days during a government crackdown.

**1964** NBC News broadcast Robert F. Rogers' hour-long documentary *Vietnam: It's a Mad War*. The "May Craig Amendment," which political columnist May Craig succeeded in making part of the federal Civil Rights Act, prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of sex.

**1966** The U.S. federal government enacted the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The *New York Herald-Tribune* became the *International Herald Tribune*.

**1967** Universal News, the last of the major U.S. newsreel companies, ceased operations. The Astor family sold *The Times* to Canadian Roy Thomson. Robert Maynard became the *Washington Post's* first African-American national correspondent. Prince Sinanouk banned all privately owned newspapers in Cambodia and subjected the state-owned ones to tighter control.

**September 1968** *60 Minutes* began on CBS television. Following police violence against the press during the Democratic Convention in Chicago, a number of journalists began the *Chicago Journalism Review*. The Israeli government created *Al-Anbaa* (The News), the first official newspaper in Arabic, in an unsuccessful attempt to present its case to the Arab audience.

**13 November 1969** In a televised speech to a Republican party conference in Des Moines, the American vice president Spiro T. Agnew began a series of attacks on the credibility and integrity of network news. Seymour Hirsch broke the Mai Lai story on the Pacifica network.

**1970** The Women's National Press Club changed its name to the Washington Press Club. A department of journalism was created at Rhodes University in South Africa.

**1971** CBS broadcast "The Selling of the Pentagon" despite government opposition. The National Press Club opened its membership to women under pressure from President Lyndon Johnson. Japanese journalist Honda Katsuichi was subjected to harassment following serial publication of the Asahi Papers, a graphic account of the Imperial Army's massacre of Nanking (now Nanjing) in December 1937.

**1972** The first edition of Gloria Steinem's feminist magazine *Ms.* appeared as an insert in *New York* magazine.

**1973** Following a study commissioned by the Twentieth Century Fund, the National News Council was created in New York City to enable the public to complain about press performance without having to engage in lawsuits; it later dissolved because of lack of media support.

**1974** The periodical *Journalism History* began publication.



**1975** The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) and Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) were founded in the United States. The Austrian state began subsidizing newspapers and magazines in an attempt to maintain a broad spectrum of viewpoints.

**1976** The government of Angola nationalized the press, radio, and television.

**1977** Larry Maddry, a columnist at Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, organized the National Society of Newspaper Columnists (NSNC). CBS began *Lou Grant*, a popular weekly one-hour TV drama dealing with newspaper journalism.

**June 1978** ABC began broadcasting *20/20*. A new constitution in Spain declared full freedom of expression.

**1979** Brian Lamb formed the U.S. cable network C-SPAN (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network) to provide 24-hour coverage of national events such as political conventions and debates in Congress. Robert Maynard became the first African-American editor of a major daily newspaper in the United States, the Gannett company's *Oakland Tribune*.

**1981** The *Washington Post* returned a Pulitzer Prize awarded to one of its reporters who had fabricated a story about an 18-year-old heroin addict. The Asian American Journalists Association was founded. Australian media baron Rupert Murdoch purchased *The Times* (of London). The report of the Canadian Royal Commission on Newspapers, chaired by Thomas Kent, proposed a tax incentive to increase news and editorial content.

**1982** *USA Today* was established as a national newspaper. The *Wall Street Journal* was embroiled in scandal after one of its columnists sold information to a stockbroker. An internal investigation of the CBS-TV documentary "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception" found the documentary had violated network standards. PBS refused to broadcast the final episode of Peter Davis's documentary "Middletown," which showed high school students using drugs and swearing. The South African journalist Ruth First was assassinated by a parcel bomb sent to her in Mozambique while teaching at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane.

**1983** The periodical *American Journalism* began publication.

**1984** The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (U.S.) and the Native American Journalists Association were organized.

**1985** Robert Ménard and Jean-Claude Guillebard founded Reporters sans frontières (RSF) or Reporters Without Borders in Montpellier. The Arab

world's oldest privately owned television station, the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC), was founded.

**1986** The Chernobyl nuclear disaster forced Soviet authorities to modify their long-standing practice of secrecy about natural and industrial catastrophes.

**1988** Walter H. Annenberg sold *TV Guide* and Triangle Publications to Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation for \$3 billion.

**1989** Warner Communications merged with Time, Inc. to form Time Warner, one of the world's largest media companies. With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, there was an explosion of new newspapers and journals in some of its former satellites.

**1990** The English physicist and computer scientist Sir Timothy Berners-Lee invented the World Wide Web at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). The Society of Environmental Journalists was founded in the United States to improve environmental reporting.

**1991** The World Wide Web was released to the public. The *New York Herald-Tribune* came under joint ownership of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. The British Press Council established the Press Complaints Commission (PCC).

**1992** NBC apologized for a *Dateline* story on unsafe gas tanks that used incendiary devices to ensure an explosion. The European Journalism Centre (EJC), a nonprofit organization based in the Netherlands, was founded to provide training support for journalists and journalism educators. Reporters Without Borders organized the inaugural International Day of Freedom of the Press. The Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation was renamed the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International (LBCI) and began undertaking innovative programming such as the weekly, prime-time talk show *Ahmar bil-Khat al Areed* (Bold in Red Lines) with participatory debates on issues such as child marriage and the personal stories of ordinary individuals.

**1993** The Pew Foundation established the Pew Center for Civic Journalism in response to the public journalism movement. Anti-trust legislation was introduced in Austria to prevent excessive media concentration. The Syndicate of Journalists in Portugal adopted a Deontological Code setting forth 10 duties for journalists. The University of Sierra Leone created the country's first academic program to train journalists.

**1996** The U.S. Congress passed the Communications Decency Act (CDA) as title V of the Telecommunications Act in the first major attempt to regulate pornography on the internet. Time Warner purchased Turner Broadcasting

System, becoming the world's largest media conglomerate. The 24-hour news channel Al Jazeera was founded to serve the Arab world.

**1997** In *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union*, 521 U.S. 844 (1997), the Supreme Court struck down the CDA on the grounds that it lacked “the precision that the First Amendment requires when a statute regulates the content of speech.” The 35,000-member Newspaper Guild joined the 600,000-member Communication Workers of America. The British Broadcasting Corporation launched BBC News Online. Photojournalist José Luis Cabezas was murdered in Argentina.

**1998** The first blog was created where readers could add comments to other writers' entries. *Zan* (Woman), the first daily newspaper dedicated to women's issues, was launched in Iran by Faezah Hashemi. *Barricada*, the official newspaper of the opposition Sandinista party in Nicaragua, closed after the government removed its state advertising.

**1999** AP reporter Myles Tierney was killed in Freetown, Sierra Leone, by Revolutionary United Front rebels.

**2000** A General Social Survey in the United States found that American confidence in the press had declined continuously since 1973. The Tampa Tribune and WFLA-TV partnered to launch TBO.com, an early example of media convergence. Journalists at *La Presencia* in La Paz, Bolivia, received death threats and a bomb scare while investigating a drug trafficking story.

**2001** After the Supreme Court ruled in *New York Times Co. v. Tasini*, 533 U.S. 483 (2001) that the publisher violated the rights of its freelance writers by redistributing their work to databases selling access to it, the newspaper required freelancers to sign over their electronic rights as a condition of publication.

**2002** The news aggregator Google News was launched. Mohammed al Mukhtar, editor of the daily *Al-Madina* in Saudi Arabia, was dismissed by the government after publishing a cartoon criticizing the judicial system.

**2003** Private Jessica Lynch, whose alleged capture by Iraqi soldiers and subsequent rescue by U.S. special operations forces became a major news story, later accused the government of fabricating the story as part of its propaganda efforts. *New York Times* reporter Jayson Blair and several senior editors were forced to resign after Blair fabricated quotations, made up events, and plagiarized material from other newspapers and wire services.

**2004** The online social media and social networking service Facebook was launched by Mark Zuckerberg and several of his Harvard College roommates

and fellow students. *Le Figaro*, the flagship of the French publishing group Socpresse, was purchased by a giant armaments-maker, raising concerns about its future independence.

**2005** News agencies like Reuters and the AP began competing with newspapers by providing some of their content through websites and mobile phone feeds. Apple began offering podcasts on iTunes for free with an initial inventory of over 3,000 audio programs.

**2006** Twitter was launched. A photographer working for Reuters was found to have digitally altered pictures of the Israel-Lebanon conflict.

**30 September 2006** The Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published 12 cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad, setting off an escalating chain of Muslim protests that ended with the death of over 300 people.

**September 2007** Protesters in Myanmar used social media and blog posts to publicize their violent suppression by government security forces and militia.

**2008** The University of Missouri's school of journalism celebrated its 100th anniversary. The National Association of Black Journalists urged news media managers to promote diversity when hiring or reducing editorial staff.

**August 2008** An estimated 21,600 accredited journalists covered the Beijing Olympic Games amid outside protests against the continuing incarceration of journalists in China.

**November 2008** After Vinukumar Ranganathan uploaded photos of violence in Mumbai, bloggers used Twitter to distribute them further.

**2009** In his "Manifesto for the Content Creator," Rohit Bhargava estimated that the information on the internet doubles every 72 hours. The *People's Daily*, China's largest newspaper, launched an English-language edition of its tabloid *Global Times*.

**March 2010** The Pew Research Centre reported that total online news consumption in the United States had surpassed that of print news.

**July 2010** Wikileaks released "The Afghan War Logs," tens of thousands of classified U.S. documents pertaining to secret activities in the war in Afghanistan. Narrative Science was founded in Evanston, Illinois, as an automated news production company. In an 8-1 decision, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that journalists do not have an absolute right to shield the identity of confidential sources.

**2011** Jill Abramson became the first woman executive editor of the *New York Times*. The BBC World Service closed 5 of its 32 language services. Two British journalists working for Rupert Murdoch's tabloid *News of the World* were arrested on charges of hacking the cell phone voicemail messages of individuals targeted in scandal stories.

**4 March 2011** Thousands of Turkish protestors demanded the release of eight journalists detained as part of a probe into alleged anti-government activities.

**July 2011** Further revelations of unethical and illegal newsgathering led to the shutdown of *News of the World*.

**2012** Five employees of *The Sun*, Britain's highest-circulation tabloid, were arrested in conjunction with a police investigation of into the alleged bribery of police and other public officials in return for inside information leading to scandal stories.

**December 2012** The Leveson Inquiry into the British press phone-hacking scandal made a wide range of recommendations for strengthening journalistic accountability.

**March 2013** After the murder of Editor Jaime Gonzalez Dominguez, the online Mexican community news site *Ojinaga Noticias* said it would no longer cover stories related to drug cartels. Working with Glenn Greenwald of *The Guardian*, Edward Snowden, a former U.S. National Security Agency analyst, leaked thousands of classified documents about the intelligence community's capacity for routine surveillance of American citizens' personal communications.

**2014** *The Guardian* became the first British newspaper to win the Pulitzer Prize for coverage of the Edward Snowden leaks. The murder of the American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff by ISIS terrorists led to calls for greater protection for journalists in Syria.

**2015** Google Inc. announced a 150-million-euro fund to support traditional publishers in Europe in the transition to the digital marketplace. Islamist terrorists allied with Al-Qaeda in Yemen attacked the Paris office of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, killing its editor and eight other journalists. Reporters Without Borders' year-end figures showed that 110 journalists had been killed around the world in the line of duty.

**2016** Gerry Lenfest, owner of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and other media properties, donated his newspaper holdings to a new nonprofit organization in an effort to preserve high-quality journalism.

**February 2016** *The Independent* became the first national newspaper in the United Kingdom to operate solely online.

**March 2016** *Zaman*, Turkey's highest-circulation newspaper, was taken over by the government.

**July 2016** After a failed attempt to overthrow President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, more than 100 news outlets, including *Zaman*, were shut down across Turkey.

**8 September 2016** Espen Egil Hansen, editor of the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten*, wrote an open letter to Mark Zuckerberg accusing Facebook of censorship for removing a photograph of the Vietnam War; after the letter went viral, other instances of Facebook censorship came to light.

**2017** Following his inauguration, U.S. president Donald Trump intensified his attacks on mainstream news sources such as the *New York Times* and CNN, labeling them “fake news” and an “enemy of the people.”

**October 2018** Jamal Khashoggi, a *Washington Post* columnist and frequent critic of the Saudi Arabian government, was murdered during a visit to the Saudi consulate in Turkey. *Time* magazine named Khashoggi “Person of the Year.” *Time*'s “Guardians of the Truth” issue included Filipino-American journalist and former CNN reporter Maria Ressa, who faced an indictment for critical coverage of the Philippine government. A gunman stormed the offices of the *Capital Gazette* newspaper company in Maryland, killing five of its employees. Cambridge Analytica was found to have harvested and used personal user data for political purposes without consent. Reuters reporters Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo were imprisoned in Myanmar for investigating the massacre of that country's Rohingya Muslims.

**2019 January:** Facebook announced plans to invest U.S.\$300 million to support journalism, matching a commitment from Google.

**April 2020** Websites linked from Facebook spreading health hoaxes had an estimated 460 million views according to a report later published by the nonprofit advocacy organization Avaaz, with only 16 percent of posts carrying a warning label from Facebook.

**1 June 2020** Glenn Kessler of *The Washington Post* reported that President Donald Trump had made (by Kessler's count) 19,127 false or misleading claims in 1,226 days.

**July 2020** Civil rights groups organized an advertiser boycott of Facebook to protest its handling of hate speech and misinformation.

**29 July 2020** The chair of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee’s antitrust subcommittee began a half-virtual hearing on “Online Platforms and Market Power” with the statement: “Our founders would not bow before a king. Nor should we bow before the emperors of the online economy.”

**August 2020** Facebook’s chief executive officer Mark Zuckerberg began holding meetings with his lieutenants about minimizing how the platform could be used to dispute the forthcoming American election.

**September 2020** Facebook threatened to ban news articles from its platform in Australia if its parliament proceeded with plans to require social media companies to pay news publishers for their content.

# Introduction

Journalism. [Early 19c: from French *journalisme* . . .]. The enterprise of producing newspapers and magazines (including reporting, writing, editing, photographing, and managing) as well as the styles of writing used in such publications.

—*Oxford Companion to the English Language*  
(1992), 554.

Journalist. n (1693). 1a: a person engaged in journalism; esp: a writer or editor for a news medium. 1b: writer who aims at a mass audience.

—*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*,  
11th ed. (2003), 676.

Journalism. Noun [*mass noun*] 1 The activity or profession of writing for newspapers, magazines, or news *websites* or preparing news to be broadcast. 1.1 The product of the activity of journalism.

—Oxford University Press. Lexico.com (2019);  
emphasis for websites added.

As indicated in the second dictionary definition, the word *journalist* was first used in Europe in the late 17th century. But at the time, it mainly designated the keepers of personal journals or the editors of several new scientific and literary journals. Only occasionally did it refer to writers associated with news publications. While this connection became more common in France at the time of the Revolution, it was not until the early 19th century that *journalisme* arose to describe what these writers produced.<sup>1</sup> After it crossed the English Channel, the *Westminster Review* observed in 1833 that *journalism* is “a good name for the thing meant” as “a word was sadly needed.” It was then that 17th-century *mercurists* and 18th-century *correspondents* started to be called *reporters* and eventually *journalists*.<sup>2</sup>

Despite this etymology, a new form of discourse with many of the features of present-day journalism emerged long before the term itself was



used to describe it. It did so by gradually distinguishing itself from related discourses such as chronicles, ballads, history, and the novel.<sup>3</sup> Though sharing certain characteristics with each of these discourses, it alone focused on the unfolding present, adopted an eyewitness perspective on current events, assumed that almost any occurrence is grist for its mill, relied on everyday language—and, more problematically, maintained a substantial degree of independence in producing a discourse with these features. As Patrick Champagne has observed, “The history of journalism could well be in large part the story of an impossible autonomy—or, to put it in the least pessimistic way, the unending story of an autonomy that must be re-won because it is always threatened.”<sup>4</sup>

## PRECURSORS OF JOURNALISM

Journalism is a multivalent concept, one that has been disparaged and maligned as well as praised and exalted. The current dismissal of the most evidentiary-based journalism as fake news is only the most recent attempt to discredit the essential connection between journalism and democracy. But dictionary definitions notwithstanding, what has been taken to count as journalism has varied from one time period and society to another. In the Anglo-American world, it gradually came to be seen as the independent and factual reporting of news together with a degree of commentary about its meaning and significance. But efforts to spread this concept of journalism to other parts of the West and beyond often met with resistance and it is now being seriously undermined in the heartland of its original formulation.

### News Dissemination before Printing

From the outset, the value of news and commentary was contested by those who understood its potential to undercut their authority or worried about its manipulative potential. The city-states of ancient Greece opposed the creation of a centralized system for gathering and exchanging news for fear that it would deprive them of their independence. In *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (1996), Sian Lewis shows how this fear contributed to the failure of the Athenian attempt at democracy. Although Athenian citizens considered reliable news of foreign events to be of critical importance for their discussions in the agora and assembly, they had no formal system of surveillance or means of discrediting rumor and hearsay other than judgments of reputation.<sup>5</sup>

Their concerns were somewhat justified by the subsequent management of news in ancient Rome, where Julius Caesar, as leader of the popular party,

used the *acta diurna* to strip the aristocratic senate of some of its mystique and authority.<sup>6</sup> This account of the proceedings of the day, often called simply the *acta*, was prepared under government authority and scrutiny in the late Republic and early Empire. Though frequently used by Tacitus, Suetonius, and other Roman historians, there are no reliably identifiable surviving fragments. But their usage indicates that its content included lists of births, marriages, and deaths; reports on the proceedings of public assemblies and law courts obtained by *actuarii* (reporters); accounts of monies paid to the treasury by the provinces; and almost anything related to the supply of corn. Beginning in 59 B.C.E., it also included the proceedings of the senate, previously restricted to the *actus senatus*. Posted in a public place, it continued during the Principate, but became even more obviously an instrument of propaganda for the emperor, who ended the practice of including senate proceedings.<sup>7</sup>

In Han China, the *dibao* likewise provided only official accounts of events. It was printed using carved wooden blocks and had separate editions for different clientele. A similar *chao-pao* (court paper) was produced during the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE) by the government's news department in the capital of Hangzhou. Its sale to the public was facilitated by the invention of printing from moveable type in 1038 and the inclusion of current events and social news as well as imperial edicts and details about government appointments. According to surviving literary sources, some departmental staff working in concert with civilians began secretly compiling the *xiao-pao* (illegal paper). It consisted of commentary on political events and information that did not meet government approval and was also sold for profit. In the 11th century, the emperor was already admonishing those employed by the central government “who were disseminating illicit information and misleading people domestic and abroad.” They should, he said, be “warned, found guilty, and stopped,” while those exposing them “should be encouraged and rewarded.”<sup>8</sup>

In Mughal India, the Emperor Akbar (1556–1605) had clerks or *akhbār nawīs* (news writers) prepare material for a court diary recording his formal acts and words and the events of his reign. Their preliminary accounts were then synthesized, scrutinized, and polished by higher level officials and even the emperor himself, with the final product being placed in the imperial archives for subsequent use by official historians. Although having to adhere to a strict formula and use deferential Persian language, they tried to enliven their reports with advice and predictions.<sup>9</sup> But these unknown *akhbār nawīs* were not journalists. They were not autonomous in either practice or principle. Their primary objective was propaganda and they gave no thought to recouping the resources invested in their diaries through sales or other means of remuneration.

The same was true of those who constructed clerical and aristocratic chronicles in medieval Europe or wrote proclamations informing the populace about matters of governance. In England, royal messengers delivered proclamations to the Crown's chief officers in the counties, who used paid criers to disseminate them publicly.<sup>10</sup> What was heard, however, was not journalism but official news accounts aimed at countering rumormongers. D. R. Woolf has suggested that the roots of journalism in the medieval chronicle are evident in the number of newspapers that still call themselves chronicles.<sup>11</sup> But before this transition could occur, a different basis of news production was required.

Until the late 15th century, European news producers were dependent on the support of states, churches, or members of the aristocracy. For example, the minstrels—*joculatores* in Latin, *jongleurs* in French—who sang their news in the streets were usually the servants of barons or ecclesiastics.<sup>12</sup> It was only with the spread of Johann Gutenberg's printing press that a new principle began to influence news production: the power of buyers to stimulate the creation, and influence the content, of news texts through their purchasing choices and habits.

For most of the Middle Ages in Europe, "publishing," in the sense of producing multiple copies of a text, was almost entirely dependent on personal or organizational resources. In a few cases, authors and consumers jointly commissioned one or more copyists on an ad hoc basis. But for the most part, only authors with sufficient time and materials could copy their own writing in order to circulate it among friends, present it to a patron, or make use of it themselves. And only institutions such as monasteries had sufficient free labor to set up resource-intensive scriptoria to supply their internal needs for texts, though Richard de Bury, an English bishop, apparently had his own staff of copyists.

During the 12th century, the rise of universities and the growth of literacy created more demand for books than could be met by the monastic scriptoria. In response, lay stationers (*stationarii*) in Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and elsewhere developed a *pecia* or putting-out system to serve the needs of teachers and students. Authorized exemplars of manuscripts were borrowed from the universities and then farmed out piecemeal in quires (*pecia*) to professional scribes, usually women and students, who would copy them for a fixed fee. By the mid-15th century, there were apparently more than 10,000 copyists in the vicinity of Paris alone.<sup>13</sup> These early lay stationers were tightly controlled by the universities and guilds. But in the late medieval period, some of them broke free in response to growing demand for printed materials among the bourgeoisie. They began to engage in a degree of what Derek Pearsall calls "speculative, entrepreneur-initiated production, as distinct

from commissioned or bespoke production.”<sup>14</sup> An element of capitalism, or production for profit, was thus present in publishing *before* the introduction of typography by Gutenberg around 1439. By itself, however, this market principle has been incapable of producing journalism of the highest order. Only when its countervailing power has been aligned with a commitment to serving the public interest has journalism realized its greatest potential. As Lynette Sheridan Burns writes, “what distinguishes journalism from other media activities is the notion of *service to the public interest*.”<sup>15</sup> It is also what separates some of those who call themselves journalists from the honor roll of the profession.

### Printed Ballads and Pamphlets

For most of the 16th century, printed news was confined to ballads and isolated news pamphlets. Printed ballads were the most immediate beneficiary of the printing press and the most popular form of news dissemination.<sup>16</sup> In England, they took two forms. Cheap *black-letter* ballads—so named by Samuel Pepys for their gothic typeface—were marketed as popular entertainment. Produced on coarse paper, filled with typographical errors, and accompanied by primitive woodcuts, their salacious rhymes were organized in four columns using a landscape format. *White-letter* ballads were used by political figures and groups to mobilize opinion on behalf of specific issues or causes. Their scurrilous lampoons were usually printed in roman or italic type and organized in two columns using a portrait format. At the time of the Northern Rising in 1569, key members of the government engaged white-letter balladeers to promulgate their responses to unfavorable rumors and reports.<sup>17</sup>

By the 1580s, black-letter ballads were so influential that restrictions were placed on ballad-hawkers and a campaign was undertaken decrying their immorality and likening their impact to that of plague. In *Histrion-Mastix* (1633), William Prynne condemned them as “filthy and unchristian defilements, which contaminate the souls, effeminate the minds, deprave the manners, of those that hear or sing them, exciting, enticing them to lust; to whoredom, adultery, prophaneness [*sic*], wantonness, scurrility, luxury, drunkenness, excess; alienating their minds from God.” Following this diatribe, the Royal College of Physicians in London issued Plague Orders prohibiting ballads. The rags from which their paper was made were said to be a carrier of plague and the chapmen and peddlers circulating them were lumped together with beggars as spreaders of plague.<sup>18</sup>

Given that their purpose was primarily to entertain, ballads were naturally short on details. To meet the demand for fuller accounts of events, some

printers thus began producing small books of news or news pamphlets. The first printed news pamphlet—and indeed the first dated work in print of any kind—was produced by Gutenberg himself in December 1454. Entitled “An Admonition to Christendom against the Turks,” it called on Europe’s rulers to take back Constantinople, which had been captured by the Ottomans in May 1453. Following the Turkish sack of Negroponte in 1470, printed pamphlets were used to place blame for the disaster and make a call for action in the form of a crusade.<sup>19</sup>

Ranging from 10 to 40 pages, news pamphlets narrated particular events in linear fashion, often in considerable detail. In Italy, where they were called *avvisi* and handwritten until the 1530s, their printed versions were referred to as *avvisi a stampa*. In Spain, they were known as *relacions*, while in France, they were *occasionnels* if they were official and *canards* if they were not. In England, where they were largely unregulated, they grew steadily in number and sought to capture the immediacy of events. As John Timpane has observed, their authors engaged in “linear composition at great speed, often without looking back. The resulting energetic prose is often very close to speech, complete with syntax switched in midsentence, tedious subjects thrown out in midparagraph, and many inconsistencies, all carried on with a vivid awareness of the reader.”<sup>20</sup> Even so, their publication remained irregular; they waited upon events, which might be weeks, months, or even years old.

*Canards* often made use of the term *veritable* in their titles to assure readers they contained only unembellished facts. But for most pamphleteers, the primary purpose of relating news was to comment on it. They were almost invariably partial, without scruple or apology, and worked not only for rulers and their supporters but also for various groups and organizations, both openly and surreptitiously. In 1579, for example, the soldier-poet Thomas Churchyard used the pamphlet *James Fitz Morrice Death* to influence English perceptions of the rebellion in Ireland.<sup>21</sup> A study of early modern Italian news pamphlets found that they were so slanted by political ideology as to imperil effective government and contribute to an age of skepticism generally.<sup>22</sup>

As postal services expanded and became more regular, the production of news pamphlets was gradually synchronized with the weekly schedule of couriers. In Venice, whose commercial empire made it the center of 16th-century newswriting, weekly news pamphlets were printed for the first time in 1566. Costing a *gazetta*, the smallest denomination of Venetian coinage, they came to be known as *gazettes*.<sup>23</sup> But elsewhere news pamphlets were unable to establish themselves as continuous publications on a long-term basis. In 1589, for example, John Wolfe and several London printers and

booksellers began publishing what Paul Voss calls *news quartos*—a term borrowed from a newspaper story in 1930 describing some purchases by the British Museum. The purpose of these cheaply priced pamphlets was to provide news of the fate of 20,000 English troops sent to France by Elizabeth I in support of Henry of Navarre. Aided by the spread of literacy, their average print run of 750 copies was marketed to a wide audience with the aid of maps, illustrations, and a variety of advertising techniques.

According to Voss, they cultivated “the appearance of objectivity: reporting the events takes priority over overt blatant sermonizing.”<sup>24</sup> But they were unwavering in their praise of English valor. In July of 1591, for example, Navarre ordered Sir Roger Williams, a soldier of fortune who spent much of his life fighting for Protestant causes, to the siege of Lyon. His acceptance of the mission is embellished as follows:

Suddenly the espialles returned with newes of the enemies approach, and their order: which Sir Roger Williams understanding, ever like himself, and having now (as he thought) found a danger equall to his heart, (which heart through his good fortune hath gotten a corage to despise all dangers) earnestly desired his Majestie doo him the honour of the first incounter, in regarde of the safetie of his Majesties owne person, which the King through intreatie graunted.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, the point of their graphic accounts of slaughter, rape, and the devastation of Paris, where over 13,000 people died of hunger and malnutrition, was still a moral one: to warn readers about the destructive consequences of civil war.

The *news quartos* were the first news publication with recurring protagonists and a developing story line. Their exploration of English valor, religious observation, and geographical uniqueness influenced the writings of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Marlowe and contributed to a sense of national identity. But because of their restriction to a single news story, they came to an abrupt end in 1593 when Henry IV converted to Catholicism.

## News Relations and Newsletters

In addition to printed ballads and individual news pamphlets, 16th-century news entrepreneurs occasionally published collections of news or “news relations.” Toward the end of the century, these relations or digests began to appear on a less haphazard basis. The first regular news digest was Michael von Aitzing’s *Relatio Historica or Messrelationen* (1588–1593), a summary of political and religious news prepared for the biennial Frankfurt book fairs. Four years after the demise of Aitzing’s publication, Samuel Dilbaum in

Switzerland began a monthly *Historical Relation or Narrative* about the great powers in “almost the whole of Europe.” The increasingly frequent publication of such relations was one route by which some newspapers arose. But the earliest newspapers resulted from a different and simpler process: the printing of what had previously been hand-copied newsletters.

From the late medieval period onward, government officials, wealthy merchants, and prominent individuals often arranged for private handwritten newsletters to be prepared on their behalf. In late 15th-century Italy, for example, Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti of Bologna prepared a regular newsletter for his literary patron Ercole d’Este, Duke of Ferrara, and his daughter.<sup>26</sup> During the same period, however, a more publicly available genre of manuscript newsletters made its appearance. Couched as personal letters, these manuscript newsletters included correspondence, diplomatic reports, and hearsay, and were intended for multiple purchasers. The prototype for these newsletters was developed by Benedetto Dei, who returned to Florence in 1468 after years of travel in Europe, Asia, and Africa and began using his extensive contacts to create a commercial news bulletin service. Each of Dei’s bulletins consisted of numerous short news items headed by a date and place of origin and they were among the sources used by Sabadino degli Arienti.<sup>27</sup> By the 1550s, there were numerous scribes or *novellanti* in Venice and Rome producing newsletters for sale to the political and commercial elite and an equivalent group in Germany whose *zeitungen* were used by the Fugger brothers.<sup>28</sup>

In England, newsletter writers like John Chamberlain and Rowland Whyte came to be known as *intelligencers*. English manuscript newsletters were influenced by Renaissance ideas of rhetoric as taught in manuals such as William Fulwood’s manual *Enimie of Idleness* (1568). Its epistolary logic emphasized narration, plain language, and the inclusion of events of public significance and assumed that writers and their recipients were known to each other. But as chains of distribution became longer, both parties became more anonymous.<sup>29</sup> Together with news pamphlets, it was these increasingly impersonal newsletters that evolved into some of the first newspapers.

## SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS

Historians continue to debate what constituted the first newspapers and how they arose. In the case of England, for example, some consider the late 16th-century news quartos to be the first newspapers; others take the early 17th-century *corantos* to be the first; and still others reserve this designation for the mid-17th-century newsbooks or, in some cases, what they became.

Considered in terms of Europe as a whole, the question is unanswerable unless one assumes that early newspapers arose by various means and took a number of different forms. But there is, nonetheless, a good candidate for being the first out of the gate.

### From Newsletters to Newspapers

Around 1600, Johann Carolus, a young printshop owner in Strassburg, began producing a manuscript newsletter about current events in Europe and beyond called the *Relation*. But he found the process demanding and tedious. In 1605, therefore, he petitioned the city council for a privilege or local monopoly to print it. I have, he said, “hitherto been in receipt of the weekly news advice and . . . copying has been slow . . . and moreover, I have recently purchased at a high cost and costly price the former printing workshop of the late Thomas Gobin . . . and now for the twelfth occasion, I have set, printed and published the said advice.”<sup>30</sup> His request was granted and the result was the first printed news vehicle appearing regularly at least once a week in sizeable numbers and for sale to the public at an affordable price.

The *Strassburg Relation* retained the format of manuscript newsletters. It did not have a title-heading and did not provide commentary on the events being reported. But its production was no longer limited to 10 or 15 copies per issue. Instead, between 350 and 400 copies were printed and its success led to similar publications in Basel, Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, and other European cities. In Utrecht, Adriaen Leenaertsz began printing *Nieuwe Courante uyt Italien, Duytsland ende Nederlant* a few years after the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Like manuscript newsletters, it compiled short news items without commentary or interpretation, and the term *coranto* soon came to designate similar publications in England, Spain, and Denmark.<sup>31</sup>

### From News Pamphlets to Newspapers

The printing of manuscript newsletters was not, however, the only process by which newspapers emerged. In 1605, Abraham Verhoeven in Antwerp was given a license to print pamphlets carrying news of Spinola’s victories. By 1617, his news pamphlets were appearing at least every 10 days. Then in 1620, he was given an exclusive license to print military news pamphlets on a much broader basis. With this monopoly, he began publishing *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* more frequently, making it in effect the first newspaper in the Hapsburg Netherlands. Its first issue consisted of four reports from Vienna, three from Prague, and one each from Rome and Cracow. They were all about a month old and the main ones were headlined on the front page.<sup>32</sup> While lagging



somewhat behind the printing of manuscript newsletters, the more frequent printing of news pamphlets also accounts for how newspapers arose.

Early 17th-century newspapers thus varied in form from one country to another and even within the same country—a situation reflected in the various names applied to them: *corantos*, tidings, newsbooks, and gazettes, among others. Moreover, they did not immediately end the production of manuscript newsletters or printed pamphlets. In restoration England, for example, Henry Muddiman in the office of the Secretaries of State organized a biweekly manuscript newsletter for select subscribers, while Giles Hancock and John Dyer prepared manuscript newsletters for both the Whigs and Tories. Their newsletters contained fuller coverage Parliamentary proceedings than newspapers. In 18th-century France, printed pamphlets were the only medium by which to counter the state's official newspaper. But despite attempts to control its growth, it was the newspaper that was poised by the end of the 17th century to become not only the dominant news medium in Europe but an important tool for spreading the European news culture to other parts of the world.

### The Early Modern Newspaper in England and France

Both Johann Carolus and Abraham Verhoeven requested and received exclusive rights for publishing news in their respective markets. Their understanding was that they would only publish news that served the interests of the authorities granting the monopolies and Verhoeven was especially compliant in this regard. A number of other cities and states adopted this approach. But in France, the monarchy restricted the publication of political news to its own official newspaper, while in England, the crown combined both approaches with a licensing system for other forms of news publication.

In the late 17th century, Elizabeth I tried to control the dissemination of news in England by having censors scrutinize pamphlets for criticism of her reign. But as their number increased, she resorted to restricting coverage to foreign events.<sup>33</sup> When Dutch *corantos* began entering the country in 1620, James I contemplated banning them outright along with their English imitations. But he relented at the last minute by giving a monopoly to Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter on the same condition that *The Continuation of our Weekly Newes*<sup>34</sup> would be restricted to foreign news. The *Weekly Newes* began publication in September 1621 and initially consisted of short unconnected news items translated verbatim from foreign newsletters and *corantos* about hostilities on the continent. Its “chief intention,” said editor Thomas Gainsford on 13 June 1622, was “to stay the uncertain reports of partiall newes-mongers, who tell euery thing as themselues would have

it.” By then it had increased its size almost threefold, enabling Gainsford, a Cambridge-educated soldier and pamphlet writer, to include longer stories and experiment with a more explanatory format. This format consisted of showing how “there is good dependency between the relations” of news events based on “the Lawes of Historie” and making a “guesse at the reasons of the actions by the most apparent presumptions.”<sup>35</sup>

The use of “the most apparent presumptions” to explain the events of a continuous narrative is evident in the following *Weekly Newes* story:

After that defeat of the Archeduke *Lepoldus*, and his flight into his own *Alsatia*, and his iourney then into *Brisgoia*, to try what forces hee could gather . . . for the reindforcing of his lost Army: The whole countrey . . . was left to the deuotion of the King of *Bohemia*, now by this victory . . . made sole master of the field, whereupon the Mansfeldians made what rauage they pleased . . . And the Count *van Hannow* of the lower *Alsatia* (neighbor to *Leopoldus*) taking into due consideration, that rule of warre; When two powerfull Princes are either declared or engaged in warre, it [is] . . . a dangerous thing, for any third man to stand as a neutrall, who is not able against either of them to stand of himself: For still the Victor when he hath ouerthrowne the enemies, falls next vpon weaker Neuters.

In addition to the rule of war, Gainsford employed proverbs, the Bible, the human psyche, classical mythology, and science to make sense of what was happening. He also sometimes wrote an editorial contextualizing the isolated events in terms of everyday life. But after his death from the plague in 1624, the *Weekly Newes* reverted to providing a random selection of discontinuous events without any commentary on their meaning.<sup>36</sup>

Historians are divided as to whether the *coranto* writers thought readers wanted only the bare facts or assumed that their meaning lay in their connection to a larger unfolding story. But if readers were left to figure out that meaning for themselves, it was perhaps not unhappily so. Julia Schlect relates how complaints recorded on the back cover of the *Weekly Newes* reveal a “fractious, opinionated, and outspoken” readership that wanted less commentary and more frequent reports from reliable and clearly identified sources. Assuming all writers and witnesses are biased, readers asked for reports from both sides in the belief that probable truth lay where the opposing parties agreed. She quotes the sarcastic response of one editor to this demand:

To the indifferent Reader, may it please you to understand, that whereas we have hetherto printed (for the most part) the Occurrances which have come to our hands, from the Protestants side . . . we purpose to publish (as they come now to our hands) such Relations as are printed at Antwerp . . . or other such

like places . . . and this we do not for profit, but to free ourselves from partiality, and to make a distinction t'wixt each relation let the Readers judge, of the verity by the event. So we give you one for a taste. (“Good and true tydings,” 29 March 1625)

Schlect argues that the *Weekly Newes* reflected “a Protestant ideology of reading” in which readers accepted responsibility for determining the truth of news reports just as religious truth was thought to come from reading the Bible alone in one’s home.<sup>37</sup>

In France, a different means was devised to control the dissemination of news. In 1631, Théophraste Renaudot persuaded the crown to establish its *own* weekly newspaper, the *Gazette de France*, a two-sheet brochure with a monopoly over political news. Like *corantos*, it initially reported events in no particular order and without much attempt to ascertain their significance. For example, its “Nouvelles Ordinaire du dernier Décembre 1639” began:

*De Stokolm, capitale de Suede, le 25 Novembre 1639.*

A contagion comme elle est fort rare en ce païs; aisi elle est tellement opinias-trée, que nonobstant la froideur de climat & de la saison, elle rend encore cette ville moin frequentée.

*De Danzic, le 26 Novembre 1639.*

Après plusieurs contestations des Députez, soustenans avec trop de vigueur chacun l’interest de son maistre & et de l’Estat qui l’avoit envoyé, Diette de Warsaw est finie le 16<sup>e</sup> de ce mois sans aucune resolution: les Estats s’estans separez particulièrement mal satisfaits du Roy du Pologne. On n’y a point du tout parlé de nostre nouvel impost.

*De Vienne, le premier Decembre 1639.*

Le 28<sup>e</sup> du passé, le Roy de Hongrie [etc.].

At first it also had no actual material on France. But it soon added items on royal and noble baptisms, marriages, journeys, and deaths, and later provided economic, cultural, and scientific news. The latter was facilitated by Renaudot’s organization of a series of science conferences at his Bureau d’Adresse in Paris between 1633 and 1642.<sup>38</sup>

Although the main purpose of the *Gazette* was to provide a government-sanctioned version of events, it was more than an instrument of propaganda. With correspondents throughout Europe as well as in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, Africa, and the New World, it was a valuable source of nonpolitical information about the world beyond France. To prevent the *Gazette* from falling under the control of a narrow clique, Colbert later set up a supervisory committee that included a genealogist, poet, diplomat, novelist, and

historian. It included items penned anonymously by Louis XIII and his cardinal-ministers and resorted to deception in reporting the fortunes of the Crown on the battlefield during the Fronde. But otherwise it usually gave reasonably faithful coverage of events and many of its news items served no obvious political purpose. It also served as a training ground for French journalism. Rather than wait upon the inefficient mail system, provincial printers used express couriers to obtain the *Gazette* in advance and then made counterfeit copies for impatient readers. In response, Renaudot created a faster distribution system and sold the right to reset and market it to printers in provincial centers. Although the reprinted version added very little original content, its production contributed to a flourishing provincial press.<sup>39</sup>

A year after the *Gazette de France* was created, the *Weekly Newes* died when even news from abroad was deemed too dangerous to publish. But after the ban on foreign news was lifted in 1638, a series of newsbooks made their appearance. Although inheriting a few of the characteristics of *corantos* and using the same distribution network, they bore a closer resemblance to news pamphlets. Moreover, most publishers of *corantos* did not move into their production, leaving the field open for various innovations. Unlike *corantos*, the newsbooks of the 1640s had consistent titles, exact periodicity, consecutive pagination, and regularity in length.<sup>40</sup> They were an immediate commercial success and soon displaced *corantos* as the dominant news publication. Some, such as Samuel Pecke's *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament*, which reached a circulation of 3,000 a week, presented news in a reasonably calm, sober, and objective manner. But as the civil war intensified, so too did the partisanship and rhetoric of some newsbooks. Sir John Berkenhead's *Mercurius Aulicus* deliberately offended the Puritans,<sup>41</sup> while anti-Royalists like John Crouch used smutty, salacious gossip and obscenity-filled rhymes as a form of moral commentary.<sup>42</sup>

Whereas newsletters were compiled by selecting, translating, and organizing news items from foreign sources, newsbooks were an early form of interactive medium. Under the gaze of a licenser, they combined written passages by their editor-authors with letters and other materials submitted to them by members of the political elite and individuals involved in political battles. Some letters were included as advertisements, while others were inserted more discreetly, often without any clues as to whether the newsbook had been pressured to publish them. In some cases, newsbook publishers received letters from Westminster or Whitehall or were given access to official materials. To encourage such interactivity, editors like Henry Muddiman and Roger L'Estrange sent copies to anyone who might have something interesting to contribute.<sup>43</sup> Despite the haphazard nature of this process, the storytelling

emphasis of newsbook content helped to shape ideas about the political propriety of recent events on a weekly basis.<sup>44</sup>

In 1649, the Commonwealth-Protectorate enacted a Regulation of Printing Act aimed at reducing the impact of newsbooks. When its harsh measures failed to quell them, Cromwell restricted the legal publication of news to *Mercurius Politicus*, a newsbook edited by Marchamont Nedham under the watchful eye of John Milton, whose *Areopagitica* (1644) had called (albeit anonymously) for freedom from pre-publication controls or censorship.<sup>45</sup> As the politics of the Restoration unfolded, Nedham's monopoly was transferred first to Henry Muddiman, then to Sir Roger L'Estrange, and finally back to Muddiman in 1666 as editor of England's first broadsheet newspaper. It began as the *Oxford Gazette* on 14 November 1665 to provide news to Charles II and his courtiers, who had fled to Oxford to escape the Great Plague and were afraid of being contaminated by London papers. But when the king returned to London, it became the *London Gazette* as of no. 24 on 5 February 1666. According to its colophon, it was intended "for the use of some Merchants and Gentlemen who desire its advices."<sup>46</sup> It used a half-sheet folio to create a two-page newspaper set for the first time in double columns. Issued on Mondays and Thursdays and costing 1d, it had to compete briefly with nongovernment news publications after the Printing Act lapsed in 1679. But in 1683, the crown prohibited unlicensed news again. It was not until 1695 that licensing was allowed to expire once and for all and English newspapers slowly began to flourish.<sup>47</sup>

## The Origins of Journalism Criticism

Almost as soon as news became available on a regular basis, commentators began worrying about its impact on society. In England, Bishop Joseph Hall and playwright Ben Jonson began a long tradition of criticizing journalists for their unreliability. In *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), Hall poked fun at *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, a news relation published twice a year by Michael ap Isselt in Cologne. Although the term *Mercurius* was meant to let its author off the hook for its contents (he was a mere "messenger"), Hall's *Mercurius Britannicus* relates a fantastic journey in the company of Gallus and Belgicus and then returns home to make up his own lies like an efficient *mercurius*. In *Volpone, or The Fox* (1606), Jonson drew attention to the political purposes behind the dissemination of news through royal proclamations and private newsletters. Then, in *News from the New World* (1620), he offered a prescient critique of a medium just beginning to take shape.<sup>48</sup> "I have been so cheated with false revelations in my time," he had an imaginary news writer lament, "that I have found it a harder thing

to correct my book than to collect it.”<sup>49</sup> In *The Staple of News* (1626), his most thorough analysis, he criticized news for its inferiority to poetry and lamented the monopolistic control exercised by the printers’ syndicate over its publication.<sup>50</sup>

During the 1640s, English newsbooks were subjected to more scathing criticism for their debased literary quality, for being “paper bullets” leading to civil war, and for replacing the authenticity and authority of the spoken word with less reliable secondhand reports.<sup>51</sup> Readers of a newsbook such as Nedham’s royalist *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (1647–1650) could not always tell if they were reading the real thing as rival factions within royalism sought to steal its regular readers by forging mimics of it.<sup>52</sup> Criticism was common on the continent as well. Broer Jansz’s Amsterdam *coranto*—*Tijdingen uyt verscheyden Quartieren* (Tidings from Various Quarters)—was routinely distrusted in the southern Netherlands, where satirical pamphleteers chided him around 1630 “to lie some more about Brazil, since it is far enough away from here.”<sup>53</sup>

A major source of unreliability in early modern newspapers was the filter of translation. The provision of news reports depended heavily on making translations from foreign sources and mistranslations occurred not only through linguistic incompetence but from deliberate alterations to the perceived meaning. By identifying the sources for all 47 news items in the Danish newspaper *Extraordinaires Maanedlige Relationer* in January 1673, Paul Ries was able to show how the editor subtly reworked some of the reports so as to alter the “images of persons or nations in the minds of readers.”<sup>54</sup> Although his license required him to provide faithful versions of the originals, it took only small modifications in translating from German to Danish for him to transform the meaning of an event.<sup>55</sup>

Early modern newspapers seem, perhaps unwittingly, to have revealed their tenuous grasp on truth by their use of such telling phrases as “our last letters from the frontiers advise,” “we do not yet give an entire credit to it,” “here is much discourse that,” “several reports are spread abroad, which if true,” and “it is reported here . . . which the more surprises us, for that we have all along expected.” But a recent study of the first newspapers in Spain considers this language from a different perspective. It proposes that while the gazetteer wanted to appear credible, he actually had no real interest in identifying his sources. He thus developed the rhetorical device known today as “deep background,” which consisted of asking for readers to trust his ability to intercept stories coming into his purview from around the world. Phrases such as “from Persia they write” or “this court has also received news” or simply “they say that” were actually meant to be taken as *auctoritas* based on discourse competence.<sup>56</sup> Trust me, they said, and most readers probably did.

But for Tobias Peucer, a student at the University of Leipzig, such authority was illusory. In *De relationibus novellis*, a doctoral thesis submitted in 1690 (and the first dissertation anywhere on news media), he complained of “collectors of news . . . indiscriminately spreading about things gleaned from other writings and even retailing suspicions and conjectures of others as history when they have no certainty about it.”<sup>57</sup> A few years later, John Aubrey noted in his unpublished *Brief Lives* that much of what was regarded as reliable news by the coffeehouse clientele turned out to be a sham.<sup>58</sup> Even in the mid-18th century, Edward Owen, the *London Gazette*’s printer, complained to Edward Weston about how difficult it was to provide reliable foreign news.<sup>59</sup> The *Gazette* was not alone in being aware of the difficulties of reporting European politics. In November 1737, the *Post Boy* commented with regard to a conference at The Hague: “It is not to be expected that we without doors should be able to give a detail of what passed in that conference.”<sup>60</sup> In fact, the stated purpose of the *Grub-Street Journal* (1730–1737) was to expose the flow of contradictory and unverified reports. Even in the early 19th century, British writers such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Sir Walter Scott were still decrying the distortions of news and advising their colleagues not to descend into journalism.<sup>61</sup>

## News as Providentialism

Lacking reliable, concrete evidence for explaining many events, 17th-century news writers often resorted to providentialism or the belief that certain natural and human events are simply part of God’s larger plan. In 1623, for example, some 90 people attending a sermon by the Jesuit priest Robert Drury in London fell to their deaths when the floor of a makeshift chapel suddenly collapsed. Alexandra Walsham calls this disaster “the headline news of its day.” “Intent on scooping their rivals,” news writers “whipped together competing accounts of the shocking accident within a matter of weeks.” Referring to the event as the “fatall vesper,” some Catholics were no less certain than Protestant preachers that it was “an awe-inspiring and foreordained act of God—a signal token of the workings of divine providence.” But for Protestants especially, it was God’s vengeance on a group of Catholics for participating in an illegal evensong and a reproof to the recent resurgence of Catholicism in England.<sup>62</sup>

Similarly, Mary Dyer’s “monstrous” miscarriage in New England in 1637 was considered news less for its sensationalism than for its hermeneutic value. As David Paul Nord relates, “the governor himself conducted the investigation and wrote much of the major report of the episode. He did so because he saw in this strange birth the designing hand of God and a message

for the commonwealth of Massachusetts.”<sup>63</sup> Throughout the English civil war, both sides interpreted any kind of unusual event as an indication of God’s support for their cause.<sup>64</sup> And during King Philip’s War in 1675–1676, Increase Mather explained the grievous loss of life as God’s judgment on a sinful colonial people. In *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England* (1676), he declared: “The Providence of God is deeply to be observed, that the sword should first be drawn on a day of Humiliation, the Lord thereby declaring from heaven that he expects something else from his people besides fasting and prayer.” For Nord, it was “the most substantial piece of journalism published up to that time . . . an instant book dashed off while the fires of the war were still smoldering.”<sup>65</sup> It is also an example of how the discursive rules governing acceptable explanations in journalism have changed. In Western journalism, as in history, God would no longer be an explanatory option by the end of the 18th century.

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY JOURNALISM

Eighteenth-century journalism had four main characteristics. First, it remained subject to various state controls. Although these differed in severity and enforcement from one country to another, they produced several new genres of political news and commentary by indirection, ranging from satire and imaginary Parliamentary debates to what has been called Frondeur journalism with reference to criticism in the highly restrictive news environment of France. Second, news was still a broadly based and free-floating concept such that all manner of reports, anecdotes, gossip, and hearsay about the world were considered news by virtue of the minimal requirement of being thought worthy of inclusion in a newspaper. Third, the items chosen for this news miscellany were often just a pretext for the expression of opinion, which freely intermingled with them as it had in 16th-century news pamphlets and 17th-century newspapers. And finally, the tone or register of this news-commentary mix became less providential and more secular and was tied, in a few cases, to a nascent idea of a public interest.

### The Secular Literary Newspaper

Providentialism was still evident in the late 17th-century newspapers of the London printer and editor Benjamin Harris, beginning with his biweekly *Domestick Intelligence* (1679) and ending with the *London Journal* (1699). In between these publications, Harris traveled to Boston where he published a single issue of *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick* on



25 September 1690 before being shut down by the authorities. The occurrences in question were understood as reflections of God's judgment on the colonists' lives. For readers to "better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs," Harris said, it is necessary that "*Memorable Occurrents of Divine Providence* may not be neglected or forgotten, as they too often are." In a content analysis of 7,400 issues of 79 newspapers in 18th-century America, David Copeland found that God still had a considerable presence in discussions of the news.<sup>66</sup> But as the century unfolded, explanations tied to divine purposes were steadily replaced by secular ones related to human causation.

There was little if any providentialism in Daniel Defoe's incredible *Review*, which he produced single-handedly in London from February 1704 to June 1713. It began as *A Weekly Review of the Affairs of FRANCE* with the subtitle "Purg'd from the Errors and Partiality of News-Writers and Petty Statesmen, of all Sides." In claiming to steer a course between the innocuous neutrality of the *London Gazette* and the scurrilous personal attacks of journalists like William Pittis in the *Whipping Post* (1705),<sup>67</sup> Defoe was looking beyond the particular interests of factions, parties, and classes. "I am not a party man," he said; "at least, I resolve this shall not be a party paper." While the *Review* generally supported Robert Harley and the Tories, it did so only when their policies served what Defoe considered to be the interests of the *nation*. This perspective was reflected in the *Review's* being renamed *A Review of the State of the English Nation* in September 1706 and then *A Review of the State of the British Nation* in 1707 as its audience was enlarged to include Scotland, whose proposed union with England Defoe was strenuously promoting. This concern for the English/British nation implied a common national interest as distinct from the interests of classes or parties.

Like Defoe, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele wanted to eliminate the poisonous invective of existing news discourse. In *The Tatler* (1709–1711) and *The Spectator* (1711–1712), they tried to promote the civility necessary for the operation of what, two and a half centuries later, Jürgen Habermas would call the public sphere. As the title *Spectator* implies, Addison and Steele thought that by holding up a reflecting mirror to society and calmly describing what it shows, a dispassionate and practical discussion could then ensue.<sup>68</sup> This is certainly how James Franklin read them while apprenticing as a printer in London. He endeavored to follow in their footsteps by founding the *New-England Courant* as a literary newspaper in Boston in 1721.<sup>69</sup> When citizens began dying that same year of smallpox, many people believed it was a divine judgment that could be healed through prayer and repentance. Ironically, it was not the city's physicians who proposed combatting it through the new idea of inoculation, but religious figures such as Cotton Mather, who

were not prepared to accept the epidemic as providential. While not taking a stand on the controversy, Franklin gave a voice to the anti-vaxxers, providing an early warning that neutrality in journalism carries with it its own consequences. The population of about 10,600 was not inoculated and an estimated 5,759 became infected. Of these 844 died.<sup>70</sup>

## The News Miscellany

The creation of literary newspapers is an indication of the broad and loose conception of what was considered to be news in the 18th century. All types of correspondence and witnessing were deemed newsworthy and were accompanied by a wide range of political, moral, and religious commentary. Within a decade of the establishment of *The Daily Courant*—the first English daily—by Samuel Buckley in 1702, there were about 20 privately owned newspapers in London. Most filled their pages with a miscellany of local events, commercial news, and extracts from other publications. One such paper, which began publication on 16 December 1732, even called itself *The Miscellany*, switching to *The Weekly Miscellany* from 1733 to 1741. Published by William Webster under the assumed name of Richard Hooker, esq. of the Inner Temple, it carried the subtitle “Giving an Account of the Religion, Morality and Learning of the Present Time.” In its first number, it said “our intention is to enquire . . . into the Nature of Government in general, and to defend our *own* constitution, without considering from what *Persons*, or *Party*, the Opposition comes.”<sup>71</sup> This statement lends credibility to Webster’s claim that in 1734, he turned down an offer of £300 a year to turn it into a ministerial paper. But after religion began dominating its content, it was given the quaint appellation *Old Mother Hooker’s Journal*.<sup>72</sup>

Within the general *mélange* of 18th-century news, some newspapers chose to focus on a narrow range of content for a niche audience, such as politics (the *Morning Chronicle*), advertising (the *Daily Advertiser*), and the fashionable world (the *Morning Post*). But even these papers did not always remain within their declared domain. The *London Advertiser* included a section, which it described on 4 March 1751 as the “Polite World and their Entertainments, which are not the least interesting in their Kind but which never yet have appeared as Part of the Intelligence of the Day.”<sup>73</sup> The diversity of content in newspapers was encouraged by their being read (or heard) by many Londoners in coffeehouses, which contained an assortment of intellectual materials. As Markman Ellis reminds us, “although it has often been assumed that the reading matter consumed in the coffee-houses was confined solely to the quotidian appetite for newspapers and periodicals, it is evident that such

matter also included poetry, satire in verse and prose, political pamphlets, and tracts on commerce and philosophy.”<sup>74</sup>

### Parliamentary Imaginaries and Court Talk

In late 17th-century England, newsletters sometimes ignored the ban on Parliamentary reporting by including brief reports on the House of Commons. But there was no attempt at regular coverage until 1711 when Abel Boyer took advantage of a loophole to publish accounts of the Parliamentary recess in his monthly magazine *The Political State of Great Britain*. In the early 1730s, the *Gentleman’s Magazine* and *London Magazine* began copying material from the *Political State* and later produced versions of their own. After the Commons tightened the regulations in 1738, they pretended for a time to report on mythical assemblies. But reprimands and lack of public interest forced them to stop even this subterfuge.<sup>75</sup>

In the late 1760s, however, excitement over political events in the Thirteen Colonies created renewed interest in Parliament. Printer John Almon began writing accounts for the triweekly *London Evening Post* and founded the monthly *London Museum* in 1770 to provide “an accurate Journal of the Proceedings and Debates of the Present Parliament.” His lead was followed by other monthly magazines and a number of newspapers, including William Woodfall’s *Morning Chronicle*. Although only a few debates were reported at length and were presented as proceedings of the “Robinhood Society” or “A Great Assembly,” the Commons became alarmed and prosecuted eight of the offending printers. But John Wilkes’s use of his authority as alderman of London to give refuge to several of the printers made long-term enforcement an unenviable prospect. In 1771, reporters were given access to the House of Commons and in 1774, the House of Lords followed suit.

Even then some newspapers continued the pretense of concealing debates and were slow to expand their coverage or abandon the practice of pirating accounts.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, coverage of the actual debates was filled with inaccuracies. Not only was it difficult to hear speeches clearly from the gallery but, as James Stephen of the *Morning Post* recalled, “no man was allowed to take a note for the purpose. We were obliged therefore to depend on memory alone and had no assistance in the work, one Reporter for each House being all that any Paper employed.” A comparison of the newspaper reports of the period with the verbatim accounts that Henry Cavendish later compiled using shorthand found that the former “are best regarded as the creation of imaginative artists, who often worked with scanty materials.” Even the legendary coverage of William “Memory” Woodfall did not convey the actual phrases used by speakers.<sup>77</sup>

Restrictions on political reporting also generated the genre of court talk. On 25 July 1765, the *London Chronicle* published the following odd-looking (to modern eyes, at least) news item:

We are told that on the first rumour of the late changes, a celebrated Commoner wrote a letter to a great Lawyer, which was to the following purport or tenor. “Sir, I am informed that you are shortly to be removed from your office, and it is reported that I am the advisor of your removal – I deny it. On the contrary, did the circumstances of the times allow me to take a post in the administration, I would think myself happy in the assistance of a person, in that high office, of your experience and abilities. I am, Sir, &c.”

...

It is said that the Secretary to --- is a strongly *suspected* Roman Catholic. His brother was a *known* Papist, and in the late rebellion.

It is reported that when the new M---y was settling, the D. of N. told the M. of R. that he must be F--st L--- of the T. His Lordship objected on account of his *inexperience*. “It does not signify, my Lord, (replied his G---) F--st Lord of the T. you must be. Care will be taken to appoint proper persons to assist your Lordship in the *business* of your department; and as to the disposal of the *places* in your Lordship’s power, if you think you are not qualified *there*, I am ready to undertake *that* part of your office myself.”

The item in question claims to be a report of what the *Chronicle* has been told through unidentified sources. What it has been told is the “purport or tenor” of a private letter, which it then constructs as a direct quotation even though it does not possess the letter or a copy of it. It then relates what “is said” and later “reported,” implying that it is generally known, at least in the privileged circles of the Duke of Newcastle, Marquess of Rockingham, and others whose identities are thinly veiled through dashes and nicknames to avoid being charged with libel. All in all, the reader learns through the *Chronicle*’s supposed insider knowledge of a rumor about a private letter, a rumor about a suspicion, and an anecdote about a conversation.<sup>78</sup>

The item in question is written so as to give readers the impression of eavesdropping on the Georgian court, using the same language as the king and his courtiers as they engage in the daily business of forming alliances, establishing and maintaining loyalty, and dispensing and securing patronage. Like the letters and diaries of those who conversed at the levees or formal receptions of the powerful, it employs terms such as “we hear,” “is said,” and “clamor” (being heard more than once) because hearing and saying were considered news. Readers could feel they were overhearing the whispers by which political information circulated among courtly insiders, a device which sold newspapers but also consolidated the hold of the court on society.<sup>79</sup>

## A Quidnunc Culture

The unreliability of such political news was a major theme of 17th-century critiques of journalism. But during the 18th century, the focus of criticism shifted from suspect news to news-crazy readers. Joseph Addison contributed to the transition in *The Tatler* No. 155 (6 April 1710) with his complaint about would-be “politicians who live more in the coffeehouse than in their own shops and whose thoughts are so taken up with the affairs of the continent that they forget their customers.”<sup>80</sup> Even Henry Fielding, who later praised public debate in the *Craftsman*, succumbed to the temptation to satirize Londoners obsessed with news in his play *The Coffee-House Politician* (1730). Such satire played into the hands of ministerial newspapers like the *Daily Gazetteer*, which equated discussion of public affairs with a mob sitting in judgment of Parliament. In his 1758 play *The Upholsterer, or What News*, Arthur Murphy echoed Addison in parodying the newspaper “frenzy.” The upholsterer Quidnunc (Latin for “what news” or “what’s new”) spends his time passionately debating current affairs while neglecting his family and business. Uriel Heyd argues that such works were a reflection of the alarm caused by a Quidnunc culture that imagined a level of political activity and consciousness within the populace that lay in the not too distant future.<sup>81</sup>

In France, a group of playwright-editors shared the Quidnunc predilection for a more participatory political culture and engaged in what Nina Gelbart calls Frondeur journalism in an effort to achieve it. During the last years of Louis XV’s reign, Chancellor Maupeou exiled the *parlements* (law courts) for their bold use of the right of remonstrance against the crown, cracked down on writers and journalists, and placed the strict royalist censor Marin in charge of the *Gazette de France*. But following his dismissal in 1775, a group of playwright-editors whose works had been rejected by the Comédie-Française banded together to attack its privileged, exclusive position through a network of mutually supportive journals, including the *Journal du théâtre*, *Journal des dames*, and *Lettres sur les spectacles*. In addition to supporting the *parlements*, they began criticizing various absolutist institutions, including the *Gazette de France* and *Mercure de France*. But despite disguising their attacks as criticism of the Comédie-Française, they were eventually purged.<sup>82</sup>

## From Political to Social Criticism

The arrest and trial of John Peter Zenger in New York for seditious libel in 1735 was typical of the initial attitude to criticism of the governing authorities in the Thirteen Colonies. But after his surprise acquittal, they became reluctant to risk further humiliation at the hands of colonial juries and the door was

open for the polemical news essays of the Revolutionary era.<sup>83</sup> An example of their weighting of facts and interpretation is Samuel Adams's essay in the *Boston Gazette* on 17 October 1768, which uses a quotation from political philosopher John Locke to condemn the Quartering Act:

“Where Law ends, (says Mr. Locke) TYRANNY begins, if the Law be *transgress'd to anothers harm*”: No one I believe will deny the truth of the observation, and therefore I again appeal to common sense, whether the act which provides for the quartering and billeting the King's troops, was not TRANSGRESS'D, when the barracks at the Castle WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT TO CONTAIN MORE than the whole number of soldiers now in this town, were ABSOLUTELY REFUS'D: This I presume cannot be contested. Should anyone say that the law is not transgres'd [*sic*] “*to anothers harm*,” the assertion I dare say would contradict the feelings of every sober householder in the town. No man can pretend to say that the *peace and good order* of the community is so secure with soldiers quartered in *the body of a city* as without them.

Whereas a modern journalist might try to stoke anger by elaborating on the details of the quartering, Adams emphasized the transgression of the esteemed Locke.

In contrast to the halting development of political reporting, other areas of the 18th-century news miscellany experienced greater change, though not always for the clear betterment of readers. While 17th-century newsbooks reported sporadically on crime,<sup>84</sup> 18th-century newspapers devoted far more attention to it. They also transformed the obituary, giving it some of the characteristics of modern celebrity journalism. In the 1660s, Roger L'Estrange's weekly *Intelligencer* included “Life and Death” pieces on the high born as a means of rewarding loyalty and service to the crown. But weaker libel laws thereafter facilitated a more inclusive and intrusive approach to what made a life (or death) notable. John Dunton's *The Post-Angel* (1701–1702) deemed the infamous pirate and murderer Captain William Kidd worthy of an obituary for both a life lived badly and a death met poorly—he refused to repent, at least not until the first attempt to hang him was botched. While Dunton's obituaries were written so as to be entertaining, they were also meant to serve as a means of spiritual improvement. But no such moral concern troubled the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which placed its obituaries in a column so named for the first time in 1780. These included persons whose only claim to fame might be prowess in sports, acting, gambling, or even excessive drinking, cementing celebrity as the basis of a death worth knowing about.<sup>85</sup>

At the same time, however, other staples of English news became more socially conscious and beneficial. During the 18th century, London newspapers began producing longer accounts of suicides by anonymous

correspondents or, in some cases, the editors themselves. These reports reconstructed particular suicides in detail, often included suicide notes, and no longer depicted self-killing as a diabolical crime but rather as a tragedy that sometimes befell ordinary people for understandable reasons. By considering the impact of suicides on families, they reflected and promoted a secular conception of the causes and consequences of suicide. They shifted public attention away from the religious condemnation of suicide to its social and psychological significance. This coverage helped to change the law governing suicide as it affected the families of victims.<sup>86</sup>

On the eve of the French Revolution in 1789, there were still only about 20 journals produced by some 100 journalists in all of France. Internally produced political news was still confined to the official *Gazette de France* and external newspapers like the *Courier d'Avignon* were closely monitored. In contrast, there were an estimated 76 newspapers in England and Wales by 1781, despite the continuation of stamp taxes and a strict law of libel. But even there the typical newspaper was still “a small commercial speculation designed primarily to advertise new books, quack medicines, theatre programmes, auction sales, and shipping news. It contained only a few paragraphs of news . . . and its sale was measured by the hundreds.”<sup>87</sup> During the next century or so, the news environment of both Europe and America would undergo an astonishing series of changes, but especially in the Anglo-American world where the press was the least affected by political and literary constraints.

## THE RISE OF MODERN JOURNALISM IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

Histories of journalism have traditionally focused on the long and continuing struggle for freedom of the press and the changing technological and economic conditions of news production. But since the late 20th century, such histories have shifted their attention to the practices that make journalism a distinctive form of discourse. These practices consist of patterns of behavior that arise from adherence to certain normative rules by a journalistic community. Although their acceptance is never total, it is established and maintained internally by those engaging in journalism rather than imposed on them externally. For example, most colonial American editors followed the practice of including a blank page at the end of newsletters to enable readers to add their own news before distributing them further. But no editor was forcibly compelled to do so as opposed to running afoul of the law of seditious libel.

## The “Invention” of Journalism

For historian Jean Chalaby, journalism was “invented” when news production became largely a matter of self-governing practices. In *The Invention of Journalism* (1998), he proposed that this “journalistic revolution” occurred initially in Britain and the United States during the last two-thirds of the 19th century. It then gradually spread in part to France and other European countries. But even its core practices were never fully accepted, especially insofar as they privileged factual reporting over political rumination.<sup>88</sup>

One indication that a pattern of activity has become a practice is its description in manuals or textbooks insofar as these often endorse what has already taken place. It is instructive, therefore, to find New York book publisher Jesse Haney’s *Guide to Authorship* (1867) telling prospective reporters:

There should be no comments. The editor should not be a partizan [*sic*] of either side. He should chronicle the facts, but not give opinions. If there be a public meeting, it should be reported fairly. It makes no difference if the editor differs with its object, or objects to its proceedings. He may comment on both with a reasonable degree of severity, if he thinks it judicious to do so; but he should report it fairly and honestly as a matter of news, giving his personal views in another portion of his paper.

While Haney’s anachronistic use of *editor* shows he had not entirely caught up to changes in newspapers, his advice about sticking to the facts in news reports indicates that it was becoming widespread. More in touch with current realities, in some cases, were social commentators, especially when they were practitioners talking about their own field. We thus find French journalist Lucien-Anatole Prevost-Paradol describing the characteristics of the English press in 1858 as follows:

Le plus important peut-être de ses caractères, c’est l’entendue et l’exactitude habituelle de ses informations. Qu’il s’agisse . . . de l’extrémité de l’Orient ou de la plus voisine des rues de Londres, c’est une zèle égal, ce sont d’aussi grands efforts pour apprendre la vérité et pour le dire aussitôt qu’on la sait.

Perhaps the most important of these traits is the customary extent and accuracy of its news. Whether . . . from the far reaches of the Orient or the nearest streets of London, it is with equal enthusiasm that they strive to learn the truth and inform us as soon as they know it.

In contrast, the French press was “generally poorly informed” so that “its commentaries on foreign politics rested on the vaguest and most insufficient



knowledge.”<sup>89</sup> The same was true of other European countries such as Greece, where newspapers were still called *views-papers*.

When did the gathering of timely, factual, reliable, and extensive information begin to characterize Anglo-American news practices? Chalaby considered the 1830s to be the formative period. This periodization was accepted by Joel Wiener in *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s–1914* (2011), though he saw the United States as spearheading the process. Both historians were influenced by Michael Schudson’s *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (1978), which argued that modern journalism was first exemplified in the penny papers in conjunction with the emergence of a democratic market society in Jacksonian America.

However, more recent research points to several earlier contributions to the genesis of modern journalism, some of which occurred in continental Europe. It further suggests that there was a transatlantic “feedback loop” (Dallas Liddle) between Britain and America with influences flowing in both directions. The rise of modern journalism through this process of exchange will thus be considered within a broader cultural context during what Eric Hobsbawm called the long 19th century—the period from the French Revolution to World War I.

## Early Reporters and Editorialists

The history of reporting—which some would say is the core of journalism history—is the most under-researched and poorly written area of that history. There is little agreement as to when it begins or even who counts as a reporter. But a plausible starting point is the stenographic reporter who began providing improved coverage of Parliament for British newspapers following its decision in 1783 to allow note-taking of its debates. Their employment was led by the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Daily Universal Register* (1785)—or *The Times* (of London) as of January 1788. They began organizing teams of reporters equipped with shorthand to prepare lengthy verbatim reports. *Times*’ proprietor John Walter in particular believed that readers wanted to know what was being said about events in France and America in as much detail and as timely a manner as possible.<sup>90</sup> To fulfill this need there was a steady increase in the number of Parliamentary reporters. In *The Newspaper Press* (1871), James Grant, who had himself sat in the Gallery, estimated that there were 105 such reporters, who were “not only gentlemen by education, but in dress and manner.”<sup>91</sup>

In the United States, Thomas Lloyd, who had a reputation as the best shorthand writer in the new republic, convinced the U.S. House of Representatives to let him record, edit, and publish accounts of its proceedings. Although

other reporters were also allowed in the House, Lloyd was permitted to sit near the speaker where speeches could be heard most clearly. While some members complained of inaccurate reporting and contemplated removing the reporters, James Madison thought the inaccuracies were unintentional and defended publication of the debates. But Lloyd's *Congressional Register* was only available weekly on a subscription basis and lasted less than a year from 6 May 1789 to 8 March 1790—when it suddenly broke off inexplicably in mid-sentence.<sup>92</sup>

After its demise, newspapers such as the Federalist semiweekly *Gazette of the United States* and the *Aurora* resumed coverage of the House debates, but they did not gain admittance to the Senate until 1794. Compared to *The Times*, their reports were highly selective and often inaccurate, owing in part to the difficulty of hearing and identifying speakers.<sup>93</sup> Still, this situation was preferable to that in France, where newspapers were not allowed to report parliamentary proceedings until 1860 and then only what was printed in the official newspaper *Le Moniteur Universel*.

Until recently, *The Times* has also been considered to have led the way in the development of the modern editorial. Eighteenth-century political commentaries were, like news reports, referred to as *paragraphs* because of their customary and intentional brevity. They took the form of letters to the paper from figures with pseudonyms like Decius or Britannicus, who were usually either readers or the fictional creations of editors and their staff. When editors did identify themselves as authors, they did not present the opinions expressed as the voice of the paper. Beginning in the 1790s, however, *The Times* began producing what were called *leading articles* or *leaders*. Influenced by newspaper observers such as Anthony Trollope in the 1860s, journalism historian Dallas Liddle saw them initially as prototypical editorials. In a 1999 study, he credited the *Edinburgh Review* under editor Francis Jeffrey with inspiring them and described them as running to about 1,500 words (or 20 to 25 column inches), occupying slightly more than one column of a six-column broadsheet. Each writer was thought to produce three or four such pieces a day, which were placed on the front page and for which the paper itself took credit using the editorial “we.” Whereas 18th-century papers displayed deference toward their readers, the anonymous leading article elevated itself to the status of what Liddle called “an authoritarian public oracle” or voice of lordly omniscience, which saw itself as distilling the public mind.<sup>94</sup>

In a subsequent study (2015), however, Liddle substantially revised this account—with significant implications for dating the rise of the modern editorial. In tracing 19th-century usages of the term *leading article*, he found it had very different denotations. In 1800, it simply described a subsection of the paper where small, last-minute news items were placed. By the

mid-1820s, it no longer designated a location but rather a single article about three-quarters of a column long. Though still surrounded by shorter items, this “leading article” was not taken to encompass them. Then during the 1830s, it became a plural noun (“leaders”) referring to several long articles of varying lengths on any given day. It was not until the 1850s that the term generally referred to three or four articles about one column each in length.<sup>95</sup>

Given this evolution of meaning, Liddle examined what Victorian leader writers were actually *doing* over the decades. By analyzing their opening words, he found that between 1810 and 1850, they often used leading articles to explain the sources of the day’s news, direct readers to important content in the paper that day, or account for some shortcoming in the coverage provided. Though opinion pieces were produced throughout this period, it was not until the late 1840s that broad magisterial political pronouncements became the archetype of the leading article as it is known today.<sup>96</sup>

The development of the editorial in the United States did not, therefore, lag that far behind the rise of the leading article in its opinion-rendering capacity. In the mid-1790s, Noah Webster’s *American Minerva*, New York City’s first daily newspaper, began placing longer paragraphs in a separate column headed “The Minerva.” Then in 1800, Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the *Aurora* in Philadelphia, moved these paragraphs to page two and began referring to himself as “we.” Webster’s paper was an organ of the Federalists and Bache used the *Aurora* to engage in anti-Federalist diatribes. Both were too partisan to limit commentary to a specific column or downplay the identity of their editor. But in the mid-1830s, James Gordon Bennett revived use of “we” to imply that his opinions were the collective voice of the *New York Herald*. And Horace Greeley adopted the British practice of employing several writers to produce a commentary page for his *New York Tribune*. Although there was still a fairly clear identification of the editor with the *editorial*, the term started to come into usage around this time. On 16 August 1836, for example, Bennett told his readers: “We rise in the morning before 5 o’clock—write our leading editorials.”

### ***Feuilletons, Canards, and Romans-Feuilletons***

The emergence of editorials in some American newspapers in the 1830s was overshadowed by the popularization of news that began at the same time and constituted what Schudson understood as “discovering the news.” But the development of more popular news content was not limited to the United States and Britain and occurred before the 1830s. In France what was known as the *feuilleton* was clearly a genre of popular news. It was born on 28 January 1800 when Julien Louis Geoffrey and Bertin the Elder, editors

of the *Journal des débats*, happened to insert an extra sheet into the edition as it went to press. This leaf contained tidbits of nonpolitical news and gossip written in a light-hearted and entertaining manner, much like the *New Yorker's* “talk of the town” column a century later. It eventually included other forms of content such as literary and art criticism and fashion news and spread beyond France. In the mid-1820s, Faddej Bulgarin introduced Russian readers to the *feuilleton* in the *Northern Bee* and Fyodor Dostoevsky wrote a number of *feuilletons* entitled “Petersburg Chronicle” early in his career. In the German states, attempts to make it a more belletristic genre did not prevent the authorities from denouncing it as subversive.<sup>97</sup>

The material in French *feuilletons* was meant to provide light entertainment for the upper echelons of society. But for the masses in the streets of Paris and beyond, *canards* were still the news medium of choice. They consisted of small booklets or, more frequently, large posters produced by members of the urban working classes for sale by peddlers, who sang out their headlines (and songs) and sometimes encouraged members of a gathering crowd to join in. Illustrated with crude engravings, they focused on the violent and the sensational. Typical of their content in 1835 was the burning of the Théâtre de la Gaîté, fighting in North Africa, the escape and arrest of inmates of Sainte-Pélagie prison, and the attempted assassination of King Louis Philippe. According to censors' statistics, printers made between 4,000 and 15,000 copies of each *canard*. But printers often underreported their numbers and failed to report reprints with minor changes, so most *canards* probably numbered in the many tens of thousands. After 1850, they were issued in a larger, multipage format with higher quality pictorial images and flourished well into the 20th century. According to Thomas Cragin, they were not only highly resilient but “a counterrevolution in print” in the sense of opposing modernity and modern conceptions of criminality.<sup>98</sup>

In 1836, two Parisian publishers decided to take on the *canards* on their own turf. On the same July day, Émile de Girardin and Armand Dutacq founded *La Presse* and *Le Siècle*, respectively. Both dailies adopted a larger format and cut their subscription rates from 80 to 40 francs a year, hoping to make up the difference through more subscribers and more paid advertising at a higher rate (as much as 500 francs a page). To attract more subscribers, they included news about accidents, crime, and other disasters in the manner of the *canards*, while avoiding controversial political views. They also began placing episodic fiction or *romans-feuilletons* in the *feuilleton's* space.

Although French businessmen remained slower to advertise than their British and American counterparts, the addition of *romans-feuilletons* was a spectacular success. As with many “firsts,” this was not the first use of fiction in a newspaper. In England, weekly penny papers had previously found

a measure of success by combining news and popular fiction. But they were not intended for a mass audience and the fiction in question was second-rate. In contrast, after experimenting with a translation of the Spanish novella *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), *Le Siècle* published Honoré de Balzac's *La Vieille Fille* (1837) in 12 installments. *La Presse* followed suit and both papers soon achieved circulations of close to 11,000, with *Le Siècle*'s rising to over 33,000 by 1840 and as much as 40,000 thereafter. Although these circulations depended in part on having faster steam presses, which could print 1,000 to 2,000 sheets an hour front and back, it was their content that ensured they had something to print. Before long political newspapers such as the liberal *Le Constitutionnel* and the conservative *Le National* were also increasing their flagging circulations through mystery and adventure *romans-feuilletons*.<sup>99</sup> At the beginning of the 1830s, the combined circulation of Parisian newspapers was about 50,000. But by 1846, it had risen to over 180,000, even though newspapers still had to pay a security deposit, a postal tax, and a stamp duty.

### The Penny Papers in Britain and America

In Britain, where a stamp tax was likewise still in effect, cheap newspapers were also initiated in the 1830s and early 1840s. But none of these became a popular daily in the manner of *La Presse* and *Le Siècle*. In 1831, for example, Henry Hetherington began publishing *Poor Man's Guardian* and priced it at a penny in defiance of the stamp duty of four pence per copy. It stated on its masthead that it was "established contrary to 'law' to try the power of 'might' against 'right'." But it was only published once a week for the purpose of advancing the lot of the working class. The same goal governed other Chartist newspapers, such as the *Northern Star* (1837) and *Chartist Circular* (1839). The former averaged 48,000 copies in 1839, but cost four and a half pence; the latter sold for a halfpenny, but did not contain any news.

In 1832, Charles Knight began publishing *The Penny Magazine* every Saturday. Though popular in the United States, it was too dry to appeal to the British working classes. Until the repeal of the stamp tax in 1855, popular news content in penny publications was limited to Sunday newspapers like Edward Lloyd's *Penny Sunday Times and People's Police Gazette* (1840) and John Browne Bell's *Penny Weekly* (1841).<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the founding of penny dailies like the *Star* and *Telegraph* in London after the repeal did not do much to alter this situation, at least according to the *New York Herald* on 3 January 1857. "The first thing which strikes the eye," it observed, "is that they are miniature copies of the *Times*. They have the same heavy editorial, about the same heavy Parliamentary subject . . . [and] their news is on the same plan. Their foreign correspondents entertain them with grave and

strictly gentlemanly conjectures . . . [and] their domestic reporters acquaint them with the fact that . . . H.R.H.P. Albert went out shooting.”

The *Herald* was one of the first penny dailies to burst upon the New York newspaper scene in the mid-1830s or rather one of the first popular dailies to meet with success. In 1827, the *Boston Evening Bulletin* began as a semi-weekly penny paper. When it ceased publication in 1830, Lynde Walter tried to fill the void with the *Boston Evening Transcript* on a daily basis. But it was not a popular paper; its front page was filled with advertisements and shipping news and inside there was theater criticism and a genealogy column. Then in January 1833, the New York physician Horatio Sheppard teamed up with printer Francis Story and a young Horace Greeley to launch the *New York Morning Post* for two cents an issue. Sheppard wanted to make it a penny daily, but Greeley disagreed. When it began to fail after a matter of weeks, they lowered its price to a penny, but to no avail. Later the same year, however, Sheppard’s vision was realized by a 23-year-old job printer without much education from Springfield, Massachusetts, where he had apprenticed on the *Republican*.

His name was Benjamin Day and it is said that he was descended from William Brewster, who sailed on the *Mayflower*. The penny daily was called *The Sun* and its first four-page issue was published on 3 September 1833 under the moniker “It Shines for ALL.” Rejecting the partisanship of the elite six-penny party papers, Day declared on 31 March 1834 that he was “determined to conduct an independent paper . . . and nothing shall deter us therefrom.” *The Sun* was an immediate commercial success. By 1835, according to Day at least, it had a circulation of 19,000, which, if correct, would have made it the largest paper in the world. In 1837, Day sold the paper to his brother-in-law, Moses Yale Beach, for \$40,000—a decision he later regretted.

The *New York Sun* soon became known for its use of titillating material, including hoaxes, to generate street sales. But together with other penny dailies, it also fostered a more inclusive conception of news. As Schudson observed, the penny papers “saw news in ordinary events where no one had seen anything noteworthy before.” In doing so, they “inaugurated [a] democratic attitude toward the happenings of the world: any event, no matter how apparently trivial, might qualify for print in a newspaper.”<sup>101</sup> For Schudson, they were a response to the informational needs of a rising middle class and contributed to a Democratic Market Society.<sup>102</sup> In *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (1981), Dan Schiller challenged this interpretation, arguing that they were primarily an instrument of the working class. But he agreed that they widened the definition of what counts as news. Bennett’s *New York Herald*, founded on 6 May 1835, was particularly instrumental in this regard. It included news about the courts,

Wall Street, sports, high society, and the arts as well as domestic and international political developments.

The penny papers' use of sensationalism has obscured the extent to which they supported downtrodden members of American society. While some of their stories were of little consequence, others pointed to the harsh realities of workers' lives; expressed indignation at judges who handed down harsh sentences for slight transgressions; and criticized imprisonment for debt, the inequities of the militia system, and the contracting of prison labor. Even their hoaxes contributed to balancing the scales of injustice by their implied criticism of people's willingness to take authoritative pronouncements at face value.<sup>103</sup> In some cases, stories about the social activities of the elite were meant to critique their effete lifestyle. The sensationalistic treatment of the Helen Jewett murder trial in 1836 was intended not only to attract readers by its prurient details but to question upper and middle-class morality.<sup>104</sup>

### From Penny-a-Liners to Salaried Reporters

By the 1830s, the stamped press in Britain was including more popular news material. But it was mainly supplied by what were known as penny-a-liners rather than salaried reporters. "They are altogether a singular race," wrote James Grant in *The Great Metropolis* (1836). "They are a class, in a great measure, by themselves; they live by the press, and yet they do not, strictly speaking, belong to the press. They have no regular sum for their labours; sometimes no sum at all." Newspapers were not bound to use their material, and did so selectively, such that "their minds [were] constantly racked with anxiety." While a few penny-a-liners managed to escape this journalistic purgatory by becoming regular reporters, most remained mired in a situation in which factual accuracy was the least of their concerns. "A 'horrible murder,'" Grant wrote, "rejoices the hearts of the Penny-a-Liners," adding that "if no romantic materials exist, they call in the aid of their inventive faculties."<sup>105</sup>

In contrast, the penny papers in America used salaried reporters, beginning with *The Sun's* George W. Wisner. After working for several newspapers, he offered to write original court reports for Day, who needed an assistant who could not only set type but produce content of interest to the *Sun's* working-class readers. For \$4 a week and a partial interest in the paper, Wisner produced humorous morality tales about persons caught up by the law. His terse, colloquial style was a reflection of the "elementary principles of news" that he set forth in the *Sun's* issue for 4 April 1835:

News, properly so called, to be interesting to the public, must generally tell of wars and fightings [*sic*], of deeds of death, of blood, of wounds and heresies,

of broken heads, broken hearts, and broken bones, of accidents by fire or flood, a field of possessions ravaged, property purloined, wrongs inflicted, rights un-avenged, reputations assailed, feelings embittered, and oppressions exercised by nations, communities or individuals. These are generally the elementary principles of news, and when such accounts are received, we are in the habit of denominating them great or good news, as the matter may be, without a solitary feeling of sorrow for the miseries others have to endure to furnish food for pampering the morbid appetites of cormorants for news.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to using reporters to cover New York, Bennett stationed correspondents in major American cities and later employed foreign correspondents like Januarius MacGahan. Like most editors, he treated his reporters poorly, paying low wages and providing no guarantees from one assignment to the next.<sup>107</sup>

On 1 September 1854, the *New York Times* gloated over the fact that it did *not* make use of penny-a-liners:

An inevitable result is, the temptation to invent intelligence, and the tendency to gross misstatement and exaggeration which such a system of news-manufacture creates; and so, the general local news in a London newspaper must be, and generally is, taken *cum grano salis*. Here in New-York we have a better system. Each journal has its own responsible reporters, and will not insert intelligence supplied by “outsiders” without full assurance of its being genuine. We prefer this system on many accounts, to the London practices above described.

In 1873, however, a contributor to *Chambers Journal* argued that the “liners” made an important contribution:

Making allowance for occasional queer modes of obtaining or inventing news, the “penny-a-liners” are a class whom the public could ill spare. The regular reporters cannot be everywhere at critical moments; they report in accordance with previous arrangements with the editor, and are by no means in position to hunt up the sudden news which is so much sought for in papers. The “liner” does this, and works hard at his vocation.<sup>108</sup>

Moreover, a rose by any other name is still a rose. In its account of “American Journalism” in 1891, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* pointed out:

The number of reporters employed by a paper like the New York *Herald* or *Times* is about 30. Some of them receive weekly salaries from \$15 to \$40 a week, but the larger number are what are called *space men*, who either gather news at their own risk or receive assignments from the city editor, and are paid by the column for what is accepted and printed.<sup>109</sup>



**Table 1 Percentage of News by Source: U.S. Newspapers, 1820–1860**

	1820–1832	1833–1846	1847–1860
Local reporter	12	13	20
Local editor	13	23	25
Correspondent	7	8	10
Letter to newspaper	10	7	6
Clipped news	54	46	30
Telegraph	0	<0.5	8
Other	4	2	2

In the first decade after the penny papers were established, the percentage of news from local reporters increased only marginally, with clipped news still constituting almost half of all copy. However, a content analysis of 67 American newspapers (38 dailies and 29 non-dailies) from 1820 to 1860 found that by the 1850s, local reporting had increased significantly (table 1),<sup>110</sup> entailing a concomitant increase in the number of reporters.

In his 1893 lecture “The Profession of Journalism,” Charles Dana estimated that at a large newspaper such as the *Tribune* in New York, 60 or 70 of the 100 employees in its editorial department would be reporters “who are sent out when any event of great interest occurs, when a bank breaks, when a great fire breaks out, when there is an earthquake, to inquire into the facts and collect information.”<sup>111</sup> But how many reporters were there at mid-century? The most frequently cited figure is that Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune* had 14 reporters in 1854. The usually unmentioned source of this number is a document entitled “Tribune Directory. Corrected May 10, 1854,” which James Parton used in his 1869 biography of Greeley.

Parton’s summary gives us not only the number of reporters but a picture of how they were allocated:

One of these keeps an eye on the Police, chronicles arrests, walks the hospitals in search of dreadful accidents, and keeps the public advised of the state of its health. Three report lectures and speeches. Another gathers items of intelligence in Jersey City, Newark, and parts adjacent. Others do the same in Brooklyn and Williamsburgh. One gentleman devotes himself to the reporting of fires and the movements of the military. Two examine and translate from the New York papers which are published in the German, French, Italian and Spanish languages. Then there is a Law Reporter, a Police Court Reporter, and a Collector of Marine Intelligence . . . Besides these, the Tribune has a special Ship News Editor.<sup>112</sup>

Parton added that the *Tribune* also had 38 “regular and paid correspondents . . . eighteen foreign, twenty home.” But a study of the four main dailies in London (*The Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Standard*) found that even in the 1860s, each paper had only a handful of correspondents in the field at any one time.<sup>113</sup> British and American newspapers were, nonetheless, well ahead of French newspapers in their use of foreign correspondents. No French newspaper had any correspondents before the 1870s when *Le Temps* set up a small team and most had none at all until World War I.<sup>114</sup>

### Breaking News, Interviews, and the Inverted Pyramid

As table 1 indicates, telegraphic news was beginning to play a role in American newspapers by the 1850s. Following Samuel Morse’s experimental use of the electric telegraph to transmit news in 1844, James Gordon Bennett surmised that “it may not affect magazine literature, but the mere newspapers—the circulators of intelligence merely—must submit to destiny, and go out of business.” However, he soon warmed to its possibilities for greater timeliness.<sup>115</sup> In 1848, the *New York Herald* boasted that it had printed 36¼ columns of telegraphed news during the first two weeks of January. Most of this content consisted of summaries of legislative proceedings, market reports, and shipping news. But with the creation of the Associated Press (AP) news agency the same year, telegraph dispatches became more diverse.<sup>116</sup> Together with some newspapers, it rented private wires from the many telegraph companies that were blanketing the country with their “lightening lines.” In Britain, where this practice was considered illegal, telegraphed news developed more slowly—100 times more slowly according to Greeley in 1851.<sup>117</sup> *The Times* considered it too expensive and inaccurate until the Crimean War of 1854 made it indispensable. Nor was it among the newspapers that signed up for the trial of Julius Reuter’s news agency in 1858. But it eventually came on board, especially as the relative cost of telegraph news began to decline.<sup>118</sup>

Together with the news agencies that arose to exploit it, the telegraph accelerated the development of the breaking-news cycle begun by the penny press. Models of this cycle focusing on disaster news have identified a three-stage curve: a rapid rise of coverage despite few facts being available; a peak as more information becomes known; and a gradual lessening of coverage as recovery begins and events start to return to normal. A more general model characterizes the process as movement from incomplete and often inaccurate

coverage to the injection of human-interest angles into stories and then to more analytical and evaluative coverage.<sup>119</sup>

A study of coverage of a fire that devastated Virginia City in 1875 found that it generally conformed to these models, but also exhibited certain features peculiar to Gilded Age America. Newspapers began by presenting news of the disaster as a series of telegraph dispatches cascading down the page in chronological order from “Later” to “Latest” to “Very Latest.” They made little or no attempt to edit the disjointed content and truncated language in the original transmissions and avoided conjecture and commentary. Within a few days, however, they began to supplement these dispatches with further information, including procured quotations and telegraphs. While retaining the dispatch structure, they intervened editorially in terms of sentence structure and syntax. They also began to consider some of the larger consequences and implications of the event, with stories moving from the front page to other sections of the paper. Their increased use of emotional language not only conveyed the degree of the catastrophe but created a multisensory experience for the reader.<sup>120</sup>

Telegraphy enabled newspapers to select events on the basis of their significance rather than location, making them what Esperanca and Bassnett call “a palimpsest where different events from the most diverse places coexisted, thus creating an experience of global simultaneity.”<sup>121</sup> During the Civil War (1861–1865), its use gave American reporters a stronger sense of themselves as a new kind of author. In autobiographies written afterward, for example, a group of New York City correspondents who called themselves the Bohemian brigade tried to shape public perceptions of journalism in line with a new reportorial role. The term was a deliberately ostentatious way of assuming the mantle of a circle of rebellious young writers and artists who hung out at Pfaff’s beer cellar at the corner of Bleeker Street and Broadway in Manhattan, where they tried to emulate the “Bohemians” portrayed in Henri Murger’s *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1851), which later inspired Pucini’s opera *La bohème* (1895). The acclaimed “king” of New York’s Bohemia was Henry Clapp, who founded a shoestring weekly journal called *Saturday Press* (1858–1860) in which the struggling bohemians of Pfaff’s could engage in unconventional forms of literature, criticism, and the arts. Journalism historian Andie Tucher suggests that in constructing themselves as a breed apart from other kinds of authors, they mark the beginning of thought about journalism as a profession.<sup>122</sup>

This sense of identity was further strengthened by the relatively new practice of interviewing. In *The Americanization of the World* (1902), William T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, called it a “distinctively American

invention,” which it was, but one to which he himself had contributed two decades earlier. Exactly when it arose continues to be a matter of debate. During the Helen Jewett murder trial, James Gordon Bennett questioned one of the witnesses. But even in the 1860s, interviews were rare; they were restricted to major figures such as Brigham Young and treated as news events in themselves. It was not until the 1870s that interviewing also became a means of gathering information, one which gave reporters a new form of power and undermined the authority of public figures. Interviewing assumed that society, as embodied in the reporter, has a right to question those in positions of authority as a matter of protecting the public interest.<sup>123</sup>

For many social commentators, including some journalists, interviewing was initially regarded as a “thoroughly contemptible” device. “It elevates prying into an art,” complained a writer for *Galaxy* in 1874. “It is a conspiracy against the privacy of the individual . . . and it places the person who either consents or refuses to be interviewed at the mercy of his tormentor.” Such criticism was not without grounds. From its inception, it was derided as Jenkins journalism and disparaged by writers such as Henry James in *The Reverberator* (1888) for its various abuses, including tricking sources into speaking, manipulating the questions asked of them, and even faking interviews.<sup>124</sup>

As interviewing became commonplace in the 1880s, so too did a new style of news presentation that became known as the inverted pyramid. It consisted of organizing the facts or events of a story in order of their relative importance as opposed to a chronological narrative. A closely related practice was that of the summary lead, which consisted of answering the four W-questions—Who? What? When? and Where?—in the first sentence or thereabouts. One explanation of its adoption is that because of the unreliability of telegraphy in 1850s and 1860s, it was expedient to put the most important information at the beginning of a news report. In that way, the risk was reduced of losing valuable material in the event of a malfunction. Another explanation is that Edwin M. Stanton, President Abraham Lincoln’s secretary of war, used the technique in his press bulletins during the Civil War to help steer public opinion.<sup>125</sup>

In a pioneering content analysis of the *New York Herald* and *New York Times* conducted in 2003, Hörst Pottker found that the inverted pyramid style not widely used in these papers until the 1880s. He proposed, moreover, that it was adopted at that point mainly because of its advantages in terms of clear communication.<sup>126</sup> Assuming a lag between manuals and reality, this timing fits with Edwin L. Shuman’s advice in *Steps into Journalism: Helps and Hints for Young Writers* (1894) that “a well constructed story begins with its most important fact and ends with the least important.”

## The New Journalism in Britain and America

Interviewing, the inverted pyramid, and popular content were features of what the British cultural critic Matthew Arnold called the new journalism in 1887. Arnold lamented the loss of the lengthy reports of Parliamentary proceedings and pontifical leading articles that James Gordon Bennett had made fun of 30 years earlier. He could take no pleasure in the shorter, more personal, and often more provocative content that was replacing it. But human-interest stories and celebrity features were only one element of the new journalism. Its most salient and unrecognized achievement was its investigative journalism, which arose initially not in America but in Britain.

For much of the 19th century, attempts to elevate the role of journalism depicted it as a kind of literary schoolroom. In an address to the Statistical Society of London on 21 June 1841, P. L. Simmonds despaired of the fact that newspapers writers were “looked down upon as an inferior caste of literati” when their “especial business is to inform and instruct the public.”<sup>127</sup> “What is the office of journalism?” asked J. Boyd Kinnear in the *Contemporary Review* for July 1867. “It is to inform, to advise, and to direct.”<sup>128</sup> For advocates of the new journalism, however, the role of journalism was very different: it was to expose conditions requiring government action and ensure they were addressed. In “Government by Journalism,” published in the *Contemporary Review* for 1886, Stead wanted the press to become a *fourth estate*, a term thought to have originated in Edmund Burke’s comment with reference to the press gallery in the Commons: “And yonder sits the Fourth Estate, more important than them all.” As a fourth estate, the press would not simply provide citizens with the information necessary to perform their role in a democracy. It would also “initiate policy, criticize its application, control the executive, and act as an organ of public opinion.”<sup>129</sup> “Government” would occur “by journalism” in the sense that investigative journalism would be the annoying instigator of needed government action.

Investigative journalism encompasses a number of different types that range from observation from afar to witnessing what is being investigated from within. The latter approach, which has been described as “going down and out while disguised,” includes two subtypes: short-term (stunt journalism) and long-term (muckraking) involvement in the matter under investigation. This spectrum can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

### Categories of Investigative Journalism

<i>Short-term observation from afar</i>	----- -----	<i>Long-term Witnessing from within</i>
	conventional                      stunt                      muckraking	

Muckraking has long been considered an American phenomenon and, as David Gutzke has pointed out, the reason is not hard to find. In a speech delivered on 14 April 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt derided his critics for their lack of balance and perspective. “In Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*,” he chided, “you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck Rake . . . who was offered a celestial crown for his muck rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.” Though aimed primarily at media baron William Randolph Hearst,<sup>130</sup> use of this powerful term assured that it would be the investigative journalism of the Progressive era that would be considered its starting point and identified as a singularly American achievement. But in a corrective to this historiography, Gutzke shows that muckraking was an integral part of the new journalism in its British form.<sup>131</sup>

In fact, all three categories of investigative journalism originated in Britain or at least emerged there without external stimuli. The conventional approach was pioneered by Henry Mayhew in his series “Labour and Poor” in the *London Chronicle* in 1849–1850. According to one account of his “research” methods, he

had an array of assistant writers, stenographers and handsome cabmen constantly at his call. London labourers were brought to the *Chronicle* office, where they told their tales to Mayhew, who redictated [*sic*] them, with added colour of his own, to the shorthand writer. His brother Augustus helped him in his vivid descriptions, and an authority of political economy controlled his gay statistics.<sup>132</sup>

Though no statistician, the “the statistical Dickens” tried to quantify almost everything, including how often chimney-sweeps wash. As a result, he remained at a distance from his subjects, despite relating their heart-wrenching stories.

Stunt journalism also arose first in Britain when the Salvation Army urged Stead to expose the practice of child prostitution. He took the unusual step of showing how easy it was to purchase a young girl and published the shocking story “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 6 July 1885. Though sentenced to three months in jail for abduction, his action

provoked the government into passing legislation against child prostitution and contributed to international efforts to end it.

Though slower to instigate action, muckraking as “long-term witnessing from within” began even earlier with George R. Sims, a poet, playwright, and columnist for several London newspapers. In “How the Poor Live,” published in *Pictorial World* in 1882, he provided a graphic account of the precarious existence of London’s slum dwellers. It was little noticed by politicians or newspapers, but sympathetic editorials by Stead helped give the Rev. Andrew Mearns’s pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883) more impact. These early muckrakers assumed that to understand the hardship and fear of the working classes, they had to experience it themselves by personally passing as slum dwellers. As Olive Malvery told an interviewer, “only by becoming an outcast among outcasts could she ever hope to get to the heart of things.” Or as Robert H. Sherard explained in his expose of transatlantic immigration to America, “there is no other way of teaching the public what and how these people suffer, than by experiencing these sufferings in person.” Mary Higgs acquired the sobriquet “Mother Mary of the Tramps” during a long career of going down and out in Oldham. Her work did little to improve conditions in the slums.<sup>133</sup> But Annie Besant’s “White Slavery in London” (1888), which exposed the debilitating effects of lead and phosphorous poisoning on women working in pottery and match factories, contributed to beneficial regulations.

Thanks in part to Arnold, the new journalism in Britain came to be associated less with investigative journalism than features such as interviews and other forms of popular news content. In this regard, it was indebted to their somewhat earlier development in the United States, especially by Joseph Pulitzer in *The New York World*. Pulitzer might also be seen as calling for investigative journalism in his declaration in 1883 that the *World* would be “dedicated to the cause of the people, expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuse, and serve and battle for the people with earnest sincerity.” But Pulitzer understood this clarion call in the American tradition of regarding government as a source of oppression; he did not conceive of “government by journalism” in the activist manner of Stead.

In the late 1880s, Pulitzer hired Nellie Bly to engage in stunts exposing abuses in prisons, factories, nursing homes, and most famously Blackwell’s Island, New York City’s insane asylum for women. But they were intended less to prompt government action than to attract readers and were not followed up by systematic investigations. One study suggests that Nellie Bly’s trip around the world to see if an actual traveler could beat the time of Phileas Fogg in Jules Verne’s *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873) was “a race against the very idea of fictionality as well; the newspaper, if successful,

would emerge as the superior medium for a revision of Verne's romance."<sup>134</sup> (She completed the circumnavigation in 72 days). Hearst, who hired Winnifred Black ("Annie Laurie") to perform similar stunts, only did so to compete with Pulitzer after taking over the *New York Morning Journal* in 1895.

By the late 19th century, non-investigative elements of the new journalism were spreading to continental Europe, especially France. The creation of more popular French newspapers, which began with *La Presse* and *Le Siècle* in the mid-1830s, continued with Moïse Milhaud's founding of *Le Petit Journal* in 1863. As a nonpolitical paper, it sold for five centimes, one-third of the price of the political dailies and half that of *La Presse*. While continuing the serialization of novels, it tried to appeal to the readership of the *canards*. Milhaud told his reporters to "spend your time in buses, in trains, in theaters, in the street." "Your job," he said, "is to report what most men are thinking and to speak of everything as if you know more about it than anyone else." Its circulation was over 250,000 by 1865; 600,000 by 1880; and 1 million by 1887—one-quarter of that of all Parisian newspapers. Michael Palmer says its creation was "the birth of modern journalism" in France.<sup>135</sup> But it was only after the creation of *Le Matin* in 1884 by a group of American journalists that popular papers began imitating some of the audience-generating devices of the new journalism. In 1903, for example, *Le Petit Parisien* offered 250,000 francs in prizes for guessing the number of grains of wheat in a bottle. By then it had over a million readers, climbing to 1.4 million by 1914.

## Yellow Journalism and the First Tabloid

In the mid-1890s, John Gilmer Speed used his position at the *New York World* to compare the content of four New York dailies in 1881 and 1893. A grand-nephew of the poet John Keats, he worked as a civil engineer in Louisville, Kentucky, before leaving for New York, where he became managing editor and later publisher of the *World*. In the first formal content analysis of a newspaper, he found increased levels of gossip and scandal. He also criticized the new journalism for displacing the kind of news he believed readers needed to function as citizens in a democracy and for retailing examples of poor behavior they might imitate.<sup>136</sup>

Even so, the worst was yet to come as the new journalism American-style evolved into what was called *yellow journalism*. The term was coined by *New York Press* editor Erwin Wardman in 1896 in connection with Richard Outcault's cartoon series "Hogan's Alley" in Pulitzer's *World*. The series drew a humorous portrait of life in the New York tenements and had a toothless kid in a worker's smock with a permanent grin in each panel. When he appeared one week with a dab of yellow on his smock, he was nicknamed the Yellow



Kid. Critics such as William Cowper Brann then began applying the term to newspaper features such as screaming headlines, garish illustrations, and fake stories as well as the sensationalistic, self-promotional, and often jingoistic style of news coverage that came to characterize both the *World* and the *Morning Journal* during their circulation war in the late 1890s.

“The development of the ‘yellow press’ out of the New Journalism,” wrote Martin Conboy in *The Press and Popular Culture* (2001), “marked the point of transition where the function of popular education becomes lost in sensationalism and entertainment.”<sup>137</sup> Together with press criticism and faltering circulation figures, the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901 contributed to its decline. In his first message to Congress on 3 December 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt said the assassin had been “inflamed” not only by the teachings of anarchists but “probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred.”<sup>138</sup> At the same time, however, what would come to look very much like yellow journalism-lite was already making its appearance.

In 1896, the year Wardman coined the term *yellow journalism*, a new form of news publication was created in Britain. The brainchild of Lord Northcliffe, the *Daily Mail* was the first tabloid. The word *tabloid* (combining *tablet* and *alkaloid*) was originally trademarked by a British pill manufacturer. But Northcliffe stole the term to describe a newspaper that was like a small, concentrated pill containing all the news one needs in one convenient package, half the size of a conventional broadsheet. Despite its size, it used larger headlines and more photographs in addition to sensationalism and various entertainment features to attract lower-middle-class and working-class readers.<sup>139</sup> It soon spawned other tabloids in Britain and, after a period of cultural lag, their equivalent in North America, continental Europe, and other parts of the world. On a short-list of major developments in 20th-century journalism, tabloidization would rank near the top.

## TOWARD CONVERGENCE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

During the 20th century, journalism underwent a degree of convergence in two senses of the term.<sup>140</sup> The first form of convergence, about which there has been an ongoing debate, involved the spread of the modern Anglo-American concept of news to other parts of the West and beyond. By most accounts, this process was sporadic, uneven, and incomplete, but a significant feature of 20th-century journalism nonetheless. It depended on the spread of the idea of journalism as a profession, which was reinforced by the development of

newsmagazines, newsreels, and various radio and television news formats. Apart from increasing employment opportunities, these new media raised the stature of journalists—whom Max Weber still felt obliged to describe in “Politics as a Vocation” (1918) as “a sort of pariah caste, which is always estimated by ‘society’ in terms of its ethically lowest representative.”<sup>141</sup> In a few cases, such as the venerable Walter Cronkite, 20th-century journalists would become the conscience of a nation.

Even by the century’s end, however, geographical convergence of professional journalistic norms remained a work in progress. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, American and European governments spent several billion dollars trying to foster an independent, fact-based journalism in its former satellites. But these efforts produced disappointing results, especially in central Asia. By then, moreover, a new form of convergence was disrupting the very model that underlay the normative convergence project. Digital convergence or the integration of multiple media platforms into a multimedia news system was rapidly destabilizing traditional news practices in both print and broadcast media. New online media were not only uprooting the economic basis of legacy media but were in some cases explicitly rejecting their ideal of journalism as an instrument and safeguard of democracy.

## The Elements of Professionalism

Professionalism is not simply a set of work-related practices but an ethos governing those practices. This ethos consists of an imagined role for these practices, a belief that there are right and wrong ways of performing them, and an assumption that their fulfillment is idiosyncratic or “unique to the profession” and thus in need of formal training and organizational support. In addition to the autobiographies of the Bohemian brigade and the memoirs of late 19th-century editors, the prospectuses that American newspapers often issued to test the waters for a new publication or explain their philosophy point to a growing sense on the part of journalists that they were the “primary providers” of political news and commentary.<sup>142</sup>

This sense was accompanied by growing adherence to certain standards for reporting news, which “cub” reporters were expected to learn on the job through observation and trial and error. In an interesting twist on this point, Randall Sumpter proposes that these rules were accompanied by a parallel set of standards for falsifying or exaggerating news reports. “Because of economic conditions in the publishing industry and conditions within newsrooms,” he writes, “sharing standards for breaking news work conventions was as essential to the news workers’ professional identities as was following the accepted standards.”<sup>143</sup> For example, when reporters were assigned more

work than they could handle, they resorted to “combination” reporting or pooling their stories with their competitors. They also developed methods for prolonging stories and even staging them. As a final resort, which occurred with disconcerting frequency, they simply made up stories.

Sumpter says that according to one estimate, “more than half the ‘specials’ supplied to Sunday papers by city news bureaus and press associations were fakes.” He quotes the editor of one trade journal in the 1890s complaining that “not one in a hundred of these paragraphs is anything but pure fiction, coined at the point of a writer’s pen.”<sup>144</sup> But unlike the penny papers’ use of hoaxes to generate circulation or the present-day falsification of news for political purposes, faking news in the late 19th and early 20th centuries because of workload pressures was more a case of what has been theorized as “functional deviancy.” For example, although they were strictly prohibited from doing so for safety reasons, workers in post–World War II airplane assembly plants sometimes used a tool known as the tap to help maintain production quotas. A sociological study found that this deviant practice was governed by a set of rules designed to protect the workers and their immediate supervisors from detection and retribution by plant management.<sup>145</sup> If Sumpter is correct, journalists have likewise often done what is necessary to produce the news reports required of them without strictly adhering to the norms prescribed for them.

Whether normatively pure or not, the news reports of late 19th-century journalists still generally relayed information in the language of those who provided it: legal language when covering the courts, commercial language when writing about business, and political language when dealing with politics. To the extent they had a style of their own, it was one characterized by florid, sentimental, highly descriptive language. By the early 20th century, however, some reporters were beginning to rework material from external sources in a more independent manner and to present it in a less ostentatious style.<sup>146</sup> In particular, journalism became more rigidly separated from literature. As Kathy Forde and Katherine Foss write, “Literature became highbrow. Journalism became lowbrow. Even lowbrow journalism had its cultural distinctions, the neutral fact-based report being the most respected form of expression and the narrative, or story, report among the least.”<sup>147</sup> Together with the sense of journalism’s special role and the need for normative rules, an idiosyncratic use of language was an important element of the development of professionalism.

The growth of professionalism was reflected in the length of stories and the use of quotations. A study of American newspapers from 1876 to 1916 found that the average length of front-page stories increased from 1.43 to 3.66

column inches and was accompanied by a steady increase in the number of stories using quotations. In 1876, less than a third of front-page stories quoted a source, but by 1916 at least half were doing so. They were also relying less on party representatives than government officials for quotations, though still mainly from their speeches rather than interviews. Reporters were making fewer truth claims themselves and more statements about what someone else said was true. But at the same time, they were using these statements to construct their own storylines.<sup>148</sup>

### University Programs, Textbooks, and Professional Associations

To maintain their identifying role and practices, most professions rely on formal educational programs with sanctioned instructional texts and various supportive organizations. Both mechanisms are used to reinforce the natural tendency of professionalism to spread its perceived requirements to other jurisdictions. Although the ethos of professionalism and its embodiment was not limited to the United States, its emergence elsewhere was often a result of American influence or altered as a result of that influence. In late 19th-century Qing China, for example, journalists such as Liang Qichao sought to use professionalism as a form of protection against external state controls.<sup>149</sup> But after the turn of the century, professionalism became more a matter of establishing internal controls over entrance, membership, and work routines for Chinese journalists. This change stemmed in part from the advice of American journalism “experts” such as Walter Williams, a journalist-turned-academic at the University of Missouri.

In *The Practice of Journalism* (1911), a textbook coauthored with Frank Martin, Williams observed that “the term journalist,” which “was once held in disrepute,” now designated the member of “a profession in which special aptitude, equipment, experience and training are increasingly necessary.”<sup>150</sup> For Williams, professionalism was largely a matter of embracing norms such as objectivity and organizing stories in accordance with the inverted pyramid. He organized the world’s first school of journalism in 1908 and both it and his textbook became models for journalism programs and manuals in the non-Western world.<sup>151</sup> In 1921, Xu Baohuang, who cofounded the Journalism Study Society at Beijing University (Beida) with Cai Yuanpei, invited Williams to give a lecture at Beida and a series of talks elsewhere in China.<sup>152</sup>

In addition to university programs and textbooks, the idea of professionalism encouraged the establishment of journalism societies and associations. Early journalism associations arose primarily to protect the rights and status of journalists. One of the first was Concordia, founded in Vienna in 1859.

It was largely social in nature, but in 1885 French journalists organized the Association of Parisian Journalists not only to promote *esprit social* but to pursue financial security through medical and retirement programs. In the process of pursuing these practical objectives, however, these associations contributed to a sense of journalistic professionalism.

In 1889, British journalists created a similar organization called the Institute of Journalists. Its purpose was to “secure the advancement of all branches of Journalism; to obtain for Journalists, as Journalists, formal and definite professional standing; and to promote and serve in every possible way the interests of the profession of the Press.” During the next two decades, it created provident and orphan funds; secured the right of journalists to remuneration for testifying in court; and advanced the right of journalists to be present at inquests. Its attempt to develop an examination scheme to control entry into journalism faltered over differences about the desired level of openness to the field and the role of education in producing journalists. Its more senior members were generally opposed to limiting entry on the basis of expert knowledge. Instead their concern was to improve the social image and status of journalists. For the leaders of the Institute, professionalism rather than trade unionism was seen as the most appropriate means to these goals. But they were divided as to what made journalism a profession. For some, journalism was less a profession in its own right than an apprenticeship for other professions or careers.<sup>153</sup>

In the United States, journalists followed the lead of their British counterparts by organizing the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) in 1909 to protect their First Amendment rights and promote ethical behavior. In 1922, editors at the larger dailies decided to establish their own organization, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). The idea was first conceived by Caspar Yost, editor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, during a trip with some fellow editors to Glacier National Park in 1912 at the expense of railway magnate James H. Hill. Spurred by mounting criticism of the press, Yost organized a meeting of midwestern editors in Chicago at which ASNE was established. One of its first projects was to draft a code of ethics emphasizing truthfulness, sincerity, and devotion to the public interest.

During the same period, the first international organizations made their appearance, beginning with the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) in 1926. It now has about 140 member-unions in 103 countries, making it the largest international organization in the world. Its purposes are to defend press freedom and promote professional and industrial rights. In 1946, journalists from primarily socialist countries organized the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ). It ended in 1991, but elsewhere international organizations promoting the interests of journalists have multiplied and flourished.

## Investigative Journalism and Political Columnists

By the late 19th century, the American sense of journalists as professional news providers included the exposure of wrongdoing and corruption in business and politics as part of their responsibility to the public. This conception of journalism was put into practice by the muckrakers in the first decade of the 20th century and was reinforced by the desire of its literary practitioners—Upton Sinclair, David Graham Phillips, Lincoln Steffens—to show that literature is not aloof from the struggles of life.<sup>154</sup>

Like professionalism, early 20th-century muckraking journalism was not confined to the United States or even the West generally. In Japan, a group of popular journalists and other writers tried to expose the social costs of industrialization or what was called “the social problem.” Arahata Kanson, Kōtoku Shūsui, Sakai Toshihiko, Uchimura Kanzō, and others provided valuable assistance to the farmers of the Watarase valley in their fight against pollution by the Ashio copper mine. Like their American counterparts, they were more concerned to demonstrate how industry was contributing to urban poverty, labor exploitation, and pollution than in finding solutions to these problems. However, they were so intent on proving that capitalist industry was destroying the moral basis of Japanese society that they failed to offer an alternative to the Meiji dream of progress, leaving the door open for a replacement in the form of an emperor-state ideology.<sup>155</sup>

American muckraking also contributed to professionalism by continuing late 19th-century critiques of the press.<sup>156</sup> Will Irwin’s series on the “Power of the Press” in *Collier’s* in 1911 so upset Hearst that he said that both Irwin and *Collier’s* should be arrested. By showing how advertisers were influencing and even suppressing the news, it cast journalism into an unfavorable light. In an ironic confirmation of journalism’s lack of independence, the muckraking magazines were soon bought out or transformed by the interests they threatened. When Sinclair resumed Irwin’s criticism in *The Brass Check* (1919), he had to publish it himself because no commercial publisher would do so. And when, after selling over 150,000 copies, he tried to reprint it, he had difficulty getting sufficient paper.<sup>157</sup> Fair coverage also eluded him when he ran for Governor of California in 1934; frightened by his socialist EPIC (End Poverty in America) campaign, elements in the motion picture industry produced faked “California Election News” to discredit it.<sup>158</sup>

The end of muckraking in popular magazines like *Collier’s* was not the end of muckraking per se. The conventional view is that except for a few marginalized journalists, there were no successors to Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, David Graham Phillips, Samuel Hopkins Adams, and other muckrakers until the re-emergence of investigative journalism in the 1960s.

But Paul Y. Anderson, George Seldes, and Drew Pearson carried on the tradition at the national level and there was an even stronger presence of investigative reporting at the local level. The latter was overlooked by subsequent historians as well as commentators at the time. “In almost every city,” wrote R. E. Wolsely in *Commonweal* on 28 July 1938, “it is possible to go with a flashlight and find corruption—political, educational or business—about which the newspaper says nothing, which, in fact, it denies it has any business to expose.” However, Gerry Lanosga’s study of Pulitzer Prize entries between 1920 and 1960 shows that American newspapers actually “took the business of exposure seriously. Reporters throughout the period probed government corruption, organized crime, social ills, business abuses, and a variety of other problems.” Moreover, their reports were “not limited to the largest cities or news organizations but c[a]me from newspapers of every circulation size and from every corner of the country.”<sup>159</sup>

The migration of muckraking to newspapers involved both its news and commentary sections. While Anderson and Seldes wrote for the news sections of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *Chicago Tribune* respectively, Pearson used his syndicated political column “Washington Merry-Go-Round,” which he began writing in 1932, to expose the failings of public figures. General interest columnists were a common feature of American newspapers and magazines in the late-19th century. But during the 1920s and 1930s, a new breed of *political* columnists arose in the United States, where they sometimes acquired enormous influence through syndication. Their number included Mark Sullivan, David Lawrence, and Frank R. Kent. A former muckraker, Sullivan began writing a Washington column at the *New York Evening Post* before settling in for two decades at the *New York Tribune*. Lawrence wrote a national affairs column for the *Post*. And Kent’s long-running column, “The Great Game of Politics,” which began in the *Baltimore Sun* in 1924, exposed the pretensions of politicians and was syndicated in over 100 newspapers.

In 1922, an anonymous writer for *Editor & Publisher* declared that the power of journalism was “now vested in the reporter rather than the editor.” But most reporters were still overworked and underpaid, having to moonlight or accept payola (undercover payments for favorable coverage). They were denied bylines and urged to keep their opinions to themselves. In contrast, the new political columnists had almost complete freedom initially to express their views on what became known as the “op-ed” page, which Herbert Bayard Swope pioneered at the *World*. Their rise also threatened editors, who also remained bounded by conventions of anonymity. “With newspaper columnists, or commentators, whichever designation one prefers, I have no particular quarrel,” wrote Maurice S. Sherman of the *Hartford Courant* in 1945. “They

are on the whole a most diverting lot. My quarrel is with newspapers that have found it easier and cheaper to avail themselves of columnists than to present editorials of their own having the substance and vigor of an earlier day.”<sup>160</sup>

Lack of substance in political columns was of less concern for publishers than their own loss of influence over their papers. The new columnists were not only skeptical of political authority but sometimes questioned the judgment that chief editors traditionally exercised in tandem with owners. As the Depression and events in Europe worsened, some editors and publishers worried about their own loss of voice. They began to see it as their responsibility to maintain the “conscience” of their papers and insist on greater loyalty from their columnists. In 1928, the outspoken New York columnist Heywood Broun was forced to switch his column from the *World* to the *Telegram* after incurring the wrath of publisher Ralph Pulitzer for advocating clemency for Sacco and Vanzetti and attacking the *World*’s opposition to birth control. In 1940, Dorothy Thompson was similarly pressured into moving her widely read column “On the Record” from the *New York Herald Tribune* to the *New York Post* after infuriating publisher Ogden Reid by supporting Wendell Wilkie for president. In 1947, the *Post* itself dropped her column because of her views toward Germany.<sup>161</sup>

### **Newsmagazines, Radio News, and Newsreels**

By the 1930s, exiled columnists and news commentators had several other places where they could ply their trade: newsmagazines, radio, and, to a lesser extent, film. As a combined newspaper-magazine, the newsmagazine began the process of media convergence that characterizes the current journalism environment. The first publication to be called a *magazine*, which meant storehouse, was the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, founded by Edward Cave in Britain in 1731. From then until the end of the century, the number of magazines increased slowly. But during the 19th century, there was an explosion of new titles.<sup>162</sup> From the standpoint of journalism, the most esteemed category was the journal of opinion—exemplified by *The Spectator* (1828) in Britain and *The Nation* (1865) in the United States. During the Progressive era, their ranks were joined by *The New Statesman* (1913) in London and *The New Republic* (1914) in New York City. But these journals saw their role primarily as one of interpretation and their circulations remained small. At mid-century, *The Nation* still had only 23,000 monthly readers and *The New Republic* about 27,000, compared to over 500,000 daily readers for the *New York Times*. The door was thus open for a hybrid news publication.

The first entrepreneurs to walk through were Briton Hadden and Henry R. Luce, two 24-year-old Yale alumni and newspapermen. In 1923, they



founded *Time*, “The Weekly Newsmagazine,” on the assumption that “people are uninformed because no publication has adapted itself to the time which busy men are able to spend simply keeping informed.” It was not without precedent: *Niles’ Weekly Register*, *Harper’s Monthly Magazine*, and *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* anticipated some of its features. But it was the first medium of its kind to have a mass audience. Despite its substandard typography and unsophisticated content, it had 12,000 readers in its first year, rising to three million over ensuing decades. Published weekly, it was soon employing a large staff of reporters, writers, researchers, and columnists and became a model for other newsmagazines. In 1933, it was joined not only by *Newsweek* and *United States News* but by *Everyman*, *A World of Weekly News* in London and *East, Newsweekly of the Orient* in Shanghai. In England, the *News Review* (1936) deliberately aped its red-bordered cover, while *Der Spiegel* (1946) in Germany and *L’Express* in France imitated its distinctive style. That style, known as *Timestyle* or *Timese*, prioritized narration and used manufactured words, inverted sentences, and highly dramatized writing.<sup>163</sup>

The circulations of newsmagazines were much larger than those of journals of opinion. In 1949, one year after David Lawrence merged *United States News* with his more recent *World Report* to form *U.S. News & World Report*, the new publication had 1,136,000 readers, not far behind *Newsweek* with 1,299,000. (*Time* remained the clear leader with 2,378,000.) This newsmagazine triumvirate was particularly influential in times of war, giving American readers a broader perspective on events and creating a national print audience for news.<sup>164</sup> However, as Ben Bagdikian observed in *The Newsmagazines* (1958), its coverage was not only oversimplified and unreliable at times but slanted conservatively. In France, *L’Express* (1953–) stood at the political center flanked by *Le Nouvel Observateur* (1964–) on the left and *Le Point* (1972–) on the right. But as another critic noted in 1960, the American newsmagazines “tend to see things through Republican eyes most of the time.”<sup>165</sup>

The second place where dispossessed newspaper columnists might go was radio. The broadcasting of news was initially opposed by newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. In the early 1920s, British newspapers persuaded the government to ban the British Broadcasting Company from broadcasting news reports before 7:00 p.m. and to restrict these to wire service copy. Even after becoming the Crown-chartered British Broadcasting Corporation on 1 January 1927, it was not allowed for several years to edit this copy and did not create its own independent news service until 1934.

In the United States, the AP also cautioned radio stations against using its news. But by the late 1920s, some stations, including ones owned by newspapers, were ignoring such warnings. The conflict came to a head

after the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began gathering news for their network affiliates. In 1933, the wire services and the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) resolved to stop all cooperation with the radio industry, refusing to carry its program logs and filing piracy suits against a number of stations. In a temporary capitulation, CBS and NBC agreed to finance a Press-Radio Bureau through which AP, the United Press (UP), and the International News Service (INS) would supply the networks with bulletins for two five-minute newscasts, one in the morning at 9:30 a.m. and one in the evening after 9:30 p.m.<sup>166</sup> Similar arrangements were worked out in other countries such as Canada, where the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC)—the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) as of 1936—restricted itself to bulletins supplied by the Canadian Press (CP) until it began its own news service on 1 January 1941. Even then, it basically just rewrote CP copy.<sup>167</sup>

To get around these restrictions, some American stations began using news commentators such as H. V. Kaltenborn, Lowell Thomas, Boak Carter, and Raymond Clapper. Between 1931 and 1941, the number of news commentators on NBC and CBS increased from 6 to 20. Many of them built on their previous experience at newspapers and in some cases worked for both radio and the press.<sup>168</sup> Initially speaking as if they were reading one of their columns on the air, they soon developed a more natural delivery style that normalized their entry into the private home. During the 1930s, American radio networks also began broadcasting public affairs programs, beginning with NBC's *University of Chicago Round Table* in 1933. While some of these programs, such as *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, were quite influential, none matched the popularity of the radio news commentators.

Another new nonprint medium with journalistic potential in the 1930s was film. As early as the 1910s, newsreels accompanied the main features in movie theaters and continued doing so until the early 1960s when television made them redundant. They were usually 9–10 minutes in length with each one covering eight or nine elements headed by a title and shown in order of significance. But they did little to enhance the general news environment. Rather than risk offending filmgoers with controversial political material, most stuck to banal stories such as a parade of babies dressed as butterflies. In the United States and Britain, they were a form of show business that led companies and cameramen to pirate each other's stories and produce fake news coverage. Elsewhere they were used for propaganda. In Italy, Prime Minister Benito Mussolini established the Istituto Nazionale L'Unione Cinematographica Educativa or LUCE in 1925 to coordinate the use of newsreels as an instrument of Fascist ideology in Europe and South America.<sup>169</sup> During the German occupation of France in World War II, newsreels such as the

Vichy government's *La France en Marche* were used to shape public opinion on behalf of collaboration.<sup>170</sup>

### Further Popularization of the Press

With the growing popularity of newsmagazines, radio newscasts, and newsreels, which used simple, everyday language, newspapers turned to language experts to make their newspapers more readable. In *The Art of Plain Talk* (1946) and *The Art of Readable Writing* (1949), for example, Robert P. Gunning recommended that journalists write as they speak by using shorter words and sentences. About the same time, Rudolph Flesch developed a system known as the “fog index” to help the AP simplify its writing. A recent study of *The Times* from 1833 to 1988 found that in the wake of the rise of tabloids, it shifted from presenting speech as coherent wholes to the selective use of individual statements to summarize or clarify what was said. It also replaced long blocks of indirect speech with various forms of direct speech, including the opinions of the average person in the street.<sup>171</sup>

In addition to using simpler language, newspapers tried to become more popular by expanding their comics, developing new kinds of advice columns, and adding horoscopes, race-horse tips, and what O. K. Bovard called other “trivial and banal features” upon his resignation in disgust from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1938. This form of popularization was most visible in the growth of tabloids. In 1900, the *Daily Mail* was joined by the *Daily Express*, which Lord Beaverbrook later turned into the highest circulation daily in the world. Both tabloids sought political influence with little concern for objectivity and were used as a springboard into politics for their editors and journalists, some of whom received honors in return for their support.<sup>172</sup> The Northcliffe Revolution reached the United States in 1919 when Joseph M. Patterson launched the *New York Daily News*. Within two years, it had the largest circulation of any newspaper in the country, and by the 1960s, there were over 50 tabloids in the country. For the elite press, they were more of a challenge than newsmagazines or radio news. And television news was by then making matters much worse.

### The Maturation of Television News

In 1937, the American magazine critic Gilbert Seldes wrote an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* calling on the national radio networks to experiment with television newscasts before advertisers took control. CBS responded by hiring him to assemble a crew to do precisely this. During the early 1940s, the CBS “visualizers” created live TV newscasts for small New York audiences and

discovered, among other things, that they considered them less spontaneous than radio newscasts when they could see the scripts reporters were reading. They also tried to keep audiences from seeing the newsreaders themselves by using graphics, models, maps, photographs, and even some film footage. The work of these uncelebrated figures was largely overlooked, however, when radio's senior management, advertisers, and broadcasters moved into television. TV news was placed back in its cradle and forced to relearn the lessons of its pioneers.<sup>173</sup>

In the early 1950s, TV news was characterized by uncertainty and marginality as former radio stars grappled to master the cumbersome new technology. Like early radio news, it consisted primarily of a non-journalist reading news items prepared by print journalists elsewhere. But its producers did apply one lesson from radio: that, as Thomas E. Berry put it in *Television Today, Its Development and Practical Applications* (1958), “the test of the effective broadcast is that it never sounds like writing or reading.” To this end, news broadcasters were instructed to use “short, crisp words” and “the active, rather than the passive tense.”

At the same time, however, doing field reports was initially considered troublesome and expensive. The few film segments that were used were treated like newsreels. In fact, the first edited field reports were produced by current affairs programs, which had their golden age in the mid-1960s. But aided by more flexible technology and spurred by increased competition, newscasts eventually followed suit by having a recognized and trusted journalist anchor a series of edited stories from reporters in the field. Although the term *anchor* was used with reference to Walter Cronkite at the 1952 political conventions, it was not applied to the newsreaders of the “talking heads” tradition. But by the late 1960s, TV newscasts were presenting a series of distinct reports comprising several fragments of film and sound linked together through an anchor's voice-over. Initially, anchors were not necessarily journalists. But the respected-journalist-as-anchor soon became the sign of a credible newscast, especially when the journalist was presented as participating in its production.

The report from the field soon became a specific genre dependent on skilled editing and narrativization.<sup>174</sup> Viewers not only found these edited TV news reports easier to comprehend and recall than live talk formats but preferable in many respects to printed news reports. By 1963, when network television newscasts doubled in length, Americans were telling a Roper poll they were getting a majority of their news from TV, providing further evidence of former journalist Carl E. Lindstrom's thesis in *The Fading American Newspaper* (1960). This success contributed to one of the most durable myths in American broadcast journalism: that newscasts were a loss leader for the

networks. Unlike newscasts on public broadcasting networks, advertising provided the economic basis of American journalism. As Michael Socolow notes succinctly, “CBS news owes its foundation to the General Mills corporation.” To ward off possible regulatory concerns about the possible influence of advertising on the news, the networks argued that news broadcasts were clearly a public service because they lost money. But as Socolow demonstrates, the opposite has generally been the case.<sup>175</sup>

Newspapers responded by giving bylines to their reporters in an effort to make them more like TV news personalities. This step occurred initially in tabloids and on the inside pages, but eventually in the elite press and on the front page as well. Some newspapers also made more use of color, graphics, and statistics. In the United States, some of these innovations were pioneered by *USA Today*, which Allen H. Neurath founded in 1981 as a TV-like newspaper. It shortened the length of stories, lightened their tone, and accompanied them with polarized debates.<sup>176</sup> But by then, many newspapers were already reducing the amount of political news in favor of broader coverage. For example, between 1965 and 1992, the number of political stories on the front page of the *New York Times* decreased from 84 to 55 percent.<sup>177</sup> Only in the case of scandals did political news increase, owing to what John Summers calls a “repeal of reticence” with regard to the private failings of politicians and public figures generally.<sup>178</sup>

## The Varieties of European Journalism

After the 1890s, M. J. Broersma writes, “the Anglo-American news style spread across Europe and the rest of the world.”<sup>179</sup> But was this true even of its inverted pyramid format in the homeland of the first newspaper? In *Einführung in den praktischen Journalismus* (1975), the most influential journalism textbook in Germany, Walther von La Roche pointed out that in reporting the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, the German newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* did not indicate they had died until the last sentence. In contrast, the first sentence of the report in the *New York Times* told its readers: “Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were shot and killed by a Bosnian student here today.” Who? What? When? And where?—all answered at the very outset.

As it turns out, this anecdotal evidence is somewhat misleading. A recent content analysis of a larger sample of German newspapers in 1906 and 1914 by Thomas Birkner found evidence that the inverted pyramid was at least starting to take hold in German newspapers by the time of World War I.<sup>180</sup> He and his colleagues are now conducting a major study to determine the precise

stages of its adoption. But regardless of the outcome, several scholars have shown that other aspects of the Anglo-American news model were still being resisted even in post-World War II Germany<sup>181</sup> and even more so elsewhere in Europe.

In their pathbreaking academic study *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (2004), Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini acknowledged the existence of a 20th-century Liberal or North Atlantic media model (Britain, the United States, Canada, and Ireland) with market-based, politically independent, mass circulation newspapers and a history of professionalism. But they argued that it did not spread to continental Europe where different political and social structures generated a Democratic Corporatist media model in northern Europe (Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries) and a Polarized Pluralist media model in the Mediterranean (France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece).<sup>182</sup> Their models subsequently dominated research on, and discussions of, media convergence. But their assumption that forms of journalism are simply a dependent variable (that discourse follows structure) reduces their utility for considering the more specific question of journalistic convergence.

Near the end of *Comparing Media Systems*, Hallin and Mancini undermined their thesis somewhat by allowing that “commercialization has in general weakened the ties between the media and the world of organized political actors . . . and has encouraged the development of a globalized political culture that substantially diminishes national differences in media systems.” But they then backtracked and concluded that “differences among national political systems remain substantial and are likely to prevent complete homogenization of media systems for the foreseeable future.”<sup>183</sup> They thus rejected the hypothesis that media in different countries have been converging toward a single system. This conclusion was reinforced by seven case studies (Israel, Poland, the Baltic countries, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, and China) in their edited collection *Comparing Media Systems beyond the Western World* (2012), which actually showed that their models did not “travel well” to other parts of the world.<sup>184</sup> In 2017, they reviewed the research stimulated by their original study and determined that “it is probably no longer necessary to debunk the hypothesis of complete convergence toward the Liberal model,”<sup>185</sup> if only because, as Hallin had observed in “Not the End of Journalism History” (2009), the model itself was declining in the United States.<sup>186</sup>

In contrast to the focus of Hallin and Mancini on media structures, the contributors to Svennik Høyer and Horst Pöttker’s collection *Diffusion of the News Paradigm 1850–2000* (2005) concentrated on the formal features of news stories, such as length, structure, and voice. In their introduction, Høyer and Pöttker came down on the side of convergence:

The various cultural environments that news texts are put into may influence their shape and content. But even if these qualities are not independent of the political culture in which news is practised they are not logically connected either. Basic forms of journalism have been shared among journalists of different nationalities. Over time the technology, the techniques, the thinking and the way of presenting news has crossed borders.<sup>187</sup>

Some of the studies included in their collection pointed to cases of divergence from the Anglo-American model. In the Scandinavian countries, for example, a party press was born in the late 19th century, just as the American press was becoming politically independent, and did not begin to fade away until a century later. Even within Scandinavia, there were differences in the pace at which features such as factuality were adopted, proceeding more rapidly in Denmark than in Norway with its “half hearted modernization.”<sup>188</sup> But more recent studies have supported Høyer and Pöttker’s qualified claim that “basic forms of journalism” are increasingly “shared among journalists of different nationalities.”

For example, a study of elections in Greece, the United States, and China in 2012 found that they were “reported in very similar ways in the leading news media” of not only the United States and the United Kingdom but also of Germany and Japan and even China, though less so in the case of its own election. It attributed these affinities to “the dominance of a small number of international news agencies” and “the hegemony of market liberal thought” among other factors.<sup>189</sup> At the same time, however, these “affinities” do not amount to “complete convergence.” A 2019 study found that British journalists conceive of their role as more confrontational to those in power than German journalists who consider it more important to provide context and balance and try to assist audiences in their civic roles.<sup>190</sup>

## The Fall and Rise of Interpretive Reporting

By the late 19th century, the separation of reporting and editorializing was the mantra of journalism texts such as G. A. Gaskell’s *How to Write for the Press* (1884) and A. G. Nevins’s *The Blue Pencil and How to Avoid It* (1890), which instructed reporters to leave expressions of opinion to the editorial department.<sup>191</sup> This kind of advice was repeated in early 20th-century textbooks and became even more pronounced in conjunction with the development of formal education for journalists and the rise of professional associations with codes of conduct. In 1923, for example, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) adopted “Canons of Journalism” calling for sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy, fair play, decency, and above all impartiality in reporting the news. “Sound practice,” it said, “makes clear distinction

between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.”

This concept of objectivity contributed to a more deferential attitude to politicians and government representatives, whose official pronouncements were often accepted uncritically and relayed to the public in a supportive manner. In contrast to the muckrakers, regular reporters often served as little more than liaisons. As owner Adolph Ochs said of the *New York Times* in 1931, the paper “so far as possible consistent with honest journalism attempts to act and support those who are charged with responsibilities for government.” In April 1945, William L. Laurence, science writer for the *New York Times*, agreed to work for the War Department to tell the story of the making of the atomic bomb.<sup>192</sup> During Senator Joseph McCarthy’s witch hunt against alleged communists in the early 1950s, reporters relayed his unsubstantiated charges verbatim without comment on their motivation or reliability. Even after Edward R. Murrow exposed Senator Joseph McCarthy as a charlatan on *See It Now* on 9 March 1954, newspapers were slow to accept any responsibility for McCarthyism or change their ways.<sup>193</sup> A study of 10 American metropolitan papers in 1963–1964 found them “naively trusting of government, shamelessly boosterish, unembarrassedly hokey and obliging.”<sup>194</sup>

By the early 1960s, however, some newspaper journalists were attacking both the formulization of news by Flesch and others and the inverted pyramid’s emphasis on facts. For Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *New York Times*, there needed to be interpretation of the facts as well, which he distinguished from opinions about them. “There are,” he wrote, three approaches to dealing with the news; first, the basic facts; second, the interpretation of these facts; third, the comment on them. Thus:

What Mr. Krushchev says about Mr. Kennedy is spot news.  
Why Mr. Krushchev says these things is interpretation.  
Whether Mr. Krushchev should have said these things and what we should do about him is opinion.

It is crucial that the difference between interpretation and opinion be fully recognized. Interpretation is an *objective* appraisal, based on background, knowledge of a situation, and analysis of primary and related facts. Editorial opinion . . . is a subjective judgment; it is a definite taking of sides.<sup>195</sup>

Markel’s colleague Geoffrey Pond also made the case for interpretive news. “The reporter,” he said, “has got to tell [the] average reader what really is happening and why.”<sup>196</sup> For both Markel and Pond, interpretation was compatible with objectivity; the journalist could know *what really happened* and explain it without bias. Postmodernism would soon annihilate both assumptions in



this simplistic form. But it also gave strength to calls for more news interpretation. What Krushchev said was a matter of fact, but what it *meant* called for more than mere opinion if America was to respond intelligently.

The occurrence of an *interpretive turn* in news practices not unlike the *linguistic turn* in philosophy has not yet been recognized in standard accounts of journalism history. Nor is there any agreement as to what to call it. Columbia University called it *explanatory journalism* in creating it as a new category for the Pulitzer Prize in 1985. Kathy Roberts Forde echoes this terminology,<sup>197</sup> but others use labels like *depth reporting* and *long-form journalism*. In a review of the literature, Susana Salgado and Jesper Strömbäck called it *interpretive journalism*,<sup>198</sup> which is probably the least misleading designation. Whatever it is called, its rise has been documented in recent studies in both Europe and America.

For example, in a 2014 content analysis of the front pages of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Milwaukee Sentinel Journal* from 1955 to 2003, Kathleen Fink and Michael Schudson calculated that interpretive news (which they called contextual reporting) had increased from 8 to 45 percent, which they called “easily the most important change in reporting in the past half century.”<sup>199</sup> The following year, a content analysis of *Aftenposten*, the largest morning newspaper in Norway, from 1950 to 2008 detected a significant decline in simple forms of news such as reports of meetings and social events and a substantial increase in broader topics requiring several days of research and more copy space.<sup>200</sup> And in a 2019 study of Belgian newspapers between 1985 and 2014, Karolin Soontjens found “a remarkably strong, almost linear increase in the amount of interpretation in newspaper articles.”<sup>201</sup>

Quantitative studies have also confirmed that late 20th-century newspapers were providing significantly more interpretive stories than television. A content analysis of over 4,000 stories about the “Eurotop” meetings of the European heads of state in Amsterdam in 1997 measured the relative proportions of episodic versus thematic news—or news that concentrates on specific events in the previous 24 hours versus news that uses information from different points of time to contextualize or interpret an event. It found that 68 percent of the newspaper coverage was thematic compared to only 8 percent for television news.<sup>202</sup> Similarly, a study comparing British television coverage of the Gulf War of 1990–1991 with that of leading British broadsheets concluded that “more in-depth information, in terms of context, comment and analysis was available from newspapers, compared to television, which emphasized more ‘superficial’ information, in terms of description and evidence.”<sup>203</sup> What is less clear is whether increased use of interpretive journalism slowed the decline of newspaper readerships, especially after the turn of the century when journalism entered the digital age almost overnight.<sup>204</sup>

## Western Journalism in the Post-Soviet World

After World War II, the Soviet Union established satellite states in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, various Baltic countries, and, to a lesser degree, Yugoslavia. In all of these countries, it imposed the Soviet model of journalism in which the role of journalists is to strengthen the Communist party by serving as what Karol Jakubowicz calls “officers on the ideological front.”<sup>205</sup> For almost four decades, it maintained a tight grip over the East German and eastern European press. But despite attempts to jam them, opposition voices could be heard on Western broadcasting stations such as the BBC, Deutsche Welle, and Radio Free Europe (RFE). During the 1970s and 1980s, their reports were supplemented by the illegal, uncensored journals of Samizdat dissidents in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, which were, in turn, reported on the international broadcasts. By the mid-1980s, these cracks in Soviet control were rapidly widening. Demands for change were being given a platform first by domestic media, both legal and illegal, and then by international media<sup>206</sup>—such that the unification of Germany in 1989 was, in the words of Peter Gross, “less like the first moon landing and more like the final melting of very thin ice.”<sup>207</sup> After the fall of the Wall, political change occurred quickly across central and eastern Europe, culminating in the collapse of the Soviet Union itself in 1991.

The stunning events of 1989–1991 relieved central and eastern European countries of what historian Timothy Garton Ash called a system of “organized lying.”<sup>208</sup> In the hope of replacing unfettered propaganda with a new independent journalism, the United States and Europe’s democracies began investing huge sums of money on journalism training centers. Over the next two decades, the U.S. State Department and the independent United States Agency for International Development (USAID) spent close to \$800 million in central and eastern Europe and central Asia, with George Soros’s Open Society Institute (OSI) adding about \$35 million annually to that total. European governments spent considerably more—the equivalent of over \$400 million annually over the same period, during which nonprofit organizations such as the Reuters Foundation contributed millions more annually. Through this funding, hundreds of European and American journalism trainers were deployed to develop a believable, fact-based Western style of journalism.<sup>209</sup>

In *Entangled Evolutions* (2002), Gross assessed the results of this effort at the end of the 1990s and concluded that eastern European journalists had not yet developed a professional culture capable of counterbalancing the undemocratic forces that still governed their societies. He acknowledged that in Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, the media indirectly presented

non-Communist ideas missing from public life before 1989. But he found that eastern European journalism was almost entirely based “on rumor, innuendo, partisanship, political and personal combat” rather than “verifiable and complete information” so as to create an “ill-informed, misinformed, and often confused citizenry.”<sup>210</sup> This language echoed that of Roumiana Deltcheva in an examination of the situation in Bulgaria. “Most of the information offered in the Bulgarian press today,” she wrote in 1996, “consists of generalisations, unfounded insinuations or personal reflections.”<sup>211</sup>

Gross argued that the assumption that the media could become professional overnight was mistaken because they were expressions of the very culture they were called upon to change. A similar assessment was made by Slavko Splichal at the University of Ljubljana. He also acknowledged that “overt institutional censorship has been abolished in almost all former socialist countries in East-Central Europe.” But he added that the state still had control over broadcasting and that although “new media laws are generally (with exceptions) more liberal than the old ones, they still have loopholes that offer governments the opportunity to influence the media and journalists.”<sup>212</sup> Like Gross, he emphasized that further democratization of the press would depend on the more rapid professionalization of journalists.

During the 2000s, 10 post-communist countries joined the European Union (EU): Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. As a condition of membership, their media legislation was expected to be compatible with that of the EU. As a result, their journalism generally moved closer to that of Western-style reporting than the journalism of non-EU members. In most cases, news sources were able to operate without direct interference or threats from governments or political parties. But in enfolded many of the former communist countries into its bosom, the EU underestimated the practical as well as ideational problems involved.<sup>213</sup> For example, Romania’s accession to EU membership in 2007 did not curtail the country’s political and media elites from trying to turn back the clock on press freedom. In 2008, Romanian broadcasters had to go to court to block a law that would have required them to air “good news” at least half of the time. In a 2009 press survey, a Washington-based nonprofit organization listed Romania and Bulgaria in the “not free” category together with the non-EU members in eastern Europe. On the basis of interviews of Bulgarian journalists and politicians in the early 2010s, Barbara Pfetsch and Katrin Voltmer concluded that “close-knit networks between the two sets of actors continue to . . . seriously undermine the independence of political journalism.”<sup>214</sup>

The main problem was the failure to develop a tradition of investigative journalism capable of fulfilling the watchdog role of the press in a

democracy.<sup>215</sup> “Broadly speaking,” wrote Timothy Kenny in 2009, “central European journalism appears to have little interest, money, or inclination to perform the tough journalistic legwork necessary to produce consistently stories that matter.”<sup>216</sup> Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, it still fell short of Western expectations. In eastern Europe, the situation was worse and in both areas, the situation has deteriorated since then.

The rise of authoritarian political parties and leaders in central and eastern Europe in the 2010s has led to increased attacks on the media. The growth of right-wing populism on both traditional news outlets and online news sites has created what Jacques Rupnik calls “the specter of illiberal democracy.”<sup>217</sup> The term *illiberal democracy* was first coined by Fareed Zakaria in an article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1997<sup>218</sup> and was explicitly embraced by Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orbán in 2014 as the replacement of liberalism with nationalism as the core state ideology. In addition to facilitating media takeovers by powerful business interests, it has allowed public service media to become government mouthpieces. It has also normalized “both the frequency of lies and the violating of discourse conventions” in what Ruth Wodak calls “the post-shame era.”<sup>219</sup> “Over the past few years,” Pawel Surowiec and Václav Štetka wrote in their introduction to a series of articles on the illiberal turn published in 2020, “the region of Central and Eastern European has been experiencing significant democratic backsliding.”<sup>220</sup>

For the first few years after the demise of the Soviet Union, there were also hopes that a freer and more fact-based journalism might be possible in central Asia. But attempts to foster independent media there were soon derailed by politics, economics, and social norms. The press in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan remains under the thumb of their authoritarian regimes. With most newspapers on the edge of bankruptcy, governments are able to use the threat of fines rather than censorship to ensure that media owners, editors, and reporters engage in self-censorship. Apart from their own public relations operations, they also pay some journalists to write puff pieces—such that the main difference between journalism and public relations is that work in the latter is better paid, held in higher esteem, and safer.

In an interview in 2007, a longtime Kazakh journalist acknowledged that journalists “know how to cover things objectively. They know how to do it. A lot of Kazakh journalists have trained in the U.S. and in Europe . . . and others here in Kazakhstan, with Soros.” But, he added, “the mass media in Kazakhstan is a tool for developing the ruling class and their new riches. Journalism is not a public service. It is a business service.”<sup>221</sup> Since then, Kazakhstan’s ranking on the Freedom Index of Reporters without Borders has fallen from 125th out of the 169 countries surveyed at the time to 157th of the 180 listed

today. (The 2020 rankings of the others are: Kyrgyzstan 82nd, Uzbekistan 156th, Tajikistan 161st, and Turkmenistan 179th.)

## A CRISIS OF JOURNALISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY?

Since the turn of the 21st century, the modern conception of what constitutes a news report has been subjected to a series of challenges associated with the rise of digital news media. The proliferation of news media beyond the legacy media has not only fragmented their news audiences but collapsed their advertising-based business model. At the same time, new ways of producing and delivering news reports such as automated journalism and drone journalism have called into question some of the news values associated with traditional news production. In “The Problem of Journalism History” (1974), James Carey imagined that a future generation might witness the modern news report’s “eventual disappearance or radical reduction as an aspect of human consciousness.”<sup>222</sup> Have we reached this point today? Are we in the midst of a crisis of journalism?<sup>223</sup> If so, is this the beginning of the end of journalism or is it merely passing through a temporary period of turbulence?

### Legacy Media and Early Online News

During the early 1990s, a series of internet search engines with now mostly forgotten names began appearing in increasingly rapid succession. The process began with Archie in 1990 and was followed by Virtual Library in 1991; Veronica in 1992; Jughead (still on the comic book theme), World Wide Web Wanderer, and Primitive Search Web in 1993; Infoseek, EINet Galaxy, ALIWEB, Yahoo! Search, WebCrawler, and Lycos in 1994; and LookSmart, Excite, AltaVista, and Netscape in 1995. At least seven more search engines entered the competition before the decade’s end, including Google in 1998.

By then, however, another process was underway: the use of the internet by mainstream newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters to create online versions of their print and electronic content. Hoping to capitalize on their brands, these legacy media initially treated their online operations as an adjunct or supplement to their traditional ones. From 1995 to about 2005, they conducted business more or less as usual, happy to benefit from the growth in jobs that came with the creation of online news services and content that critics were rejoicing in the new digital convergence. For Pablo J. Boczkowski in *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers* (2004), for example, online news was creating a more user-centered news

experience and blending elements of broadcast journalism into traditional print formats to produce multimedia journalism.

In many cases, newspapers and TV stations maintained separate websites and viewed these as junior partners. But in a few cases, partnerships were undertaken to create a common website to which both contributed. In 2000, for example, the *Tampa Tribune* and WFLA-TV (Channel 8) teamed up to create TBO.com. Initially, these convergence projects were viewed more favorably by the organizations than by the journalists. Newspapers saw it as a way of increasing their audiences, while TV newsrooms liked the extra “feet on the street.” But as Kevin Kamamoto observed in *Digital Journalism: Emerging Media and the Changing Horizons of Journalism* (2003), newspaper staff viewed the TV journalists as “shallow and more interested in image than substance,” while TV staff saw the print reporters as “rumpled, hostile, and un-appreciate of the challenges involved in putting together a good broadcast news piece.”<sup>224</sup> Within a few years, however, the opportunity to work together across three platforms in one building and combine different strengths was being used to provide a better news product. In her 2005 study of convergence pioneers, Gracie Lawson-Borders observed how TBO.com “had the ability to break news on a moment’s notice, WFLA could follow up with dramatic coverage on its newscasts, and *The Tampa Tribune* could tell the whole story with greater depth in the morning newspaper.”<sup>225</sup>

## The Rise of Digital News Aggregators

By 2005, however, legacy media were faced with a new and more ominous challenge: the sudden emergence of digital news aggregators. Some of these aggregators were created by web service providers such as Yahoo! which created Yahoo! News in 1996. It was followed, and soon overtaken, by Google News in 2002. Then in the mid-2000s, new platform media such as Facebook (2004), YouTube (2005), Twitter (2006), and later Instagram (2010) and Snapchat (2011) also began providing direct access to news in addition to their social media, media creation, and networking opportunities.

An algorithmic-based news site that aggregated material from over 25,000 news sources around the world, Google News (unlike Yahoo! News) had no human editors and did not include entire news articles. Instead it provided a series of headlines and excerpts or summaries along with hyperlinks to the original sources. It claimed that its algorithm determined ranking and placement on the basis of “originality, quality, expertise of source, and whether a lot of other sources around the Web are pointing to a particular article.”<sup>226</sup> But this same algorithm had a distinct bias toward wire service content and blogs.<sup>227</sup>

At the same time that platform media were adding news aggregation to their services, digital natives were creating news aggregation websites, beginning in the United States with the Drudge Report in 1995. In the mid-2000s, it was joined by the Huffington Post (2005), BuzzFeed (2006), and Breitbart News (2007). Some of these sites included stories produced by their own staff. But they mainly took material from other news sources, including legacy media and blogs, and repackaged it in various ways. Less subject to institutional socialization and professional journalistic norms, their staff were often poorly paid and subject to rapid burnout.

Burnout was also more prevalent among legacy media journalists, who now had to produce more stories in less time with more frequent updates for a 24/7 news cycle. While still having to disseminate their content not only as complete newspaper, magazine, and broadcast news packages, they also had to do so on a story-by-story basis through apps, podcasts, social media, data visualizations, and video streaming services for consumers on their smartphones. By the 2010s, moreover, they had to juggle their traditional news values with web analytics determinations of what constitutes newsworthiness.

The reach of legacy media journalism was extended by news aggregators, but in an amplified profit-making context and at great economic cost. Aggregators made their money by charging a new set of advertisers for access to audiences consuming material they did not for the most part produce themselves. In the process, they siphoned off display advertising previously supporting legacy media. For newspapers, this loss occurred on top of the migration of their classified advertising to websites connecting sellers to buyers, jobseekers to employers, and lonely hearts to each other.

Faced with such losses, newspapers began making drastic cuts to their staffing. In the United States, for example, the number of employees in newsrooms dropped from 114,000 in 2008 to 86,000 in 2018.<sup>228</sup> In many countries, local journalism was particularly hard hit. In Sweden, for example, nearly every second local office for local newspapers closed between 2004 and 2018.<sup>229</sup> Moreover, these losses were not distributed evenly across all categories of journalism. It was reporters, especially those in traditional print media, rather than desk-bound editorial writers, columnists, or reviewers, who bore the brunt of the cuts.

## The Transformation of News Media Criticism

Despite these developments, a number of critics continued to look at the digital news revolution through rose-colored glasses. In *Watching the Watchdogs: Bloggers as the Fifth Estate* (2006), Stephen D. Cooper praised bloggers as media critics and potential independent news gatherers. For the

longtime media scholar Herbert Gans, they were part of a new *multiperspectival* news environment in which there is less dependency on top-down information from government and other official sources.<sup>230</sup> In their *Handbook of Global Online Journalism* (2012), Eugenia Siapera and Andreas Veglis called this “ambient journalism, where the journalism itself becomes . . . constructed by both journalists and audiences.”<sup>231</sup> But while newspapers such as *The Guardian* have tried to facilitate greater interaction with readers through means such as “below the line” commentary sections, which are less mediated than traditional letters to the editor, they have also been disappointed by the amount of abuse coming from audiences so empowered. Journalists at the Norwegian regional newspaper *Nordlys* embraced its commentary feature *Nordnorsk debatt* (the High North Debate) when it was launched in print in 2013. But perceiving a loss of control over the news agenda, they abstained from participating in the online version begun a year later.<sup>232</sup>

These works continue a long line of critiques of mainstream journalism dating back to Joseph Hall and Ben Jonson in the early 17th century and continuing in the 20th century with critics such as Will Irwin, Walter Lippmann, George Seldes, and many others. But since 2000, there has been growing concern among academics and social commentators about what is happening to the news media environment that was for so long routinely criticized for its bias and distortions. In *Publicity's Secret: How Technoculture Capitalizes on Democracy* (2002), Jodi Dean warned that rapid, information-oriented communication, which online news and blogging typify, is destroying the possibility of a democratic public as a representative description of where everybody stands. For Dean, there is no longer a public in this sense and cyberspace is one of the main forces in its destruction.

In *The Future of the Internet and How to Stop It* (2008), Jonathan Zittrain argued that the tethering of traditional journalism to platform media is turning the internet into a closed environment. This argument has been reinforced by Emily Bell and Taylor Owen in *The Platform Press: How Silicon Valley Is Reengineering Journalism* (2017). In their view, the problem is not simply that news aggregators are free-loading distribution channels but that they are displacing the gatekeeping function of traditional publishers and journalists without taking responsibility for what then occurs. In the case of platform news aggregators, moreover, they are doing so while gathering information about users without adequately protecting their privacy. As Oliver Boyd-Barrett relates in *RussiaGate and Propaganda: Disinformation in the Age of Social Media* (2020), the revelations in 2018 of how Cambridge Analytica was harvesting such information pointed to “a broader industry specializing in the exploitation [of] . . . social media for commercial, promotional, and political purposes.”<sup>233</sup>



## The Empirical Evidence of Digital News Practices

In assessing these critiques and counter-critiques, empirical research studies on journalism practices continue to play an important role. Otherwise fake criticism becomes the academic equivalent of fake news. It is clear from empirical studies that digital natives are not all alike. As the authors of a study comparing their coverage of the COP 21 summit in Paris with that of legacy media concluded, “lumping together ‘new players’ or ‘digital-born media’ into one category is not useful. As we have shown, in many respects Huffington Post is more akin to legacy media in its treatment of themes, and Vice is more different . . . than it is to BuzzFeed.”<sup>234</sup> Moreover, it is no longer a question of what social media are doing to legacy media, but how the two are interacting to alter traditional news forms.<sup>235</sup>

In general, however, empirical investigations provide a more balanced but still troubling picture of how traditional journalism is faring. For example, a study of national elections in Austria in 2013 found that online editions of elite newspapers contain increased amounts of political news, whereas the reverse is true in the case of popular newspapers. In other words, there is a greater gap in the quality of political news between elite and popular newspapers when they move online.<sup>236</sup> Another recent study compared the use of hyperlinks as a curatorial practice in the *New York Times*, the digital native medium Vox.com, and blogs in *Huffpost*. It found that whereas half the links in the *Times* were to stories in its archives that provided context for the current one, over two-thirds of the links in Vox.com and the blogs were simply to external sources. Only blogs made use of links to provide added interpretation and then only infrequently.<sup>237</sup>

These studies show that the online sites of legacy media have generally maintained a strong commitment to traditional journalistic principles and practices, such as fact-based reporting, extensive use of quotations, and the attribution of sources. With their greater resources, they are still in the best position to secure off-the-record informants and reports and interviews from the field. They also have the best news archives to which links are provided in their online stories and are more likely to engage in sustained investigative reporting as opposed to isolated revelations. But they no longer determine what stories get told, how their meaning is interpreted, and how they are related.<sup>238</sup> They have to spend a disproportionate amount of time reporting the culture of tweeting and “fact-checking” its wilder claims.<sup>239</sup>

In this sense, the history of journalism as the main provider and interpreter of news may be coming to an end. Even as attempts are being made to preserve the ideal of insightful reporting through genres such as slow journalism, analytics and projects aimed at automated journalism together with fake news

mis-accusations are pushing us toward a post-fact or post-truth world. The notion that at a computer can be programmed to weigh evidence thoughtfully, give a voice to all people equitably, and discern the significance of current events is not a noble quest to transcend human capacities but their diminution for purposes of profit and control.

## NOTES

1. H. Mattauch, “A Contribution to the Early History of the Terms ‘Journaliste’ and ‘Journalisme,’” *Romance Notes* 8, no. 2 (1967): 310–314.

2. In Germany *journalismus* gradually replaced *zeitungsschreiber* (newspaper writer). In Italy *giornalismo* became popular as did *jornalismo* in Portugal and *žurnalismus* in Czechoslovakia. Spain retained *periodismo*, which emphasized the regularity of the activity of being a journalist.

3. Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the Novel* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1983). Davis argued that journalism materialized from the fragmentation of an undifferentiated “news/novels discourse” in early modern Europe. In the case of history and literature generally, there has been an ongoing struggle over differentiation. See, for example, Dallas Liddle, *The Dynamics of Genre: Journalism and the Practice of Literature in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

4. Patrick Champagne, “The ‘Double Dependency’: The Journalistic Field between Politics and Markets,” in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, eds. Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005), 50.

5. Sian Lewis, *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

6. C. A. Giffard, “Ancient Rome’s Daily Gazette,” *Journalism History* 2, no. 4 (1975–76): 103–132.

7. Cristina Rosillo-López, *Public Opinion and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). A less politically motivated *commentarius rerum urbanarum*, which is sometimes confused with the *acta diurna*, was prepared by brokers of news in the forum using a system of shorthand and then copied by scribes for distribution to members of the elite who were away from Rome. One such report that Caelius included with a bundle of letters sent to his friend Cicero in Cilicia contained rumors and gossip as well as deliberations of the senate.

8. Yangming He, “Hangzhou, the Origins of the World Press and Journalism?” *Journalism Studies* 16, no. 4 (2015): 556.

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11. D. R. Woolf, “Genre into Artifact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 3 (1988): 334.

12. John C. Baldwin, "The Image of the Jongleur in Northern France Around 1200," *Speculum* 72, no. 3 (1997): 635–663.

13. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformation in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1979).

14. Derek Pearsall, "Introduction," in *Book Production and Publishing in England, 1375–1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2–3.

15. Lynette Sheridan Burns, *Understanding Journalism* (London: Sage, 2002), 28. Emphasis in original.

16. Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

17. Edward Wilson-Lee, "The Bull and the Moon: Broadside Ballads and the Public Sphere at the Time of the Northern Rising (1569–70)," *Review of English Studies* 63, no. 259 (2011): 225–242.

18. Sharon Achinstein, "Plagues and Publication: Ballads and the Representation of Disease in the English Renaissance," *Criticism* 34, no. 1 (1992): 27–49.

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20. John Timpane, "Review," *Renaissance Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1983): 639–40.

21. David O'Hara, "Political Obedience and the State: Elizabethan News Pamphlets and Rebellion in Ireland," *Media History* 21, no. 1 (2015): 123–137.

22. Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

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24. Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Birth of British Journalism* (Pittsburgh: Dusquesne University Press, 2001), 24.

25. As quoted in Voss, *op.cit.*, 187.

26. Bernard S. Chandler, "A Renaissance News Correspondent," *Italica* 29, no. 3 (1952): 158–163.

27. Bernard S. Chandler, "The Correspondence of Sabadino Degli Arienti and Benedetto Dei," *Italica* 42, no. 2 (1965): 226–238.

28. Paolo Molino, "Connected News: German *Zeitung* and Italian *Avvisi* in the Fugger Collection (1568–1604)," *Media History* 22, nos. 3–4 (2016): 267–295.

29. David Randall, "Epistolary Rhetoric, the Newspaper, and the Public Sphere," *Past and Present* 198 (2008): 3–32. See also Rachael Scarborough King, "The Manuscript Newsletter and the Rise of the Newspaper," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (2016): 411–437.

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31. Arthur der Weduwen, "Utrecht's First Newspaper Re-Discovered: Adriaen Leenaertsz and the *Nieuwe courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt ende Nederlant* (1623)," *Quaerendo* 46, no. 1 (2016): 1–19.
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40. Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 8–9.
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43. Jason Peacey, "Editing and Editorial Interventions in English Journalism from the Civil to the Restoration," *Media History* 18, nos. 3–4 (2012): 259–273.
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# A

**ABBOTT, LYMAN (1835–1922).** American Congregational minister, editor, and author who was among those who responded to Charles Darwin’s evolutionary claims by trying to reconcile science and religion. After abandoning law for religion and then his position in Henry Ward Beecher’s church in Brooklyn for journalism and literature, he was associate editor of *Harper’s*, editor of *The Illustrated Christian Weekly*, and coeditor (with Beecher) and later editor of *The Christian Union*, a family-oriented magazine, which he renamed *The Outlook* in 1893 and turned into a journal of opinion with nearly 100,000 subscribers. Through its weekly columns and books, such as *The Evolution of Christianity* (1892) and *The Theology of an Evolutionist* (1897), he exerted a major influence on Protestant opinion about turn-of-the-century social problems.

Abbott rejected social Darwinism (“survival of the fittest” as a mechanism of social progress) in favor of a more humane evolutionary perspective, though not one that extended to African Americans or women. Along with Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, and Charles Sheldon, he was a major figure in the Protestant reaction to the perceived threat of journalism to the traditional role of religion in interpreting society and its values. In his novel *In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do?* (1896), Sheldon’s fictional newspaper editor rejects the sensationalism of yellow journalism. But Abbott’s belief in providentialism and missionary perspective led him to support **William Randolph Hearst’s** crusade for war against Spain in Cuba and the Philippines. In a sermon on 15 May 1898, he proclaimed that God had ordained the war and had chosen the United States as His beacon of freedom to the world. Hamlet’s dictum, he wrote on 16 July, is as true “of nations as of individuals . . . ‘there’s a divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may.’”

**ABC.** One of the leading national circulation newspapers in **Spain** (the others being *El País* and *El Mundo*). It was founded in Madrid as a weekly by Ignacio Luca de Tena on 1 January 1903 and became a daily two and a half years later. It developed into the country’s leading conservative paper, with strong sympathies for the monarchy and the Catholic Church. Among its



early reporters was the poet and author Sofia Casanova (1861–1958), Spain’s first war correspondent. She contributed more than 850 articles to *ABC*, covered the Russian Revolution, and was widely praised for her reporting on the Eastern Front during **World War I**.

During the five years of the Second Republic, *ABC* was highly critical of its political reformism and sympathetic toward Catalanian nationalism. During the Spanish Civil War, it published two editions, one supportive of each side. In line with its postwar support of the regime of Francisco Franco, it represented the 1961 hijacking of the transatlantic liner *Santa Maria* by the Revolutionary Iberian Directory of Liberation (DRIL) as an act of piracy and terrorism rather than as a platform for denouncing dictatorship. In recent years, it has adopted a more moderate conservative approach. A comparison of its stylebook with those of *El País* and *El Mundo* by Diaz Fernández (2010) found it to be less interested in questions of truth and objectivity than matters of grammar and style.

**ACTIVIST JOURNALISM.** The journalism produced by the current interplay between **legacy media** journalists and grassroots activists in the digital media environment. Its activism is distinct from that of **investigative journalism**, which exposes wrongdoing but remains within the boundaries of traditional journalistic practice; advocacy journalism, which promotes various social causes without being personally involved in them; and **public journalism**, which focuses on helping citizens find practical solutions to community problems. In activist journalism, there is a greater sense of urgency about the issues involved and the aims and methods of reporters are intertwined with those of activists, blurring the distinction between the two.

During protests, such as Occupy Wall Street, The People’s Climate March, and The Day We Fight Back, activists did not simply try to get their messages into legacy media. They also used new digital platforms to convey these messages themselves. But they did so with the help of some of the tools and practices of professional journalism. Faced with this new competition for public attention, some journalists responded by making greater use of activists as sources and adopting some of their ethical commitments, political agendas, and mobilization tactics. According to media scholar Adrienne Russell, this *hacktivist sensibility* by which journalists and activists borrow from each other as needed is *recoding news power* in a hybrid media environment. Like the **muckrakers** of the Progressive era, current activist-journalists, such as environmentalist Bill McKibben, civil liberties advocate Glenn Greenwald, technology pundit Tim Pool, and blogger Juliana Rotich, ground their advocacy in confirmable facts. But whereas the muckrakers lost their voice when the corporate media system could no longer tolerate what they were saying,

activist-journalists are less vulnerable to the institutional power of traditional mass media.

**ADAMS, FRANKLIN P. (1881–1960).** General interest columnist for various New York newspapers who signed himself “F.P.A.” and gained a national reputation between the wars. He began the column *Always in Good Humor* while working for the *New York Evening Mail* from 1904 to 1913. On 12 July 1910, his eight-line poem “That Double Play Again” about the rival Chicago Cubs appeared on page 6:

These are the saddest of possible words:  
 “Tinker to Evers to Chance.”  
 Trio of bear cubs, and fleeter than birds,  
 Tinker and Evers and Chance  
 Ruthlessly pricking our gonfalon bubble,  
 Making a Giant hit into a double—  
 Words that are heavy with nothing but trouble:  
 “Tinker to Evers to Chance.”

The poem, which remained popular for decades, has been credited with getting Joe Tinker, Johnny Evers, and Frank Chance inducted together in 1946 into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

From 1914 to 1941, Adams wrote *The Conning Tower* (named after the raised observational structure on a submarine) for the *New York Tribune*, *New York World*, *New York Herald-Tribune*, and *New York Post*. In addition to his own views (and further poetry) on the arts, culture, and society, he presented contributions from budding writers, such as Eugene O’Neill and James Thurber. He wrote the foreword for Finley Peter Dunne’s *Mr. Dooley at His Best* (1938) and was a panelist on the popular radio program *Information, Please!* from 1938 to 1948.

**ADAMS, HENRY (1838–1918).** One of America’s most eclectic and broadly philosophical writers who used journalism to help find his métier. The great-grandson of President John Adams and grandson of President John Quincy Adams, he graduated from Harvard College in 1858. But he then departed from the family tradition of reading law by embarking on a grand tour of Europe. After two years of studying the German language and culture, he followed his father’s suggestion that he write a series of travel letters for newspaper publication. He traveled to Vienna and then to Italy, where he was the first American to interview the revolutionary hero Garibaldi immediately after he took Palermo. In one of eight travel letters (seven were published

in the Boston *Courier* under the initials “H.B.A.” (Henry Brooks Adams) between 30 April and mid-July 1860), he described Garibaldi’s modest demeanor as “no stump oratory, no sham.”

During the Civil War, Adams was a special correspondent from Washington for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and later sent dispatches to the Boston *Courier* and *New York Times* while working as a private secretary for his father, Charles Francis Adams, who had been posted to London by President Abraham Lincoln as the U.S. minister. On 23 November 1869, when he was at his busiest as a journalist, he wrote to Charles Milnes Gaskell that “I am writing, writing, writing. You must take the *New York Nation* if you want to read me.” And more specifically on 7 March 1870: “I write about two articles a month in the *Nation*, and if I want to be very vituperative, I have a New York daily [the *Evening Post* under William Cullen Bryant] to trust.” Because these articles were written anonymously or under pen names, it has been hard to determine their exact number. But there is no doubt that their influence was felt in national politics and that Adams took delight in the fact.

On 10 December 1869, he wrote Gaskell: “I have had to write a violent personal attack impugning the pecuniary honesty of a highly respectable gentleman who is a friend of mine, and after sending it to a New York paper I have had to sit down and write another long article abusing everybody for another paper.” In “A Delicate Suggestion,” published in the New York *Evening Post* on 2 February 1870, he declared not so delicately that the current salt tax was “legalized robbery, an outrage on common sense, and a disgrace to the community that bore it.” On 18 February, he wrote Gaskell that this article had “irritated a member of Congress so much . . . that he denounced it before the House at great length. I did not declare the authorship.”

Adams continued his journalistic career as editor of the *North American Review* from 1870 to 1876 and attacked the partisanship and corruption of the Senate in *Democracy: An American Novel* (1880). After completing *The History of the United States (1801 to 1817)* (nine volumes, 1889–1891), he became interested in the philosophy of history. In *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1913) and his posthumous, tour-de-force, and Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918), he explored the human quest for inner unity through the symbols of the Virgin and the dynamo. From this perspective, journalism was part of the “vulgar order” of economic factors that had caused the evil times in which he lived.

**ADAMS, SAMUEL (1722–1803).** American political journalist and statesman. At Harvard College, he answered “Yes” to the Commencement thesis: “Is it Lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?” In addition to writing pamphlets, he helped found

the weekly *Public Advertiser* (1748–1775) and contributed essays under a variety of pen names to other newspapers. A Freemason, he organized opposition to the Stamp Act, orchestrated the Boston Tea Party, signed the Declaration of Independence, and later served as lieutenant governor and governor of Massachusetts.

John C. Miller called Adams a “pioneer of propaganda” in his 1936 study by that name, while John C. Irvin suggests in a 2002 biography that he did more than anyone else “to make the revolution happen.” His news commentaries drew extensively from his broad knowledge of political philosophy. Toward the end of his life, he apparently lost faith in what the revolution had accomplished as America seemed to move away from his Lockean ideals.

**ADAMS, SAMUEL HOPKINS (1871–1958).** Prolific American writer who began his career as one of the **muckrakers**. Together with the efforts of such officials as Harvey Wiley and writers as Upton Sinclair, his series of eleven articles on patent medicines, published in *Collier's* as “The Great American Fraud” in 1905, contributed to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906. In a section entitled “The Magic ‘Red Clause’,” he described how

with a few honorable exceptions the press of the United States is at the beck and call of the patent medicines. Not only do the newspapers modify news possibly affecting these interests, but they sometimes become their active agents. F. J. Cheney, proprietor of Hall's Catarrh Cure, devised some years ago a method of making the press do his fighting against legislation compelling makers of remedies to publish their formulae, or to print on the labels the dangerous drugs contained in the medicine—a constantly recurring bugaboo of the nostrum-dealer. This scheme unfolded at a meeting of the Proprietary Association of America, of which he is now president. He explained that he printed in red letters on every advertising contract a clause providing that the contract should become void in the event of hostile legislation.

Adams began his career as reporter for the *New York Sun*, covering the murder trial of Henry Thaw, before joining *McClure's Magazine* in 1900 to write about the state of public health in the United States. The American Medical Association, which published his series as a book, honored him as a lay associate member. After the Supreme Court ruled in 1911 that the prohibition of false advertising pertained only to the ingredients of medicines, he used a consumer advocacy column to expose false claims about products.

In *The Clarion* (1914), a fictionalized account of the fight against patent medicines, he described how the press generally supported the industry during the campaign for reform. In response, various newspapers rejected Houghton Mifflin's advertisements for the novel and in Binghamton, New York, where

the Swamp Root company operated, the local bookstore and library refused to order it. Adams later fictionalized the scandals of the Warren G. Harding administration and penned the story that became the 1935 Academy Award-winning film *It Happened One Night*. In addition to hundreds of magazine articles, he wrote more than 50 popular books.

**ADDISON, JOSEPH (1672–1719).** English statesman and coauthor with **Richard Steele** of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. Along with **Daniel Defoe**, he is considered one of the finest early British literary journalists. Born in Wiltshire, he was educated at Charterhouse in London, where he first met Steele, and then attended Oxford, later becoming a don with a reputation for verse. With the patronage of several Whig statesmen, he prepared for a diplomatic career by making a grand tour of Europe and secured an appointment as an undersecretary of state. In 1705, he helped revise Steele's comedy *The Tender Husband* and continued this collaboration when Steele became *Gazetteer*.

Though serving in Ireland when Steele began *The Tatler* in April 1709, he sent material for several numbers and began contributing directly upon his return in September. Of *The Tatler's* 271 issues, Addison wrote only 42 on his own. But in the case of its successor, *The Spectator*, he produced 274 or almost half of its 555 issues.

The project of these journals has usually been seen as an attempt to promote the values of politeness, decorum, and sociability considered necessary for the effective operation of what Jürgen Habermas famously called the **public sphere**. Formulated as if they were written from **coffeehouses** after the latest discussions, their goal was supposedly to exemplify the conversational norms of a culture in which the better argument prevails. However, a number of recent studies have challenged this conventional view. It has been argued, for example, that their effort to foster politeness was intended to distract readers from the financial and human costs of the war against France, which they actively supported. Before they began their journals, both Addison and Steele had served the war effort on behalf of the Whig administration: Addison as secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; and Steele as editor of the *London Gazette*.

A more radical reinterpretation of Addison begins by noting that Bickstaff and especially Mr. Spectator are not actually very sociable or particularly interested in the kind of coffeehouse conversation imagined by Habermas. They are not a model of polite sociability. In No. 131 on 31 July 1711, for example, Mr. Spectator writes during a visit to Mr. Rogers:

I shall set out for *London* to Morrow, having found by Experience that the Country is not a Place for a person of my Temper, who does not love Jollity,

and what they call Good-Neighbourhood. A Man that is out of Humour when an unexpected Guest breaks in upon him, and does not care for sacrificing an Afternoon to every Chance-comer, that will be the Master of his own Time, and the Pursuer of his own Inclinations, makes but a very unsociable Figure in this Life. I shall therefore . . . get into the Crowd again as fast as I can, in order to be alone. I can raise what Speculations I please upon others without being observed my self, and at the same time enjoy all the Advantages of Company with the Privilege of Solitude.

It is not simply that Mr. Spectator prefers his own company to that of others. Nor is he a hermit shutting himself away from the world. Rather he wants to observe others while not being observed by them. But what is his purpose in doing so?

According to Anthony Pollock, Addison considered public speech to be unmanageable and incapable of being reformed. He says that he and Steele went so far as to “stage the failure of their public engagement” to show that the public sphere is irremediably compromised as a forum for rational deliberation. In its place, Addison proposed to substitute a surrogate spectator form of publicness in which isolated readers would observe the world through the impartial lens of writers such as himself. Readers would become spectators, but *The Tatler’s* Bickerstaff and Mr. Spectator would do the seeing for them.

To perform this role successfully, they would have to be not only impartial but *neutral*, an ability that Mr. Spectator possesses by virtue of having a small hereditary estate and not having to work for a living. He “considers the World as a stage” and “desires to form a right Judgment of those who are the Actors on it.” But “to avoid errors and Prepossession” in describing the actions of individual characters, he does not express an opinion on their behavior, leaving it to readers to identify with, or be repulsed by, it. In the debate over witchcraft, for example, he insists on “not declaring oneself on, or rendering assistance to either side.” Regardless of whether Addison was entirely true to this conception of neutrality, it would become the mantra of the ideal of objectivity—present the “facts” and let readers judge for themselves.

**ADVERTISING.** Advertising is a monumental global industry. By the 2010s, over \$300 billion was being spent on advertising in the **United States** alone. As a means of supporting the production of news, its humble beginnings can be traced back to the Dutch *corantos*. The first advertisement in their English counterpart appeared in 1624. But it was not until the late 1640s that what were initially called *advices* (the word *advertisement* had the more general meaning of *notice*) were regularly included in English newsbooks such as the *Perfect Diurnall*. The placement of these advices in a separate section after 1660 was accompanied by the present, narrower definition of advertisement

as a paid sales pitch. But the number of advertisements remained quite small, especially after a monopoly was given to the government's newsbook and it was limited to "lost or stolen" items and information about doctors and medicines. For several years after its establishment in 1665, the *London Gazette* deliberately excluded them—except for official announcements and notices of courtiers for the return of lost falcons and greyhounds.

During the lapse of licensing from 1679 to 1683, the increased use of ads by newspapers such as Benjamin Harris's *Domestick Intelligence* forced the *Gazette* to reduce its hostility to them. In addition to his stock as a bookseller, Harris advertised urban real estate and medicines, including his own "Admirable and Effectual Water for the Gripping of the Guts." But it was only after the final expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695 that advertising became the means by which the three triweekly newspapers established that year—the *Post Boy*, *Post Man*, and *Flying Post*—gradually overtook the *Gazette* in total circulation. The content of their advertising contained a mixture of what would later be called classified ads and display ads, with books (display) being the dominant category followed by "lost or stolen" (classified).

Despite having a tax or stamp duty placed on them in 1712, newspaper ads continued to grow and enabled newspapers like the *Daily Advertiser* to improve their typography and layout to the detriment of older, less innovative papers such the *London Gazette* and *Daily Courant*. By 1750, some dailies were devoting up to 75 percent of their space to ads, though in most cases, they still derived more revenue from sales. In number 40 of *The Idler* (20 January 1759), Samuel Johnson declared that "the trade of advertising is now so near to perfection, that it is not easy to propose any improvement." But except for books and medicines, ads for consumer goods remained rare. It was not until the 1820s that household products such as Warren's Blacking (boot polish) were advertised on a large scale.

By the early 19th century, advertising was providing British newspapers such as the *Morning Chronicle* under proprietor James Perry with sufficient revenue for improvements in news gathering, despite increases in the stamp duty and the costs of paper, printing ink, types, and journeymen's wages. In 1809, newspapers were allowed to raise their price to 6½ d., but only 1 d. of this amount went to editorial and production costs; the rest was needed to cover the stamp duty (3½ d.) and to pay for the sheet of paper and the vendor (2 d.). Between 1800 and 1819, however, the *Chronicle's* profits from advertising rose from £4,300 to £12,400. Even though the duty on ads went from 2s in 1770 to 3s.6d in 1820, the profit on each ad increased from 1s.11d. to 6s.10d over the same period. In addition, the volume of advertising also increased, reaching 50 percent of the *Chronicle's* news-hole by 1820.

In the United States, the new economics of advertising was reflected in the strange phenomenon of delinquent subscribers. Between 1790 and 1840, the percentage of American households reading newspapers increased from less than 20 percent to over two-thirds. However, *reading* newspapers did not necessarily mean subscribing to them. Having come to regard access to news as a birthright, many citizens borrowed newspapers from their neighbors, pinched them off doorsteps, or subscribed but then refused to pay. Editors tried every conceivable means of getting reimbursed—except withholding delivery of the paper. Because their growing revenues from advertising were tied to circulation, it was more profitable to retain a delinquent subscriber than to refuse delivery.

Although advertising rates were tied to circulation, the growth of newspaper revenues between 1780 and 1830 came more from increases in the volume of advertising than from increases in circulation. Beginning with the American **penny papers** in the 1830s, however, advertising revenues grew mainly through increased sales as a result of new kinds of content in combination with a lower price. Over the next half century, the interrelationship between advertising revenue, circulation figures, purchase price, and content would transform newspapers into their modern form.

By the last quarter of the 19th century, advertising was the main source of revenue for Anglo-American newspapers. Between 1865 and 1919, American newspaper expenditures on advertising increased from \$7.5 million to over \$2 billion. The creation of advertising agencies contributed to this growth, beginning with Volney Palmer (1841) in Philadelphia, N. W. Ayer (1875), Lord & Thomas (1881), and J. Walter Thomson (1896). They were aided by the creation of the *American Newspaper Directory* by George P. Rowell in New York City in 1869. It was the first directory to include estimates of newspaper circulation. In 1883, the first international advertising agency (Dorland) was also established in the United States. By 1910, advertising accounted for almost 60 percent of American newspaper revenue.

Elsewhere the growth of newspaper advertising proceeded more slowly. In **Russia**, for example, there was little paid advertising in the bourgeois press until the 1890s, when banks, private railways, and heavy industries began to advertise. As in the United States, this growth led to, and was aided by, the creation of advertising agencies such as Mettsel and Co., which controlled over half of the Russian newspaper ad market by **World War I**.

Dependency on advertising made American newspapers vulnerable during the Great Depression. Between 1929 and 1933, total advertising lineage declined from 1.9 billion agate lines to 1.05 billion lines. And between 1929 and 1941, American newspapers' share of national advertising dropped 28 percent. In response, American newspapers began to place more emphasis



on subscriptions and sales. But advertising remained their dominant source of revenue and, in the case of classified advertising, was both a generator and predictor of circulation.

At the end of **World War II**, most U.S. newspapers still carried more news and editorials than advertising. But between the late 1940s and early 1970s, the traditional 60:40 news-to-advertising ratio was reversed. A study conducted by the Communications Research Center at the University of Michigan in 1959 calculated that newspapers devoted 61 percent of their space to advertising, 23 percent to special sections (comics, sports, society, financial, editorials, and columns), and 16 percent to news. At its peak, advertising constituted close to 75 percent of newspaper content, even though studies have found that about half of newspaper readers deliberately avoid the advertising pages.

This background helps to explain why the collapse of classified advertising has been devastating for newspapers. At its peak, it provided almost 40 percent of newspaper advertising revenues (the rest coming from display ads). In the digital media environment, it has been replaced by cheaper, more searchable, and less geographically bounded online selling services such as Craigslist and eBay. Even display advertising has been severely challenged by digital advertising platforms. Most current consumers of news expect to be subjected to advertising in accessing news sites. But they now also feel that they should not have to pay for the news content that is accompanied by this advertising.

**ADVERTORIALS.** A new name for a three-century-old genre, which blends and mixes textual features of advertisements, news stories, and editorials. As a form of sponsored content aimed at both providing information (like news stories) and persuading (like editorials), advertorials are typically located in special advertising sections in magazines and advertising supplements in newspapers. They are used by both governments and nongovernmental organizations to promote various causes as well as products and services. By meeting many of the expectations that readers have for news stories or editorials, they are able to grab their attention while appearing to have the endorsement of the media in which they are published.

The origins of advertorials can be traced back to the early 18th century when they were known in **Great Britain** as *puffs*. Camouflaging themselves as news, they were paid for at the usual advertising rates, but were not subject to the tax on advertisements, making them an attractive form of content for newspaper publishers. **Richard Steele** inserted puffs in *The Spectator* for actors, booksellers, wine merchants, and quack doctors—the latter despite **Joseph Addison**'s mild parody of them in the number for 27 November

1711. By the 1770s, commercial puffs were accompanied by similarly misleading political ads known as *paragraphs*. The plot for Samuel Foote's play *The Bankrupt*, which premiered in 1773, revolved around a paid advertisement made to appear as news.

Today advertorials generally mimic the letter shapes and colors of news stories, though more so in the case of newspapers than magazines, and usually include headlines and leads. They likewise normally use the simple present tense to accentuate factuality and sometimes include bylines. But they also make greater use of visual elements, such as photographs of leaders or charts and graphs, and often imitate scientific reports or academic articles by dividing their subsequent content into separate sections with titles. Unlike editorials, they never include any opposition or negative opinions related to their subject matter. And like advertisements, they frequently provide contact information, such as an address, a telephone number, or a URL, so as to better enable audience responses. They share more elements with advertisements than news stories or editorials.

The authority given to an advertising message by its presentation as a news story or editorial varies according to its location within a magazine or newspaper. For many years, the op-ed page that the *New York Times* began on 26 September 1970 allocated the lower right quadrant to special interest organizations for image and advocacy advertorials. For the next three decades, Mobil Oil Company (later ExxonMobil) acquired this hospitable space every Thursday (later every other Thursday) for about \$5,000 (in 1970s dollars) a week. While demarcated from other editorial content by having their sponsorship identified, Mobil's advertorials were not only longer (up to 650 words) than "letters-to-the-editor" (400-word maximum) but a product of its immense research and writing resources. They played a major role in its comprehensive program of public relations and political advocacy. However, one study of a Mobil advertorial found that while it increased issue salience, it did not affect public perceptions of the company.

**ADVICE COLUMNS.** The advice column is a long-standing and multifaceted genre of journalism. The first English-language advice column was created in 1691 by the London bookseller John Dunton in the weekly journal *The Athenian Mercury*. It promised that "all Persons whatever may be resolved *gratis* in any Question that their own satisfaction or Curiosity shall prompt 'em to, if they send their Questions by a Penny Post Letter." Dunton hired a few authorities (and invented others) to answer some 6,000 questions over the next decade, with the emphasis gradually shifting from natural science to love and marriage. In 1695, a question from an apprentice about whether to seize an opportunity "to marry much to his advantage" received the response:

“Fair and Gently, Lad; marriage is no foot ball play . . . few men till some years above twenty know either how to govern themselves, choose a wife, or set a true value upon Money. Not one marriage in five hundred, made before twenty-five, or thereabouts, proves happy.” After he folded the *Mercury* because of personal problems, Dunton published a short-lived journal devoted solely to the questions of readers.

In the early 18th century, **Daniel Defoe** tried his hand as an advice columnist in the *Review*'s Scandalous Club feature. Other newspapers followed in his footsteps by publishing advice about courtship for younger readers. By the 1770s, women writers, later known as agony aunts, were giving advice about other personal problems in magazines such as the *Lady's Magazine* and the *Lady's Monthly Museum*. Agony columns in newspapers were usually located on the second page along with ads for missing friends and relatives.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, advice columns began to consider topics other than love and marriage and were sometimes used to promote particular causes. In the 1870s, Gertrude Mossell, a member of Philadelphia's African-American upper class, began the first family advice column in the African-American press. In addition to providing moral guidance for newly freed African Americans, it advocated racial reform and an expansion of the rights of women. Women's rights were also the specific focus of Sabiha Sertel's advice column in Turkey in the mid-1920s. Writing as Cici Anne in *Cumhuriyet* (The Republic), one of the country's preeminent dailies, she took readers' letters as a point of departure for discussion of issues such as women's economic dependency and *namus* (honor).

Twentieth-century advice columns continued to expand the range of subject matter and were primarily written by women. In almost 80 columns in *Good Housekeeping* between 1926 and 1933, Emily Newell Blair gave advice on reading in *A Road Log of New Books*, while its other women columnists began providing advice on how to prepare nutritious meals and use new food-related appliances. Since then, advice columns have become increasingly specialized, focusing not only on nutrition and health but sex, exercise, and a host of other modern concerns.

But for most American newspaper readers, the advice column was synonymous with matters of the heart. Marie Manning, who used the pseudonym “Beatrice Fairfax,” wrote about etiquette and romance for the *New York Evening Journal* from 1898 until her marriage in 1905 and then again during the Depression, when her column was syndicated through King Features. Her main rival in the general advice field was Elizabeth M. Gilmer (“Dorothy Dix”), who began her career in journalism as a crime reporter for the *New York Journal* (1901–1916). Her lovelorn column in the *New Orleans*

*Picayune* was eventually syndicated and still later distilled in such books as *How to Win and Hold a Husband* (1939).

Love and romance remained an important element of the two most famous 20th-century column: *Ask Ann Landers* and *Dear Abby*. The original Ann Landers was Ruth Crowley, a Chicago nurse who adopted the pseudonym in 1943 to distinguish the column from one she had been writing on childcare. After her death in 1955, Eppie Lederer won a contest to become the new Ann Landers. A few months later, her twin sister Pauline Phillips adopted the pseudonym Abigail Van Buren and began *Dear Abby*. From then until 2002, they engaged in a fierce and often unfriendly competition for the unofficial title of number one advice columnist in America. Long before their rivalry came to an end, however, television took over as the most popular and influential medium of personal advice. It featured personalities such as Ruth Westheimer (“Dr. Ruth”) and long-running shows such as *The Phil Donahue Show* (1970–1996) and *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, which debuted in 1984 and was the number one TV talk show for 24 consecutive seasons. *See also* Columnists; Women in Journalism.

**AFGHANISTAN.** In 1873, a few members of the intellectual elite in Afghanistan began the weekly newspaper *Shams-al-Nehar* (Sun of the Day) to promote the acquisition by Islam of European knowledge in the natural sciences and humanities. It included government announcements, local and foreign news, and coverage of scientific and cultural developments. But it was terminated during the second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1880) for supporting national independence. It was not until 1911 when the patriotic reformer Mahmud Tarzi (1865–1933) established *Saraj-ol-Akhbar Afghaniyab* (Beacon of Afghan News) that the country had its first successful newspaper while still under British rule.

In 1882, Tarzi’s father, a well-known poet and epigrapher, was charged with conspiring against the country and banished with his family. During two decades in Damascus and Constantinople, the young Tarzi was strongly influenced by European culture and institutions. Following an amnesty by the Amir Habibullah Khan in 1902, he returned to Afghanistan and sought to promote reform in education, communication, and the economy. He began *Saraj-ol-Akhbar* after being appointed chief of the Bureau of Translation in the Royal Court. A biweekly Persian language newspaper, it was issued under the auspices of the emir and the supervision of the Court Chamberlain. It was initially lithographed but later printed following the importation of new presses. It carried both foreign and domestic news, translating material from the English, Urdu, Turkish, and Arabic press.

The “father of Afghan journalism,” Tarzi lamented the decline of Afghanistan in the Islamic world and proposed restoring its place through a combination of nationalism and modernization. His editorials helped to formulate the tenets of Afghan nationalism and modernism, discussing topics such as education, ethnic relations, public health, and railroads. But *Saraj-ol-Akhbar* ceased publication in December 1918 and for several decades after Tarzi’s death, his contribution to the nationalist-modernist movement was omitted from official sources.

Following independence in 1919, the weekly *Aman-I Afghan* (Afghan Peace) carried on *Saraj-ol-Akhbar*’s reformist and nationalist emphasis. It was joined by a number of other newspapers and magazines, especially after Article 11 of the 1923 Constitution provided for freedom of speech. From 1929 to 1963, however, the absolute monarchy of King Zahir controlled the dissemination of news through instruments of propaganda such as the official newspaper *Anis* (Companion or Friendship) and the Bakhtar News Agency, which began operation in 1939. In 1962, it established *The Kabul Times*, a daily English newspaper.

In 1964 a new chapter began in Afghan journalism during the “constitutional decade” or “experiment with democracy.” A new press law declared freedom of expression and sanctioned the creation of nongovernment newspapers. However, only one of these survived for long—the satirical newspaper *Tarjomān*, which eschewed radical criticism and political alignments in favor of arguments about how parliament and the bureaucracy could do better. Founded by the cartoonist Abdul Rahim Nawin and satirist Ali Asghar Bashir in 1968 for “people who hardly ever laugh,” it was the first Afghan newspaper devoted entirely to satire and served as a school for Afghan satirists. Its masthead said it was a *Jarida-I Melli Betaraf*—an independent, nonaffiliated, national newspaper. Because it was not associated with any political party, organization, or ideology, it was able to criticize the shortcomings of the government and Afghan society generally without suffering retribution.

*Tarjomān*’s contributors included some of the best writers and poets of the time, none of whom was paid and almost all of whom used a variety of pseudonyms. Comprised between 4 and 12 pages, it was printed in a government printing house every Thursday. With a circulation of between 2,000 and 4,000 copies, each one of which might be read by several people or read aloud to small groups of illiterate people, it was one of the most popular newspapers in the country. It included a broad spectrum of satirical forms, including verse, poems, and cartoons. During its second year, it added a *Mini Tarjomān* or *Little Tarjomān*, which was allegedly written by children but addressed to adults.

Despite its criticism of the government, it outlived other independent newspapers and journals. During breaks in cabinet meetings, ministers apparently read it and laughed out loud at some of its satires. Asked by Nawin and Bashir what they thought of the paper, officials conveyed their approval. In 1973, the minister of information and culture wrote that “*Tarjomān* has done admirable service for the nation.” But following another coup the same year by Muhammad Daud, Nawin himself became minister of culture and information and banned all independent newspapers, including *Tarjomān*.

In the aftermath of coups in 1973 and 1978, the press was subjected to increasingly harsh controls and the circulation of newspapers plummeted. It was not until the overthrow of the Taliban in 2001 that Afghan journalists were able to operate with any degree of independence. In 2004, the same year that a new constitution again proclaimed freedom of expression, the first independent English newspaper, the *Daily Outlook Afghanistan*, was established. It was joined in 2010 by the Kaama Press, the first English news service. Inspired in part by the memory of *Tarjomān*, a number of new satirical newspapers have also emerged. But the history of journalism in Afghanistan continues to be governed by incessant warfare, debilitating poverty, low literacy rates, and vacillation between moderate and severe repression of the press.

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN JOURNALISM.** The first African-American newspaper was *Freedom’s Journal*, founded by Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm in New York City in early 1827, the same year that slavery was abolished in New York State. Written for the free African-American people in the northern United States, it sought to promote their rights and advocated strongly on behalf of abolition. This cause was taken up even more forcefully by Frederick Douglass in the weekly *North Star*, which he began publishing in Rochester in 1847. Born a slave in Maryland, he took his name from Sir Walter Scott’s *The Lady of the Lake* and escaped from slavery in 1838. He continued publishing the *North Star* (later *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*) until 1859, when he scaled back it back to *Douglass’ Monthly* (1860–1863) and wrote a number of autobiographical works.

Unlike the militant *North Star*, most African-American newspapers in the antebellum period put a premium on expediency lest they be sabotaged by white racists. They practiced a moderate journalism of positive uplift for a small mobile black middle class, relating its good deeds and successes and including white abolitionists and the clergy among their desired audience. A number of their editors tried to form a press association to encourage more responsible journalism, only to be blocked by Douglass who feared increased competition.

The first female African-American journalist was Mary Ann Shadd Cary. The daughter of Abraham Shadd, who worked for **William Lloyd Garrison's** *Liberator*, Cary was part of the exodus to **Canada** after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. In 1853, she began publishing the *Provincial Freeman* in Toronto, making her the first African-American woman to edit a newspaper in North America. It attacked slavery and advocated school integration and women's rights in Canada. Plagued by financial difficulties, it closed in 1860 after the death of her husband Thomas Cary. After returning to Washington, D.C., in 1863, Cary became the first female African-American lawyer in the **United States** and organized the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise in 1880.

Ida B. Wells also combined journalism with organizational activities. Born a slave in rural Mississippi, she began her journalistic career in 1887 with an article in *Living Way* relating her personal experience of discrimination on American railroads. She later became part owner of the weekly *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight*. After she condemned the lynching of three African-American businessmen in 1892 for opening a grocery store, a white mob destroyed its office and threatened to burn her at the stake. Undeterred, she continued her crusade against lynching, first as a columnist for the *New York Age* and later as a lecturer in the northeast and Britain. In addition to inspiring the formation of anti-lynching leagues, she began the African-American women's club movement, established the first suffrage club among African-American women, and helped organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). After her marriage to Chicago lawyer and newspaper publisher Ferdinand L. Barnett, she served as editor of the *Chicago Conservator* and as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

Expelled from his native Jamaica for his role in the printers' strike of 1907, Marcus Garvey published newspapers in Costa Rica and Panama and worked for *The African Times and Orient Review* in London before settling in New York City in 1916. There he advocated black self-reliance through the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and produced publications such as *Negro World*. He was one of many African Americans pursued by J. Edgar Hoover and the **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**. In 1922, he was convicted of mail fraud and deported to Jamaica. In addition to furthering Jamaican independence, he continued his campaign to uplift blacks through *The Black Man*, an international newspaper published in London.

During **World War I**, the federal government engaged in intimidating surveillance of African-American newspapers and the Justice Department considered prosecuting some of them for sedition. In 1919, J. Edgar Hoover, who headed its General Intelligence Division (GID), compiled a report entitled

“Radicalism and Sedition among Negroes as Reflected in their Publications.” “As long as the Negro submits to lynchings, burnings and oppressions, he is a loyal American citizen,” wrote Robert L. Vann, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, in response. “But when he decides that lynchings and burnings shall cease at the cost of some human bloodshed in America, then he is a Bolshevik.” Following the submission of Hoover’s report to the Senate, dozens of peacetime sedition bills were introduced and many African-American publications were cowed into submission.

One newspaper that refused to roll over was the *Chicago Defender*, which styled itself as “the World’s Greatest Weekly.” It was established on a shoestring budget in 1905 by printer Robert S. Abbott, the child of former slaves in Georgia. In 1893, Abbott attended the Chicago World’s Fair and heard Frederick Douglass call upon white Americans to “live up to their Constitution” and provide African Americans with the rights and protections they deserve by law. Beginning as a four-page paper the size of a handbill, the *Defender* remained steadfast in its pursuit of racial equality but also sought racial integration. With the motto “American race prejudice must be destroyed!” on its masthead, it was distributed nationally by Pullman railroad car porters. It used bold red headlines, sensational crime stories, and special features such as a health column to achieve a national circulation of 250,000 during the interwar period.

Among the most respected African Americans who used journalism to fight racial oppression during the interwar period was W. E. B. Du Bois. Following his appointment as director of publications and research for NAACP in 1920, the Harvard-educated professor of economics and African-American history used its monthly magazine *The Crisis* to fight for full equality of citizenship. In addition to writing several books and founding the Niagara Movement against segregation, he wrote political columns for various newspapers from the late 1920s to early 1940s.

Within two months of the United States entering **World War II**, Hoover was again harassing the African-American press, this time as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and in concert with Post Office officials proposing to revoke its second-class permits. In May 1942, however, Attorney General Francis Biddle met with John Sengstacke, the current editor and publisher of the *Chicago Defender* and president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. A champion of civil liberties, Biddle promised that the Justice Department would not indict any African-American newspaper editors for sedition and remained true to his word throughout the war.

After the war, the African-American press underwent a resurgence. In 1956, the weekly *Chicago Defender* became the *Chicago Daily Defender* and achieved the highest circulation of any black-owned newspaper in the



world. But by 1970, its readership had plummeted and the African-American press generally was struggling to compete with other news media in the face of rising production costs. With the controversial help of nonblack investors, however, almost 200 African-American newspapers have managed to survive, while many small, community-based papers have not. According to a number of surveys, these newspapers have, until recently, been the primary source of news for African-American readers.

**AFRICAN JOURNALISM.** The first newspapers in Africa were founded in the 19th century by missionaries spreading the Christian gospel and newspapermen following in the wake of imperialist colonizers from **Great Britain, France, and Germany**. After 1914, newspapers also arose in colonies established by **Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy**. Their purpose was to replicate European culture and control the African masses. To this end, they relied initially on their own countrymen to staff their operations. But some newspapers gradually began to hire African-born employees, some of whom later used the experience gained to found indigenous newspapers with financial help, in some cases, from missionaries.

The career of James Bright Davies illustrates the transition from colonial employee to African ownership. He began writing for various newspapers in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in his mid-twenties while working for the government. His journalism was so good that in 1876, he was hired as editor of the influential *West African Reporter*, a year after its creation by William Grant. In 1895, after resuming his administrative career in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), he helped establish the Gold Coast Printing and Publishing Co. and became editor and manager of the *Gold Coast Independent*. He later went to Lagos where he founded the *Nigerian Times* in 1910.

A similar path was followed by Ahuma Attah. He worked his way up to the editorial staff of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* by the 1890s. He then left to establish the Aboriginal Rights Protection Society (ARPS). After his expulsion from the Methodist ministry for his article “Colony or Protectorate, which?”, he wrote for the ARPS paper *The Gold Coast Aborigines* and in 1912 founded a new nationalist newspaper, *The Gold Coast Nation*. Along with James Bright Davies, he was harassed for criticizing British rule during **World War I**.

Other native Africans went abroad to acquire skills related to journalism. In 1888, John Langalibalele Dube, who was of royal Zulu lineage in Natal and became the founding president of the African National Congress (ANC), went to the **United States** to study at the Oberlin Preparatory Academy. There he worked for a printing firm and later used the skills acquired to help cofound and produce *Ilanga Lase Natal*, the first Zulu-language newspaper.

Careers in law and other professions also provided Africans with a springboard into journalism. After studying law in London, Kitoi Ajasa, the son of a Sierra Leone “recaptive” (a slave freed from a slave ship), opened a practice in Nigeria before helping to establish *The Lagos Standard* in 1894. After breaking with the *Standard* over its confrontational approach, he founded the *Nigerian Pioneer* in partnership with European business interests. J. E. Casely Hayford, an early advocate of pan-African nationalism, also set up a law practice and maintained it while editing the *Gold Coast Leader*.

The first African-owned newspaper in East Africa was *Sekanyolya*, a Luganda-language monthly founded in 1920 by Sefanio K. Sentongo in the British protectorate of Uganda, though printed in Nairobi to avoid prosecution. Named after a bird, it was critical of the ruling Buganda chiefs and Buganda society in general, especially its Indian businessmen, mission education system, and inequitable distribution of land. Two years later, the Bataka in Kampala began publishing the Luganda-language *Munyonyozyi* under editor Daudi Bassade to make the case for land reform. In 1923, Bassade and publisher Joswa Kate were found guilty of defaming the Buganda treasurer and fined. During their appeal to the Uganda High Court, Justice Smith declared that truthful criticism of public policy and public officials is “entirely legitimate” and “an advantage to the community.” He then upheld the conviction.

During the interwar period, indigenous newspapers shifted their focus from local grievances and injustices to the larger question of national independence. In the process, they rejected what they regarded as a Eurocentric approach to journalism in favor of an Afrocentric one. To best serve the community, they argued in part, the African press should concentrate on disseminating its political message without worrying about profitability. Given the low level of commercialization, this philosophy was partly a matter of making a virtue of necessity. But it unwittingly made it easier for the commercial newspapers to siphon off its target audience through sensational popular content.

The most successful indigenous newspapers were those that balanced Afrocentric values with Western commercialism. In 1937, for example, the radical journalist Nnamdi Azikiwe founded the *West African Pilot*, the first of a chain of papers in Nigeria. It challenged the exclusion of the Nigerian elite from participation in government and gradually aroused national consciousness among the Nigerian masses. But its effectiveness as a vehicle for nationalism was tied to its combination of traditional African symbols and myths with modern journalistic elements. The retention of indigenous forms of cultural representation reduced the capacity of British rulers to understand its discussions, while the use of photographs, wire service copy, and American news formats increased circulation and enabled it to succeed as a business venture.

In the Gold Coast, the indigenous *Ashanti Pioneer* went even further in trying to attract readers. Founded by John S. Tsiboe in 1939, it mixed anti-British editorials with stories about crime and sensational items such as the banner-headlined page-one story “Girl Gives Birth to Reptiloid Monster” (21 February 1946). On the other side of the continent, higher levels of colonial repression led to greater reliance on traditional modes of political resistance, such as secret societies. In general, the indigenous press was most successful in promoting national independence in the British colonies, much less effective in the French colonies, and least influential in the German, Portuguese, and Belgian colonies.

From the 1880s onward, the British tried to use newspapers as a mean of governmentality, allowing for the emergence of a relatively free and independent press in the belief that it would educate and enlighten its West African subjects in the sense of legitimating their exploitation. This approach opened the door to the upsurge of nationalist journalism during the 1930s and made it more difficult for the Colonial Office to take strong steps to curtail it. During the same period, however, it also became concerned about what it perceived to be communist infiltration. Fearing that the emotionally volatile masses were easy targets for political manipulation by both communists and educated elites, it resorted to a combination of public relations and censorship in an attempt to gain control of public opinion. But as Stephanie Newell relates, decades of independent African news production and consumption had produced sophisticated editors and readers capable of resisting censorship and propaganda.

In contrast to the rich press landscape in the British colonies of West Africa, there was no press freedom in German East Africa and other German colonies. From 1912 onward, the German Colonial Press Law, which was written in response to what had been a pugnacious settler press, placed legal restrictions on both the writing and reading activities of settlers and the colonized alike. In the colony of Togoland, African writers were able to bypass these restrictions and publish critical articles in the adjacent British Gold Coast Colony. But in other German colonies, no African-owned press developed before the end of German rule.

By the early 1950s, the die was cast in most African colonies for eventual independence. The only remaining question was the timing of the transition. Between 1956 and 1972, 35 new nations emerged in Africa. In many cases, their leaders were former pioneers of African journalism. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who controlled 10 newspapers by the 1950s, became the first president of Nigeria. Jomo Kenyatta, who established *Muigwithamia* in 1928, was the first prime minister and president of Kenya. Julius Nyerere, leader of the

Tanzania African National Union (TANU) and editor of the party newspaper *Sauti ya TANU*, served as the first president of Tanzania. And Kwame Nkrumah, who used *The Accra Evening News* and *Cape Coast Daily Mail* to promote independence from Britain, was Ghana's prime minister from 1957 to 1959 and president from 1960 to 1966 when he was toppled by a military coup.

During the pre-independence period, the African-owned press was regarded by nationalist leaders as a legitimate instrument for promoting change in both government policies and the form of government itself. After independence, however, this concept gave way to what was called development journalism. It was argued that before independence, the press had served traditional collectivist values in Africa by helping to achieve national autonomy. But given the monumental problems facing the fragile and ethnically volatile new states, it was now essential for the press to assist governments in establishing the economic, social, and cultural infrastructure necessary for successful nationhood.

For the early advocates of this philosophy, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) at its 1976 General Conference in Nairobi, development journalism meant responsible and constructive journalism. It was not seen as a threat to freedom of the press, because reporting the news in the Western sense was not what most postindependence African journalists wanted to do. Their aspiration was to help forge new nations in a particularly difficult set of circumstances. Because of the continuing lack of an economic base for private media ownership, most of the new African governments created their own media outlets, especially in radio and television, where development journalism was initially a good fit. By the mid-1980s, it was making a significant contribution to rural development, especially in countries such as Nigeria.

In a growing number of African countries, however, governments began to exercise control over the media for their own political purposes. Journalists in Gabon, Central African Republic, Congo, Malawi, and elsewhere became subject to dismissal, arrest, and even torture for criticizing government policy. In Kenya, the Kikuyu journalist George Githi was dismissed as editor-in-chief of the *Standard* in 1982 after the government took exception to his criticism of the policy of detaining people without trial. In Nigeria, Oladele Giwa, who studied English at Brooklyn College and worked briefly at the *New York Times*, was subjected to government intimidation as founding editor of the *Sunday Concord* and at *Newswatch*, a magazine dedicated to investigative journalism, which he helped establish in 1985. He first came into conflict with the security authorities in 1982 for publishing a white paper

before its official release. After the Lagos High Court ruled that he had been illegally detained, he received damages and a public apology from the chief of police. But on 19 October 1986, he was killed by a letter bomb in the midst of his investigation of the country's security agencies.

Development journalism was also compromised by the emergence of wealthy elites, who used their resources to buy space and time in various media or purchase them outright as personal political instruments. Despite this perversion of their original vision, advocates of development journalism initially had difficulty embracing rhetoric about the free flow of information because of its association with Western media imperialism. But during the early 1990s, the development journalism paradigm came in for criticism by some African journalists themselves for encouraging self-censorship and a style of journalism known disparagingly as “the Minister said.”

On 3 May 1991, a number of African journalists met in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, and adopted a “Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic Press.” It stated that “an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development.” At a conference sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee a year later, African journalists drew up a Charter for a Free Press, declaring that “a free press means a free people.” Together with the UN General Assembly's proclamation of World Press Freedom Day in 1993, these initiatives supported a wave of democratization in most of sub-Saharan Africa. By the end of the decade, 42 nations had made constitutional reforms that included freedom of the press.

Since 2000, African commentators have emphasized that freedom of the press is not the only requirement for better journalism. There also needs to be better training for journalists and media managers; better equipment in newsrooms (“Entering some newsrooms in Africa is like entering a museum,” wrote Canadian professor Robert Martin after the Windhoek seminar); a better financial and regulatory environment for independent newspaper operations; and more emphasis on professional behavior and responsibility in the development journalism tradition.

African commentators have also stressed that support for press freedom does not entail acceptance of Western journalism practices generally. A study by Terje Skjerdal found that although African journalists may characterize themselves as subscribing to Anglophone journalism norms, in practice, they adhere to one of three alternative normative models: *ujamaa* journalism or journalism for social change; *ubuntu* or communal journalism; and journalism based on oral discourse. Despite their significant differences, all three models “appear to be in collective conflict with Western journalism paradigms.”

**AGEE, JAMES (1909–1955).** American journalist-cum-novelist, poet, film critic, and screenwriter from Knoxville, Tennessee. Only a few days after graduating from Harvard University in 1932, he was hired by Time Inc. and wrote for *Fortune* magazine until 1939. During the 1940s, he did film reviews for *Time* and *The Nation* and coauthored the film script for *The African Queen* (1951) with Director John Huston.

In the summer of 1936, Agee spent eight weeks living among sharecroppers in Alabama with photographer Walker Evans for a story on the impact of the Great Depression on lowly tenant farmers, not unlike his own father back in Tennessee. After his portrayal was rejected by **Henry Luce**, he expanded it into a book entitled *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). There is some debate as to why the original version was not published in *Fortune*. Apart from being very stark, it was about 10 times longer than the typical story in the magazine's "Life and Circumstances" feature. But in 2005, *Fortune* claimed that Agee himself decided it was not right for magazine and took steps to ensure that it would not be published, such as missing deadlines and refusing to change its style.

What *Fortune* did not explain was the ethical dimension of this discordance. As James Aucoin recounts, *Fortune* wanted Agee and Evans to find a typical tenant farmer, interview him, report on his economic plight, and talk about government efforts to improve his lot so that wealthy businessmen reading the magazine would feel pity for him or at least find his struggle interesting. But Agee rejected such "obscene" prying "into the lives of an undefended and appallingly damaged group of human beings, an ignorant and helpless rural family, for the purpose of parading the nakedness, disadvantage and humiliation of these lives before another group of human beings . . . for money . . . and for a reputation of crusading." He believed that he had undergone a "spiritual rebirth" through his interactions with the sharecroppers and their families and worried about the possibility that his writing might do them further harm.

Although *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* was remaindered after selling only 600 copies, it has since been recognized as a classic documentary book that pioneered a new form of reflexive personal journalism. In 2003, an early draft of part of the book was discovered and published in 2013. In 1958, Agee's autobiographical novel *A Death in the Family* (1957) was awarded a **Pulitzer Prize** posthumously. According to critic Kenneth Seib, his writing was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries.

**AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE (AFP).** The world's first news agency which, though a private company, has operated closely with the French government. It was the brainchild of Charles-Louis Havas (1783–1858), who

began an import-export business in Paris while also supplying news of the London stock exchange for the banker-speculator Gabriel-Julien Ouvrard. After the fall of Napoleon, he declared bankruptcy and continued to experience financial difficulties until 1832 or 1833 when he set up a small *correspondence* or news bureau near the Paris stock exchange and post office. It soon outdistanced a host of other Paris-based newsletters by delivering rapid and reliable translations of foreign newspapers to the post office. In 1835, the Correspondence Havas became Agence Havas and was soon the dominant supplier of foreign news to the government, civil servants, diplomats, banks, speculators, and the press. In his journal *La Revue Parisienne* in August 1841, novelist and investigative reporter Honoré de Balzac wrote that its pervasive operations were deliberately kept under wraps by the government, diplomats, and the press. When the electric telegraph began operations under state aegis, Havas was given prior use, ensuring its continued domination. Part of its success lay in its willingness to allow subscribers to pay in advertising space as well as cash. But its maintenance of an international network of bureaus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was also facilitated by state subsidies.

Following its establishment in July 1940, the Vichy government, which collaborated with the German occupation of France until August 1944, turned Agence Havas in the Office Français d'Information. In 1944, it was renamed Agence France-Presse and remained under direct government control. It was not until 1957, when members of the daily press became a majority of its board of directors, that it began to reclaim a measure of independence. Even then, successive French governments tried to influence its operations by financial means. Under Jean Marin, who was eventually pressured to step aside by president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, it was able to maintain its political independence and develop a worldwide presence. It is credited with raising the standards of news reporting in France and remains the leading French news agency.

**AGENDA SETTING.** The idea that while the press does not exert much influence over what people think, it does play a major role in what they think *about*. Although this point was made by **Walter Lippmann**, the term *agenda setting* was first used by Bernard Cohen in *The Press and Foreign Policy* (1963) at a time when mass communication research seemed to have demonstrated that the mass media are not as powerful as previously believed (the limited effects thesis). The first attempt to document this effect using quantitative research methods was conducted by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in connection with the presidential election of 1968 and published four years later in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. They concluded that the media had set the agenda for the election.

McCombs spent almost four decades refining his initial hypothesis into a theory of how the news media create issue salience. Some of the 400-odd studies inspired by his work have suggested that politicians and at times the public may also set the agenda. Still others have returned to the original powerful effects claim (the magic bullet or hypodermic needle theory) that the media also shape *how* we think about the issues they have rendered salient.

In 2005, McCombs reflected on the significance of the metaphor of agenda setting for journalists. “Both time and space on the media agenda and public attention to that agenda are scarce commodities. Arguably the most fundamental, overarching ethical question for journalists concerns their stewardship of these resources. Setting the agenda is an awesome responsibility.”

**ALBANIA.** The first printing press in present-day Albania was set up by Stefan of Scutari in 1563. He learned the art of printing in Venice, which assisted Albania in the fight against the Ottoman Empire. In 1571, however, the Turks reconquered the kingdom and for the next three centuries, printing was banned. During the 19th century, a number of Albanian newspapers were published outside the country. In 1879, *The Voice of Albania*, published in Athens by the Greco-Albanian nationalist Anastas Kullurioti, called for the creation of a unified Greek-Albanian state.

Following protests over the threat of partition at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the ban was lifted and a number of primitive news sheets appeared in Albania itself. When printing was abolished again in 1886, along with the use of the Albanian language and the operation of schools, their publishers carried on in exile in Bulgaria, **Greece, Switzerland, Great Britain, the United States**, and elsewhere, smuggling some 30 newspapers back into Albania by caravan.

The first daily newspaper published in Albania was *Taraboshi*, which began publication in Scutari in 1913, the year the London Conference on the Balkans granted Albania full independence from the Ottoman Empire. Together with various provincial weeklies, it disappeared during **World War I**, when the Allies allowed Albania’s neighbors to carve up its territory in return for military assistance. With American and later Italian support after the war, the Albanian clan leader Ahmed Bey Zogu was able to reestablish a measure of independence and a number of newspapers reappeared.

As president and then king, Zog I initially allowed a degree of press freedom in order to impose the authority of the central government on Albania’s tribal peoples. But during the 1930s, his regime became increasingly repressive and the only newspapers allowed were three government dailies with small circulations and a few weeklies. From 1925 to 1936, *Liria Kombëtar*,



the newspaper of the Albanian National Revolutionary Committee and its successor, the Committee of National Liberation, was published in Geneva. Comprising liberal and radical political exiles, it attacked the policies of the Zog regime with financial support from the Comintern and the Communist Balkan Confederation.

A frequent target of assassination, Zog I was overthrown by Mussolini's troops in 1939 and the government papers were replaced by the single fascist daily *Fashizma*. Its main opposition during the war came from an underground press organized by the Albanian communist Enver Hoxha with Yugoslavian support. It relied on young journalists from the prewar liberal press whom Hoxha indoctrinated in Marxist-Leninist principles formulated by himself. Its main propaganda vehicle was *Zëri I Popullit* (The People's Voice), which began publication in August 1942 with Hoxha as editor.

Following the defeat of **Italy** in 1944, a communist government under Hoxha assumed control of Albania and took over the media, using *Zëri i Puppullit* as the Communist Party's mouthpiece and establishing *Baskimi* (Unity) as the voice of the government. Both had very low circulations and were dependent for foreign news on the Albanian Telegraph Agency (ATA), which received its news by short wave from Beijing.

After Hoxha's death in 1985, the press was liberalized to a degree and a number of newspapers representing opposition parties were able to emerge. In 1991, for example, the Democratic Party began publishing *Rilindja Demokratike* (Democratic Rebirth). This process was curtailed during the presidency of Sali Berisha from 1994 to 1997 but resumed with the adoption of a new constitution in 1998. Despite financial difficulties, lingering clan rivalries, and limited educational programs in journalism, Albanian journalists have become steadily more professional in recent years. However, the press is prone to sensationalism and remains largely at the service of political parties or interest groups.

**ALGERIA.** Journalism was slow to develop in Algeria following the French occupation in 1830. In 1900, the League of the Rights of Man sent Victor Barrucand to combat the anti-Semitic movement in the colony. In 1902, he established the review *Akhbar* and for more than 30 years tried to promote reconciliation between the French and Arab populations. French journalists such as Yves Courrière depicted the Algerian war of independence as one of the most sordid and shameful periods of French history. In 1955, a scandal broke out in Paris after *L'Express* published five images of a French gendarme shooting an unarmed Algerian in the back in an attempt to discredit the sitting government. The images were taken from a Fox Movietone newsreel, which had framed them sympathetically as the killing of a fleeing rebel leader

on a killing mission. Their publication stoked French anti-Americanism and did not substantially alter French public opinion about the war.

Following Algerian independence in 1962, newspapers were edited by intellectuals from the National Liberation Front (FLN), the only recognized political party. By 1965, however, the military Council of the Revolution under Houari Boudmediene was effectively running the government and editorial control of the press shifted to the bureaucracy. The two main government dailies papers were *El-Moudjahid* (The Freedom Fighter) in French and *Ech-Chaab* (The People) in Arabic. Following the uprising of 1988, the military retained power but allowed the formation of political parties other than the FLN and provided for a measure of press freedom. In this environment, a number of newspapers emerged.

In 1992, however, the army nullified the pending electoral victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), banned the formation of parties other than the FLN, and once again curtailed freedom of the press. During the Civil War that followed, numerous journalists were assassinated, likely by forces on both sides of the conflict. Since 2000, the Algerian press has gradually regained a measure of safety and autonomy. While papers such as *L'Expression* generally support the government, criticism of its actions can be found in *Le Matin* and *Le Soir d'Algérie*. Some of the best journalism is to be found in *Le Quotidien d'Oran*, *El Khaber* (The News), and *El Youm* (Today). Because of continuing low rates of literacy, however, readership is largely restricted to the elite, and more Algerians now get their news from digital media than from daily newspapers.

**AL JAZEERA.** A 24-hour news and public affairs channel that serves the Arab world where it claims to have 40 million viewers. It was founded in 1996 by Sheik Hamad bin-Khalifa al-Thani, the emir of the small Gulf state of Qatar, and initially recruited many of its staff from the BBC. It was the first global news channel broadcasting in Arabic from the Middle East. Though funded by the Qatari government, Al Jazeera (meaning “the Peninsula”) has been permitted considerable editorial freedom and is regarded as the most credible Arab news channel despite strong competition. Western assessments range from seeing it as little more than a mouthpiece for terrorists such as bin Laden to acknowledging its wide range of opinions and contribution to the formation of an Arab public sphere. Beginning in 2006, it made several attempts to penetrate the U.S. news media market. The most ambitious of these was the television station Al Jazeera America (AJAM). But it failed to attract a large audience and was shut down in 2016.

A comparison of Al Jazeera and BBC online news about sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 concluded that although the tone of Al Jazeera’s coverage

was more negative, there was no indication of a pro-African bias on its part. However, a study of coverage of the FIFA World Cup controversy in 2013 found that while Al Jazeera English and Al Jazeera America maintained high journalistic norms, Al Jazeera Arabic almost never criticized its Qatari sponsor.

**AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR.** Popular and influential town-hall-style public affairs radio program, which featured a variety of experts discussing a controversial topic on each show. Beginning on the NBC-Blue radio network in 1935, it switched to ABC in the mid-1940s when NBC was forced to divest itself of one of its networks. Although it was discontinued on radio in 1948, it was carried on ABC television in 1948–1949 and 1952. Founded and moderated by professional actor George V. Denny Jr., it achieved large audiences for a public affairs program through its lively and entertaining format and the use of promotional devices such as on-air testimonials and listening groups. Though based in New York, it spent part of each season traveling to cities across the nation. It was the first public affairs program to tackle the subject of racial inequality.

**ANALYTICS.** Web analytics companies are now embedded in the news production process in many countries. Working to boost news organizations' revenue models in accordance with their own values, they are altering traditional journalistic norms and practices. Analytics were initially used by editorial managers to predict which stories, visuals, and advertisements would generate the most audience traffic. But they can now be used to decide what content should be produced, where it should be placed, how long it should remain there, and when it should be followed up. At the same time, journalists are being included earlier in the process, forcing them to rethink their own role.

Web analytics companies such as Omniture, Accrue, and WebSideStory have been providing companies and organizations with web performance indicators and strategies for web optimization since the mid-1990s. But it was the creation of Google Analytics in 2006 that brought them to the forefront by allowing users real-time monitoring of web traffic in easily understandable formats. Shortly thereafter, analytics companies such as Chartbeat and Newsbeat made their debut in newsrooms by providing audience metrics for improving news delivery and audience engagement. Together with social media analytics, companies such as Facebook Insight and the Twitter activity dashboard have been reshaping how newsrooms operate.

The increasing use of analytics runs the risk of turning news judgments into popularity contests at the expense of journalistic experience and

traditional news values. A 2015 report by Columbia University’s Tow Center for Digital Journalism warned that “some of journalism’s most compelling and indispensable traits, such as its social mission, are not easily measured. At a time when data analytics are increasingly valorized, we must take care not to equate what is quantifiable with what is valuable.”

**ANDERSON, JACK (1922–2005).** Syndicated American newspaper columnist and practitioner of **investigative journalism**. He began his career in journalism as a reporter for the *Salt Lake City Tribune* while attending the University of Utah. He left school to become a missionary after getting in trouble for a story on Mormon polygamy. He later returned to Utah as a reporter for the *Deseret News*, the state’s oldest continuously published newspaper, before being inducted into the army in 1945 and writing for *Stars and Stripes*. After **World War II**, he went to Washington to work for **Drew Pearson**, whose “Washington Merry-Go-Round” column was syndicated by the United Features Syndicate. He received little recognition initially for his contribution to the column, but was eventually given credit as an equal partner and took over the column when Pearson died in 1969, continuing in that capacity until his retirement in 2004.

Anderson’s sworn enemies included Richard Nixon and J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the **FBI**. Nixon believed that Anderson had cost him the 1960 presidential election and was later infuriated by his revelation that the Justice Department had dropped an antitrust suit against IT&T after the latter made a \$400,000 pledge to the Republican Party. In 1972, two of Nixon’s White House operatives plotted to murder Anderson for his anti-Nixon reporting. But the plan was canceled a few weeks later when the conspirators were arrested while breaking into the Democratic Party headquarters in the **Watergate** office complex. The same year, Anderson won the **Pulitzer Prize** for National Reporting for showing how the Nixon administration, despite proclaiming its neutrality, had supported Pakistan during its war with India.

Anderson used a number of ethically suspect research methods, including bugging, blackmail, and rifling through trash. In addition to his column, he authored or coauthored more than a dozen books, including the memoir *Confessions of a Muckraker* (1979). He was the Washington correspondent for the Sunday supplement *Parade* beginning in 1954 and appeared regularly on radio and television.

**ANDERSON, PAUL Y. (1893–1938).** American investigative reporter who helped to maintain the tradition of the **muckrakers** after **World War I**. After working briefly as a reporter for the *Knoxville Journal*, he was hired by St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in 1914 and began exposing corruption in East St. Louis.

During the East St. Louis riots in 1917, he reported how the city police had failed to protect African Americans from a white mob. The Congressional committee to which he gave testimony about the riots described his stories as “thorough and trustworthy. He saw everything, reported what he saw without fear of consequences, defied the officials whom he charged with criminal neglect of duty, ran a daily risk of assassination and rendered invaluable public service by his exposures.” His stories contributed to the conviction of 20 men for their role in the riots.

During the 1920s, Anderson helped to secure the release of 52 Americans who were still in prison for their opposition to World War I. He also persuaded a Senate investigation of illegal campaign activity to include a Republican Senator’s support for the Ku Klux Klan. After the hearing, he wrote his mother that he had “furnished virtually all the evidence, dug up the witnesses, even wrote out the subpoenas for them.” For journalism professor Edmund Lambeth, this kind of activism made him the “quintessential participatory journalist of his day.”

Anderson’s career as an activist reporter reached its peak during the Teapot Dome oil scandal of President Warren G. Harding’s administration. Unable to interest the *Post-Dispatch* in the story, Anderson quit the paper on the advice of Senator Robert LaFollette, Sr., and covered the hearings virtually alone during the winter of 1923–1924. Working behind the scenes to assist Senator Thomas Walsh with his investigation, he published exposés the *New York World*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*. His relentless reporting helped to convict Harding’s interior secretary for bribery and he was awarded a **Pulitzer Prize** in 1929.

Anderson’s renowned literary style was in evidence during his coverage of the **Scopes Trial** in 1925 and the funeral of William Jennings Bryan shortly thereafter. Working in the rain at Arlington cemetery, he typed out his lead: “William Jennings Bryan, born on a cross of gold, died on cross-examination.” After a young copy editor deleted it, Anderson’s outcry led to an order from Joseph Pulitzer Jr.’s office that his copy was not to be altered again. His career ended tragically in the 1930s when he became an alcoholic and committed suicide at the age of 45. But during the Scopes trial, **H. L. Mencken** called him “one of the best newspaper reporters in America” (*Baltimore Sun*, 20 July 1925).

**ANONYMITY.** During the 18th century, anonymity was a way for political thinkers such as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (Cato in Cato’s Letters) to engage in discussion of controversial issues such as libel law without fear of retribution. The use of pseudonyms also ensured that arguments stood on their own merits rather than on the reputation of their author. A study

(Ekstrand and Jeyaram, 2009) of the debate over the American Constitution concluded that “anonymous speech and the nation’s founding are inextricably linked.” During the 19th century, women in both Britain and America aspiring to journalism used a combination of anonymity, pseudonymity, and celebrity to breach the barriers against their entry.

In 19th-century **France**, most newspaper articles were attributed to particular writers. Until the mid-19th century, however, most British writers did not sign their names to their work in newspapers, magazines, and reviews. After a fervent debate among critics and journalists in the 1860s, this practice was largely abandoned in the case of magazine articles and reviews. But unsigned editorials and political articles remained the norm in British newspapers.

In 1889, the *New Review* in London revived discussion of the practice of anonymity in the newspaper. Disparaging the French practice of systematic attribution, those in favor of anonymity argued that it provided a safe haven from which to engage in social criticism. They also suggested that anonymity gave journalism a transcendental relation to personal testimony. But opponents of the practice countered that too much authority had shifted to the “mysterious power” of the anonymous article. During the official inquiries into the Titanic disaster in 1912, the British writer Joseph Conrad wrote two articles in the *English Review* lamenting how the practice of anonymity was used to absolve the commercial and industrial interests of responsibility. The current practice in most countries is to restrict anonymity to editorial writing. *See also* BYLINES.

**ANONYMOUS SOURCES.** In addition to the long-standing debate over identifying journalists in their stories, there has been a more recent debate about the use of unnamed sources. Proponents of the practice argue that giving sources anonymity ensures information surfaces that would otherwise remain unknown. But critics counter that granting anonymity undermines media credibility, especially when it is done frequently. This critique is supported by most social science research, although in one study (Smith, 2007) whistleblowing stories were considered credible even if they relied on unnamed sources.

A longitudinal study (Duffy and Williams, 2011) of the frequency of use of unnamed sourcing in the United States in the years 1958, 1968, 1978, 1988, 1998, and 2008 found that it peaked in the late 1960s and late 1970s. Following the **Pentagon Papers** (1971), the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* were using anonymous sources in almost half of their front-page stories. But by the late 2000s, following scandals over their use, this proportion had dropped to about one-quarter, which was more or less the same as in the late 1950s.

A subsequent study found that unnamed attribution without independent verification was initially scorned in American journalism textbooks, trade publications, style guides, and professional **codes of ethics**. Gradually, however, guidelines and texts accepted the practice, suggesting that such works currently reflect existing practices more than they try to shape them normatively. *See also* WHISTLEBLOWERS.

**ARGENTINA.** The first newspaper in the Spanish Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, established in 1776, was the *Telégrafo Mercantil, Rural, Político, Económico e Historiógrafo del Río de la Plata*. It was founded in 1801 by the Literary Society in Buenos Aires and, as its meandering title suggests, was less interested in providing breaking news than relating information about current developments and resources in the Argentine provinces. The spreading of useful knowledge was also the underlying purpose of the *Semanario de Agricultura*, which began publishing the following year. Although the British started a newspaper during their unsuccessful invasion in 1806–1807, the first Argentine papers concentrating on current events were established in Buenos Aires in connection with the May Revolution of 1810.

*El Correo de Comercio*, founded by Manuel Belgrano, was primarily an economic journal aimed at disseminating liberal economic ideas. The *Gazeta de Buenos-Ayres*, begun by Mariano Morena, was more political but also concerned with economic matters. Influenced by the French Enlightenment and a key player in the struggle for independence, Morena called for free trade and used the paper to oppose the Spanish protectionist order. He was also an advocate of Victorián de Villava's thesis in *Discurso sobre la Mita de Potosí* that forcing the indigenous population to work in mines was not only immoral but illegal. Morena championed the cause of the indigenous population generally in their quest for liberty and equality.

Most of the *Gazeta's* successors were short-lived. But over the course of the 19th century, the number of new papers in most years exceeded the number of failures, so that by the 1898, there were 126 newspapers in Argentina. The fluctuations in newspaper foundings per year were tied in part to specific episodes in the century-long conflict between free-traders in Buenos Aires and the protectionist provinces. But periods with fewer foundings also resulted from increased censorship and harassment, beginning with Governor Roas in the 1830s. It was only during the period of relative peace after 1870 that major dailies such as *La Nación* and *La Prensa* were established in Buenos Aires.

By the early 20th century, *La Nación* was actively constructing Buenos Aires as a city on par with other world capitals. A study by Gordon Winder of its coverage of the assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand at Sarajevo

in 1914 found that during the next week, it devoted 16,785 words to the event. While this count was less than the 25,758 words in the *New York Times* and the 19,136 words in *The Times* of London, it was substantially more than the number for newspapers such as the *Globe* in Toronto or *The New Zealand Herald* in Auckland, even though it was not clear how or even whether Argentina would be affected by this distant event. The story was used to construct Argentina as a major player in global affairs and its readers as moral citizens in the wider world.

Though located far from the action, *La Nación* reworked the news copy it received from Agence Havas in Paris into a localized narrative of Argentina's having a diplomatic standing comparable to that of European capitals in an imagined international community. In contrast to coverage in the equally remote *Los Angeles Times*, which construed its city as a refuge from the chaos and terror of the modern world, *La Nación* presented Argentina as part of a community of civilized nations that would, after a proper period of mourning, restore order to the world. As with its reports generally, international news was an opportunity to promote the nationalist agenda implied in its title.

It was not until the presidency of Juan Peron after **World War II** that popular papers such as *Clarín* were founded. But Peron also established press censorship and suppressed the opposition paper *La Prensa*. After he was deposed, the newspapers that had supported him were repressed and in 1959 the state news agency *Telam* was created. In the 1960s, controls over the press were temporarily relaxed and left-wing publications such as the magazine *Panorama* and the newspaper *Crítica* were able to commence. By 1968, there were some 200 dailies with a circulation of over 3 million.

Following a military coup in 1976, the government enacted tight censorship and closed or took over liberal newspapers such as *La Opinión*, founded by the Ukrainian-born journalist Jacobo Timerman in 1971. Timerman was arrested and tortured for his investigation of people who had disappeared without a trace. Despite being cleared by the judiciary, he was stripped of his citizenship and exiled two years later. He wrote of his ordeal in the best-selling *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number* (1981). After democracy was restored in 1983, he returned to Argentina, testified against his torturers, and won compensation.

For most of Argentinian history, watchdog journalism has been restricted to the alternative or underground press. The shift to democracy in 1983 and subsequent economic liberalization made it possible for the mainstream press to engage in investigative journalism. For a time after its creation in 1987, the irreverent upstart *Página/12* used mocking headlines, large front-page images, and the exposure of scandal to challenge the hegemony of *La Nación* and *Clarín*. But a content analysis of the three publications between 1985 and



2005 found that after a brief period of more critical reporting, there was a significant decline in watchdog journalism generally to the point where even *Página/12* was being criticized for adhering uncritically to the official view.

Although a journalism degree is not a formal requirement to practice journalism in Argentina, programs in journalism education are now widespread. Traditionally, the most prestigious schools were those associated with the national universities of La Plata and Córdoba. In association with particular universities, however, *Clarín* and *La Nación* established their own master's degrees in which students apprenticed at the papers themselves. As these Buenos Aires-based papers were also the most sought-after destinations for print journalists, these programs rose quickly in stature and demand.

In the wake of deregulation in the 1990s, ownership of the Argentinian media became highly concentrated. In 1996, the Grupo Clarín had a national market share of 50.3 percent, followed by *La Nación* with 13.0 percent. By 2010, however, their market shares had declined substantially to 28.9 and 4.9 percent, respectively. Despite efforts to retain customers through deals with other companies to give their subscribers discounts on various products, their daily circulation has also dropped steadily in tandem with a dramatic reduction in total national circulation from 1,507,000 in 2000 to 1,090,000 a decade later. As in many countries, the rapid growth of online news continues to erode traditional newspaper reading.

**ARMENIA.** Armenian journalism had its inception outside the homeland, beginning with a newspaper published in Madras in 1794. For the next half century, its development was hindered by the lack of a suitable vernacular medium of expression. With the development of Ashkharabar in the mid-19th century, the number of periodicals expanded rapidly. The first journal using the new vernacular was *Ararat* (Morning), established in Tiflis in 1849. In the late 1850s, journalists such as Mikayel Nalbandyan, editor of *Hyussissapayl* in Moscow, and Stepan Voskanian, editor of *Arevelk* and *Arevmoutk* in Paris, began to promote a non-territorial Armenian nationalism. Both were inspired by the writings of Shakespeare, Voltaire, and Rousseau and were exiled and imprisoned for using the press as an instrument of social criticism.

During the half century before the **World War I**, most Armenian newspapers were mouthpieces of political parties. After obtaining independence in May 1918, Armenia suffered the loss of one million of its citizens, for which it believes Turkey was responsible, before being forced along with Azerbaijan and Georgia into the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Moscow installed a communist-controlled government and imposed the Russian language. In the 1920s and early 1930s, when the Armenian Bolsheviks wanted to give the impression of Soviet Armenia's cultural autonomy, a few

prominent Armenian writers such as Vahan Totovents were able to engage in nationalist journalism. However, the Stalinist purges ended this kind of accommodation of Armenian national culture.

During *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the 1980s, controls over the press were relaxed somewhat, dozens of new newspapers were created, and journalists were allowed to use Armenian once again. However, even after Armenia gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, journalists were still subject to a number of constraints on their professional development, including compulsory registration, a strict law of libel, and a legal requirement to reveal their sources in court cases. Following the 1999 terrorist attack on the Armenian parliament, these controls were tightened further.

Membership in the Council of Europe since 2001 has acted as a countervailing force against episodes such as the beating of journalist Vahang Gnukasian by the Interior Ministry a year earlier. At the same time, the development of online media has created a more benevolent environment for the freedom of expression. The ability to start an online publication without a license has eliminated the control mechanisms of Armenian regulatory commissions and given rise to a more diverse and competitive media environment. The existence of online news has also diminished the influence of political parties and corporate owners on the content of news.

**ARNETT, PETER (1934–).** Highly acclaimed war correspondent who was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in International Reporting in 1966 for his coverage of the war in Vietnam. Born in New Zealand, he began his career in journalism at *The Southland Times* and worked for various Australian newspapers before becoming an **Associated Press (AP)** stringer in 1961.

Arnett was assigned to South Vietnam in 1962; in *Live from the Battlefield* (1994), he described his arrival as follows:

I had no intention of staying very long. There was still a desperate quality about the country and its people that I remembered from my first visit, which had unfolded in newspaper headlines since that time: the attempted coups d'état against the dictatorial family regime, and the ferocious guerrilla insurgency that made the chaotic events I had witnessed in neighboring Thailand, Laos and Indonesia seem mild by comparison. The violence frightened and repelled me; a thousand dead and wounded from the war were being reported each month in 1962. I had seen only one man killed in my life . . . [and] I wondered whether I had the courage to swim in those turbulent waters or match the legendary exploits of the foreign correspondents I had read about.

Arnett ended up spending 11 years in South Vietnam and won numerous awards for coverage that included reports of discrepancies between

government statements and what his own investigations revealed. For his efforts to tell it like it was, he was regularly attacked by President Lyndon Johnson and military officials as a “communist” sympathizer.

In the 1980s, Arnett’s reporting skills and international reputation helped CNN gain a foothold, covering the Middle East and events such as the TWA hijacking in 1985. During the Gulf War in 1991, CNN was the only Western news agency that the Iraqi government allowed to stay in Baghdad and only on condition that its reports met with its approval. Arnett reported live from Baghdad by telephone and later by satellite as the U.S.-led coalition unleashed more bombs on Iraq than they had dropped during World War II. Criticized for his interview with Saddam Hussein, he emphasized the public’s right to know even in times of war and tried to counter the lies and disinformation of both sides in the conflict.

**ASIAN MODEL OF JOURNALISM.** Freedom of the press is compatible with more than one model of journalism, but any such model is only journalism if it is accompanied by a reasonable degree of such freedom. Western conceptions of press freedom usually focus on government controls and ignore media ownership as a possible constraint on journalistic autonomy. The Western conception of journalism as primarily a watchdog on government is thus not necessarily fulfilled by Western media. In addition to the development model of indigenous **African journalism**, a non-Western conception of what a free press could accomplish has been proposed by scholars such as Sheldon Gunaratne.

In “Asian Philosophies and Authoritarian Press Practice: A Remarkable Contradiction” (2005), Gunaratne argued that the main Asian philosophies of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism do not entail or endorse authoritarian control of the press but are more consistent with a socially responsible press. In his view, the authoritarian controls over the press in most Asian countries are the result of ongoing instability after centuries of Western exploitation; the traditional subjugation of the indigenous press by Dutch, French, and British colonial regimes; and Orientalist denigration of Asian philosophies supportive of responsible press freedom. But one reason for what John Lent once called the “perpetual see-saw” between some degree of press freedom and harsh repression of the press is that Asian journalists have tended to treat freedom as license, thereby bringing it to a quick end.

As a benchmark against which to judge news practices, an Asian model proposes a cooperative media-government partnership rather than an antagonistic relationship. This model is not entirely foreign to Western countries. But the line between partnering with government and being an agency of it is difficult to draw and maintain. While it is reasonable to argue that the press

should not seek to disrupt the governing process, assisting with that process does not entail ignoring cases of blatant mismanagement or corruption. Nor does cooperation or partnering entail serving as the government's mouthpiece in democratic elections. A study (Wong, 2004) of general elections in Malaysia in 1999 found that the coverage of the English-language papers *The New Strait Times*, *The Star*, and *The Sun* was mainly on behalf of the ruling party.

**ASSOCIATED PRESS.** One of the world's main news agencies. It originated in 1827 as an outgrowth of the New York Associated Press. Before the **telegraph**, its reporters would row to incoming ships and relay news to shore by semaphore or carrier pigeons. By 1860, it had absorbed most of the competing news services and had entered into an arrangement of convenience with Western Union. In return for Western Union refusing to provide wire service to newspapers that had not joined, AP supported Western Union's opposition to any form of public ownership of telegraphy or the railroads. It was eventually forced by Congress to dissolve its monopoly, but it had little domestic competition until 1907 when Edward W. Scripps and Milton R. McRae organized the forerunner of United Press International (UPI). *See also* NEWS MANAGEMENT.

**ATLANTIC CABLE.** In February 1857, Cyrus W. Field began laying a cable from Valencia Bay, **Ireland**, to Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, with the help of ships loaned by the British and American governments. After three attempts, a temporary link was established in the summer of 1858. This connection later failed, but the massive *Great Eastern* was able to lay a permanent link in 1866, covering a distance of 1,852 nautical miles (3,432 kilometers). The project was the collective accomplishment of financial backers such as the indefatigable Field, who knew almost nothing about the technology; scientists such as William Thomson, the future Lord Kelvin; brilliant engineers such as Charles Bright; and ship designers such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel. Field was driven by fear that a Siberian land route telegraph might beat him to the finish line. By 1900, there were more than a dozen submarine cables spanning the Atlantic and several others across the Pacific. In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt sent the first telegraph message around the world—in a time of nine minutes.

**ATOMIC BOMB.** American news coverage of the development, use, and testing of the atomic bomb was a textbook case of media-assisted public relations. In April 1945, the U.S. Department of War hired William L. Laurence, science writer for the *New York Times*, to tell the story of the making of the A-bomb. In violation of contemporary codes of journalism

ethics, he was paid by both the *Times* and the War Department. Also, he was allowed to witness the first nuclear test in New Mexico in July 1945, the bombing of Nagasaki on 9 August 1945 (three days after Hiroshima), and the first test at Bikini Atoll in 1946. His series of 10 stories was given to other newspapers without charge in accordance with an agreement between the *Times* and the military. All of the stories were subject to the scrutiny of the military.

For Laurence, the nuclear tests had a religious quality. “It was as though the earth had opened and the sky had split,” he wrote. “One felt as though he had been privileged to witness the Birth of the World—to be present at the moment of creation when the Lord said: Let there be Light.” This powerful rhetoric ignored the fact that the tests released plutonium into the environment, the most toxic element in the world to living organisms with a half-life of 24,000 years. Laurence also ignored the subject of radiation.

The decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945 was justified by President Harry S. Truman in terms of the need to save American lives. In countries such as **Australia**, the media withheld unequivocal approval of Truman’s decision, despite strong feelings against the Japanese. Mexican newspapers compared the horror of the bomb to Nazi concentration camps. In the **United States**, however, Truman’s explanation was accepted by most journalists and commentators, even though there had been some press discussion previously of the growing prospect of a Japanese surrender. In contrast, employees at the Los Alamos laboratory who had helped to build the bomb were horrified by its destructive powers and tried to express their concern through newsletters and activist organizations.

During the 1960s, a number of revisionist American historians began to question Truman’s explanation of his decision. But the American media continued to accept the traditional account. While John Hersey’s article *Hiroshima* in *The New Yorker* helped undermine American stereotypes of the Japanese, postwar Americans were prevented from witnessing film footage of the bomb’s horrific effects on its civilians. Immediately after the attacks, the Japanese filmmaker Akira Iwasaki had shot footage of the destruction, but this was confiscated by the occupation censors. After managing to get Iwasaki and his crew released from military custody, Daniel McGovern, a lieutenant with the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, had them shoot additional footage, showing the effects of the bomb on human bodies. McGovern later used this footage in a one-hour documentary entitled *The Effects of the Atomic Bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. However, the documentary was labeled “Top Secret” by the Pentagon and embargoed for the next 22 years. Some insight into the experience of survivors was provided by heavy media coverage of the so-called “Hiroshima maidens,” 25 young Japanese

women who were flown to a New York City hospital in 1955–1956 for reconstructive surgery.

The general attitude of the American public has remained one of sympathy for Japanese victims of the bomb rather than guilt over its use. The Japanese argument that Hiroshima and Pearl Harbor should be seen as moral equivalents is thought to ignore a critical distinction between a just and unjust war. The public's assessment is based on the continuing belief that up to half a million U.S. (and many more Japanese) lives would have been lost had the bomb not been used. It largely ignores the extent to which the mass media, with the compliance of Western leaders, created a climate of hatred of the Japanese that prevented the full consideration of other options. On the other hand, the fact that the bomb was used, and its full effects gradually revealed by the media, may have served to deter its use in subsequent Cold War confrontations. *See also* BURCHETT, WILFRED; JAPAN.

**AUSTRALIA.** The first newspaper in Australia was the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, a government-controlled weekly launched on 5 March 1803 by George Howe. Using government type, ink, and paper, Howe had only enough type to set up one page at a time and later reflected that the *Gazette* was “conceived in doubt, brought forth in difficulty, and reared in many an altered shape.” Howe was a “ticket-of-leave” convict who was given a provisional pardon upon his arrival in Sydney. But many of earliest Australian and New South Wales newspapers were founded and run by ministers and missionaries, including the *Australian* (1824), the *Monitor* (1826), the *Gleaner* (1827), the *Sydney Herald* (1831), and the *Colonist* (1835).

While the *Australian* served as Government Printer, editors William Charles Wentworth and Robert Wardell gave it a critical, independent voice on the political and intellectual issues of the time. Wentworth was influenced by the leaders in *The Times* (of London) and Wardell had worked at London's evening *Statesman* and Sunday *Constitution*. The *Monitor* under Edward Smith Hall was even more outspoken. Inspired by the journalism of **John Wilkes**, it quoted **Benjamin Franklin** and **William Cobbett** in fighting on behalf of working men's rights, condemning the cruelties of the penal system, and criticizing the massacre of the Aboriginal people in the frontier. It stood, Hall said, for “Liberal Principles and Free Institutions, Rational Liberty and Equal Justice.” After being jailed several times for seditious libel, Hall won a victory for freedom of the press when a law passed by the Legislative Council in Sydney in 1830, which would have made banishment mandatory for two such offences, was disallowed by the British parliament.

On 18 April 1831, Alfred Ward Stephens, Frederick Stokes, and William McGarvie, all of whom had worked for the *Sydney Gazette*, launched the

weekly *Sydney Herald*. It outlasted its competitors by avoiding their partisan commentary and underselling them by a penny or more. It began daily publication in October 1840 and for the next decade had complete control of the Sydney market with a daily circulation of 3,000. During the 1860s, proprietor John Fairfax and his son James placed correspondents in England, America, and elsewhere to give the paper a more cosmopolitan character. Among those engaged was Anna Blackwell, who was appointed Paris correspondent at a time when there were only a few Australian women journalists. Fairfax also arranged for the naturalist Louisa Atkinson to write a long-running series on the natural environment. The *Sydney Herald* did not face serious competition until 1879 when the *Daily Telegraph* used the same strategy at its expense. Selling for one penny, half the price of the *Herald*, it adopted some of features of the **New Journalism I in Great Britain**. Longer reports were given numerous subheads and accompanied by shorter, more entertaining pieces of news.

Taken as whole, 19th-century Australian newspapers were cheap, widely read, and intensely ideological, promoting not only British imperialism but a separate national identity. For most of the century, however, they had restricted access to outside news. In 1863, the British news agency Reuters began supplying news using a cable line from Bombay. But until 1910, when Australia finally acquired a cable connection with its own Pacific region, Reuters was largely able to dictate syndication practices. At the same time, poor communications within Australia resulted in a plethora of local newspapers. Their provincialism caused many Australian journalists to leave for London in pursuit of greater opportunities and excitement on Fleet Street.

During the 20th century, Australian newspaper ownership became steadily more concentrated. By the 1990s, the Australian press had become one of the most monopolistic in the English-speaking world, with **Rupert Murdoch** selling two out of every three newspapers in Australia's capital cities. A recent survey of Australian journalists found that they are generally somewhat younger and less formally educated than journalists in Britain and also less likely to adopt an adversarial role or use subterfuge to get information for a story. Unlike their British counterparts, Australian journalists tend to place less emphasis on providing entertainment than on developing the intellectual and cultural interests of the public. Some feminist critics have suggested that the gendered nature of Australian news coverage continues to reflect anxieties related to the country's colonial past.

As in other developed economies, Australian newspapers have been experiencing declining advertising and circulation revenues, leading to cutbacks and closures. This situation has been accompanied by a decline in **investigative journalism**, especially in terms of exposing corporate malfeasance.

At the same time, conventional news and current affairs programs on radio have been displaced by shows using a talkback format in which listeners respond to an invitation to phone in and talk live with a host and the audience. Because of concerns over privacy and lack of control over inappropriate comments, the talkback format was not legalized in Australia until 1967. But talkback programs now lead the radio ratings in most metropolitan markets and have become increasingly embedded in the political process. They have also become the preferred platform of many Australian politicians for communicating with the electorate, adding to distress in some quarters over their mimicking of forms and practices of journalism.

Between 2011 and 2016, the print share of national advertising dropped from 46 to 13 percent between 2011 and 2016, while the online share increased from 15 to 48 percent. Overall there has been an increase in editorial-based news positions and the number of television-based reporters has remained fairly even. But in print and radio, there has been a steady decline in the number of reporters. In 1996, print reporters were the largest single category of journalist. But by 2016, they had fallen to second place behind editors (Wright *et al.*, 2020).

**AUSTRIA.** The first daily newspaper in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the *Wiener Diarium* (Vienna Daily). It was established in 1703, one year after the *Daily Courant* in England, but unlike it functioned as a court journal or official paper of record. Even after it merged with another paper in 1724 to become the *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna Journal), it maintained the tradition of newsletters in restricting itself to factual news reports without editorial commentary.

After encouraging the expression of opinion for a brief period in the early 1780s, Emperor Joseph II clamped down again when it led to criticism of his policies. After the Revolutions of 1848, quality newspapers such as *Die Presse* slowly began to function as a **public sphere**. Unlike its conservative penny paper namesake *La Presse* in Paris, it endorsed liberal approaches to political and economic problems and combined strong local coverage with reports from a network of foreign correspondents. But it was not until 1867 that the constitution for the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy responded to its calls to make freedom of the press a civil right. Even then the Austrian Ministry of the Interior kept a close eye on it and other newspapers.

During the golden age of Austrian journalism in the late 19th century, most newspapers were divided along clear ideological fault lines. The *Reichspost* (Imperial Post) under Editor Friedrich Funder served as the politically influential voice of the Christian Social Party, while the *Neue Freie Presse* (New Free Press) and *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers' Journal) spoke on behalf



of liberal middle-class and working-class interests, respectively. The *Neue Freie Presse* was established in 1864 by a group of editors at *Die Presse* and became the most respected newspaper in the Hapsburg Empire.

In 1900, four years after the creation of the *Daily Mail* in England, the *Kronen Zeitung* (One-Crown Journal) became Austria's first tabloid, a crown being the cost of a monthly subscription. It was followed in 1904 by *Die Kleine Zeitung* (The Little Journal). During **World War I**, the mainstream press was coopted by the government for propaganda purposes and street sales were banned. But after the ban was lifted, new tabloids made their appearance, such as *Die Stunde* (The Hour) in 1923.

Their content stood in marked contrast to the reporting of the future novelist Joseph Roth. After returning from eastern Galicia where he had served as an army press officer, he worked full-time in 1919–1920 for the Vienna daily *Der Neue Tag* (The New Day), despite calls for Jews from the fallen Hapsburg Empire to be expelled. During this time, he developed some of the literary techniques that would make him one of the highest-paid reporters in the turbulent Weimer Republic.

With the Nazi takeover of Austria in 1938, most newspapers were forced to close. The *Wiener Zeitung* did not resume operations until September 1945 when freedom of the press was restored. In 1946, *Die Presse* resumed operations, first as a weekly and then, three years later, as a daily and Austria's counterpart to great European papers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *Le Monde*. As a safeguard against future government controls, some papers affiliated with political parties, only to be deserted by readers for either serious national dailies such as *Die Presse*, the *Salzberger Nachrichten* (1945), and *Der Standard* (1988) or tabloids such as *Die Kleine Zeitung* and most recently *Österreich* (2006).

In 1961, the Association of Austrian Newspapers and the Austrian Journalists Association established the Austrian Press Council as an independent watchdog agency. But concentration of ownership soon became a more pressing concern than press freedom. In 1975, the state began subsidizing newspapers and magazines in an attempt to maintain a broad spectrum of viewpoints. The Media Act of 1981 included further measures to ensure balanced and impartial reporting. And in 1993, antitrust legislation was introduced to prevent excessive media concentration.

Since 2014, the Media Pluralism Monitor has been assessing media freedom and pluralism on the basis of 20 specific indicators. In its 2017 report, it found that protection of the right to information, editorial autonomy, political control over media outlets had improved considerably from the year before. But horizontal media ownership concentration was still at high risk and access to the media for minorities had worsened noticeably.

**AUTOMATED JOURNALISM.** Term designating the increasing use of algorithms to generate news automatically. Previously classified as a form of quantitative journalism, it is also referred to as *algorithmic journalism* and *robot* or *robotic journalism*. The automatic creation of text from digitally structured data first appeared in the 1950s in connection with machine translation efforts. During the 2000s, far more advanced Natural Language Generation (NLG) technology was developed and marketed by companies such as Applied Semantics (founded as Oingo in Santa Monica in 1998, but taken over by Google in 2003); Automated Insights (2007) in Durham, North Carolina; Arria (2009) in the United Kingdom; and Narrative Science (2010) in Chicago. Their automated news writing tools are slowly being integrated into news production practices, especially by larger news organizations such as the **AP**, Bloomberg, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Washington Post*.

Computational data analysis or what is popularly known as “big data” was initially used primarily as an aid to newsgathering or to help correct factual errors. For example, the *Washington Post* used a computer program to fact-check political speeches in real time. But in recent years, there has been a steady increase in the use of algorithms to convert factual data into news texts with little or no human intervention.

NLG companies have generally tried to have computer-written news stories emulate the practices of human journalism. An early study (Clerwall, 2014) found that news audiences could not distinguish between automated and human journalism, while another (Carlson, 2015) suggested that this “ability . . . to pass for human writing forces a reexamination of newswriting as caught between a reliance on learned formulas and the need for individualized style.” While automated journalism has the potential to free up journalists for less mechanical stories, it jeopardizes their collective employment insofar as it is driven by economic pressures to increase news productivity. It also endangers the journalistic enterprise by accelerating the rise of a post-truth world.

At the outset of the 2020s, automated news stories were still limited to things like sports, finance, and, in the case of the *Los Angeles Times*, homicide. But projects were also underway to advance beyond their relatively simple descriptions to what Caswell and Dörr (2018, 2019) called “richer and more complex event-driven narratives.” They proposed “encoding journalistic events and stories as data” so as to achieve, in effect, a move from journalism 1.0 to journalism 2.0. These efforts increased the urgency of considering ethical issues related to both *disclosure transparency* (revealing how a story was selected and produced) and *algorithmic transparency* (the methodology and limitations of the algorithm).

Knowing how a story was constructed is important for assessing its credibility. An experimental study in Singapore (Tandoc et al., 2020) showed the participants two types of stories (objective and nonobjective) produced under three author conditions: human, algorithm, and mixed. It also measured responses when the author condition was disclosed and when it was not. In the case of objective stories, there were no differences in source and message credibility, regardless of whether the author condition was disclosed or not. Nor were there any differences in the case of nonobjective stories when the author condition was *not* disclosed. When, however, the author condition of nonobjective stories was known, the ones written by the journalist had the most credibility and the ones produced by the algorithm alone had the worst. Insofar as “objective” and “nonobjective” were related to simple descriptions versus “richer and more complex event-driven narratives,” the subjects had more faith in the credibility of the human journalists than the automated ones—but only if they knew which was which.

While some software developers were working assiduously to develop a journalistic algorithm that could pass the Turing test for complex narratives, others were trying to find ways of using algorithms to detect **fake news** (Sequete et al., 2020) so as help preserve an element of objective truth in the post-truth world. Their strategy was to apply Natural Language Processing (NLP) to a number of specific subtasks, such as deception detection, stance detection, and clickbait detection. Rather than using artificial intelligence to displace journalists, their goal was to use it to help restore the connection between democracy and journalism.

# B

**BACHE, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1769–1798).** Philadelphia printer who, like his grandfather **Benjamin Franklin**, used his press to promote the ideas of the Enlightenment and broad range of political and social reforms in America. In 1790, he founded the Philadelphia *General Advertiser* (later renamed the *Aurora*) to promote Jeffersonian republicanism. Its scurrilous attacks on the Federalists and President George Washington, including the use of forged letters, led veterans of Washington’s army to wreck its offices and throw its type into the street.

As the 1790s progressed, Bache engaged in increasingly personal attacks on national leaders such as George Washington. In response to Noah Webster’s declaration in the *American Minerva* that it was treacherous to refuse to toast President George Washington, Bache replied in the *Aurora* that “if want of respect for Mr. WASHINGTON is to constitute *treason*, the United States will be found to contain very many *traitors*.” Arrested under the Sedition Act of 1798, Bache died of yellow fever shortly after being released on parole.

**BANGLADESH.** Along with other Indian states, the region of Bengal (present-day Bangladesh and the eighth most populous country in the world) was governed by the East India Company until 1858 when it came under direct British rule. The first Bengali-language newspapers were published in the early 19th century and soon began expressing discontent with British rule and the injustices of an economic system controlled by a small land-owning elite. Beginning with an ordinance in 1823 requiring the registration of newspapers, a series of increasingly restrictive laws were enacted to control the press. Under the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, newspapers could be closed and their publishers arrested for any material causing “disaffection” against the government. Despite further measures in the early 20th century to weaken the independence movement, a vibrant anti-colonial press emerged and began to align itself with various political parties.

Following independence from Britain, the separation of India and Pakistan, and the partitioning of Pakistan into West and East Pakistan almost 1,000 miles apart, new dailies such as *Purba Pakistan*, *Azad*, *Sangbad*,

and the *Ittefaq* were established in the eastern half. At the same time, West Pakistan began a campaign to establish Urdu as the sole national language. In response, agitation began in East Pakistan for preserving Bangla as one of the national languages of a unified Pakistan. The killing of protesters on 21 February 1952 marked the beginning of Bangladesh's drive for independence. Despite censorship and threats of arrest, most Bangla newspapers supported the movement.

During the 1971 War of Independence, major independent Bangla publications were shut down. One exception was the *Daily Sangram*, the voice of the Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaat) political party, which wanted to establish an Islamist state. It collaborated in the atrocities inflicted on East Pakistan during the war, effectively sidelining itself for decades after the achievement of independence. While the new secular constitution of Bangladesh declared freedom of the press, security provisions and libel laws remained in place. In 1972, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) under Mujibur Rahman gained power, took control of four dailies, and imposed severe restrictions on the rest. These controls were briefly relaxed when the Awami League Party (AL) came to power in 1997. But it was defeated by the BNP and its fundamentalist ally Jamaat in 2002, which then opened a campaign of violence against the AL aided by local Islamist terrorist groups targeting Hindu minorities. In 2004, BNP-Jamaat-backed terrorists attempted to assassinate AL leader Sheikh Hassin, killing dozens of senior AL party members in the process.

Since regaining power in 2009, the Awami League has ironically tried to consolidate its hold on power by utilizing the repressive measures, which the BNP included in the 2006 Information and Communication Act. In response, the BNP and Jamaat have recently resorted to using **fake news** to create fear among their opponents. In 2015, for example, young Bangladeshi bloggers began a movement to ensure that those convicted of collaborating with the Pakistani army in the genocide of 1971 were actually brought to justice. To discredit the bloggers, Jamaat activists used isolated comments to brand the bloggers as atheists and stoke hatred and violence against them. The failure of the government to take action against this violence together with its own harassment has created a climate of fear and self-censorship among journalists, leading Freedom House to downgrade Bangladesh in 2016 from “partly free” to “not free.”

**BANKS, ELIZABETH (1870–1938).** American-born writer who was raised in rural Wisconsin and followed in the footsteps of **Nellie Bly**. Hoping to overcome the limited opportunities for women journalists in her native country, she went to Britain in 1892 only to find it equally problematic to break into Fleet Street. Her solution was to go undercover in such guises as a

housemaid, flower-girl, laundress, and heiress in order to expose the exploitive working conditions of women in London. Though college-educated, her working-class origins enabled her to identify with the women whose lives she investigated. Her newspaper series entitled “Campaigns of Curiosity” gave her instant notoriety and celebrity status. It was followed in 1894 by an autobiography with the same main title and additional subtitle *Journalistic Adventures of an American Girl in London*. It is not clear whether the “American Girl” moniker was her invention, but it bolstered her persona as an ingenue, as did her taking five years off her real age.

To her dismay, she became type-cast as a stunt journalist. But stunt writing was only one aspect of her long career as a writer. As a member of the politically conservative journal *Referee* after the turn of the century, she wrote subtly supportive suffrage articles and later published a volume of short stories and two book-length works. Her reporting contributed to later debates about the ethics of stunt journalism and whether it created a hurdle for women entering the field. Jane Gabin sums her up as “the New Woman in the Old World, actively involved with the life of her adopted country, yet remaining passionately attached to the democratic ideals of her birthplace and developing from rural girl to cosmopolitan woman.” See also WOMEN IN JOURNALISM.

**BEALS, CARLETON (1893–1979).** Prolific and polemical American journalist who wrote about Western Hemispheric politics and social conditions from the standpoint of the oppositional left. He was one of the first journalists to use some of the analytical tools being developed in the social sciences. A regular contributor to the *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *Common Sense*, he also wrote dozens of books.

During the 1920s, Beals wrote numerous articles and *Mexico: An Interpretation* (1923) praising the Mexican people’s struggle for economic reform and social justice. He also began criticizing American intervention in Nicaragua with a series of six articles in *The Nation* in 1928. The series was based on his first major excursion to Central America, during which he interviewed the guerrilla leader Augusto Cesar Sandino in the midst of his fight against an invading force of 2,500 U.S. marines.

In *The Crime of Cuba*, first published in 1933, Beals indicted the American government and financial interests for their support of brutal dictators in Cuba. His graphic account of those beaten down by the Machado regime was accompanied by 31 photographs by Walker Evans, who later collaborated with **James Agee** in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). Beals’ articles in *The Nation* on the American South during the Depression likened its poverty to that of Central America. In a later article on peasants in Eastern

Europe, he wrote that “they were subject to atrocious economic and political tyranny. Nothing was more sickening (excepts parts of our own Georgia and Alabama).”

During World War II and the postwar period, Beals found it increasingly difficult to get his work published. Houghton Mifflin published *Rio Grande to Cape Horn* (1943) only after he agreed to remove much of his anti-imperialist analysis of State Department policies. In *Lands of the Dawning Morrow* (1948), he reported that “the fate of student friends of mine at the hands of the Carias and Somoza dictatorships has been quite too horrible to be told or believed.” But it was generally optimistic about postwar Latin America and did not match the acerbic commentary of his writings of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Even so, he continued to be monitored and harassed by both the **FBI** and the State Department.

**BELARUS.** The first newspaper in the present-day territory of Belarus, the two-page *Gazeta Grodzen’ska* (1776), was published in Polish. During the 19th century, however, official newspapers such as *Vitebskie gubernskie novosti* (Vitebsk Provincial News) (1838) were published in Russian, the official language of the Empire. In 1862, an underground newspaper called *Muzhytskaia praua* (Peasant Truth) was issued in Belo Russian language. But at the time of the 1917 Revolution, the vast majority of publications were still in Russian.

For the first few years after independence in 1991, the main Belarusian newspapers and magazines underwent little immediate change, retaining their former names, government subsidy, and readership. But after Aleksandr Lukashenko became the first president in July 1994, the country’s state-owned newspapers were subjected to direct censorship and a number of their editors were replaced by presidential appointees. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, freedom of the press was further curtailed by amendments to the 1995 Law on the Press and Other Mass Media, changes to the Criminal Code, and a series of presidential decrees. Today no media outlet can operate without a license and the state can close down any publisher or broadcaster as it wishes. Privately owned publications are also dependent on state-controlled printing presses and distribution systems. The only nongovernment daily in the capital of Minsk is *Narodnaia Volia*.

At the same time, ironically, the government allows news from Russia to flow freely into the country in the name of having a “single information space.” During the 2010s, two of the most popular newspapers in Belarus were subsidiaries of the Moscow-based tabloids *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Argumenty I Fakty*, while its state-owned TV channels depended on Russian-produced content. While this arrangement fit with President Lukashenko’s

desire to be seen as promoting positive relations with Russia, it ceded a measure of control over the news agenda to the country's former ruler.

**BELGIUM.** The first newspaper in Belgium was *Le Courier véritable des Pays-Bas*, which began publication in 1649 and carried on briefly after being renamed *Relations véritables* in 1653. But the press was subjected to rigid controls first by Spanish and then by Austrian religious authorities until the 1760s, when Emperor Joseph II ended press censorship and limited the powers of the Catholic Church. Among the new newspapers to take advantage of his “enlightened despotism” was the *Gazette des Pays-Bas*. During the subsequent French regime, a stamp duty was imposed on newspapers and censorship was revived. But after the fall of Napoleon, the Dutch regime reestablished press freedom, enabling liberal newspapers like the *Courrier des Pays-Bas* (1821) to campaign for Belgian independence from the **Netherlands**.

Although the stamp duty was not abolished until 1848, newspapers began to thrive soon after Belgium achieved independence in 1830. In Brussels, the *Journal de Bruxelles* (1841) was the city's most prominent Catholic paper, while *L'Étoile belge* (1850) appealed to nonsectarian readers. Political newspapers included the liberal *La Gazette* (1871), the conservative *Le Patriote* (1883) founded by Victor Jourdain, and the Belgian Workers' Party paper *Le Peuple* (1884). By the late 19th century, they were joined by the first mass-circulation newspapers such as *De Nieuws van den Dag* (1885), *Le Soir* (1887), and *Het Laatste Nieuws* (1888).

During **World War I**, the press was heavily censored and several collaborationist newspapers were created. But Belgium also had the most intensive underground press of any country. In 1915, Victor Jourdain teamed up Eugène Van Doren to take *Le Patriote* underground as *La Libre Belgique*. It achieved a clandestine circulation of 25,000 copies a week before the Germans took action against it, executing its distributor in October 1915 and arresting most of its staff the following April. Undeterred, Van Doren continued publication in hiding until the end of the war. It reemerged during **World War II** and was joined by *La Voix des Belges* in an underground capacity.

During the second half of the 20th century, Belgian newspaper circulations declined while concentration of ownership increased. In 1975, a system of subsidies was established to bolster diversity and readerships. But by the late-1990s, most of the smaller papers had been taken over by larger media groups and only about 35 percent of Belgians were subscribers. While newspapers are still exempt from the value added tax (VAT), the provision of subsidies has been largely abandoned. In addition to adopting a more nonpolitical “tabloid” style, many Belgian dailies have been forced to reduce their number of



pages. At the same time, however, there is evidence of a shift toward more interpretive reporting and a recent content analysis (De Keyser and Raeymaeckers, 2012) of five Flemish newspapers found that ordinary citizens are now given greater visibility and importance than a decade ago.

**BELOW THE LINE.** Phrase referring to the comment spaces provided for readers at the end of online news reports. Such spaces have become one of the most popular arenas for public debate in which journalists can hear from their audience and engage with them if they wish. A recent study (Wright et al., 2020) of comment spaces at *The Guardian*, which has been a pioneer in their development, found a steady increase in their use by readers from 2006 to 2017, but a decline in the participation of the contributing journalists over the same period, even though their involvement often added substantially to the story. Among the reasons cited for the waning involvement of journalists are the difficulties of coping with the increased volume of comments, concerns over incivility and abuse (while 19 percent of the journalists sampled were female, they accounted for only 2.1 percent of the comments), and a decrease in the perceived benefits of joining the discussion. One reason for the latter perception may be that when journalists do join in, they only received an average of 1.7 replies, suggesting that commentators might prefer that journalists stay above the line.

**BENNETT, JAMES GORDON (1795–1872).** Newspaper publisher and editor who founded the *New York Herald* in 1835 and established the right of media to cover the Senate. Born in Scotland, he emigrated to **Canada** in 1819 and then moved to the **United States**, where he eventually settled in New York City. After freelancing for a few years, he was hired in 1826 as a political correspondent for Mordecai Noah's *New York Enquirer*. In 1829, the *Enquirer* merged with James Watson Webb's *New York Courier* to become the highest circulation paper in the country. Bennett became the associate editor and editorialized on behalf of President Andrew Jackson's attack on the National Bank. When the *Courier and Enquirer* began supporting the Whigs, he quit and founded the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian* as a Democratic daily. After it ran into financial difficulties, he returned to New York where he witnessed the success of Benjamin Day's *New York Sun*, the prototype of the **penny papers**. In May 1835, he established his own four-page equivalent and proceeded to further revolutionize news coverage.

The *New York Herald* became the most popular newspaper in New York, reaching a circulation of 100,000 by the time of the Civil War. Bennett declared at the outset that it would be politically nonpartisan. Though known for its sensational stories of crimes and disasters, it pioneered coverage of

sports, high society, Wall Street, and Congress. Although reporters from any newspaper were now permitted to attend House sessions, only reporters from Washington papers were allowed at Senate sessions. In 1841, Bennett hired a corps of stenographic reporters and waged a two-month editorial campaign to win them a place on the Senate floor. With the Whigs having a majority, the Senate President Pro Tempore Samuel Southard refused to allow reporters from the Democratic *Herald*. Bennett called the rejection “one of the most outrageous, high-handed, unconstitutional acts ever perpetrated by any legislative assembly in a free land.” On 8 July 1841, the Senate changed its rules to permit all bona fide reporters to cover its sessions. Washington dailies were given two desks each, while one desk was assigned to each out-of-town paper that applied. Bennett sent a team headed by Richard Sutton, who had previously reported on the British House of Commons from a seat beside that of Charles Dickens.

Bennett also led the way in using the **telegraph** to gather news, conducted what some historians consider to be the first news interview, and began the practice of foreign correspondence when he reported on Queen Victoria’s coronation from London. He was also the first editor to employ foreign correspondents such as **Januarius MacGahan**. Like most 19th-century editors, he treated his reporters poorly, paying low wages and providing no guarantees from one assignment to the next. In retaliation for his attacks on them, rival editors organized a boycott of the *Herald* during the “Great Moral War” in 1840. But Bennett emerged victorious in the end.

On the overriding question of the antebellum period, Bennett opposed the expansion of slavery but did not criticize the “peculiar institution” itself. His son, James Gordon Bennett Jr. (1841–1918), succeeded him as editor in 1867. It was the younger Bennett who sent Stanley to Africa to find Livingston and supported other expeditions to Africa and the Arctic. In 1887, he founded the *Paris Herald*, which later became the *International Herald-Tribune*.

**BESANT, ANNIE (1847–1933)**. English journalist (whose last name rhymes with “peasant”) who championed social reform and the independence of **India**. While in her twenties, she wrote articles on women’s issues for Charles Bradlaugh’s *National Reformer*. In 1877, both were found guilty of an obscene libel for publishing Charles Knowlton’s book on birth control. After successfully appealing her six-month sentence, Besant wrote her own book entitled *The Laws of Population*, which *The Times* described as “indecent, lewd, filthy, bawdy and obscene.” In the 1880s, she began a newspaper called *The Link* and wrote “White Slavery in London” (1888)—an example of the **New Journalism I**—which exposed the poor working conditions and wages of women at the Bryant & May match factory. When her sources were

then fired, she helped to organize a union and conduct a successful strike. Influenced by Bradlaugh, who was known as the MP for India, she wrote *England, India and Afghanistan* (1879), subtitled in part “Why the Tory government gags the Indian press.”

In 1893, following her conversion from Free Thinking to Madame Blavatsky’s Hindu-based Theosophy movement, Besant moved to India and began to promote social reform based on her understanding of Hindu morality. In 1907, she was elected president of the Theosophical Society, which had its international headquarters in India. After the granting of Irish Home Rule in 1913, Besant (who was three-quarters Irish) began applying the term to India, but also argued that religious, educational, and social reform should be part of the struggle for political freedom. When the Indian National Congress rejected this linkage, she created the weekly publication *Commonweal* to promote her program. The following year, however, she bought the *Madras Standard*, renamed it *New India*, and began to argue that Home Rule should be the immediate goal since it would eventually be followed by reform. She then joined the Indian National Congress, wrote a series of articles on its history, and in 1917 was elected its president. *See also* WOMEN IN JOURNALISM.

**THE BIG STORY.** Radio series that began on NBC in April 1947 and featured reporters as the protagonists of justice. Following in the footsteps of *Big Town* (CBS, 1937), it was produced by Bernard J. Proctor for eight years. Though originally intended to honor reporters ignored by Pulitzer committees, it focused on murders and other violent crimes no longer being investigated. At the end of the show, the real reporters were called on stage and given a \$500 “Big Story Award” by the sponsor, Pall Mall cigarettes. The program was so popular that Bing Crosby had to move his *Philco Radio Time* show a half an hour earlier to avoid direct competition. Both *Big Town* and *The Big Story* were also seen on early television.

**BLEYER, WILLARD G. (1873–1935).** Journalist and educator who helped found the department (1912) and later the school of journalism (1927) at the University of Wisconsin. He began his teaching with a single noncredit course on the law of the press in 1905. To increase its credibility, Bleyer sought to link journalism **education and training** to the social sciences rather than English. He also promoted cooperative efforts between journalists and universities through the establishment of educational programs and professional organizations. His textbook *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (1927) traced the early growth of journalism as a profession.

**BLOGS.** A blog is an internet website used to maintain an ongoing and interactive journal or log of some sort. The term *blog*, which is used as both

a noun and a verb, came quickly into use in 1997 out of the term *weblog*, used to designate such sites, and the subsequent play on words, “we blog.” Jorn Barger and Peter Merholz are credited with its genesis. Within a year, the term *blogging* was also common and soon led to the use of *blogosphere* to designate the formation of blogging communities.

Blogs themselves vary greatly in content, sophistication, and endurance. In 2006, *Time* chose “You,” the internet user, as “Person of the Year.” But of the 100 million or more blogs created by 2008, perhaps only about 15 percent were still actively operating. Collectively, blogs have been praised for ushering in yet another “information revolution,” transforming not only business through mass product complaint campaigns but also politics through the creation of a more democratic **public sphere**. However, the latter assessment is often based on a misunderstanding of how such a sphere is possible. The extent to which free, rational, and critical discussion of public affairs is democratic is not a matter of how many individual voices are heard, but on how well all potential voices are heard. Most newspapers and magazines now have some of their journalists blogging, creating a more interactive relationship with their readers. But an important role of journalists has traditionally been to give a voice to individuals and groups without the capacity to speak themselves. Bloggers seldom do this and journalists as bloggers are less likely to do so. The notion that this role is no longer necessary overlooks the reality of many people’s lives.

The impact of blogging on journalism is thus a mixed blessing. Unlike journalist-bloggers, bloggers generally are independent from corporate or other institutional oversight. Whether a blog has merit or not is ultimately decided by its users. They may reject bloggers who feel little compulsion to substantiate what they say. But the inhabitants of a blogosphere may be more united by ideology than evidence. Moreover, journalists are among the favorite targets of bloggers. In 2004, bloggers’ questionable attacks on Dan Rather’s account of President George W. Bush’s military career on *60 Minutes II* led to his dismissal from CBS. Critics have long played an important role in helping to maintain high journalistic standards. But the qualifications of the bloggers “watching the watchdog” vary considerably and in some cases need watching themselves. In the mid-2000s, **digital natives** such as the **Huffington Post** began giving some bloggers an additional means of reaching the public, but often on the basis of their celebrity or ideology rather than their established expertise.

**BLY, NELLIE (1867–1922).** Pen name of the American journalist Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman. She took it from a character in the 1882 Grundy and Solomon operetta *The Vicar of Bray* when she began writing for the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in her native Pennsylvania. After moving to New York City in

1887, she feigned madness to get herself committed to Blackwell's Island, the city's insane asylum for women, and exposed its terrible conditions in *Ten Days in a Mad House*. The stunt resulted in \$3 million being spent on improvements and convinced **Joseph Pulitzer** to hire her as a reporter for the *New York World*. As the most famous journalist of her day, she continued to go undercover in order to target lobbyists, the recruitment of prostitutes, and conditions in prisons, factories, and nursing homes. In 1889, she set off from New York to see if she could beat the time taken by the fictional character Phileas Fogg in Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). She accomplished the trip in 72 days, 6 hours, and 11 minutes, beating Fogg's fictional time and finishing ahead of a rival female reporter from a Hearst paper. *See also* BANKS, ELIZABETH; WOMEN IN JOURNALISM.

**BOWLES, SAMUEL II (1826–1878)**. American newspaper publisher known for his vigorous but balanced editorials. At the age of 17, he began working for the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, which his father had established as a country weekly in 1824. The following year, he persuaded him to turn it into a daily and, after his death, took over as publisher and editor-in-chief. Over the next quarter century, the *Springfield Republican* became one of the most influential political newspapers in the **United States**. Following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, Bowles's call for antislavery groups to form a single national party contributed to the formation of the Republican Party. He was succeeded by his son, Samuel Bowles III, who maintained the paper's reputation but did little editorial writing himself.

**BRAZIL**. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Portuguese colonizers of Brazil prohibited the operation of a printing press, limiting the reading material of officials and intellectuals to books and journals brought into the country illegally. It was not until 1808, when the Portuguese royal family was forced to settle in Rio de Janeiro to escape the army of Napoleon, that the first newspaper in Brazil, the weekly *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, was published as an official organ. It was followed by the establishment of a number of other semiofficial periodicals representing the interests of the political elite. With the support of the anti-mercantilist commercial elite, however, a counter-hegemonic press espousing independence also emerged and succeeded in uniting the two groups. Among the most significant of these rebel papers was the *Echo*, edited by Joaquim Goncalves Ledo.

Following independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil developed a party press not unlike that in the **United States**, while publications such as the *Jornal de Sociedade de Agricultura, Commercio et Industria da Provincia da Bahia* (1832–1836) and its successors made an important contribution to the

economic development of Brazil. However, limited education, low literacy, and widespread poverty delayed the subsequent emergence of mass-circulation newspapers. During both the First and Second Empires (1822–1889) and the Old Republic (1889–1930), newspapers remained mainly a forum for debates among the educated political elite. A large number of those who rose to political prominence were aided by their participation in journalism, while editorial writers who did not go into politics still exercised considerable influence over decisions made by the ruling class. But by doing little to solidify the republic through the education and enfranchisement of the masses, the journalistic elite failed to stave off the dictatorship of President Getulio Vargas.

During the Vargas era from 1930 to 1945, freedom of the press was curtailed and journalists were censored, harassed, and jailed. But after **World War II**, press freedom was restored and Brazil underwent a remarkable period of democracy and economic growth. In the 1950s, the American model of journalism began to take root in the Brazilian press, leading to the modernization of publishing; greater professionalization among journalists; and increased exposure of problems such as corruption, homelessness, and environmental degradation. At the same time, however, media ownership was highly concentrated. Until the 1990s, 10 families controlled most of the media industry: the Marinho and Brito in Rio de Janeiro; the Frias, Mesquita, Civita, Saad, and Abravanel in São Paulo; and the Sirotsky, Câmara, and Maiorana families in the southern, midwestern, and northern states, respectively.

During the 2000s, these families began adding content distribution structures, online news portals, and internet service providers to their print and broadcasting holdings and in several cases turned into conglomerates (Folhapar from the Frias family, Globopar from the Marinho family, and the Abril Group from the Civita family, and the Estado Group from Mesquita family). In the mid-2010s, four groups accounted for almost 90 percent of daily newspaper circulation: Folhapar, Infoglobo, S.A. O Estado de S. Paulo, and the RBS Group (Moreira, 2016).

**BREITBART NEWS.** American news and commentary website founded by Andrew Breitbart in 2008. It is described by Abramson (2019) as “an epicenter of right-wing media” and as “Trump’s *Pravda*.” During the late 1990s and early 2000s, Breitbart worked for the **Drudge Report**, the first major example of a digital **news aggregator**. In 2005, he took a leave to help launch the left-wing **Huffington Post** but was soon forced to leave because of ideological incompatibility. The same year, he began Breitbart.com as an imitation of the Drudge Report and hired Stephen K. Bannon, a former Wall

Street financier, to help develop it into a news company that went beyond aggregation. It began as a triad of websites but was soon consolidated into Breitbart News—what Bannon called “the platform for the alt-right.” In 2009, it used fake footage and 200 eager free-laboring bloggers to destroy the nonprofit ACORN, which promoted voter registration and affordable housing, and used similarly nefarious methods in the following years to manufacture further outrage for ideological ends.

After Breitbart’s sudden death of heart failure in 2012 at the age of 43, Breitbart News was taken over by Bannon, who made it Donald Trump’s foremost presence on **Facebook** during his run for the U.S. presidency. In 2014, Bannon used it to take down a **Buzzfeed News** reporter who had the temerity to mock Trump at a point where his efforts at a political career were sputtering. With funding from the billionaire hedge fund manager Robert Mercer, Bannon became co-owner and director of the company and used its well-stocked arsenal of unfair tactics to help propel Trump into the presidency. During the primaries, Breitbart provided more coverage to Trump than to all of his Republican opponents combined and focused on horse-race journalism rather than character or policies. A study in the *Columbia Journalism Review* of over a million stories in the 19 months before the presidential election of 2016 showed that it dominated the discussion among conservatives. Abramson estimates that it provided Trump with \$3 billion worth of free media coverage. During the first seven months of the Trump administration, Bannon served as White House Chief Strategist. A recent experimental study (Holman and Lay, 2019) found that while fact-checking sources have little effect in terms of countering misperceptions of voter fraud in the 2016 presidential election, corrections from Breitbart News are persuasive for both Democrats and Republicans, even though it is “the least likely [source] to provide accurate information.”

**BRISBANE, ALBERT (1809–1890).** American communitarian thinker who popularized his ideas through a column in **Horace Greeley’s** *New York Tribune* (1842–44). After studying under Charles Fourier in Paris, he wrote *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), which contributed to the formation of over 40 cooperative communities in America. Brook Farm, which had been established in 1841 by the Transcendental Club under George Ripley, was transformed under Brisbane’s influence into the phalanx of American Fourierism, producing *The Phalanx* (1843–1845) and *The Harbinger* (1845) until its demise in 1847. After the Civil War, Brisbane worked as a reporter for **Charles A. Dana’s** *New York Sun* and further defended Fourierism in his *General Introduction to the Social Sciences* (1876). His son, Arthur Brisbane (1864–1936), was editor of **William Randolph Hearst’s** *New York Evening*

*Journal* from 1897 to 1921 and wrote two popular columns, “Today” and “This Week.”

**BROUN, HEYWOOD (1888–1939).** Political columnist for the *New York World* from 1921 to 1928 and the first president of the American Newspaper Guild (ANG). After graduating from Harvard, he worked as a reporter for the *New York Tribune* (1912–1921), including a stint as correspondent with the American forces in **France** during **World War I**. He used his *World* column “It Seems to Me” to promote social justice and also wrote for *The Nation* and *The New Republic* as well as numerous books. He became president of the Guild in 1933. After his death, John Llewellyn Lewis, **Franklin P. Adams**, Herbert Bayard Swope, and other members of the Newspaper Guild of New York produced *Heywood Broun as He Seemed to Us* (1940). Some of his best writing was published posthumously as *A Collected Edition* (1941).

**BUCKLEY, WILLIAM F., JR. (1925–2008).** Foremost American theorist and journalistic disseminator of postwar political conservatism. One of ten children of a wealthy oil baron, he was educated by personal tutors and then teachers at exclusive Roman Catholic private schools. After serving in the Army from 1944 to 1946, he did an undergraduate degree at Yale University. In *God and Man at Yale* (1951), he criticized his teachers, courses, and textbooks for their secular values and support for centralized government planning and most of the measures of the liberal New Deal. In *McCarthy and His Enemies* (1954), he defended the junior Senator from Wisconsin despite his rough tactics in exposing the threat of communism in America. And in 1955, he founded the biweekly *National Review* to promote his version of conservative political principles and values on an ongoing basis.

In addition to the regular forum provided by the *National Review*, he articulated his conservative philosophy through syndicated newspaper columns, his weekly television talk program *Firing Line* on PBS, and a series of books ranging *Up from Liberalism* (1959) to *Happy Days Were Here Again: Reflections of a Libertarian Journalist* (1993). Except for an embarrassing expletive-laced confrontation with the liberal writer Gore Vidal on ABC during the 1968 political conventions, he was generally in a class by himself in terms of providing the witty, erudite, colorful, and at times condescending argumentation required for politics to function as a category of American TV programming. But his conservative critique of African decolonization and the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s has also been seen as a form of scientific racism facilitating white supremacist ideas in the 21st century. His ability to articulate an intellectual defense of conservatism was never matched by a capacity to do justice to the liberal values he proposed



to transcend. *See also* CONSERVATIVE TRADITION IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

**BURCHETT, WILFRED (1911–1983).** Controversial Australian war correspondent who was vilified in the mainstream press for his uncompromising pro-communist coverage during the Cold War. Born in Melbourne, he left for England in 1936, joined the Society for Cultural Relations with Russia in 1937, and worked for the Soviet government travel agency Intourist in 1938. In September of that year, he married Erna Hamer, a German-Jewish refugee, and worked to get other Jews out of Germany. After returning to Australia, he reported the 1940 revolt against the Vichy regime on the French colony of New Caledonia. This coverage helped him to gain accreditation with the *Daily Express* in London, for which he reported the Asian battlefield during **World War II**. He was the first Western journalist to observe Hiroshima in the aftermath of the atomic bomb. His report on the effects of radiation and nuclear fallout in “The Atomic Plague” (5 September 1945) was rejected as pro-Japanese propaganda by the U.S. military as well as *New York Times*’ correspondent William L. Laurence, who won a **Pulitzer Prize** for his awe-struck approach to the devastation.

After the war, Burchett covered Eastern Europe for the *Daily Express* and later for *The Times* of London, in the course of which he established contacts in the Ministry of State Security (MGB) in the Soviet Union. During the Stalinist show trials of East European communist leaders in 1949, he endorsed the prosecution and praised all the East European regimes in *People’s Democracies* (1951). This acceptance of even the most fantastical of communist claims began a pattern of seeing the communist world less through rose-colored glasses than with blinders on. After six months in the People’s Republic of China as a correspondent for the French communist newspapers *L’Humanité* and *Ce Soir*, he churned out the panegyric *China’s Feet Unbound* (1952). “It was written,” he said, “against the background of American bombs landing on Chinese soil, American tanks rumbling toward China’s frontier, American germ warfare launched against China’s neighbor [North Korea].” His description of Chinese-run POW camps as “like a holiday resort in Switzerland” made it easy to dismiss the germ warfare claim as a myth. But although Thomas Powell has recently provided a well-documented rebuttal of the biological warfare “hoax” thesis, Burchett was nonetheless most likely complicit in the use of POWs for propaganda purposes.

In 1955, both the British and Australian governments refused to issue Burchett a passport. But with accreditation from a tiny pro-communist American weekly, he went to Moscow and began reporting the achievements of Soviet science and technology. In *Come East Young Man* (1962), he

added agriculture, housing, and consumer goods to the list of amazing Soviet achievements and wrote that “a new humanism is at work in the Soviet Union which . . . leaves behind no underprivileged.” This reporting got him back into the good books of the British press, including the *Financial Times*.

During the Vietnam War, Burchett made movies supporting the Viet Cong and in 1967 secured an interview with Vietnam’s foreign minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh, who challenged American president Lyndon B. Johnson to begin peace talks. He subsequently worked for the Soviets in Africa and continued to defend all aspects of communist rule virtually everywhere. In 1974, he launched a libel suit against one of his critics. Although the charge of libel was dismissed, an appeals court later ruled that he had been defamed. To tell his side of the story of his life, he wrote not one but two autobiographies—*Passport: An Autobiography* (1969) and *At the Barricades: Forty Years on the Cutting Edge of History* (1981). In his introduction to the latter, Harrison Salisbury, a former Moscow correspondent and associate editor of the *New York Times*, described Burchett as “a radical who moves through a changing milieu, lending his sympathies to one cause after another not because of some Marxist doctrine, but because he believes in the underdog, whatever the continent, whatever the color, whatever the creed.” However, as Stephen Morris pointed out in an article in *Commentary* the same year, this support for the underdog consisted of doing “public-relations tasks for the brutal regimes of Joseph Stalin, Matyas Rakosi, Mao Tse-tung, Kim Il Sung, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, and Pol Pot.” Neither Perry Roland’s *The Exile: Burchett, Reporter of Conflict* (1988) nor Robert Manne’s *Agent of Influence: The Life and Times of Wilfred Burchett* (1989) removed the need for a definitive biography of this enigmatic fellow-traveler and “rebel journalist.”

**BUSINESS JOURNALISM.** According to John J. McCusker, the first newspapers were commercial or business newspapers. Beginning in Antwerp around 1540 (possibly earlier in Venice), the licensed brokers of the city organized the publication of what were called commodity price currents and exchange rate currents. Similar publications were later developed in other European commercial centers as the locus of financial power shifted from Antwerp in the 16th century to Amsterdam in the 17th century and then to London in the 18th century. In the case of Britain’s American colonies, the London business press served as the main source of information about prices and markets until the achievement of independence, at which point business publications emerged in Philadelphia and later in New York City.

During the 19th century, accuracy and general reporting standards remained a problem in many business newspapers. In the **United States**,

William Buck Dana's weekly *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, founded in 1866, eventually became "the Bible of Wall Street." In Britain, Charles Duguid helped to establish a professional code for financial editors through an article published in the *Journal of Finance* in 1897. At the same time, business newspapers continued to emphasize stock market quotations, company earnings, and stodgy, ghostwritten public relations profiles of business leaders and their firms. The first publication to counter this approach was *Fortune*, a cosmopolitan monthly business and financial magazine founded in 1930 by the publishers of *Time* magazine. Its young, well-educated writers adopted a somewhat more critical posture toward their subjects, but also gave them a modern self-image through the use of photojournalism and a more literary style of writing. However, it was not until after **World War II** that business publications, led in America by the *Wall Street Journal*, began to report on general economic trends and their significance for the average citizen. The adoption of a broader economic approach not only increased the circulation of business publications but also led to more comprehensive coverage of business and finance in the mainstream press.

**BUZZFEED NEWS.** American news website that began operations in 2011 and is a frequent target of right-wing attacks. It is a division of BuzzFeed, which was cofounded in 2006 by Jonah Peretti and Kenneth Lerer, who previously created the *Huffington Post* (now HuffPost). In 2013, they hired Mark Schoofs of ProPublica to oversee its investigative reporting. By 2016, it had about 200 million online visitors a month compared to about 78 million for the *New York Times* and was being paid slightly more than it by Facebook for a yearly supply of videos. Part of its success stems from its use of native advertising or paid ads that match the feel and format of its website.

BuzzFeed became an internet powerhouse by using amusing and loosely written content designed to go viral, raising the question whether BuzzFeed News would similarly undermine serious journalism. A recent study (Tandoc, 2018) comparing the news outputs of BuzzFeed and the *New York Times* found that it was for the most playing by the rules associated with excellence in journalism. Its news articles are generally less negative than those of the *Times*, but it shares the same news values of timeliness, proximity, prominence, and novelty. It places somewhat less emphasis on government and politics as well as crime and terrorism, but more emphasis on social problems and related protests, accounting in part for its reduced negativity. And it uses business people and ordinary people as sources more than the *Times*, which relies heavily on government officials, politicians, and law enforcement spokesperson. But it is also somewhat closer to the traditional ideal of the news report with its inverted pyramid story format and suppression of the

journalist's personal opinion and rarely uses the listicle format which makes BuzzFeed content popular.

Taken overall, this comparison concluded that BuzzFeed pursues journalistic excellence in much the same manner as the *New York Times* as a newspaper of record. This finding is reflected in the fact that it has won the George Polk Award, the National Press Foundation Award, and the Sydney Award as well as being nominated for a **Pulitzer Prize** nomination. It now has editions in **Australia, Brazil, France, Great Britain, and Germany**, but has recently undergone retrenchment.

**BYLINES.** The attribution of bylines is a 20th-century phenomenon, which proceeded more slowly and in a more complex manner than early studies proposed. In a comparative study of the *New York Times* and *The Times* of London, Zvi Reich (2010) provided a fuller picture of byline development by considering not only personal bylines but generic bylines (e.g., “by *The New York Times*”) and news agency bylines and by doing so for both the front and inside news and business pages.

At the beginning of the century, the only bylines in the *New York Times* were generic and their use skyrocketed during the 1920s and 1930s before beginning a long slow decline to virtual insignificance today. By the 1950s, they had been overtaken by news agency bylines, the use of which remained relatively stable thereafter. During the 1940s, personal bylines began to increase. But it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that they became the dominant form of news story attribution, especially on the front page of the *New York Times*.

In the case of *The Times* of London, the rise of bylining did not begin until the 1960s, but then skyrocketed to the point of totally eclipsing generic and news agency bylines. By the 1970s, more reporters were being given bylines by *The Times* than at the *New York Times*, although even today there are more stories with no byline in the former than in the latter.

Reich (2010) identifies a four-stage process governing the rise of bylines. During the first stage, newspapers resist pressure for personal bylines in an effort to maintain the illusion of news as emanating from an impersonal, authoritative voice. In the second stage, newspapers retreat from total **anonymity** by using generic and news agency bylines to promote organizational goals. In the third stage, they grudgingly begin to allow personal bylines and restrict the practice to select reporters. Only in the final stage do they allow almost all of their reporters to have a byline.

Michael Schudson has argued that personal bylines were used initially to make newspaper readers aware that the story they were reading was written by a specific individual with personal biases and values. But John Nerone and

Kevin Barnhurst see them more plausibly as a response to journalists' natural desire for status and prestige as literary celebrities. This explanation fits more readily with Reich's account of their emergence as a concession granted first to writers in the sections and only later to journalists on the front page.

There were no bylines for the front-page reporters of *The Times* of London until January 1967, when they suddenly became the norm. Before then, it was still referring to stories "From Our Political Correspondent," "From Our Estates Correspondent," "From Our Aeronautical Correspondent," or simply "From Our Correspondent" with no attribution. On 21 January 1967, a cover story was attributed to John Woodcock, but he was the paper's "Cricket Correspondent." On 23 June, city editor George Pulay was identified, though not the next day in a shorter piece. Then on 25 June, Charles Hargrove and Richard Wigg were identified as Paris and Washington correspondents, respectively. Thereafter, the number of attributions increased fairly steadily.

# C

**CAMBODIA.** For most of its history, Cambodia was ruled by monarchs who considered their authority to be absolute. When the French colonized the country in the 19th century, they excluded Cambodians from the political sphere and limited printed news to their own *Journal Officiel de Cambodge* and the semiofficial bilingual newspaper *Cambodge*. It was not until 1936 that the early Khmer nationalist Pach Chhoeum and two associates created the small, Khmer-language newspaper *Nagaravatta* for the emerging Cambodian intelligentsia. It called for improvements in health and education, advocated that Vietnamese clerks be replaced by native Khmers in the French government, and promoted a sense of national identity. But it was banned in 1942 after Chhouen was arrested for participating in a demonstration.

During the Kingdom of Cambodia (1953–1970), the so-called golden era following independence, Prince Sihanouk’s Sanghum was the only legal political party. He allowed a number of privately owned newspapers to operate along with the state-owned ones until 1967, when he banned the former and subjected the latter to tighter control. In 1970, he was ousted in a coup and replaced by his prime minister Lon Nol, who restored a degree of press freedom until an attempt on his life in 1973 led to a state of emergency during which most of the independent papers were shut down.

In 1975, the U.S.-backed Nol regime was overthrown by the communist Democratic Kampuchea or Khmer Rouge under the genocidal maniac Pol Pot. Its stated goal was to return Cambodia to “year zero” and transform it into an agrarian utopia by purging educated city dwellers, monks, and minorities and imposing a draconian resettlement program. As many as 1.5 million Cambodians or one-quarter of the country’s population were liquidated as a result of this delusional ideological dream before Vietnam invaded the county in 1979 and set up a puppet government. After the Vietnamese forces pulled out in 1989, the United Nations sponsored a peace accord, drew up a new constitution granting human rights and personal freedoms, and began preparations for a democratic election. The rebuilding process undertaken by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) included steps to encourage a free press, including new journalism education programs

aimed at instilling international best practices in the Cambodian media, which had no tradition of functioning as a **public sphere**.

The election of 1993 produced a hybrid government run by two prime ministers, Norodom Ranariddh, and Hun Sen, who had been foreign minister in the period of Vietnamese suzerainty. During the subsequent infighting between their respective factions, the more professional news media cultivated in the United Nations interregnum aligned themselves with one group or another and reverted to politically biased journalism, pulling the rug from under the heavily funded project of inculcating Western news values. In 1997, Sen ousted Ranariddh in a coup, jailed his political opponents, and subjected the press to various new controls.

In 2003, after growing criticism from organizations and governments around the world, Sen allowed international agencies to again address the media climate. They attempted to increase public debate during election campaigns by undertaking candidate debates on radio and TV and producing a news program for state broadcasting outlets. But these measures did little to reduce the incivility endemic to politically aligned stations and newspapers. In 2016, both Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders reported a precipitous fall in press freedom. To which the government responded by cracking down even more harshly on the press and other spaces of civil society in advance of the 2018 elections.

**CANADA.** The first newspaper in Canada was the *Halifax Gazette*, founded by printer-editor John Bushell from Boston on 23 March 1752. In addition to subscriptions, it relied on local advertising and government printing to make ends meet. In New France, the settlers were not allowed a printing press. But a year after the defeat of France in the Seven Years War (1756–1763), William Brown and Thomas Gilmore established the *Quebec Gazette* to assist in the transition to British rule. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, newspapers also facilitated the creation of stable new communities. In Upper Canada (present-day Ontario), John Graves Simcoe, the lieutenant governor, brought Louis Roy from Quebec City to serve as King’s Printer. On 18 April 1793, Roy began publishing the *Upper Canada Gazette* or *American Oracle*. It remained the only newspaper west of Montreal until after the War of 1812. But thereafter the press began to expand rapidly, partly in response to the growing need for economic information in what historian Donald Creighton called the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence.

In 1835, Canada had its own version of the famous American trial of John Peter Zenger a century earlier. After publishing a letter signed “The People” accusing the magistrates and police of Halifax of fleecing the poor of £30,000 a year during the previous 30 years, the political reformer and *Novascotian*

editor Joseph Howe was charged with criminal libel for “seditiously contriving, devising and intending to stir up and incite discontent among His Majesty’s subjects.” Although juries now had the right to decide whether the published statements were libelous, malice was still ascertained by whether they were likely to disturb the peace. In conducting his own defense, Howe argued that intention should be taken into account in determining malice and that he should be given an opportunity to show “the state of my own mind at the time I published the letter.” This ploy enabled him to argue that he had not acted maliciously, that his claims of corruption were true, and that there was a “great and overwhelming public necessity” to monitor the government’s actions. As with the Zenger case, Howe’s acquittal did not immediately change the law of libel. After he entered politics, his successor as editor was imprisoned for libel. And when William Lyon Mackenzie founded the *Constitution* in Toronto in 1836 to attack what he called the “Family Compact,” it remained libelous to publish any matter calculated to degrade individuals or disturb the public peace.

In his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839), Lord Durham noted that “rumours are diligently circulated by the Canadian press; and every friendly act of the American people or government appears to be systematically subjected to the most unfavourable construction.” At the same time, however, he suggested that newspapers were helping to bring the inhabitants of British North America closer together as “men discover [through them] that their welfare is frequently as much involved in the political condition of their neighbours as of their own countrymen.” The Report paved the way for responsible government, a cause which George Brown championed in the Toronto *Globe*. Established as a weekly newspaper in 1844 in support of, and with financial aid (£250) from, a group of Reformers, it became a daily in 1853, a year after Brown was first elected to parliament. Through its strong editorials and detailed news reports, it became the most influential party paper in British North America and provided crucial support for Canadian Confederation. By 1857, there were 291 newspapers in British North America, 159 of which were in Canada West (formerly Upper Canada, now Ontario). Most were instruments of particular politicians or parties and short-lived. Even a party paper needed a good circulation, a high subscription collection rate, considerable advertising, some government printing contracts, and a few other sources of revenue as well.

During the 1870s, market forces began to facilitate a more popular press. Although higher costs of newsprint, printing, and labor increased the capital requirements for running a newspaper, growing numbers of workingmen and clerks in central Canadian cities provided a market for papers tailored to their interests and needs. Hugh Graham, John Ross Robertson, and a number of



other young, flamboyant entrepreneurs responded by founding newspapers such as the *Montreal Star* (1869), the *Toronto Telegram* (1876), the *Toronto World* (1880), *La Presse* (1884), the *Ottawa Journal* (1885), and the *Hamilton Herald* (1889). These new “people’s journals,” as historian Paul Rutherford called them, discarded party identities, reduced political editorials, and introduced a more varied and popular selection of news, features, and commentaries, all for a lower price than the traditional party papers. They encouraged their reporters to use a simpler prose style and tried to make their publications more visually appealing. Following the lead of Trefflé Berthiaume’s *La Presse* in Montreal, they drew a sharper distinction between fact and opinion, clearing the front-page for news alone. While most championed male suffrage and some supported ideas such as Henry George’s proposal for a single tax, their popularity killed the nascent Canadian labor press.

A late addition to the “people’s journals” was the Toronto *Evening Star* (1892), especially after it became the *Toronto Daily Star* in 1899 (the *Toronto Star* as of 1971). From 1899 to 1948, it was edited by Joseph E. Atkinson, a pious Methodist known as “Holy Joe.” He raised its circulation from 7,000 to 40,000 within five years by combining sensationalism and crusading journalism, making it one of the largest and most influential newspapers in Canada. With the support of prime minister Wilfrid Laurier, he also persuaded the *Star*’s Liberal proprietors to let him edit the paper as an independent voice of liberalism rather than as a party paper as such.

During the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, Atkinson sent two of his most experienced reporters to Winnipeg to find out firsthand what was happening. As a result of their impartial coverage, the *Star* was able to provide an alternative to the hostile editorials of most other Canadian newspapers, which saw the strike as a Bolshevik plot. During the 1920s and early 1930s, Atkinson called upon wealthy Torontonians to do their Christian duty and help those less fortunate than themselves. But he gradually became convinced of the need for state-based social welfare measures such as unemployment insurance, health care, and old age pensions. As a friend of Liberal prime minister Mackenzie King, he was able to exert considerable influence over social policy in Canada. His progressive editorial philosophy, which continues to motivate the *Star* today, has been codified in terms of six precepts known as the Atkinson Principles: a strong, united, and independent Canada; social justice; individual and civil liberties; community and civic engagement; the rights of working people; and the necessary role of government.

By **World War I**, most of the original “people’s journals” had taken on party affiliations again as a marketing technique. Only the *Ottawa Journal* remained free of political labels and associations. After the war, however, most of the larger Canadian dailies discarded party identities as the growth

of chains and single-newspaper cities made it imperative to attract readers with diverse political beliefs. Though no longer constrained by party politics, many Canadian journalists now had to navigate within the new order of corporate media. In Canada as elsewhere, they adopted the professional ideal of objectivity or balanced coverage as a means of preserving a measure of autonomy in the newsroom. This ideal was bolstered by the emergence of The Canadian Press (CP) news agency in 1917 with member newspapers from across the country. During the 1930s, CP worked hard on behalf of its members to maintain a monopoly over the distribution of news. Following its creation in 1932, the publicly owned Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) contemplated providing news twice daily to remote areas in Canada without ready access to newspapers. Alarmed by this possibility, CP proposed that it provide the CRBC with news bulletins free of charge; in return, CP would control the content of the bulletins and determine their time of broadcast. The financially strapped CRBC agreed to this proposal and also undertook to regulate the news broadcasts of privately owned radio stations in line with CP's interests. Following its replacement of the CRBC in November 1936, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) continued the arrangement for free daily news bulletins, despite growing criticism of their staleness and unsuitability for radio.

With Canada's entry into **World War II**, however, the CBC board of governors decided that the Corporation needed its own news service to ensure that Canadians received a uniform and unifying account of the war. On New Year's Day 1941, the CBC News Service began operations in English (a day later in French). But its two dozen news editors initially did little more than rewrite copy provided by wire services like CP, a practice that continued throughout the 1940s. The News Service also adopted a strict code of objectivity as a means of establishing its independence from the government. Chief editor Dan McArthur instructed news writers to be "faithful to source material in facts, emphasis and general purport" and "not editorialize, speculate or predict into factual news items. Speculative comment should be used only if it comes into the body of a news story and is quoted from an authoritative source." This philosophy remained entrenched at the CBC for the next two decades. As Robert Fulford wrote in the Toronto *Sunday Telegram* on 19 May 1957, "no hint of opinion, no trace of analysis, ever passes through the pristine typewriters of the men who write news" at CBC. Its news writers are little more than "faceless, nameless robots stripped of all personality and opinion."

The purpose of such objectivity was not to eliminate controversial commentary, but to segregate it institutionally. Initially, the CBC tried to accommodate "talks" and public affairs by treating the airwaves as a soapbox or

concert hall available for hire. But this laissez-faire approach led to complaints certain religious and other groups purchased time to attack other groups or disseminate ideas on controversial topics such as eugenics. In 1939, therefore, the CBC board of governors adopted a “White Paper” on “controversial broadcasting” setting forth an explicit set of rules governing discourse in the broadcast **public sphere**. Neither individuals nor groups would be allowed to purchase airtime; instead, the public broadcaster would orchestrate the discussion of public issues so as to ensure balance and fairness. With the outbreak of World War II, this policy was temporarily shelved as CBC management feared that any public affairs programming might undermine the war effort. By 1943, however, there was growing concern that anti-Nazi propaganda was no longer working as a motivating force and a sense that Canadians needed the hope of a new postwar world to continue fighting effectively. Working in conjunction with the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), advocates of public affairs programming such as Neil Morrison were allowed to develop programs such as *Farm Radio Forum* and *Citizen’s Forum* based on the White Paper’s philosophy of balanced discussion.

The difficulties faced by such programs were illustrated in June 1959 when acting CBC president Ernie Bushnell decided to cancel the English radio network program *Preview Commentary*. A five-minute early morning opinion-piece on political events, the program had been on the air since 1957 and had seldom occasioned any complaints. When parliament was in session, four of the program’s five commentaries were by members of the press gallery and, in the interest of maintaining healthy debate, some of those who generally supported the Progressive Conservative government, which had a massive majority, had taken to criticizing certain aspects of its performance. Although both Bushnell and the minister responsible for the CBC, George Nowlan, later denied that any political pressure had been brought to bear on CBC management, broadcasting historians have not been convinced by Bushnell’s claim that he simply pulled the plug on a substandard program. Despite protests from several senior program staff, including Chief News Editor Bill Hogg, the CBC board of directors confirmed Bushnell’s decision. As a result, public affairs supervisor Frank Peers and three assistants resigned, followed by 30 other producers in Toronto and Montreal. The following day, the CBC board reversed its decision and reinstated the program, but it reduced its length to three minutes. A Commons committee on broadcasting later investigated the incident, but it failed to determine whether political pressure had been involved.

As radio and TV news and public affairs cut into their markets, newspapers began to modify their own commitment to objectivity in order to differentiate

their product. During the pipeline debate in 1956, columnists like Douglas Fisher, Charles Lynch, and Bruce Phillips adopted a more critical stance toward government, and newspapers generally began to assume more of a watchdog role. On the eve of the introduction of television in 1952, there were only 94 dailies in Canada, compared to 121 a half century earlier. Although the number of Canadian cities with two or more dailies continued to decline thereafter, a more critical and investigative journalism helped to stabilize the total number of daily newspapers. During the 1960s, television began to respond in kind with adversarial public affairs programs such as the CBC's *This Hour Has Seven Days* (1964–1966) and CTV's *W5* (1966–present). Both programs contributed to the rise of journalists as personalities, a trend that soon embraced newspapers as well. At the same time, Canadian journalists continued to pursue professionalization through unionization, university education, and organizations such as the Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec and the Centre for Investigative Journalism (CIJ). The CIJ was founded in 1978 and became the Canadian Association of Journalists (CAJ) in 1990. It was located at Carleton University, where Wilfrid Eggleston founded the country's first school of journalism in 1945 with seven students. Eggleston had been Canada's chief censor from 1942 to 1944 and wrote for the *Toronto Star* and *Time* magazine. A comparative study (Keel, 1998) of journalists in Canada and the **United States** concluded that Canadian journalists, especially those in Quebec, are more likely than American journalists to temper their belief in the right of free speech with elements of social responsibility and community values.

The rapid rise of digitally disseminated news and advertising poses a major challenge for traditional journalism in Canada. The government-commissioned report *The Shattered Mirror: Democracy and Trust in the Digital Age* (2017) found that by 2015, Google and Facebook had gained a “stranglehold on digital advertising” in Canada and lamented this “a mass migration of dollars to global entities with no commitment to civic-function journalism.” In *Media and Internet Concentration in Canada, 1984–2018* (2019), Canadian Media Research Project director Dwayne Winseck reported that in 2018, Google accounted for about half of online advertising (3.8 of 7.6 billion dollars), while Facebook's online advertising (\$2.0 billion) raised their combined take to 78 percent. Even when considered in terms of all advertising revenues (\$14.1 billion), their online revenues still constituted over 42 percent. By comparison, the total advertising revenue (print and online) of the *Globe & Mail*, Canada's national newspaper, amounted to \$77 million or 0.5 percent. Moreover, while Google and Facebook have been increasing their share of online revenue, total spending on advertising has been declining on a per capita basis.

For the authors of *The Shattered Mirror*, the question was whether we are “merely passing through a turbulent transition to a more open and diverse future, or witnessing something that could inflict lasting damage on democracy?” In 2018, in addition to restoring funding for the CBC, the federal government committed \$600 million in subsidies over five years to support news production. It also appointed a panel chaired by Janet Yale to find ways of addressing the deleterious impact of platforms such as Facebook on Canadian journalism. In January 2020, it submitted a 235-page report entitled *Canada’s Communication Future: Time to Act*. Among its many recommendations was a proposal that platform media be brought under Canada’s Broadcasting Act and be required to pay levies on the Canadian advertising revenue they derive from aggregating Canadian news content. The levies were to go to a fund administered by the Canadian Radio-television and Communications Commission (CRTC) to help finance the production of news.

Critics had mixed reactions to the report. The *Globe and Mail’s* Kate Taylor thought it might finally succeed in getting the notoriously uncooperative new media giants to “come to the table.” But her colleague Andrew Coyne called it “a regulatory power grab without precedent, in Canada or the democratic world.” After the House judiciary antitrust committee in Washington began questioning the social media giants in August, however, he argued that Big Tech had pushed the traditional gatekeepers aside while failing to “police the public square.” While the government said it would consider the recommendations and act “as quickly as possible,” the COVID-19 pandemic put the matter on hold.

In the meantime, Torstar, owner of the *Toronto Star* and *Hamilton Spectator* among other papers, gave up trying to adapt to the digital environment by selling assets, closing newspapers, and making staff cuts and in May agreed to be taken private by two prominent businessmen for a fraction of what it was worth a decade earlier. In the article “The Future of Journalism” (2010), James Curran pointed out that the crisis of journalism was less serious in countries “where publicly funded broadcasters are strong.” But in August, the Conservative party’s new leader pledged to privatize the television operations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation if elected.

**CANCEL CULTURE.** Term arising in 2019 with reference to a new phase in early 21st-century culture wars. Dictionaries are likely to have a difficult time defining it without taking a stand on the issues at stake. Most of its critics acknowledge that it has been a tool for social justice in the case of recently exposed serial predators. But they also fear that the long-standing shutting down of people and ideas by totalitarian states is now being carried out in democracies by groups within the state through social media and on behalf of

extreme left- and right-wing agendas. For them, it represents a final loss of faith in John Milton's "self-righting principle" in *Areopagitica*: "Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing." They also regard it as an attack on Jürgen Habermas's concept of a **public sphere** insofar as the need for polite and respectful debates in which the best arguments prevail is not fulfilled by having no debates at all.

In turning their backs on democratic debates in which everyone is given a chance to have their say, cancel culturalists seeking to redress perceived victimization have left their own series of victims in their wake. In 2019, for example, one of France's leading intellectuals and a member of the Academie Française, was "canceled" as a "racist and misogynist" for a proposed university lecture defending Western traditions and criticizing cultural relativism. In June 2020, the longtime editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was fired for using the headline "Buildings Matter, Too" over a piece by an architecture critic expressing concern that protesters' damage to buildings could "leave a gaping hole in the heart of Philadelphia." The same month, the editorial page editor of the *New York Times* was harassed to the point of resigning for including an op-ed piece by a Republican Senator defending the use federal troops to restore public order in cases where the police were overwhelmed. In the end, of course, Milton reverted to the view that there are some falsehoods for which "the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that man's prevention can use." And he naturally presumed to know what those falsehoods are and what truths are sacrosanct and about which there is no room for debate.

**CANDIDATE BITES.** Uninterrupted segments of political candidates' speech or actions in television news coverage during elections. Insofar as they pertain to speech, they are a subcategory of *sound bites*, a term coined in the United States in the late 1970s with reference to short clips of speech or audio used to exemplify an element or frame of a news item. But they also include what are called image bites or clips of candidates in action without their saying anything. According to Farnsworth and Lichter (2007), the average candidate sound bite on American TV news fell from 42 seconds in 1968 to 8 seconds in 2004. For some critics, candidates were being squeezed out of election coverage and rendered voiceless.

A comparative study (Esser, 2008) of both image and sound bites in election coverage in the United States, Britain, France, and Germany in 2002–2002 and 2004–2007 found three different political news cultures with regard to the length of candidate bites and their content and editorial packaging: a strongly interventionist American approach; a moderately

interventionist Anglo-German approach; and a non-interventionist French approach. In the United States, candidates try to use journalists as direct carriers for their political messages without reasonable Q&A opportunities. In response, journalists try to regain control through compression of candidate bites and a more skeptical attitude. In France, on the other hand, journalists adopt a more passive, sacerdotal reporting style, allowing candidates to set the tone and agenda of their coverage. In Britain and Germany, reporters also give candidates a platform for their ideas, but then confront these ideas with their own perspective.

**CAPILLARY JOURNALISM.** The shouldering of certain pragmatic functions of governance by local media in areas where the state has failed to provide or maintain basic social services such as adequate supplies of water, power, fuel, housing, and transportation. The term is derived from Michel Foucault's theory of capillary power. In the Argentine border town of Puerto Iguazú, 1,200 kilometers from Buenos Aires, for example, journalists have adjusted their news reporting to emphasize governmental neglect as a social emergency. Ieva Jusionyte quotes Kelly Ferrryra's statement in *La Voz de Cataratas* on 13 December 2012: "I will not tire to repeatedly inform you that here in Iguazú, a natural wonder of the world, we don't have power or water." In addition to using the news report in this manner, Iguazú journalists have also taken on social solidarity and assistance campaigns.

**CAREY, JAMES (1934–2006).** Influential American scholar whose humanist writings inspired a cultural approach to communication studies and journalism history. He spent most of his academic career at the College of Communications at the University of Illinois but in 1992 joined Columbia University as CBS professor of international journalism. His sense of journalism as a cultural formation and the lifeblood of democracy was inspired by **John Dewey**, whose own writings on communication he helped to resuscitate.

In 1974, Carey announced the need for a new approach to journalism history. "The study of journalism history," he said unsparingly in the first sentence of the first article in the new academic journal *Journalism History*, "remains something of an embarrassment." In his view, journalism historians were still churning out institutional studies and hagiographic biographies using the "exhausted" paradigm that Herbert Butterfield called the Whig interpretation of history, which assumed a slow, steady advance toward human freedom and enlightenment. The history of journalism in this context is the story of a long, heroic struggle for freedom of the press. But Carey wanted journalism studies to move beyond this perspective; he thought they

needed to be “ventilated by fresh perspectives and new interpretations even more than by additional data.”

As an escape from the Whig interpretation of journalism history, Carey proposed a form of cultural history that would address the ironic exclusion of “the central historical story we have to tell, namely the history of reporting. We have legal histories of the press, institutional histories, technological histories, even some economic history of the press. But the history of reporting remains not only unwritten but largely unconceived.” For Carey, this history consists of “the history of the idea of a report: its emergence among a certain group of people as a desirable form of rendering reality, its changing fortunes, definitions and redefinitions over time (that is, the creation and disappearance of successive stylistic waves of reporting).” But he also imagined this report’s “eventual disappearance or radical reduction as an aspect of human consciousness.”

When did the idea of a (news) report originate? In an article in *Clio* in 1997, journalism historians Mitchell Stephens and Michael Schudson debated the question. Whereas Stephens argued that “news and reporting are eternal,” Schudson countered that what modern societies would recognize as a news report was “invented” in the 19th century. Reflecting on the Stephens-Schudson debate a decade later, Carey allowed that in a certain sense news is eternal. But he also thought that “something happened in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one of those epistemic discontinuities Michel Foucault made fashionable.” In *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (1989), he wrote that the news report “portrays” the world as it “at root is”—which makes sense if we add his earlier phrase “as an aspect of human consciousness.” The news report is a reflection of a culture’s ontological understanding of the reality that it must navigate. As David Ryfe has observed, “it serves as a model of reality by expressing the structure of public life in another medium. That structure is defined by central assumptions of what public life is and what it is for.” Ryfe traces how the 19th-century news report “expressed a public life in which values of affiliation, participation, and partisanship mattered most of all.”

**CARICATURE.** The exaggerated graphic representation, sometimes to the point of being grotesque or ludicrous, of the most characteristic features of persons or things for the purposes of satire or ridicule. The terms *caricature* and *cartoon* have been used interchangeably and caricaturists are often referred to as cartoonists. However, while cartoons can sometimes be value neutral, caricatures are invariably negative, though their indignation can also vary in accordance with social and historical circumstances.



In **Great Britain**, where visual materials were not subject to government **ensorship**, satirical images were first published during the English Civil War (1642–1651) and were later used to attack the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. But it was only after British painters began going to Italy for inspiration and came in contact the innovative caricature techniques being developed by Italian painters such as Pier Leone Ghezzi that a “Golden Age of British caricature” occurred in the reign of George III. Among those who exploited the new skills of caricaturists like James Gillray was **John Wilkes**, establishing what would continue to be close ties between journalism and caricature. Following the death of Gillray in 1815, British caricature fluctuated in virulence, but slowly became milder and more decorous, culminating in the softened, frolicking style of *Punch* magazine, which debuted in 1841. During the 1820s and 1830s, scurrilous caricatures were used by both working-class agitators and political reformers to push their respective causes. But following the passage of the Reform bill, agitation declined and caricature lost much of its previous intensity and became domesticated.

In 19th-century **France**, where caricature contributed to the downfall of both Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III, the authorities had an intense fear of its capacity to disseminate dangerous political ideas to the poor and illiterate. Adding to its power after 1850 was the competing medium of photography, which enabled caricaturists like Nadar (pseudonym of Gaspard-Félix Tournachon) and his rival Etienne Carjat to make hundreds of inexpensive prints of a single caricature. For much of the century, therefore, caricaturists were subjected to an ongoing cycle of liberation and repression: after helping to bring down one regime, they would be given a measure of freedom; but once they turned their artistic guns on the new government, censorship would be reimposed. Even then, damaging caricatures were able to slip by the censors, who made no effort to censor scathing caricatures of either the institution of censorship or themselves as censors (perhaps they appreciated a little humor in the midst of their thankless job). Ironically, French caricature seems to have gone into decline after censorship was formally abolished in 1881; it is as if caricature needs repression to operate best.

In the **United States**, the use of caricature did not become common in newspapers until after the Civil War and was used initially by editors to attack their competitors more than politicians. Beneath an image of various editors at their editorial washboards using **Horace Greeley**’s “U-Lye-Soap,” the leading cartoon weekly *Punchinello* expressed hope they might switch to something with a milder fragrance. In 1870–1871, however, the full power of caricature to exact political damage was demonstrated by Thomas Nast (1840–1902). A German-born artist, Nast began drawing caricatures for *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* in 1852, joined the

New York *Illustrated News* in 1860, and became a staff artist for *Harper's* magazine in 1862. President Abraham Lincoln called him "our best recruiting sergeant" for his cartoons attacking northern defeatists. His representations of the Draft Riots in New York City in 1863 tried to counter images of uncontrolled class conflict with a soothing vision of middle-class order. In a brilliant series of cartoons in *Harper's* in 1869–1871, he helped to defeat the corrupt "Boss" Tweed and his Ring in New York City. His cartoon "The Tammany Tiger Loose—'What are you going to do about it?'" popularized the tiger, donkey, and elephant as symbols for Tammany Hall and the Democratic and Republican Parties, respectively. When Tweed fled to Spain, he was identified by the authorities from a Nast cartoon and sent back to the United States.

A year after taking over the *New York World* in 1883, **Joseph Pulitzer** began publishing editorial cartoons, including a blistering caricature of the Republican presidential candidate James G. Blaine entitled "Belshazzar's Feast." During the heyday of yellow journalism, the California state legislature passed a law prohibiting caricatures that attacked character, but it was never enforced. During **World War I**, caricature was used by both sides and tended to become increasingly grotesque. The German government was so upset with the cartoons of the Flemish artist Louis Raemaekers (1869–1956) that it placed a bounty on his head. The son of a small newspaper proprietor in the **Netherlands**, Raemakers began cartooning for the weekly magazine *Algemeen Handelsblad* in 1906. Upon the outbreak of war, he went to **Belgium** to determine for himself whether reports of German atrocities were true. Outraged by what he saw, he depicted the Germans as bloated, subhuman aggressors in a series of cartoons for the Dutch newspaper *Telegraaf*. Yielding to German pressure, the Dutch government tried him for endangering its neutrality; when the jury cleared him, the Germans offered 12,000 Guilders (\$3,000) for his capture, dead or alive. In the meantime, the British and American media made extensive use of his cartoons for propaganda purposes.

For much of its history, caricature has functioned primarily as a tool with which the weak and the dispossessed, or their self-styled representatives, have been able to attack their perceived oppressors. More recently, however, the alternative use of caricature by established groups feeling threatened by lower or culturally different elements of society seems to have become more prevalent. This trend is arguably reflected in the **Danish cartoon controversy**, which emerged in the context of growing tensions over Muslim laborers in Denmark, as well as in a *New Yorker* caricature at the outset of the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign depicting Democratic candidate Barack Obama as a terrorist and his wife as a gun-toting hippie.

**CARLILE, RICHARD (1790–1843).** English journalist and reformer. While struggling to make a living in his twenties, Carlile became interested in parliamentary reform and began issuing the suppressed works of Thomas Paine, William Hone, and others in a more accessible pamphlet form. He also founded a radical weekly newspaper called *The Republican* (1819–1826), which not only promoted reform but proved to be very profitable. In October 1819, he was convicted of seditious libel and sentenced to three years in prison for an article criticizing the government for its role in the Peterloo massacre at which he had been present as an invited speaker. While in jail, his wife and sister tried to keep *The Republican* going, but they were also imprisoned for seditious libel. Upon his release in 1825, Carlile began to champion women’s rights, including sexual as well as political emancipation. He also used his paper to begin a campaign against child labor and support agricultural workers suffering from wage cuts. After further imprisonment and fines, however, he was too impoverished to continue publishing.

**CELEBRITY JOURNALISM.** Celebrity has become one of the dominant features of modern life. The recent growth of its study as part of popular culture is reflected in the creation of the new journal *Celebrity Studies* in 2010. In *A Short History of Celebrity* (2010), Fred Inglis traces its British origins back to Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire, and the portraiture of Joshua Reynolds. It was increasingly prevalent in 18th-century obituaries and was used by 19th-century popular publications to enhance their profitability with features on the lives of prize fighters, opera singers, and stage performers. During the 20th century, the incorporation of celebrity within the mass media continued with the rise of newsreels, tabloids, and television formats such as game shows and interview programs. From there, it spread to all news media, forcing newspapers to give their reporters **bylines** and newscasts to use celebrity anchors.

Martin Conboy (2014) suggests that celebrity journalism is less an oxymoron than a paradox or “contradiction which can be revealed on closer inspection to be no contradiction at all but merely a baffling truth.” Or truths: for Conboy, celebrity journalism “can present the world as a more emotionalized, personalized place, very unlike traditional journalistic views of the world; can demonstrate the breakdown of human relationships by the pandering of news media to self-interested muckraking; and can provide acerbic commentary on the phenomenon itself and on journalism’s desire to remain so fascinated by it.”

**CENSORSHIP.** Censorship consists, most generally, of any form of control over access to, or the dissemination of, information or ideas. In this sense, it

includes secrecy or the withholding of information by governments from the public as well as the expurgation of words (written or oral) or visual representations from texts intended for public consumption. In a narrower, more customary sense, however, it refers to prior control over the content of print, audio, or visual materials. As such, censorship is not the only way of controlling content; threats of certain consequences for making public certain kinds of content can also deter the dissemination of texts but is not usually regarded as censorship *per se*. In both senses, censorship has a long history and has existed in all societies. In ancient Rome, the censor occupied an office of high prestige and was expected to have strong individual merit. By the sixth century, the Catholic Church was issuing lists of prohibited (hand-copied) books, a practice that was not discontinued until 1966.

During the 17th century, the European press was widely (but not universally) subject to pre-publication controls. In recent years, however, the severity and effectiveness of early modern censorship has been a matter of considerable debate, especially in the case of Tudor and Stuart England. The traditional view, first developed by Frederick S. Siebert and later espoused by Christopher Hill, was that except for a lapse during the Civil War in the 1640s, the English state exerted an all-pervasive, draconian control over printed materials. However, subsequent scholars such as Sheila Lambert, Don McKenzie, and Cyndia Clegg have argued that this assessment exaggerates the capacity and the desire of the Stationers' Company, the state's main tool for suppressing oppositional publications, to enforce its will on the press. In an attempt to navigate between these extremes, Jason McElligott has recently suggested that a better characterization for early modern England as a whole would be that pre-publication censorship was conceived, not as a Berlin Wall designed to prevent the publication of any offensive materials, but rather as a "Keep off the Grass" sign meant to deter most transgressors. For McElligott, the fact that only 0.4 percent of titles (according to McKenzie's calculations) were ever even mentioned by the Stationers' Company (and a smaller percentage still actually charged and convicted) does not point to ineffectiveness, but rather to a strategy of selective punishment of the most flagrantly dangerous works.

Although pre-publication controls were eliminated in England in 1695, censorship of the press remained operative in continental Europe until the late 19th century. In **France**, numerous newspapers were shut down and thousands of journalists imprisoned before the press law of 1881 liberalized controls over freedom of expression. From the outset, however, evasive measures were used in France and elsewhere to outwit censors. In December 1633, for example, Théophraste Renaudot introduced readers of the official *Gazette de France* to the heretical Copernican view of a sun-centered cosmos

by publishing the Inquisition's condemnation of Galileo and apologizing for organizing a conference at which the doctrine had been discussed. Beginning in the late 17th century, censorship was also evaded through the publication of international newspapers in the **Netherlands**; written in French by correspondents in the major cities of Europe, these gazettes were distributed in France and other European countries where domestic news was censored. In restoration France, where **caricature** was regarded as even more dangerous than words, all images of pears were subject to censorship after the portly Louis-Philippe was sketched as a pear. But by then the symbol had already impressed itself on the public mind and could easily be drawn on Paris walls. Elsewhere, creative journalists used Aesopian language and code phrases to camouflage political criticism. Even in Nazi **Germany**, Arnold Mayer was able to engage in criticism of Hitler's foreign policy by couching it in terms of praise for the limited objectives of Otto von Bismarck.

Insofar as censorship takes the decision about what to include in a story out of the journalist's hands, it undermines the capacity of the journalist to reconstruct and judge events as accurately and fairly as possible. But journalists themselves have often been involved in, or supported, censorship operations, especially in times of war. In the United States, for example, journalist George Creel headed the Committee on Public Information (CPI) during World War I, while the main strategy of the Office of Information under Byron Price in **World War II** was to develop a system of voluntary censorship by journalists themselves. It is not only in times of war, however, that journalists have been complicit in censorship. During the Stalinist regime, the Soviet government censored not only its own journalists but those from other countries stationed in Moscow. By refusing to inform their readers that their stories were heavily censored and accepting Soviet propaganda, journalists like **Walter Duranty** engaged in what Morris Wayne calls a "conspiracy of silence" about events such as famine of 1932–1933. The occasional defection of censors from authoritarian regimes makes clear the extent to which gullible journalists can be deceived. In the mid-1970s, for example, a Polish censor defected to the West with 700 pages of classified censors' documents. The smuggled documents revealed, among other things, how Soviet-controlled Polish censors shifted the blame for the massacre of 8,000 Polish army officers in the Katyn forest in 1940 from the Soviet army to the Nazis.

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.** By the early 1970s, there were rumors and stories in circulation about the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)'s use of journalists. In November 1973, the director of Central Intelligence, William E. Colby, acknowledged in a press briefing that the Agency had at one time had about three dozen journalists on its payroll but said

that the practice was now being discontinued. Despite this announcement, a House committee investigated the matter further. In its final report in April 1976, the Church Committee revealed that from the 1950s to the early 1970s, the CIA had made secret arrangements with individual journalists to supply it with intelligence, disseminate disinformation on its behalf, and even help recruit agents. It had also purchased or subsidized radio stations, newspapers, and various periodicals and placed some of its own agents undercover abroad as journalists. Later that year, George Bush, Colby's successor as director, again said that the Agency would no longer enter into any "paid or contractual" relationships with employees of American news organizations.

The Church Committee concluded that as many as 50 American journalists or news organization employees had worked for the CIA or had a covert relationship with it. But in 1977, Carl Bernstein, who had helped to expose the Watergate scandal, alleged in a *Rolling Stone* article that over 400 journalists had carried out assignments for the CIA. In researching the recent history of the *New York Times* for his book *Without Fear or Favor* (1980), Harrison E. Salisbury accused Cyrus L. Sulzberger, a longtime friend and winner of a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 as the *Times*' renowned lead foreign correspondent, of being a longtime resource of the CIA. Ironically, Salisbury's research brought to light that the fact that he had also been seen as an asset by the CIA. The extent to which American journalists have continued to assist CIA intelligence operations is unclear. As Matthew Jones points out in his account of the Sultzberger-Salisbury affair, "the relationship between the CIA and the American news media has received little scholarly attention." In his study of *New York Times* journalist Tad Szulc, Richard Aldrich suggests that it was at times more nuanced than Bernstein and others allowed in that some members of the press "saw themselves as an informal wing of new accountability processes that provided the intelligence committee with oversight." See also FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

**CHECKBOOK JOURNALISM.** The practice of paying sources for their stories. Newspapers and magazines competing for readers were the first media to consider it expedient to pay for information or pictures. In 1963, *Esquire* paid Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay) \$150 to help the young journalist Tom Wolfe with his story "The Marvelous Mouth." For "The Confessions of Lt. Calley" in 1970, it paid \$20,000 to the man who, with his platoon, had murdered hundreds of unarmed Vietnamese citizens in the village of My Lai. Disturbed by this practice, *Editor & Publisher* editorialized on 15 March 1975 that "if the principle of paying newsworthy people for an interview is permitted to spread it will mean news will belong to the medium with the largest checkbook and the public will suffer."

That checkbook belonged to television, where such payments soon became widespread in television with networks reimbursing political figures for taped memoirs and often purchase amateur videos from individuals witnessing a news event. Apart from raising a variety of ethical issues, checkbook journalism undermines the reportorial voice of journalism by reducing editorial control. For example, the memoirs that former president Gerald Ford sold to NBC for \$1.5 million omitted his controversial pardoning of Richard Nixon.

**CHILE.** In the first volume of *The U.S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere during the Years 1849–'50–'51–'52* (Washington, 1855–1856), expedition leader James Melville Gilliss painted a rather dismal picture at one point of the Chilean newspaper scene. *El Araucano*, the government gazette, was basically restricted to decrees, regulations, and other ministerial matters and neither of the other two political newspapers in Santiago—the pro-government *La Tribuna* and the anti-government *El Progreso*—was “conducted with much spirit.” In a comment reflecting the state of the news report in mid-19th-century Chile, Gilliss observed (p. 194) that “a taste for the reading of current events is not very general.”

For over two and a half centuries after its colonization by conquistadors in the 1540s, Chile remained an isolated frontier society under the thumb of the Spanish Crown, which prohibited the importation of printing presses as in most other Latin American countries. It was not until the outbreak of the war of independence in 1810 that Mateo Arnaldo Havel, a Swedish fugitive involved in the assassination of Gustav III, shipped a press from New York City on the frigate *Gallervais* along with three American master printers. As Pablo Calvi has recently recounted, Havel put the press at the disposal of the Chilean Congress, which created the Printing Office of the Supreme Government in Santiago as a weapon in the struggle against Spain. In February 1812, it began publishing *La Aurora*, the first Chilean newspaper, under the direction of the republican priest Camilo Henríquez. “The voice of reason and truth,” he declared, “will be heard among us after the sad and insufferable silence of three centuries.”

Following the victory of the royalists at the Battle of Rancagua in 1814, *La Aurora* was replaced by their official organ, the *Gaceta ministerial del gobierno de Chile*, and potential competitors were discouraged by various legal provisions. Beginning in the late 1820s, however, controls over the Chilean press were gradually relaxed. The press law of 1828 provided for the free circulation of newspapers, and in 1833, steps were taken to prevent pre-publication censorship. In this more supportive environment, the news report began to emerge. By 1830, over a hundred newspapers had been launched, though most were short-lived and their sense of what constituted news was still in flux. The

most prestigious of these experimental papers was *El Mercurio*, founded in 1827 and circulated daily beginning in 1829.

In April 1844, after further warfare, Spain finally recognized Chile as an independent state. As Calvi relates, a number of liberal intellectuals used the occasion to question the government's continuing ties to Madrid and Rome. One of the main vehicles for their critiques was the new independent monthly *El Crepúsculo*. On 1 June 1844, it included a rather juvenile tirade against the "medieval" remnants of Chile's Catholic-Hispanic colonial culture by the obscure student-poet Francisco Bilbao. Entitled "Sociabilidad Chilena," it should not have attracted much notice and would normally have faded away. But it touched a nerve in the most intractable of the government's conservative officials. They determined that the entire issue of *El Crepúsculo* containing the article should be burned in a public ceremony and their ultra-Catholic prosecutor Máximo Mujica indicted the young Bilbao for blasphemy, immorality, and sedition. Although the latter charge was soon dropped, he was found guilty of the others and paid a fine of 1,200 pesos, albeit with the help of his supporters, in lieu of serving six months in prison. The case infuriated Chilean liberals and made Bilbao a hero in the fight against political **ensorship**. It was, writes Calvi, "one of the most talked about events in the subcontinent at the time" and ultimately contributed to Chile's development as "the flowerbed of the free press" in late 19th-century Latin America.

During the presidency of Manuel Bulnes (1841–1851), who personally believed in freedom of the press, the government began underwriting newspaper subscriptions as a way of promoting cultural, economic, and social development. But newspapers remained primarily factional spokes-media. By the 1860s, each of the main parties had its own paper: *El Independiente* (1864–1891) for the Conservatives and *La República* (1866–1878) for the Liberals. Cobo Gutiérrez, a lawyer, poet, and editor of *La República*, served in the governments of liberals such as Federico Errázuriz. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, members of the liberal intellectual elite continued to move freely between academia, journalism, and politics, enabling them to exert considerable influence over public opinion. After 1900, advances in education and literacy increased the market for newspapers, especially in the provinces where nearly every town developed its own newspaper. Urban dailies such as *Zig-Zag* in Santiago diversified their content to attract even more readers. In an environment of relative freedom, both print and broadcast media flourished and came to represent a broad spectrum of political viewpoints.

In the lead-up to the election of Salvador Allende in 1970, the press turned into a political battlefield—the so-called trench press. Following the election,



the U.S. CIA began plotting a military coup d'état and on 11 September 1973, Allende was overthrown by General Augusto Pinochet and press freedom came to an end. A government office was set up to censor the news and laws were passed severely restricting political commentary. The media were also used as agents of government propaganda. In universities, the teaching of Marxism became taboo, libraries and even dictionaries were censored, and a number of subjects, most notably journalism, were removed from the curriculum.

Many of these repressive measures remained in place after Pinochet stepped down in 1989. It was not until 2001 that President Ricardo Lagos approved new laws allowing journalists to criticize the government and its policies. Even then, as a content analysis of over 20,000 news reports published between 1990 and 2011 has found, there was no noticeable increase in watchdog and civic journalism. In 2010, Freedom House ranked Chile 67th in terms of press freedom, while Reporters Without Borders placed it 39th out of 175 (it was ranked 51st in 2020). Although the legal system now provides journalists with reasonable protection and their safety is not imperiled by organized crime or drug cartels, they are still constrained in what they can cover by quest for profits in a media system that is mostly privately owned and highly concentrated.

**CHINA.** The development of modern Chinese journalism began in 1815 when William Milne and Robert Morrison founded the first missionary periodical. By the end of the century, there were over 80 British and American missionary publications in China, including the popular weekly, *Wanguo gongbao* (Review of the Times or, literally, “A Public Newspaper about Ten Thousand Nations”), begun by Young J. Allen and Timothy Richard in 1868. Though mainly intended to help propagate Christianity, these newspapers and magazines also disseminated Western ideas about modernization.

Beginning in the 1860s, these proselytizing organs were joined by foreign-owned commercial newspapers in treaty ports such as Shanghai and Hong Kong. In 1872, for example, the British merchant Ernest Major founded *Shenbao* in the treaty port of Shanghai. Though managed by a British company, this profitable commercial newspaper was written by Chinese literati and had a circulation of between 8,000 and 10,000. It made use of strange and fantastic stories, a strong personal editorial voice, and a letters-to-the-editor column to attract a wide audience.

The treaty port papers provided the initial model for a Chinese press. By the late Qing period, about one-third of the 200 newspapers in the treaty ports were indigenous commercial publications. At the same time, a reform movement aimed at modernizing Chinese society also established a number of

newspapers in the concessions. After China's humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the reformers increased their efforts and founded a number of newspapers in the hinterland as well. Influenced by the missionary periodical *Wanguo Gongbao*, whose publishers he met and briefly worked for, Liang Qichao founded *Shiwubao* and six other reform papers through which he sought to create a national community.

In 1898, however, the imperial government banned the reform papers, curtailed the inland distribution of treaty port papers, and stepped up publication of its own official papers. It also attacked journalists generally as “the dregs of literary classes” (*siwen balei*). In addition to organizing their own clubs, journalists such as Liang tried to preserve their role as reformers by fashioning a new professional image and promoting a more modern style of journalism. Although previously critical of Western newspapers for their scandal mongering, inaccurate and biased coverage, and excessive verbiage, he now transferred these negative characteristics of the Western press to the foreign-owned papers still operating in China and treated Western papers outside of China as a model to be emulated. His ideal of journalism as a vocation governed by moral virtue and dedicated to social improvement combined the Confucian emphasis on conscience with modern liberalism. For Liang, the journalist should not only educate the public about social issues but serve as its conscience and the ultimate arbiter of truth and justice.

Other journalists responded to the government crackdown by seemingly abandoning politics in favor of mass entertainment. But along with sensational news and gossip, the so-called small papers such as *Youxi Bao*, founded by Li Boyuan in 1897, included cynical political jokes and satire intended to expose the follies of bureaucrats and socialites. Over the next decade, more than a hundred of these cheap populist papers (Liang called them “mosquito papers”) appeared in China's coastal cities. While declaring their devotion to truth, they blurred the distinction between news and opinion and drew upon various literary forms in contrast to their Western tabloid counterparts. Along with the reform papers, they contributed to the emergence of an oppositional public space that some scholars have argued made possible the successful Republican Revolution of 1911.

On 4 May 1919, citizens of Beijing led by local university students protested against the Versailles treaty's confirmation of previous secret agreements giving **Japan** the Shangdong rights of **Germany** in return for naval assistance. The date gave its name to a new movement of nationalism and cultural introspection in China, which was facilitated by a number of new newspapers and periodicals. With names like *The Dawn*, *New Society*, and *Plain People*, the “May Fourth” journals tended to use a simple vernacular style to reach as many people as possible.

After gaining control of China in 1927, the Kuomintang (KMT) used its own newspapers for political propaganda while subjecting opposition papers to various forms of intimidation. Outside of Shanghai's concession zones, most papers needed political patronage to survive and had to submit to regular  **censorship**. Only a few papers managed to maintain a degree of independence. The most important and trusted of these was the *Dagong bao* (Impartial Daily). Purchased by banker Wu Dingchang in 1926, it remained true to its title under Manager Hu Zhengzhi and Editor-in-Chief Zhang Jiluan. It hired reporters on the basis of professional competence, avoiding anyone with a party affiliation, and turned itself into a public forum by opening its pages to readers. Because of its precarious hold on political power, the Chiang K'ai-shek regime needed the backing from an organ of the people. By adopting the persona of a devoted father concerned only with the good of the nation as a large family, Zhang was able to engage in a degree of criticism of the regime, including its nonresistance policy toward Japan. The paper's reporters included Fan Changjiang, whose series on "China's Northwest" in 1935 covered the Chinese communists' activities in advance of the famous Long March.

Other editors survived by linking the concept of professionalism to the development of non-elitist news forms rather than public discourse. In addition to establishing journalism schools, societies, and scholarly publications, newspaper entrepreneurs such as Cheng Shewo began to incorporate elements of popular Western journalism into their content and style. Cheng took **William Randolph Hearst** as his model in creating commercially successful papers in Beijing and Nanjing during the 1920s. In 1935, after a long tour of American institutions, he founded the *Libao* in Shanghai, a small, cheaply priced tabloid aimed at a mass audience. In contrast to the satirical gossip of the mosquito papers in the late Qing, the *Libao* concentrated on short, simply worded news stories on matters of human interest and achieved a circulation of over 200,000. Cheng also established schools of journalism in Shanghai and Taiwan.

With the communist takeover in 1949, Chinese journalism underwent a series of shock-waves. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) attached great importance to the role of the press. Soon after its founding in 1921, it established newspapers in major Chinese cities, principally the *Laodong Zhoukan* (Labor Weekly) in Shanghai and *Gongren Zhoukan* (Worker's Weekly) in Beijing. In 1931, it set up its first news agency—the Red China News Press. After 1949, it turned the entire press into an instrument of the communist revolution, abolishing private ownership of newspapers and subjecting party papers to increasingly centralized control. The result was sometimes

a disastrous loss of purchase on reality; by exaggerating crop production figures, for example, the press contributed to the starvation of millions of peasants.

During the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1978, the disengagement of news from reality became almost complete. Even party papers disappeared and the few that remained were little more than reproductions of the *People's Daily*. It was not until the 1980s that the reforms of Deng Xiaoping allowed a more independent press. Its freedom was curtailed for a time after the student uprising in Tiananmen square in 1989. But during the regime of Jiang Zemin (1993–2003), the process of media marketization facilitated a more critical journalism in liberal news outlets such as the *Southern Metropolitan Daily*, the *Xinkuai Daily*, and the *Beijing News*, which saw it in part as helping to maximize profits. Journalists were able to report on a wider range of issues of concern to the population as opposed to the party. At the same time, the introduction of digital media further enlarged the space available for investigative reporting. But most forms of journalism served the political interests of the state. For example, the “Dear Lawyer Bao” legal advice column in the *Beijing Evening News* only legitimized labor, housing, and other grievances when they did not threaten party policy.

By the time of President Hu Jintao (2003–2013), however, market forces together with the rise of digital platforms began placing a premium on entertainment at the expense of quality journalism. Their deleterious effect was compounded after Xi Jinping (2013–) came to power as the authorities began using both overt and covert means to revive and impose Maoism and limit the space available for probing journalism. Hard-line media policies were implemented to eliminate the fierce debates about public issues under Jiang and Hu and impose ideological unity. Online platforms were required to obtain government permission before disseminating news to the public. Journalists at publications such as the *Southern Weekend*, the *Caijing Magazine*, and the *21st Century Business Report* were arrested on alleged charges of corruption and threatening national security so as to paint these critical news sources as unethical. And as the revenues of commercial newspapers plummeted through the migration of advertising to digital services, financial subsidies were restored for the government's own papers, provided they took the party as their surname.

This combination of political, economic, and technological factors has led to the closure of many commercial newspapers and the departure of numerous journalists in surviving ones to other careers. In the mid-2010s, a number of journalists began working with mainstream media commentators and bloggers to help underprivileged groups by supporting protests, launching NGOs,

and making social media posts. But despite such **activist journalism**, overall there has been a reduction in the capacity of the Chinese news media to fulfill what Harold Lasswell called the surveillance function—collecting the accurate and balanced information that society needs to respond effectively to both threats and opportunities.

**CITIZEN JOURNALISM.** During the 20th century, journalists monopolized the video technology for documenting newsworthy events. But ordinary citizens armed with smartphones are now capable of capturing such events and disseminating them with explanatory remarks on Twitter or Facebook to millions of people within a faster time frame than regular news reporting. Professional journalists often pick up such texts, augmenting their narrative and amplifying their distribution by adding context, verifying facts, and seeking reactions. While it is this higher order activity that we typically associate with journalism, the original witnessing of an event, capturing it by readily available means, and disseminating it for general consumption is historically what was understood as an act of journalism.

“When the people formerly known as the audience” use some of the tools of the press “to inform one another,” writes journalism professor Jay Rosen, “that’s citizen journalism.” Much of this informing is about spectacular or unusual events. In 2004, for example, people used the new online photo-sharing service Flickr to transmit imagery of the tsunami in Southeast Asia through the internet and social media networks. They did so, as Stuart Allan reminds us, “in the absence of journalists at the scene.” But citizen journalism is now providing needed insight into social conditions as well. A survey of Chilean journalists by Alberto Hurtado University in 2011 found that only 24 percent thought that the media were doing a satisfactory job of providing the public with what it needs to know. At the same time, a study of reporting on poverty in the Bajos de Mena sector of Santiago discovered that much of the best coverage was coming from marginalized citizens armed with cellphones and social media who were collaborating with journalists to market their misery and publicize demand for better living conditions. In some countries, would-be citizen journalists are now able to avail themselves of various resources, courses, workshops, and videos to assist them in such reporting. *See also* ACTIVIST JOURNALISM; CAPILLARY JOURNALISM.

**CLICKBAIT.** Headlines designed to entice people to click on news stories and advertising through exaggerated claims, shocking revelations, and partisan emotional appeals. Many journalists and industry observers are concerned aggregating news under sensational headlines will erode credibility

and alienate readers. While there is still a scarcity of research on clickbait, one experimental study (Molyneux and Coddington, 2020) found while aggregating news does not significantly affect perceptions of credibility and quality, there is evidence that both are lowered by clickbait headlines. However, another recent study (Munger et al., 2020) concluded that reading clickbait headlines does not drive trust in media. For Kevin Munger, the significance of what he calls “clickbait media” is that judgments of quality in news are driven less by the reputations of news firms and more by social or peer recommendations. News providers with the least credibility “target precisely those social media users who are least willing or able to intuit or ascertain the accuracy of their content.”

**CNN EFFECT.** A set of hypotheses arising initially in conjunction with the rise of the cable news network CNN, which was established with limited resources by Robert Edward (Ted) Turner on 1 June 1980 as the first 24-hour television news network. After a rough start, CNN surprised its critics and forced the major American networks to increase their live event coverage and provide more frequent news updates. During the 1980s, it gradually expanded its coverage to other parts of the world. But it was not until the 1991 Gulf War that it acquired a truly global reach and inspired the creation of similar networks by other broadcasting organizations such as BBC World Television, NBC, Sky, and Fox News.

Turner’s hope was that the live reporting of events around the world would contribute to international understanding. But CNN’s emergence as a global network gave rise to what was called “the CNN effect.” It became the subject of numerous conferences as well as articles and books by policy makers, journalists, and scholars, even though there was no agreement as to what it meant and no hard evidence that it actually existed. In the context of the Gulf conflict, it referred initially to adverse psychological effects of CNN’s coverage, such as “news addiction.” But it was soon being associated with “policy forcing” or pressuring politicians to make statements based on unverified information. Thereafter, it was used in conjunction with journalists arousing public opinion, pushing for particular policies, or bringing about humanitarian interventions that would not otherwise have occurred. In the midst of these proliferating uses, an academic study (Gilboa, 2005) concluded that “no sufficient evidence has yet been presented to validate the CNN effect hypothesis, that its effects have been highly exaggerated, and that the focus on this concept has deflected and diverted attention from significant effects global television does have on other issues of international relations and mass communication.”

**COBBETT, WILLIAM (c. 1763–1835).** British journalist and social reformer. In 1792, he fled to **France** and then to the **United States** to escape a lawsuit resulting from his attempt, based on his own experience, to expose army fraud. After opening a bookstore in Philadelphia, he published *Porcupine's Gazette* (1797–1799), praising the British monarchy and attacking French Jacobinism. He also wrote several vituperative pamphlets on the Federalists' behalf. He returned to **Great Britain** after a judge found him guilty of libel for claiming that Dr. Benjamin Rush had killed former president George Washington through poor medical care. As the threat of French Jacobinism declined, Cobbett became increasingly concerned about social injustice and the plight of working poor.

In his *Political Register*, which he began in 1802, he developed a style of writing suited to the needs of the newly literate laboring class. His sentences, while varying in structure, had what one student of his style calls “a feeling of simplicity.” For example, the *Register* for 2 November 1816 contained the following paragraph:

- 1) As to the cause of our present miseries, it is the enormous amount of the taxes, which the Government compels us to pay for the support of its army, its placemen, its pensioners, &c., and for the payment of the interest of its debt.
- 2) That this is the real cause has been a thousand times proved; and, it is now so acknowledged by the creatures of the Government themselves.
- 3) *Two hundred and five* of the Correspondents of the Board of Agriculture ascribe the ruin of the country to taxation.
- 4) Numerous writers, formerly the friends of the Pitt System, now declare, that taxation has been the cause of our distress.
- 5) Indeed, when we compare our present state to the state of the country previous to the wars against France, we must see that our present misery is owing to no other cause.
- 6) The taxes then annually raised mounted to about 15 millions; they amount last year to 70 millions.
- 7) The nation was then happy; it is now miserable.

The issue in question sold 44,000 copies and a cheap reprint of one of its essays sold 200,000 copies. In addition to a cheaper counterpart of the *Political Register* called *Two-Penny Trash*, Cobbett wrote *Rural Rides* (1830), a collection of essays about the negative impact of the Industrial Revolution on rural life.

**CODES OF ETHICS.** Codes of journalistic ethics are usually associated with the rise of professionalism in the early 20th century. But the first

statement of principles in news reporting was made over three centuries earlier by Benjamin Harris in the single issue of *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick*, which he published in Boston on 25 September 1690 before being shut down four days later by the royal governor for not having a license. Its suppression was so complete that the only surviving copy is one discovered in the Public Records Office in London in the mid-1840s. But with it, we have a statement of several of the principles set forth in modern codes of journalism ethics.

Harris wanted his newspaper to provide “an Account of . . . considerable things” so that people “may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs.” But more specifically, he wanted it to do something “towards the Curing, or at least the Charming, of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails amongst us.” There are, he said, “many *False Reports*, maliciously made, and spread among us.” The publisher should, therefore, “take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation of all such things” and only print what he has “reason to believe is true, repairing to the best fountains for [his] Information.” He promised that “when there appears any *material mistake* in any thing that is collected, it shall be *corrected* in the *next*” and invited readers to identify persons spreading false reports.

Modern codes of ethics have continued to emphasize truth and accuracy. But they have broadened the scope of ethical considerations by also including fairness and balance. Although the Missouri Press Association drafted a list of rules of conduct for its members in 1876, the first code of ethics for American journalists generally was that adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1923. In the same vein as Harris, it declared that “good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name” and that “by every consideration of good faith a newspaper is constrained to be truthful.” But unlike Harris, it added that “news reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.” In forwarding two reports to his readers, one that Indian allies of the British were mistreating prisoners, the other that the king of France was sleeping with his daughter-in-law, Harris had refrained from commenting on them. But by ASNE standards, his decision to include them was likely biased.

ASNE’s *Canons of Ethics* was entirely voluntary. Even if bias could somehow be reliably detected, there was no mechanism by which to eliminate it. Codes of ethics have thus exerted little practical influence over journalistic practices. Following criticism of the media during the course of the Warner, Kerner, and Eisenhower Commissions between 1963 and 1970, a number of individual news organizations drafted their own codes of ethics with the intention of actual implementation. After he became managing editor of the *New York Times* in 1969, A. M. Rosenthal wrote a memorandum stating the *Times*’ basic ethical principles. In the early 1970s, the Associated Press



Managing Editors Association adopted a “Code of Ethics for Newspapers and Their Staffs,” describing a “good newspaper” as one that is “fair, accurate, honest, responsible, independent and decent. Truth is its guiding principle.” ASNE also made a new statement of principles in 1975. However, newspapers and press associations later became worried that these codes would facilitate suits for libel and stopped publicizing their existence.

During the 1960s, practitioners of the **New Journalism II** challenged the ideology of objectivity that had come to govern the profession, arguing that it does not by itself enable journalists to arrive at the complex truth of events. Similar challenges came from scientists, historians, anthropologists, and some mainstream reporters in the wake of McCarthyism, the Vietnam War, and **Watergate**. By 1996, objectivity was so weakened as a guiding principle that the Society of Professional Journalists dropped it from its code of ethics.

**COFFEEHOUSES.** A social institution of particular importance in late 17th- and 18th-century London where it had a symbiotic relationship with journalism as practiced at that time. The first coffeehouse—Pasqua Rosee’s—opened in 1652 in St. Michael’s Alley in Cornhill Ward. Although Charles II attempted to suppress them in 1675 as “places where the disaffected met,” there were 3,000 coffeehouses in London by 1700, each with its core group of regulars. For intellectual stimulation, they provided a variety of printed materials. In the 1690s, for example, Sir Thomas Browne’s *Pseudoxia Epi-demica*, which considered questions such as whether Adam and Eve should be depicted with navels or whether bees hum with their mouths or wings, was disseminated and discussed in London coffeehouses. But newspapers and journals of opinion were the main staples of conversation. In *A Journal through England* (1714), the spy-turned-travel writer John Macky observed how “in all the Coffee-houses you have not only the *Foreign* Prints, but several *English* ones with the *Foreign* Occurrences, besides Papers of Morality and Party-Disputes.”

The significance of coffeehouses in contemporary scholarship arose from the argument of Jürgen Habermas that they, along with French salons and German table-societies, facilitated the rise of a bourgeois public sphere. As places of genteel and enlightened sociability, they supposedly enabled concerned citizens to engage freely in rational critical debate, first in literature and later on matters of public interest. This interpretation of coffeehouses as part of the initial infrastructure of the public sphere was based on uncritical acceptance of accounts of coffeehouse culture by 19th-century Whig historians such as Thomas Babington Macauley and George Macauley Trevelyan. It has since been challenged for ignoring not only the exclusively male clientele of coffeehouses—women were sometimes present, but only as owners—but

the diverse constituencies and cliques that frequented them. In *The Spectator*, **Richard Steele** wrote, “Men differ rather in the Time of Day in which they make a Figure, than in any real Greatness above one another.” But he also thought that not all customers were calm and well-mannered in their debates or men whose “entertainments are derived rather from Reason than Imagination.” Recent research confirms the existence of many manners of conversing in coffeehouses and the presence at times of raucous and ribald behavior.

**COLOMBIA.** The first newspaper in New Granada (which encompassed not only present-day Colombia but Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela and parts of Guyana, Brazil and Peru) was the *Avisio del Terremoto* (Earthquake Report) in 1785. It was printed by Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, but probably prepared by Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez, Bogata’s royal librarian. Born in Cuba, he later founded other newspapers and is regarded as the patriarch of Colombian journalism. In the first number, he reported:

This day [12 July 1785] saw this Capital in the greatest consternation, resulting from the frightful Earthquake, which was experienced at seven and three quarters [7:45] in the morning, perceiving the terrible movement from South to North in the first tremors, causing the movement of vertical vibration so strong, which seemed to damage or destroy the Buildings: and although the crisis in which we saw ourselves did not allow us to clearly judge its duration, the idea of two minutes was estimated, the shaking having been greater at the conclusion than at the beginning; after the first continuous movement, another smaller one was felt at half past ten, which almost did not make a new impression on the people because they were still overwhelmed from the first . . . (*translation from original Spanish*)

Two subsequent issues reported various aftereffects and the death of a bishop 200 miles away, at which point the newspaper ended. The same year saw the publication of the *Gaceta de Santafé de Bogatá*, but it too ended after three numbers.

The first major newspaper was the *Papel Periódico de la Ciudad de Santafé de Bogatá*, which issued 170 numbers between 1791 and 1797. Other newspapers during the colonial period were the *Correo Curioso, Eru-dito, Económico y Mercantil de la Ciudad de Bogatá* (1801), *El Radactor Americano* (1806–1809), and *El Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (1808–1811), which was edited by Francisco José de Caldas, a forerunner in the fight for independence who was executed in 1816 during the Spanish American Reconquista.

In 1811, Antonio Nariño initiated political journalism in Colombia with the founding of the weekly *La Bagatela*, which reprinted Jeremy Bentham’s

essay on press freedom at one point in its fight for national independence. He was imprisoned by royalist forces before the final push for independence by Simón Bolívar and its achievement in 1819. Lionized as a hero of Colombia's birth, the country's presidential palace—Casa de Nariño—was built at his birthplace in Bogota.

By the middle of the 19th century, there were some 200 newspapers in the new republic, but most led a precarious existence. For greater stability, some became the mouthpieces of political parties. In 1887, for example, *El Espectador* was founded as the voice of the Liberal party. But although the Constitution of 1886 guaranteed freedom of the press in principle, it did so only in peacetime and empowered the president to hold the press responsible for any coverage undermining social order and impose censorship as deemed necessary. These provisions enabled a series of presidents to restrict, if not entirely muzzle, the press—especially Rafael Nuñez in the 1880s and Alfonso López Pumarejo, Mariano Ospina Pérez, Laucano Gómez, and especially Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Among the journalists targeted by the military dictatorship of Pinilla in the mid-1950s was the young political activist and writer Gabriel García Márquez (1928–2014), who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982. After the government notified the publisher of *El Espectador* that it did not approve of his writings, he was sent off to Europe as a correspondent.

In 1978, the administration of President Julio César Turbay Ayala lifted many of the long-standing restrictions on the media, including the requirement that the text of television newscasts be submitted for government approval 30 minutes before airtime. In 1979, his administration also ended the self-censorship imposed on radio stations by the threat of cancelling their licenses. But this liberalization did not prevent the government from imposing a news blackout during the seizure of the embassy of the Dominican Republic in 1980. And in 1982, at the moment of his Nobel triumph, García Márquez was forced to flee to Mexico during a crackdown on political dissidents. He went on to establish the Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism (NIAJ), a Cartagena-based professional development center for journalists. In established awards and fellowships in his name and began an international free-speech alliance called the Antonio Nariño Project, hearkening back to the roots of Colombian journalism.

At the same time, the NIAJ was becoming the leading institution for the advancement of journalism in Latin America and the Caribbean, a new form of unofficial but more sinister censorship was taking hold in Colombia in the form of violence against those investigating Colombia's drug trade. In 1986, Guillermo Cano, editor of *El Espectador*, was murdered in cold blood by the Medellín cocaine cartel as he left the paper's headquarters. And according

to Reporters Without Border, 153 other Colombian journalists were killed between 1977 and 2017.

In 2000, the government responded to outrage against this situation by establishing a program to protect journalists. It encouraged journalists at risk to apply for protective support, ranging from bodyguards to the use of armored vehicles for transportation. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights later expressed satisfaction with support provided by the government for the program and reported a reduction in the murder of journalists following its creation. And in 2013, an Organization of American States report called the program a model for other countries. But in 2017, the Fundación para la Libertad de Prensa (FLIP), Colombia's main press freedom advocacy group, reported that even as the state was reducing the threat from illegal groups like the FARC and AUC, it was engaging in more intimidation of the press itself. The following year, Reporters Without Borders ranked Colombia 130th out of 180 countries on its World Press Freedom Index, which remains its current (2020) position.

**COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM.** The second-oldest free-standing school of journalism in the United States. In 1903, **Joseph Pulitzer** instructed his personal secretary, George W. Hosmer, to dangle the possibility of a large donation for a school of journalism before the eyes of both Columbia and Harvard University, despite Columbia's having rejected a proposal to add journalism to its offerings a decade earlier. Each institution was asked to comment on a pamphlet entitled "The Making of a Journalist," written by Hosmer at Pulitzer's request. Columbia's quicker response enabled it to secure a huge \$2 million endowment. The school opened its doors in 1912 by awarding a Bachelor of Letters degree, but reconstituted itself in 1934 as the first *graduate* school of journalism in America. In 2005, Columbia joined with several other universities to study how to prepare journalists for the future, declaring that the role of professional schools is to serve as the "intellectual wing" and "consciences" of their professions.

**COLUMNISTS.** With the decline in influence of the heavy, serious editorial, the column has become one of the prominent features of contemporary journalism. Who was the first modern columnist in the sense of providing personal commentary on a regular basis? From 1836 to 1839, Delphine de Girardin, writing as the vicomte de Launay, produced a series of contemporary sketches for her husband's newspaper *La Presse* that have been called a column. But a better candidate is the long-forgotten Irish writer Fitz-James O'Brien, who, after squandering his patrimony in London by the age of 24, arrived in New York City in the early 1850s and became an overnight literary

sensation. Before disappearing from sight by the end of the decade, O'Brien produced dozens of short stories, eight plays, and a piece of satirical prose or poetry for every issue of *Harper's* magazine for some six years. He also contributed a column for eight months to the newly established *Harper's Weekly* called "The Man About Town." According to biographer Francis Wolle, this makes O'Brien "America's first columnist in the modern sense."

Whatever the merits of this claim, it is clear that columnists were becoming a fixture in journalism by the pre-Civil War decade. Their numbers included Karl Marx, whom the *New York Tribune* paid £2 apiece for a regular twice-weekly column on European affairs, though almost half of the 500 or so columns submitted were actually ghostwritten by Friedrich Engels.

At a time when women were still largely excluded from the ranks of reporters, writing a column opened a door to mainstream journalism for women with sufficient talent and ideas to hold an audience. Among the publications preparing them for this transition was *Godey's Lady's Book*, which, though ostensibly a fashion magazine, had expanded its content to include articles on education and financial independence and later served as a model for both *The Ladies Home Journal* and the first women's pages.

One of the first women to make the leap was Sara Willis Parton, who began writing a long-running column for the weekly *New York Ledger* in 1851 using the alliterative pen name "Fanny Fern," a practice that was imitated by later women columnists such as Sally Joy White ("Penelope Penfeather"). Parton used her caustic wit to promote women's issues through the reform of social values generally; it has been suggested that her "performative incivilities" are similar in their defiance to modern rap music. She also wrote a best-selling novel, *Ruth Hall* (1855), about the life of a famous columnist. In the 1860s, she was joined in the ranks of women columnists by Mary Clemmer Ames, a nationally recognized Washington correspondent for the *New York Independent* and *Brooklyn Daily*. From 1866 to 1884, Ames wrote a public affairs column entitled "A Woman's Letter from Washington" in which she tried to elevate the standards of public life. Along the way she wrote *Ten Years in Washington: Life and Scenes in the National Capital, as a Woman Sees Them* (1874).

The combination of public affairs commentary with humor is usually associated with 20th-century political satirists like Will Rogers, who used homespun philosophy to poke fun at current affairs. But this type of column also has 19th-century origins. Although James M. Bailey is sometimes credited with writing the first humorous newspaper column for the *Danbury* (Conn.) *News* beginning in 1873, the main pioneer of the genre was Finley Peter Dunne in the *Chicago Evening Post*. In 1893, he created the fictional character Martin Dooley, a Chicago bartender who ruminated in Irish brogue

about politics and social morality. Mr. Dooley's wit and sarcasm became so popular that Dunne was forced to continue the column despite his decided preference for editorial writing. Between 1893 and 1915, he produced over 500 "Mr. Dooley" pieces, averaging 1,500 to 2,000 words each. "I wish it cud be fixed up," Mr. Dooley commented during Spanish-American war in 1898, "so's th' men that starts th' wars cud do the fightin'. Th' throuble is that all th' preliminaries is arranged be matchmakers an' all they'se left f'r th' fighters is to do the murdherin." Although satirizing a number of other conflicts, Dunne found the horrors of **World War I** too great to continue writing in this mode and abandoned the column in favor of non-humorous journalism.

During the 1920s, the fascination with Hollywood celebrities led to the creation of the gossip column. Initially, its function was simply to promote Hollywood movies through celebrity identification. But columnists like Louella Parsons (1881–1972) soon became a power unto themselves, making or breaking careers through the gossip they dispensed not only publicly but later as informants to the federal authorities in pursuit of communists in the United States. Parsons began writing the first movie gossip column for the *Chicago Record-Herald* in 1914. She lost her job when **William Randolph Hearst** bought the paper in 1918, but she moved to New York City to write a movie column for the *Morning Telegraph*. In 1922, she was hired by Hearst to write for the *New York American*, but left for California three years later after contracting apparently incurable tuberculosis. When the disease went into remission, she became the syndicated Hollywood columnist for the Hearst chain, producing her popular column until 1965. She had the field of Hollywood gossip pretty much to herself until 1937 when Hedda Hopper began a rival column and the two became bitter enemies.

Similar power over the lives of creative artists was exercised by drama critics such as Brooks Atkinson (1894–1984). After a brief stint as a foreign correspondent, Atkinson began reviewing Broadway plays for the *New York Times* in 1925. For the next 35 years, his column did much to determine the success or failure of hundreds of productions. During the same period, the political column became a mainstay in most newspapers, while **advice columns** took on a variety of new forms and offered new opportunities for **women in journalism**.

**COMPASSION FATIGUE.** The term *compassion fatigue* was first used in works on the helping professions such as Christina Maslach's *Burnout: The Cost of Caring* (1982) and was later extended to philanthropic and fund-raising efforts. More recently, it has been applied in a media context, albeit in contradictory ways. In *Compassion Fatigue* (1999), Susan Moeller equated it with the media's failure to provide sustained coverage of disease,

famine, genocide, and other human tragedies and governments' reluctance to alleviate them. But for those researching the determinants of news and its effects, the term refers to public burnout toward social problems as a result of relentless negative coverage by news media. A survey focusing on AIDS, homelessness, violent crime, and child abuse confirmed the existence of media-induced compassion fatigue. But it also found that it was greatest among whites, males, college graduates, and respondents from higher income households. It varied from one issue to another, though not in terms of the level of media consumption or print versus broadcast dependence. *See also SOLUTIONS JOURNALISM.*

**CONSERVATIVE TRADITION IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM.** In “Journalism History and Conservative Erasure,” published in *American Journalism* in 2018, A. J. Bauer criticized American journalism historiography for excluding conservative media and media criticism from its object of analysis. As a result, he argued, it has missed the process by which these media contributed to the modern conservative movement by stimulating the growth of a counter-public through its hostility to the “liberal media” privileged by journalism historians. For Bauer, a full account of modern journalism history in America should include figures like Fulton Lewis Jr., Joseph P. Kamp, and **William F. Buckley Jr.**

Fulton Lewis Jr. was a news commentator for the Mutual radio network for three decades beginning in the 1930s. He regularly criticized the New Deal and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and later supported Senators Joseph McCarthy and Barry Goldwater. He helped to establish the Radio Correspondents Association and reserve galleries for radio reporters covering Congress. He was a regular target in the newsletter *In Fact*, which the progressive media critic **George Seldes** began in 1940. *In Fact* was a left-wing response to a similar publication started by Joseph P. Kamp in 1938 called *Headlines, and What's behind Them*. Its stated mission was “to acquaint the public with the *true facts* behind the many stories in the news these days which have Communist implications.” Bauer argued that Kamp “was the first in a long line of right-wing media critics who held great confidence in the capacities of the public for discernment so long as it was given the proper information and provoked to act on it.” Kamp added the Works Progress Association (WPA) and Federal Writers Project to Lewis's objects of criticism. In the late 1940s, a group called the American Business Consultants consisting of three ex-FBI agents carried on the *Headlines* project in the newsletter *Counterattack*. It provided “a conspiratorial account of the news of day” (Bauer) together with criticism of the coverage of mainstream media.

In June 1950, it published *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, containing the names of 151 figures in the radio and film industries, which it alleged were communist sympathizers. The same year, the Texas oilman H. L. Hunt funded the creation of Facts Forum, which sought to fight political apathy through grassroots discussion groups and its newsletter *Facts Forum News*. It sponsored radio and television programming and conducted its own polls, which found high levels of distrust of the mainstream media. Its TV program *Answers for Americans* gave the young conservative thinker William F. Buckley Jr. his televisual debut.

In the spring of 1955, Buckley teamed with Fulton Lewis Jr. to debate “How accurate is America’s news?” with two liberal commentators on *Answers for Americans*. After saying “there is consistently more distortion in the papers of the left than there is in the papers of the right,” Buckley concluded that Americans needed to become “indignant” about this bias. In November of the same year, he launched the *National Review* as a regular forum on the “delinquencies of the Liberal press.” While Buckley found it necessary to distance himself from attacks on the “liberal media” by the John Birch Society established by Robert Welch in 1958, he continued his own fixation on media bias on the national TV program *Firing Line*, which he began hosting in 1966.

In support of Buckley’s crusade, Reed Irvine and members of a discussion group affiliated with the Council Against Communist Aggression formed Accuracy in Media (AIM) in Washington, D.C., in 1969 to identify and publicize left-wing distortion in the media on a more systematic basis. It personified itself as a consumer advocacy group fighting on behalf of what President Richard Nixon called the “great Silent Majority” earlier that year. In addition to a twice-monthly newsletter, it made use of radio and television to publicize its complaints, which in recent years have included supposedly biased coverage of the United Nations, acceptance of climate change, globalization, and Barack Obama.

Like most “conservative efforts to build a media-critical counter-public” (Bauer), AIM ignores mainstream media attempts to foster a critical public. In 1985, PBS agreed to broadcast an hour-long AIM documentary criticizing its own acclaimed 13-part series *Viet Nam: A Television Documentary*. An academic investigation of 36 AIM reports published between January 2007 and July 2008 concluded that “AIM routinely exhibits indifference or hostility toward ‘fairness, balance and accuracy’ although these are traits that it celebrates in its name, its logo, and webpage watermark.” In terms of Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky’s concept of flak (campaigns to mobilize various forms of harassment) in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy*



of the *Mass Media* (1988), its discourse was found to be an example of *right-wing flak*. For journalism historians, the conundrum is always how to remove one blind spot without creating another one.

**COPY EDITORS.** Copy editors (known in Britain and elsewhere as *subeditors*) exercised considerable control over the wording and appearance of news in most newspapers from the 1920s to the 1970s. In American newsrooms, they often used U-shaped tables or *horseshoes* to facilitate their work. The chief copy editor, occupying the inside of the desk or what was called *the slot*, would hand copies of stories to editors around the outside. With the help of stylebooks, these aptly named *rim editors* would edit the copy and then pass it back to the chief copy editor, who might make further changes before sending it off to the typesetters in the composing room.

In the United States, separate copyediting positions were first created in the 1860s and were referred to as *copyreaders* a decade or so later. During their heyday, copy editors exerted a form of editorial power within the newsroom. They influenced not only the final form of stories but their relative importance in relation to other stories. In *News Is What We Make It* (1943), Kenneth Stewart wrote that “frequently they chose the copydesk because of the satisfaction of being the last one to see a piece of copy before it went into the paper, of doing the final polishing, and of making full use of their stories of information.” But they also suffered more readily from psychological burnout than reporters and felt constrained in terms of advancement. With the arrival of computer-based editing in the late 1970s, newspapers began dismantling their copy desks in favor of pagination and desktop publishing software.

**CORRESPONDENCE-BASED NEWS REPORT.** During the 17th and 18th centuries, private letters or “advices” sent to newspapers often provided the basis for news reports. In most cases, however, the original correspondence is not available so that it is difficult to see how it was reworked editorially. An instructive exception involves a letter sent by Benjamin Batten in Boston to the *London Gazette* in the summer of 1675. It went initially to Sir Thomas Allin, Comptroller of the Navy, and a former colleague of Batten’s late father, who had been secretary of the Navy. Batten was in New England when the Indian uprising known as King Philip’s War broke out in Plymouth Colony. His letter recounting some of its events was passed on by Allin to Sir Joseph Williamson and Henry Coventry, the two secretaries of state who controlled the *Gazette*. It began:

LEat [Lest] yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> might haue a missreport from these parts of our Indian  
Insurrection I make bould to Informe yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> best I am Capiable Vizt  
Boston 2[4]th Iune 75

We had Advise from plimouth patten sum 50 miles distant from vss that king phillip y<sup>e</sup> Indian Sagamore of y<sup>m</sup> p<sup>ts</sup> had raised about 600 men in armes & thsat they were retierd into a place Very difficult to access by reason of a thicke swampe & rocks being a promontory of land Called by y<sup>e</sup> English Mounthope in sight of Road Island sum 40 miles distant from vss of Boston the reason of his takeing vp Armes we knowe not only he haith allwayes bin of subtill mutinos temper, & about 3 yeares since was Iust Ready to Ingaidge w<sup>th</sup> them of plim<sup>o</sup> pattern for thaire Intrenching one his lands & Trespasses as he pretended but quarrel was mediated by this patten he makeing y<sup>m</sup> satisfaction for thaire trouble since w<sup>ch</sup> about 5m<sup>os</sup> since sum of his Indians murdering another Indi<sup>a</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> had bin faithfull & servisable to y<sup>e</sup> English y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> king phillip being also demed axexsary was also tried for his life being subject to thaire law vpon which trial two Indas ware Executed & y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> k phillip Cleared w<sup>ch</sup> probiably thay being his Cheife men haue Inraided him other reasons we knowe not

The *Gazette* published the bulk of Batten's letter on the front page of the issue for 16–19 August 1675, but did not identify him as the author and reworked the above section as follows:

*Boston in New England, July 6*

THE 21 past, we had advice from *Plymouth*, That King *Philip*, the *Indian Sagamore* of those parts, had raised about Six hundred Men in Arms, and that he was retired with them into a place very difficult of access, being a Promontory of Land called by the *English Mounthope*, about Fifty four miles from hence, being Fourteen miles in length, and Fifty in breadth, the point, or farthest part oif the said Land, reaching within a mile or two from *Rhodes* Island, and is near as far from *Plymouth*, as from hence. The reason for his taking up Arms, we know not; only he hath always been of a subtile and mutinous temper, and several months since, some of his *Indians* killed another Indian which had been faithful and serviceable to the *English*; for which two of them were tryed, condemned, and executed: and King *Philip* himself being deemed accessory, was likewise tryed, but acquitted, which probably may have incensed him.

Apart from correcting some of Batten's spelling, the *Gazette* made a number of editorial changes. It ignored his point about the English trespassing on King Philips's lands and focused instead on his anger for supposedly being brought to trial, for which there is actually no evidence. It also introduced a number of factual errors. For example, it said that the peninsula (which is less than four miles across) is 50 miles wide, compared to Batten's figure of five or six miles.

**CRANE, STEPHEN (1871–1900).** Realist novelist and journalist whose writing helped to create a closer relationship between journalism and literature. Crane did intermittent reporting for the *New York Herald* and *New York*

*Tribune* while writing his first book, *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893). For his sketch “An Experiment in Misery” (1894), he dressed as a tramp to experience how the downtrodden live. Although his masterpiece, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), was written without any prior personal experience of war, its immediate success forced him into the field of war reporting. His observations on the Greco-Turkish War were published as *Active Service* (1899) and his stories about the Spanish-American War (1898) were collected in *Wounds in the Rain* (1900). The hardships he endured in gathering this material broke his health, however, and he died before his 30th birthday. His success inspired other aspiring writers to use the newsroom as a springboard to fiction.

**CRIME NEWS.** Crime and trials have long provided the press with exciting news, which can be easily obtained at relatively low cost. Most of the coverage has followed the leads and accepted the judgments of law enforcement agencies, including generally uncritical reporting of alleged waves of crime. In the 18th century, the treatment of crime contributed to **moral panics** and harsher prosecution and sentencing practices.

At the same time, variations of emphasis have existed between countries and different types of newspapers within the same country. In 19th-century Britain, for example, crime reporting was generally characterized by decorum and thoroughness in contrast to the sensationalistic, moralizing style of American crime reporters. Within the British press, however, conservative middle-class newspapers often treated crime as evidence of the disorderliness of the lower classes, while radical working-class newspapers saw it as a product social and economic inequality. In the **United States**, reporters used middle-class frames such the evils of the city and the restrictions on women’s lives to make sense of stories such as the **Helen Jewett murder trial**, the Beecher-Tilton scandal, and the Lizzie Borden axe murders.

The way in which crime is framed by the press has had major social consequences. In ante-bellum America, for example, episodic crime news intersected with gender, race, and class. For example, a study (Stabile, 2005) of the *New York Sun* and *New York Herald* found that crime reporters “never suggested that white men—be they native born or immigrant—constituted a criminally dangerous group of people or a class of criminals, despite the fact that the majority of property crimes, family violence, other forms of assault, and homicides (not to mention 19th-century urban riots) were in fact committed by single white men.” Instead, what began to emerge in crime news several decades before emancipation was a growing sense of fear about “black men . . . that tells us more about the construction of white republican masculinity than it does about the material realities of crime.”

A century later, crime news in Weimar **Germany** performed the opposite function. At the time, criminology was dominated by criminal biology, which held that there is a close correlation between heredity and criminal behavior. Offenders' supposed lack of morality and predisposition to violence was seen as an effect of their physical and mental abnormality rather than as a product of social causes. However, the popularity of this explanation among criminal biologists, which likely contributed to more repressive measures against offenders in the 1920s and 1930s, was directly at odds with the way crime was framed at the time by reporters. A study (Siemens, 2009) of Berlin newspapers found that most reporters framed crime as the result of "the psychological problems of overstrained individuals and inferior living conditions" and considered offenders as "unfortunate 'ordinary men,' or, more generally, as 'victims of society.'" The problem with this approach for liberal journalists, however, was that it made it difficult to simultaneously stand up for Germany's experiment with democracy. It also made them vulnerable to extreme right-wing attacks that their sympathy for offenders was a form of "political impotence and moral limpness."

**CRONKITE, WALTER (1916–2009).** American broadcast journalist who anchored *CBS Evening News* from 1962 to 1981. Born in Saint Joseph, Missouri, he dropped out of college in 1935 after securing work as a reporter and radio announcer. In 1937, he joined UPI and covered Europe and North Africa during **World War II**. At one point, Edward R. Murrow tried to lure him away to CBS News, but he stayed with UPI after they offered him more money. He was on the USS *Texas* during Operation Torch and flew on bombing raids over Germany. After the war, he covered the Nuremberg trials and then went to Moscow as the main UPI reporter.

In 1950, he accepted Murrow's offer to join the fledgling television division of CBS News, anchoring its coverage of the 1952 national conventions and presidential election. He also hosted the CBS docudrama *You Are There* from 1953 to 1957 and then *The 20th Century*, another documentary series about major historical events. His lengthy service as anchor of CBS's nightly news broadcast began on 16 April 1962 when he succeeded Douglas Edwards. Initially called *Walter Cronkite with the News*, it was renamed *CBS Evening News* on 2 September 1963 when it was expanded from 15 to 30 minutes. He was given the title of managing director to signal to both news staff and viewers that he was involved in selecting and editing as well as presenting the stories for the broadcast. His baptism by fire came less than three months later when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on 22 November 1963. Much has been written about his professional but profoundly human reporting of what was personally a shocking event.

For the first few years of Cronkite's tenure as anchor, *CBS Evening News* had fewer viewers than NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* anchored by Chet Huntley and David Brinkley. But in 1966, Cronkite was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine and hailed as "the single most convincing and authoritative figure in TV news." Thereafter, CBS News began to overtake NBC News in the national news ratings. On 27 February 1968, Cronkite ended his "Report from Vietnam" with the editorial comment that "it is increasingly clear to this reporter that the only rational way out . . . will be to negotiate, not as victors but as honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could." The story that President Lyndon Johnson then said "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost Middle America" is plausible but probably apocryphal.

Despite his editorializing about Vietnam and unrestrained boosterism of the American space program, Cronkite was regarded as the epitome of objective journalism. In 1972, pollster Peter Quayle asked voters what public figure they trusted the most. After Cronkite beat out then-president Richard Nixon, CBS began branding him "the most trusted man in America." In 1977, this reputation enabled him to help secure a breakthrough in Israeli-Egyptian relations through interviews by satellite with Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. He remained the most popular news anchor until his retirement in 1981 when he passed the torch to Dan Rather. The journalism school at Arizona State University is named in his honor.

**CUBA.** Although printing was not introduced until 1723, Cuba was one of the earliest Spanish colonies to establish newspapers, beginning with the weekly *Gaceta de la Habana* on 8 November 1782. While it was published for less than a year, the weekly *Papel periódico de la Habana* (later *Aviso*) was founded in 1790. A four-page magazine, it became a biweekly in 1791 and then Cuba's first daily newspaper in 1793. During the early 19th century, press regulations were relaxed temporarily under the influence of the French Revolution. But they were tightened again during Cuba's long fight for liberation from Spain, beginning with the Ten Years' War (1868–1878) and culminating in the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898).

During this period, patriots like the poet and journalist José Martí (1853–1895) were forced to use the underground press. Born in Havana, Martí was first convicted of subversion in 1869 and sentenced to a year of hard labor in **Spain**. In the mid-1870s, he wrote for the *Revista Universal* in Mexico and taught at the University of Guatemala before trying to return to Cuba in 1879. Deported once again, he went to New York City, where he worked as an editor and correspondent for numerous Latin American magazines and

newspapers, including *La Nación* in Buenos Aires and the *New York Sun*. In 1892, he founded *Patria*, which became the leading newspaper of the reform party and a key force in the struggle for independence from Spain.

Following the creation of the Republic of Cuba on 20 May 1902, Cuban journalism experienced a brief golden age. Aided by political sponsorship and a strong economy, a half dozen or more dailies competed freely in Havana. By the mid-1920s, however, they had become increasingly hostile to the dictatorial regime of Gerardo Machado, who attempted to coopt them by introducing press subsidies in 1928 in return for political support. After his overthrow in 1930, a series of authoritarian regimes continued the system of subsidies and began placing sympathetic journalists directly on the government payroll. These policies artificially expanded the number of newspapers. By 1956, there were 33 daily newspapers in Havana alone, more than in London, with only *Prensa Libre* and the *Times of Havana* not accepting subsidies. To be eligible for such **venality**, journalists had to complete a four-year program sponsored by the education ministry and then report under conditions of tight censorship, especially after the U.S.-backed military dictator Fulgencio Batista came to power in a coup in 1952.

Following the victory of the communists led by Fidel Castro in 1959, the newspapers that had supported him were either confiscated or suffocated financially through withdrawal of their subsidies. Takeovers were sometimes set up through the use of *coletillas* (meaning *little tail*), which consisted of unauthorized insertions in newspapers by their own workers criticizing the papers' content. The physical fights that then broke out between management and workers gave the government an excuse to intervene and reconstitute them as government-controlled media in addition to the Communist Party's official news organ *Granma*, founded in 1965 and the clear leader in circulation.

Forced to reduce their number of pages and use inferior newsprint, even the pro-government papers began to wither away. By 1969, the only national daily apart from *Granma* was *Juventud Rebelde* and its main focus and audience was youth culture. During the 1970s and 1980s, the remaining provincial and specialist newspapers suffered from various shortages, including a lack of qualified journalists or ones willing to be controlled by the Ideological Department of the party. In the 1990s and 2000s, a few independent journalists emerged outside of the official press. But they were subjected to various forms of harassment, including threats, smear campaigns, seizure of equipment, and imprisonment.

In 2009, Raúl Castro took over the leadership of Cuba's revolutionary regime from his ailing brother Fidel. Despite drastic restrictions on internet access, bloggers were able to play a role for a number of years alongside

independent journalists in increasing pluralism. But in 2016 a new ideological campaign began to target bloggers as well. In *Cuba, From Fidel to Raúl* (2020), Vegard Bye quotes a leading blogger's claim in early 2018 that "a new parallel culture has established itself in ways that the Government cannot control," adding that young journalists "now find it much more attractive to make a living outside of the official Cuban system." But in a speech to the Union of Cuban Journalists in July of that year, Miguel Díaz-Canel, who had been chosen to succeed Raúl Castro as president, castigated "the false libertarian discourse of market apologists." That same month the government removed the accreditation of blogger Fernando Ravsberg, a former BBC correspondent whose widely read blog *Cartas desde Cuba* was, in Bye's view, "well informed, critical but not regime-hostile." In 2020, Reporters Without Borders ranked Cuba 171 out of 180 on its World Press Freedom Index, citing the closure of websites as yet another way of harassing journalists.

# D

**DANA, CHARLES A. (1819–1917).** American editor who turned the *New York Sun* into the “newspaperman’s newspaper.” After studying at Harvard and teaching at Brook Farm, where he wrote for its organ the *Harbinger*, he became city editor of **Horace Greeley’s** *New York Tribune* in 1847. He left the *Tribune* in 1862 after a dispute with Greeley over prosecution of the Civil War and served briefly as assistant secretary of war, reporting on the war directly from the front.

In 1867, Dana became part owner and editor of the *New York Sun*, increasing its circulation threefold over the next decade or so. He managed to do so not only by using large headlines and adding more **crime news** and human-interest stories but through his own vigorous editorials and by hiring talented reporters like **Albert Brisbane, Richard Harding Davis, and Jacob Riis**. Although he declared that he would “belong to no party and wear the livery of no faction,” he also saw nothing wrong with accepting government patronage. In 1895, he published *The Art of Newspaper Making*.

**DANISH CARTOON CONTROVERSY.** A tragic episode in cultural relations, which points to continuing ambivalence over fundamental journalistic principles. The precipitating event occurred in the summer of 2005 when the Danish author Kåre Bluitgen was unable to find an artist willing to illustrate his manuscript on the Muslim prophet Muhammad. The artists pointed out that the graphic representation of Muhammad is forbidden in Islam, so that creating images of him in the book would offend Muslims. When their refusal to assist him was interpreted by the president of the Danish Writers Union as a threat to free speech, Carsten Juste, editor of the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, invited 40 caricaturists and cartoonists to submit pictures of the Prophet. The paper received 12 drawings in response, several of which included derogatory captions, and the overall tone was not only political but also demeaning. Despite having rejected drawings by the Danish illustrator Christoffer Zieler poking fun at Jesus Christ, *Jyllands-Posten* proceeded to publish the images on 30 September. They were not used, as would normally be the case for **caricatures**, in connection with a specific issue or story being



treated more generally. When Danish Muslims protested to the prime minister, they were told to seek redress in the courts. And when this approach failed to achieve anything, they sought support in several Arab countries. Groups such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference responded by condemning Denmark and organizing a highly damaging boycott of Danish goods. Though insisting that the cartoons were not meant to be offensive and did not violate the law, Juste admitted that they were considered insulting by many Muslims and issued an apology, which the Danish Muslim leaders generally accepted. In February 2006, however, other Scandinavian newspapers decided to show their solidarity with *Jyllands-Posten* by republishing the cartoons. They were soon joined by newspapers in a large number of other countries. It was only after this bandwagon effect began to operate that Muslim populations in over 30 countries engaged in widespread demonstrations and protests, including attacks on the Danish and Norwegian embassies in Damascus and the Danish embassy in Beirut. By the time the violence subsided, over 300 people had been killed and many others had been injured. This violence was then interpreted by many newspapers and magazines as the real threat to freedom of expression.

**DATA JOURNALISM.** The use by journalists of large databases encompassing such things as government expenditures, political donations, and statistics on crime, health, education, and the environment to bolster their news coverage. The stories that result often use tables, graphs, maps, and other data visualizations for additional clarity and authority. Advanced forms of data journalism involve the writing of computer code to help with the extraction and analysis of information. With roots dating back to what was called precision journalism in the 1970s, it is often allied with **investigative journalism**. Its coming of age has been identified as the awarding of a **Pulitzer Prize** in 1989 to *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* for a data-driven project exposing racial injustice in the home-loan industry.

**DAVIS, RICHARD HARDING (1864–1916).** The epitome of the adventurous, swashbuckling war correspondent who made journalism seem the most exciting of careers. His mother was the prominent novelist Rebecca Harding Davis and his father was editor of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. After attending Johns Hopkins University, he became a reporter for the *New York Sun* and later managing editor of *Harper's* magazine. He covered the Greek-Turkish War, the Spanish-American War of 1898 (where he joined in the fighting), the Boer War (where he witnessed the rescue of Ladysmith), the Russo-Japanese War, and **World War I**. His romantic portrait of the life of a reporter in *Gallegher and Other Stories* (1891) led a reviewer in the *Pall*

*Mall Gazette* to declare that “the Americans . . . have discovered a Rudyard Kipling of their own.” His front-page articles about the Spanish-American War glorified its opportunities for chivalry and heroic death. But despite calling for the entry of the **United States** into **World War I**, his experiences in **Belgium** and **France** made him increasingly ambivalent about war and its “civilizing mission.” His articles were syndicated for publication throughout the United States.

**DAY, DOROTHY (1897–1980).** Charismatic social and religious activist who used journalism to help the poor and needy for over half a century. In 1916, she moved with her family to New York City, where her father worked as a sportswriter. She began writing for radical journals such as *The Call*, *The Masses*, and *The Liberator* and became a close friend of writers such as Eugene O’Neill and John Dos Passos. After being ostracized by the radical movement for her conversion to Catholicism in 1927, she proceeded to develop an alternative form of social criticism tied to communitarianism and peace activism. In 1933, she and French philosopher Peter Maurin founded *The Catholic Worker*, a monthly newspaper, which achieved a circulation of almost 200,000.

The *Catholic Worker* served as the midwife for the Catholic Worker Movement, which developed a network of hospitality houses to feed the hungry and help the indigent in the midst of the Great Depression. Her own “house” consisted of one small room in St. Joseph’s House in Manhattan’s Lower East Side, where every day the poor were given a free hot lunch. Day recounted her experiences in the Catholic Worker movement in her autobiography *The Long Loneliness* (1952).

**DEFOE, DANIEL (1660–1731).** English merchant, political spy, and prolific writer who arguably invented both the modern novel and modern journalism. The son of a Protestant Nonconformist, he was barred from attending Oxford or Cambridge, but received an excellent education at the Dissenting Academy of Charles Morton. A brilliant teacher and future vice president of Harvard College, Morton helped Defoe develop the plain and energetic style that became the earmark of his journalism. Fearing confiscation of their Bibles, the Dissenters copied them out using shorthand, a skill that also served Defoe’s journalism.

After going bankrupt in 1692, Defoe spent the next decade writing political pamphlets for a living. In May 1703, his satirical attack on the High Church’s treatment of Dissenters led to his arrest for seditious libel and a humiliating stand in the pillory, though people threw flowers instead of rocks. Robert Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, brokered his release from

Newgate Prison and the government may have paid his fine. Later that year, Harley became secretary of state and hired Defoe as a government spy.

In August 1702, Harley had written to Sydney Godolphin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposing that William Paterson might become a “counter-propagandist” or “discreet writer of the government’s side,” but nothing had come of it. On 19 February 1704, Defoe issued the first number of his *Weekly Review of the Affairs of FRANCE*, possibly with a view to ingratiating himself further to Harley, whose philosophy of moderation he admired, and becoming the government’s “discreet writer.”

On 12 May, he wrote to Harley thanking him for “Admitting a Man Lately Made Despicable to So Near and Advantageous a Conversation” and proposing that “the Time may Come, that you May find this Neglected fellow Serviceable, or at least make him so.”

Harley does not seem to have responded, for two weeks later Defoe wrote: “Impatiently Wait to Receiv your Ordrs.”

Harley’s reticence was likely tied to the fact that Defoe’s concern to warn the government against underestimating the power of France had been made so strenuously that Godolphin had complained to Harley that “this magnifying of France is a thing so odious . . . that I can’t think any jury would acquit this man if discovered.” However, after Defoe explained his purposes further, Godolphin wrote to Harley on 31 July: “I return You the blank warrant signed by the Queen for D---’s pardon. Her Majesty commands me to tell you she approves entirely what you have promised him, and will make it good.”

Although the *Review* generally served Harley’s interests, Defoe was too opinionated and strong-willed to be a hack writer or puppet touting the government line. His goal was to promote the government’s philosophy of moderation by offering his best take on what policies were necessary to fulfill that philosophy. While this approach angered the extremists of both sides, it often provided the government with a new perspective on the possible consequences of its social and economic policies.

Defoe, who secretly spied on his fellow citizens, was accused of being a turncoat for changing his political colors with each ministerial shift. But as J. A. Downie has pointed out, “The intense conflict between Whig and Tory so prevalent throughout the reign of Queen Anne made no allowances for a paper standing outside the traditional party groupings, so the *Review* was treated as an opponent by both sides.” When Defoe first started writing for Robert Harley and the Tories, Harley still wanted to transcend party lines and had not yet given up on the ideal of nonparty government. Like Harley, Defoe hoped to unite the moderates of all political creeds behind the queen and her government, but this policy of moderation “angered the extremists of both sides.”

Defoe had no intention of eliminating opinion from journalism and did not always exercise the moderation he professed. He clearly wanted to reshape the social and economic world of his day. To this end, he pioneered investigative reporting, foreign news analysis, the gossip column, the obituary, and a form of editorial. But his opinion pieces were less a reflection of narrow party interests than an attempt to persuade both Whigs and Tories to serve the nation better. In “An Essay on the Regulation of the Press” (1704), for example, he began by setting out various public interest arguments against “laying a Tax on Printed News” and for introducing copyright legislation to prevent the “press-piracy” of books:

To put a general stop to publick Printing, would be a check to Learning, a Prohibition of Knowledge, and make Instruction Contraband: And as Printing has been own'd to be the most; useful Invention ever found out, in order to polish the Learned World, make men Polite, and encrease the Knowledge of Letters, and thereby all useful Arts and Sciences; so the high Perfection of Human Knowledge must be at a stand, Improvements stop, and the Knowledge of Letters decay in the Kingdom, if a general Interruption should be put to the Press.

Similarly, in his chapter “Of Bankrupts” in *An Essay upon Projects* (1697), he criticized the punishment of honest debtors (such as himself) because it reduced the incentive for disclosure of assets by those facing bankruptcy. In this case, the argument for discharge was based on its perceived benefits for trade, but a healthy trading environment was assumed to be in the national public interest.

The postulation of a public with a common interest entails that there can be no group in society with special privileges. A commitment to treating all people equally assumes, therefore, that there is a general public interest. This linkage is clearly operative in Defoe’s Scandalous Club, a fictional reform society, which began as an adjunct to the *Review* in the first issue on 14 February 1704 and continued for 18 months thereafter. It was inspired, not by John Dunton’s Athenian Society **advice column** (despite Dunton’s complaint that it was), but by the Society for the Reformation of Manners.

The latter society arose as part of a reform of manners movement aimed at curbing the public display of lesser vices such as drunkenness, whoring, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and gaming, which, though illegal, were condoned by those charged with prosecuting them. Defoe supported the Society but thought that its methods were ineffectual and, in trying to get the justices and clergy to do their job, misdirected. As William Bauer has argued, Defoe’s Club was “designed to perform judicial functions and only incidentally came to dispense advice to the perplexed or knowledge to the curious.”

The “judicial functions” in question were examples of “scandalous behavior” provided by letter-writers as informers, which needed exposure and censure. This purpose was announced by Defoe in the first issue of the *Review*: “After our Serious Matters are over, we shall at the end of every Paper, present with a little Diversion, as anything occurs to make the World Merry; and whether Friend or Foe, one Party or another, if anything happens so scandalous, as to require an open reproof, the World may meet with it there.” While identifying lying and blasphemous news writers as among those needing reproof, Defoe was mainly concerned about justices and clergy who applied a double standard in punishing vice.

In an earlier pamphlet “The Poor Man’s Plea” (1698), he has the poor man say “we of the *Plebii* find our selves justly aggrieved in all this work of Reformation.” In wanting the higher born members of society to receive the same treatment as those of lowly origins, he was in effect postulating a public with interests that are thwarted by preferential treatment. Through his “Advice from the Scandal Club” column, Defoe began his own journalistic campaign against privileged misconduct at odds with the public interest.

**DENMARK.** During the 1480s, printing made its way from **Germany** to Denmark, which included **Norway** and its dependencies until their independence in 1814. For the next century and a half, the main vehicle for disseminating printed news was the news pamphlet or newsbook. Each pamphlet was restricted to a particular category of news, was published in either Danish or German, and was subject to religious and later political censorship. The first royal privilege to issue a newspaper, understood as containing reports on diverse subjects, was granted in 1634, the same year that weekly mail service was established between Hamburg and Copenhagen. This first newspaper cribbed news from two German papers, did not have a regular title, and did not distinguish its issues by number. In 1657, three years after the death of its printer, both the Royal and the University printer in Copenhagen were given privileges and began publishing “Weekly News from Hamburg” in German.

After Denmark became an absolute monarchy in 1660, the **censorship** of political news was transferred from university to government officials. Printers were required to submit their copy (consisting mainly of news extracted from foreign papers) to the censor before publication and compelled to accept all revisions or deletions. In 1672, a further privilege was awarded to Daniel Paulli, who began publishing a biweekly paper in German together with a monthly in Danish; the former included a more extensive selection of news, while the latter published royal ordinances along with a summary of the biweekly paper. In 1720, a weekly newspaper in French emphasizing literary, scientific, and cultural news was added to this mix. It was followed

by a number of newspapers influenced by Addisonian journalism. But these eventually gave way to more broadly based dailies such as the *Berlingske Tidende* (1749) in Copenhagen and the *Fyens Stiftstidende* (1774) in Odense.

Pre-publication censorship was temporarily suspended in 1770. But it was not until 1849, when Denmark became a constitutional monarchy, that it was made illegal. Following the establishment of a bicameral legislature, four main political parties emerged in Denmark, each with its own substantial national network of newspapers. The most cosmopolitan of these was *Politiken*, founded by Viggo Horup in 1885. Regarded by some as Denmark's greatest journalist, Horup had turned to journalism after being defeated for office and later became a minister in the first Liberal government. He adopted several features of the **New Journalism I**, such as smaller pages, bold headlines, and extensive illustrations, while also pursuing constitutional change.

After further reforms in 1901, papers such as *Politiken* began to deemphasize politics in favor of news. While the main political parties continued to look to newspaper ownership for a competitive edge, they found the results increasingly disappointing. In 1918, for example, a group of businessmen tried to revive the flagging Conservative People's Party by purchasing *Kobenhavn* (established as an independent daily in 1889) on its behalf. Four years later, however, they sold it to the Left Party, which discontinued it in 1931 after becoming similarly disenchanted with its capacity to deliver political dividends.

During the Nazi occupation from 1940–1945, an underground press emerged in conjunction with the Danish Resistance. Two of the illegal papers were edited by K. B. Anderson, who had organized a national anti-Nazi youth group in the 1930s and later became foreign minister. The creation of a unicameral parliament in 1953 led to the dissolution of the four-party system and a “quiet revolution” in the structure of the Danish press. Newspaper content also underwent substantial changes in response to competition from radio and television. Instead of resorting to sensationalism, however, the leading dailies stabilize their readerships by providing in-depth news coverage for the country's better educated citizens.

A study (Benson, 2012) of the move from print to online news that included Denmark showed that there are significant cross-national differences in how the transition has been occurring. In the United States, the amount of news has dropped considerably while advertising and opinion have both increased. In Denmark, on the other hand, the amount of news was holding steady from print to online, but the percentage of opinion and advertising fell considerably, though the online advertising had greater prominence (“first screen capture” as the online equivalent of above the fold).

**DEWEY, JOHN (1859–1952).** American philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer with a long-standing interest in the question of how to improve the quality of news. As a young lecturer in philosophy at the University of Michigan, he met the shadowy visionary Franklin Ford, later telling William James that it had been a “wonderful personal experience.” In 1887, Ford had quit his job as editor of Bradstreet’s *Journal of Trade, Finance and Economy*, the leading business journal of its day, and headed west in the hope of interesting academics in a new kind of newspaper. Along with his student **Robert E. Park**, Dewey saw merit in his plan for a “Journal of Enquiry and Record of Fact.” Ford envisaged journalists and intellectuals working together to produce accurate, insightful accounts of social trends relevant to the “general interest.” This information would then be sold to newspapers across the country as well as published in their own paper. By this means, as Ford’s *Draft of Action* (1892) proposed, “truth and commerce” would be “at one.” “The road to social union,” Ford wrote, “lies through the organization, and socializing, of intelligence.”

Dewey wrote James that Ford had contributed to the idealism of his *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics* (1891) with his “conception of some organism comprehending both man’s thought and the external world.” But he parted ways with Ford after the press ridiculed their proposal to establish a newspaper called “Thought News.” The *Detroit Tribune* sent a reporter to Ann Arbor to interview Dewey, who scaled things down by saying that “instead of trying to change the newspaper business, the idea is to transform philosophy somewhat by introducing a little newspaper business into it.” The reporter quipped nonetheless that “Mr. Dewey proposes to get out an ‘extra’ every time he has a new thought.”

“Thought News” was never published. But in *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), his major work on politics, Dewey proposed a “new science” for democratic communities that, not unlike the original thought-news project, would have as its special province the abstract, uniform, patterned regularities governing the social and political world. He still thought that if the knowledge discovered by this form of social enquiry was then disseminated by the mass media, each citizen would be able, as Timothy Kaufman-Osborn (1984) put it, to apprehend “the same world in the same way” and come to recognize the ties that bind all citizens together. Although Kaufman-Osborn interprets Dewey’s new science in essentially positivistic terms, Debra Morris (1999) has provided a “post-positivist” account of Dewey’s ideal conception of news that fits better with his evolution from Hegelianism to pragmatism.

**DIGITAL NATIVES.** Term usually referring to the generation (also known as Generation Y and Millennials) born during or after the introduction of digital technologies in the 1980s. Digital natives have an expressed preference for social over traditional media in their professional as well as private lives. Studies have found that the introduction of social media has led to a leveling of power in institutions such as universities. But in journalism studies, the term is used with reference to news enterprises such as the **Drudge Report**, **Huffington Post**, and **BuzzFeed News** that began and operate exclusively online as opposed to **legacy media** that provide online supplements to their print or broadcast material.

**DOOMSCROLLING.** A so-called breakout buzzword of 2020, which Dictionary.com included on its list of “new words we created because of coronavirus” and Merriam-Webster said was “one of the words we’re watching.” It refers to the act of compulsively consuming an endless stream of bad news, especially in news and social media online. During the spring of 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic began dominating the news, traffic on online news sites intensified and Twitter reported a 34 percent increase in daily users from the same period a year earlier. But even in daily print newspapers, it was almost impossible to find a story unrelated to the pandemic, so that doomscrolling was in part a result of simply reading the news. According to *Globe and Mail* journalist Adrienne Matei in August 2020, moreover, the word actually “entered the lexicon thanks to Karen Ho, a journalist (and former *Globe and Mail* reporter) who has tweeted out variations of ‘Stop doomscrolling’ almost every evening since early April.” Before long, clinical psychologists were providing explanations of the doomscrolling phenomenon and advising people how to cope with what was essentially a temporary ramping up and refocusing of journalism’s long-standing bad news syndrome.

**DRONE JOURNALISM.** The use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) together with miniaturized high-quality digital cameras for newsgathering purposes. In 2013, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began experimenting with a “hexacopter” UAV to generate bird’s-eye views of natural areas in Britain. Since then drones have been used by both journalists and ordinary citizens to capture video of natural disasters, public protests, and military clashes. But the widespread adoption of UAVs for journalistic purposes has been delayed by privacy concerns, collisions between drones and commercial aircraft, and fears of injuring bystanders or damaging property. Organizations such as the American-based Professional Society of Drone Journalists are currently developing ethical codes for the safe and responsible use of UAVs by journalists.



**DRUDGE REPORT.** A news aggregation website founded by Matt Drudge in 1995 to promote conservative anarchism. It began as a weekly subscriber-based email newsletter focusing on Hollywood and Washington. Drudge's first assistant was Andrew Breitbart, who simultaneously created his own news website **Breitbart News**. It consisted mainly of selected hyperlinks to stories on websites of mainstream media outlets that reinforced what became an increasingly alt-right political agenda. In 1998, it broke the Monica Lewinsky scandal after *Newsweek* decided not to carry the story and did so arguably in the watchdog tradition of American journalism. But during the 2004 presidential election, it abandoned any pretense of providing the reliable information necessary for citizens to perform their electoral role in a democracy by trumpeting the right wing's false allegations about John Kerry's record in the navy.

In 2009, the AP criticized the Drudge Report's use of its content without payment, but failed to gain any recompense. That year an article in the *Columbia Journalism Review* declared in its title, "Drudge has lost his touch: Technology, the computer, and the times have passed him by." But the immense traffic generated by the Report's stories continued to encourage reporters in mainstream newsrooms to tip him off whenever they had a big story so as to amplify their exposure and advance their careers. Their genuine reporting was no longer sufficient, however, to satisfy his need for material capable of provoking anger and hatred among his readers on the far right. A decade after being called "the Tom Paine of the internet age," Drudge was sharing a story with Breitbart News falsely claiming that an undocumented immigrant had caused the California wildfires and using a photo of Syrian children holding toy guns to imply that migrant children separated from their parents by the Trump administration were violent criminals.

**DUANE, WILLIAM (1760–1835).** Editor of the *Aurora* and one of the most effective journalists in his day. Born to Irish parents in the colony of New York, Duane apprenticed as a printer in Ireland and then went to Calcutta, where he founded and edited the liberal *India World*. After being deported for his attacks on the East India Company, he worked as parliamentary reporter for the *General Advertiser* in London before leaving for America where he linked up with **Benjamin Franklin Bache** in Philadelphia. When Bache died in 1798, Duane became editor of the *Aurora* and threw the paper's support behind the radical Jeffersonian republicans, who wanted to increase popular representation at the expense of the propertied classes. When armed assault failed to silence him, he was charged under the Alien and Sedition Acts, but avoided conviction when **Thomas Jefferson** became president. Jefferson later acknowledged him as one of republicanism's "fellow-laborers in the

gloomy hours of federal ascendancy.” After Washington became the federal capital in 1800, the *Aurora* continued as the leading national Republican paper, but gradually shifted its focus to state politics, supporting the more egalitarian “Old School” Democrats. After Duane was forced to sell the *Aurora* in 1822 for financial reasons, the Old School movement disappeared.

**DURANTY, WALTER (1884–1957).** Foreign correspondent who reported on the Soviet Union for the *New York Times*. His legacy is currently a matter of some controversy. Born in Liverpool, he studied classics at Cambridge, joined the *Times*' Paris bureau in 1914, and covered the Western Front and Versailles Peace Conference. In 1922, he was assigned to Moscow, learned the Russian language, and continued to report on the new Soviet regime despite losing a leg in a train wreck in 1924. As the Moscow correspondent for the *Times*, he obtained an exclusive interview with Joseph Stalin and won the **Pulitzer Prize** in 1932 for his series on Stalin's Five Year Plan for industrialization.

He was criticized for being unduly sympathetic to Soviet aims and for his denial of the Ukrainian famine in 1933. He responded in *I Write as I Please* (1935) by saying that he was “a reporter, not a humanitarian.” But his reporting on collectivization, labor camps, and show trials was colored by his belief that the Russian character was incompatible with Western freedoms and required some form of autocratic rule. In 1941, he returned to the **United States** and tried to interpret the Soviet Union to the American public in *The Kremlin and the People* (1941) and *USSR: The Story of Soviet Russia* (1944). Together with his earlier reporting, these works have been criticized for facilitating Soviet propaganda.



# E

**EBBUT, NORMAN (1894–1968).** Chief Berlin correspondent for *The Times* of London from 1927 to 1937. In *Berlin Diary* (1941), American journalist William Shirer praised Ebbut as the most informed correspondent in **Germany** in the 1930s. Although he tried to report life in Nazi Germany as accurately and dispassionately as possible, his dispatches were systematically cut, rewritten, and distorted by *The Times*' subeditors in London, compromising the ability of readers to understand the dangerous implications of the Nazis' rise to power. When *The Times*' coverage still met with Nazi criticism, editor Geoffrey Dawson wrote on 23 May 1937 that "it really would interest me to know precisely what it is in *The Times* that has produced this new antagonism in Germany. I do my best night after night to keep out of the paper anything that might hurt their susceptibilities." Despite this in-house suppression, Ebbut's articles still managed to present the Nazis unfavorably. In line with Joseph Goebbels' crackdown on press criticism, therefore, he was subjected to a vicious character assassination and expelled from Germany in August 1937. Fifty foreign correspondents risked the wrath of the Nazis to bid him farewell. A month after his return to England, he suffered a severe stroke, ending his career as a journalist. His years in Berlin were the focus of a television series, *The Nightmare Years* (1992).

**ECHO CHAMBERS.** An echo chamber is a metaphor for a closed belief system, which imposes ideological conformity through repetition and amplification. In the case of news and current affairs, their existence remains hypothetical. In *Echo Chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the Conservative Media Establishment* (2008), Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Joseph Capella used the term to refer to "one-sided enclaves" being created by conservative radio commentators. They defined an echo chamber as "a bounded, enclosed media space that has the potential to both magnify the messages delivered within it and insulate them from rebuttal." Their work contributed to fears that in a high-choice media environment, people will mostly select content that reinforces their beliefs and become segregated in partisan silos.

Recent scientific studies of the echo chamber hypothesis have tried to move beyond the early emphasis on behavior in a single medium and the use of narrow definitions and measurements. A study (Barberá et al., 2015) of 150 million tweets among 3.8 million Twitter users found that while information was exchanged mainly among those with similar ideological attitudes in the case of current political events, there was more of a “national conversation” in the case of nonpolitical ones. It cautioned that “previous work may have overestimated the degree of ideological segregation in social-media use.” Another study (Dubois and Blank, 2018) of adult internet users in the United Kingdom concluded that those who are most interested in politics actually consume a wide variety of media and are thus exposed to diverse content and perspectives. A similar study (Cardenal et al., 2019) of internet users in Spain, which has a more polarized media system, likewise found that they engage in considerable cross-partisan media exposure, especially in the case of those on the left.

While browsing the internet and tweeting information to others may be less ideologically segregated than originally hypothesized, there remains the question of whether the **public sphere** has become more echo chamber-like. A study (Karlsen et al., 2017) using a combined survey-experimental approach found that many people engage in discussions of issues online, or at least claim to do so. At the same time, however, its experimental debate led its authors to describe such interactions as being governed by “the logic of *trench warfare*.” Individual positions were reinforced by both confirming and contradicting arguments in contrast to two-sided, neutral arguments, which had weaker effects, suggesting that online debates may lead primarily to a hardening of attitudes rather than consensus through balanced, evidence-based reasoning. *See also* FILTER BUBBLES.

**EDUCATION AND TRAINING.** Attitudes and approaches to the preparation of journalists have long been subject to cultural variation and institutional tension. In continental Europe, the tendency has been to emphasize training on the job. The first school of journalism, the Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme de Lille, was not established until 1924 and handled only a few students a year. After **World War II**, **Agence France-Presse** acted as a kind of national journalism school. But further educational opportunities for prospective journalists in **France** remained quite limited until the 1960s. Only in recent decades has formal journalism education at universities and related institutions become the norm in Europe.

There has also been a long-standing preference in **Great Britain** for training journalists on the job. In 1889, the National Association of Journalists began offering training to journalists. But it was not until 1919 that

its successor, the Institute of Journalists, persuaded London University to offer a diploma in journalism. And it was only after World War II that the American model of journalism education began to seriously penetrate British journalism.

In the **United States**, pressures to deflect criticism of the press in the late 19th and early 20th centuries led to earlier and more concerted efforts to link the traditional process of training to higher education. This development added a new form of tension to the preparation process. In addition to the debate over whether journalists are best prepared in newsrooms or classrooms was added the question of the proper place of journalism educators in academia. The result was a double-squeeze for journalism educators. On the one hand, those who sought to demonstrate to employers that they develop good news-workers were considered to be less than fully fledged academics; on the other hand, those who emphasized the academic credentials they were giving to graduates were sometimes less well regarded by the industry.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, Americans regarded journalism largely as a trade involving the art of printing as well as editing and writing. Young boys learned the craft by apprenticing with master printers. In this context, efforts to formalize the training of journalists were closely tied to print shop activities. The first attempt to provide a more academic form of training was undertaken by the land-grant colleges, which had been given a mandate to provide more practical education. But even they encountered opposition to incorporating journalism into the curriculum. When Norman J. Colman proposed a journalism program at the University of Missouri in 1869, it was rejected as unsuitable for academic status. In 1878, the University did agree to the creation of a course on journalism. But it was not until three decades later that the Missouri School of Journalism began operations under Walter Williams. The idea that journalism should be learned on the job remained solidly entrenched, especially among editors like **Horace Greeley**, **Edwin L. Godkin**, and **Charles A. Dana**.

Aided by a new ethos of professionalism, the first American schools of journalism were established during the Progressive era, beginning with the Missouri School of Journalism in 1908. Four years later, the **Columbia School of Journalism** opened its doors to graduate students with the help of a substantial endowment from **Joseph Pulitzer**. As the number of programs expanded, teachers and departments began to create their own societies and associations, beginning with the American Association of Teachers of Journalism in 1912. It was reorganized as the Association for Education in Journalism in 1949 and subsequently renamed the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC).

While the teachers' association was open to all journalism educators, the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ), formed in 1917, began setting instructional requirements for participation. To belong to the AASDJ, programs offering a journalism major had to devote most of their attention to the technical aspects of reporting and editing, an emphasis that reflected the fact that most instructors were former journalists. Following Walter Williams's lead at Missouri, most programs linked instruction to the production of a campus or community newspaper and turned to textbooks authored for the first time by journalism professors themselves.

The growth of journalism programs was viewed with suspicion by both universities and the press. In 1938, Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, told the Inland Daily Press Association that "the shadiest educational ventures under respectable auspices are the schools of journalism. They exist in defiance of the obvious fact that the best preparation for journalism is a good education. Journalism itself can be learned, if at all, only by being a journalist." Quoting this statement approvingly in an editorial on 18 February, the *Washington Times* added that "we know a lot of newspaper boys with B.A., B.S., etc., degrees; and we believe their prospects are better than those of a journalism school graduate."

The technical-vocational emphasis of the emerging journalism programs was criticized on two fronts. On the one hand, it was thought to deprive students of the benefits of a broad education. But at the same time, it was taken to task for failing to achieve its own narrow purpose of preparing students for the "real" world of journalism. For example, a study by Albert Sutton found that many teachers had no credentials in journalism and that even former journalists were not always in touch with current newsroom practices. In response to these criticisms, a number of journalism educators advocated increasing the academic content of journalism programs. They rejected the argument that journalism is best learned on the job after receiving a broad liberal education. But under the influence of **Willard G. Bleyer's** pioneering program at Wisconsin, they pushed for more public affairs and social science content in journalism education, especially courses in the new field of mass communication. For students of Bleyer like Chilton Bush, who headed the journalism program at Stanford, the goal was to transform journalists into media professionals.

While the ANG considered the attempt to establish professional status for journalists a ploy to help gain collective bargaining, Hutchins changed his tune and now criticized schools of journalism for not doing enough to prepare their students to function as judges of public affairs. "The kind of training a journalist needs most today," the **Hutchins Commission** wrote in

*A Free and Responsible Press*, “is not training in the tricks and machinery of the trade.”

The problem for journalism schools wishing to increase their emphasis on public affairs was that the vocational emphasis of the AASDJ made it difficult to pursue this approach and still receive accreditation. In 1944, therefore, a number of schools denied membership in the AASDJ formed a rival organization, the American Society of Journalism School Administrators. They also began hiring more teachers with a PhD and developing courses on a range of media issues. Led by Stanford and Illinois, many programs established connections with Departments of Communication or added communication programs to their own.

At Carleton University in **Canada**, for example, the School of Journalism under Director G. Stuart Adam launched a program in mass communication in September 1978. Adam was influenced by **James Carey** at Illinois, inviting him to the campus on several occasions and later writing about his philosophy of journalism education. During the early years of such liaisons, communication courses and research often dove-tailed productively with what Adam called the craft-oriented approach to journalism education. In “The Education of Journalists” (2001), he set forth the following general credo—“an education in journalism should be designed to promote: the thoughtful understanding of news judgment; a solid grounding in methods of reporting, evidence-gathering and fact assessment; a capacity for literary and/or visual representation; and an ability to apply the forms of understanding born in the academy to the problems of the here and now.” Communication as studied by Carey was seen as a partner in this enterprise. But as communication evolved as a field or set of research fields, the relationship became less direct and more bureaucratic.

Between 1938 and 1948, the number of students in American journalism programs grew from 6,000 to 16,000, but then slowly declined for more than a decade. Beginning in the mid-1960s, however, interest in journalism studies suddenly skyrocketed. Enrolment jumped to 33,000 in 1970 and reached 71,000 by 1979. Apart from “baby boom” demographics, the inspiration of the **Watergate** investigation, and the **New Journalism II** of the 1970s, students were drawn back to journalism by a desire for relevant job skills and a career through which they could make a difference. Increasingly, however, they were also using their journalism background to pursue careers in public relations, advertising, and communications generally. Of the 150,000 students in some 450 journalism-related programs in the United States in 2000, only about one-quarter were primarily interested in careers as journalists.

As journalism education moved from newsrooms to classrooms and journalism educators acquired a more respected place within academia, another



question began percolating within journalism education and training. What is the proper relation between journalism textbooks and prevailing journalistic practices? Is the function of such manuals and teaching simply to reinforce those practices? Or as a product of a critical intellectual environment, should they endeavor to improve journalism—if only by judgmentally identifying its “best practices?”

Various studies have found that journalism textbooks have generally reinforced rather than questioned prevailing journalistic practices. For example, crime, conflict, and “bad” news have long been a staple of both print and broadcast journalism. When Herbert Gans criticized this emphasis in *Deciding What's News* (1980), the authors of the fourth edition of *The Complete Reporter* (1981) wrote that “newspapers are often criticized for carrying too much bad news. Generally that criticism comes from persons who have not studied a newspaper—any newspaper—carefully.” But they need not have worried. Gans was an academic, not a journalism textbook author. A study of 75 American textbooks published between 1894 and 2016 found that “conflict has been implicitly identified and explicitly defined as a core news value in such texts since the emergence of formalized journalism education at the turn of the twentieth century.”

**EGYPT.** The first newspaper in Egypt was *Le Courier de Égypte*, which was established by Napoleon Bonaparte following his occupation in 1798. It contained, news, advertisements, and social events, but only lasted 30 issues. The first scientific and literary magazine was *La Décade égyptienne*; it was published by the Institute of Egypt, which Napoleon also created in Cairo before the surrender of French forces to the British on 18 June 1801. In 1822, Muhammad Ali, the Albanian Ottoman governor and de facto ruler of Egypt from 1805 to 1848, established a government publishing house. Its goal was to make European technical and military knowledge available to the state, but it also made Egypt the leader of publishing in the Arab world. He also set up the official journal *al-Waqa'i al-Misriyya* in 1828. But it was not until 1866, during the rule of Ismail Pasha, that Abdallah Abu al-Su'ud was able to establish *Wadi al-Nil*, the first privately owned Arabic newspaper.

For a brief period after the successful revolt in 1879 by the Egyptian nationalist, army officer, and reformer Ahmad Urabi against the French and British-dominated administration of Khedive Tewfik, newspapers and magazines in both Arabic and European languages flourished in Egypt. In that year, the Greek Catholic brothers Salim and Bisharah Taqla founded *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids), which became known as the *Times* of the Arab world for its objective news coverage. After deposing Urabi in 1882, the

British temporarily curtailed further growth of the press. But by the 1890s, newspapers were burgeoning again. In *Al-Liwa*, Mustafa Kamil used journalism to inspire nationalism, while *Al-Jarida* promoted moderate reform. They were joined by colloquial poets in mobilizing resistance against an externally opposed occupier. Their nationalist agenda was also embraced by *Al-Mar'a fi al-Islam* (Woman in Islam). Together with other magazines, it constituted a nascent “women’s press” of sorts. But it was founded and edited by a male who celebrated another male as “the father of Egyptian feminism” and emphasized the need for male control over women’s preparation for journalism.

During the first half of the 20th century, most newspapers were privately owned instruments of political parties: *Al-Akhbar* and *Al-Misri* served the Wafd Party, while the Liberal Constitutionalists relied on *Al-Siyasa*. After the 1952 Revolution, however, Gamal Abdel Nasser abolished political parties and undertook to transform the promoted the press as a means of educating or indoctrinating the people. Many newspapers disappeared and those that remained were subjected to close  **censorship**. But *Al-Akhbar* and *Al-Ahram* managed to hang on and expand their circulations until Anwar Sadat became Egypt’s third president on 17 October 1970 and controls were relaxed. Following his assassination by fundamentalist army officers on 6 October 1981, the emergency was used as a pretext for press repression once again. For the next three decades, Hosni Mubarak kept the traditional press on a tight leash. Although party and private newspapers were allowed to coexist with government-owned ones, the latter had the largest share of circulation. The one area that escaped the government’s authority was the internet. But following the Arab Spring uprisings in 2010, regulation of the press was extended to online journalism.

**EMPIRE PRESS UNION.** Organization founded by Sir Harry Brittain in **Great Britain** in 1909 ostensibly to overcome “mutual ignorance between Britain and her distant colonies.” Its early members included **Lord Northcliffe**. While Britain saw it as a way of influencing the development of colonial media, countries such as **Australia** and **New Zealand** used its five-yearly conferences to alter imperial communications policies regarding cable rates, news cartels, and other factors affecting the freedom and performance of the press. The relative openness of the journalistic profession in Britain and the dominions contributed to this success by encouraging a high degree of reciprocity among journalists. During the interwar years, it paid increasing attention to emerging technologies like aviation and broadcasting, which not only posed commercial challenges to print journalism but also offered opportunities for faster and cheaper imperial communications.

As the postwar Commonwealth Press Union, it continued to defend freedom of the press at conferences in London (1946) and Ottawa (1950) in line with United Nations proclamations of freedom of information. It accompanied this rhetoric with a protracted, but ultimately unsuccessful, defense of the penny cable rate.

**ESTONIA.** Between 1689 and 1710, a German-language newspaper called the *Revalsche Post-Zeitung* was published in Estonia. However, it was not until 1806 that the Estonian-language newspaper *Tartomaa Näddala-Leht* made its appearance. In 1821, Otto Wilhelm Maasing began the *Marahwa Näddala-Leht* as an instrument of national awakening. But for most of the 19th century, newspapers were generally too short-lived to accomplish much in this regard. The *Perno Postimees* (later the *Tartu Postimees*), edited by Johann Wilhelm Janssen from 1857 to 1905, was the first paper to gain a secure foothold.

Modernization of the Estonian press began in the 1920s after freedom of the press was first proclaimed by the Manifesto of Independence on 24 February 1918 and then confirmed two years later in the Estonian Constitution. Several new papers were established, including the first tabloid *Esmaspäev* (Monday) in 1922, and most began adopting features of the Anglo-American news model such as typography and layout. However, the economic collapse beginning in 1929 led to a constitutional crisis and the establishment of an authoritarian regime in March 1934. It outlawed political parties, placed newspapers and radio under government control, and created a State Propaganda Department to supply them with official information. Further restrictions were imposed by the new Constitution of 1936 and a Press Act in 1938.

In late August 1939, the Third Reich and Soviet Union agreed through the secret Ribbentrop-Molotov pact that Estonia fell within the Soviet “sphere of interests.” In June 1940, the Soviet Union occupied Estonia, staged a coup, and made the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic part of the USSR. All media were owned and operated either by the Communist Party or the communist youth organization *Komsomol*. And their content was provided by TASS or the Estonian Telegraph Agency (ETA). With the beginning of de-Stalinization under Krushchev in 1956, there was a thaw in Soviet controls over the Estonian press. Although formal censorship was strengthened again after the Prague Spring in 1968, there was a steady loosening of control thereafter as the Soviet Union and its economy grew steadily weaker. In the autumn of 1990, censorship was abolished, almost a year before Estonia formally declared independence on 20 August 1991. A large number of newspapers and journals sprang into existence, although many were forced to undergo economic consolidation after 1995. A study (Harro-Loit, 2005) of Estonian

newspapers between 1920 and 1990 found that Anglo-American news structure did not become standard until the 1990s. “The ultimate responsibility for reporting and highlighting important events rested with party officials, not with journalists. As a natural consequence the inverted pyramid could only develop into a convention after Independence in the 1990s.”

Although concern has been expressed that the border between its journalism and advertising is becoming more blurred, Estonia has been a poster child for the Western concept of media independence. In 2020, Reporters Without Borders ranked it 14th out of 180 countries on its World Press Freedom Index.

**ETYMOLOGY.** An isolated instance of *journalisme* occurred in 1705 in the *Journal littéraire*. But it was the term *journaliste* that first became common. It appeared in Pierre Bayle’s *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684) “as a sort of slip of the pen” (Mattauch, 1967). But after 1700, it was used to refer to the editors of learned periodicals such as the *Journal littéraire* and *Journal des sçavans*. In **Great Britain**, diarists or journal-keepers were sometimes called journalists. The *OED* quotes **Joseph Addison**’s comment in *The Spectator* no. 323 in 1712 that “my following correspondent . . . is such a Journalist as I require . . . Her Journal . . . is only the picture of a Life filled with a fashionable kind of Gaiety and Laziness.” In *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), **Noah Webster** gave only this archaic meaning of journalist—“the writer of a journal or diary”—which was also still one of the meanings of *journaliste*. However, the *OED* also cites Toland’s observation in 1710 that the Tories had “one Lesley for their Journalist in London, who for Seven or Eight Years past did, three Times a Week, Publish Rebellion.”

The term *journalism* was also borrowed from the French. In 1832, the *Revue Encyclopédique* published an article entitled “*Du Journalisme*.” In a commentary on the article in the *Westminster Review* in January 1833, Joseph Gibbons Merle, the Paris correspondent for the *Globe*, pointed to the need for such a term. “Journalism is a good name for thing meant,” he proposed; “at any rate it is compact, and when once in circulation is incapable of equivocal meanings.” He felt that “*newspapers* and *newspaper-writing*, not to mention that they have a bad odour [*sic*], only imperfectly describe the thing intended.” “A word,” he said, “was sadly needed. The inter-communication of opinion and intelligence by means of opinion and intelligence . . . by means of journals, is too important to pass without a name.”

For most of the 19th century, *journalism* had a pejorative connotation, as when the *Pall Mall Gazette* distinguished it from “plain English.” This negative sense even led to the invention of a new term. “It is sad,” said the

*Athenaeum* of one writer in 1893, “to find [him] guilty of such journalese as ‘transpired.’” In French, the derogatory term was *journaleux*. In an article in *Social Forces* in 1928, Charles D. Johnson proposed that the new schools of journalism be renamed schools of *journalology* so as to give journalism a more scientific and respectable status.

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**FACEBOOK.** American-based social media giant. Along with Google, it has transformed the distribution system and economics of journalism and raised concerns about breaches of privacy, socially insular **filter bubbles** and echo chambers, **fake news** and hate speech, and other negative effects on democratic communication. On the surface, it is simply an online social networking platform in which members maintain an individual internet presence to connect with friends and share news and opinions about personal and public matters with the wider world. But the attractiveness to advertisers of its 2.3 billion users as of 2019 has contributed to crippling revenue losses for traditional journalism outlets, which, paradoxically, are dependent on it to reach mass audiences with their own digital content. In some countries, news organizations have pressed governments for regulations, tax measures, and even state funding to create a more even playing field in the battle for advertisers and force Facebook to accept more responsibility for its influence on the **public sphere**.

In *Breaking News: The Remaking of Journalism and Why It Matters Now* (2018), Alan Rusbridger—former *Guardian* editor and current chair of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford—charged that companies such as Facebook and Google “stole” the “content” of traditional media, “built an audience around it; sold the audience to advertisers; gave almost nothing in return; took virtually no responsibility for the content they hosted; got a free pass on the regulations that burdened traditional media; and—to cap it all—paid virtually no tax.” But he also acknowledged that these social media networks are also a “vital bridge to the next generation of audiences.”

In a statement issued on Facebook on 17 February 2017, CEO Mark Zuckerberg argued that it facilitates a greater diversity of viewpoints “compared with getting our news from the same two or three TV networks or reading the same newspapers with their consistent editorial views.” But he also offered to help rebuild the economic foundations of the news industry. “A strong news industry,” he said, is “critical to building an informed community. Giving people a voice is not enough without having people dedicated to uncovering new information and analyzing it. There is more we must do to support the

news industry to make sure this vital social function is sustainable—from growing local news, to developing formats best suited to mobile devices, to improving the range of business models news organizations rely on.”

**FAIRNESS DOCTRINE.** Doctrine promulgated by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1949 requiring broadcasters to devote a reasonable amount of time to discussions of public issues and present contrasting views on those issues. During the 1930s, the FCC left broadcasters largely to their own devices. But in 1941, it criticized station WAAB for its practice of “editorializing” on the air. It declared that because of the “limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his [*sic*] own partisan ends.” Although **Walter Winchell** and a few others continued to make opinionated commentaries over the air, the argument that “a truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee” discouraged most stations from jumping on the editorial bandwagon.

In various decisions in 1945 and 1946, however, the FCC also instructed broadcasters to make sufficient time available for those who wished to purchase it to present their particular viewpoints. This concert hall conception public affairs ran counter to the broadcaster-initiated discussion model of programs like *America’s Town Meeting of the Air* and in 1949 was abandoned in favor of the original approach. Broadcasters were now instructed to devote a reasonable amount of time to discussions of important public issues and to present contrasting views on those issues. This requirement became known as the Fairness Doctrine and was intended to encourage public affairs programs. At the same time, the FCC reversed its policy against editorializing, saying that “overt licensee editorialization, within reasonable limits and subject to the general requirements of fairness . . . is not contrary to the public interest.” According to some broadcast journalism historians, the Fairness Doctrine had a chilling effect on public affairs programming and it was thus abandoned in 1987 as counter-productive. But in retrospect, its elimination sanctioned the rapid emergence of brazenly extremist political talk shows on which *fairness* was no longer even a remote consideration.

**FAKE NEWS.** Term first used in the early 2000s to refer benignly to news parodies on television such as *The Daily Show* featuring the American comedian Jon Stewart. These satirical programs simultaneously mimicked and mocked conventional TV news programs. Stewart and others pretended to be journalists while delivering fabricated news reports, albeit inspired by real events, aimed at skewering politicians, celebrities, and others. These programs followed in the footsteps of earlier parodies of TV news such as

the “Weekend Update” segment of *Saturday Night Live* (since 1975); *Not the Nine O’Clock News* (1979–1982) in Britain; the subsequent American program *Not Necessarily the News* in the 1980s; and the Canadian program *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* (1993–).

Retroactively called fake news in some cases, the TV news parodies of the late 20th century were preceded by an even longer tradition of faking news, from the **hoaxes** in the penny papers and the satirical newspaper stories by Mark Twain in the 19th century to the *War of the Worlds* broadcast by Orson Welles in 1938 and the British comedy sketch *That Was The Week That Was* (1962–63). But in all of these cases, both authors and most members of the audience understood the faked element of the text and the difference between faking the news and falsifying it. Fake news in these contexts was not false news. Rather the *Daily Show* and spin-offs such as *The Colbert Report* and *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver* were sources of genuine political knowledge and commentary.

In the lead-up to the election of Donald Trump as president in 2016, however, *fake news* acquired two new meanings. The first shift occurred in conjunction with the proliferation of digital news sites producing content that might previously have been called false news. Linked to mass audiences via social media and supported by online advertising, these sites not only disguised their content as fact but increased its toxicity to unprecedented levels. One American site linked the Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton to a supposed human trafficking and a child-sex ring operating out of a Washington, D.C., pizzeria, prompting one believer to attack the restaurant with a rifle. But Pizzagate was merely the tip of the iceberg. This kind of fakery had numerous antecedents. But the conscious dissemination of wholly falsified news for political advantage, much of it emanating from **Russia**, has since become so rampant that the term *fake news* has been redeployed to capture the insidious nature of the phenomenon.

At the same time that *fake news* was coming to refer to the scourge of deliberately fabricated news reports, the American president Donald Trump complicated matters linguistically by labeling all negative coverage of himself or his presidency as fake news. This rhetorical device was aimed in particular at mainstream news sources such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and CNN, which he frequently condemned collectively as fake news. This usage not only implied that all critical news of his administration is false news but directed attention away from the rapid proliferation of deliberately falsified news on non-**legacy media**. As a result, commentators such as Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a communications professor at the University of Pennsylvania, proposed that other terms (in her case, *viral deception*) be used to label politically motivated online fabrications. More recently, a



British parliamentary committee report entitled *Disinformation and “Fake News”* (2019) has recommended that the terms *misinformation* and *disinformation* be used instead of *fake news*.

In 2017 *Collins Dictionary* named *fake news* its word of the year, defining it as “false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting.” Fake news in this sense has sparked inquiries and defensive policy proposals in Britain, Germany, Canada, and elsewhere. It has also prompted social media giants such as Facebook and Twitter to implement policies aimed at identifying its presence and curbing its spread, especially during election campaigns. But in conjunction with terms such as “alternative facts,” the meaning of the term *fake news* is arguably best reserved for how it was used by its main popularizer: any statement of facts that implies criticism of oneself.

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.** Under J. Edgar Hoover, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) periodically used its powers to undermine freedom of the press in the **United States**. During **World War II**, it monitored journalists critical of government policy and, with the approval of the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, conducted a lengthy investigation of *Washington Times-Herald* gossip columnist, Inga Arvad. In the late 1940s and 1950s, it constructed a distorted portrait of **Edgar Snow** to discredit the prominent journalist in the *New York Times* and effectively end his journalistic career. Snow’s *Red Star over China* (1937) was actually banned from U.S.-sponsored libraries abroad. In 1958, the bureau began an investigation of journalist Fred J. Cook after he had criticized Don Whitehead’s sycophantic *The FBI Story* (1956) in an article in *The Nation*. It later used its counter-intelligence program COINTELPRO to harass left-wing journalists. *See also* CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

**FILTER BUBBLES.** Term coined by Eli Pariser in *The Filter Bubbles: What the Internet Is Hiding from You* (2011). It is the state of intellectual isolation that hypothetically arises from the algorithmic personalization of the information provided by Google, Amazon, Facebook, and other such entities in response to searches on the World Wide Web. Driven above all by advertising, online personalization is done without the knowledge of users, who thus remain unaware of the information they are missing. Instead of connecting people through common sources of information, it allegedly isolates and polarizes people in **echo chambers**. There is, however, a growing body of evidence that suggests that concerns over algorithmic filter bubbles may be exaggerated in the case of online news.

A study (Flaxman et al., 2016) of 50,000 online news users in the United States found the magnitude of the effects of search personalization to be “relatively modest.” The vast majority of online news consumption consists of individuals visiting the home pages of their news outlets, tempering the impact of personalization. Another study (Haim et al., 2018) of Google News in particular found “no support” for the filter bubble hypothesis, although it did find a “general bias” toward certain news outlets. What neither study considered is the extent to which echo chambers can arise from user preferences for some news sources to the almost total exclusion of others.

**FINLAND.** Journalists were an integral part of Finland’s long struggle for national revival and eventual independence. Initially, they comprised largely patriotic young academics and literary figures whose major concern was revival of the Finnish language. In 1775, the first Finnish-language newsheet, *Suomenkieliset Tietosanomat* (News in the Finnish Language), appeared in Turku. But even after Finland was transferred from Sweden to Russia in 1809, most of its newspapers were still published in Swedish. It was not until 1847 that the first Finnish-language newspaper, *Suometar*, began publication in Helsinki. According to George Kurian, only six of Finland’s 13 newspapers were Finnish in 1860. Most of these were quite small and none was published on a daily basis. Thereafter, however, the situation began to change rapidly, aided in part by the more tolerant rule of Tsar Alexander II. By 1890, 32 of Finland’s 55 newspapers were published in Finnish, including a number of dailies. Most of these papers were tied to political parties and were increasingly staffed by permanent news-workers rather than moonlighting academics.

In 1899, Nicholas II issued a manifesto threatening Finnish autonomy and appointed Nicholas Bobrikov as governor general. As part of his plan for the Russification of Finland, Bobrikov closed down or suspended the more nationalist newspapers, deported a large number of Finnish journalists, organized an official Russian-language newspaper, and instituted vigorous **editorial censorship**. After his assassination in 1905, however, the Finnish press quickly revived. In 1916, a year before Finland took advantage of the turmoil in Russia to declare its independence, there were several hundred newspapers in operation and 60 of their publishers joined the newly formed Newspaper Publishers Association. However, their commitment to freedom of the press became increasingly difficult to navigate in subsequent decades as Finland was drawn back into the Soviet Union’s sphere of influence. During **World War II**, newspapers were issued a steady stream of warnings by government officials about how to portray events. After the war, Finland was only able

maintain a degree of independence by avoiding criticism of Soviet policies. As a result, self-censorship became an element of Finnish journalism. It was not until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1989 that Finnish journalists were able to acquire the same degree of autonomy as their Scandinavian counterparts.

Finnish journalists currently work in an environment characterized by widespread literacy, technological modernity, relative economic security, and a high degree of press freedom. Beginning in 1966, the government developed a system of direct as well as indirect press subsidies, ostensibly to preserve press diversity. One indirect subsidy went to the postal service to maintain low rates for newspapers; another was given to news agencies to help cover telecommunication costs. Despite failure to get the approval of parliament, the government also introduced two direct subsidies: one to assist newspapers with their transportation and delivery costs; the other to political parties for their publications in accordance with their percentage of seats in parliament. Although the indirect subsidies were discontinued in the mid-1990s, the direct ones still remain, albeit at somewhat reduced levels. They do not, however, constitute a substantial threat to freedom of the press. Although the direct subsidies initially politicized news by enabling the major parties to run their own news agencies, the recent trend is toward the rise and use of independent news agencies. In 2000, state funds were subsidizing only 10 percent of total newspaper circulation and only 6 percent of newspapers maintained political affiliations.

Since 2000, the digital revolution has taken a toll on the local and regional newspapers that have been keystone media in Finland. But recently there have been signs that hyperlocal media may serve as the basis of a new media era. Situated above personal blogging and social media but below commercial media outlets, hyperlocal media rely on community-oriented civic engagement to fill in gaps in local news coverage. As a form of participatory or **activist journalism**, they bring local people together in ways that transcend both traditional and digital media community-building (Hujanen et al., 2019).

**FRANCE.** For a century and a half after the development of printing from moveable type, the circulation of news and commentary about current events in France remained dependent on *nouvellistes de bouche*, who sang their reports to illiterate passers-by; *nouvellistes à la main*, who distributed handwritten newssheets to those who could read; and foreign newspapers such as the *Gazette de Leyde*. But in 1631, Théophraste Renaudot, the royal physician and a court favorite, convinced Cardinal Richelieu that a printed newspaper with a monopoly over political news could check the effects of rumor and

gossip. It was the only sanctioned source of political news until 1771 when the *Journal de Paris* was allowed to publish on a daily basis.

During the reign of Louis XIV, however, a republic of letters emerged in France and elsewhere. In 1665, Denis de Sallo created the *Journal des Sçavans*, the first learned periodical in Europe. Beginning as a quarto pamphlet of 12 pages, it announced in its first issue that its purpose was “to give information concerning new happenings in the Republic of Letters.” It was published weekly until 1792 and provided news of scientific research and inventions, reviews of important new books, obituaries of famous men, the decisions of tribunals and universities, and current events in academia.

The *Journal des Sçavans* was followed in 1672 by Donneau de Visé’s *Mercure galante*, which focused on literary news. Together they spawned a number of imitations, including the *Acta Eruditorum* (1682–1731) in Leipzig and Pierre Bayle’s *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684–1718) in Rotterdam. Their collective goal was to provide the infrastructure for a network of researchers and writers who had become too numerous and dispersed for adequate contact through interpersonal communication.

During the 18th century, French-language newspapers published just outside the country, such as the *Courrier d’Avignon*, could be sold within French borders if they submitted to government oversight. A biweekly, four-page newspaper founded by François Morénas in papal territory in 1733, the *Courrier*’s market consisted 3,000 readers in the Midi who could afford its price of 18 livres a year, including delivery by mail. While focusing on foreign developments such as the American Revolution and not subject to direct censorship, it tried to remain cognizant of how the French government wanted such events interpreted. On one occasion when it failed to do so, it was banned in France and forced to relocate temporarily to Monaco.

This tight hold over political news forced critics of the *ancien régime* to use older alternative media such as pamphlets. While writers such as Louis-Sébastien Mercier and Etienne de Jouy restricted themselves to moderate Addisonian forms of criticism, *philosophes* like Diderot and Voltaire turned to satire and exaggeration to castigate church and state. Even coarser methods were used by the *libellistes*, a seeming literary rabble venting its spleen in a barrage of scurrilous *libelles* against a regime that apparently had no place for them. Lacking literary style and standing, they were supposedly treated with contempt by the very *philosophes* whom they sought to emulate and were accorded none of the benefits of the salons, academies, honorific posts, and privileged journals.

In reality, the *libellistes* were less embittered, penniless, aspiring men-of-letters than the pawns of second-rank members of France’s political elite

working on the behalf of, and with the collusion of, some of its first-rank members in opposition to the those in power. Prominent political figures like d'Eprémesnil, Lafayette, and the Duc d'Orléans used their wealth to draw into their fold printers such as Pierre-Jacques Le Maître, who, in turn, hired lowly writers to produce the requisite critical texts. Though occasionally caught and arrested for their pamphlet campaigns, printers like Le Maître were generally let off lightly because of the reluctance of the political elite as a whole to enforce the formal restrictions on political journalism.

Following the assembly of the Estates General in 1789, dozens of new political journals such as *Le Père Duchesne* sprang up in France. Among the revolutionaries who worked as journalists were Jean-Paul Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Jacques René Hébert. But after the arrest and execution of the king, the press was again subjected to strict controls, notwithstanding the statement of freedom of expression in Article 11 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. In January 1800, Napoleon closed down 60 of Paris's 73 newspapers; established the *Moniteur Universel* as his official newspaper; and wrote anonymous articles himself for publication. It was not until 1810 that censorship was sufficiently relaxed that liberal journals such as the *Constitution* and *Minerve* could emerge.

Even during the Restoration (1814–1830), however, the government sought to control the press through stamp taxes on political newspapers, which raised their price from 5 to 15 centimes, and a system of “caution money,” which required owners to deposit surety for fines that might be incurred. It also launched numerous vexatious prosecutions for minor infringements of regulations, resulting in heavy fines and even imprisonment. These measures were generally more effective in the provinces than in Paris, where most of the national newspapers managed to survive. In some cases, however, they did so only by resorting to **venality**, or the acceptance of financial payments in return for favorable coverage of issues such as slavery in France's colonies.

During the July monarchy (1830–1848), controls over the press became even harsher. But at the same time, increased literacy fueled a growing demand for news and led to the creation of new services and products. In 1835, Charles-Louis Havas created the Havas news agency (later **Agence France-Presse**), the world's first such organization. It originally restricted itself to government-sanctioned information of little interest to most Parisians, whose main news medium consisted of *canards*. But in 1836, Émile de Girardin tried to siphon off some of the *canards*' readers by creating *La Presse* as a respectable, low-priced alternative—a cheap paper or *presse à bon marché*. It focused on popular news items rather than political news and using advertising to supplement revenue from sales. By the end of the year, it was selling 10,000 copies, rising to 20,000 a decade later. A similar

strategy was adopted by Armand Dutacq in *Le Siècle*. But neither publication was any match for the *canards*, which often numbered in the many tens of thousands. In 1846, the circulation of *all* Parisian dailies in 1846 was still less than 200,000 and most newspapers continued to depend on connections to political parties or factions to survive.

It was not until the last third of the 19th century that the newspaper became a mass medium in France. The emergence of the mass-circulation newspaper was facilitated in part by mechanization of the printing press, increased literacy, more disposable income among industrial workers, and greater leisure time owing to labor reforms. But it was mainly the result of imitating *canards* with their sensationalized accounts of murder in the streets of Paris and other gruesome events.

The process began with Moïse Milhaud's creation of *Le Petit Journal* in 1863. As a nonpolitical paper, it sold for five centimes, one-third of the price of the political dailies and half that of *La Presse*. By continuing the serialization of novels and imitating the sensational content and readable format of *canards*, it was able to appeal to the same lower-class readership. By 1869, the circulation of *Le Petit Journal* was 300,000, more than double that of its closest rival. In 1880, its circulation of 600,000 was one quarter of the combined circulation of all Parisian newspapers. When editor-in-chief Ernest Judet made it more political in the 1890s, it was overtaken by *Le Petit Parisien*, which it had spawned in 1877. Initially, *Le Petit Journal* and *Le Petit Parisien* made limited use of the audience-generating devices developed by the **New Journalism I**. But in 1884, when a group of American journalists founded *Le Matin*, some of its elements were introduced in France. Thereafter, they were soon being copied by *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Petit Parisien*, and later by *Le Journal* (1892) to build a mass audience.

On the eve of **World War I**, the four main mass-circulation newspapers—*Le Petit Journal*, *Le Petit Parisien*, *Le Matin*, and *Le Journal*—were selling 4.5 million copies a day or 75 percent of daily newspaper sales in Paris and 40 percent of daily sales in France. However, their advertising revenues were still quite low. *Le Petit Parisien*, the most commercial of the four, derived less than 15 percent of its income from advertising. Lacking even this modest revenue stream, the political papers remained thoroughly dependent on subsidies from their own parties or factions as well as additional government bribes. This continuing system of venality now included payments from a host of foreign governments, including Russia, which used them to silence coverage about its inability to ever provide a return on French investments.

On a per capita basis, the circulation of daily newspapers in pre-World War I France was at or near the top in continental Europe. But after the war, its growth began to stagnate. Whereas the circulation of London

dailies increased from 5.4 to 11.5 between 1920 and 1929, that of French dailies only rose from 10 to 12 million. Thereafter both circulation and the number of dailies began to decline and have now reached the point where France lags behind many other European countries in terms of newspaper readership.

Various factors have contributed to this situation. During the 1930s, financial pressures forced many papers to cut costs and reduce quality. At the same time, distribution costs remained high compared to other European countries. But particularly devastating was a further loss of credibility. After serving as an instrument of propaganda during World War I, segments of the French press openly collaborated with the enemy in **World War II**. While leading newspapers like *Le Figaro* and *Paris-Soir* chose to close down after the creation of the Office Français d'Information and the curtailment of press freedom, *Le Matin*, *L'Oeuvre*, and *Le Petit Parisien* consorted with the Vichy regime, leaving it to underground Resistance newspapers such as *L'Humanité*, *La Voix du Nord*, and *Combat* to continue the fight against the Nazis. After the war, the collaborationist newspapers were shut down and regulations were passed to provide for transparency of press ownership and management. But the damage to public faith in the press was done and its subsequent use by politicians to advance their own careers continues to alienate readers.

After World War II, the French press underwent a temporary resurgence. Despite the rationing of paper, circulation rose from 12 to 15 million and a number of individuals and families founded new dailies in Paris and the provinces. The weekly press also experienced growth, most notably with the transformation of *Match* into *Paris-Match* in 1949 and the creation of the serious political publication *L'Observateur politique, économique et littéraire* in 1950—*Le Nouvel Observateur* as of 1964 and now just *L'Obs*.

Under the supervision of the state, most national dailies entered into an agreement after the war with the press workers' union—the syndicat du livre (CGT)—on printing and distribution arrangements. This closed-shop arrangement made both activities more expensive, with a single company (Presstalis) controlling distribution until 2011 when firms representing magazines and newspapers gained ownership. Despite government subsidies to preserve diversity, these artificially inflated costs led to increased concentration of ownership and the rise of press barons such as Robert Hersant. In 1997, two groups—the Amury Group and the Socpresse group—accounted almost two-thirds of daily newspaper circulation. As of 2011, their combined share had dropped to about 54 percent. But during the same period, total daily circulation has declined from 2,739,000 to 1,956,000. In the case of certain newspapers, the drop was calamitous. For example, the circulation

of *France-Soir* plummeted from about 170,000 to about 71,000, forcing it to cease publication in 2012 as a national print daily.

Less than a third of French journalists currently have formal journalism education. Many of those who do not have a professional degree work as *pigistes*, a remuneration category between regular wage-earning on a monthly basis and various freelance arrangements. Traditionally, there has been a high rate of turnover among French journalists. The *pigistes*, who are essentially “piece-rate” workers paid by the article, have aggravated this trend. Between 1995 and 2005, their number doubled to about 20 percent of card-carrying journalists. About two-thirds of them work for the press, usually for lower pay, and their positions are more vulnerable than those of titular wage earners. They are also less likely to regard themselves as professional journalists, especially in culture where journalists still see themselves more as moralists and intellectuals than as objective reporters

**FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (1706–1790).** American statesman, diplomat, and scientist who is generally considered to be the “father of American journalism,” though his tombstone epitaph, in line with the terminology of the time, began “The body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer.” He was one of the first journalists to espouse not only freedom of the press but the principle of balanced news and editorial coverage, arguing in his “Apology for Printers” (1731) that editors should cover both sides of a controversy.

Born in Boston, the tenth and youngest son in a family with seventeen children, Franklin began an apprenticeship at the age of twelve in the printshop of his half-brother James, where he was able to indulge his love of reading. After discovering a volume of *The Spectator*, he used it, like the young Voltaire, as a model for his own writing style. His talent for satire was first displayed in his series of “Silence Dogood” letters in the influential *New England Courant*, which his brother established in 1721 and he took over during the inoculation crisis the following year.

After a quarrel with his brother in 1723, Franklin ran away to Philadelphia, worked briefly for printer Samuel Keimer, and then left for England in 1724 in the hope of buying his own printing press. Unsuccessful in this endeavor, he returned to Keimer’s printshop in 1726 and began saving for his own publication. In the meantime, he formed a discussion group called the Junto, which led to the creation of America’s first subscription library in 1727. In 1728, he left Keimer to go into a magazine venture with printer Hugh Meredith. Following his departure, Keimer established the weekly *Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette*. But in 1729, he agreed to sell it to Franklin, who promptly shortened its title to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.



Under Franklin's editorship until 1747, the *Gazette* became the liveliest and most prosperous newspaper in the colonies, publishing his early Busy Body papers and introducing such features as weather reports into American journalism. A good editor, he wrote, "ought to be qualified with an extensive Acquaintance with Languages, a great Easiness and Command of Writing and Relating Things clearly and intelligibly, and in a few Words; he should be able to speak of War both by Land and Sea; be well acquainted with Geography, with the History of the Time, with several interests of Princes and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners and Customs of all Nations." Not surprisingly, he found that "men thus accomplish'd are very rare in this remote Part of the World."

In 1732, Franklin founded both the *Phildelphia Zeitung*, the first foreign-language newspaper in the colonies, and *Poor Richard's Almanack*; while the former failed after a few issues, the latter continued until 1758, selling as many as 10,000 copies annually. He owned a total of seven newspapers and, in addition to book publishing operations, began the *General Magazine* (1741), one of the first magazines in the colonies. In 1758, he and William Hunter were appointed deputy postmasters general for the colonies. They discontinued the practice of free newspaper delivery to subscribers, but allowed publishers to exchange newspapers by post free of charge. Franklin's career up to this point became the subject of his *Autobiography*, written between 1771 and 1789 but not published in the **United States** until 1794. Tracing his rapid rise from obscurity to eminence, it contributed to the American myth of the self-made man. Franklin helped to draft the Declaration of Independence and was an influential member of the Constitutional Convention.

# G

**GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD (1805–1879).** Militant antislavery editor, who began attacking slavery in his early twenties as manager and editor of a series of journals. On 1 January 1831, he launched *The Liberator*, a small weekly publication printed on a hand-press with borrowed type. Rejecting the gradualist approach of earlier abolitionists, he so angered Southerners that the State of Georgia offered a \$5,000 reward for his arrest and conviction. In 1833, he helped to organize the American Anti-Slavery Society, which then founded the *Emancipator* as its official organ. When his opponents left the Society in 1840, they took the abolitionist paper with them.

In addition to *The Liberator*, which he continued until the Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery in 1865, Garrison founded the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, edited first by novelist Lydia Maria Child and later by Maria Weston Chapman of the Boston Female Antislavery Society. In later life, he turned his attention to other reform causes, including women's suffrage and the treatment of Native Americans.

**GATEKEEPING.** The process whereby news media organization select a small proportion of items from the flow of information as being newsworthy. The term is credited to the social psychologist Kurt Lewin, who coined it in a 1947 study of decision rules within families. It was applied to news shortly thereafter by David Manning White. In 1949, he spent a week observing a wire editor in Illinois whom he dubbed "Mr. Gates." He concluded that in addition to standard criteria of newsworthiness, his selection was determined by personal biases. A 1982 study suggested that wire editors might simply be reproducing choices already made by the wire services. Studies in 1966 and 1991 claimed to have replicated White's basic findings. But long before the alleged curtailment of legacy media gatekeeping by the proliferation of online news providers, Oscar H. Gandy, Jr. challenged the reality of its supposedly neutral gatekeeping. In *Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy* (1982), he pointed to the existence of information subsidies or the practice whereby well-resourced organizations secure preferential treatment from journalists by supplying them with information on a regular basis.

**GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.** The first national magazine in **Great Britain**. It was founded as a monthly by printer-journalist Edward Cave in 1731 and was run by him until his death in 1754. It began as a digest of material from other periodicals and, according to Samuel Johnson's famous *Dictionary*, was the first publication to be called a *magazine*, meaning storehouse. However, it later published original content supplied by readers, including Johnson himself for a time. During the 18th century, it was the most successful publication of its kind, reaching a circulation of 15,000 copies a month by the mid-1740s. Cave signed himself "Sylvanus Urban" to attract middle-class readers in both London and the countryside. Through ingenious packaging, he managed to circumvent the 1712 tax on advertisements and also likely used his position in the Post Office to drain advertising revenues away from his competitors. The magazine continued publication until 1914.

**GERMANY.** During the late 18th century, the German-speaking territories of Europe underwent the first of a series of "reading revolutions" that included rapid growth in newspapers and journals. Founded in 1781 by Gottlob Benedikt von Schirach, the *Politische Journal* became the most successful magazine in the German-speaking world. While Schirach cultivated favorable relations with German princes and their officials to obtain reliable news, the Hamburg publisher Bohn promoted the journal at the Leipzig book fair and elsewhere. Its contextualization of political events contributed to the development of a pan-German public opinion and sense of identity. Karl Philipp Moritz, editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* in the 1780s, likewise believed that journalism could provide both enlightenment and leadership for society.

But there were limits on how far journalists could pursue this philosophy. In 1810, the poet and playwright Heinrich von Kleist founded the *Berliner Abendblätter*, the city's first evening daily, in opposition to the Napoleonic domination of Prussia. It used various devices to criticize French hegemony, including short reports on Paris fashions, which contrasted the display of riches in the French capital with the plight of the Prussian economy under war reparations and the Continental System. But it was soon subjected to stifling censorship. In March 1811, Kleist closed it down and eight months later committed suicide with his lover.

Johann Cotta, the son of a court printer in Stuttgart and founder of one of the largest publishing firms in the German states, was also forced to come to terms with Napoleon. In collaboration with Friedrich Schiller, he used the profits from his family's book shop in Tübingen to publish a series of periodicals devoted to a new kind of historicized political journalism emphasizing

the discussion of ideas over factual reporting. Then, in 1798, he launched the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, moved it to Augsburg in 1810, and developed it into the most widely read newspaper in the German states. Along with Cotta's other newspapers, the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* sought to achieve freedom from press controls through responsible, nonpartisan journalism. But insofar as he was dependent on government measures against piracy and forced to operate under various Napoleonic and restoration authorities, he claimed that there was no discrepancy between serving the public and being useful to government.

Cotta was typical in seeing no need to facilitate public participation in politics. Indeed, for the political and literary elite, the danger of newspapers was that they gave people the false impression that they were sufficiently informed to have a valid opinion on current affairs. This negative attitude was reflected in Gustav Freytag's play *The Journalists* (1854) in which an unscrupulous journalist proclaims: "I have . . . learned to write on all sides. I have written on the liberal side and again on the conservative side. I can write on any side." King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia expressed concern lest journalism "be placed in a position of equal dignity" with science and literature, while Chancellor Otto von Bismarck dismissed journalism as a dumping ground for those unable to find a calling in life. Both regarded journalism as a potentially subversive political force.

These attitudes delayed the development of journalism as a profession and hindered attempts by journalists to improve their low socioeconomic status. Despite their high level of education, most 19th-century German journalists were too poorly paid to survive on their writing alone and had to work as librarians, postmasters, or printers as well. Their lower-middle-class status was reflected in the working arrangements at larger newspapers such as Cotta's *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, where they labored in close physical proximity to the technical staff and even lived with them in the building where production took place.

In *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), Mark Twain poked fun at German newspapers for having "no funny-paragraph column; no police-court reports . . . no information about prize fights or other dog-fights . . . no department of curious odd and ends of floating fact and gossip . . . [and] no abuse of public officials, big or little," among other missing things. What it does contain, he said, "is easily answered: a child's handful of telegrams, mainly about European national and international political movements; letter-correspondence about the same things; market reports. There you have it. That is what a German daily is made of. A German daily is the slowest and saddest and dreariest of the inventions of man. Our own dailies infuriate the reader, pretty often; the German daily only stupefies him."

Fearing the potential power of the press over public opinion, 19th-century German governments continued to limit its freedom. For example, the Press Law of 1874 restricted it to the printing of “established facts.” As a result, most newspapers concentrated on literature, art, music, theater, religion, science, and fashion rather than hard political news or public affairs. After **World War I**, Article 118 of the constitution of the new Weimer Republic gave every German “the right to express his opinion freely.” But it did so only “within the bounds of the general laws” and laws reducing free expression soon became extensive. These laws hindered newspapers supporting Germany’s experiment with democracy without preventing the attacks of its enemies. Alfred Hugenberg, who owned the powerful press agency Telegraph Union (TU) along with several other wire services, a large group of newspapers, and a major advertising agency, used his control over much of the news received by Germans to lead the way in undermining public support for the Republic. Although a few journalists such as **Carl von Ossietzky** sought to engage in critical investigative reporting, the traditional emphasis on culture and education also undermined the capacity of German journalism to prevent the rise of Hitler or resist the brutality of the Nazis after they came to power on 30 January 1933.

Erich Dombrowski, editor of the liberal Frankfurt *General Anzeiger* beginning in 1926, later said that “until the end of 1932 we published almost nothing about the Nazis. Our policy was the silent treatment.” As a well-educated member of the mercantile class, he addressed his attention to the dire financial situation in Frankfurt and the country. By March 1933, the paper was receiving Joseph Goebbels’s daily directive by teleprinter specifying “what must and must not be printed and the required treatment of stories and headlines. Included among the ‘must’ material were, of course, anti-semitic articles, but we always published these with a DNB attribution [*Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*—German News Office] showing they were compulsory and not the opinion of the paper.”

The Nazis quickly turned the press into a near monopoly of the party. Except for the *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Frankfurter Zeitung*, opposition and Jewish-owned newspapers were immediately suppressed and expropriated. Other publications, such as the *Vossische Zeitung* which dated back to 1703, were forced to sell out to Eher Verlag, the Munich publishing house owned by Max Amann that had issued *Mein Kampf*. These included the Frankfurt *General Anzeiger* in 1936 when Dombrowski was fired for refusing to divorce his Jewish wife. Eher Verlag became a lucrative Nazi newspaper trust, eventually cornering four-fifths of German circulation. All newspapers were placed under a Press Division within Goebbels’s Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and subject to tight  **censorship** along with

radio, film, and most other cultural institutions. The party also acquired the *Völkischer Beobachter*, a morning newspaper in Munich, and turned it into an official paper. It was edited by the National Socialist philosopher Alfred Rosenberg and distributed throughout the country in various editions. At its peak, it had a circulation of about 1.2 million.

Under the Reich Press Law of 4 October 1933, all reporters and editors were required to pass tests of German citizenship and prove they were not Jewish or married to Jews. At a daily morning news conference, Goebbels gave precise directives to the editors of Berlin's dailies and correspondents from other cities on what to feature. All journalists were expected to praise Hitler and follow the National Socialist line. Even sports journalists had to submit to the directives of the Ministry of Propaganda. Not content to leave direct propaganda to the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official party organ, Goebbels founded his own newspaper, *Der Angriff*, in which he reserved the right-hand column of the front page for a personal diatribe signed "Dr. G."

For a brief period, an attempt was made to court foreign correspondents by assigning them luxurious quarters and entertaining them lavishly. When this approach proved to be less than satisfactory, it was replaced by various forms of intimidation, including the expulsion of journalists like **Norman Ebbut**. The repression of journalists soon reached the point where they could not verify unofficial information without risking the lives of their sources.

Following the collapse of the Third Reich, freedom of the press was established in the zones under British, French, and American control, while centralized control of the media was maintained in the Soviet zone. The **United States** and **Great Britain** also sent reporters to Germany to cultivate a new generation of objective, democratically inspired journalists. In what became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or West Germany, newspapers maintained looser ties with the new political parties and were no longer owned by, or used as mouthpieces for, them. Following unification in 1990, the media system in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) or East Germany was dismantled and Western firms became the dominant media owners and producers.

The main newspaper markets in present-day Germany are local and regional rather than national. Even *Bild Zeitung*, the highest circulation tabloid (and the top selling daily in the European Union) has a strong regional base. As a result of this focus, there are a large number of newspapers (1,512 in 2008), most of which are subscription based rather than dependent on newsstand sales. At the same time, the German newspaper market is characterized by a high degree of concentration with a small number of publishers controlling much of the total circulation (20.2 million in 2008). The largest newspaper publisher is Axel Springer AG, followed by Stuttgarter Zeitung,

the WAZ publishing group, and DuMont. In 2008, they accounted for 40.8 percent of newspaper sales.

In the absence of national newspapers, the most influential political publication in Germany is *Der Spiegel*, a weekly newsmagazine. Its investigative journalism has been aided by improvements in the quality of journalism education resulting from connections between newspapers such as *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and journalism schools in Munich and Hamburg. Despite the appearance of more sensational news genres, the traditional emphasis on erudite journalism has been maintained.

**GODKIN, EDWARD L. (1831–1902).** Founding editor of *The Nation* (1865) and spokesman for the Mugwumps in Gilded Age America. Born in **Ireland**, Godkin studied law but soon turned to journalism and covered the Crimean War (1853–1856) for the *London Daily News*. In 1856, he emigrated to New York and continued his work as a correspondent during the Civil War. After the war, he helped create *The Nation*, became its first editor, and established its reputation for lively and independent political opinion. In 1881, he sold the financially troubled magazine to the *New York Evening Post*, but two years later succeeded Carl Shurz at the *Post*'s editor-in-chief, continuing in that capacity until 1889.

An admirer of English aristocratic ideals, Godkin believed that America lacked a stabilizing tradition of genteel behavior. In the Mugwump tradition, he favored moral persuasion as the main instrument of reform. Editorially, he supported free trade, honest government, and a number of liberal reforms. But he also opposed many of the proposals of agrarian reform movements and had a low opinion of Native Americans, African Americans, Irish Catholics, and effectively any immigrants who were not Anglo-Saxons. He favored Chinese exclusion, radical Reconstruction, and civil service reform through which to place a minority of well-educated men in government jobs. His journalism was essentially an attempt to consolidate the ethnic and socioeconomic status of the class to which he belonged.

**GOOGLE NEWS.** The world's largest news aggregator app. It originated in the aftermath of 9/11 when Google was besieged with requests for information about what had just happened. Krishna Bharat, a 31-year-old research scientist at the company's headquarters in California, quickly developed a working prototype for an online service that initially provided updated news stories every 15 minutes and later virtually or as soon as they were published. Beginning with 150 sites of potential news, it was aggregating from 4,500 sources within a year. It was officially released as Google News in January 2006 and was digesting and displaying news from more than 50,000 sources

by 2013. It used an algorithm to do the aggregating and limited each item to a headline, a sentence or two, and a hyperlink to the original source.

Unlike the **Huffington Post**, it made no pretense that the stories were its own. But it was widely criticized, one commentator calling it “a squatter on the fourth estate.” In *Merchants of Truth* (2019), Jill Abramson quotes News Corp. chairman **Rupert Murdoch**: “There are those who think they have a right to take our news content and use it for their own purpose without contributing a penny to its production. Their almost wholesale misappropriation of our stories is not fair use. To be impolite, it’s theft.” Abramson notes that *HuffPost* gamed Google’s search system by changing its own site so its “knockoffs” would appear in Google News above the original versions and thereby obtain more clicks (and advertising), suggesting there may not be any honor among thieves.

**GREAT BRITAIN.** The origins of journalism in England, Scotland, and Wales can be traced back to the production of printed news pamphlets and manuscript newsletters in the 16th century. The first attempt to produce a continuous news publication was made by a group of London printers and booksellers headed by John Wolfe (1548–1601) in 1589. Two decades earlier, Wolfe led a revolt against the monopolistic Stationers Company and was imprisoned for stating that is “lawfull for all men to print lawfull books what commandement soever her Majestie gave to the contrary.” But he later joined the Company, accepted a substantial privilege himself, and became closely tied to the propaganda activities of Elizabeth I. After she decided to send English troops to France in support of Henry of Navarre, he began printing a series of nationalistic news quartos or pamphlets following their campaign. When their publication came to a sudden end in 1593, the only form of regular news production, foreign or domestic, consisted of manuscript newsletters with their limited distribution.

It was not until 1620 that English readers had a regular source of printed news again. In December of that year, George Veseler began translating an Amsterdam *coranto* consisting of one double-sided sheet of news for export to England. As these Dutch *corantos* began to multiply, a number of London printers with family, trade, and religious connections to their counterparts in the Netherlands began making their own translations and, in the case of Thomas Archer, producing a *coranto* of his own for sale. Archer was temporarily imprisoned for his efforts, but after his release joined with Nathaniel Bourne and Nathaniel Butter to begin marketing *The Continuation of our Weekly Newes* in September 1621 under the pseudonym Mercurius Britannicus. It had a title page with a summary of its contents and was issued about once a week with a print run of between 250 and 850 copies. With the aid of



a monopoly from James I, the *Weekly News* grew from a single double-sided folio sheet into a 24-page quarto publication (though later cut back to 16) and experimented for a time with different news formats.

For some years after ascending the throne in 1625, Charles I allowed the *Weekly Newes* and other *corantos* to continue publishing. But in 1632, three years after dissolving parliament, he banned the publication of foreign news. When this restriction ended in 1638, Bourne and Butter renewed publication. But they were now subject to a new system of licensing imposed by the Star Chamber a year earlier. When parliament was finally summoned in 1640 and the Star Chamber was abolished a year later, licensing and censorship also ceased and a new kind of publication appeared on the streets of London: a weekly periodical, eight pages in length, dated, and containing domestic news. Entitled *The Diurnall, or The heads of all the Proceedings in Parliament*, it was the first of a series of newsbooks, which tried to meet the demand for news during the English Civil War. During its initial phase, both the royalist and parliamentary camps used newsbooks to appeal to public opinion, financing them in part through advertising. In their fierce competition for readers, they eschewed the neutrality of the *corantos* in favor of a colloquial style marked by passion, wit, and, in the case of John Crouch's eight-page weekly *The Man in the Moon* (1649–1650), outright crudity.

Following the execution of Charles I in January 1649, Cromwell subjected the newsbooks to censorship and in June 1650 founded *Mercurius Politicus* as a vehicle of propaganda under editor Marchamont Nedham. The ablest journalist of his day, it was said of Nedham that he knew how to catch the ear of the public. His writings had been vetted by John Milton, who had argued against pre-publication censorship in *Areopagitica* (1644), but was now licenser for the Commonwealth-Protectorate. Along with news, *Mercurius Politicus* included a series of articles written by Nedham in support of the government. He became close friends with Milton and it was likely under his influence that he switched from a jocular to a more serious tone. From 1655 to 1659, *Mercurius Politicus* had an outright monopoly of news. But with the return of Charles II to the throne in 1660, Nedham's position was transferred to Henry Muddiman, whose newsbook, the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, had supported the Restoration.

Muddiman's monopoly turned out to be even more short-lived. In 1662, another draconian Printing Act was passed, giving authority over news publication to a Surveyor of the Press. The first occupant of this powerful position, Sir Roger L'Estrange, rescinded Muddiman's monopoly and restricted printed news to his own publications, the *Intelligencer* and the *Newes*. In 1665, however, a plague in London forced the court and parliament to move to Oxford, where L'Estrange's enemies hired Muddiman to again provide

them with news. When the king returned to the capital in 1666, L'Estrange was bought off and Muddiman's *Oxford Gazette* became the *London Gazette* with a monopoly over the licensed publication of news and a new folio half-sheet format.

The end of licensing in 1695 did not give English newspapers free rein to publish news as they saw fit. During the 18th century, the government continued to control the dissemination of news through the imposition of newspaper duties, which critics later called **taxes on knowledge**. These included taxes on **advertising**, keeping most printers and publishers dependent on subsidies from political parties. In addition to the *London Gazette*, the Tory government under Robert Harley supported half a dozen or so London newspapers in the 1710s; it also financed the printing of numerous pamphlets and paid Jonathan Swift to oversee its propaganda efforts. Later Tory publications such as the *Craftsman*, a weekly journal edited by Nicholas Amhurst under the pseudonym Caleb D'Anvers of Gray's-Inn, drew upon the talents of Lord Chesterfield and Bolingbroke to carry on a journalistic war against Robert Walpole. But Walpole had the advantage of the power of the purse. From 1722 until his resignation in 1742, he spent over £50,000 sponsoring eight newspapers and a stable of pro-Whig essayists.

Control was also exercised through a strict and illogical interpretation of the law of libel according to which criticism of the government based in fact was regarded as even more seditious for bringing it into greater disrepute. The latter device was criticized in Cato's letters (1720–23) as contrary to the rational pursuit of the public interest, but to no avail. It was not until Fox's Libel Act in 1792 that the verdict in libel trials was placed in the hands of juries.

Because of these restrictions, news reports were merely one component among many in the 18th-century newspaper. The first daily newspaper in what was Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) from 1707 onward was the *Daily Courant*, launched by the London printer Samuel Buckley on 11 March 1702. It contained a mere two columns of news on a single foolscap sheet and took most of its content from continental newspapers. Within a decade, there were about 20 privately owned newspapers in London. As competition increased, some newspaper proprietors began to focus on a narrow range of content for a niche audience, such as politics, high society, or advertising (the *Daily Advertiser*). Others such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the first national publication, survived as news digests or aggregators.

For most of the 18th century, the London morning newspaper was a small sheet folded like a newsletter into four folio pages and containing fewer than 100,000 characters. By the 1790s, however, the removal of restrictions on parliamentary reporting together with increased demand for news about events in Europe and America produced major changes in the physical makeup of

British newspapers. Led by *The Times* of London, the daily newspaper grew to eight massive broadsheet pages, which unfolded to four feet by three. This expansion continued in subsequent decades as ever more space was needed to accommodate increasing amounts of advertising and news. For those who could not afford to buy *The Times* or any other newspaper for that matter, access to newspapers was available through subscription reading-rooms, which provided a selection of government and opposition papers, as determined by their subscribers, as well as books and pamphlets. By 1830, most towns, large or small, had their own reading-rooms, and through their operation each copy of a paper reached, on average, perhaps 25 additional people.

The elimination of the taxes on knowledge opened the door to a mass-circulation press and what some observers consider to be the “golden age” of British newspapers. The process began in 1855 when Colonel Arthur B. Sleigh founded the *Daily Telegraph and Courier* simply to air a personal grudge. When he was unable to pay his printing bill, the paper was taken over by Joseph Moses Levy, owner of *The Sunday Times*. He then handed it off to his son, Lord Burnham, who relaunched it as the *Daily Telegraph* and took on the *Daily News* and *The Morning Post* by reducing its price below theirs while emphasizing independent quality journalism. His aim, he said, was to make it “the largest, the best, and the cheapest.”

Through the use of headlines, illustrations, interviews, and shorter story formats, the national newspaper market, which was dominated by the London dailies, underwent unprecedented growth in the late 19th century. By the 1870s, critics such as Matthew Arnold were lamenting its New Journalism, which they regarded as a form of Americanization. But **William T. Stead**, who did much to foster it, saw it as journalism becoming a fourth estate. At the same time, a provincial press, propelled in part by the publication of serial syndicated fiction, began to flourish and popular Sunday newspapers such as *Reynolds News* and *Lloyd’s Weekly News* made their appearance.

At the end of the century, the British daily newspaper market was divided into what today are called upmarket (“quality” or “prestige”) newspapers and midmarket newspapers. But in 1896, Alfred Harmsworth, later **Lord Northcliffe**, introduced a third category with the creation of the *Daily Mail*. Selling for a halfpenny, or half the cost of other papers, it was the first tabloid or mass-market newspaper in the United Kingdom. During the Boer War (1899–1902), it became the first newspaper to achieve a daily circulation of one million. In 1903, Harmsworth founded the *Daily Mirror* as a newspaper for women, but soon transformed it into a mass-market pictorial publication with a daily circulation of 1.2 million by **World War I**. In 1908, three years after being ennobled, he added *The Times* to his newspaper empire and used

it to pursue and exercise political influence, allegedly bringing down the Asquith government in 1916.

The “Northcliffe Revolution” continued after his death in 1922, with four “press barons” battling for supremacy: Lord Rothermere (Northcliffe’s brother), William Berry (later Lord Camrose), Gomer Berry (later Lord Kemsley), and Lord Beaverbrook. Born in Canada as William Maxwell Aitken, the first Baron Beaverbrook moved to Britain after making a fortune in business and entered politics. During **World War I**, he reinvigorated British propaganda as minister of information and then purchased the London *Daily Express*, turning it into the highest circulation daily in the world. His method of doing so was “elusive” according to A. J. P. Taylor in *Beaverbrook* (1972). “He hardly ever wrote letters of detailed instruction as Northcliffe did. For most of his life he did not go to the office,” wrote Taylor. “Sometimes he told his editors by telephone what to say. More often he harassed them from afar. It was fear of his telephone calls . . . that kept editors and journalists up to the mark.” During **World War II**, he again made effective use of propaganda as minister of aircraft production and later as minister of supply.

In their intense competition for readers, newspapers such as the *Daily Express* offered insurance to subscribers and sent canvassers door-to-door bearing gifts. But even after the “circulation war” of the early 1930s, the degree of tabloidization was relatively limited. The most dramatic shift in subscriber orientations occurred after World War II when there was not only a large movement toward mass-market newspapers but a significant degree of upmarket movement as well.

As calculated by Jeremy Tunstall (1996), the total daily newspaper circulation in Great Britain in 1937 was divided as follows: “quality” or upmarket newspapers (7 percent), midmarket newspapers (72 percent), and tabloids or mass-market newspapers (20 percent). By 1995, however, these figures had shifted considerably. Relying on accidents, crime, and bizarre occurrences to attract readers, the tabloids now constituted 53 percent of daily circulation, compared to 27 percent for midmarket and 20 percent for upmarket newspapers. The latter increase was a reflection of both improved education in the postwar period and a more balanced representation of political opinion.

These percentages have remained relatively stable during the past quarter century. In 2012, about 90 percent of total daily circulation was accounted for by 10 newspapers: five “quality” dailies—*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, and *The Times*; two midmarket publications—the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*; and three tabloids—the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Star*, and *The Sun*. The “quality” dailies had 17.6 percent of the circulation compared to 47.6 percent for the tabloids and 27.8 percent for the midmarket publications. Among the tabloids, *The Sun* is the

clear leader. Owned by News International under the control of the Murdoch family, it had 28 percent of total circulation in 2012, six times that of its stablemate, *The Times*.

The intrusive reporting of the British tabloids continues unabated. In July 2011, Murdoch's *News of the World* was closed following allegations of phone hacking, police bribery, and other corrupt practices in pursuit of stories. The intrusive reporting of British tabloids continues unabated. In 2020, Prince Harry and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, not only threatened to sue them but also decided to spend part of year elsewhere to avoid them. See also ADDISON, JOSEPH; DEFOE, DANIEL; EMPIRE PRESS UNION; REVIEW; *THE SPECTATOR*; STEELE, RICHARD; *THE TATLER*.

**GREECE.** On 31 December 1790, when Greece was still under the control of the Ottoman Empire, two Greek printers founded and edited a Greek-language newspaper in Vienna, which was an important commercial hub for Greek merchants. Entitled *Ephemeris*, it tried to inform the Greek people about European politics without offending their Turkish rulers. It continued until late 1797 when it was shut down for publishing some of the revolutionary writings of the Greek political thinker and patriot Rigas Feraios, who was arrested along with owner Georgios Poulou. Its role was resurrected by the Hellenic Telegraph, which began publication in Vienna in 1812 and continued until 1829. These expatriate newspapers helped to keep the Greek language and culture alive while also encouraging rebellion.

Following the Greek wars of independence in the 1820s and the creation of the Kingdom of Greece by the European powers in 1832, newspapers were tightly controlled and remained so through a long series of military coups and failed attempts at democracy. As a result, Greek citizens have often resorted to oral debates as a means of maintaining some form of **public sphere**. When the Greek politician and party leader Charilos Trikoupis published a manifesto entitled "Who's to blame?" in the Athens daily *Karoi* on 29 June 1874, he was tried for treason, though later released and reluctantly chosen by the king as prime minister.

For the first two-thirds of the 20th century, each political party had its own newspaper with the party leader as editor. During the military dictatorship from 1967 to 1974, newspapers were either closed or heavily censored. Following the creation of the Hellenic Republic and the adoption of a new constitution in 1975, there was a proliferation of new papers. While some newspapers remained tied to political parties or ideologies, such as the conservative *Kathimerini* (1919) and the liberal *To Vima* (1922), others became less politically partisan in order to maximize advertising revenues.

A 2001 study of the effects of the growing commercialization of the Greek media concluded that it had not led to more professional behavior by journalists. In “the absence of a strong, truly independent journalistic body of ethics,” it had merely shifted the messages, which journalists, as media workers, pass along from those of politicians to those of media owners in the battle to set the public agenda. However, a 2017 study of the impact of the internet on Greek journalism found a shift “towards more factually based news reports” and “more attentive[ness] to the interests of the general public than before.”

**GREELEY, HORACE (1811–1872).** Newspaper editor and founder of the *New York Tribune*. Born in Amherst, New Hampshire, he worked briefly as a compositor and job printer in New York City before he and another partner founded the *New-Yorker* (1834), a weekly journal devoted to the arts and literature. To supplement its meager profits, he wrote on politics for the *Daily Whig* and edited various Whig campaign sheets. These endeavors brought him into contact with New York’s Whig leaders, who encouraged him to establish the *New York Tribune* on 10 April 1841. Less sensational than the other **penny papers**, it exerted a significant influence on American politics over the next 30 years.

Greeley vigorous editorials supported not only Whig causes such as protective tariffs but also the organization of labor, a homestead law, women’s rights, and antislavery. In 1856, he helped organize the new Republican Party. But he had mixed success in navigating intra-party politics and the difficult issues involved in mending the Union. In 1872, his unsuccessful attempt to run for the presidency as a Liberal Republican, together with the death of his wife shortly after his defeat, contributed to a mental breakdown and his own death not long thereafter.

Greeley’s career has been called “a study in contradictions” (Stewart, 2012). But it was not necessarily contradictory to prize the financial independence of the *Tribune* from political parties while using the paper to engage politically in the issues of the day. While his partnering with Lincoln during the Civil War in exchange for better access to news raises questions about the sincerity of his belief in the role of the press as a watchdog of government, his support for punishing seditious libel during the war could also be seen as necessary for preserving freedom and democracy against its sworn enemies. After Gettysburg, the *Tribune*’s offices were surrounded by mobs that denounced him for supporting emancipation and the war and called for his hanging. But Greeley refused to succumb and remained overall a staunch supporter of freedom of the press.

**GRUB-STREET JOURNAL.** A four-page satirical news aggregator published weekly in London from 1730 to 1737. Its rival *Weekly Register* said that it was “universally condemn’d, and yet universally read.” It was owned by a group of shareholders comprising its author Richard Russel, a non-juring priest educated of Oxford, and several London booksellers. In addition to advertisements, letters to the editors, and topical essays, it had a news section containing excerpts from various London newspapers. Signed by the fictional character Jeffery Quidnunc, this digest of reports was organized so to expose their errors and contradictions while also helping readers navigate what Eric Howard calls “the changing culture of information.” Quidnunc (Latin for “What now?” or “What’s the latest?”) made frequent jokes at the expense of London journalism and its conventions. Although Alexander Pope did not have a hand establishing or operating the *Grub-Street Journal* as once thought, he did make a number of contributions to it.

The street from which the journal took its name was originally a real street, located in the Moorfields area of London, where criminals, prostitutes, and other forms of supposed lowlife congregated. By the mid-18th century, according to Samuel Johnson’s dictionary, it was also inhabited by struggling writers such as himself. By then it had become a derisory term for hack writers, especially journalists, and a metaphor for bad writing generally.

**THE GUARDIAN.** One of the foremost newspapers in the world, long known for its militant independence. Formerly known as the *Manchester Guardian*, it was founded as a weekly in 1821 by the young cotton merchant John Edward Taylor with the backing of a group of fellow nonconformist businessmen known as the Little Circle. It sought to take advantage of the forced closure of the *Manchester Observer* for supporting the Peterloo Massacre protesters. A moderate Whig, Taylor declared in the paper’s prospectus that it would “zealously enforce the principles of civil and religious Liberty” and “warmly advocate the cause of Reform.” He was not, however, a champion of labor, opposing the Ten Hours Bill (1832) and criticizing strikes as the work of agitators. Although he welcomed the Slavery Abolition Act (1833), he did not favor restricting trade with countries that still permitted slavery.

The *Guardian* was the first newspaper in Manchester to employ a professional reporter—its own printer and business manager Jeremiah Garnett. In *The Manchester Guardian: A Century of History* (1921), W. H. Mills related (p. 45) that Garnett “turned his own shorthand notes of meetings into type, cutting out altogether the intermediate process of translating shorthand into longhand, and when the paper was printed on Friday it was he who took off his jacket and turned the handle of the press.” Apart from his reports, the paper initially copied much of its news from *The Times*. But with the

formation of Reuters in 1851, it quickly subscribed to its international news-gathering services.

With the elimination of the final **taxes on knowledge** in 1855, the *Guardian* switched from weekly to daily publication and began to distinguish itself from other “quality” newspapers. “Practically alone,” writes Owen (2012), it “sought to preserve the educational ideal of mid-Victorian journalism, repeatedly stating its willingness to speak truth to power, its commitment to hearing every voice, and the importance of moral obligations in imperial policymaking.” Under the legendary C. P. Scott, who served editor from 1872 to 1929, the paper began a long history of reporting accounts of British violence overseas, beginning with the suppression of the Irish Home Rulers in the 1880s and continuing with the burnings and concentration camps in the Boer War in 1900. It also supported movements such as women’s suffrage, though not the militant methods of the suffragettes.

An article written on the occasion of the paper’s centenary made the celebrated statement: “Comment is free, but facts are sacred. The voice of opponents no less than that of friends has a right to be heard.” This philosophy influenced its coverage of controversial events in the 1930s such as the Stalin’s purges and Zinoviev trial. Unlike the left-wing *New Statesman* and conservative *Times*, it provided what Peter Deli calls “a broader, more detailed and more nuanced reading of events in the Soviet Union during this period.” It did so by virtue of using its own Moscow correspondent together with Reuters, included long articles written by Leon Trotsky, and created a large letters-to-the-editor section in which Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and ex-Bolsheviks could present their interpretations of the purges.

The *Manchester Guardian* became the *Guardian* in 1959. It currently has a circulation of about 125,000 and its print edition is published in tabloid format. In 2018, this edition was found to be the most trusted newspaper in the United Kingdom in a poll by the Publishers Audience Measurement Company, while its online version was likewise rated as the most trusted by an Ipsos MORI poll.





# H

**HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH (1863–1951).** Controversial American press baron. His father, George Hearst, was a mining magnate, U.S. senator, and owner of the *Examiner* in San Francisco, where the younger Hearst was born. After returning from Harvard in 1887, he persuaded his father to hand him the reins of the *Examiner* and experimented with various pictorial and typographical devices to increase its appeal. In 1895, he purchased the *New York Morning Journal* and began an uncompromising and ultimately successful circulation battle with **Joseph Pulitzer's** *New York World*. He increased the size of the *Journal*, cut its price to a penny, and lured reporters from other papers with higher salaries.

Hearst's use of what became known as yellow journalism included whipping up popular support for a war with Spain over Cuba following the explosion of the *USS Maine* in February 1898. As David Nasaw recounts in *The Chief* (2000), when President William McKinley asked Congress to declare war on Spain on April 20, the *Journal* greeted the news with the four-inch headline NOW TO AVENGE THE MAINE! Five days later, rockets were set off from the roof of its building to celebrate the formal declaration of war and a prize of \$1,000 was offered to the reader with the best ideas for conducting the war. A week later, on the top of the front page, Hearst asked his readers "How do you like the *Journal's* war?"

In his 576-page biography *Citizen Hearst* (1961), William A. Swanberg wrote that "unlike Caesar and Napoleon, the bashful Hearst did his manipulating from behind the scenes with the aid of cylinder presses and tons of newsprint." He was soon regarded by other New York newspaper proprietors as "a man who would do anything for sensation, devoid of honesty or principle, a Polyphemus of propaganda who ate his enemies and kept his Cyclops eye on circulation." Al Smith, who served four terms as governor of New York, said "you cannot look for truth in this paper," while Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, described the *Journal* as "gathering garbage from the gutters of life." Even the Hearst writer Arthur James Pegler, father of the popular Depression-era columnist Westbrook Pegler,

admitted “a Hearst newspaper is like a woman running down the street with her throat cut.”

In his more recent study *William Randolph Hearst: The Later Years, 1911–1951* (2007), however, Ben Proctor puts Hearst in a somewhat different perspective. Hearst wanted to become the greatest journalist of his time and measured his progress toward that goal primarily by the daily circulation of his newspapers. This made sensationalism a necessary ingredient of his papers, from the use of large headlines to endless stories about murder, accidents, natural disasters, and the diverse frailties of human nature. It was also taken to justify the manipulation and even the falsification of news. But by driving up circulation, this content attracted advertising and enabled Hearst to hire some of the best editors and reporters in the country. Moreover, his journalism was “more than a litany of human suffering and debauchery.” As Proctor relates:

Since American loved sports competition, he featured college football rivalries and the World Series in baseball on the front page. Anything having to do with women was good copy, whether relating to fashions or cuisines or weddings or beauty contests. Stories about American royalty—the super rich—especially the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, Morgans, Guggenheims, an Astors, were always prime news.

In an adulteration of **William T. Stead**’s concept of “government by journalism,” Hearst described his own approach as “government by newspaper.” Whereas the former was understood as journalism bringing to light social conditions that call for government action, the latter was loftily related to the American people expressing the “popular will.” For Hearst, however, such popular sovereignty simply consisted of his newspapers turning their daily actions into little more than **clickbait**. Moreover, while his papers initially supported progressive legislation as a means of expanding circulation, he later became politically conservative, strongly opposed the New Deal, and chose fascism over communism in the lead-up to **World War II**.

Over the course of his career, Hearst created an immense media empire that included motion picture and radio companies as well as 18 newspapers and nine magazines. Though he managed to get elected to the House of Representatives in 1903, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City and for governor of New York and was also denied the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination. In Orson Welles’s first feature film *Citizen Kane* (1941), Charles Foster Kane was a composite of Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, William McCormick, and other press barons. Nonetheless, Hearst forbade any of his newspapers from carrying advertisements for the film.

**HELEN JEWETT MURDER TRIAL.** On 10 April 1836, Helen Jewett (as she called herself at the time) was found bludgeoned to death and partially burned in one of New York City's pricier brothels in Lower Manhattan. Evidence pointing to Richard P. Robinson, a 19-year-old office clerk and one of her clients with whom she had exchanged love letters, led to his prosecution for murder. Robinson's trial and acquittal were given particularly intense coverage in the **penny papers**—the *New York Herald*, the *New York Sun*, and the *New York Transcript*, with the *Herald's* **James Gordon Bennett** setting the tone the next day with his sensationalizing description of the victim as “surpass[ing] in every respect the Venus de Medici according to the cast generally given of her.” But apart from the opportunity to increase circulation, most New York papers also probed into the social meaning of the murder and acquittal.

For those supporting his conviction, Robinson represented the supposedly corrupt and unruly lower-class clerks and artisans whose aspirations for upward mobility, as evidenced by their use of high-priced prostitutes like Jewett, threatened the fabric of established society. For Bennett, on the other hand, Robinson was a victim of the city's aristocracy, which had allegedly conspired with brothel owners and the police to frame Robinson so as to cover up their own licentious lifestyle.

Few American journalism historians have been able to resist including this ghastly event in their narratives. But to their credit they have also done so in terms of what its larger meaning; in particular, what it reveals about the state of journalism in antebellum America (Buosis, 2018). In their conventional Whiggish history *The Press and America* (1978), Edwin Emery and Michael Emery interpreted the penny papers' unseemly sensationalism as a momentary aberration in the development of serious news reporting. But in *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (1981), Dan Schiller countered that what may seem to some to have been an unsavory obsession with sex and intrigue on the part of the penny papers was not a new feature of American journalism. In his view, there has always been a drive to sell newspapers by telling the most compelling stories. At the same time, however, not all sensationalistic coverage is the same. The penny papers' sensationalism “made the case a burning topic” because it “*made sense*” in the context of the cultural values of the time.

In *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (1991), John Stevens revived the traditional political economy argument that the penny papers used sensationalism to establish their viability as businesses. For Bennett in particular, it was branding exercise, one that enabled the *Herald* to outlast many of its competitors. In *Froth & Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (1994), however, Andie Tucher suggested

that Bennett's biography also needs to be considered. She argued that his relatively low social standing made him more willing to challenge the reporting norms of the partisan press. Her approach was later extended by David Anthony (1997) to the textual features of the *Herald's* reporting.

In the same vein, Patricia Cline Cohen's *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (1998) proposed that the Jewett story provides insight into the unsettled state of reporting in the 1830s. The *Herald*, the *Sun*, and the *Transcript* went to war with each other because each was using a different reporting practice, none of which was established as yet. As a result, they produced three different Jewetts, each of which had to be defended as a matter of maintaining credibility.

Finally, in his contribution to *Sensationalism: Murder, Mayhem, Mudslinging, Scandals, and Disasters in 19th-Century Reporting* (2013), edited by David Sachsman and David Bulla, William Huntzicker maintained that it was the manner in which the story was presented, what he called its "news play," that accounts in large measure for its continuation as a major crime story in both fiction and nonfiction. Instead of emphasizing how culture shapes the work of reporters and editors, he suggested that their practices are constitutive of popular culture.

In his recent discussion of the "problems and promises" associated with this historiography of the Jewett-Robinson case, Michael Buozis concludes that "by reading texts as evidence not for what is being reported on but for the particular practices that produce such texts, historians have traced the development of norms in reporting, norms that shape both the functioning of a free press in a liberal democracy and the representational power of journalism in a specific culture." See also CRIME NEWS.

**HEMINGWAY, ERNEST (1899–1961).** One of America's greatest novelists and short-story writers, Hemingway was also sporadically a journalist. After graduating from high school in Oak Park, Illinois, in 1917, he worked for six months as a cub reporter for the *Kansas City Star*, a paper known for its excellent news coverage and crusades for better government; its style guide became a touchstone for his writing generally. During the final months of **World War I**, he served as an ambulance driver on the Italian Front, where he won the Silver Medal of Military Valor from the Italian government and was himself badly wounded. After convalescing and returning to Oak Park, he took a job as a feature writer at the *Toronto Star* in 1920 and later covered the Greco-Turkish War for the paper before being fired for inadequate reporting. Although he found it increasingly exasperating, his journalism helped to pay the bills while he developed as a writer among the "lost generation" in Paris. In 1937, he went to **Spain** to cover the Spanish Civil War for

the North American Newspaper Alliance. He initially supported the fascist Nationalists, but he was persuaded by the propaganda films of Joris Ivens to switch his allegiance to the Republican insurgents, even breaking with John Dos Passos over his friend's more neutral stance. Late in **World War II**, Hemingway reported from **France** for *Collier's* magazine. In various letters, he later asserted that he had killed anywhere from 26 to 122 German soldiers, presumably while serving as an unarmed, noncombatant correspondent. A recent study has concluded, however, that these claims were exaggerated, if not entirely fictitious.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY.** Early histories of journalism were a variant of what Herbert Butterfield called the Whig interpretation of history. The history of journalism was seen as a long struggle for freedom of the press tied in part to the rise of a politically liberal middle class. British examples of this approach include Alexander Andrews's *History of British Journalism* (1859) and H. R. Fox Bourne's *English Newspapers* (1887). An American version was Frederick Hudson's *Journalism in the United States* (1873). Their Whig assumptions were still prevalent in mid-20th-century journalism histories. The most influential of these was Frederick S. Siebert's *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776* (1952). But Harold Herd's *The March of Journalism* (1952) and **Frank L. Mott's** *American Journalism* (1961) used essentially the same framework.

A few years after Siebert's work was published, he collaborated with Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm to produce a popular textbook of sorts called *Four Theories of the Press* (1956). It deviated from the Whig paradigm in that the libertarian "theory" of the ideal press-state relationship was considered, along with the authoritarian and communist ones, to be inferior to what they took to be a new social responsibility theory arising in part from the **Hutchins Commission**. It was subsequently criticized by John Merrill in *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (1974). "American journalists," he declared, "like most journalists in the Western world, while still chanting the tenets of libertarianism, are marching into an authoritarian sunset under the banners of 'social responsibility.'" Despite this critique and the book's restrictive format, journalism and mass communication instructors continued to assign it to unsuspecting first year university students until it was mercifully laid to rest in John Nerone's edited collection *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press* (1995). The demise of *Four Theories* was not, however, the end of studies and debates about freedom of the press, especially in the United States. In *Emergence of a Free Press* (1985), Leonard Levy modified his argument in *Legacy of Suppression* (1960) that Americans have never been as committed to a free press

as their apologists claim. But his iconoclastic interpretation still generated counter-studies such as Lucas A. Powe Jr.'s *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America* (1991) and Robert Martin's *The Free and Open Press: The Founding of American Democratic Press Liberty, 1640–1800* (2001). Elsewhere scholars such as Robert Goldstein continued to produce works such as *The Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1989).

In “New Directions for Journalism Historiography” (1978), Roy Atwood wrote that “the categories and frameworks within which the history of journalism has been viewed must be turned upside down and inside out.” In his view, “the failure of journalism historians to address important philosophical and methodological issues has permitted the entrenchment of a single perspective [what he called ‘the progressive tradition’] which, consequently, has stifled the field.” But apart from **James Carey**, who first proposed a new cultural perspective in “The Problem of Journalism History” (1974), most journalism historians were slow to respond. In 1997, Michael Schudson was still lamenting that journalism historians were only just beginning to question the Whig or progressive paradigm. And in 2018, A. J. Bauer wrote that “the field of journalism history has spent forty years in a wilderness of self-evaluation.” A recent example of this tendency is a debate that occurred between Mark Hampton and Martin Conboy in *Journalism Studies* in 2014; their main concern was whether journalism history needs to extricate itself from media history or become more deeply integrated within it.

Neither Schudson nor Bauer did justice to the new approaches to journalism history that were emerging in the late 20th century. Schudson himself actually began the process with the publication of *Discovering the News: A Social History of Newspapers* (1978). While it still operated within a broadly Whiggish framework, it put journalism front and center for the first time by shifting attention from freedom of the press to the culturally based norms, values, and ideals shaping journalism. It focused on the idea of objectivity and how its pursuit had become what Gaye Tuchman called a “strategic ritual” in an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1972. *Discovering the News* was arguably the first work in journalism history that matched the best writing in intellectual and social history generally.

Schudson's thesis was that the first glimmerings of objectivity as an ideal in journalism arose in conjunction with the rise of a democratic market society in Jacksonian America; that is, one characterized by wide participation within a capitalist context. In the case of journalism, this commercial egalitarianism took the form of transforming the newspaper into a readily available consumer good, a task undertaken by the **penny papers** with their emphasis on factual, nonpartisan news. In *Objectivity and the News: The Public and*

*the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (1981), Dan Schiller took issue with Schudson's class analysis of the penny press, but retained the same focus on objectivity. Their works stimulated further American histories focusing on the origins and significance of objectivity such as David T. Z. Mindich's *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (1998) and Richard L. Kaplan's *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920* (2002).

However, the objectivity framework proved to be less successful when applied elsewhere. In the same year as Schudson's book, Anthony Smith's account of "The Long Road to Objectivity and Back Again" in Boyce, Curran, and Wingate's *Newspaper History* (1978) showed that while the concept has functioned at times as a protective ideal in **Great Britain**, it has declined as a goal in everyday practice. This argument has been reinforced by Mark Hampton in "The 'Objectivity' Ideal and Its Limitations in 20th-Century British Studies" in volume 9 (2008) of *Journalism Studies*. In continental Europe, where journalism long remained more interested in "views" than news, objectivity has even less relevance as a concept for organizing its history. It was this failure in part that gave rise to a second approach challenging the Whig paradigm. It consisted initially of taking the emergence of objective news reporting as the "invention" of journalism, but then moved beyond this limited perspective.

The initiator of the invention approach was Jean Chalaby, first in an article entitled "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention" in the *European Journal of Communication* (1996) and then in *The Invention of Journalism* (1998). In a review of the latter in the *American Historical Review*, Schudson noted that Chalaby's position changed between the two publications. In the earlier article, he understood the invention of journalism as a relatively sudden rupture (*à la* Foucault) of the highly polemical and politicized news discourse in early 19th-century Europe into two distinct discourses: a new fact-centered, news-oriented, and de-politicized discourse in the Anglo-American world; and a continuation of journalism as political ideology in France and elsewhere. At this point, he still retained a Whiggish bias in considering the rise and spread of the Anglo-American approach as journalism's coming of age. But in *The Invention of Journalism*, he argued that this development constituted a deterioration of public discourse. Like Habermas in tracing the decline of the **public sphere**, he now considered journalism to have been compromised by its embrace of factuality. This assessment is also present in Martin Conboy's *Journalism: A Critical History* (2004).

Like most attempts to establish a bold new thesis, Chalaby overstated his insights in several respects. There was certainly an increased emphasis on impartial, factual news reports in 19th-century Britain and America. But



the 19th century also saw the rise of the editorial as well as other forms of journalism that fell into neither category, such as **social sketches**. Moreover, some of these forms arose elsewhere—such as the *feuilleton* as a kind of “talk of the town” feature in **France** and later in **Russia**. Moreover, once the distinction between news and opinion is no longer taken as an either/or set of possibilities, it becomes clear that it is not anachronistic to say that journalism existed long before the 19th century. In this vein, a number of scholars have located the “invention” of journalism in earlier periods, giving rise to debates over origins.

For Paul J. Voss in *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the Birth of Journalism* (2001), the *news quartos* of the 1590s were the first form of English journalism. His claim was a reaction against the traditional view of the *corantos* of the 1620s and 1630s as the beginning of journalism in England as well as Joad Raymond’s *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (1996). Raymond fudged the debate by talking about the newspaper rather than journalism. The “invention” of the former is now known definitively to have occurred not in England but in Germany with the *Strassburg Gazette* (1605). But once the distinction between news production and journalism is blurred, the “invention” or “origins” of the latter tends to become even more remote. An example of this tendency is Andrew Pettegree’s *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (2014), which takes the story back into the Middle Ages and further.

The would-be “invention” or “origins” paradigm quickly runs out of steam in trying to narrate the 20th century. To carry on the story, some journalism historians have shifted their attention to the question of convergence or the rate at which, and extent to which, the Anglo-American news model spread elsewhere. Their works have been based in some cases on Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini’s *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (2004). But Svennik Høyer and Horst Pöttker’s collection *Diffusion of the News Paradigm 1850–2000* (2005) focuses specifically on journalism. Together with other convergence studies, it confirms that the Anglo-American model is by no means universal, especially outside of Europe. More recently, a comparison of Dutch and Iranian crime news stories in national newspapers (Rafiee et al., 2017) found that journalists in **Iran** still use a chronological narrative structure in which the most important events come at the end rather than the beginning. Even though this format is discouraged in Iranian journalism textbooks, it is still used by most Iranian journalists. In *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communication* (2004), moreover, Paul Starr emphasized the extent to which Americans made different “constitutive choices” about their media system than the British, undermining the idea of a single news tradition.

Within the convergence framework, some journalism histories have concentrated on the rise of professionalism. In what sense did (Anglo-American) journalism become a profession and when did this process begin? And to what degree have journalists elsewhere embraced its tenets of professionalism. In *The Origins of the Ideal of Objectivity in the Professions: Studies in the History of American Journalism and American Law, 1830–1940* (1990), Schudson linked the question of professionalism to his earlier concern with objectivity, proposing that the two arose in tandem. But professionalism has also been related to literary journalism in Christopher Wilson's *The Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* (1985); to feminism in Patricia L. Dooley's *Taking Their Place: Journalists and the Making of an Occupation* (1997); and to complicity in wartime propaganda in Burtin St. John III's *Press Professionalization and Propaganda: The Rise of Journalistic Double-Mindedness, 1917–1941* (2010).

Like objectivity and origins, professionalism is too narrow a concept to provide the basis for a new paradigm in journalism history. More promising are concepts like *discourse* and *practices* with philosophical underpinnings in Ludwig Wittgenstein, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jeffrey Alexander. During the 1990s, the idea of journalism as an evolving set of discursive practices was explored by scholars such as Jan Ekecrantz and Tom Olsson in *Journalism: Discursive Order and Social Practice* (1993). They were influenced by Roger Fowler's *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (1991) and especially Norman Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992) along the rediscovery of Mikhail Bakhtin in works such *The Dialogics of Critique: M. M. Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology* (1992).

A discursive approach underlay Chalaby's *The Invention of Journalism* (1998) as well as Conboy's *Journalism: A Critical History* (2004). But both works subordinated it to other themes and failed to provide much guidance for making discursive practices the *explanandum* of journalism history. For this to happen, journalism historians need to reflect on the nature of practices and discourse. How, for example, can one engage in a practice without (according to Wittgenstein, at least) having to know the rules that govern it? More importantly, how is discourse related to the larger context in which it arises? And how, thereafter, do the answers to these questions provide a new way of writing journalism history?

In the case of discourse and its nature, it is worth returning to Michel Pechêux's *Les Vérités de la Palice* (1975), which in English means *truisms*, but became *Language, Semantics and Ideology* in the translation of 1982. Pechêux began, like so many other students of language, with Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, published posthumously in 1916.

Saussure distinguished between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is the invariant set of grammatical rules for a particular language or language community; it is a social institution that cannot be created or modified by an individual speaker. *Parole*, on the other hand, consists of the individualized, creative, and random use of language; it is not governed by rules, other than the universal external ones of *langue*. In effect, *langue* is grammar and *parole* is speech.

Pechêux's brilliant move was to postulate an intermediate level between *langue* and *parole*; namely, discourse. In principle, everyone can produce all of the grammatically correct sentences of a language (not to mention the ungrammatical ones). But uncoerced, each person only says certain things; there are many statements that we cannot possibly imagine emerging from our lips. At the same time, according to Pechêux, there are many utterances that we make that are the result of various influences acting upon us and *speaking through us*. For Pechêux, these utterances comprise discourse or what might be defined as talk and texts insofar as they are a patterned product of social forces. These "conditions of production" for any given "discourse structure" include not only class, religion, gender, and race and ethnicity but more general factors such as history, institutions, and aesthetics. Collectively, they shape particular discursive practices in journalism and as they change so do the practices such as **anonymity** and the inverted pyramid.

An early example of an innovative discursive approach to journalism history is Jan Ekecrantz's article "Journalism's 'Discursive Events' and Socio-political Change in Sweden 1925–87" (1997). For Ekecrantz, journalistic genres such as news are institutional practices that arise in specific societal situations and historical contexts. Through a detailed qualitative examination of four daily newspapers in **Sweden** for one week in the years 1925, 1955, and 1987, he illustrated how "public events" were constructed as newsworthy in quite different ways in the social and political scenes of each selected year. Given the novelty of this approach and its potential for further histories of journalism, his main line of argument warrants a brief summary.

In 1925, Ekecrantz argues, the typical event in a Swedish newspaper was an individual verbal event ("a multitude of verbal acts fills the pages") pertaining to the new versus the old. Even photographs portrayed individual speakers and the photos selected were chosen for their relevance to the theme of modernity as the achievement of national grandeur through the embrace of technology. Prominent among these verbal events were celebrations of jubilees, inaugurations, and declarations of "proud plans for the future." The voices heard belonged almost exclusively to the political, economic, and bureaucratic elites. But there was no editorial strategy organizing them, no "omniscient author behind them." Speakers functioned independently and were usually presented one at a time in chronological order. Although some

institutions such as the church or schools were viewed as problems, even their speech was represented in its own terms with a minimum of editorial intervention.

By 1955, Sweden was a modern welfare state undergoing a construction boom. In this environment, the verbal event was displaced in the news by the inauguration festivities and so forth for new roads and bridges and their public reception. Such construction symbolized the creation of a unified society through collaboration. “Words with the prefix ‘co-’ abound” and the media become more active in building consensus. In 1925, “many *questions* were asked, but few *answers* were given.” Now “questions get answered, both in direct communication between people in the [news] pages and in the editorial output at large.” Indeed, “the word ‘solution’ becomes one of the most frequently used words. The solutions could be expected in the very near future and mostly they would be the result of cooperation and technical knowhow.” The word *now* is no longer the point from which to dream about a better future, but the place where that future is being engineered.

In 1987, public events *in the news* have again changed dramatically. Society is not the aggregate of discrete verbal acts nor a web of collaborating actors but rather an abstract entity with negative and unforeseeable effects on individuals. Influenced in part by television, the dominant media event has become “the *system event*, implying that social events and forces are now . . . less identifiable as persons or organizations.” Public events are peopled by the victims of a system in crisis. The word *solution* has disappeared from their descriptions, replaced by *drabba*—the Swedish word for afflict, hurt, or damage. No longer interested in representing discrete discourses or relaying the solutions of experts, journalists in 1987 give their own answers to questions they have put on the agenda. The word *I* is now more frequent than *we*, indicating the change from a collectivistic to an individualistic political culture even as the individual is cast primarily as victim.

While this account does not do justice to Ekecrantz’s history of the changing nature of the public event in journalistic discourse, it shows how his explanatory factors lie mainly in broader external developments in Swedish society. This approach serves to relate journalism history to history as a whole without subordinating it to that history. But journalistic discourse in Pechêux’s sense has also been shaped by internal factors within newsrooms. This process has traditionally been studied in terms of social control in the newsroom and without much consideration of the material artifacts on which journalists depend to produce discourse. But in “Horseshoes, Stylebooks, Wheels, Poles, and Dummies: Objects of Editing Power in 20th-Century Newsrooms,” published in *Journalism* (2015), Susan Keith shows how the final text of a story submitted by **copy editors** is a function of their use of

certain objects. The way in which these objects shape journalistic discourse, and leave traces in it, is theorized by Juliette de Mayer and Florence Le Cam in “The Material Traces of Journalism” in *Digital Journalism* (2015). They propose a research program focusing on the materiality of objects such as typewriters, press cards, computers, quotations, blogs, and hyperlinks, which, if pursued, would likely reinforce the idea à la Pechêux that autonomous journalism is more like a prisoner being given a day pass.

**HOAXES.** Hoaxes have long been used by newspapers to increase circulation. But one of the first hoaxes involved the creation of a newspaper intended for purely private use. In 1794, the Scottish antiquarian George Chalmers declared that the first regularly published gazette of news was *The English Mercurie* printed in 1588. But in 1839, Thomas Watts, assistant keeper of books at the British Museum, demonstrated that it was a forgery. Philip Yorke, second earl of Hardwick, was responsible for its creation, though Watts was not sure why. A recent investigation (Ellis, 2019) of the five extant copies of the gazette proposes that they were not intended to be public or to deceive later historians. Rather they were meant to be read by a small group of family and friends in connection with their “gentlemanly culture of historical games” about events such as the Armada.

The most famous commercial newspaper hoax was the so-called moon hoax, a fraudulent 18,000-word story serialized in the *New York Sun* between 25 and 31 August 1835. It was said to be based on an article in the *Supplement to the Edinburgh Journal of Science*, which had actually ceased publication two years earlier. Written by reporter Richard Adams Locke (1800–1871), the story claimed that the renowned astronomer, Sir John Herschel, had discovered not only planets in other solar systems but life on the moon in the form of a tiny moon bison, a blue unicorn, and a *Verspetilio homo* or man-bat, whose behavior was said to be quite lacking in decorum. These life-forms had been observed through a massive telescope, alleged to have been damaged beyond repair. The moon story sent the *Sun*’s circulation soaring, from about 4,000 copies a day to over 19,000, and was plagiarized by other newspapers hoping to get in on the boom. Only arch-rival **James Gordon Bennett**’s *New York Herald* called the story a hoax. A content analysis by Brian Thornton found that, while most editors and letter-writers emphasized the importance of truth in journalism, they did not seem to resent the hoax, which, as the *Sun* itself said, provided temporary relief from debates over slavery. To Bennett’s great annoyance, the *Sun* never admitted that the story was a fraud.

On 13 April 1844, the *New York Sun* published another hoax, this time a fictitious story by Edgar Allan Poe in the guise of a regular news article. The story claimed that a week or so earlier eight men had, with the assistance of a

two-day gale, managed to cross the Atlantic in only 75 hours in “Mr. Monck Mason’s Flying Machine” (a hot-air balloon inflated with coal gas).

Hoaxes continued into the early years of the 20th century. In December 1909, for example, six years after the first flight by the Wright brothers, businessman Wallace Tillinghast fooled the Boston *Herald* into thinking that he had flown an airplane from Worcester to New York City and back one night in September of that year. Other New England newspapers picked up and amplified the false story, increasing their circulations in the process.

**HOT NEWS DOCTRINE.** A doctrine—formally known as the doctrine of misappropriation—originating in the Supreme Court decision *International News Service v. Associated Press* 248 U.S. 215 (1918). During **World War I**, the International News Service (INS) had taken breaking news stories from uncopyrighted **AP** reports. Federal copyright protects compilations of factual information, but requires that discrete facts remain part of the public domain and available for redistribution. However, the Court decided that news organizations have a limited property right on the facts of news for a short period after publication. The doctrine was later expanded in scope before being narrowed by Congress and the courts.

The hot news doctrine has acquired new significance with the rise of Big Data in the financial services and business news industries. The rise of the financial technology industry (Fintech) depends on data produced by traditional Wall Street firms such as the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and Standard and Poor’s (S & P). This need puts the two sectors on a collision course. As Victoria Smith Ekstrand (2017) explains, it is a “battle over who can own the discrete numbers that fuel financial markets now and in the future. It is also a battle over how the law should characterize what those data are: Are they facts eligible for reuse in the public domain? Or is discrete data . . . a form of intellectual property that companies can protect?”

**HUFFINGTON POST.** American news and commentary website or super blog founded in 2005 by Arianna Huffington (chief editor until 2016), future **BuzzFeed News** cofounders Jonah Peretti, Kenneth Leher, and Andrew Breitbart, later the founder of the right-wing **Breitbart News** site. Now called HuffPost (sometimes abbreviated to HuffPo), it was created as a left-wing alternative to the **Drudge Report**. It began with blogs from celebrities such as John Cusack and Ellen DeGeneres to achieve what Peretti called “stickyness” and surpassed the web traffic of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal* within six months. Others were then invited to blog alongside the celebrities, albeit for free, relieving its founders of the financial burden of hiring editors and reporters, except for a small number of poorly

paid ones who repackaged stories published elsewhere as if they were HuffPost originals.

Unlike **Google News**, which used an algorithm to power its news operations, HuffPost relied on these human aggregators to take as much of the original story as possible under copyright law. A “click-o-meter” was used to measure the traffic on story headlines so their style could be adjusted to maximize their reach, making popularity the basic criterion of newsworthiness. In 2011, the company, which began as a one-million-dollar investment, was purchased by AOL for \$315 million. At the time, it was one of the most-visited news sites in the country and had about 9,000 unpaid bloggers, including well-known politicians and authors as well as celebrities. It went on to create national editions in the United Kingdom and elsewhere and in 2012 became the first digital media operation to win a **Pulitzer Prize** for a series of articles on wounded military veterans. But since then, its popularity has declined, dropping to 533rd on the Alexa Global Traffic Rank list for 2019.

**HUNGARY.** During the early 19th century, there was a significant increase in the number of Hungarian newspapers, despite continuing censorship and the prohibition of commentary on the news. Among the new publications was the gazette *Hazai Es Külföldi Tudósítások*, which informed Hungarian readers of international events. Their creation set the stage for the first heroic period of Hungarian journalism from about 1841, when Lajos Kossuth founded *Pesti Hirlap* (Pest News) to 1867, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was created.

The son of a poor Hungarian noble, Kossuth trained as a lawyer and then entered politics in the mid-1820s. He was imprisoned for high treason for criticizing the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy, but released in 1840 in response to public demand. In *Pesti Hirlap*, a semiweekly Liberal party newspaper, he advocated various feudal reforms and an independent legislature for Hungary. Though dismissed from the paper in 1844 after an argument over his salary, he continued to fight for political and economic independence. In 1849, after Hungary received its own constitution, he became minister of finance and later regent-president. But he overplayed his hand and was unable to prevent the Austrians from using Russian forces to end the revolution in Hungary. He continued to practice journalism in exile in England, where he helped to construct an image of himself as a heroic revolutionary while writing columns for the liberal *Sunday Times* and radical *Atlas*, which criticized British domestic and foreign policies.

Kossuth’s fight for freedom was supported by journalists such as Sándor Petöfi, a liberal poet whose national song is said to have inspired the Hungarian Revolution of 1848; Mór Jókai, who later edited the magazine

*Üstökös* (Comet), featuring **caricatures** and “pictorial stories” (the European predecessor of comics); and Sigismund Kemény, “the Balzac of Hungary, less Balzac’s fame” (Emil Reich). Together their writings helped to stimulate a national consciousness among the populace that contributed to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, establishing the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary and partially reconstituting the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hungary.

During the period from 1867 to 1914, journalism flourished in Hungary as its major literary figures continued to contribute to newspapers, bringing a strong moral dimension to discussions of political issues. In 1881, the official Hungarian news agency MTI Co. (Máagyar Tavirati Iroda or Hungarian Telegraph Office) was founded and gradually became the backbone of the Hungarian press. At the same time, however, the labor press remained weak. The *Népszava* (People’s Word) appeared only three times a week with a circulation of only 15,000. It was not until after 1900 that its circulation increased to the point where it could play a significant role in the education of workers.

During the first two years of **World War I**, all the Hungarian dailies supported the war and adhered to the reporting guidelines of the defense ministry. As a result, press censorship was relatively light. But as the war dragged on, this amicable relationship deteriorated, especially after the government began issuing decrees banning coverage of issues such as food shortages and strikes. In October 1918, the press decided to ignore the censors, leading to a direct confrontation with the government.

After World War I, steps were taken to make journalism more of a profession in line with Anglo-American initiatives. The Sajtófoiskola (Press College) was organized in Budapest to provide unemployed military officers with basic training in journalism, while some universities began giving lectures and seminars on journalism. In addition, *A Sajtó* (The Press), the first periodical devoted specifically to the press, began publication in 1927 and a decade later the *Sajtotudományi Társaság* (Press Studies Society) was founded.

After the communists came to power in 1949, they eliminated the privately owned press and subjected even the state-owned media to heavy censorship. Beginning in the late 1950s, however, the Kádár regime began allowing a carefully controlled discussions of public affairs in popular news outlets and permitted the creation of new periodicals in which reformist forces were eventually able to publish their views. Following independence from the Soviet Union in 1989, the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic was amended to guarantee freedom of speech and freedom of the press under Act XX, Article 61. But while affirming the right of journalists to criticize public officials, both rightist and leftist forces have tried to dominate the media for



ideological purposes. The cumulative effect has been to reduce the ability of journalists to serve as an investigative watchdog of government activities. Between 2010 and 2017, Hungary's ranking dropped from 40th to 87th on Freedom House's press freedom index.

**HUTCHINS COMMISSION.** Commission on Freedom of the Press (1944–47) in the **United States**. It was chaired by Robert M. Hutchins (1899–1977), president of the University of Chicago (1930–1945) and author of *Education for Freedom* (1943). In 1942, **Henry Luce** invited Hutchins, his personal friend and fellow Yale alumnus, to organize a commission to formulate a statement on freedom of the press. Luce was concerned about increasing news management or the self-conscious control of news by government press agents. On 28 February 1944, Hutchins announced the creation of a 13-member commission. Funded to the tune of \$200,000, its members—which included no one currently working for a newspaper—promptly forgot about Luce's main concern and focused instead on the impact of concentrated media ownership on the performance of the press. The commission set forth the results of its deliberations on 26 March 1947 in a slim report entitled *A Free and Responsible Press*. The report emphasized that freedom of the press carries with it the obligation to act responsibly, which became known as the social responsibility theory of the press. The commission redefined a free press to mean one which reflects the views of all citizens and conveys the full spectrum of ideas in society. It concluded that freedom of the press in this sense was in danger because of the growth of communications empires. It suggested that if the press did not take steps to clean up its own house, government action might be necessary. Its preference, however, was for non-governmental mechanisms such as press councils and mandatory retraction and right of reply provisions.



**ILLUSTRATED JOURNALISM.** In 1845, the Dutch artist J. De Hoy painted *Willem van de Velde Sketching a Sea Battle*. It was a “meditation” (Hill and Schwartz, 2015) on the dying practice of painting as the picturing of the news, a concept dating back to Leon Battista Alberti’s *De pictura* (1450). The launching of the *Illustrated London News* by Herbert Ingram on 14 May 1842 spelled the end of the artist as history’s main visual interpreter. Although photography was invented in France a few years earlier, the *Illustrated London News* used wood engraving to produce its images. The cover of its first issue featured an engraving of the city of Hamburg in Flames. It was produced by borrowing a print of Hamburg from the British Museum and overlaying it with smoke, flames, and onlookers. It also included a brief column entitled “The Fashions” and a portrait of Queen Victoria decked out in medieval attire for a costume ball at Buckingham Palace. It cost sixpence and had a circulation of 60,000 by the end of its first year. Special editions sometimes sold double that number. It soon spawned competitors, such as *Lloyd’s Illustrated Paper* (1842), later *Lloyd’s Weekly*, and *Reynold’s Newspaper* (1850).

In 1848, an engraving for a newspaper was made from a photograph taken during the revolution in **France** that year. Later, in the 1880s, photomechanical processes were developed that allowed photographs to be reproduced without the intermediary of an engraver. But it was not until 1901 that the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* (founded in 1892) began making direct and extensive use of photography to produce an illustrated news magazine. It helped to inspire the French pictorial magazine *Vu* (stylized as *VU*), which Lucien Vogel began publishing on 21 March 1928 using rotogravure printing. Placing multiple photographs on every page, it was the first weekly to employ photojournalism as a tool for social and political commentary and was a precursor to the photomontage of *Life* (1936) and *Look* (1937) in the **United States**.

**INDIA.** On 29 January 1780, James Augustus Hicky, an expatriate Irishman and disgruntled employee of the East India Company, founded India’s first

newspaper, the weekly *Bengal Gazette*, also known as the *Calcutta General Advertiser* or *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*. Described by Hicky as “a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none,” its scandalous accounts of the East India Company soon brought the wrath of Company officials down upon it. Warren Hastings launched several cases against the paper, including a suit for defamation after being called “the Great Moghul.” On 5 January 1782, Hastings seized the paper’s press and forced its closure. The confrontation contributed to the downfall of the East India Company and its replacement by a colonial government. But it did nothing for the development of an indigenous press. More than a century after the end of the licensing system in England, the colonial authorities reverted to licensing in India. In 1830, there were only 16 Indian-owned and operated newspapers, about half the number of Anglo-Indian publications. Initially, the Indian newspapers retained elements of the Mughal newsgathering system, using *akhbār* in their titles, publishing in Persian, and emphasizing news about rulers and their courts. But after the elimination of licensing in 1835, they began to multiply and to model themselves on the Anglo-Indian press. In response to the Sepoy Mutiny or First War of Independence in 1857–1858, however, India was brought under the direct rule of the crown and the Indian press was closely monitored through the Press and Registration of Books Act of 1867.

By the 1870s, there were about 100 indigenous Indian newspapers. But only a few had a circulation of more than 3,000 and many had only a few hundred subscribers. Most of their owners led a hand-to-mouth existence and labored to put them out without the assistance of any regular staff. The papers were usually double-sheets and, unlike the Anglo-Indian press, carried almost no advertising, relying instead on wealthy patrons, local rajas or zaminders; subscriptions, which were sometimes adjusted to the subscriber’s income; and, in a few cases, the purchase of a fixed number of copies by local governments. They could not afford to subscribe to news agencies like Reuters, relying instead on the Anglo-Indian press for news of the outside world and reached at most about 100,000 of India’s 200 million inhabitants.

Following the Second Afghan War, the Viceroy’s Council passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 for “better control of publications in Oriental languages.” Based on the Irish Coercion Act of 1870, the Act empowered district magistrates to discipline any Indian-language publication for “seditious writing.” Two years later, after William Gladstone pointed out the hypocrisy of not giving the Indian newspapers the same liberties as the English press, the government repealed the act and the Indian press began to promote nationalism. Although a few English newspapermen like Robert Knight, founder of *The Times of India* (1861) and the *Statesman* (1875), were supportive, most Anglo-Indian papers tried to stifle its development. They were

particularly opposed to efforts by the educated Indian intelligentsia to gain admission to the ranks of the military and civil service, a cause promoted by Anglo-Indian papers such as *Hindu*, *New Indian*, and *Indian Social Reformer*. This attitude led many educated Indians to abandon the idea of some form of constitutional accommodation in favor of outright independence. Many of the early nationalist leaders had close ties to the press as owners as well as journalists. Among those at the first meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in 1885 were the editors of the *Dyan Prakash*, *The Maratha*, *The Kesari*, *The Nababibhakar*, *The Indian Mirror*, *The Nassim*, *The Hindustani*, *The Tribune*, and *The Indu Prakash*.

During the late 19th century, Indian Muslims, especially those in Bengal, also turned to journalism to promote their own sense of nationalism. The British partition of Bengal in 1905 was followed by reduced freedom for both communities. The protests and violence provoked by the partition led the British to conclude that freedom of the press was inapplicable in India. Expressions of enmity were construed as disaffection, which was taken as equivalent to sedition. Various repressive measures were instituted to intimidate the nationalist press: bookshops were raided; suspicious mail was intercepted; meetings and schools were infiltrated by secret agents; and numerous authors, publishers, and printers were arrested and prosecuted. The Newspapers Act of 1908 and Indian Press Act of 1910 gave district magistrates the power to seize newspapers even for veiled hostility to British rule. Prison terms ranged from one to six years and were sometimes accompanied by heavy fines.

Despite these measures, the Indian press became increasingly committed to independence. During the interwar years, prominent leaders of the nationalist movement, including Mahatma Gandhi, used their ownership or editorship of newspapers to advance their ideas. The *Swarajya* (Self-rule), founded by Tanguturi Prakasam in Madras in 1922, served as a training ground for journalists such as Khasa Subba Rao, while the Indian Muslim leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founded several daily and weekly newspapers to promote his policies. During the turbulent pre-independence decade, the Indian press became increasingly assertive. With the outbreak of World War II, papers such the *National Herald*, founded by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1938, were closely watched by the imperial government and fines and jail sentences were imposed on journalists advocating independence.

On 8 August 1942, the Indian National Congress, prodded by Gandhi, demanded that the British immediately cede control of India. In response, the government arrested Gandhi and the main Congress leaders and banned the press from covering the so-called Quit India movement. Several newspapers, including the *National Herald*, ceased operations in protest, while

others went underground so as to adopt a directly confrontational approach. However, the clandestine writers were openly criticized by Gandhi upon his release from prison in May 1944 and journalists once again conformed to the practice of working within the constraints of British censorship.

Following independence in 1947, the Indian media enjoyed substantial freedom from government controls. During the Emergency Rule of Indira Gandhi in 1975–1976, restrictions were briefly imposed on speech and the press. Thereafter, the number of newspapers increased dramatically (from fewer than 900 to almost 4,500 two decades later) and the press adopted a more adversarial and investigative role. But during the 2010s, India's ranking on the World Press Freedom Index has dropped from 122nd out of 178 in 2010 to 142nd out of 180 in 2020.

The first program in journalism was started at Aligarh Muslim University in 1938 by Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman. After independence, other universities began to add journalism to their offerings. Today most Indian universities have programs in journalism, including half a dozen or so doctoral programs, and additional training is available through the Asian Media Institute based in Chennai. Newspapers such as *The Times of India* and *Malayala Manorama* have also established institutes for the advancement of journalism. Such training has tended to homogenize and further Westernize Indian journalism.

During the past decade or so, there has been a remarkable growth in new perspectives on Indian journalism and its history. While Prasun Sonwalker (2015) is fairly traditional in explaining the dominant theme of politics in Indian journalism by recounting the history of political agitation for a free press, Amelia Bonea has shown in *The News of Empire* (2016) how a consideration of the impact of telegraphy can lead to a rethinking of the historiography of the colonial press. Using Ronald Robertson's concept of glocalization, Shakuntala Rao (2009) demonstrates that despite the adoption of new information technologies and increased professional training, news content continues to be highly localized in content and scope. His finding is supported by the work of David Bockino (2017), who uses the theoretical framework of new institutionalism to show that while Indian schools of journalism structurally emulate American journalism programs, their conformity is largely ceremonial. *See also* BESANT, ANNIE; KNIGHT, ROBERT.

**INDONESIA.** The earliest newspapers in Indonesia were established by the Dutch in the late 18th century and were devoted to European news. The first paper to cover local events was the *Bataviasche Courant*, founded in 1816; later renamed the *Javasche Courant*, it continued publication until the

Japanese occupation in 1942. By the mid-19th century, there were several dozen newspapers and magazines in Jakarta and elsewhere, but most had small circulations and led precarious existences. The first fully indigenous newspaper was the *Medan Prijaji* (Officialdom), founded in 1907. It was soon joined by more nationalist papers such as *Budi Utomo* (High Endeavor) in 1908. The Chinese-Indonesian community also began to establish newspapers, mostly using Batavian Malay.

Following their occupation in 1942, the Japanese banned all Dutch and most Indonesian newspapers and established several papers of their own. In response, an underground press developed, which was closely tied to nationalist ambitions. After the war, however, successive Indonesian governments maintained close control of the press. Mochtar Lubis, editor of *Indonesia Raya* (1949–1974), was jailed by both the Sukarno and Suharto governments. Only since the resignation of Suharto in 1998 has the press begun to acquire a measure of freedom, leading to a rapid growth in news media. Between 1996 and 1999, for example, the number of daily newspapers increased from 77 to 172.

A survey (Hanitzsch, 2005) of 385 Indonesian journalists in the early 2000s found that “they see themselves as neutral and objective disseminators of news, not as political actors and agents of development.” They “disapprove of unscrupulous practices of reporting, yet paradoxically many of them justify and practice corruption in their everyday work.” During the 2010s, technological convergence contributed to commercial convergence, leaving media scholars divided as to whether it was contributing to media freedom (Tapsell, 2015). Indonesia’s ranking on the World Press Freedom Index has remained fairly constant: 117th out of 178 in 2010; 119th out of 180 in 2020.

**INSTANT ANALYSIS.** By the late 1960s, there was growing concern among American television executives, politicians, journalists, and scholars about the reputed ability of the presidency to control the airwaves. In 1976, a Library of Congress report noted that between 1966 and 1975, Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and Ford requested simultaneous television network time on 45 occasions and received approval from all three networks (CBS, NBC, and ABC) on 44 of those times. Most of the appearances occurred in prime time with audiences of between 40 and 80 million viewers. In a controversial response, the networks began following the speeches with an immediate summary and commentary. During his assault on the media in 1969–1970, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew disparagingly dubbed these follow-ups “instant analysis.” The practice was temporarily dropped on CBS by Chairman William S. Paley but then reinstated. President Richard M. Nixon, who had cut his teeth on live TV addresses with his “Checkers speech” on 23 September

1952, considered instant analysis the only drawback to communicating directly to the public.

An early experimental study (Paletz and Vinegar, 1977–1978) suggested that instant analysis tended to diminish the effectiveness of a presidential address. “It is as if the President’s performance, if not the President himself, is laid out like a cadaver for dissection,” it concluded. “Usually, the President’s rhetoric is deflated, the mood he has striven to create dissipated. Cadavers are rarely improved by dissection.” However, a subsequent content analysis (Loudry and Bridges, 1990) of the instant analysis of the September 1998 debate between Republican George Bush and Democrat Michael Dukakis found that both candidates received more positive than negative comments and that there were no large effects directly attributable to the instant analysis of the networks. The post-debate commentary mainly reinforced voting predispositions.

Before the 1970s, the relationship between political leaders and politicians was largely unmediated. But as instant analysis was extended to all political pronouncements, politicians sought to regain control through the use of what came to be known as spin doctors. The term *spin doctor* was first used in the mid-1980s to refer to the various consultants, media handlers, and party officials whose job is to interpret events in a manner favorable to particular politicians or political campaigns. As part of the larger process of news management, spin doctoring creates a further barrier between the journalist and public figures. But a recent study of its rise in Australian politics (McKnight, 2015) proposed that “spin is a permanent fixture” and “journalists need to devise creative responses to it rather than simply denounce it.” See also WASHINGTON PRESS CORPS.

**INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM.** Investigative reporting generally seeks to uncover some event, practice, or phenomenon that certain persons or part of society would prefer to keep hidden from view. To this end, it often makes use of methods of inquiry that go beyond traditional reporting techniques. Where conventional methods such as interviews are still relied upon, there is an expectation of additional insight and depth.

In the **United States**, the beginnings of investigative journalism are often associated with the **muckrakers** of 1900–1914 and works such as Ida Tarbell’s “The History of the Standard Oil Company,” which was serialized in *McClure’s Magazine* in 19 parts beginning in November 1902. But a tradition of investigative reporting was already growing in both Europe and America before the muckraking movement made its appearance. In Britain, for example, Henry Mayhew’s series on the London poor in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849–1850 was a form of investigative journalism. It grew out

of an assignment to look into sanitary conditions in one of London's slums where cholera was raging. Shocked at the horrors he found, Mayhew spent two years documenting the larger picture of London poverty. While he had few immediate successors, investigative journalism reemerged in the 1880s in conjunction with the **New Journalism I. William T. Stead** was instrumental in its growth in Britain, while **Henry Demarest Lloyd** exposed the rapacious behavior of the Standard Oil Company two decades before Tarbell's series. Questioned about his company's unethical practices, Rockefeller replied: "Everyone was doing it. We were not the only ones."

Although the muckrakers were part of the larger Progressive movement in prewar America, there is no necessary connection between investigative journalism and the pursuit of reform. During the 1920s, investigative reporting by journalists such as **Paul Y. Anderson** and **Drew Pearson** shifted its focus from widespread social abuses to narrower cases of individual and administrative corruption and wrongdoing. Although a contemporary called Anderson "the last of the muckrakers," his investigative journalism was complemented by substantial investigative reporting at the local level. In golden age accounts of investigative reporting, however, **Watergate** remains the archetype of the genre and the pinnacle of its achievement. As James Aucoin wrote in *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism* (2006), "modern investigative journalism burst upon America's collective consciousness in 1974 when *All the President's Men*, by *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, hit the bookstore shelves." The 1976 film version starring Robert Redford as Woodward and Dustin Hoffman as Bernstein accentuated this impact.

Watergate is thought to have made investigative reporting respectable and to have launched a new era in its practice. But it was singularly concerned with political and administrative corruption and these remained the main targets of post-Watergate investigative reporters like **Jack Anderson**. The formation of Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) in 1975 helped to legitimize investigative reporting as a distinct set of journalistic practices, but it did little to broaden its agenda. At the same time, revelations about the domestic surveillance activities of the CIA by reporters like Seymour Hersh were subject to increasing self-censorship by the mainstream press.

Investigative journalism requires certain general socioeconomic conditions such as a low degree of influence of politics over the media and a high level of professionalism. Despite the spread of the Anglo-American concept of factual news to Europe and beyond, the corollary of watchdog or investigative journalism has still not taken hold in countries such as **Italy, Hungary, Latvia, and Romania** where these conditions are lacking. Apart from the close relationship of publishers and politicians, newsrooms in these countries are



dissuaded from engaging in investigative journalism by pressure associated with advertising subsidies and even the interference of secret services (Gerli et al., 2018). *See also* PENTAGON PAPERS.

**IRAN.** The first newspaper in Iran was a government publication organized by the technocrat Mirza Saleh Shirazi in 1837. It was initially nameless, but later became *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* (The Newspaper). The state maintained a monopoly of news production until 1906 when a constitutional decree technically allowed for independent news publications. But the newspapers that arose were quickly suppressed if they dared to criticize the government. It was not until the Qajar dynasty gave way to that of Pahlavi in 1925 that conditions became more conducive to independent news publications, as long as they were conservative. In 1926, Abbas Masudi founded *Ettela'at* as a conservative daily in Tehran. It dominated the field until 1942 when the journalist and politician Mostafa Mezbahzadeh established *Kayhan* as a competing conservative voice. Their intense rivalry continued until the mid-1950s when their respective organizations merged to form a giant conservative publishing empire.

At the time of the 1953 coup d'état organized by the CIA and MI5 against Mohammed Mosaddegh's democratically elected government, there were about 300 newspapers in Iran, including 25 dailies. Over the next quarter century, the number of papers decreased to about 100, although the number of dailies remained stable. In the lead-up to the Revolution of 1979, a number of newspapers confronted the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. But for journalists, it was a catch-22. In the aftermath of the revolution, which brought Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power, the number of newspapers rose briefly to over 700. But once again, any publications that criticized the new Islamic Republic were either closed down, as in the case of the major daily *Ayandegan*, or taken over and turned into Islamic mouthpieces, like *Ettela'at* and *Kayan*.

The landslide victory of Ayatollah Seyed Mohammed Khatami in the presidential election of 1997 inspired the creation of new dailies once again as well the Iranian Association of Journalists (AOIJ). But Khatami's promise for reformation was not made on solid ground. The declaration by the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khameni in April 2000 that reformist journalism is "a grave threat to all of us" was followed by a massive closure of newspapers and periodicals. Even so, conservatives defeated by reformers in the elections on 8 June blamed the press and turned to hardliners in the judiciary to ensure it would not happen again. The Press Court, which had been established in the late 1990s, began charging journalists with vague offenses such as "anti-state activity" and "warring against God," holding them for long pretrial periods without counsel.

In 2007, Hossein Shahidi wrote that “six press laws have appeared in Iran in less than a century, each drawn up in highly polarized political conditions, and almost always seen by the press as being aimed at controlling, rather than safeguarding, its freedom.” By then, however, a new generation of web activists was operating outside of these laws. In what was dubbed the “Twitter Revolution” by Western news outlets, they threw their support behind the reformist candidates in the presidential election of 2009. But unbeknownst at the time, members of the government were also using Twitter and other sites to monitor and respond to the actions of the protesters. Following the disputed election of the conservative Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the offices of the AOIJ were closed and journalists, bloggers, and **citizen journalists** using social media were detained without trial, subjected to mistreatment, and imprisoned or sent into exile. In a speech given in November 2009, Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khameni said that “today, the country’s top priority is to fight against the enemy’s soft war.” In addition to censorship, steps were taken to control internet speed, disrupt satellite broadcasts, and produce competing media content. According to Reporters Without Borders, Iran is one of the five largest prisons in the world for journalists. In 2020, it ranked 173rd out of 180 on the World Press Freedom Index. *See also ZAN.*

**IRAQ.** The first newspaper in Baghdad was *al-Zawra*. It was established on 15 June 1869 by the Ottoman governor Midhat Pasha and was published in Arabic and Turkish until the end of **World War I**. During the British mandate after the war, a Constitution was drafted for the new Kingdom of Iraq, the country’s only legitimate, permanent constitution. It came into effect in 1925 and contained a provision for freedom of the press. On 3 October 1932, Iraq was admitted to the United Nations, the first predominantly Arab state to gain its independence. With the end of the British mandate, however, Faisal II (1935–1958) enacted various legal restrictions on newspapers. Their enforcement was infrequent and relatively mild, except in periods of martial law, when opposition papers were shut down. By the mid-1950s, there were about 30 dailies in the country with a total circulation of perhaps 100,000. In 1950, however, the director of Guidance and Broadcasting within the Ministry of the Interior was placed in charge of overseeing the operations of all media. The Directorate began issuing radio ownership certificates on an annual basis so as to reward stations loyal to the Monarchy and punish those that were not.

Sara Farhan (2020) has related how, during its final two years, the undemocratic Hashemite Monarchy tried to use the new medium of television to engage in reconciliation with an increasingly disenchanting population. In 1956, it established Baghdad Television, the first television station in the Middle East and Arab world. However, the educated professionals upon

whom it had to rely for program production had either suffered under the Hashemites or not benefited directly from their regime. As a result, they produced programming that deliberately undermined the government's messages and focused on political, economic, and social problems arising from Faisal II's rule.

On 14 July 1958, a *coup d'état* overthrew the monarchy and established a military government. In conjunction with two further coups in the 1960s, controls over the press became increasingly severe. The Criminal Code declared that it had to reflect the ideology of the Baath Party and steadily increased the punishment for defaming the president of the Baath Party from seven years imprisonment to life imprisonment to capital punishment if the attack was aimed at changing public opinion against the government. In 1981, the Ministry of Culture and Press was given responsibility not only for controlling what little was left of the press but for disseminating the ideology of the Party. The decision to leave Saddam Hussein in power following his defeat by American-led Coalition forces in the Gulf War of 1990–1991 ensured that public opinion would remain largely under the control of the government mouthpiece *al-Jumhuriya*, the Ba'th Party newspaper *al-Thawra*, and the Armed Forces newspaper *al-Qadissiya*.

Since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's government in the Second Gulf War of 2003, international organizations have repeatedly identified Iraq as the world's deadliest region for journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), there were 242 deaths of journalists between 2003 and September 2007. Of those 124 occurred in Iraq, where the U.S. Army refused to accept any responsibility for non-embedded journalists (Kuttub, 2007). Since then, there has been little progress in Iraqi journalism. In 2020, Iraq ranked 162nd out of 180 on the World Press Freedom Index.

**IRELAND.** The first newspaper in Ireland to publish for more than a few months was the *Flying Post*, founded by Cornelius Carter in 1699. During the 18th century, other newspapers were established, but the imposition of **taxes on knowledge** and other repressive measures kept their numbers and circulations low. Three years after Ireland became part of **Great Britain** through the Act of Union of 1800, there were still only seven newspapers in the country, compared to 236 in 1905. Examining the 19th century as a whole, Jacques Delacroix and Glenn R. Carroll concluded that the creation of new papers was closely related to levels of political turbulence. For example, the largest number of new foundings occurred in 1848 in the midst of the Great Famine of 1845–1851. As political turmoil increased thereafter in response to recurring outbreaks of famine, the average number of newspapers in business in

any given year more than doubled from 91 in 1841 to 194 in 1891, despite the fact that the population was stagnant or in decline.

This expansion included the first nationalist newspapers, beginning with *The Nation*, which Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon, and poet Thomas Davis founded on 15 October 1842 as the mouthpiece of the romantic Young Ireland movement. Within a year, it had a readership of 250,000, making it the largest newspaper in Ireland. Despite continuing tight controls over the press, it was soon joined by more radical nationalist papers, the most influential being the *Freeman's Journal* and **John Mitchel's** *United Irishman*, which contribute to the abortive Young Ireland revolt.

The increasing politicization of the Irish press on behalf of nationalism was accompanied by the participation of journalists in radical nationalist politics. Journalists were prominent members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) or Fenians during the 1860s and tried to use their craft to de-legitimize British rule; one-tenth of those IRB members under surveillance in the 1880s were journalists, editors, or newspaper proprietors. Despite their role in nationalist politics, however, late 19th-century Irish journalists made considerable progress toward professionalism. Michael Foley has shown how they developed the same skills and norms as journalists in Britain and the United States, including shorthand and interviewing and a commitment to accuracy and impartiality. They also avidly supported the Association of Journalists (1889), renamed the Institute of Journalists in 1892, with its goal of promoting professional status, supplying *Cork Examiner* Editor and Proprietor Thomas Crosbie as president in 1894. Through professionalism, they were able to develop middle-class careers not only in London, North America, and elsewhere but also more importantly in Ireland itself, where it enabled them to work for any given paper regardless of its politics.

This professionalism continued to serve Irish journalists after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 and helps to explain their antipathy to projects such as the Irish News Agency (INA). Following **World War II**, there was a growing feeling that Ireland's case against partition had never been properly heard because news to the outside world was filtered through a British news agency. In 1949, therefore, Sean MacBride, leader of the new political party Clann na Poblachta, convinced the government to establish the INA. As John Horgan has related, however, its operations immediately alienated Irish journalists, who resented not only its orientation to foreign media but the degree of government control exercised over their own work as journalists. Although the INA was closed in 1957, government attempts to manage the media, especially in broadcasting, have continued to challenge Irish journalists' professional norms. As in many other Western countries,

moreover, this threat has been exacerbated by the emergence of media giants such as Independent Newspapers, which have sought, among other things, the right to syndicate journalists' material without paying royalties. For protection against such incursions, Irish journalists have turned increasingly to trade union and professional organizations such as the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), the world's largest union of journalists.

In common with many other countries in the digital news era, Ireland's local newspaper industry has suffered major losses of advertising and circulation. After purchasing 14 local titles in 2005 for €200m, the UK media group Johnston Press was forced to sell them in 2014 for only €8.5m. With substantially reduced editorial resources, the press has become less able to perform its watchdog role and keep citizens adequately informed.

**IRWIN, WILL (1873–1948).** American journalist and press critic. After graduating from Stanford University in 1899, he worked as a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and then joined the *New York Sun* in 1904. Following the San Francisco earthquake in 1906, he wrote "The City That Was," a nostalgic portrait of the city as he had known it. In 1911, after a year and a half of research, he wrote a 15-part mildly muckraking series entitled "The Power of the Press" for *Collier's* magazine. Subtitled "A Study of Journalism in Its Relation to the Public," the series sought to educate the public so that it might better control the press. Irwin began with the declaration: "Beginning a series on the whole subject of American journalism—the most powerful extrajudicial force in society, except religion. This article proves that the daily press, contrary to the opinion of academic critics, has more influence than ever before. And it explains the reason why." Several decades before the **Hutchins Commission**, Irwin developed the ideal of a free but responsible press as a basis for assessing the performance of journalism. The series was eventually reprinted as *The American Newspaper* (1969).

During **World War I**, Irwin went abroad as a correspondent, scored a beat on the first use of poison gas by the Germans, and related his experiences in *A Reporter in Armageddom* (1918), subtitled "Letters from the Front and Behind the Lines of the Great War." Irwin later campaigned to get the United States to join the League of Nations and criticized the growth of public relations in *Propaganda and the News* (1936). Following his retirement, he wrote *The Making of a Reporter* (1942).

**ISRAEL.** The creation of the state of Israel on 14 May 1948 was the culmination of the Zionist movement, one of the founders of which, Theodore Herzl, was a journalist by occupation. During the 1950s and 1960s, Israeli journalism was characterized by a strong commitment to the Zionist project. New

politically based newspapers such as *Davar*, *Herut*, and *Lamerhav* saw their role as contributing to social cohesion and economic progress. So too did older commercial ones such as *Yediot Aharonot* (The Latest News), founded in the British Mandate of Palestine in 1939, and *Ma'ariv* (Evening Paper), which arose in early 1948 when *Yediot Aharonot*'s editor, Azriel Carlebach, broke away with many of its journalists and staff. Together with the public, they generally accepted the necessity of direct military censorship by the intelligence section of the defense forces, especially as the chief censor was appointed by the civilian minister of defense.

Between 1948 and 1970, about 100 appeals were made to the High Court of Censorship with the military being upheld in about 90 percent of the cases. But censorship was sometimes less responsible for unbalanced coverage than journalistic norms. In October 1953, for example, the Israeli press condemned the killing of three Israelis in Yehud by infiltrators from Jordan and gave the raid extensive coverage. But the death of 60 villagers in the Arab village of Qibya during a retaliatory strike was given scant coverage and only one account questioned the morality of the operation.

In 1977, the right-wing Likud party defeated the long-standing ruling coalition led by the Labor party. Its rise was followed by a shift from a central planning and protectionist economy to a more decentralized neoliberal one. The Israeli media were among the institutions most directly affected by this change. While some party newspapers continued, the major dailies came under the control of three main private media conglomerates: the Yediot Aharonot Group of the Mozes family; the Ma'ariv Group with various owners; and the Haaretz Group of the Schocken family. Of these groups, Yediot Aharonot has remained by far the largest, though its market share has dropped from 55.4 percent in 1984 to 39.0 percent in 2013.

Between 1984 and 2000, the advertising revenues of Israeli newspapers rose from \$99.0 million (US) to \$603 million. At this point, internet advertising was a mere \$3.0 million. But by 2013, the situation had changed dramatically: newspaper advertising had dropped to \$260 million, while internet advertising had risen to over \$182 million. In the case of radio and television, which also support journalism, advertising revenue was up for television but down for radio. One response of the quality newspaper *Ha'aretz* was to begin publishing *The Marker*, first as an online economic newspaper and then as a daily print supplement with more pages than the main paper. The popular newspaper *Yedioth Ahronot* then followed suit by publishing *Catalist* as a separate daily economic newspaper. But these initiatives were broadsided by Sheldon Adelson's creation of the national Hebrew-language newspaper *Israeli HaYom* in 2007. An American billionaire and casino owner and major supporter of conservative political causes, Adelson provided the paper free

of charge. By 2013, its market share was almost 36 percent and it is now the most widely read newspaper in Israel.

The current joint attack on both the advertising and subscription revenue of Israeli newspapers is reflected in the increased hiring of journalists on a personal contract or freelance basis rather than under collective contracts. This trend has forced many journalists to moonlight as lecturers in the academic journalism and communication programs, which have flourished even as secure job opportunities in journalism itself have declined. It has also weakened the status and power of journalists and reduced their ability to function as defenders of freedom of expression. Although Israel still ranks very high in terms of media voices on a per capita basis, its ranking on the Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders has dropped from 44th in 2007 to 87th in 2018.

**ITALY.** The first newspaper in Italy was printed in Genoa in 1639 and was soon followed by a number of other papers. During the late 17th century, the first scientific journals made their appearance and helped to usher in an age of international science by including foreign articles. In comparison with several other European countries, however, newspapers developed more slowly in Italy. When the French revolutionaries arrived in the 1790s, they required cities like Mantua to begin publishing a revolutionary newspaper. During the 19th century, low literacy rates continued to stifle the growth of newspapers, while the prevalence of local dialects favored regional over national newspapers.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the most influential paper in Italy was the *Corriere della Sera* in Milan. It was directed and edited by Luigi Albertini, a self-styled “conservative liberal” who opposed Enrico Corradini and other nationalists concerned about Italy’s military preparedness. After his takeover in 1922, Benito Mussolini continued to rely on the Milanese newspaper *Il Popolo d’Italia*, which he had established in 1914 with funds from industrial and political interests, as his official news organ, while using *Il Tevere*, which he founded in 1924 and placed under Telesio Interlandi, as an unofficial mouthpiece. Mussolini also benefited from the generally supportive attitude of the Vatican press; when the socialist member of parliament Giacomo Matteotti was murdered in the summer of 1924 after denouncing fascist disruptions of the elections that year, the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* ignored Mussolini’s responsibility for the violence and merely called upon the courts to secure justice. During the 1930s, the Catholic Church produced an unprecedented number of popular religious magazines, which continued to uphold fascism, glorifying patriarchy and rebuking challenges to civil authority.

After the war, journalists like Giovanna Zangrandi denounced fascism, rationalizing their earlier support as a temporary aberration. The postwar period saw the emergence of numerous weekly newspapers. But many were little more than scandal sheets and Italy continues to have one of the lowest aggregate daily newspaper circulations in Europe. Apart from its tradition of strict controls over the press, the main reason for this situation is the lack of a popular daily press or newspapers with mass appeal. Both factors have contributed to a weak tradition of watchdog or **investigative journalism**, which is reflected in how the press frames corruption. A recent comparative study (Berti, 2019) of media coverage of scandals in Italy and New Zealand has highlighted the stark contrast between the two countries. In New Zealand, where corruption levels are low, corruption is framed as an individual crime against the integrity of the country for which the persons involved are responsible. In Italy, on the other hand, crime is framed as systemic, leading to a “dilution of personal responsibility and accountability” and potentially undermining the ability of the media to curb it.





# J

**JAPAN.** During the Edo period, news was distributed in Japan by means of *kawaraban*, or woodblocks containing printed text and illustrations, which were marketed with the help of *yomiuri* or singing vendors. But their popularity rapidly declined following the introduction of newspapers in the Meiji period (1868–1912). In 1861, two years after Japan was opened to foreign residence, Englishman Albert William Hansard began the *Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser*. It was soon followed by a number of Japanese newspapers, which supported Shogunate officials when they took steps to curtail the operations of Scotsman J. R. Black’s *Nisshin Shinjishi* (1872) and *Bankoku Shimbun* (1876) as part of its campaign against extraterritoriality. A new press law required newspaper owners and editors to be Japanese citizens but also limited the capacity of indigenous papers to engage in political commentary. In addition, regulations were passed prohibiting Japanese citizens from helping Black with the production or distribution of the *Bankoku Shimbun*. This “affair” constituted an important step in the Japanese government’s campaign to end extraterritoriality and reinforced the tendency to limit political news to small circulation newspapers such as the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* (1871) and the *Tokyo Nichi-ninchi Shimbun* (1872), which were aimed at intellectuals.

In January 1879, Kimura Noboru, Murayama Ryōhei, and Tsuda Tei founded the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* (Osaka Sun News) as a small-print illustrated newspaper with a circulation of about 3,000 copies. But in 1881, it adopted an all-news format and became the most influential newspaper in Japan. By keeping its price low, it was able to improve its content as increased advertising revenues flowed from rising circulation numbers. Under Murayama as owner, it catered to the middle classes and had its own telegraphic news service and foreign correspondents.

The other most popular papers, which assumed the format of a tabloid or *Ko-shimbun* (small paper), stuck mainly to entertainment. The popularization of the Japanese press was stimulated in part by the introduction of a phonetic-based system of shorthand known as *sokki* in the mid-1880s. Before the adaptation of Western stenography by Takusari Kōki Takusari and his students,

the use of cumbersome Chinese figures created a gulf between the spoken and written word. The pale reflection of colloquial Japanese in written language was reinforced in printed texts by the economic constraints of publishing. The sudden and widespread use of *sokki* contributed to popularization of the press by enabling reporters to provide more immediate, realistic, and seemingly objective coverage of political debates. It also brought into existence the new, albeit short-lived, genre of *sokkibon*, or colloquial transcriptions of oral stories accompanied by reading glosses, which even the highbrow papers began to incorporate.

These developments played a major role in the threefold increase in Japanese newspaper circulation in the decade after 1877. In 1896, Takahashi Jiji, publisher of the small magazine *26th Century*, formed an alliance with Kuga Katsunan, publisher of the *Nihon Shimbun*, to pressure the government to adopt the principles of ministerial responsibility and freedom of the press. The government responded by suspending the two publications, but after its fall in 1897, a bill was passed providing for a degree of press freedom. This freedom was limited, however, by the press club system (*kisha kuraku*) under which club members restricted their criticism in return for exclusive access to news sources in government, industry, and the civil service.

During the period of democracy from 1918 to 1932, democratic, party-led governments devised controls over the press that were stricter than those of their oligarchic predecessors. Under the military regime from 1932 to 1945, the press clubs operated as part of the state's propaganda machine, actively promoting Japan's mobilization for war. While this role curtailed during the American occupation, the clubs' exclusive newsgathering privileges remained relatively intact. The press club system continues to dominate Japanese journalism despite objections from foreign news services. Each news "beat" is monopolized by a specific "club" of journalists; to gain access to the prime minister, a government ministry, the stock exchange, and so forth, a journalist must be a member of the club with responsibility for reporting the area in question. Each club controls its own membership, which has historically been closed to foreign journalists, and is usually provided with generous facilities by the agency being covered. The journalists in each club can only report information that is available to all other members of their club and cannot seek information outside their specific news jurisdiction.

It has been argued that this highly structured system eliminates competition between journalists, prevents any kind of investigative journalism, and results in self-censorship by the Japanese press. However, there are a couple of ways that newspapers can get at least partially around these controls. Because each major newspaper also owns a news magazine whose reporters are excluded

from the press clubs, it can publish nonofficial information, including rumors and innuendos, through its magazine subsidiary and then report the existence of these stories itself without violating press club practices. In addition, frustrated press club members can leak information to a major foreign newspaper and then later provide secondhand coverage of the story.

In a world rapidly abandoning newspapers for online news media, Japan is becoming an anomaly. Reviewing Anthony Rausch's *Japan's Local Newspapers: Chihōshi and Revitalization Journalism* (2012), Kansai Gaidai's University's Paul Scott tells us:

Every morning at five, my front gate is opened and an *Asahi Shimbun*, *Kyoto Shimbun* and *Daily Yomiuri* (English edition) are efficiently deposited in my mailbox. In the evening, the evening edition of the *Asahi* is also delivered. My choice of three newspapers is instructive: a national, an English source whose editorial follows the Japanese version, and a local newspaper. This symmetry, minus the *Yomiuri* English version, is repeated in millions of homes every day.

With readership above 50 percent in many prefectures, the number of newspapers printed each day is staggering and local newspapers often out-sell national ones. Equally impressive is the extent to which they embrace watchdog journalism. In 2011, the liberal media suffered a loss of credibility as a result of its coverage of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster and was subjected to pressure by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's government to engage in self-censorship. But as Jeff Kingston (2018) has recently recounted, it rebounded by exposing two cronyism scandals involving private-school projects linked to Abe and revealed a systemic culture of deception aimed at avoiding government accountability, such as the use of doctored data to support Abe's proposed labor reforms. In these and other efforts at **investigative journalism**, it was led not by digital natives or platform media but by the printed *Asahi*. See also ATOMIC BOMB; WORLD WAR II.

**JEFFERSON, THOMAS (1743–1826).** Third president of the **United States** and a staunch supporter of the principle, if not always the practice, of freedom of the press. "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government," he wrote in 1787, "I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." He won election in 1801 despite the opposition of about 80 percent of America's 235 newspapers. In 1809, after years of tirades against him in the press, he commented that "nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper." Overall, however, he retained a faith in the Miltonian self-righting principle. "The only security of all," he wrote in 1826, "is in a free press."

**JENKINS JOURNALISM.** “Jenkins” was originally a fictional character introduced by the British humor magazine *Punch* in 1843 as a caricature of the obsequious purple prose on the society pages of the *Morning Post*. The term made its way to the **United States** through the Civil War–era humor magazine *Vanity Fair*, which used it to attack the excessively prying and windy prose of the *New York Herald*. Andie Tucher quotes William A. Wheeler’s definition of Jenkins in his *Explanatory and Pronouncing Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction* (1865): “cant name for any snobbish penny-a-liner . . . whose descriptions of persons and events in fashionable and aristocratic society betrayed the ingrained servility, priggishness, and vulgarity of his character.”

In 1867, Samuel Clemens changed the name of his 1865 spoof on such bombastic reporting from “The Pioneers’ Ball” to “‘After’ Jenkins.” During the 1870s and 1880s, the focus of the term gradually shifted from fawning banality to what struck many critics as the increasingly intrusive character of Gilded Age journalism. Its use reflected the initial unease over the new practice of interviewing.

**JONES, GARETH (1905–1935).** Welsh investigative journalist for *The Times* of London who first exposed the famine in the Ukraine of 1932–1933. After graduating from Cambridge in languages in 1929, he began work as a foreign policy advisor for British prime minister David Lloyd George. He made his first trip to the Soviet Union two years later with American financial assistance and published his observations as *Experiences in Russia: A Diary* (1931). After covering the coming of the Nazis to power, he ignored travel restrictions and secretly returned to the Soviet Union. On 29 March 1933, he reported under his own name in the *Manchester Guardian* that “from every part of Russia” came “the cry, there is no bread. We are dying.” Though confirmed by earlier unsigned stories by Malcolm Muggeridge, who was also in the Soviet Union for *The Guardian*, Jones’s reports were denounced by **Walter Duranty** of the *New York Times* as the product of a “diplomatic duel between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.” Unsupported by other journalists and banned from the Soviet Union, Jones traveled to the Far East and was killed by bandits in Inner Mongolia under suspicious circumstances.

**JOURNALISTS AT RISK.** The injury, imprisonment, and murder of journalists has a lengthy history. In 1837, for example, the 34-year-old American abolitionist publisher Elijah P. Lovejoy, who influenced the Illinois state legislator Abraham Lincoln in his views about slavery, was killed by a pro-slavery mob in the course of destroying the press for his *Alton* [Illinois] *Observer*. According to advocacy organizations such as Reporters Without

Borders and the Committee to Protect Journalists, over 1,300 journalists were killed worldwide between 1992 and 2018 and many more imprisoned or otherwise silenced. In recent years, Syria, **Mexico**, the **Philippines**, **Turkey**, **China**, **Egypt**, and **Russia** have been among the most difficult and dangerous places for journalists to work.

In the past, attacks on journalists were mainly conducted by authoritarian regimes. But recently, other groups have sought revenge on journalists. In 2002, Daniel Pearl, the *Wall Street Journal's* foreign correspondent, was kidnapped and beheaded by Pakistan-based terrorists. In January 2015, Al-Qaeda extremists stormed the Paris offices of the French satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo*, killing nine journalists and wounding three others in the first of a series of attacks. In February 2017, Shifa Gardi, an Iraqi Kurdish television reporter, was killed when a Shiite military commander she was interviewing about the discovery of a mass grave stepped on a tripwire and triggered a roadside bomb. And in April 2018, ten journalists were killed in Afghanistan after rushing to the scene of a suicide bombing. A second bomber disguised as a journalist had mingled with the group of reporters before detonating another explosive device.

In some cases, these attacks have had positive consequences. In February 2018, Ján Kuciak, a Slovak investigative reporter, was murdered, along with his girlfriend, after publishing details of a corruption probe linking high-level Slovak politicians to underworld business figures. His death was condemned by world leaders, including European parliament president Antonio Tajani, a former Italian journalist, and sparked massive protest marches that led to the resignation of Slovak prime minister Robert Fico. More significantly, they have led Reporters Without Borders and the CPJ to push for international political and legal reforms to protect reporters and to create resources for educating journalists about best practices for staying safe in conflict zones and other dangerous places. *See also* DANISH CARTOON CONTROVERSY.



# K

**KALTENBORN, H. V. (1878–1965).** One of the first radio news commentators. He worked as a reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal* and *Brooklyn Eagle* for two decades before branching into radio, beginning with the first editorial over the air on 4 April 1922. During the 1920s, he broadcast news and analysis for station WEAJ in New York City. Released by the *Eagle* in 1930 for financial reasons, he landed a job at CBS doing weekly talks on current affairs. In 1936, he paid his own way to cover the Spanish Civil War for \$100 a week. His coverage of the Munich crisis in 1938 solidified his reputation as the “suave voice of Doom.” In 1940, at the peak of his popularity, he switched to NBC to report the action from overseas. President Harry S. Truman delighted in mimicking his 1948 election-night prediction that Thomas Dewey would be victorious. Kaltenborn’s insistence on expressing his own views contradicted the Federal Communication Commission’s early policy against editorializing on the airwaves and later led to a number of confrontations with NBC. He recounted his career in *Fifty Fabulous Years* (1950) and *It Seems Like Yesterday* (1956).

**KOREA.** In the mid-1880s, the Chosun dynasty replaced its centuries-old court gazette with a number of more modern news publications using classic Sino-Korean characters. Then, during a brief period of relative freedom under Russian suzerainty in the 1890s, the first privately owned newspapers were established. The first of these independent papers was *Tongnip Sinmun*, founded in April 1896 and published three times a week. It used only the Korean alphabet and focused on human rights, national sovereignty, and other issues of interest to the educated elite. It was followed by a number of other nonofficial newspapers, including the first Korean daily, *Maeil Shinmun*, in January 1898.

Following the Japanese annexation in 1910, however, all newspapers were closed, except for a few organs of the new regime like *Maeil Shinbo*. In 1920, the Japanese attempted to defuse an emerging movement for independence by adopting the unusual strategy of relaxing controls over the press. As a result, private newspapers such as *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* were able to begin



operations. During the interwar years, the Japanese also established a form of public radio broadcasting. But with the outbreak of **World War II**, control over radio content was even more rigidly controlled and the independent newspapers were suppressed once again.

After the Japanese were defeated in August 1945, the United States abandoned the idea of a multilateral trusteeship over Korea and unilaterally declared the 38th parallel as the dividing line between a Soviet-occupied zone in the north and an American zone in the south. Under the American military occupation from 1945 to 1948, the South Korean press was regulated with increasing severity by the Department of Public Information. Despite adopting even stricter controls, the South Korean government of Syngman Rhee was unable to stifle the press entirely and criticism of his dictatorial regime in the major national dailies contributed to its downfall during the April 1960 (Students') Revolution.

Following a formal guarantee of press freedom by the newly elected parliament of the Second Republic, there was an explosive growth of the media in South Korea. But the military coup by General Park Chung Hee in May 1961 used various decrees to establish even more repressive controls than under Rhee. The licenses of various regional newspapers were canceled, several newspaper companies were forced to consolidate, and it was made a criminal offense to criticize the government, even indirectly through foreign media. Although Park's assassination was followed by another brief period of press liberalization, the military regime of Chun Doo Hwan reenacted most of the usual repressive measures through the Basic Press Act of 1980.

Only since 1987, when two new sets of regulations governing the press and broadcasting were instituted, have the South Korean media experienced a sufficiently long period of reasonable freedom to develop their own internally generated journalistic practices. There has been an explosion of new papers, many with large circulations and a relatively adversarial attitude toward the government. However, a recent study (Park, 2017) found that South Koreans have come to rely on podcasts more than the press for critical commentary on government and business. Another study (Lee and Baek, 2018) provides support for this change, documenting a steady decline between 1994 and 2014 in the amount of economic news in newspapers about things like unemployment and government policies in favor of news about the individual business that supply much of the papers' advertising. It also found a steady increase in the use of corporate spokespeople as sources over government and independent spokespeople.

In North Korea, on the other hand, the regimes of Kim Il Sung (1948–1994) and his son, Kim Jong Il, maintained a virtually unchallenged hold over the

press. In his struggle against the Japanese, Kim Il Sung had recognized the capacity of popular journalism to promote revolution, but the use of popular modes of expression, including the practice of publishing in both Korean and Chinese, was only tolerated in conjunction with communist objectives. Under Kim Jong Il, moreover, the concept of *Jucheism*, which originally stressed the importance of national development, was transformed into a cult of the leader. So tight are the controls over the press that even an underground press has not been able to gain a foothold. In 2018, only the AP and four other international media outlets had Pyongyang bureaus. In the case of AP, most of its articles are written by one or two reporters who stick to “soft” news such as sports and arrests of American.

In 1999 Freedom House assigned North Korea the worst possible combined score (100 out of 100) on its criteria of press freedom and the situation has deteriorated since then. The difference between the two countries remains a stark contrast: in 2020, South Korea ranked 42nd on the World Press Freedom Index, while North Korea ranked 180th (out of 180 countries).

**KNIGHT, ROBERT (1825–1890).** Economist, government official, and the first Anglo-Indian press owner to advocate self-rule for **India**. Born in London to a lower middle-class family, Knight left England at the age of 22 to take up a shopkeeping position in Bombay (now Mumbai). During his first years there, he lived in the home of Major George Wingate, director of the Bombay Deccan Land Survey, who tutored him on Indian economics. With his help, he was able to use a series of freelance articles as a springboard into the editorship of the *Bombay Times* in 1857. After merging the *Bombay Times* with the rival *Standard*, he amalgamated their combined operation with the *Bombay Telegraph* to form the *Times of India*, which appeared for the first time with that nameplate on 18 May 1861.

Influenced by the political reform and Christian Evangelical movements in Britain, Knight was one of the few British journalists to recommend clemency after the “mutiny” of 1857, the first to accuse the British government of plundering the Indian economy (1859), the first to call for a representative legislature in India (1860), and the first to support the call for self-government by the Indian National Congress (1886). As a thorn in the side of the Raj whenever it did not live up to his vision of extending the blessings of the modern world to India, he was later excluded from the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (1900) by Editor C. E. Buckland, who had crossed paths with him while serving as the viceroy’s press commissioner. Less charitable still is the *Times*’s relegation of him to what biographer Edwin Hirschmann calls its “dim and dusty archives.” Its diminution of him has resulted in its

factually incorrect claim that it is the lineal descendant of the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* founded in 1838. In contrast, the *Statesman*, which he founded in Calcutta (now Kolkata) in 1875 after incurring the censure of most of the British community in Bombay, acknowledges his paternity, albeit while treating him as “a man of mystery” (Hirschmann).

# L

**LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.** American mass-market magazine in the late 19th and early 20 centuries. It was founded in 1883 as a women's supplement in the Philadelphia farm magazine *Tribune and Farmer*. But by 1887, it was an independent production with a circulation of 400,000. In 1889, owner Cyrus Curtis offered the editorship to Edward W. Bok (1863–1930), who had married his daughter. Born in the **Netherlands**, Bok had worked for the Brooklyn *Eagle* and founded his own magazine syndicate. He gave the magazine his own stamp as a moderately progressive mass-market publication. By 1903, it had a circulation of one million subscribers, compared to 400,000 to 700,000 for other popular magazines such as *Collier's* and *Munsey's*.

Called “the Bible of the American home,” the *Ladies' Home Journal* had a circulation of over 1.6 million subscription copies by 1915. It was aimed primarily at women readers from the urban middle class. But during **World War I**, it was the third most requested magazine among soldiers overseas. Its causes ranged from wildlife conservation and cleaner cities to sleeping-car improvements, better housing designs, and sex education. It helped secure passage of the Federal Food and Drug Act and a treaty allocating the use of water at Niagara Falls for hydroelectric power. However, Bok's reformism did not extend to women's liberation; for him a woman's place remained in the home. Following disagreements with Curtis, Bok resigned from the *Journal* in 1919 and wrote about his experiences in *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1920). After his departure, the magazine was slowly eclipsed by other women's self-help magazines.

**LEGACY MEDIA.** The mainstream print and broadcast media of the 20th century that were forced to compete with **blogs**, **digital natives**, and social media in the 21st century. They include both elite and popular newspapers and public as well as private broadcasters. A study of newspapers and commercial broadcasters in **Finland**, **France**, **Germany**, **Italy**, Poland, and the UK (Cornia et al., 2019) found that organizations within the same legacy medium have responded to the digital news revolution in very similar ways across these different countries, despite structural differences between their national media systems. Faced with a rapidly changing and uncertain

environment, legacy news organizations have been imitating the strategies of peer organizations elsewhere. At the same time, another study (Menke et al., 2018) found that newsrooms in Mediterranean countries have been quicker and more motivated to embrace **multimedia journalism** than those in North/Central Europe because of their stronger audiovisual than print news tradition.

**LIPPMANN, WALTER (1889–1974).** American philosopher-journalist and press critic whose journalism won him numerous awards, including **Pulitzer prizes** in 1958 and 1968. In 1906, he entered Harvard where he was influenced by the pragmatism of William James and idealism of George Santayana and met fellow students John Reed and T. S. Eliot. After his graduation in 1909, he worked as a political advisor in upstate New York, relating his disappointing attempt to apply theory to practice in *A Preface to Politics* (1913). The following year, he helped to establish the liberal *The New Republic* and reflected further on the role of the intellectual in politics in *Drift and Mastery*. Following the entry of the **United States** into **World War I**, he was an assistant to the secretary of war and helped President Woodrow Wilson draft his Fourteen Points. Wilson’s failure to “make the world safe for democracy” led him to question his earlier support for America’s entry into the war.

During the Progressive era, American liberals argued that the United States was suffering from a “crisis in democracy.” But in *Liberty and the News* (1920), Lippmann countered that the real crisis facing America was a “crisis in journalism.” Disillusioned by the Wilson administration’s manipulation of the press during the Versailles negotiations, he believed that most journalists were too lazy, supine, and naïve to produce the rigorous, nonpartisan, and suitably skeptical accounts of events, which citizens require to judge political events. Journalists needed to raise the standards by which they identified and verified their news sources.

In 1921, Lippmann joined the *New York World*, became editorial page editor, and proceeded to make its editorial page one of the best in the country. Ironically, however, he also developed a highly pessimistic assessment of the role of journalism in a democracy. The press, he argued in *Public Opinion* (1922), could never inform the public adequately for it to participate effectively in policymaking. It is “too frail to carry the whole burden of popular sovereignty, to supply spontaneously the truth which democracies hoped was inborn.” Instead of being influenced by a faulty public opinion created by journalists, politicians should be guided by “organized intelligence” produced by an intellectual elite. “The press,” Lippmann wrote, “is no substitute for institutions. It is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about,

bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision. Men cannot do the work of the world by this light alone. They cannot govern societies by episodes, incidents, and eruptions.”

Lippmann expanded on this theme in *The Phantom Public* (1926), at the same time that he was exerting a positive influence on public opinion through his own journalism. During the 1928 trial of the United States Radium Corporation for exposing its women workers to lethal levels of radiation, for example, he supported the Radium Girls editorially. The case, he said, called “not for fine-spun litigation but for simple, quick, direct justice.”

After the Depression killed the *World* in 1931, Lippmann began writing the syndicated column “Today and Tomorrow” for the *New York Herald Tribune*. He initially supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, but in *The Good Society* (1937) worried that national planning was paving the road to dictatorship. During the postwar period, he continued his negative treatment of public opinion in works such as *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (1955). In a final abandonment of pragmatic liberalism, he returned to the idea of “natural law” as the ultimate basis for determining the national interest. As a result of his own reading of that basis, he became one of the first journalists to question American involvement in the Vietnam War, earning the wrath of the Lyndon Johnson administration.

**LISTICLE.** Term formed from blending the words *list* and *article* and referring to a form of popular content that is common on digital news sites such as **BuzzFeed News**. It typically presents information in the form of a “top 10” list, but may consist of a longer article such as the 2016 BuzzFeed item “21 Things Trump Supporters Want Their Haters to Know.” Listicles are typically designed to function as **clickbait** with numeric hooks, alluring headlines, and easy-to-digest morsels of information about an issue in the news, a lifestyle trend, or a matter of general knowledge that may or may not be connected to news. Critics consider them superficial and crassly commercial. But listicles are simply a modern form of earlier uses of lists in news and feature stories. In their current form, which includes the cunning use of photos, their purpose is to exploit the revenue-generating power of “page-view” reading on digital news sites, with each click to see the next listed item in an article boosting advertising income bit by bit. Their “12 Surprising Things . . .” and “10 Greatest . . .” formats have proven influential even with **legacy media**, such as newspapers, especially in their attempts to attract younger readers.

**LITERARY JOURNALISM.** An ambiguous category whose membership varies depending on whether it is defined as journalism that achieves certain “literary” attributes (e.g., **Daniel Defoe** and **Joseph Addison**) or as journalism

practiced by writers whose greatest accomplishments are thought to be in the field of literature (e.g., Charles Dickens and George Orwell). Many of those included in the canon fulfilled both definitions (e.g., **Stephen Crane**). Literary journalism has generally been associated with attempts to develop a new kind of journalism (e.g., **Benjamin Franklin** and Tom Wolfe).

Of the various subfields of journalism history, one of the largest consists of studies on the relationship between literature and journalism, as attested in the bibliography for this entry. For present purposes, it will suffice to mention a few of the better-known figures who have passed across the nebulous border between journalism and literature by way of illustrating the different ways in which they have done so.

During the final years of the Restoration (1815–1830), the French novelist Stendhal (1783–1842) turned to journalism to comment on the world of letters. He wrote hundreds of pages of unsigned and pseudonymous articles and reviews for the British press criticizing the contemporary literary and publishing scene in **France**. Written first in French and then translated for journals such as the *Paris Monthly Review* and the *London Magazine*, these writings were a witty journalistic riposte to critical press reactions to Stendhal's own contribution to French literature.

More frequently, however, writers have dabbled in journalism before settling into their literary career. This pattern can be seen in the case of **Henry Adams** and Samuel Clemens (1835–1910). Before he became Mark Twain, Clemens was a reporter for the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* in 1862 and an assistant editor of the monthly literary magazine *The Galaxy* (1866–1878), contributing a department of “Memoranda” devoted to humorous sketches.

In some cases, the movement has been from journalism to literature and then back again. Before becoming a novelist, Edward Bellamy (1850–1898) worked for the *New York Evening Post* and then edited the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Union* from 1872 to 77. Then, after the publication of *Looking Backward: 2000–1887* (1888), he founded two journals, the *Nationalist* (1889–1891) and the *New Nation* (1891–1894).

In yet other cases, major writers have continued to be involved in journalism alongside their other work. Albert Camus (1913–1960) was a courtroom reporter for the *Alger republican* and upset the local authorities by campaigning for political and economic reforms on behalf of the Algerian Muslims. After joining the French Resistance in 1942, he wrote leading articles for underground newspapers such as *Combat*, which he also edited from 1944 to 1947.

Finally, there is the matter of the **New Journalism II**. Its practitioners argued that that they had in effect eliminated the discursive boundary between

journalism and literature. Their successors today can be found in the recent rise of **slow journalism**. See also HEMINGWAY, ERNEST; STEINBECK, JOHN; ZOLA, EMILE.

**LLOYD, HENRY DEMAREST (1847–1903).** Precursor of the investigative journalism of the muckrakers. After graduating from Columbia, he married the daughter of William Boss, co-owner of the *Chicago Tribune*, and rose to the position of chief editorial writer. In “The Story of a Great Monopoly,” published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1881, he used what he called the “photography of facts” to counter social Darwinist arguments supporting the rapacious practices of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. It was later expanded and published as *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894). After falling out with publisher Joseph Medill, Lloyd resigned from the *Tribune* in 1885 to devote himself exclusively to the literature of protest. In *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners* (1890), he championed the cause of Illinois coal miners.

**LOS ANGELES TIMES.** One of the most respected newspapers in the world. It originated in 1882 when the Mirror Company took over the bankrupt *Los Angeles Daily Times* (1873) as its printer and placed it under the editorship of Harrison Gray Otis, a former lieutenant colonel in the Union army. A militant, anti-union conservative, Gray became sole owner of the *Times* in 1886 and used it to promote the development southern California. About the same time, Harry Chandler joined the paper on the business side and consolidated its circulation and regional influence. He was later succeeded by his son Norman, who retained the paper’s conservative politics. For more than half a century, however, it remained little more than a parochial California paper. It was not until the 1960s that the Harry Chandler’s son, Otis, shifted its emphasis to quality national and international news.

**LUCE, HENRY R. (1898–1967).** American media mogul. The son of Presbyterian missionaries in China, Luce worked briefly as a reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Baltimore News* after his graduation from Yale in 1920. In 1923, he and Briton Hadden, a college classmate, founded *Time* as a weekly newsmagazine. Following Hadden’s death in 1929, Luce began the business monthly *Fortune* (1930), the weekly radio news program *March of Time* (1931), and the popular weekly photojournalism magazine *Life* (1936). He assembled a group of brilliant young writers like Archibald MacLeish, Dwight Macdonald, and **James Agee**, but kept them on a short leash. A fervent Republican, he continued to build up his media empire and used it to promote big business at the expense of labor and entry of the **United States**



into **World War II**. He and his talented wife, Claire Boothe Luce, traveled to **China** in 1941 to report on conditions there; she also reported from Europe, Africa, and **India** under contract to *Life*. After the war, Luce promoted an aggressive American stance against the Soviet Union and communist China. *See also* TIMESE.

# M

**MACGAHAN, JANUARIUS (1845–1878).** American war correspondent. In 1869, he traveled from his home town Pigeon Roost Ridge, Ohio, to Paris to further his education. Two years later, he was hired by the *New York Herald* to cover the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and the Paris Commune. In 1873, defying Russian orders and pursued by Cossack and Turkoman forces, the bearded, bear-like MacGahan rode a thousand miles across Central Asia, including the Kyzil Kum desert, to overtake a Russian army and cover its conquest of the Khanate in the walled city of Khiva. His account of his exploits, *Campaigning on the Oxus* (1874), made him famous. After returning from Asia, he covered the Carlist War in **Spain** and then accompanied the 1875 Arctic expedition of the ship *Pandora*. In 1876, he was hired by the *London Daily News* to go to **Bulgaria**, where Turkish soldiers had killed some 15,000 Christians. A typical passage in his bone-chilling report read:

We were told there were three thousand people lying in this little churchyard alone, and we could well believe it. It was a fearful sight—a sight to haunt one through life. There were little curly heads there in that festering mass, crushed down by heavy stones; little feet not as long as your finger on which the flesh was dried hard, by the ardent heat before it had time to decompose; little baby hands stretch out as if for help; babes that had died wondering at the bright gleam of sabres and red hands of the fierce-eyed man who wielded them; children who had died shrinking with fright and terror young girls who had died weeping! And sobbing and begging for mercy; mothers who died trying to shield their own weak bodies, all lying together, festering in one horrid mass. They are silent enough now. There are no tears nor cries, no weeping, no shrieks of terror, no prayers for mercy. The harvests are rotting in the fields, and the reapers are rotting here in the churchyard.

*Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria* (London, 1876), 29.

Together with similar testimony from an American diplomat, his reports turned public opinion against the Ottoman Empire and encouraged the Russians to attack. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, through which

Bulgaria gained its independence, MacGahan contracted typhus and died in Constantinople.

**MACNEIL-LEHRER REPORT.** Unorthodox nightly news program on the PBS network in the **United States** beginning in 1976. It tried to break free from the traditional format of commercial network newscasts with their numerous short items. Anchored by Robert MacNeil in New York and Jim Lehrer in Washington, the program examined a single major news story each night, using experts and other journalists. It was scheduled at 7:30 p.m. to reduce competition as well serve as a follow-up to regular network newscasts. A study on information programming using one of its debate-like broadcasts with representatives of the wine industry found a high incidence of confusion between MacNeil and Lehrer and a lag of the camera behind voice that affected recall.

**MALAYSIA.** The first newspaper in Malaysia was the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, which began publication in 1805 in the remote region of Penang. It was founded by the East India Company's lieutenant governor R. T. Farquhar, who was pursuing a plan to ship cheap Asian labor to the Caribbean after the impending end of the slave trade in 1807. It was published until 1827 when it folded for lack of support. The first Malay newspaper, the daily *Bintang Timor*, was not published until 1884 and it was based in **Singapore**. Its owner Gebroeders Gimberg & Co. promised news subscribers that they would be given presents if they registered before the end of the year and it had a circulation of about 800 copies by 1890.

In 1894, William Makepeace, owner of the *Free Press* in Singapore, arranged for a Malay edition of the paper. It was edited by Mohd Eunus b. Abdullah, the son of a prominent merchant in Singapore and a graduate of the Raffles Institute. With Makepeace's help, he founded the *Utusan Melaya* (1907–1921). The first vernacular Malay newspaper, it was published three times a week and sought to provide a more balanced presentation of the news. Called the father of Malay journalism, Abdullah also founded and edited the only vernacular daily in Malaysia, the *Lembaga Melaya* (1914–1931).

During the 1920s, a number of other vernacular newspapers and magazines were established, including the Islamic reform journals *Al-Iman* and *Neracha*. In 1931, Onn b. Ja'afar founded the *Warta Malaya*, which covered the Malaya peninsula and began criticizing the British occupation of Malaysia. Fearing the spread of communism, the British began enacting restrictive policies toward the press. But it was Japan that temporarily ended their rule in 1942, suspending many of Malaysia's newspapers in the process. After the war, the British enacted emergency controls over the media in response

to ethnic unrest and increased communist agitation. During the 1960s, a temporary state of equilibrium was achieved through the political alliance of different ethnic parties. But the withdrawal of the Malaysian Chinese party from the government in 1969 threw the country into turmoil. The government declared a new state of emergency and curbed press freedom once again. It also took steps to make the foreign-owned English-language newspapers more responsive to local needs.

During the early 1980s, a number of liberal newspapers were allowed to operate. But their repression in 1987 marked the beginning of a new phase of state authoritarianism. Since then, the ruling coalition, the *Barisan Nasional* (BN), has employed a two-pronged approach to media control: legislative regulation and corporate ownership. With the rise of the internet, regulatory controls such as stringent printing permits have been less effective. But the BN regime has used other legislation to threaten internet organizations that challenge its control. At the same time, it has used its newspapers to construct itself as the only force capable of holding the country's diverse ethnic groups together. In recent years, however, factional struggles between the newspapers of the component parties of the ruling coalition have undermined its strategy of corporate ownership.

Today there are about 60 newspapers in Malaysia, almost half of which are dailies. They are published in Malay, English, Chinese, Tamil, and Kadazandusun. The two leading English dailies are the *Star* and *The New Straits Times*, with over a million readers each. Malaysian journalism has reflected the difficulty of governing peoples from many other Asian and Western countries and numerous ethnic groups.

**THE MARCH OF TIME.** *The March of Time* was both a weekly radio docudrama and a newsreel. As a radio program, it was broadcast live from a New York studio, with some breaks, from 1931 to 1935 on various networks. It was usually a half-hour long and featured scripted, fictionalized enactments of historical events such as Amelia Earhart's disappearance and the Hindenburg disaster. It was created to promote *Time* magazine and was produced by Batten, Barton, Durstine, & Osborn (BBDO), one of the top advertising agencies of the time. It used original live music and an omniscient narrator, "The Voice of Time," to help generate emotional responses. The program's impersonations were so good that in 1934, when Eleanor Roosevelt was invited to listen to her husband's impersonator, she thought he was "wonderful" (according to a BBDO report), though added—"I do think I could tell the difference." But as Cynthia Meyers (2018) relates, the president later asked the program organizers to discontinue the impersonations lest they be confused with his live radio *Fireside Chats*.

To help finance the program BBDO engaged a series of sponsors, including Remington Rand and Wrigley's Spearmint Gum. But their involvement proved to be problematic. When certain news stories rankled some listeners, they withdrew their sponsorship rather than antagonize potential customers. Wrigley's withdrawal stemmed from complaints by German-American groups about the program's portrayal of the Nazis.

Better remembered than the radio broadcast is the newsreel version of *The March of Time*, which arose as a result of the radio program's success. It was shown in movie theaters from 1935 to 1951. It was produced initially by Louis De Rochemont and Roy E. Larsen and revolutionized the style of the newsreel by adding staged scenes to authentic newsreel footage and adopting an editorial point of view. Although giving the newsreel greater impact and realism, the *March of Time's* docudrama technique involved questionable journalistic ethics as audiences were not informed of its use. In 1943, Louis de Rochemont was succeeded as producer by his younger brother Richard. Among the most successful episodes was "Inside Nazi Germany," produced in 1938. Some of the productions were censored in the **United States** as well as Europe. See also CANCEL CULTURE.

**THE MASSES.** Radical left-wing "little magazine" founded by Max Eastman (1883–1969) in New York City in 1913. It used a combination of powerful images and trenchant writing to engage in a socialist critique of capitalism. Most of its artists, writers, and critics lived and worked in Greenwich Village, where they had little immediate contact with the working-classes. "They shared in the sentiments of their age," wrote the literary and social critic Irving Howe in his introduction to *Echoes of Revolt: The Masses 1911–1917* (1966), "its characteristic lilt and bravado, quite as we share in the characteristic droop of our age. They regarded themselves as soldiers in an irregular army, which would triumph through the power of truth, the power of beauty, the power of laughter."

*The Masses* pursued a spate of isms—anarchism, syndicalism, Freudianism, feminism, pacifism, and so forth. But it also addressed specific issues such as the need for a living wage, the inequitable compensation of women's work, and the exploitive relations between employers and employees. Although its images were often stereotypical (workers were brawny and virile, capitalists were bloated or scrawny and effeminate), the graphic artists struck the magazine in 1916 when Eastman began pushing for pointedly political captions for their drawings.

Together with its pacificism, the magazine's depiction of American soldiers after the United States entered the war in 1917 sealed its fate. As Rachel Schreiber relates in the most recent of many books on *The Masses*,

the soldiers were shown not only as muscular but mindless, as in one image of a headless soldier with the caption “At last, the perfect soldier!” Eastman was prosecuted twice for sedition under the Espionage Act, though both trials ended in a hung jury. “The closing down of *The Masses* does not explain the end of the [Progressive] era,” Schreiber writes, “but it surely symbolizes it.”

**McCLURE’S MAGAZINE.** Popular monthly magazine founded by S. S. McClure, the self-styled “inventor” of muckrake journalism, together with John S. Phillips on the eve of the Panic of 1893. Modeled in part on George Newnes’s *Strand Magazine*, it initially focused on adventure stories, romances, and noncritical articles, but during the Spanish-American War of 1898 began to adopt a more outspoken attitude on matters of public interest. This critical stance continued after 1900 when McClure hired a group of talented journalists whom President Theodore Roosevelt was later to denigrate as **muckrakers**. When McClure returned from Europe in 1906 with a grand scheme for expanding the company and also proposed discontinuing muckraking because of Roosevelt’s attack and lost advertising revenues, Phillips left the magazine and took Lincoln Steffens, Ida M. Tarbell, and Ray Stannard Baker with him.

Following this “palace revolution” (McClure’s words), the magazine began losing money and in 1912 McClure was forced to sell his beloved publication and become a salaried employee of its new owners. To help pay off its outstanding debts, the company proposed serializing McClure’s autobiography without compensation in exchange for any profits from its sale in book form. Written largely by Willa Cather from interviews with McClure, *My Autobiography* tells the story of McClure’s triumphs over adversity in the typical Horatio Alger motif.

**MEET THE PRESS.** Long-running American radio and TV program featuring live interviews of major newsmakers on Sunday morning by a panel of prominent journalists. Created for the MBS radio network in 1945 by Martha Rountree and Lawrence Spivak in association with *American Mercury* magazine, it went on television on 6 November 1947 and marked the beginning of public affairs journalism on American TV. In addition to Rountree and Spivak, its moderators have included Ned Brooks, Bill Monroe, Marvin Kalb, and Chris Wallace.

A study published in 2011 found that apart from their impact on their own Sunday morning audiences, *Meet the Press* and *Face the Nation* have continued to influence the news agenda of elite newspapers such as the *New York Times*. It determined that between 1961 and 2009, these programs made front-page news on Monday “in almost three out of every four weeks” and

that citations to them generally increased over that time period. Of the two **political interview programs**, *Meet the Press* was the most newsworthy.

**MENCKEN, H. L. (1880–1956).** Known as the “Sage of Baltimore,” Mencken was the leading member of a new breed of American (“The right of *Americans* to be so called,” he wrote in 1947, “is frequently challenged, especially in Latin America, but so far no plausible substitute has been devised”) social critic during the interwar period. Born into an upper-class German family in Baltimore, he was raised on the writings of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. He worked for the *Baltimore Morning Herald* from 1899 until its demise in 1906 and then joined the *Sun* papers of Baltimore. He and G. J. Nathan coedited the *Smart Set* from 1914 to 1923 and then cofounded *The American Mercury* as its successor, which Mencken edited from 1924 to 1933. In *The American Language* (1919), which grew in subsequent editions to almost 800 pages, he tried to show how the American language is different from English. Some of his best criticism was published in *Prejudices* (6 volumes, 1919–1927). Among his main targets was pretentiousness, as evidenced in his “Bulletin on ‘Hon.’” in *American Speech* (no. 2, 1946). Noting that members of Congress continued to insist that they be described as *Hon.* in the *Congressional Record*, he added wryly: “The Hon. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey . . . not contented with the frequent *Honing* she gets from the *Record*’s reporters, once actually spoke of herself as ‘I, *Hon.* Mary T. Norton’ in a solemn House document.”

**MERZ, CHARLES (1893–1969).** Editorial page director for the *New York Times*. In 1920, he and **Walter Lippmann** conducted a study of the *Times*’ coverage of events in **Russia** since the October Revolution of 1917. Published as a 42-page supplement to the *New Republic* on 4 August, “A Test of the News” concluded that “from the point of view of professional journalism the reporting of the Russian revolution is nothing short of a disaster.” During the 1955 hearings by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, chaired by Sen. James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.), on possible communist infiltration of the New York press, Merz wrote a key *Times*’ editorial criticizing both the subcommittee and his own paper’s actions in dismissing several of its reporters for taking the Fifth Amendment. In “The Voice of a Free Press,” published on 5 January 1956, Merz acknowledged that some of *Times*’ employees had been associated with communist organizations in the past, but he insisted that the *Times* alone should decide whom it would employ. “We do not believe in the doctrine of irredeemable sin,” he wrote. “We think it is possible to atone through good performance for past error.” See also CENSORSHIP.

**MEXICO.** As in Latin America generally, the newspaper continues to struggle in Mexico in terms of both readers, with very limited circulation, and as a basis for a **public sphere**. Although the Spanish introduced printing to Mexico in the early 16th century, strict controls were maintained over the press. Around 1660, small circulation news publications such as the *Gaceta* made their appearance in Mexico City and used cartoons to engage in a degree of criticism. But it was not until the 1720s and 1730s that substantial newspapers such as the *Gaceta de Mexico* and *Mercurio de Mexico* were established. Their stated purpose was to provide moral uplift and a record of events in New Spain and they focused on crime, violence, and natural disasters rather than political events. Even literary compositions were looked upon with suspicion by the colonial authorities.

Despite strict controls over the press, there were six different newspapers in Mexico by 1809 as well as a public news agency of sorts called the *Mexico Seat of News Important to the Public*, which Juan Nazario Peimbert y Hernández began in 1803. A common practice, which the viceroy of Mexico later prohibited, was to place boxes at locations such as tobacco shops so people could submit news, advertisements, and letters to the editor. After Mexico achieved independence from **Spain** in 1819, there was hope for a political public sphere among editors such as José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, who had championed independence in his weekly *Pensador Mexicano*. But except for the brief period of the restored republic (1867–1876), successive presidents turned a deaf ear to pleas for greater freedom and used newspaper closures, the imprisonment of journalists, and bribery to intimidate and manipulate the press. “To be so circumscribed,” wrote Luther M. Steward Jr. in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1965, “assured the recurring failure of . . . journalism.”

During the Revolution of 1910, the charismatic Pancho Villa used archetypal American images of himself to achieve favorable coverage in the American press. In 1916, Félix Fulgencio Palavicini established *El Universal* to promote the ideals of the Revolution. But after gaining power in 1929, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) established a monopoly over political power that was not seriously challenged until the late 1990s.

Beginning in the 1940s, there was a rapid expansion of broadsheets and newspapers. It was aided by industrialization of the press along with increased education and prosperity and the absence of many competing media. In Mexico City, the daily sales of newspapers like *La Prensa*, *Ultimas Noticias*, and *Ovaciones* increased from less than 50,000 to almost 200,000 by the late 1960s. Since then, the growth of audiovisual media has steadily reduced newspaper sales.



When *El Excélsior* began showing signs of greater independence in 1976, the PRI retaliated by withdrawing its state-sponsored advertising. Despite yielding to government pressure to remove its offending editorial writers, its political advertising was not fully restored and its market share continued to decline. In some cases, violence has been used to keep journalists in line. But newspapers owners have helped to ensure that their journalists toe the party line. Reporters base most of their coverage on official news releases, which are accepted uncritically. A content analysis of daily newspapers in Mexico City in the mid-1980s found that over 90 percent of stories were favorable to the government ministry providing the information.

During the 1990s, a more independent press was finally able to gain a foothold with the founding of papers such as *Público* in Guadalajara and *Reforma* in Mexico City. Although they began to modify the practices of the traditional officialist press and gain new readers in the process, it was the election coverage of the Televisión Azteca network that propelled Vicente Fox and the opposition National Action Party (PAN) to victory in 2000. Since then, other new dailies have been established. But they have been associated with either PAN or other parties, so that readers have remained cynical about the political press. The leading dailies are not political newspapers but popular ones such as the sports paper *Esto*, which has the highest circulation in the nation, and *La Prensa*, which focuses on crime. *Esto* is part of the Organizacion Editorial Mexicana (OEM) group, which controlled almost 60 percent of daily newspaper circulation in 2010.

Contrary to standard newspaper economics, the current political papers charge substantially more for advertising space than the popular ones in order to make up for their smaller circulation numbers. They are able to do so because most of the advertising comes from political parties, which are willing to pay the higher rates in return for editorial endorsements, thereby cementing the partisanship of the political press.

**MITCHEL, JOHN (1815–1875).** Irish (and later Irish-American) journalist whose advocacy of national freedom and self-determination for Ireland resonated with other nationalist causes. In 1845, he began writing for *The Nation*, a weekly Irish nationalist newspaper published in Dublin. Following a trip to western Ireland in the winter of 1847, where he witnessed the devastating effects of the Great Famine, he began calling for armed rebellion against the British and was sacked by *The Nation*'s owners. In 1848, he founded his own newspaper, the *United Irishman*, and continued to press for independence at any cost. He was arrested for treason and, following a delay in his trial during which parliament wrote a new statute ensuring his conviction, was found

guilty by a packed jury and sentenced to death. However, the sentence was commuted to 14 years transportation, first to Bermuda and then for health reasons to Australia.

In 1853, he managed to escape from Australia and made his way to New York City where the press considered him a patriot. There he founded a new proslavery journal called the *Citizen* in which he proposed that American slaves were better off than Irish peasants because their masters at least looked after their basic needs. He also wrote the Irish revolutionary classic *Jail Journal: Or Five Years in British Prisons* (1854), in which he complained about how the convict community was “maintained in much comfort, with everything handsome about them, at the cost of the hard-working and ill-fed . . . people of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” During the Civil War, he was virtually alone among Irish immigrants in defending slavery and the Confederacy. In 2015, the *Irish Times* allowed that he was one of the “most forceful and effective” Irish journalists in the 19th century but also referred to him as “the contentious patriot” in alluding to his support for slavery. For Debra Reddin van Tuyl (2017), he was essentially “a Johnny-one-note, harping continually on a single string: freedom for nations.”

**MOBILE JOURNALISM.** A digital-era form of newsgathering and dissemination powered principally by the smartphone. Utilizing the high-quality video and photographic functions of advanced cellphones and exploiting the immediacy and global reach of social media networks, advocates of mobile journalism as a distinct style of reporting emphasize its low-cost, lightweight, easy-to-master technology as a democratizing force in the profession. Closely associated with the **citizen journalism** movement, key features of mobile reporting have been incorporated into most professional newsrooms as the smartphone, sometimes augmented by a tripod, high-caliber microphone, and video-editing apps, has emerged in the multimedia age as a fundamental tool for all journalists.

**MOBILIZING INFORMATION.** Concept developed by James B. Lemert in *Does Mass Communication Change Public Opinion after All?* (1981). A number of previous studies had concluded that public opinion is an inherently lethargic force. But Lemert presented evidence that it can lead to politically effective action in cases where journalists provide the public with adequate *mobilizing information* (MI)—in particular, the names and addresses of persons or organizations who might take action if contacted by members of the public. According to Lemert, journalists usually only provide information designed to change public opinion without including the means for the public to act upon its new opinion.

Three decades after Lemert's work, a study of the emergency information disseminated on local television news websites during disasters found that MI was present in fewer than half of the stories (44 percent) and was more likely to be *identificational* (names and contact information relevant to the story) rather than *locational* (information about time and place) or *tactical* (information about what to do). Stories by wire or syndicated services included more MI.

**MORAL PANICS.** Term originating in British sociology and cultural studies in the 1970s and applied by the national press of **Great Britain** beginning in the mid-1980s in connection with issues such as drug addiction, child abuse, and single motherhood. As first used by Stanley Cohen in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1972), a moral panic occurs whenever certain interest groups respond to the strains and uncertainties accompanying social change by using the mass media to project their fears on to a convenient scapegoat or "folk devil" (e.g., the Mods and Rockers in 1960s Britain). In *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (1978), on the other hand, Stuart Hall and his neo-Marxian colleagues saw moral panics as deliberate attempts by the ruling elite to maintain its authority in the current period of declining hegemonic consensus by diverting the attention of the masses from the actual causes of eroding social conditions to more superficial issues.

For still other academics, however, moral panics are in fact genuine, spontaneous public responses to real troubling conditions as revealed more or less accurately by the media. The press used the term pejoratively for the most part until the killing of toddler James Bulger in 1993, when some media commentators began to criticize "left-wing" criminologists for dismissing a real crime epidemic and crisis of values as a mere "moral panic." Recently academics such as Arnold Hunt have begun a needed critique of the concept, which arguably has become too ambiguous in meaning and rhetorical in purpose to have much remaining analytical utility.

**MOREL, EDMUND DENE (1873–1924).** British journalist who played an influential role in the campaign against slavery in the Belgian Congo. Though born in Paris, he was raised mainly in England and became aware of the vast slave system in the Congo Free State through his work with a Liverpool shipping company. In 1900, he began writing against it in various magazines, including the *West African Mail*, which he founded in 1903. A year later, he organized the Congo Reform Association and used it to enlist the support of writers such as Joseph Conrad, Arthur Conan Doyle, Anatole France, and Mark Twain. Doyle based one of his characters in the *The Lost World* (1912)

on Morel. A pacifist, Morel was imprisoned during **World War I**. But in 1922, he defeated Winston Churchill to win a seat as a Labour MP.

**MORRISON, GEORGE ERNEST (1862–1920).** Born in Victoria, Australia, “Morrison of Peking” as he became known, became internationally famous for his ability to unravel some of **China’s** mystique. After training as a medical doctor, he became, in turn, an explorer, journalist, and political advisor. His long, solitary walks in China, which he recounted in *An Australian in China* (1895), provided him with a unique perspective as the Beijing correspondent for *The Times* of London from 1897 to 1912. His proclivity to enter into the events he was reporting led him to man barricades during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Though a strong advocate of British interests in China, he also worked as an advisor for the government of Yuan Shikai.

**MOTT, FRANK LUTHER (1886–1964).** Professor of journalism and prolific early authority on American journalism and the press. In *Time Enough: Essays in Autobiography* (1962), he recounted how he was first exposed to journalism at his father’s weekly newspaper in rural Iowa and developed an abiding interest in the magazines, which it received in exchange for the paper. After coediting the *Midland* with John T. Frederick, he struck out on his own as a publisher and editor. Following the sale of his newspaper in Grand Junction, Iowa, he went to Columbia University where he received his PhD in 1928, writing a dissertation on the history of American magazines from 1865 to 1880. While serving as director of the school of journalism at the State University of Iowa (1927–1942), he expanded his thesis into a monumental *A History of American Magazines: Vol. I, 1741–1850* (1930); Vol. II, *1850–1865* (1938); Vol. III, *1865–1885* (1938); and Vol. IV, *1885–1905* (1957). Volumes II and III won a Pulitzer Prize, while Volume IV was awarded the Bancroft Prize by Columbia University. After his death, his daughter, Mildred Mott Wedel, completed Vol. V, *1905–1930* (1968). The volumes used magazines as a lens through which to view the democratic life of America. “Magazines,” he wrote in the preface to Volume II, “have always echoed popular ideologies, presented personal but representative emotional responses, interpreted the men and women of their own day.”

While at Iowa, Mott also published *American Journalism: A History* (1941; rev. ed. 1950) and served as editor of *Journalism Quarterly* (1930–1935). In 1942, he left Iowa to become dean of the school of journalism at the University of Missouri, where he edited *Journalism in Wartime* (1943) and wrote *Jefferson and the Press* (1943), *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best-Sellers in the U.S.* (1947), and *The News in America* (1952). All of these works reflected his deep-seated humanist values as a scholar.

**MUCKRAKERS.** A group of well-educated journalists and novelists who sought to expose political corruption and corporate abuse during the Progressive era. The movement was anticipated in the 1880s and 1890s by **Henry Demarest Lloyd**, author of *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894), which targeted the monopoly of Standard Oil, and Benjamin Orange Flower, editor of reform-minded magazines such as *Arena*. Attributing many of country's social ills to its laissez-faire economy, Flower called for better education, child labor reform, women's rights, improved housing, and public works programs. The muckrakers' influence on public opinion and some areas of public policy peaked between 1900 and 1910 when popular magazines such as *McClure's Magazine*, *Everybody's*, *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and the *Independent* provided an outlet for their investigative reporting by adopting political and social reform as a market strategy.

The term *muckraker* was first used by President Theodore Roosevelt on 14 April 1906 in a speech rejecting charges of corruption in politics. Roosevelt compared certain journalists to the Man with the Muckrake in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), who was so intent on raking muck that he could not see a celestial crown overhead. In the same speech, however, Roosevelt also hailed "as a benefactor every writer or speaker who . . . with merciless severity attacks evil, provided always that he remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful." According to Mark Neuzil, Roosevelt's speech was aimed as much at **William Randolph Hearst**, whom he regarded as his chief political rival for the presidency, as at muckraking journalists. Regardless, journalists such as Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, David Graham Phillips, and **Samuel Hopkins Adams** took his epithet as a badge of distinction.

The leader of the group was Lincoln Steffens. Educated at the University of California and associated with *McClure's* from 1902 to 1911, his exposure of political corruption and the alliance between business and politics culminated in books such as *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) and *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906). In 1907 he wrote to Roosevelt defending the muckrakers. "You seem to me always to have been looking down for the muck," he said, "I am looking upward to an American democracy. You ask men in office to be honest, I ask them to serve the public." Among his associates at *McClure's* was Ida M. Tarbell, who was influenced by her father's experience as an independent oil producer in Pennsylvania. She attacked the business tactics of the Standard Oil Company in articles in 1902 and 1903 and then in a two-volume *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904). Neither Steffens nor Tarbell did much to change the abuses they attacked. But Samuel Hopkins Adams's series of 11 articles on patent medicines in *Collier's* in 1905 helped to secure passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), while

David Graham Phillips's series on "The Treason of the Senate" in *Cosmopolitan* in 1906 contributed to acceptance of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 for the direct election of senators. Other series helped to advance workmen's compensation laws, conservation measures, and direct primaries.

In *Susan Lenox: Her Fall and Rise*, written in 1908 but not published until 1917, Phillips continued to expose slum life and political corruption. Adams and Phillips also continued the fight against patent medicines and political corruption. But by **World War I**, the movement as a whole had collapsed. Although it contributed to workmen's compensation laws, conservation measures, and direct primaries, it was largely restricted to issues affecting white Americans and remained captive to the prevailing stereotypes of African Americans. One complaint was that it seldom offered remedies for the abuses it uncovered. It stuck too closely to the facts, exposing problems without suggesting solutions. But a study of letters from readers of the muck-raking magazines found that they favored an information model of the press; like the readers of English *corantos* in the 1620s, they actually wanted "just the facts."

**MUGSHOTS.** Judicial photographs—or mugshots—have long been a staple of **crime news**. They consist of decontextualized rectangular head-and-shoulders images of subjects who have been instructed to pose as emotionlessly as possible. Although this simple image format has undergone little variation, its use has evolved in several ways. The ostensible purpose of mugshots is the identification and classification of criminal suspects. In **Great Britain**, where they were introduced in the mid-19th century, they were soon being used as well as a research tool by scientists and criminologists. More recently, they have been exploited for commercial purposes by tabloids in stories excluding or deriding selected alleged criminals as "other" on the basis of class, race, or religion. As Paul Lashmar writes in his 2014 social semiotic study, "we might ask what mugshots are missing from the modern 'rogue's gallery.' One obvious answer might be the bankers responsible by their negligence and self-reward for the greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression."

**MULTIMEDIA JOURNALISM.** A novel, technology-enhanced approach to newsgathering in which reporters from print, radio, and television journalism combine text, sound, photographs, videos, and graphics to enhance storytelling and reach wider audiences through digital channels. A celebrated example is the *New York Times*' Pulitzer Prize-winning 2012 story "Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek." Reporter John Branch, backed by a team of video, photo, graphics and research specialists, spent six months producing a six-part account of a fatal avalanche during a freestyle skiing

and snowboarding expedition in Washington state in February 2012. While “Snow Fall” represented a particularly in-depth and labor-intensive approach to multimedia journalism, the strategy of combining several forms of content to enhance stories was already becoming a workaday reality for reporters in many newsrooms.

**MURDOCH, RUPERT (1930–).** Australian-born global media baron. After studies at Oxford, Murdoch worked briefly at Lord Beaverbrook’s *Daily Express* and then began buying newspapers in **Great Britain** and **Australia**, beginning with his father’s small *Adelaide News*. Eventually, his Sydney-based News Corporation owned papers on every continent except Africa. In 1986, Murdoch challenged the three American networks by creating the Fox Network. In the late 1990s, he also developed Fox National News, an all-news cable network. A key to his economic success has been control over the production as well as the delivery of content. But the extent of his holdings raises serious questions for the practice of journalism within his vast empire.

**MURROW, EDWARD R. (1908–1965).** Distinguished American broadcast journalist. Murrow joined CBS in 1935, became its European director in 1937, and gained fame for his dramatic broadcasts beginning “This—is London” during the Blitz. On 18 November 1951, he and Fred W. Friendly launched *See It Now*, an adaptation of their CBS radio program *Hear It Now*. Its finest hour came on 9 March 1954 when it broadcast “A Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy,” directly exposing the distortions and false claims on which McCarthy had based his witch hunt against alleged communists. It was the gold standard for honest, accurate public affairs programming until 9 July 1958 when CBS board chairman killed it. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency (USIA). In 1964, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation’s highest civilian honor.

**MYANMAR.** The first newspaper in what was then the British colony of Burma was *The Maulmain Chronicle*, an English-language weekly founded in Mawlamyine in 1836. It was gradually joined by vernacular papers, beginning with the *Yadanaopon*. In 1874, *Yadana Neipyidaw* was founded in Mandalay, which was still under the rule of Myanmar kings. The vernacular press later facilitated opposition to British rule and helped Burma gain independence in 1948.

During the first decade after independence, Myanmar experienced unprecedented press freedom, spawning new newspapers such as *Kyemon* (The Mirror Daily), founded by U Thaug in 1957. But after seizing control through

a military coup in 1962, General Ne Win nationalized those newspapers that could be relied upon to support his socialist agenda and subjected the rest to strict censorship by a Press Scrutiny Board. Within a few years, virtually the entire media had been dragooned into supporting Win's socialist revolution. To supply this press, the military government also created the News Agency of Myanmar (NAM) in Yangon in 1963.

Since then the CPJ has repeatedly identified Myanmar as one of the most hostile Asian environments for journalism. The only anomaly is *The Myanmar Times*, which the Australian journalist Ross Dunkley began publishing in 2000 in Rangoon. But its relative freedom has been used largely to promote the ruling junta among international readers.





# N

**THE NATION.** Magazine founded by abolitionists in New York City on 6 July 1865. Its first editor was Wendell Phillips Garrison, the son of **William Lloyd Garrison**. In 1881, it was purchased by Henry Villard and converted into a weekly literary supplement for his *New York Evening Post*. In 1918, his son, Oswald Garrison Villard, transformed it into a liberal current affairs magazine. During the 1920s, it published **Carleton Beals's** articles on U.S. policy in Latin American and **Paul Y. Anderson's** exposure of the Teapot Dome scandals. In 1937, it was purchased from New York banker Maurice Wertheim by Freda Kirchwey, who remained its publisher until 1955. She was succeeded by Carey McWilliams, who had joined the magazine in 1945 as a contributing editor after a career in law. A prolific writer and champion of racial minorities and the oppressed, McWilliams continued the magazine's devotion to investigative reporting, developing special series on the **FBI** in 1958 and the **CIA** in 1962. The FBI subsequently monitored the magazine for many years. McWilliams also led the attack on American policy in Vietnam and was in the forefront during **Watergate**. *The Nation* is currently the oldest weekly magazine in America.

**NATIONAL ENQUIRER.** Originally the *New York Enquirer*, a weekly broadsheet founded by **William Randolph Hearst** in 1926. In 1952, it was purchased for a small sum by Generoso Pope Jr. and turned into a tabloid focusing on blood and gore. John R. Vitek III suggests that it may have been financed initially by Mafia money. Its circulation soon reached one million, but then stalled. In 1957, Pope renamed it the *National Enquirer*, switched its focus to celebrity news and self-help features, and began marketing it in supermarkets, where it was selling 6 million copies a week at one point. In 1971, Pope moved it to Lantana, Florida, and hired numerous British journalists to produce its materials. It later spawned several clones, which have reduced its circulation by about two-thirds.

**NATIONAL POLICE GAZETTE.** Sensationalist paper published in New York City and distributed nationally from 1845 until it went bankrupt in

1932. During the editorship of founder George Wilkes, it focused on criminal biographies and police scandals. After being purchased in 1866 by George Matsel, New York's chief of police, lurid sex was added to the mix. And under Richard K. Fox, who acquired it in 1877, coverage of boxing became an additional staple. *See also* CRIME NEWS.

**NETHERLANDS.** In 1579, the northern provinces of the Low Countries acquired independence from Spain through the Union of Utrecht. Aided by a policy of press freedom, the Republic of the United Netherlands became an intellectual and publication center for Protestantism. Following the Catholic suppression of a Protestant revolt in Bohemia in 1618, printers in Amsterdam began issuing *corantos* (Spanish for "current") to provide the European Protestant community with news about such events. Similar newssheets were created in other Dutch cities, all of them published in French as the most widespread language in Europe. Freedom of the press was later extended to journals published by refugees fleeing religious intolerance in other countries.

The first newspaper in the Dutch Republic was Adriaen Vlacq's *Post-Tydingen Uyt's Graven-Haghe*, which began publication in The Hague in 1656. The subsequent expansion of newspapers included a number of international gazettes written in French and profitably marketed to readers in **France** and other European countries where **ensorship** still prevailed. These influential papers made use of correspondents in the major cities of Europe. One of the most respected and reliable was the *Gazette de Leyde*, founded in 1680.

In a number of recent studies, media historian Joop Koopmans has shown that news digests and news pamphlets continued to play an important role in the 18th-century news system. In the case of the shipworm disaster of the 1730s, for example, more news reports circulated in digests and pamphlets than in newspapers, which served mainly as a messenger for them through advertisements. News digests such as the *Europische Mercurius*, the most important digest in the Dutch Republic, also constituted a valuable corrective to some of the mistakes and rumors in newspapers, providing a stepping stone in the case of events such as the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to future historical accounts.

Under the influence of the French Revolution, the Netherlands adopted a repressive constitution in 1798 and established an authoritarian government, the *Staatsbewind*, three years later. When the new regime was ridiculed by J. C. Hespe in 1802, he was tried for various crimes and banned from the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. The *Staatsbewind* also revoked freedom of the press, making it a crime to criticize the government, and suppressed the venerable *Gazette de Leyde* after it aroused Napoleon's wrath.

Partial freedom of the press was restored in the constitution of 1815, enabling statesmen like Jon Rudolph to use the press to advocate further reforms. The first daily newspaper was the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, founded by stock broker J. W. van den Biesen in 1828. It initially focused on trade and banking, but later covered politics as well. In 1844, it was joined by the *Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant* (with which it merged in 1970). However, it was not until freedom of the press was written into the constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1848 that the daily press began to flourish. Even then, press freedom was not granted in the Dutch colonies. In 1856, the colonial government in the Netherlands East Indies (now **Indonesia**) enacted specific restrictions on freedom of the press. In 1860, when these regulations were attacked by liberal papers such as *Bataviaansch Handelsblad* edited by H. J. Lion, the minister of colonial affairs, J. J. Rochussen, took legal action and Lion was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

Until World War II, most Dutch newspapers closely reflected the political and religious beliefs of their editors. During the war, underground newspapers such as *Trouw* and *Het Parool* took great risks to counter the information in papers, which were either taken over by the Nazis or, like the previously liberal *New Rotterdam Daily*, voluntarily became pro-German. After the war, most Dutch newspapers maintained close relations with a particular political party. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, many papers began to reduce their party ties.

Following a failed attempt in 1988 to institute regulations governing newspaper ownership, the market became increasingly concentrated, with four companies accounting for 95 percent of daily circulation by 2000. In 2007, the government made a further effort at ownership control. But it revoked the new regulations three years later and agreed to allow the industry to regulate itself on condition that no single publisher is allowed to obtain a market share greater than 33 percent. For the next few years, the Telegraaf Media Group hovered around that number. But it and other established Dutch publishers have been losing market shares in recent years to foreign publishers, which have been buying up regional newspapers and circulating free dailies.

It has been argued that the popular press has shown more support in recent years for the anti-establishment views of populist parties and is more likely to personalize politics. However, a study of the Dutch tabloid *Telegraaf* and the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV) found that the paper is more oriented toward elitist perspectives than the quality press and does not engage in greater personalization.

In response to steadily increasing competition for readers, some newspapers have been placing greater emphasis on narrative journalism, which is

presented as the highest form of journalism and one which cannot be performed in other media. While some commentators have expressed concern that this strategy will undermine the traditional objectivity and factuality of the Dutch press, others point out that the use of narration also has a long history in the Netherlands.

**NEW JOURNALISM I.** In the May 1887 issue of *The Nineteenth Century*, the English poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold commented that “we have had opportunities of observing a *new journalism* which a clever and energetic man has lately invented” [emphasis added]. That man was **William T. Stead**, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who had come close to using the term a year earlier in “Government by Journalism” in the *Contemporary Review* in referring “to those who decry the power of the more advanced journalism of the day.” After Arnold’s coinage of it, Stead began using it himself, as in *The Story That Transformed the World* (1890) where he proposed that “the Catholic Church . . . did for religion what the new journalism has done for the press. It has sensationalized in order to get a hearing among the masses.” This linkage of new journalism to sensationalism was already present in “Government by Journalism” and lay at the heart of what Stead considered to be “the more advanced journalism of the day.” But what he understood by sensationalism was very different from the conception that led to Arnold’s dismissal of what Stead had “invented.”

In “Government by Journalism,” Stead compared two uses of sensationalism by the journalist James Greenwood. The first was his book *The Seven Curses of London*, published in 1869 under the pseudonym Amateur Casual. It reported the plight of “the poorest of the poor” based on Greenwood’s personally experiencing their downtrodden condition and spared no detail to make that reality “as life-like and real” as possible. While it had little impact at the time, its objective in Stead’s view was the same as that of Andrew Mearns’s 20-page penny pamphlet “Bitter Cry of Outcast London” (1883), which led to the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. But in contrast to Greenwood’s attempt in *Seven Curses* to spur action through graphic language was his story about a man and dog fight at Hanley for the *Daily Telegraph*. For Stead, it was “as perfect a specimen of bad sensationalism as his first venture was of good. It was a more or less unauthentic horror, immensely exaggerated, even if it ever occurred, and its publication could not serve, and was not intended to serve, any other end beyond the exhibition of brutality.”

On 16 October 1883, a few days after the publication Mearns’s “Bitter Cry of Outcast London,” Stead wrote a leader in the *Pall Mall Gazette* entitled “Is

It Not Time?" and published a one-page version of the pamphlet. That same month, he introduced the celebrity interview and published 134 of them in the following year. It was innovations such as the interview rather than crusades against government corruption or slums in London that led Arnold to write John Morley, MP, on 8 April 1884 that "under your friend Stead, the P.M.G., whatever may be its merits, is fast ceasing to be *literature*." Arnold's 1887 description of Stead's new journalism as full of "variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts" was a backhanded compliment. For "its one great fault is that it is feather-brained. It throws out assertions at a venture because it wishes them true; does not correct either them or itself, if they are false; and to get at the state of things as they truly are seems to feel no concern whatever."

In fact, Stead was so concerned to "get at the state" of child and juvenile prostitution in Britain that he was prepared to break the law himself in order to expose it. His disclosure of the practice in "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in 1885 was deliberately sensationalist in his good sense, but condemned as bad sensationalism by MPs and led the Prince of Wales to cancel his subscription. It was simply the most troubling crusade for any society trying to maintain a sense of self-worth. Other crusades for an improved Navy, for sending General Gordon to Sudan, and for closer imperial ties could be more easily assimilated to positively imagined national community.

Many years later in *The Americanisation of the World* (1902), Stead said that "the interview was a distinctively American invention." So too, he might have added, were other aspects of the New Journalism such as human-interest stories, lively writing, and eye-catching illustrations. And in both cases, credit was due first and foremost to **Joseph Pulitzer**, owner and editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *New York World*. But as Karen Roggencamp reminds us in *Narrating the News* (2005), Pulitzer "did not 'invent' new journalism per se." Rather he "was its first practitioner par excellence, the standard against whom others—most notably **William Randolph Hearst** and in an inverse fashion **Charles A. Dana**—measured themselves." Pulitzer succeeded in "normalizing these techniques, primarily because his methods were copied by other editors nationwide."

In 1887, shortly after taking over the *New York World* and two years after Stead's "Maiden Tribute" stunt, Pulitzer staged his first stunt in which a hot-air balloon attempted (unsuccessfully) to travel from St. Louis to New York. But it failed not only to complete its journey but to generate much interest among readers. On 14 November 1889, however, the *World* announced to its readers that **Nellie Bly**, a young female reporter who had been turned down for the balloon stunt, was setting off to beat the time taken to circumnavigate the globe by Jules Verne's fictional character Phileas Fogg in *Around the*

*World in Eighty Days* (original French version, 1872). This highly successful stunt and the accompanying story format were another element of the New Journalism on both sides of the Atlantic.

The balloon stunt had no particular social purpose other than to entertain and amaze readers. But later stunts by Bly fit with Pulitzer's crusading zeal on behalf of working-class Americans, especially those with immigrant backgrounds like himself. The purpose of the human-interest stories, graphic writing, and eye-catching illustrations on page one was, as Roggenkamp explains, to "grab the attention of readers and encourage them to keep reading so that the editorial section on page four could educate them." In their quest for readers, both Stead and Pulitzer tried to use "good sensationalism" to influence government policy. But whereas Stead wanted to generate government action directly, Pulitzer was more content to shape public opinion and let it do the work.

**NEW JOURNALISM II.** The intensive nonfiction produced as a form of **literary journalism** in the **United States** by writers such as Lillian Ross, Truman Capote, Tom Wolfe, and Gay Talese, who stretched the boundaries of what counts as legitimate journalism by challenging its traditional ideal of objectivity and using the narrative techniques of fiction. It was premised on the assumption that it is possible to write personal, creative nonfiction that is factually true or true, at least, to what is most fundamental.

Ross pioneered the approach in pieces like "Portrait of Hemingway" (1950) and "Production Number 1512" (1952) on John Huston for the *New Yorker*. Her "wait-and-watch" method of research involved spending many months, in some cases years, with the subject of a piece, not only interviewing, but waiting and watching as the "story" unfolded. In her infamous portrait of Hemingway, with whom she was friends, she has him saying in the language of a prizefight: "I beat Mr. Turgenev. Then I trained hard and I beat Mr. de Maupassant. I've fought two draws with Mr. Stendhal, and I think I had the edge in the last one. But nobody's going to get me in any ring with Mr. Tolstoy." Ross was still using the "wait-and-watch" approach in the 1990s.

In most of her writings, Ross kept the narrator as invisible as possible. But other literary journalists have combined the waiting-and-watching with a participant-observation method in which the journalist becomes part of the story. Truman Capote borrowed Ross's basic technique for what he called his nonfiction novel *In Cold Blood* (1965), which told the gruesome story of how a family of four in Holcomb, Texas, had been brutally murdered in their beds. A playwright and novelist rather than a journalist, Capote did six years of research before sitting down to write. In *Republicanism and the American Gothic* (2009), Marilyn Michaud writes that *In Cold Blood* "was the first

conscious attempt to blur journalism with novelistic devices to create a new literary art form.” After it was serialized by the *New Yorker* magazine, he was interviewed at length by reporters, some of whom took issue with the story’s accuracy and his claim that a true story could read like a novel.

One of the most influential promoters of the New Journalism was Tom Wolfe. After graduating from Yale University in 1956 with a doctorate in American studies, he began working for the *Washington Post* and later the *New York Herald Tribune*, where he was influenced by the writing of columnist Jimmy Breslin. During a newspaper strike in 1963, he pitched a story to *Esquire* magazine about a custom car show and the hot-rod culture in California. It was published initially as “There Goes (Varoom! Varoom!) That Kandy-Kolored (Thphhhhhh!) Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby (Rahghhh!) Around the Bend (Brummmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm),” but more famously as “The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby” in his 1965 collection of essays with that title.

Wolfe produced two more essay collections—*The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), and *Radical Chic and Mau-mauing the Flak Catchers* (1970)—and then settled down to dissect the new style of writing he and others were practicing in *The New Journalism* (1973). In his genealogy, it originated in works such as Truman Capote’s *In Cold Blood* (1965) and Hunter Thompson’s *The Hell’s Angels* (1967) as an alternative to the abandonment of social realism by writers such as Beckett, Kafka, and Tolkien. Instead of writing ahistorical “neo-Fabulist” myths set in foggy swamps and forests, the New Journalists used “factualized fiction” to critique contemporary society from a highly personal standpoint.

Wolfe also gave credit to Gay Talese for helping to establish the style and methods of the New Journalism as a literary movement. While working as a copyboy for the *New York Times* in the early 1950s, he wrote stories about ordinary people and places and offered them to the editors who thought they showed promise. After completing his military service in 1956, the paper invited him back as a sports reporter. He continued writing literary pieces on the side, including his two most famous for *Esquire* magazine: “The Silent Season of a Hero” about the Yankee slugger Joe DiMaggio and “Frank Sinatra Has a Cold” about the popular and influential crooner. He later published a series of internationally best-selling books, beginning with *The Kingdom and the Power* (1969), which drew upon his experiences at the *New York Times*. Ironically, Talese did not consider himself a New Journalist.

**NEWNES, GEORGE (1851–1910).** Late Victorian and Edwardian editor, publisher, and proprietor who founded a series of magazines in the spirit of the **New Journalism I**. Among the more successful of these were *Tit-Bits*



(1881), the *Review of Reviews* (1890), *Strand Magazine* (1891), and *Country Life* (1897). Each publication was carefully crafted to serve the desires of a particular audience. Newnes also founded the *Westminster Gazette* in 1893 as a Liberal evening paper. In 1898, he became involved in an unsuccessful venture to develop a device called the Home Mutoscope through which people could watch filmed news events.

**THE NEW REPUBLIC.** The leading magazine of American liberalism. It was founded in 1914 by Herbert Croly, **Walter Lippmann**, and Walter Weyl and promoted Croly's vision of a new nationalism in which the state would use its regulatory power to control corporate capitalism, improve social welfare, and reinvigorate democracy. With the help of contributors like John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, and W. E. B. Du Bois, it attracted 40,000 subscribers by 1918. Over the next half century, its influence and balance sheet ebbed and flowed in conjunction with the fortunes of political liberalism, declining in the 1920s, reviving in the 1930s, experiencing difficulties during the early postwar period, and regaining strength as an opponent of the war in Vietnam in the late 1960s. Since then, it has moderated its traditional knee-jerk liberalism and placed increasing emphasis on broader social and cultural issues.

**NEWS AGGREGATORS.** News sites that combine material produced elsewhere. One of the first news aggregators was the satirical *Grub-Street Journal*, published in London between 1730 and 1737. Like other weekly news publications, it contained a mix of news paragraphs, advertisements, letters to the editor, and essays on various topics. But as a news curator, it also sought to help readers manage the flow of contradictory reports and unverified reports that filled the newspapers. Today's news aggregators function mainly online and their curation take a variety of forms. The **Huffington Post** or HuffPost uses paragraphs from other pieces to make up a story, while the **Drudge Report** consists of list of headlines containing links to the original stories while **Google News** provides the headline, the first paragraph, and a photo.

The presence of aggregators in the news system is controversial. Critics accuse them of being journalistic parasites that plagiarize other writers' work for profit. Defenders counter that they help people make sense of the news by linking and commenting on reports that people would otherwise not see. Ideally, aggregation adds context, analysis, and additional reporting.

**NEWS MANAGEMENT.** Governmental control over the flow of information to the public through leaks, press releases, and public relations rather than through  **censorship** or the withholding of information. In *Dependency*

*Road* (1981), Dallas Smythe defined it (p. 71) as “deliberate actions by organizations and individuals outside the mass media which shape the agenda and content . . . of media information, issues, or points of view which are helpful (or harmful) to the interests of those who take such actions.” The term *news management* was first used by the American journalist **James B. Reston** in testimony before a House Government Operations subcommittee in 1955. “Most of my colleagues here have been talking primarily about the suppression of news,” Reston said. “I would like to direct the committee, if I may, to an equally important aspect of this problem which I think is the growing tendency to manage the news.”

During the American Civil War (1861–1865), John Hay (1838–1905), the personal secretary of President Abraham Lincoln, engaged in an early form of news management by placing some 132 anonymous letters and editorials in both Democratic and Republican newspapers. The letters in the (St. Louis) *Missouri Republican* in particular are thought to have helped secure the loyalty of the border states. However, historian Michael Schudson has argued that Woodrow Wilson was the first U.S. president to engage in systematic news management during peacetime in connection with the Treaty of Versailles. During the Depression, the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt created a press bureau in every department to channel news to the public. Though not using the term, publisher **Henry Luce** was primarily concerned about management of the news in funding the **Hutchins Commission** during **World War II**. Since then, the extent and sophistication of news management has grown steadily, aided by the common practice of hiring journalists and graduating journalism students to serve as the interface between government and the press. The ethical and professional implications of this practice are seldom discussed by journalism educators, whose market is substantially enlarged by the dual career paths that their training provides.

**THE NEW YORKER.** American weekly magazine featuring essays, criticism, fiction, reviews, poetry, and a new style of cartoon in which the caption was intimately related to the picture. It was founded in 1925 by Harold Ross and his wife, Jane Grant, a reporter at the *New York Times*. Its goal was to provide a more sophisticated and cosmopolitan form of humor than in *Judge*, where Ross had worked. Its prospectus announced that “it is not edited for the old lady in Dubuque,” while the American theater critic Richard Watts Jr. said that “it doesn’t encourage the stuffed shirts and it has a warm place in its heart for the more amiable misfits; it certainly isn’t radical, but it can give the reactionaries an expert dressing down; it is often annoyingly supercilious.” Through contributors like Rebecca West, Alva Johnston, Joseph Mitchell, Richard Rovere, John Hersey, Lillian Ross, and A. J. Liebling, it exercised an

outsized influence on American journalism given its relatively small circulation of about 395,000 at mid-century.

**NEW YORK TIMES.** Daily morning broadsheet founded by Henry J. Raymond, George Jones, and Edward B. Wesley on 18 September 1851 as the *New-York Daily Times*. Long regarded as the most authoritative source of news in the **United States**, it became the *New York Times* on 14 September 1857. It helped to create the Republican Party in 1854 and supported the party editorially until Raymond's death in 1869. Jones, who had become business manager in 1856, then assumed full control of the paper and directed its successful campaign (together with *Harper's*) to break the power of Tammany Hall boss William H. Tweed. By the early 1890s, however, the *Times*' circulation was down to 9,000 daily and its debts were accumulating rapidly.

In 1896, Adolph Ochs purchased the paper for a mere \$75,000. Born to German-Jewish immigrants in Cincinnati, Ochs moved with them to Tennessee after the Civil War and began working as a printer's devil for the *Knoxville Chronicle* in 1869. In 1878, having worked his way up to journeyman printer, he borrowed \$250 and bought a controlling interest in the near-moribund *Chattanooga Times*, which he skillfully revived by making it one of the South's most dignified and trustworthy papers. Two decades later, he used much the same formula to rescue the *Times*.

Ochs began by distinguishing the *Times* from its yellow journalism competitors through the slogan "All the News That's Fit to Print." On the day after he took control, he told his readers the paper would be governed by four principles: to give *all* the news; to do so impartially, without fear or favor; to provide a forum for discussing matters of public interest; and to include all shades of intelligent opinion. These principles helped to make the *Times* one of the world's most trusted and influential newspapers. Over the next three decades, the *Times* developed a reputation for accuracy and foreign correspondence, winning its first **Pulitzer Prize** for its coverage of the Western Front in 1918.

After **World War I**, Edwin L. "Jimmy" James, who had been the paper's chief correspondent with the American Expeditionary Force, expanded its foreign coverage as chief European correspondent. Although the *Times* has continued as the gold standard for American journalism, it has tended to lag behind on matters of style, layout, and general accessibility. A study of its stories (and those of the *Los Angeles Times*) over the period from 1885 to 1989 found—in contrast to novels during the same period—a gradual drop in readability, largely as a result of the use of longer words. Its reporting has also never been beyond criticism. In 1931, Ochs said that the *Times* "so far as possible consistent with honest journalism attempts to act and support those

who are charged with responsibility for government.” In coverage of events related to the use of atomic weapons, the *Times* adhered closely to this principle. It has been also been criticized for its failure to make Americans aware of the Holocaust. And more recently, reporter Jayson Blair was forced to resign in May 2003 following allegations of plagiarism and news fabrication. But the paper was able to repair its image in the Blair case by maintaining its high journalistic standards and accepting responsibility for their violation. Its critical function in maintaining a semblance of decency and accountability in American democracy since 2016 stands in direct correspondence to the number of times its reporting has castigated as **fake news**.

**NEW YORK TIMES V. SULLIVAN (1964).** U.S. Supreme Court decision which held that the First Amendment applied to libel law. The decision originated from a libel suit brought by L. B. Sullivan, a public official in Alabama, against the *New York Times* and four ministers for an advertisement about a civil rights demonstration. After the jury awarded the plaintiff \$500,000 and the Alabama Supreme Court upheld the judgment, the *New York Times* made an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. At the time, the common law of libel still did not regard either truth or good intentions as an absolute defense. The *Times* argued that this situation seriously undermined the capacity of the media to criticize government policies or officials. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed and set a minimum requirement for plaintiffs of demonstrating media negligence, or failure to exercise reasonable care. In the case of public figures or officials, the bar was raised still higher to a demonstration of actual malice, or reckless and knowing disregard of the truth so as to injure reputation. Although celebrated by the press at the time and later expanded in scope, the decision failed to insulate the media against numerous costly libel actions.

**NEW YORK WORLD.** Daily morning newspaper purchased from Jay Gould by **Joseph Pulitzer** in 1883. Pulitzer expanded it from 8 to 16 pages and vastly increased its circulation through the use of sensational news stories, stunt journalism, illustrations, colored comics, and other aspects of the **New Journalism I**, for which it is taken as the American archetype. Within four years, it was the most profitable newspaper in New York City, ahead even of **Charles A. Dana**'s *New York Sun*.

In March 1887, Dana intensified the competition by introducing the *Evening Sun* and Pulitzer responded in October with the six-page *Evening World*, which combined a selection of stories from the morning paper with a few late breaking ones. Selling for a cent, it had a circulation of 340,000 by the mid-1890s, prompting **William Randolph Hearst** to join the evening paper competition with the *Evening Journal* in 1896.

The *Evening World* was referred to derisively as “Junior” by the morning staff and never received much attention from Pulitzer. But a look at one of its front pages at the end of the 1880s provides a good idea of what workers returning home at the end of the day could expect from a Pulitzer news publication before, at least, it deteriorated into yellow journalism.

On 14 November 1889, the feature story in the *Evening World* is **Nellie Bly** setting off on her grand adventure around the world. Taken straight from the morning edition, it uses up two of the front page’s seven columns and is accompanied by 14 (!) other stories. Headed “A Girl’s Feat,” it has five subheadings and is placed on the left-hand side of the page. Though only the width of the first column, its main heading is the largest on the page, signaling its status as the most important story of the day. This embryonic semiotic system of denoting apparent significance is carried on throughout the page, with the other stories falling into four additional tiers in terms of placement and especially headings.

Four stories fall into a second tier using smaller but bolded headings: two with two subheadings and two with only one, but placed below an illustration of a downcast street musician near the center of the page to catch the reader’s eye. A third tier has five stories with even smaller, though still bold, main headings and one very small subheading, while a fourth tier has four stories with a non-bolded main heading and a very small subheading. Finally, there is one short story with a miniscule, though bolded, heading and the tiniest subheading on the page.

Of the 15 stories, only two are about politics: “The Iceman Gives Up” and “O’Brien’s New Party,” both in tier three. There are three crime news reports: “For His Own Life” (tier two), “Wardell Not Murdered” (tier three), and “Is Coroin’s Assassin Insane” (tier five). And there are two sports stories: “The Baseball Magnates” (tier three) and “Jack Mauliffe to Meet Daly” (tier four) about a boxing match. The remaining eight items are essentially “human interest” stories. They fall into four categories: tales of adventure, conventional social news, heart-rending tales of personal tragedy, and pure fluff. There is only one human-interest story in each of the first two categories—“A Girl’s Feat” (tier one) and “Climbing Upward” (tier two) about a fund-raising campaign, though it includes a long list of donors. In contrast, there are three heart-rending stories: “They Let Him Die” (tier two) about a family’s failure to prevent a suicide, “The M’Glynn Ban” (tier two) about a denial of burial rites, and “Lost in His Honeymoon” (tier three). And there are three pieces of fluff: “A Mother’s Happy Thought,” “Tall Women Writers,” and “His Waffles Made Him,” all in tier four. These pertain to curiosities, which may or may not generate a smile.

What does this imply about the New Journalism? There are some inconsistencies in the *World's* semiotics of importance tied to conditions of production. As the edition considered is the “last edition” of the day, the stories in the seventh column on the right-hand side of the page are less prominently displayed than their headings might warrant. But basically, three characteristics of New Journalism are present in the *Evening World* or *World-lite*. First, politics is thought to be about as important as sports and both are deemed less significant than human-interest stories. Second, the most important category of human interest is the heart-rending tale of human fallibility, at least on days when there is no stunt-based adventure story. And third, the most literary writing, including the use of interviews, is to be found in the main human-interest stories. The others use a variation of the stultifying inverted pyramid.

What is also evident is that this embodiment of the New Journalism is more an extension of the journalism of the **penny papers** than a radical break from it. In hindsight, both the penny press and the New Journalism look like early forms of **clickbait** news. But a closer look reveals that much more was going on. There is an implicit form of social criticism in the burial rites and suicide stories and the page overall presents a fairly balanced and realistic perspective on human nature. The bad news (“They Let Him Die” and “The M’Glynn Ban”) are, on this day, more than counter-balanced by the Nellie Bly and donor stories, not to mention the saccharine fluff pieces.

Some press critics would later say that this mapping of daily life in New York City did not provide Pulitzer’s immigrant readers with what they needed to know to function as citizens in American democracy. But as a reflection of the world in which its readers actually lived, it was arguably superior not only to its politically oriented predecessors but to the tabloids that followed in its wake. Each issue offers a slice of life and cumulatively their pages give readers a fairly balanced sense of their own operative environment.

After Pulitzer’s death in 1911, his sons assumed ownership of his papers and their readerships steadily declined, in part because of their father’s ill-considered selection of Charles E. Chapin, a yellow journalism hold-over, as editor of the *Evening World* in 1898. In 1931, the Scripps-Howard syndicate purchased the *World* and immediately closed it down. The only remnant of the once great paper was that its name was added to what was by then the *Evening Telegram* to yield the *New York World-Telegram*.

**NEW ZEALAND.** For most of their history, New Zealand journalists looked to **Great Britain** for their standard of excellence and tried to be “more English than the English themselves.” A content analysis of metropolitan

newspapers in the early 1930s found that they contained more political news dealing with the internal affairs of England (37 percent) than *The Times* (of London) itself (30 percent). Recently, however, historians of journalism in New Zealand have looked to the **United States**, and especially its frontier West, for a better comparison with the country's journalistic development. While allowing for significant differences between the two trajectories, they have found a number of parallels between American and New Zealand journalism history. But a more appropriate comparison might be with another British Dominion like **Canada**, which underwent the same transition from colony to nation.

As in the British North American colonies, the first newspaper in New Zealand, the *New Zealand Gazette* begun by Samuel Revens in 1840, was an official newspaper and papers challenging Crown Colony policies were initially subject to closure. As opposition papers grew in strength, however, they led the campaign for self-government. In both New Zealand and British North America, they tended to be associated more closely with politicians than with parties, especially compared to the United States where they were a major instrument of party organization. In both New Zealand and Canada, reporting (as opposed to the use of exchanges) was slower to develop than in the United States, in large measure because of correspondingly greater interest in overseas than in local news. At the same time, however, there developed a higher and more uniform degree of political control over news in New Zealand than in Canada or the United States, where commercialization involved a strong populist element.

One factor behind this pattern of control may be the relative absence of major nonindigenous challenges (e.g., the division between French and English in Canada) to New Zealand's quest to develop a sense of national identity. But the immediate cause lay in the degree to which New Zealand newspapermen were not only involved in politics as members of the House of Representatives but used their positions in government to assert control over the news system. The process began in 1866 when a group of newspaper owners in the House, including future prime minister Julius Vogel of the *Otago Daily Times*, persuaded the government to take over the internal telegraph system being developed to link the country's constituent parts. It was the main instrument by which news arriving by ship in New Zealand ports was then distributed further and the plan was to create a subscription service under their own control. Although this arrangement soon broke down, a series of competitive approaches also failed and a government-based monopoly was restored in 1879 in the form of the United Press Association. This approach was later repeated in the case of broadcasting and lasted until the Broadcasting Authority Act (1968) achieved some dispersal of political control.

In the early 1980s, New Zealand received a mediocre rating on press freedom, despite the absence of censorship or any of the customary measures of repression. One reason was probably the heavy-handed approach that some politicians still adopted toward journalists. In 1980, for example, the prime minister banned members of *The Dominion* from his press conferences unless their papers agreed to publish material that had been cut from one of his previous statements. He also tried to prevent the accreditation of a *Listener* columnist for a Commonwealth conference. Since then, however, such episodes have been few and far between. New Zealand's largest and most influential newspapers, the *New Zealand Gazette*, *The Press*, and *The Dominion*, are among the freest in the world, cooperate along with other papers with the New Zealand Press Council, and are no longer prone to being brow-beaten by politicians.

**LORD NORTHCLIFFE (1865–1922).** British newspaper proprietor who broadened the constituency for mass journalism, the so-called Northcliffe Revolution. Born Alfred Harmsworth near Dublin, he established several popular weeklies and used the profits from these ventures to purchase the *Evening News* in 1894 and found the *Daily Mail* in 1896. An inexpensive and attractive morning newspaper, the *Daily Mail* used imperialism, contests, and banner headlines to attract lower-middle-class and working-class readers. After the turn of the century, Northcliffe entered the world of quality journalism by purchasing the *Sunday Observer* in 1905 and, to the dismay of some, *The Times* of London in 1908. As owner of *The Times*, he helped to turn around its declining financial fortunes. In 1917, he led the British mission to secure America's support in the war and the following year served as director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. After disagreeing with the prime minister over the composition of the postwar government, he was excluded from the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

**NORWAY.** Under Danish rule since the 15th century, Norway could only obtain newspapers through the post office in Copenhagen until well into the 18th century. Although a newspaper was begun in Bergen in 1721, its printer was forced to discontinue it after a publisher in Copenhagen complained that it was a reprint of his own paper. It was not until 1763 that a regular newspaper, *Norske Intelligenz Seddeler*, was established and it was subject to **censorship**. When the Danish monarchy temporarily relaxed controls over the press in 1770, a host of pamphlets emerged complaining about Norway's inferior position. Written by a group of younger, university-educated men who had come to Copenhagen, the pamphlets promoted an early form of national identity, but were not generally reprinted in Norway's newspapers at



the time. It was not until the end of the 18th century that newspapers began to call for independence. With the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, **Denmark** turned Norway over to **Sweden**, but the Norwegians managed to limit Swedish control through a new democratic constitution with specific provision for freedom of the press.

During the course of the 19th century, most newspapers became aligned with one of Norway's numerous political parties, but often exercised a substantial degree of editorial independence. When owner Olaf Madsen tried to reduce the news-hole in favor of advertising in *Verdens Gang* in 1910, Editor Olaf V. Thommessen portrayed it as an attack on editorial freedom, resigned along with many of his staff, and founded his own newspaper. During the Nazi occupation, an underground press arose after the more outspoken papers were shut down and their editors imprisoned or murdered. After the war, the various political groupings provided start-up funding to reestablish the party press, but only those newspapers with substantial advertising were able to survive.

In 1969, in an attempt to maintain a diversity of political views, the government began a system of state subsidies to newspapers with small circulations or stiff competition from other papers. Though deemed a failure by many commentators, this policy continued into the 21st century, albeit with a substantially reduced budget. A recent study of small, local newspapers found that they have been able to survive in part because audiences trust and value their political content.

# O

**OSSIETZKY, CARL VON (1889–1938).** German journalist and pacifist. After **World War I**, he served briefly as secretary of the German Peace Society in Berlin and then joined the antiwar *Berliner Volkszeitung* as foreign editor. When the paper's editorial staff tried unsuccessfully to found a new political party, Ossietzky switched first to the political weekly *Tagebuch* and then Siegfried Jacobsohn's *Die Weltbühne*. When Jacobsohn died suddenly in December 1926, Ossietzky took over as editor-in-chief and continued his predecessor's unpopular efforts to expose the secret rearmament of Germany in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. Despite imprisonment in 1927 and 1931, Ossietzky refused to abandon the campaign and from 1933 to 1936 was incarcerated in concentration camps at Sonnenburg and Esterwegen-Papenburg where his health rapidly deteriorated. After he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936, he was refused a passport to travel to **Norway**, press coverage of the award was muzzled by the government, and Germans were prohibited from accepting any future Nobel prizes.



# P

**PAKISTAN.** The Muslim press played a critical role in the achievement of Pakistani independence. Believing that the Indian Hindu-language press was biased against Muslims, the Indian Muslim leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah founded several daily and weekly Muslim newspapers in the 1930s and 1940s. Together with other Urdu-language newspapers in Lahore, Bombay, Delhi, and elsewhere, they carried the Muslim League's message for the creation of Pakistan, especially after the Pakistan Resolution of the All-India Muslim League in 1940 proclaimed the desire of Indian Muslims for an autonomous homeland. The demand for a separate state was not initiated by the British government to impede progress toward self-government in **India**, but was rather, as the British press itself reported, the result of a unifying Islamic ideology.

On the day on independence in 1947, however, there were only four major Muslim-owned newspapers in the area constituting the new state of Pakistan: *Pakistan Times*, *Zamindar*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Civil and Military Gazette*, all located in Lahore. But that same day, *Dawn* began publication as an English-language daily in Karachi, the federal capital, and shortly thereafter other Muslim publications moved to Pakistan, including the Urdu-language dailies, *Jang* and *Anjam*. They were owned initially by private individuals, joint-stock companies, or trusts and relied on two major news agencies: Associated Press of Pakistan and Pakistan Press International.

In 1960, the Associated Press of Pakistan was taken over by the government and in 1972 a similar fate befell the National Press Trust, which a group of businessmen had set up in 1964 as a nonprofit newspaper publishing organization. After General Zia-ul-Haq declared martial law on 5 July 1977, newspapers were kept on a tight leash and television broadcasting was limited to the state-owned network Pakistan Television (PTV). Its monopoly was broken in 1990 with the creation of the People's Television Network (PTN), later the Shalimar Television Network (STN). But it still presented a pro-government line and was subject to government regulations, such as the stipulation that women must wear *dupattas* or scarves over their heads on newscasts and other programs. Restrictions based on the sharia

prevented PTN from broadcasting certain events during the Olympics in Barcelona in 1992.

As Pakistan began emerging in the 1990s from decades of oppression by military dictators, agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development and international NGOs such as Internews, Deutsche Welle, and Intermedia offered assistance in the form of training journalists for a democratic society. But the environment in which they operate today is still governed by both official and unofficial government controls. A lack of legal protection for journalists together with ongoing physical threats compels journalists to engage in self-censorship and this practice is reinforced by newspaper owners whose government depends on pro-government coverage. A survey of 357 journalists and journalist educators in 2016 concluded that programs aimed at instilling Western journalistic values have made little headway in terms of the operative mind-set of most Pakistani journalists. To survive in a country ranked 147th out of 180 on the World Press Freedom Index by Reporters Without Borders in that year, the most they can realistically aspire to is some form of development journalism in which the role of the press is to promote the political, economic, and religious agenda of the state.

**PARAGUAY.** The first printed news vehicles in Paraguay were official publications, beginning with the *Repertorio Nacional* (1841–1851), which contained only administrative acts and decrees. It was followed by *El Paraguay Independiente* (1845–1852) and its successor *El Semanario* (1853–1868), a newspaper edited by the president himself. Beginning in the mid-1850s, a few independent newspapers were founded, but none lasted more than a couple of years. The first daily newspaper, *Nación Paraguaya* (1872–1874), was also an official government paper. During the last quarter of the 19th century, however, independent papers such as *La Democracia* (1881–1904) were able to gain a more secure foothold. Until a telegraph line was installed in 1895, it had to wait six or seven days for world news to make its way upriver from Buenos Aires in **Argentina**. Following **World War I**, Paraguayan journalism experienced unprecedented freedom. In this atmosphere of tolerance, however, pro-fascist factions such as the Frente de Guerra were also able to establish newspapers propagating their extreme right-wing ideology. In the 1940s, the military government of President Higinio Morínigo created an official government newspaper, confiscated a number of opposition papers, and established the Departamento Nacional de Propaganda to control the rest. Since then, even nonpartisan newspapers have continued to suffer from periodic harassment, **copyright**, and closure. In 1984, for example, Paraguay's largest circulation daily, the tabloid *ABC Color*, was shut down.

Since 2000, Paraguayan journalists have continued to suffer from intimidation and even death threats insofar as they try to expose corruption and wrongdoing. A study (de Ancos, 2014) of recent Paraguayan politics found that parties rather than individual actors are the main holders of political and media power and Freedom House still regularly lists Paraguay as one of the most troubled democracies in Latin America.

**PARK, ROBERT E. (1864–1944).** American sociologist who pioneered social science research on the press. Born in Red Wing, Minnesota, Park studied philosophy with **John Dewey** at the University of Michigan and then worked as a journalist at various newspapers for the next 11 years. Dissatisfied with newspapering, he returned to academia for an MA at Harvard and PhD in Germany and then taught philosophy at Harvard until 1913 when he became a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

A leader in the “Chicago School” of sociology, his most notable publications on journalism were *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (1922) and “The Natural History of the Newspaper,” *American Journal of Sociology* (1923). Though overly deterministic, the latter was one of the first attempts to place the history of journalism within a larger conceptual framework. In his essay “News as a Form of Knowledge” (1940), Park suggested that different forms of knowledge might be placed along a continuum on the basis of their degree of precision. He then argued that news is located at some point between a superficial and fragmentary personal “acquaintance with” certain events and a formal, exact, and verified “knowledge of” those events.

**PARSONS, ALBERT RICHARD (1848–1887).** Anarchist editor who was hanged for his alleged part in the Haymarket riot. As editor of *The Alarm*, a weekly newspaper published by the International Working People’s Association, he was a key leader in the movement for an eight-hour day. At a peaceful protest meeting on 4 May 1886, the evening after police had fired upon strikers at the McCormick harvester factory in Chicago, someone threw a bomb that killed 11 people, including seven policemen. Parson came forward voluntarily to stand trial after eight radical leaders were indicted. Four of the seven leaders convicted were hanged, including two other journalists, August Spies and Adolph Fischer. A review of the trial later condemned its methods.

**PEARSON, DREW (1897–1969).** Controversial newspaper columnist and NBC radio commentator. As a correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* in the late 1920s, he began the practice of using inside sources, especially diplomats from other countries. After he became head of the *Sun*’s Washington bureau, he met Robert S. (Bob) Allen, his counterpart at the *Christian Science*

*Monitor*. In *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, a best-seller published anonymously in 1931, they exposed the embarrassing shortcomings of various public figures. After their identities were discovered, they were both fired, but were soon hired by the United Features syndicate to collaborate on a syndicated daily column with the same name and intent as their book. The column eventually reached an estimated 20 million readers through several hundred papers. **Jack Anderson** later replaced Allen as Pearson's coauthor.

**PENNY PAPERS.** Although the Revolution democratized many segments of American society, the daily press remained out of reach of many of the republic's citizens. Intended primarily for the political elite, the sixpenny papers or "blanket sheets" (so named because of their 24 × 35 inch dimensions) cost \$8–\$10 (about 10 day's pay for the average worker) for a year's subscription, payable in advance, or 6 cents for a single copy, though many could not be purchased in that manner. Moreover, the elite papers contained little of relevance to the clerks and artisans in America's rapidly growing cities. In the late 1820s, a number of less expensive labor newspapers were founded: the *Mechanic's Free Press* (1828) in Philadelphia and the more influential *Workingmen's Advocate* (1829) in New York City. But they too failed to address the interests of most potential readers.

Between 1830 and 1833, several newspapers in Boston dropped their subscription price to \$4 a year. But the major change in marketing the news came in 1833 when Benjamin Day founded the first of the penny papers, the *New York Sun*. Following the practice of London papers such as the *Morning Herald*, it emphasized **crime news** and was soon followed by a host of imitators in New York and other east coast cities: the *New York Transcript* (1833); the *New York Herald* (1835) under proprietor **James Gordon Bennett**; the *Boston Daily Times* (1836) founded by George Roberts and William H. Garfield; the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (1836), established by printers William M. Swain, Arunah S. Abell, and Azariah H. Simmons; the *Baltimore Sun* (1837), also owned by Swain and his partners; the *New York Tribune* (1841) under editor **Horace Greeley**; the *Savannah Morning News* (1850) founded by William Tappan Thomas; and the venerable *New York Times* (1851) established by Henry J. Raymond. Within a few years of their creation, the *Sun* had a circulation of 30,000 and the *Herald* one of 20,000.

Eight of the first ten penny papers were founded by enterprising artisans like Day who had few resources but were able to exploit the final days of the inexpensive hand-cranked flatbed press to generate a new urban market for news. Within a few years, most had installed Napier presses capable of producing 2,000 copies an hour. The early penny papers made the news more appealing through sensationalism and humor, but they also pursued it more

comprehensively and aggressively. The *Herald* included Washington and foreign news, used every available device to obtain news more quickly, and created “beats” such as finance, theater, society, and sports. While some of the penny papers did not support a particular political party, none ignored political topics, especially the debate over slavery. Greeley’s *Tribune* championed various humanitarian reforms, including antislavery, while Thompson’s *Morning News* condemned abolitionists and their political supporters.

**PENTAGON PAPERS.** Articles and documents published in the *New York Times* in 1971 leading to a historic court case over the question of prior restraint. In 1967, Robert S. McNamara commissioned a history of the involvement of the **United States** in Vietnam; the end product was a 40-volume study classified as top secret. In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg, an analyst at a research institute with close ties to the administration of Richard M. Nixon, gave the *Times* a copy of sections dealing with the Tonkin Gulf incident and the subsequent commitment of American air and ground forces to the Vietnam War. On 13 June 1971, the *Times* began publishing a series of articles based on the leaked materials, revealing, among other things, that President Lyndon Johnson had drawn up plans for military action before the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. When the Department of Justice obtained a temporary restraining order on the grounds of national security, the *Times* and a number of other newspapers appealed the order. In a 6-3 decision (*New York Times v. United States*) on 30 June, the Supreme Court upheld the right of the papers to continue publishing the materials. However, it failed to draw a clear line between government secrecy and the public’s right to know. While three members of the majority held that the courts could not suppress publication under any circumstances, the other three maintained that prior restraint was constitutional in situations where there was an immediate and grave threat to the nation. The case thus set a weak precedent for interpreting the First Amendment as prohibiting prior restraint. *See also* CENSORSHIP.

**PERU.** Between 1715 and 1767, the official *Gaceta de Lima* was published intermittently in the Viceroyalty of Peru. But the first regular news publications were primarily literary productions, beginning with *El Mercurio Peruano* in 1791 and followed by *Diario Erudito* and *El Semanario Crítico*. After Napoleon invaded **Spain** in 1803, these periodicals were joined first by political pamphlets and later by newspapers such as *El Peruano* and *El Satélite del Peruano*, all of which began to question the colonial system. In 1814, however, the vice-regal government took steps to suppress this literature, later turning *El Peruano* into an official state gazette. In 1822, Guillermo del Río and three associates created the *Diario de Lima* to provide the citizens



of Lima with political and military news as well as commentary on society, religion, and the theater. But it lasted only 25 issues and other news publications suffered a similar fate.

The first successful commercial newspaper was *El Comercio*, established in Lima in 1839 to represent the interests of wealthy landowners, bankers, and exporters. In 1903, the moderate conservative paper *La Prensa* was created by Pedro Beltran to serve the newly emerging industrial interests. It was Peru's leading daily in terms of serious national and world coverage until the 1980s when the costs of technological modernization forced it to fold. The first evening daily was *La Cronica*, begun in 1912. By 1980, it had parlayed sensational tabloid-style content into the largest circulation of any paper in Peru, but later lost pride of place to *El Comercio*.

Most newspapers in Peru have been closely associated with prominent families and particular socioeconomic interests. The largest papers have been those based in Lima, but none of these has been able to acquire national status; regional papers have remained dominant in the provinces and even these have been directed primarily at the non-Indian population. Historically, Peruvian journalists have suffered from high unemployment and low pay. Apart from senior editors, many journalists still work on a part-time basis, relying on single assignments on an unpredictable basis. At the same time, they regard journalism as a privileged calling and see themselves as constituting the sole channel of information to the Peruvian people.

For much of its history, the Peruvian press has been subject to strict  **censorship**. After **World War II**, President Manuel Prado reduced state controls over the media and a number of new dailies were founded, including *La Hora* in 1950 and *Correo, Expreso, Ojo, and Extra* in the 1960s. But between 1969 and 1974, President Velasco Alvarado instituted a series of harsh measures against the press, culminating in the complete nationalization of the Peruvian media. His approach was moderated only slightly by President Morales Bermudez (1976–1980). Following the election of President Fernando Belaunde in 1980, the nationalized papers were returned to their former owners, but freedom of the press was only partially restored. During the 1990s, President Alberto Fujimori again resorted to censorship, but was unable to stifle harsh criticism of his fraudulent election in 2000.

A few months after Fujimori's resignation in November 2000, the International Press Association removed Peru from its "watch list" of countries in danger of losing freedom of the press. Although Peruvian journalists have continued to face various forms of intimidation from the government and its enemies, the daily press has undergone a notable resurgence in recent years. In 2007, there were 57 daily newspapers with an aggregate circulation of 570,000, compared to 34 dailies with a circulation of 828,000 during the

Bermudez regime in 1977. Over the same period, the circulation of dailies rose from 51 per 1,000 to 342 per 1,000.

**PHILIPPINES.** The first newspaper in the Philippines, a short-lived government publication called *Del Superior Gobierno*, was not published until 1811, almost three centuries after the Spanish took control. It was followed by a number of other Spanish papers, including the first daily, *La Esperanza* (1846), and a bimonthly publication called *El Pasig* (1862) in Spanish and Tagalog. But it was not until 1889 that the first vernacular newspaper, *El Ilocano* founded by Isabelo de Los Reyes (1864–1938), was able to gain a reasonably secure foothold, lasting until 1896. After being exiled to **Spain** in 1897, Reyes began translating the New Testament into Ilocano, the language of northwestern Luzon.

On 12 June 1898, the Philippines gained independence from Spain with the help of an American fleet under Admiral George Dewey. However, the **United States** then decided to colonize the country and proceeded to establish its own newspapers, beginning with Franklyn Brooks's *The American* (1898) and Carson Taylor's *Manila Bulletin*, while at the same time suppressing nationalistic ones.

In 1920, future president Manuel L. Quezon finally managed to establish the first Filipino newspaper, the *Philippines Herald*. During the 1930s, it was published and edited by Carlos Pena Romulo, who began working as a reporter while still in his teens. He completed an MA at Columbia University and taught English at the University of the Philippines before returning to journalism. He was the first Asian to win a **Pulitzer Prize** in journalism (1942) for his series on the political and military situation in East Asia. When the Japanese invaded the Philippines, he became a press aide to General Douglas MacArthur and in 1949 was elected president of the United Nations General Assembly.

After the war, journalists like Amado Vera Hernandez were part of the general preoccupation with the question of cultural identity—whether, after four-and-a-half centuries of colonialism, Filipino culture had been lost forever. For the next quarter century, the Philippine press experienced something of a golden age. But there were disturbing trends as well: a few large Manila dailies were exerting increasing influence over the country's media; and many journalists saw nothing wrong in accepting payments from the government in addition to their regular salaries. On 21 September 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law and instituted strict censorship. Despite his earlier liberalism, Romulo now supported **censorship** while serving as secretary of education and foreign secretary under Marcos, a contradiction, which has marred his reputation as a Filipino patriot.

The assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in 1983 led to the creation of underground newspapers and radio stations that helped to mobilize the people for the People Power or EDSA Revolution of 1986. Following the ouster of Marcos and ratification of the 1987 Constitution, the repressive measures taken against the opposition journalism were lifted and a number of new papers soon appeared.

**PODCASTS.** Digital audio files in which interviews, documentary-style stories, and other forms of content are distributed as discrete, downloadable units available through computers, smartphones, and other devices. The term is an amalgam of *iPod*—the Apple-brand portable media player in the early 2000s—and *broadcasting*. Though rooted in the forms and techniques of radio journalism, podcasting is also deemed the audio offspring of blogs and was initially referred to as *audioblogging*. It reflects a greater openness to streams of content created by nonprofessionals. For the authors of one study (2005), podcasting is “not simply a new way to distribute audio recordings” but also “a form . . . of community-building.”

**POETRY AS JOURNALISM.** Poetry, like the editorial cartoon, has been considered a journalistic outlier. But when it is placed within the news section, it can provide an additional form of graphic and emotional commentary on events. In the 19th-century British press, poems were frequently included on the news pages and writers such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge produced both poetry and journalism for the press. Newspapers such as the Chartist *Northern Star* deliberately used poetry to further their cause.

Poets not only drew from the news and provided interpretive commentary on it but participated in debates over the role of journalism and at times even resisted its practices. During the Cotton Famine in northern England, for example, the *Leeds Mercury* published “Hearts and Homes” (2 September 1862) by the widely read poet Dora Greenwell. In the third stanza, she lamented the lack of action on behalf of the unemployed mill operatives:

And are there none among us here who meet and think and plan  
How best to cheer the breaking heart, to save the sinking man.  
To save him to his struggling wife, to save him to his child,  
To save him to his God, before despair has made him wild!

On 8 September 1862, the *Times* gave a gushing report of a fancy costume ball to raise funds for the mill workers. After reading other accounts suggesting that more was spent on festivities and tableaux than was raised for relief, Greenwell satirized the hypocrisy of the organizers and indirectly criticized the journalism of the *Times*:

What a pity it was to spend  
 So much over dresses! And then  
 The costumes they always send  
 Are the same things over again,  
 That we've seen a hundred times.  
 Brigand, and Turk, and clown,  
 With the peasants of various climes.

...

It makes me quite dull to reflect  
 That they've missed in the very next street  
 Such a first-rate stage effect,  
 The Dance of Death complete;  
 Penury, worn and gray,  
 And Hunger that tells her bones  
 For beads through the livelong day,  
 And sleeps at night on the stones.

While editorial cartoons continue to play a role in most newspapers, poetry has been reduced to a few isolated features such as the *Sunday Times*' Poets Corner.

**POLITICAL INTERVIEW PROGRAMS.** Geoffrey Baym (2005, 2007, 2011) has suggested a fourfold classification of political interview programs, which have long been a staple of radio and TV public affairs journalism. The traditional format is exemplified by Sunday morning programs such as *Meet the Press* and *Face the Nation* on NBC and CBS, respectively. Beginning in the late 1940s, they embrace the "high-modern journalistic paradigm" with its "professionally minded ideal of news as the democratic exercise of critical publicity." Their focus is limited to specific policy issues on the current mainstream political agenda and they are at their most hostile and argumentative with political figures whose positions are outside the range of what are considered to be legitimate differences. As a result, they constrain "potential lines of thinking and modes of understanding, thus implicitly reinforcing the hegemonic status quo."

Baym identifies three challenges to the prototypical news interviews of programs like *Meet the Press*. The first came from *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, which went on the air on 25 May 1992. It broke down the barrier separating commercialized celebrity chat from conventional public-affairs interviewing, turning the interview as a mode of critical inquiry into a form of postmodern infotainment through its emphasis on "spectacle and story." The second challenge came from *The Daily Show*, which was first broadcast on 22 July 1996. Baym places it in "the vanguard of a 'neo-modern' paradigm of public affairs" because it still assumes the possibility of "rational-critical

inquiry and democratic accountability.” What separates it from the traditional modern approach is its use of “postmodern textual poaching and aesthetic play.” Finally, there is the challenge of a program like *Hannity*, which began on Fox News on 12 January 2009. Its rejection of the basic requirements for a healthy **public sphere** is almost total. It is, says Baym, “rawly partisan and entirely market-driven” and “privilege[es] opinion over reason . . . and ‘believable facts’ over the empirically verified.”

**POLITKOVSKAYA, ANNA (1958–2006).** Russian journalist born in New York City where her Soviet Ukrainian parents worked as diplomats at the United Nations. After graduating from Moscow State University in 1980, she worked for *Izvestia* (1982–1993), as a reporter and editor for *Obshchaya gazeta* (1994–1999), and as a columnist and special correspondent for *Novaya gazeta*. Her fearless coverage of the war in Chechnya and various Russian authorities led to numerous death threats. Having served as a mediator in the Nord-Ost theater siege in 2002, she attempted to fly to Beslan to cover the hostage crisis there two years later. In “Poisoned by Putin,” published in *The Guardian* on 9 September 2004, she wrote how she was put on a plane to Rostov at the last moment:

The plane takes off. I ask for a tea. It is many hours by road from Rostov to Beslan and war has taught me that it’s better not to eat. At 21:50 I drink it. At 22:00 I realise I have to call the air stewardess as I am rapidly losing consciousness. My other memories are scrappy: the stewardess weeps and shouts: “We’re landing, hold on!”

“Welcome back,” said a woman bending over me in Rostov regional hospital. The nurse tells me that when they brought me in I was “almost hopeless.” Then she whispers: “My dear, they tried to poison you.” All the tests taken at the airport have been destroyed—on orders “from on high,” say the doctors.

On 7 October 2006, she was shot and killed in the elevator of her apartment building. Her books include *A Dirty War: A Russian Reporter in Chechnya* (2001) and *Putin’s Russia* (2004). See also RUSSIA; WOMEN IN JOURNALISM.

**PORTUGAL.** During the repressive Salazar regime (1926–1974), the state not only exercised strict control over the press but actively discouraged efforts by groups such as the NUJ to provide better education for journalists. Since then academic programs in journalism have been established at various universities, but many Portuguese journalists still lack formal training. The most prestigious newspaper for print journalists is the *Diário de Notícias*,

Portugal's "newspaper of record," followed by the more popular *Jornal de Noticias* and the staunchly independent *Publico*. Portugal's national news agency LUSA, founded in 1987, is also among the preferred employers for reporters. Although the current constitution formally guarantees freedom of the press, Portuguese history dictates against taking press freedom for granted; the code of ethics adopted by the Syndicate of Journalists in 1993 makes it a duty for journalists to oppose any attempts to restrict access to information or curtail freedom of publication.

**PRESS-RADIO WAR.** In 1930, the United States had 1,942 daily newspapers—compared to about 2,200 before World War I. Faced with these declining numbers, their proprietors and their press associations were in no mood to extend a welcoming hand to the new medium of radio as an alternative source of news. As early as February 1922, the **AP** cautioned radio stations against using its news over the air. By the late 1920s, however, an increasing number of stations were ignoring this warning, especially those owned by newspapers, and the CBS and NBC networks began gathering news for their various affiliates. In 1933, therefore, both the wire services and the ANPA resolved to stop cooperating with the new radio industry, refusing to carry its program logs and filing news piracy suits against a number of stations. In a temporary capitulation, CBS and NBC agreed to finance a Press-Radio Bureau, which would supply broadcasters with AP, UP, and INS bulletins under very restrictive conditions: stations could make only two five-minute newscasts a day, one in the morning after 9:30 a.m. and one in the evening after 9:30 p.m. However, this Biltmore Agreement (named after the hotel in New York City where it was negotiated) was scorned by many stations, which turned to new independent services such as Transradio for news. A few stations, beginning with KMPC in Beverly Hills, also began hiring their own reporters to gather the news. Rather than risk being shut out of broadcasting, the UP and INS broke ranks by allowing stations to make unrestricted use of their news and the AP followed suit in 1939.

**PUBLIC JOURNALISM.** A controversial America-based movement against several traditional news values. Also known as civic journalism, the movement was launched in the mid-1990s by journalists Jay Rosen and Davis "Buzz" Merritt. It arose from their belief that citizens are becoming increasingly alienated and disengaged from politics and public life and that current journalistic practices are partly to blame. They considered the main failings of traditional news coverage to be threefold: its excessive use of conflict as a means of framing stories; its "watchdog" preoccupation with the wrongdoings and failures of governments; and its contentment with identifying

problems without being concerned about solutions. Taken together these biases were thought to produce a sense of helplessness among ordinary citizens in the face of vast social problems.

As an alternative, advocates of public journalism propose that journalists not only encourage citizens to become involved in the democratic process but also actively facilitate problem-solving by bringing together citizen groups, public officials, and other relevant constituencies. While this approach has been criticized for abandoning journalistic objectivity, it could be argued that it is a logical extension of the role played by journalism generally in facilitating productive discussion within the **public sphere**.

**PUBLIC SPHERE.** Concept applied to Western political and media development by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, first published in German in 1962, but not available in English until 1989. Habermas has been mainly interested in what he calls the political public sphere as opposed to related cultural spaces. The political public sphere is essentially any communicative space in which individuals can freely, rationally, and critically discuss matters of public interest or policy in their capacity as private citizens; by his account, this space first emerged in British coffeehouses in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

More recently, Joad Raymond and David Zaret have argued that its origins can be traced back to the 1650s in conjunction with newsbooks and petitions, while Leth Goran relates its rise to the *corantos* published in support of Protestantism in the Dutch Republic beginning in 1618 and in England a couple of years later. It is questionable, however, whether the discussion that occurred through these earlier media had the degree of protection from state repercussions that Habermas takes as the earmark of a genuine public sphere.

However, Habermas overlooked the extent to which the political public sphere became dependent for its operation on journalism. Not only did the press become the main locus of its existence but a public sphere within the press clearly only existed to the extent that journalists facilitated it. By excluding government officials and institutional representatives from participation in the ideal public sphere; moreover, Habermas also ignored the extent to which the public sphere has always been a normative democratic practice with evolving views as to who should and should not participate in its discussions. As feminist critiques of his use of the concept have made clear, there has always been a gendered dimension to its articulation as a contested democratic ideal.

**PULITZER, JOSEPH (1847–1911).** American pioneer of the so-called **New Journalism I**. Pulitzer emigrated to the **United States** in 1864 after his

upwardly mobile Hungarian Jewish family was bankrupted by his father's death. He fought for the Union in the final year of the Civil War and then became a reporter for the St. Louis *Westliche Post* under the guidance of Carl Schurz, later becoming its managing editor and part owner. In 1878, he launched the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and used its profits to purchase the *New York World* from Jay Gould in 1883. He expanded the paper from 8 to 16 pages, improved its news coverage, added more illustrations and colored comics, and used stunts, crusades, and contests to attract readers. By 1887, the *World's* circulation had increased from 20,000 to 250,000, the largest in the country.

Pulitzer's competition with **William Randolph Hearst** for circulation during the Spanish-American War in 1898 gave rise to the term yellow journalism. But the *World* later abandoned sensationalism and gained respect for its independent views, bold attacks on political corruption, and use of columnists such as **Walter Lippmann**. A firm believer in the development of journalism as a profession, Pulitzer provided an endowment in 1903 for the creation of the **Columbia School of Journalism**.

**PULITZER PRIZES.** In addition to endowing the **Columbia School of Journalism**, **Joseph Pulitzer** established a fund for annual prizes for distinction in letters, drama, music, and newspaper work, now known as the Pulitzer prizes. The newspaper prizes were made on the recommendation of an advisory board of the Columbia School and stimulated other organizations to create similar awards for good reporting. In 1917, when the first prizes were awarded, there was only one Pulitzer for reporting. But by 1958 there were four. The awards provided an incentive for many newspapers to engage in civic campaigns. In *The Pulitzer Prize Story* (1959), John Hohenberg found that almost one quarter of the prizes given between 1917 and 1958 were for "exposing graft and corruption in government on local, state, and national levels." War reporting was the next most awarded category during that period, though it was actually exceeded by prizes for reporting and editorializing about U.S. racial conflict and civil liberties if the two are combined. In recent decades, a better balance has been achieved overall through increased emphasis on areas such as labor, economics, education, and medicine.

**PYLE, ERNEST TAYLOR (1900–1945).** America's most popular war correspondent during **World War II**. Born in Dana, Indiana, "Ernie" worked as a roving correspondent in the early 1930s. It was during this period that he honed his special skills as an observer and storyteller. After becoming the managing editor of the *Washington Daily News*, he began writing a syndicated column for the Scripps-Howard chain in which he focused on the lives



and dreams of ordinary Americans. He retained this approach as a war correspondent by writing about the personal experiences of enlisted men and overcame his own feelings of fear and depression to create a sympathetic image of the American infantryman, which still resonates today. In 1944, he won a **Pulitzer Prize** for distinguished correspondence. The following year, he was killed by Japanese machine gun fire on Ie Shima. Many of his columns were reprinted in *Ernie Pyle in England* (1941), *Here Is Your War* (1943), *Brave Men* (1944), *Last Chapter* (1946), and *Home Country* (1947).

# R

**RADIO CARS.** Beginning in 1946, newspapers such as the *San Francisco Examiner* began installing short-range radios in their reporters' automobiles. Like the **telephone**, these so-called radio cars increased the agency and autonomy of journalists but also allowed their supervisors to track them more closely. While the first short-range radios and the batteries that powered them were quite bulky, taking up a substantial portion of the cars' trunks, they were soon replaced by portable, handheld phones. In some cases, photo-transmission gear was also installed in the vehicles.

**RALPH, JULIAN (1853–1903).** Highly regarded reporter for the *New York Sun* from 1875 to 1895. While at the *Sun*, he wrote thousands of stories on a wide range of topics, including many of the major trials of the period and both the Greco-Turkish and the Boer War. In 1895, he left the *Sun* for **William Randolph Hearst's** *New York Journal* and later worked for the *London Daily Mail*. Called "the prince of reporters" by one of his colleagues, he also wrote close to 150 magazine articles, 14 books, and an autobiography.

**REED, JOHN (1887–1920).** American journalist, poet, and adventurer who became the hero of a generation of radical intellectuals. Born into a wealthy family in Portland, Oregon, Reed went to Harvard University where he served on the editorial board of the *Harvard Monthly* and *Lampoon* and was class orator and poet. Upon graduating in 1910, he traveled in **Great Britain** and **Spain** before returning to work for the *American Magazine*. He later became a reporter for the radical magazine *The Masses*, where he met his future wife, writer and feminist Louise Bryant. He spent four months with Pancho Villa and his soldiers, covering the Mexican revolution for *Metropolitan Magazine* and the *New York World* and writing *Insurgent Mexico* (1914). With the outbreak of **World War I**, he left for Europe and later turned his reports from the eastern front into the book *The War in Eastern Europe* (1916).

With the help of Max Eastman and some other friends, he and his new wife were able to travel to **Russia** in time to witness firsthand the October Revolution of 1917. He became a close friend of V. I. Lenin and recorded

his experiences in *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1919). His pro-Bolshevik articles for *The Masses* contributed to its indictment on the grounds of sedition. Upon returning to the **United States**, he worked for the left-wing journal *The Liberator*, threw himself into the embryonic communist movement, and was instrumental in the foundation of the illegal Communist Labor Party. He returned to Russia in 1920 as a delegate of this party to the Comintern but caught typhus and died. He was given a state funeral and became the only American to be accorded the honor of being buried in Red Square.

**REPORTERS SANS FRONTIÈRES (REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS)**. An international nonprofit and nongovernmental organization established in Montpellier, France, in 1985 by Robert Ménard, Jacques Molénat, and Émilien Jubineau to protect freedom of information and the rights and safety of journalists. It provides direct assistance to **journalists at risk** and their families, including training in digital and physical security. It also monitors attacks on freedom of the press and acts in concert with governments to fight  **censorship** and improve public awareness of threats to press freedom. In 2016, it was awarded the First Amendment Award of the AEJMC. A study (2020) found that despite certain methodological shortcomings, that data provided by its press freedom are “invaluable for human rights defenders, policy makers and social scientists to keep track of major shifts in media freedom on a global scale.”

**RESTON, JAMES BARRETT (1909–1995)**. Influential American journalist and author of works such as *The Artillery of the Press* (1967). After his family emigrated from **Scotland** in 1920, he began a lengthy journalistic career at the *Springfield (Ohio) Daily News*, joined the **AP** in 1934, and first worked for the *New York Times* in its London bureau in 1939. Following the American entry into **World War II**, he took a leave from the *Times* to establish the U.S. Office of War Information in London. After the war, he rejoined the *Times* as a correspondent and rose through the ranks to become associate editor in the mid-1960s and vice president in the early 1970s. From 1974 to 1987, he wrote a nationally syndicated column that dealt cogently with national and world affairs. Known as “Scotty,” he won a **Pulitzer Prize** for national reporting in 1945 and again in 1957.

**THE REVERBERATOR**. Short comedic novel by Henry James, which takes newspaper journalism as its main subject. It first appeared as a serial in *Macmillan’s Magazine* between February and July of 1888. Based on an actual case, its plot revolves around the indignant reaction of a French aristocratic family after a visiting American girl (Francie) indiscreetly reveals

her personal life to George Flack, a correspondent for the fictional American society paper *The Reverberator*. The novel reveals James's dismay not only over the new journalistic practice of personal interviews but the public's willingness to participate in this invasion of privacy:

"Is it true [Francie's husband asks] . . . what they say (and they swear to it!) that you told that blackguard those horrors; that the infamous letter's only a report of your TALK?"

"I told him everything—it's all me, ME, ME!" the girl replied exaltedly, without pretending to hesitate an instant as to what he might mean.

**REVIEW.** A London-based journal of (one man's) opinion produced in its entirety by its acknowledged author **Daniel Defoe**. It began on 17 February 1704 with the cumbersome title *A Review of the Affairs of FRANCE: And of All Europe, as Influenced by That Nation . . . with an Entertaining Part in Every Sheet, Being Advice from the Scandal Club to the Curious Enquirers; In Answers to Letters Sent Them for That Purpose*. This was later shortened to *The Review of the State of the British Nation*. Published twice and later thrice a week with an initial print run of 400, it continued with only a few interruptions until 11 June 1713 when government intervention brought it to a close. Sales reached a peak of about 1,000 copies in 1705–1706 and then declined to about half of that by 1712.

The scholarly nine-volume edition of Defoe's *Review* is only one of six series in the 44-volume edition of his *Works*—the others being his *Political and Economic Writings* (eight volumes), *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History* (eight volumes), *Satire, Fantasy and Writings on the Supernatural* (eight volumes), *Religious and Didactic Writings* (ten volumes), and *Novels* (ten volumes)—but it alone comprises 7,680 pages or, in editor John McVeagh's estimation, about four million words. The *Review* covers the entire range of subjects in these series, but categorizing it is tricky.

According to Defoe, it was modeled on chronicles like Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614) and Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (1679–1724). But its combination of news analysis, investigative reporting, and even a form of editorial made it a unique production. It was marketed to paying customers, but also relied on both advertising and financial support from a somewhat reluctant government patron whose political philosophy, policies, and fortunes it more or less sought to promote. This arrangement made it an effective form of publication through which the torrent of words gushing from his pen could find partial release. Defoe projected his own persona into the text, used allegorical figures like Lady Credit to promote particular causes, and introduced elements of interviewing into the news stories. The general idea for his "Scandalous Club" department was

probably borrowed from Henry Care's paper *Pacquet of Advice from Rome* (1678–1679). See also ADVICE COLUMNS.

**RIIS, JACOB (1849–1914).** Journalist-photographer who crusaded for the reform of slum conditions and contributed to both social realism and the journalism of the **muckrakers**. Born in Ribe, Denmark, he came to New York City as a penniless immigrant in 1870 and worked at various trades until 1877, when he got a job as a police reporter for the *New York Tribune*. While covering accidents and crime, he experienced firsthand the poverty, squalor, and disease in the city's slums. After joining the *New York Evening Sun* in 1888, he began working on a photographic essay on the underside of urban life, which *Scribner's Magazine* published in 1889. It was later expanded into *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), a groundbreaking examination of the social toll of unregulated industrial capitalism. When Theodore Roosevelt became police commissioner (1893–1895), he became friends with Riis and accompanied him on all-night investigations of the crowded tenement district. In addition to contributing to improved housing, Riis's campaigns led to the creation of schools and playgrounds in slum areas and improvements in the municipal water supply. Riis wrote several books and lectured widely about the evils of slum life, but the most enduring account of his crusades is his autobiography *The Making of an American* (1901). Roosevelt described him at one point as New York's "most useful citizen."

**ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR (1884–1962).** Influential First Lady who carved out a career in journalism for herself. Following the election of her husband, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as president in 1932, she developed a close relationship with Lorena A. Hickok, who taught her how to use the media and suggested she hold her own press conferences. After discussing the idea with Bess Furman Armstrong, a member of the women's press corps, she became the first president's wife to do so, stipulating that only women reporters could attend. Hickok also helped her to develop a nationally syndicated newspaper column called "My Day," which she also broadcast on radio. In addition to promoting the presidency, she used her journalism to develop her own identity as a champion of minorities, women's rights, youth, and the poor. In the process, she provided women journalists with an opportunity to cover national politics.

**RUSSIA.** Although printing began in Russia in 1553 under Ivan IV, the first newspaper was not established until 1702 when Peter the Great created the semiofficial *Vedomosti* or *Gazette*. The first private newspaper was the

*Moskovskie Vedomosti*, founded by M. V. Lomonosov in 1756, shortly before Catherine II began her reign. But for the next century, poverty, illiteracy, and poor transportation limited the further development of newspapers. Paul banned the importation of foreign books and suppressed private presses in the capitals. After becoming tsar in 1825, Nicholas I appointed a special committee to censor the press even more closely, forcing writers such as I. G. Golovin and Alexander Herzen to publish their journals and books in Paris and London, respectively.

When Alexander II became emperor in 1855, there were still only a few daily newspapers and they were either owned or subsidized by the government. In an effort to improve education and literacy, Alexander encouraged the creation of privately owned newspapers by easing **censorship** restrictions and allowing street sales and commercial advertising. The first independent commercial newspaper was *Golos* (The Voice), a reformist daily founded in 1863 by Andrei A. Kraevsky in Moscow. Among those who took advantage of the freedom to engage in more polemical journalism was Fedor Dostoevski.

Some of the liberal journals were actually sponsored by conservative Moscow merchants, who agreed with the view of Slavophile journalists that Russia needed to industrialize to avoid becoming subservient to Europe. Despite their hatred of absolutism, leading liberal newspapers such as *Russkoe Slovo* and *Sovremnik* also supported the tsar's military expansion into Siberia and the Caucasus. By 1870, there were 79 Russian-language newspapers in operation, almost five times as many as a decade earlier. The new popular papers borrowed the French newspaper feature known as the *feuilleton*, which consisted of random slices of popular culture. In addition to building circulation, the *feuilleton* helped to create public opinion by reflecting back to readers their own tastes and opinions.

At the turn of the century, the Russian press was still subject to censorship. In his 1905 poem "What You Can Write About," Vladimir Vasil'evich Trofimov (1874–1916) satirized the situation as follows:

Never write about bureaucrats,  
 Officers or soldiers,  
 About strikes, political movements,  
 Clergy, intellectual ferment,  
 About peasants or ministries,  
 Executions or Cossack atrocities,  
 About police, arrests,  
 Robberies or manifestos,  
 But everything else –  
 Must be exposed without fail!

Following the 1905 revolution, the press was temporarily freed from most pre-publication controls, increasing circulation and enabling a few individuals like Aleksei S. Suvorin, the millionaire publisher of the large daily *Novoe vremia*, to use journalism as a means of social mobility. At the same time, however, the government retained a number of irritating post-publication controls and used the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency, established by Finance Minister Sergei Witte in 1904, to propagandize its own programs, especially industrialization, among the middle class.

From the outset, newspapers played a pivotal role in V. I. Lenin's revolutionary strategy. In 1895, he and fellow Bolshevik G. V. Plekhanov organized *Rabotnik* as the main organ of the Social Democratic Workers' (SDW) party. It was published in Geneva and then distributed in Russia. Following Lenin's return from exile in Siberia, the Russian SDW decided to replace *Rabotnik* with *Iskra* (The Spark) and arranged for Lenin to go to Germany to set it up. Beginning publication in Munich in 1901 with Lenin as head of the editorial board, it was smuggled into Russia through Prague as well as by émigrés and sailors plying the Alexandria to Odessa sea route. But Sergei V. Zubatov, head of Moscow's Secret Political Police Department, enacted a series of measures to counteract its appeal to the masses and create divisiveness within the SDW. *Iskra* ceased publication in 1903 following a conflict at the party's Second Congress between Lenin and Plekhanov and the Menshevik members of its editorial board. In 1910, Lenin established *Pravda* (Truth), named after the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democrats. Although its publication was forbidden in July 1914, it was revived by Lenin three years later.

Following the October Revolution, Lenin appealed for the creation of a loyal proletarian press. In Petrograd, the Bolsheviks' district committees established literary colleges to transform industrial workers into professional reporters. At the same time, Lenin sanctioned increasingly strict censorship on the grounds of protecting the socialist revolution against counter-revolutionary forces. Having previously written that all citizens should have the right to express their opinions in the press, he now abandoned any pretense of freedom of the press, closing over 300 opposition papers and establishing a system of tight controls. He also banned the conservative American press from the country, resulting in general acceptance of his interpretation of events within the **United States**.

In the new Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks set about to harness the press to the revolutionary task of remaking society in a communist mold. During the Leninist period (1917–1925), *Izvestia* (News) was established as an official newspaper. A popular saying in Moscow at the time, attributed to Leonid Krasin, the blunt People's Commissar of Foreign Trade, was that "there is

no news in THE TRUTH, and no truth in THE NEWS.” Both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were overseen by a formal censorship office known colloquially as Glavlit and worked in conjunction with a state information system run by the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS).

The semiofficial abbreviation for the Soviet Union’s nonfictional equivalent of George Orwell’s fictional Ministry of Truth in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1948), *Glavlit* sought to prevent the publication of any information that might undermine the goal of creating a totalitarian society. Set up in 1922, it eventually encompassed radio and television as well as print media. Its directives prohibited statistics about unemployment, homelessness, suicide, and crime; information about crop failures, natural disasters, industrial accidents, and any form of civil unrest; and reports on things like sanitary conditions in prisons and internment camps, the availability of medications, the exportation of grain, and the movements of government officials. It also undertook the canonization of Joseph Stalin and concomitant erasure from memory of his political opponents. Its intolerance of criticism of its own operations placed local censors in the difficult position of having to reconcile its prescriptions with the desire of Communist Party executives to demonstrate economic progress in their respective areas.

In staffing the state-run newspapers of the new regime, Soviet officials were initially concerned to secure professional competence as much as ideological steadfastness among journalists. They believed that unless journalists were proficient, they would not be able to educate the peasantry and curb corruption and nepotism in the Party and state. At the same time, however, most Bolsheviks with newspaper experience were already in the bureaucracy, leaving the press in the hands of relative novices, many of whom were not Party members. Despite the belief that only proletarians (and later peasants) could be good communists, leaders of the press corps were forced to use a number of non-communist (or recently converted) intelligentsia and white-collar workers. In 1921, therefore, the Bolsheviks established the State Institute of Journalism or GIZh in Moscow to train a new group of trustworthy journalists with approved political and class identities. Part of the Commissariat of Education, it was the first school of journalism in the country, as attempts in tsarist Russia to provide professional training for journalists had never progressed beyond the planning stage.

GIZh began as a one-year program but was later expanded to three years. During its early years, it also found it difficult to recruit a sufficient number of adequately prepared students who were communists with the required class background. For a time, therefore, it quietly allowed non-sanctioned students to attend. But in 1930, its faculty was purged, a new curriculum was established, applicants with non-sanctioned identities were no longer admitted,



and it was renamed the Communist Institute of Journalism. The name change symbolized a shift from educating professionals to training propagandists.

From the outset of the New Economic Policy (1921–1928), journalists had been expected to function as propagandists. But newspaper publishers, unchecked by market forces, ignored popular taste so that the materials their journalists produced were of no interest to most readers. Though intended for lower-class readers, *Bednota* failed to gain a large audience, especially after payment was introduced in 1921. In 1923, therefore, the Bolsheviks created *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, a weekly tabloid for those who were not yet ready for serious material. It was joined by two other state-run tabloids, *Rabochaia gazeta* and *Rabochaia Moskva*. While these papers still failed to attract a mass audience, they did acquire a following among activists and government employees hoping to become involved in the new institutions of public life.

After Stalin came to power in 1928, attempts to cultivate readers in stages came to an end. The press became a sterile, obedient servant of the Communist Party, disseminating endless official speeches and stories about the achievements of Soviet socialism. During the 1930s, radio also became Stalin's mouthpiece. Although an Aesopian language was developed to express a degree of coded criticism, the press exercised almost complete control over public images of Soviet society, revealing none of its abuses, corruption, and repression.

Following the death of Stalin, Nikita Krushchev revived the Communist Party's project of creating a new kind of human being—*homo sovieticus*—and gave the reins for its implementation to his son-in-law, Aleksei Adzhubei, editor of *Izvestia* from 1959 to 1964. At its XXII Congress in 1961, the Communist Party's Programme specified that *homo sovietus* was to have unconditional devotion to the idea of communism, to work dutifully for its realization, and to engage in the merciless struggle against its enemies. At the same time, ironically, newspapers were given more freedom and began adopting a number of Western features, such as larger headlines, shorter news items, and greater use of photographs. After Krushchev's removal from power in 1964, however, the Communist Party once again sought to establish its control over the press. According to Epp Lauk (2005), "institutionalized censorship employed at least 70,000 censors in the 1970s-1980s throughout the Soviet Union."

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in December 1991, there was an explosion of journalism intent on reforming the Russian nation that remained. The new Russian Constitution of 1993 specifically provided: "The freedom of the mass media shall be guaranteed. Censorship shall be prohibited." With the legalization of private ownership, the media

system underwent a distorted form of market competition in which the state continued to own many media assets and provided both formal and informal monetary support to the private companies. But although the number of daily national newspapers increased from 43 to 333 between 1990 and 2000, their annual circulation rate dropped by 85 percent (Vartanova, 2016). Even though the state-owned *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Moskovskij Komsomolets* imitated the British tabloid model, high prices for home delivery, which was still monopolized by the state, and limited retail options ensured a drastic decline newspaper readership generally as consumers turned to weekly and monthly magazines to save money. Both newspapers and magazines had to compete with online platforms, which began to erode the advertising on which the private media companies depended.

Since 2000, both the number of state-owned media and state subsidies to private media have continued to increase. National newspapers only account for about a third of total circulation and no more than one in five people read a national daily newspaper. Moreover, the dominant national dailies remain newspapers established during the Soviet era: *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Sovetsky Sport*, *Moskovskij Komsomolets*, *Trud*, and *Izvestia*.

In 2005, Jukka Pietiläinen wrote that “since 1991 Russian journalism has become closer to Western news journalism in significant ways. The development has been most visible in the economic press of Moscow, but it has also happened at the regional level although a complete metamorphosis has yet to occur.” Even then, however, various legal and extra-legal measures were being used to reestablish the traditional self-censorship of the Russian press. The limits of press freedom were evident in the treatment of **Anna Politkovskaya**, a special correspondent and columnist for *Novaya gazeta*, following her critical coverage of the war in Chechnya and various Russian authorities. “I am a pariah,” she wrote shortly before she was murdered in October 2006:

That is the main result of my journalism throughout the years of the Second Chechen War, and of publishing abroad a number of books about life in Russia and the Chechen War. In Moscow I am not invited to press conferences or gathering which officials of the Kremlin Administration might attend, in case the organizers are suspected of harbouring sympathies towards me. Despite this, all the top officials talk to me, at my request, when I am writing articles or conducting investigations—but only in secret, where they can’t be observed, in the open air, in secret houses which we approach by different routes, like spies.

Her many awards, including the Amnesty International Global Award for Human Rights Journalism in 2001, were no deterrent to those who ordered or carried out her murder.



# S

**SAUDI ARABIA.** The first newspaper in Saudi Arabia was *al Hijaz*, which the Ottoman authorities began publishing in Mecca in 1908. It was devoted mainly to literary materials for the country's small literate minority, a characteristic subsequently of both the official government journal *Umm al Qura* and private papers such as *Sawt al Hijaz* and *Madinah al Manawarah*. The latter publications ceased operations during **World War II** but were resumed with more focus on news after the war. They were soon joined by a number of other private newspapers serving the personal interests of the new oil-based elite. In 1962, the government responded to this growth by creating the Ministry of Information to monitor the press. The new Ministry enacted a press code (1964), licensing all publishing operations, restricting the right to establish a new periodical, and regulating content. The code gave the Ministry control over the selection and tenure of newspaper editors and the right to close newspapers. In 1971, the Ministry also set up the Saudi Press Agency to supply the media with pro-government information. Lest even these measures leave too much to chance, a royal decree in 1982 set forth explicit guidelines for self-censorship.

Within the confines of this system, the Saudi Arabian press and its readership has still managed to grow. In 1980, the country had 10 dailies and 8 non-dailies, with roughly estimated circulations per 1,000 of 28 and 3, respectively. Today there are 13 dailies and some 200 non-dailies with a combined circulation per 1,000 of about 60. The leading dailies are currently *Ar-Riyadh* and *Al-Jazirah* in Arabic, *Riyadh Daily* in English, and the regional Arabic daily *Sharq Al Awsat*, which the Saudi Research and Publishing Company (SRPC) began in London in 1978. However, they all remain subject to close government scrutiny, however. In 2007, the Paris-based organization Reporters Without Borders ranked Saudi Arabia last in terms of press freedom.

**SCHURZ, CARL (1829–1906).** German-born American senator, minister to **Spain**, and secretary of the interior, who was also active for much of his life as a journalist. He began his journalistic career as an editor of the *Neue Bonner Zeitung* in **Germany** before emigrating to the **United States** where he

founded the *Watertown (Wisconsin) Deutsche Volks-Zeitung*. After the Civil War, he worked as the Washington correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, edited the *Detroit Daily Post*, and then became co-owner of the *St. Louis Westliche Post*, where he gave **Joseph Pulitzer** his first job as a reporter. He was later chief editor of *The Nation* and from 1892 to 1897 wrote the weekly lead editorials for *Harper's*.

**SCOPES TRIAL.** Famous “monkey trial” in Dayton, Tennessee, in July 1925 over the right to teach evolution in the public schools. John Thomas Scopes, the physics teacher who volunteered to be the defendant in the case, was represented by Clarence Darrow, while the volunteer prosecutor was the former Progressive leader William Jennings Bryan. The **AP** and **UP** both sent correspondents, the most well-known being **UP's** Raymond Clapper. Owing in part to the sensational coverage of **H. L. Mencken**, the trial was front-page news for three weeks and was framed by the press as an epic struggle between science and religion. Papers such as the *Chicago Tribune* portrayed Bryan as a reflection of rural ignorance. Edward Caudill has argued that the press was biased in favor of evolutionism because of the affinities between science and journalism. But the press itself had originally been skeptical of Charles Darwin's theory and had only gradually come to accept it as scientific fact. Moreover, the textbooks used to teach Darwin in Tennessee schools actually misrepresented how contemporary scientists understood evolution and were thus quite capable of being criticized on scientific grounds. Bryan's death a week after the trial was taken as symbolic of the death of religious fundamentalism.

**SCOTLAND.** The development of an indigenous national press occurred at a somewhat later date in Scotland than in England. Early Scottish newsbooks such as *The Heads of Severall Proceedings in the Present Parliament* (1641) and *Mercurius Scoticus* (1651) only contained news obtained in London and soon gave way to English publications like a *Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs* (1652) and *Mercurius Politicus* (1654), which were first published in London and then reprinted in Edinburgh or Leith. On the last day of 1660, Thomas Sydserf began publication of the first newspaper manufactured in Scotland, a weekly quarto of eight pages called *Mercurius Caledonius* (subtitled “Comprising the Affairs in Agitation, in Scotland, with a Survey of Foreign Intelligence”), but it lasted only until the end of March 1661. A similar fate awaited most other late 17th-century Scottish newspapers, with the exception of the official *Edinburgh Gazette* (1680).

By the early 18th century, however, papers such as the *Edinburgh Flying Post* (1708), the *Edinburgh (later Scots) Courant* (1710), the *Edinburgh*

*Evening Courant* (1718), and the *Caledonian Mercury* (1720) were operating on a profitable basis; the highly respected *Mercury* continued until 1867, while the *Courant* lasted until 1871. The *Courant's* first proprietor, James Watson, also printed a Scottish version of *The Tatler* edited by Robert Hepburn. Apart from using the publication to address anxieties resulting from the Union of 1707, Hepburn has his character, Donald MacStaff, implore his supposed cousin, Steele's Isaac Bickerstaff, to take account of Edinburgh in his discussions of social manners. While less popular than cheap street literature such as chapbooks and broadsides, 18th-century Scottish newspapers disseminated an increasingly wide variety of information and opinion and consciously promoted national identity, even giving preference to advertisements that included some kind of national appeal.

By the 1820s, the Scottish political press had come to be marked by extreme partisanship, with one particularly immoderate attack resulting in a duel and the death of its author. At the same time, newspapers were finally developing outside of the main cities. In the 1830s, several of the unstamped newspapers in Glasgow, including one owned by workers themselves, helped labor leaders such as Alexander Campbell to organize trade unions and promote universal suffrage, better factory conditions, and improved education. But as in the rest of **Great Britain**, the abolition of the **taxes on knowledge** in 1855 undermined the radical press by enabling inexpensive dailies to siphon off many working-class readers.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Scottish newspapers not only began to concentrate on stories with specific Scottish content but deliberately excluded English stories. For most of the postwar period, the Scottish press was clearly biased toward the Labour Party. After the British *Daily Mail* launched a Scottish edition in 1995, however, several of Scotland's main papers moved away from Labour in an effort to secure new readers. A content analysis of Scottish newspaper election coverage after devolution in 1997 found greater emphasis on providing voters with information and evaluative material than in British papers generally.

**SEE IT NOW.** Television public affairs program produced by **Edward R. Murrow** and Fred W. Friendly for CBS. An adaptation of their radio program *Hear It Now*, it went on the air on 18 November 1951 and lasted until 9 July 1958 when CBS board chairman William S. Paley decided to discontinue it. Broadcast live, it set the standard for honest, accurate reporting. On 9 March 1954, it exposed the witch-hunting tactics of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

**SELDES, GEORGE (1890–1995).** Controversial American investigative reporter who has been described as the “father of American press criticism”

(Daley, 1996). He began his long career in journalism with the *Pittsburgh Leader* at the age of 19 and was influenced by the **muckrakers**, especially Will Irwin's series in *Collier's* on "The American Newspaper" (1911). "Something happened to me the day I read it," he recalled in *Tell the Truth and Run* (1953). "It is possible I had been rationalising the evils I had seen; perhaps I had even compromised a little, or closed my eyes conveniently." Disenchanted with the press, he took a year off to study literature at Harvard. But in 1914, he sailed to Europe and worked for the *Until Press* until 1917 when he joined the press section of the American Expeditionary Forces. Among his colleagues was Irwin, who—according to Seldes—"[no] longer wanted to expose anything, or right any wrong, or even alarm anyone."

At the end of **World War I**, Seldes was court martialled for allegedly breaking the Armistice by trying to publish an exclusive interview with Paul von Hindenburg in which the head of the German army emphasized the role that the **United States** had played in winning the war. After the war, he was appointed the Berlin Bureau Chief for the *Chicago Tribune* and traveled widely. He was expelled from **Russia** in 1923 for reporting the Bolshevik purges and later from Italy for implicating Mussolini in the murder of one of his opponents. After leaving the *Tribune*, he wrote two books in which he included stories that the paper had refused to publish. He attacked tobacco companies for suppressing evidence linking smoking to cancer; the Catholic Church for its ties to fascist Italy; and corporate America generally for its deceptive practices. But the primary focus of his muckraking was the press. In *Freedom of the Press* (1935) and *Lords of the Press* (1938), he popularized and radicalized the philosophical critiques of **Walter Lippmann** and **John Dewey** that newspapers were failing to provide citizens with the information necessary to perform their role in a democracy.

In 1936, Seldes went to Spain to cover the Spanish Civil War for the *New York Post*, writing 24 stories over a six-month period. He became convinced that the mainstream American press was misrepresenting the threat posed by fascism. "Hearst Snr," he wrote half a century later in *Witness to a Century* (1987), "gave orders that the Spanish Republic was to be denounced editorially and always referred to as 'reds' whereas the traitor generals and their forces, supplied by Mussolini and Hitler, were to be called nationalists."

In 1940, Seldes began *In Fact*, a newsletter devoted to investigative journalism. On 13 January 1948, an exhaustively demeaning and one-sided report on Seldes' career for the Committee for Un-American Activities quoted James Weschler, national editor of the liberal-leaning newspaper *PM* on the publication: "At present Seldes is running *In Fact*, a tout sheet for the liberals which seek to cash in on the sucker strain in American life by claiming to give the inside dope. Seldes . . . announc[ed] in his prospectus that 'I belong to no

party, no organization.’ But, he continued, ‘I will expose the warmongers.’ And he has lithely traipsed along the Communist Party line in every little twist and turn.” *In Fact* continued for a couple more years, but the die was cast. Seldes more or less dropped out of sight until 1981 when he received the George Polk award for excellence in journalism. During a career of more than 60 years, he published 21 books and dozens of articles on subjects generally ignored by the mainstream media. He was the subject of the film *Tell the Truth and Run* (1994), which was nominated for an Oscar.

**SINGAPORE.** The modern history of Singapore began in 1819 when it was purchased by Sir Stamford Raffles from the Sultan of Johor and established as a British Crown Colony for the purposes of competing peacefully with Dutch traders in Southeast Asia. Its media history commenced in July 1823 when Francis Bernard, the son-in-law of the colony’s first Resident William Farquhar, applied to publish a commercial newspaper. His proposal was accepted by Farquhar’s successor John Crawfurd and the *Singapore Chronicle* began publication as a twice-monthly broadsheet in January 1824. Within two months, however, a quarrel between the two led to Bernard’s resignation and Crawfurd’s supervision of the newspaper as a semi-official gazette. In addition to government notices and commercial information, it included news about local events and foreign news from other English newspapers. Two years later, the *Commercial Register and Advertiser* was created to provide additional commercial information. But in 1830, the two publications were merged as the *Singapore Chronicle and Commercial Register* under Editor J. H. Moor. Like its predecessor, it was subject initially to the Gagging Act, which arose in *India* and required government approval of news content before publication. Moor filled the blank spaces resulting from its application with stars rather than other news items.

Following the abolition of the Gagging Act in 1835, the *Singapore Free Press* was established and within two years drove the *Singapore Chronicle* out of business. It remained the main news publication until 1845 when Catchick Moses from Armenia launched *The Straits Times* as a single-sheet commercial weekly using a hand-operated press. When it failed to make a profit, he sold it to his young, flamboyant editor Robert Carr Woods from Bombay, who transformed it into a successful eight-sheet daily by 1858. Woods used the paper to promote the transfer of the Straits Settlements from India to London, which was formalized in 1867. While it provided a balance of local and foreign news, it was designed to have a typically British appearance and thus had little appeal for the growing Chinese diaspora in Singapore.

*The Straits Times* had the field to itself when the *Singapore Free Press* folded in 1869, but barely survived a disastrous fire and ongoing financial



difficulties. It still had less than 200 subscribers in 1881 when See Ewe Lay, a Straits Chinese, founded *Lat Pau*, the first Chinese newspaper not only in Singapore but the first one in Southeast Asia. Some of its news was used by early vernacular newspapers such as *Jawi Peranakan*, which sought to promote the Malay community and language but had an even more difficult financial time.

*Lat Pau* sought to preserve the Chinese way of life in Singapore and was read by merchants, teachers, physicians, and artisans who had been born in **China**. As the Chinese counterpart to *The Straits Times*, its conservative editorials the Confucian values of filial piety and individual responsibility. After the turn of the century, however, other Chinese newspapers in Singapore were drawn into the conflict in China between reformists led by Kang Youwei and revolutionaries under Sun Yat-sen. *Bincheng Xinbao* and *Tiannan Xinbao* became mouthpieces for Kang, while *Tunan Ribao* and *Zhong Xing Ribao* were aligned with Sun Yat-sen.

On 4 May 1919, thousands of students in China took to the streets to protest against the Versailles Peace Conference after the European powers allowed Japan to retain control over parts of China it had occupied during the war. The May Fourth Incident contributed to the rise of a New Culture Movement in China and a movement with the same name but dissimilar objectives also arose in Singapore. It was promoted by newspapers such as *Hsin Kuo Min Jih Pao* (New People's Daily), which created a literary supplement to help the Chinese diaspora in Singapore retain a sense of identity and community. The New Culture Movement in Singapore thrived during the 1920s, but waned thereafter as the British authorities began censoring the press.

The British imposition of greater control over the newspaper industry before and after **World War II** set the pattern for the media environment after Singapore became an independent republic on 9 August 1965. In 1978, there were 11 dailies in Singapore and newspapers readership was increasing. But in the mid-1980s, these were reduced to seven through a series of mergers and closures so as to create a controlled newspaper monopoly. During the 1990s, Singapore's journalists were encouraged to embrace an Asian model of journalism replacing Western "watchdog" journalism with "nation-building" journalism. A 2002 study described Singapore's newspapers as constituting "a mass ceremony in the imagining of the nation."

The People's Action Party (PAP) continues to monopolize the political arena in Singapore. But its authoritarianism is said to be "soft" insofar as it is based on consensus as much as coercion. Much of its control over public discourse is exercised by making personal morality rather than government responsibility the dominant frame for discussing national issues. In adopting this human-interest frame, professional journalists inadvertently depoliticize

and thereby soften hard news content. “It is all too easy for Singaporeans to complain [about the long wait for public apartments],” *The New Straits Times*’ stated typically on 5 July 1997, “and demand to know what the Government is going to do about it while seemingly oblivious to the land and resource constraints that prevent the Government from granting all of them that cash windfall which they get when they sell their existing flat.” A 2006 study (containing this quotation) of *The New Straits Times*’ subsequent coverage of Singapore 21, an ongoing program to popularize PAP ideology, found that its journalists treated S21 as political news, using a conventional hard news format and considering the topic to be a matter of legitimate controversy. But even so, they ended up succumbing to the PAP’s personalizing frame.

**SLOW JOURNALISM.** Term currently identified with the journalism being produced by news organization such as Delayed Gratification, *Jot Down Cultural Magazine*, De Correspondent, Narratively, and The Big Roundtable in response to the speed-driven journalism that dominates most audiovisual platforms in Twitter’s 140-character culture. Using various platforms and financial models, their journalism is not restricted to objective coverage of reality, uses hybrid narration forms, and is characterized by high ethical and aesthetic standards.

Founded as a subscription-based quarterly magazine in the United Kingdom in 2011, Delayed Gratification claims to be “the world’s first Slow Journalism magazine.” Its website says that it “revisits the events of the last three months to offer in-depth, independent journalism in an increasingly frantic world” and quips that it is “proud to be ‘Last to Breaking News.’” Founded in Spain the same year, *Jot Down Cultural Magazine* was getting a million page-views per month within a few years. De Correspondent is a Dutch digital magazine created in 2013 with the help of crowdfunding. The Big Roundtable also began providing a platform for “surprising, but true longform stories” in 2013 from its base in New York. And Narratively was set up in New Orleans in 2014 as a media platform, which presents stories “in the most appropriate medium, from longform and shortform writing to short documentary films, photo-essays, podcasts, comics, TV series and film.”

Among the antecedents of slow journalism are **investigative reporting**, including the articles and books of the **muckrakers**; the writings associated with **New Journalism II**; and the tradition of literary journalism in magazines such as *The New Yorker*, *Rolling Stone*, and *The Atlantic*. In “Slow Journalism,” published in *Prospect Magazine* on 25 February 2007, Susan Greenberg described it simply as “narrative journalism which takes time to find things out and communicates it to all the highest standards.” A Dutch study (Drok and Hermans, 2016) to assess whether slow journalism has a

future found that although media users between 15 and 39 years of age expect news to be available for free anytime and anywhere, a considerable proportion also want journalism that is more investigative, inclusive, cooperative, and constructive, which are basic values of slow journalism.

**SMALLEY, GEORGE W. (1833–1916).** The dean of 19th-century foreign correspondents, “G.W.S.” (as he signed his articles) first established his reputation by his accurate account of the battle of Antietam for the *New York Tribune*. In 1866, he was transferred to London to cover the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and sent one of the earliest news cables across the Atlantic. The following year, he organized a London bureau to coordinate news from the *Tribune*’s reporters scattered across Europe. He also arranged for a news exchange between the *Tribune* and the *London Daily News*, the first such agreement by an American newspaper. In 1895, he ended his work as an international columnist for the *Tribune* to serve as the London correspondent for *The Times* in the **United States**. He played a key role during the British Guiana-Venezuelan boundary dispute.

**SNOW, EDGAR (1905–1972).** American journalist who provided the most influential reporting on the communists’ rise to power in **China** through unparalleled access to its leadership. Born to a middle-class Kansas City family, Snow attended the University of Missouri and **Columbia School of Journalism** and worked for the *Kansas City Star* in 1927 before leaving for New York to work briefly in advertising. “I was twenty-two,” he recalled in *Journey to the Beginning* (1958), “and I had picked up a few dollars in Wall Street speculation which gave me just enough of a stake, I thought, to finance a year of parsimonious traveling and adventuring . . . I had, on my itinerary, allotted six weeks to China.” Landing a job with J. B. Powell’s *China Weekly Review* in Shanghai in 1928, he remained in China for the next 13 years and became a prolific contributor to newspapers and magazines in China, the **United States**, and **Great Britain**. In 1936, he slipped through the Kuomintang blockade and made his way to the communist base at Yen-an in north-central China. He spent several months with Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and wrote *Red Star over China* (1937), a highly sympathetic account of the communist struggle for power. “The description of the ‘Long March’ almost makes Xenophon’s heroes shrivel into chocolate soldiers,” wrote one reviewer. “That alone makes this book the great adventure book of the year; but it is of even greater importance as a handbook for the historian and the political scientist.” Despite its one-sided treatment, the book has remained a primary source on the early history of the communist movement. Upon returning to the United States in 1941, Snow worked for the *Saturday Evening Post*. He

revisited China in 1960 and wrote *The Other Side of the River: Red China Today* (1962). It was through Snow that the Chinese leadership signaled their willingness to receive U.S. president Richard Nixon in Beijing.

**SOCIAL SKETCHES.** The verbal-visual social sketch was a popular and widespread genre of **literary journalism** that reached its peak in Europe between 1820 and 1860. Also known as panoramic literature, it consisted of brief but detailed “true-to-life” pieces of one to 12 pages on new as well as traditional social types (e.g., “The Chimney-Sweep” and “The Young Lord”), everyday habits, and various institutions, each with an accompanying representative illustration. The multifaceted social sketch—*esquisse des mœurs*, *Skizze*, *cuadro de costumbres*—was a transnational phenomenon. Its trailblazers were Etienne de Jouy in the *Gazette de France* (1811–1814) and a group of caricaturists in *La Silhouette* (1829), *La Caricature* (1830), and *La Charivari* (1832). Their assumption was that human “nature” is expressed in fundamentally different ways in different situations and walks of life. But their portraits were often stereotypical and merely shifted the sin of over-generalization to a lower level.

Although related to the tradition of moral essays associated with Montaigne’s *Essais* (1580) and La Bruyère’s *Caractères* (1688), the social sketch writers of the 19th century pointed explicitly to the essays of **Joseph Addison** in *The Spectator* (1711–1712) and Louis-Sebastien Mercier’s urban panorama in *Tableau de Paris*, which first appeared in the *Journal des Dames* (1775–1776), as their inspiration. Self-consciously creating a form of social observation that combined varying mixes of social research, imagined dialogue, political satire, and light entertainment, they benefited from the liberalization of censorship, the proliferation of periodicals, the growth of reading groups, new strategies of advertising, and a desire to understand the radically changing social environment of modernizing societies.

The profitable market for compilations of social sketches was first realized in France with the publication of the popular 15-installment publication of *Paris; ou le Livre des Cent-et-un* (1831–1834), which drew much of its material from the caricature journals and was soon translated in other countries. Its inclusion of sketches on habits and institutions as well as social types became the model for most subsequent social sketch collections. Though inspired by the *Livre*, the two-volume *Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English* (1840–1841), which Douglas Jerrold and William Thackeray collaborated on, confined itself to social types—its “heads” as represented visually by portraits of each type’s upper body.

Social sketches drew on contemporary social statistics, travel literature, natural science, folklore, and visual forms of knowledge such as costume

books and physiognomy. But they were also critical of their claims at times. “The Factory Child” (1840) by Jerrold began:

“Open your mouth my little maid. Ha! yes! very good! Here they are—the whole four.”

“Bless me! Well, she’s very small—remarkably small.”

“True, sir; but here, here, you perceive, is the test. As I said, the whole four.”

“I perceive; and yet she is—very small!”

The reader may take the above as part of the dialogue of the certifying surgeon and the inspector of a cotton factory, to which establishment a puny, white-faced little girl, apparently about seven years old, is a baby candidate for toil. Certain we are she does not look a day more than seven; and yet, having submitted her mouth to the professional inspection of Mr. Enamel, she is pronounced to be of legal age, full nine; and therefore, by act of parliament, admissible as day labourer in the factory of Brown and Jones; who, with other masters, have made the teeth a test of age; a test pronounced by the profession to be almost infallible.

Jerrold gave as his source an article by Edwin Sanders entitled “The Teeth a Test of Age, considered with Reference to the Factory Children.”

**SOLUTIONS JOURNALISM.** A form of journalism promoted by NGOs such as Reporters d’Espoirs (Reporters of Hope) in France and the Solutions Journalism Network in the United States. The latter defines (2017) solutions journalism as “rigorous reporting on responses to social problems.” Also referred to as constructive and problem-solving journalism, it arose as a reaction in part to evidence that negative, conflict-based journalism is causing a decline in news audiences. The concept was actively promoted by the *New York Times* in its blog series *Fixes* in 2010, after which one of its writers cofounded the Solutions Journalism Network. A pioneering experiment on its effects found that including solution information in a news story caused readers to feel less negative after reading it and have more favorable attitudes to the story and the solutions, which it presented. However, it did not cause them to feel more confident in their ability to contribute to the solution nor affect their intentions to act. *See also* ACTIVIST JOURNALISM; COMPASSION FATIGUE; MOBILIZING INFORMATION; PUBLIC JOURNALISM.

**SOUTH AFRICA.** The first newspaper in South Africa, the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, was begun by British settlers in 1800, not long after their arrival in the Cape area. It was later followed by English-language papers like the *Eastern Province Herald* (1845), the *Natal Witness* (1846), the *Natal Mercury* (1852), the *Daily News*, (1854), the *Cape Argus* (1857), the *Daily Dispatch* (1872), the *Cape Times*, (1876), the *Diamond*

*Fields Advertiser* (1878), and *The Star* (1887). The Dutch-speaking population, whose forbears had begun settlements along with the Portuguese in the mid-17th century, did not create a newspaper until 1828 when they founded *Die Zuid Afrikaan*. As the British came to dominate the Cape Town area, those of Dutch descent moved north and established newspapers such as *De Staats Courant* (1857), *De Volksten* (1873), and *Di Patriot* (1876), the latter being the first newspaper in Afrikaans. But the number of papers in Afrikaans lagged well behind those in English, a situation which continues across South African media today. In this period, the native African population also established a few newspapers, principally *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884) and *Ilanga Losa* (1904).

As a result of the British victory in the Anglo-Boer War (1889–1902), the Dutch republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State were amalgamated with Natal and Cape Town in 1910 to form the Union of South Africa. There ensued a long struggle between the English-speaking whites and nationalist Afrikaners, with black South Africans trying to gain a measure of influence through organizations such as the South African Native National Congress, organized in 1912 and transformed into the ANC in 1923. During the inter-war period, the moderate English-speaking United Party maintained the upper hand with the help of influential papers such as the *Rand Daily Mail* (1902) and newspaper chains like the *South African Associated Press* (now *Times Media*). The Afrikaners tried to counter their influence through new papers such as *Die Burger* (1915) and newspaper chains of their own such as *National Pers* and *Perskor*. But many of their number continued to prefer English-language newspapers. As a result, they began a campaign to infiltrate institutions such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which became a governmental agency in 1936. Following the victory of Daniel François Malan's National Party in 1948, the Afrikaners consolidated their control over the SABC and used it to help establish the oppressive policy of apartheid. In conjunction with apartheid, the state attempted to exercise total control over the dissemination of news and information. In 1962, for example, the activist journalist and scholar Ruth First, whose parents came from Latvia to Johannesburg to help found the South African Communist Party, was forced into exile after being interned for 117 days. She continued to write against capitalism and apartheid until she was assassinated in 1982 by a parcel bomb sent to her in Mozambique where she was teaching university.

By the late 1960s, there was some criticism of apartheid within the National Party itself by members such as Schalk Pienaar, editor of the Sunday newspaper *Die Beeld* and later *Beeld*. Pienaar tried to achieve "reform from within" the Afrikaner establishment by criticizing the moral hypocrisy of apartheid and calling for justice for all South Africans. In 1977, however,

the National Party continued the kind of deceit about which Pienar had complained by secretly founding *The Citizen* as a state propaganda organ. Though this ploy was later exposed, even the liberal English-language press remained highly supportive of the status quo and opposed the organized mass resistance to apartheid that emerged in the mid-1980s. As a result, anti-apartheid whites, aided by foreign funding, began to establish alternative publications, such as the English-language *Weekly Mail* and *Sunday Nation* and the Afrikaans-language *Vrye Weekblad* and *South* (1987). These independent papers not only helped activists to mobilize but provided South Africans generally with news about the struggle against apartheid (and the government's brutal counter-measures) that was absent in the mainstream media. Together with international pressure and growing economic problems, the alternative media contributed to National Party leader F. W. de Klerk's decision in 1989 to dismantle the infrastructure of apartheid and negotiate with Mandela and the ANC to create a democratic and multiracial South Africa.

**SPAIN.** The first newspaper in Spain was the *Gaceta Barcelona*, which began publication in 1641 and was followed by the *Gaceta Nueva* in Madrid in 1661. But it was not until the passage of the 1883 Press Law over two centuries later that a relatively free and lively press emerged in urban areas. Even then Spanish newspapers were often used to further individual political and social ambitions. From 1866 to 1874, for example, Ruggiero Bonghi advanced his career as a member of parliament by writing a column on foreign affairs entitled "Rassegne Politiche" for *Nuova Antologia*. Similarly, Rafael Gasset y Chinchilla used his ownership of Madrid's *El Imparcial* to join the political and social elite, culminating in his appointment as minister of agriculture in 1900.

During the early 20th century, *El Sol* established itself as the highest quality independent newspaper on the left, while *El Debate* acquired a similar reputation on the Catholic right. Beginning in the interwar period, the politician-as-journalist was displaced in stature and influence by the intellectual-as-journalist. In contrast to the Anglo-American press, the most important figures in modern Spanish journalism have not been reporters, but university professors like José Ortega y Gasset who published much of their writing in newspapers and helped to found and operate influential periodicals. This tradition of the *periodista* was a result not only of political censorship but a belief that the public dissemination of ideas is a newsworthy event.

After his victory of the fascists in the Spanish Civil War, General Francisco Franco expropriated all left-wing newspapers and created a National Press and Propaganda Agency. The only newspapers to survive with a small degree of independence were tied to the Catholic Church or Bourbon monarchism.

The republican intellectuals producing the anti-fascist literary and cultural weekly *Luna* were only able to carry on by fleeing to Chile after taking refuge in its embassy in Madrid.

In 1966, a new Press Law promulgated by Manuel Fraga eased press censorship to a degree. But it was not until the death of Franco in 1975 and the enactment of a new constitution in 1978 that the Spanish press was finally released from the shackles of pre-publication censorship. For the first time, Spanish newspapers could safely engage in critical and even **investigative journalism**. At the same time, however, the government continued to register journalists and to influence the flow of news through its news agency *Agencia (EFA)*.

Most journalists in Spain are now graduates of university journalism programs, a practice encouraged by the fact that a journalism degree is required for membership in any of the various professional organizations belonging to the National Federation of Associations of the Press. Currently, the main programs in journalism are offered at the University of Madrid and the University of Navarre. Typically, these programs have accommodated large numbers of students; for example, even after limiting enrolment in 1980, the Madrid program admitted over 600 new journalism students. For graduates seeking employment at a prestigious national newspaper, the preferred choice is currently *El País*, followed by *ABC* and *El Mundo*.

A socialist newspaper founded by the communications group PRISA in Madrid in 1976 after the death of Francisco Franco, *El País* played an important role in Spain's transition to democracy and is currently the largest paper in Spain. *El Mundo*, a general news tabloid founded in Madrid in 1989, originally supported the right-wing Popular Party, but later became more politically independent, helping its ranking as second in national circulation.

Per capita readership of newspapers has always been quite low in Spain. One reason for this situation has been continual state **censorship**. But by focusing on news about the arts, literature, and science rather than politics and religion, the press itself reduced its potential audience. Its fortunes have been further undermined in recent years by the distribution of free newspapers such as *Gente*, *20 Minutos*, and *Compráctica*, which rely entirely on advertising revenue and swing the pendulum to the opposite extreme of literary journalism.

**THE SPECTATOR.** Literary newspaper published by **Richard Steele** and **Joseph Addison** from 1 March 1711 to 6 December 1712. Building on the popularity of *The Tatler*, it had a broad readership and was issued on a daily basis (except Sundays) by Sam Buckley. At its height, it sold 3,000 copies a day. Apart from Steele and Addison, who together wrote 510 of the



publication's 555 issues, contributors included Alexander Pope and Addison's cousin, Eustace Budgell. Addison's witty, satirical essays utilized a fictitious club presided over by "Mr. Spectator," a man of travel and learning who frequents London as an observer but keeps clear of political strife. A victim of the **taxes on knowledge**, *The Spectator* was succeeded by a more political weekly publication called the *Guardian* on 12 March 1713 and then revived by Addison under its old title for 80 numbers on 18 June 1714. In 1828, Robert Stephen Wintoul started a radical weekly by the same name to support Lord John Russell's reform bill. Among the imitators of the *Spectator* was the satirical magazine *Drone*, begun by Russian journalist Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov in 1769 but suspended by Catherine II in 1774.

**SPIES, JOURNALISTS AS.** The world of journalism has periodically intersected with that of espionage. For twenty years, Pietro Bizzarri, a minor Protestant writer in 15th-century **Italy**, provided the English government with weekly political intelligence in the form of a newsletter in exchange for a pension. **Daniel Defoe** spied first on behalf of Tory leader Robert Harley and then for the Whigs. During the American Revolution, James Rivington, the king's printer and a detested arch-Tory, whose office was mobbed and who was hanged in effigy for supporting the Royalists in his *New-York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*, was actually employed in George Washington's secret service. In 1852, the well-known Danish journalist Edgar Bauer (1820–1886), who had earlier been jailed by Prussian authorities for his involvement in radical political activities, was recruited by the chief of the Copenhagen police to spy on various revolutionary groups in London; the police then passed along his intelligence to their counterparts in Dresden, Hanover, and Vienna.

In *The Invasion of 1910*, which the *Daily Mail* serialized in March 1906, and *Spies for the Kaiser* (1910), William Le Queux warned that a German invasion of **Great Britain** would be preceded by an army of spies disguised as waiters, barbers, and tourists. Influenced by such works, a new Official Secrets Act was passed, which only required the prosecution to show that the accused *appeared* to be a spy. This criterion was more than sufficient to convict a German journalist Max Schultz of spying in November 1911. During the war, **Germany** did in fact send dozens of agents to Britain as spies; a majority of these agents used business ventures as covers, but many posed as journalists. One security service analysis summarized these covers in percentages as follows: businessmen (55), journalists (25), workmen (10), and people with no occupation or traveling for their "health" (10).

Before joining *Time* magazine in 1939, Whittaker Chambers wrote for the American Communist Party newspaper and engaged in espionage on

behalf of the **Soviet Union**. During **World War II**, the well-educated and respected Japanese journalist, Osaki Hotsumi, ran a successful spy ring in **Japan** on behalf of what he thought was the Communist International. Osaki used his government connections to channel information to Richard Sorge, a Tokyo-based German journalist with supposed Nazi sympathies who actually reported to Red Army intelligence but led Osaki to believe that he represented the Comintern. Both Ozaki and Sorge went to the gallows on the same day, but Osaki later acquired cult status as what John J. Stephen calls “a redemptive symbol of Japan’s conscience.” See also BURCHETT, WILFRED; CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

**SPORTS JOURNALISM.** Following the lead of *The Spectator*, 18th-century newspapers in **Great Britain** gradually increased their coverage of sporting events as part of their local fare. The early Sunday papers placed even greater emphasis on sports, paving the way for the first journals devoted exclusively to sports. Like the *Weekly Dispatch* in Britain, the *American Turf Register* (1831) was dedicated to horse racing. But in 1831, William Trotter Porter founded the *Spirit of the Times* and broadened its content to include cricket, foot racing, nautical sports, and prize fighting. The same year, Henry William Herbert was banished from England by his nobleman father after piling up debts at Cambridge. Arriving in New York City, he began writing novels and other literary works, but soon turned to sports reporting to supplement his income. To avoid compromising his literary reputation, he adopted the pen name “Frank Forester” and became America’s first regular sports reporter.

During the late 1830s, **penny papers** such as the *New York Sun* and the *New York Herald* began covering sports, but they were slow to compensate their reporters. Henry Chadwick, who developed the baseball box score while writing for the *Herald*, was not paid for his efforts until 1862. After the Civil War, the *Spirit of the Times* and the *New York Clipper* led the way in promoting baseball as the “national game,” a task later taken over by magazines like *Sporting Life* (1883) and *Sporting News* (1886). After helping to establish the American League in 1900, *Sporting News* took over the *Clipper*’s title as the “Bible” of baseball. Almost all baseball reporters engaged in boosterism, promoting their own city’s team and mythologizing its best players. The first major exception to this rule occurred during the 1890s when reporters criticized owners who controlled more than one team. The players themselves remained demi-gods until 1919 when the press got wind of the fact that some of the Chicago White Sox players had taken steps to fix the World Series. Before long, however, baseball reporters became promoters once again, a practice reinforced by the fact that the ball clubs paid their expenses.

Prize fighting, which had long been excoriated in much of the press as an affront to public decency, was a greater promotional challenge. But in the 1880s, Kyle Fox, publisher of the *National Police Gazette*, exploited the deeds of boxer John L. Sullivan to help professionalize boxing and make himself wealthy in the process. During the 1890s, football became even more popular, aided by the development of pages devoted specifically to sports. Both sports provided gratuities to sports writers in return for covering their matches, an arrangement that continued unimpeded until 1975 when the ASNE tried to eliminate such freebies.

In contrast to the current treatment of sporting performances as an accumulation of statistics, baseball writers such as Peter Finlay Dunne at the *New York Times* developed a picturesque, humorous, and exaggerated style of coverage that regarded actions on the field like a performance at the ballet. The promotion of particular sports or sports figures by media owners and journalists continued during the 20th century. In the 1920s, for example, Grantland Rice devoted many of his syndicated articles to bolstering the reputation of golfer Bobby Jones.

By then, however, the traditional paternalistic view that the sports page should cultivate the participation of youth by covering amateur as well as professional sport was giving way to sports reporting as a circulation- and career-builder. Jazz age sports journalists like Rice placed increasing emphasis on professional athletes as cultural heroes. Rice was among those whose coverage helped to transform football from a college social event into a supreme test of manhood and preparation for life in a highly competitive society. Though some sportswriters have questioned the practices of owners in running their teams and leagues, especially in times of labor strife, most have continued to function as apologists for “the game,” be it baseball, football, basketball, hockey, or their lesser rivals. Most continue to focus almost exclusively on men’s sports. A recent survey of sports editors in the southeastern **United States** found that many simply assumed that women’s sports are less worthy of coverage without making any effort to discern their readers’ interests.

Among current sports mythologizers who have broken the mold of traditional adulatory coverage is the Canadian sports writer Cathal Kelly in the *Globe & Mail*, whose columns take on all and sundry and focus less on the performances of professional athletes and their managers in competitive game situations than on their behavior as human beings. For Kelly, professional sports matters, but only as a haven from the truly hard news world and as such should be de-mythologized. In general, however, sports writers continue to have the unenviable task of making each contest in an unending series seem, for the moment, to be an event of great importance.

**STEAD, WILLIAM T. (1849–1912).** Key figure in the development of the New Journalism in Great Britain. The son of a Congregational minister in Northumberland, Stead combined a puritanical temperament with a passionate liberal and imperialist ideology. He began his career as a journalistic crusader at the *Northern Echo* in Darlington, quickly turning the fledgling provincial newspaper into a vehicle of social and moral reform. In 1876, he attacked Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli's refusal to come to the aid of Bulgarian Christians during their rebellion against Turkey. In 1880, after a decade at the *Echo*, he became John Morley's assistant at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the most notable afternoon paper in London. When Morley was elected to Parliament in 1883, Stead took over as editor of the sedate publication and used illustrations, interviews, and sensationalism to make it the most influential paper in Britain. An apostle of Britain's supreme naval power, he wrote a series of articles on "The Truth about the Navy" that led to important naval reforms.

After being attacked for his crusade against "white slavery," Stead left the *Gazette* in 1890 to establish the *Review of Reviews* as a monthly periodical through which to propagate his own views. His writing inspired both the imperialist project of Cecil Rhodes and the arbitration and armament reduction plan of Andrew Carnegie. In 1911, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *London Daily Express* refuting the claim that English women were being lured to Mormon communities in Utah and forced into polygamous marriages. Nominated five times for the Nobel Peace Prize, he died on the *Titanic*.

**STEELE, RICHARD (1672–1729).** Born and educated in Dublin, Steele was educated at Charterhouse in London where he met **Joseph Addison** whom he later joined at Oxford. After leaving Oxford without a degree for a career in the army, he became a successful comedic playwright and in 1707 was appointed editor of the government-sponsored *London Gazette*. In 1709, while still *Gazetteer*, he began *The Tatler* with the collaboration of Addison. After the *Tatler* was ended for political reasons, Steele and Addison began *The Spectator* in early 1711. Steele wrote 229 of *The Tatler*'s 271 issues and 236 of the *The Spectator*'s 555 issues.

**STEINBECK, JOHN (1902–1968).** Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, who worked as a journalist during the Depression and **World War II**. By the mid-1930s, Steinbeck had published several famous novels, but was still struggling financially. In 1936, therefore, he went to work for the *San Francisco News* to report on the labor problems in central California, an experience which provided the basis for *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). He then worked

in Europe as an accredited correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*. In 1942, he was commissioned by the U.S. government to write *Bombs Away*, an account of American fliers in training. The following year he left for London and later filed stories for the *Tribune* from North Africa and Italy. Frustrated by military censorship (on one occasion, he filed Herodotus' account of an ancient battle and even it was censored), he tried to compensate by giving readers an idea of the compromising conditions under which war correspondents generally worked. Because of his previous criticism of the American socioeconomic order, Steinbeck's wartime writing was monitored, to his annoyance, by the **FBI**. His collected wartime correspondence for the *Tribune* was published as *Once There Was a War* (1958).

**STONE, I. F. (1907–1989)**, Radical American journalist. Born Isidor Feinstein in Philadelphia, he worked as a reporter, editorial writer, and columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily Record*, *P.M.*, the *New York Post*, and other papers during the interwar period. In 1940, he became the Washington editor of *The Nation*. In *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (1952), which was boycotted by the mainstream press, Stone claimed that the attack by the North was not premeditated but provoked by South **Korea** and Taiwan, an interpretation inconsistent with documents subsequently released from Soviet archives. In 1953, he began the newsletter *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, inspired by **George Seldes's** political weekly *In Fact*. Produced almost single-handedly by Stone and his wife, it became *I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly* in 1967 and achieved an international reputation for its investigative journalism and tough-minded criticism until ill-health forced Stone to discontinue in 1971. Stone also wrote ten books, including *The Trial of Socrates* (1989).

**THE STRAITS TIMES**. Singapore newspaper founded on 15 July 1845. It was named “Newspaper of the Year” in 2002 by the Australia-based Pacific Area Newspaper Publishers' Association. Its first editor was Robert Carr Woods, who transformed it from a fortnightly publication into a daily in 1858 and sought to maintain domestic stability and loyalty to the British crown. This philosophy was continued by Arnot Reid, who took over as editor in 1888. The first Fleet Street journalist in Singapore, he wrote in 1900 that “a country, colony, or republic is doomed when the principle of authority is gone. We shall, in our columns, avoid giving offence to individuals. If we unwittingly fail on that point, our columns are open for redress. But we act on the principle that it is better to avoid offending people than to have to render an apology.” The same year, he said that the editor's role is “to feel public opinion” and “echo” rather than shape it.

Reid he was succeeded in 1908 by Alexander William Still, an experienced British editor under whom *The Straits Times* became known as the “Thunderer of the East.” He raised not only the circulation of the paper (from 3,600 in 1910 to 4,100 in 1920) and its advertising revenues but also its reputation through editorials on behalf of improved working conditions in the rubber and plantation industries. He also used the paper to raise money and recruit volunteers on behalf of Britain during **World War I**.

Following its creation in 1915, the *Malaya Tribune* used an aggressive marketing campaign and substantially lower subscription rate to challenge the hegemony of *The Straits Times*. It eventually became the most popular English paper in Singapore. But its competition also led to improvements in *The Straits Times*. Under Editor George William Seabridge, it built a new office, replaced its outdated printing machinery, hired the first local journalists, and began delivery upcountry.

*The Straits Times* was renamed *The Shonan Times* after the British surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942, but reinstated under its original name when Singapore returned to British rule in September 1945. In 1956, it established a Malaysian edition, *The New Straits Times*, in Kuala Lumpur. During the early days of Singaporean self-rule, it was warned by the People’s Action Party not to jeopardize the planned merger of Singapore and the Malayan Federation, which later fell through. On 1 January 1994, *The Straits Times* was among the first of the world’s major newspapers to launch a news website. It was provided free of charge until 2005 when it required a paid subscription for full access to its news and commentary.

**SWEDEN.** The first newspapers in Sweden were founded during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) from which the country emerged as a European great power. Although the very first paper was published in German by Gustav II, in 1645, the postmaster in Stockholm began the *Ordinari Post Tijender* in Swedish to dispel rumors about current hostilities with **Denmark**. Published in accordance with a royal ordinance, it was issued weekly under varying titles but was subject to numerous disruptions. By 1720, when it was finally established on a permanent basis, the Swedish Empire was in a state of collapse and newspapers were subject to stringent censorship. Some borrowed stylistic devices from Addison and Steele’s *The Spectator* as a way of providing a degree of criticism.

Sweden’s first modern newspaper was *Aftonbladet* (Evening News), founded by the prominent liberal politician Lars Johann Hierta in 1830 as revolution swept across Europe. Repeatedly outwitting government censors, it called for freedom of the press, a cause taken up by other liberal newspapers such as *Courier*, *Argus*, and *Anmarken*. Together they succeeded in eliminating pre-publication **editorial censorship** in 1849.

In 1851, conservative groups outbid Hierta for ownership of *Aftonbladet*. It was supplanted as Sweden's main liberal newspaper by *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) following its creation as an inexpensive daily in 1864. Spurred by urbanization and industrialization, the number of Swedish dailies grew rapidly in the latter part of the century, more than doubling between 1884 and 1904. Among the new papers was the *Social-Demokraten*, founded by August Palm in 1885 and edited by Hjalmar Branting.

Most newspapers served as mouthpieces of particular political parties, but without any permanent security of ownership. In 1889, Anders Jeurling founded *Stockholms-Tidning* as a vehicle for liberal views. Costing only two öre per copy, it became one of the most widely read dailies under Editor E. B. Rinman. Some newspapers began in one political camp and then switched to another, sometimes more than once. For example, *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD) started out as a conservative paper in 1884, but after 1897 became a forum for more liberal views. Then in 1906 a consortium of Conservative Party leaders acquired majority ownership and turned it back into a conservative paper.

During the 20th century, Swedish newspapers began placing more emphasis on news and developed news forms of reportage. Before **World War I**, for instance, a number of Stockholm papers used female "flaneur" reporters to provide a stark look at the social life of the city after dark. Newspaper circulation continued to rise until the late 1930s. Thereafter both the number of papers and their total circulation steadily declined. It was not until the 1970s, however, that steps were taken to curtail diminishing competition among newspapers through a Press Subsidy Board, which now spends millions of euros a year to keep concentration low.

Despite subsidies and other anti-concentration measures, three companies currently control over two-thirds of Swedish newspaper circulation: Bonnier AB, Stampen, and Schibsted. A family-owned company founded in 1804, Bonnier AB accounted for 41.3 percent of newspaper circulation in 2011 and had numerous other media holdings in Sweden and 16 other countries.

**SWITZERLAND.** The first newspapers in Switzerland were published on a weekly basis, beginning with the *Wuchentliche Relation von allerhand newen Zeytungen* (Weekly Report about Sundry News Reports) in Zurich in 1623, followed by *Le mercure Suisse* (The Swiss Mercury) in Geneva in 1634. For over two centuries thereafter, the number and circulations of newspapers remained small, even after freedom of the press was formally proclaimed in 1798. But between 1848 and 1900, the number of newspapers increased from about 20 to about 120. Although foreign merchants began to publish politically independent newspapers such as the *Tribune de Genève* and *Tribune de*

*Lausanne*, most papers remained tied to political parties until the 1960s when such alignments began to weaken.

Between 1985 and 2006, the number of daily newspapers fell from 124 to 76 titles as a result of competition not only from electronic and digital news media but commuter and free newspapers. This decline has been accompanied by increased concentration of ownership. Between 2005 and 2012, the daily newspaper market share of Tamedia in particular increased from about 26 percent to over 44 percent. Despite the ongoing economic deterioration of the paid-subscription newspaper sector, the press remains a pillar of Swiss democracy. Preferential postal rates and a reduced VAT have helped to keep prices reasonable such that some 90 percent of the adult population still read newspapers and magazines on a regular basis. And a 2011 study of referendum campaigns on welfare state issues from 1995 to 2004 found that press coverage was substantial and balanced and that “fears about biased or deceitful media treatment” of the issues were “not well founded.”





# T

**THE TATLER.** A literary newspaper first published by **Richard Steele** in **Great Britain** on 12 April 1709. It was issued thrice a week until 2 January 1711. Steele and **Joseph Addison** combined the highly personal and reflective tradition of Montaigne's *Essais* (1580) with the educational moralizing of Francis Bacon's *Essays* (1597) to create a vital new journalistic form. Jonathan Swift, who contributed a number of essays, allowed Steele to disguise his authorship by using his popular character, Mr. Bickerstaff, as the fictitious writer of the paper. A host of other fictitious characters also populated the text, including Sir Roger de Coverley, Will Wimble, and Sir Andrew Freeport. Printed like contemporary newspapers on both sides of a folio half-sheet, *The Tatler* satirized upper-class moral conventions in matters of everyday life like education, fashion, and marriage from the standpoint of middle-class Christian morality. Initially, each issue included a number of topics; later, as the advertising content increased, each number was devoted to a single subject.

After the fall of the Whig government in 1710 and the identification of *The Tatler*'s real authorship, Tory journalists, including Swift, began attacking the politics of the publication; Steele and Addison initially responded in kind, but then decided to bring *The Tatler* to a close and launch a new publication, which would stay clear of politics. Two months after it ended, a new set of fictitious characters made their appearance in *The Spectator*.

**TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.** Rhetorical term for the stamp duties on British newspapers and **advertising**, which were introduced in 1712 primarily as a revenue-raising measure but with **censorship** as a not unintended by-product. Passed by the Tory government of Robert Harley with the support of most Whigs, the Stamp Act required newspaper and periodical publishers to pay a duty of a halfpenny for each copy of a halfsheet of paper plus an additional shilling for each advertisement. At the time, most papers were printed on a halfsheet (folded in two) and sold for a penny. A loophole in the original act allowed publishers to escape most of the tax by increasing the size of their newspapers to one and a half sheets. In 1725, however, Parliament plugged

this loophole and improved enforcement of the act. As a result of successive increases in the duty, the cost of a newspaper represented a day's pay for an ordinary worker by the end of the century.

The act neither secured the desired economic benefits nor prevented the growth of the press. Instead, it entrenched a system of political patronage. But both the Whigs and Tories continued to support it in the early 19th century as a way of controlling the radical or popular press, since they could counter its impact on themselves through newspaper subsidies. During the 1830s, however, a campaign to have these "taxes on knowledge" repealed so as to promote the education of the working classes resulted in a series of compromises. In 1833, the government lowered the duty on advertisements from *3s.6d* to *1s.6d*. Then in 1836, it reduced the duty on newspapers from *4d* to *1d* and the duty on paper to *1 1/2 d* per lb. At that point, the radicals and reformers turned their attention to other issues such as the Corn Laws. But in 1848, a Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee was formed to restore momentum for full repeal. It shifted tactics by engaging in lobbying and media coverage, harrying the Inland Revenue about its inconsistent and inequitable administration of the duties, and using a free trade discourse with the help of Richard Cobden and John Bright. It succeeded in getting all three duties abolished: the advertisement tax in 1853; the newspaper tax in 1855; and the paper tax in 1861. Each of these developments was followed by an increase in newspaper circulation.

**TELEGRAPH.** From the beginning of telegraphy in the 1840s, the press and the telegraph exerted a mutual influence on each other. The desire of the press to obtain news as quickly as possible was a factor in the decision to prioritize one-way transmission over two-way interaction. At the same time, reporting distant news as it was breaking required newspapers to develop networks of reporters and, given the "15-minute rule" governing individual use of the telegraph, to cooperate with other papers to a greater extent than under the exchange system. The result was the creation of news agencies such as the New York Associated Press. The telegraph also changed the nature of news by emphasizing events related to markets, the weather, and sports, which could be easily condensed for transmission. News became crisper and greater emphasis was placed on events likely to have a strong emotional impact on readers. Because of the costs involved in obtaining foreign news by telegraph, however, editors often had to be highly selective, resulting in erratic treatment of certain events. With the telegraph, a national system of cooperative newsgathering and distribution through the wire services began to replace much of the old system of culling information from exchange papers and letters.

**TELEPHONE.** If the **telegraph** was the most important new “technology of reach” (Will Mari) affecting reporting in the 19th century, its counterpart in the 20th century was the telephone. Competition between various parties to commercialize it and develop a standard switchboard technology delayed the creation of national telephone networks, limiting its utility for many years. But although it spread more slowly than the telegraph, the telephone ultimately overshadowed its sibling technology in the workaday world of journalism.

In *Newspaper Days 1899–1906* (1955), **H. L. Mencken** recalled that when he was a young reporter for the *Baltimore Herald* in 1899, there were only two “paleozoic instruments [telephones] attached to the wall” and “no one ever used them.” By the early years of the 20th century, a few papers such as the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and *New York Evening Post* were making more use of telephones. But even in the 1920s, there were few phone lines in most newsrooms, requiring reporters and editors to share them. It was not until the late 1930s and 1940s that telephones appeared on individual reporters’ desks and beat reporters were routinely using “coin booth boxes” to send local stories back to the rewrite desk. Indeed, for most of the 20th century, news gathered by phone was mainly local or regional because of the continuing high cost of long-distance calls.

In “Newspaper Makers at Work,” published in *Editor & Publisher* on 17 October 1925, Philip Schulyer complained that the “wretched telephone” had turned news stories into “fragmentary bulletins and scrap-ends.” But in combination with **radio cars**, the telephone enabled roving reporters to cover more ground and solicit help on large breaking stories when necessary. It also enabled them to contact busy sources more readily and update their stories continuously. At the same time, it increased their workload and allowed city editors to monitor their activities more closely. It was, writes Will Mari, “both a tethering and a liberating force.”

**THOMAS, LOWELL (1892–1981).** American journalist who enjoyed a long career as one of the first newscasters on national radio. In *The Voice of America: Lowell Thomas and the Invention of 20th-Century Journalism* (2017), Mitchell Stephens argues that he “deserves a significant part of the credit for the journalism that came into being in America in the twentieth-century—a fact-filled, story-based, ostensibly nonpartisan journalism, which traveled widely, examined energetically, proclaimed authoritatively and was not much concerned with what it failed to notice or understand.” But some reviewers have been less than enamored by the full portrait that Stephens paints, calling it in one case “an invitation to engage in cognitive dissonance.”

A master of showmanship, Thomas embellished stories about himself in ways that make it difficult to ascertain exactly where the truth lies. Born in

Ohio, he was raised in the gold-mining district of central Colorado, where he became editor of the *Victor Record* at age 19. He later worked for newspapers in Denver and Chicago, demonstrating a knack for sensational (sometimes fictitious) reporting. Restless, adventurous, and entrepreneurial, he wrote promotional stories for railway companies while simultaneously undertaking university studies, teaching, and public lectures. He later worked for newspapers in Denver and Chicago and after spending a few weeks in Alaska began lecturing on the subject for audiences in New York.

He later claimed he then assigned himself to report on **World War I** for *Leslie's Weekly*. But Ron Bishop says it “was more of a publicity junket for American involvement in the war and had the support of Wilson administration officials.” He returned with a story about an Englishman—the British military officer T. E. Lawrence (“Lawrence of Arabia”)—who was galvanizing an Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire. His mythical account not only catapulted Lawrence to global fame but created an international personality for himself as well through articles, film, an illustrated lecture series, and a lengthy biography, *With Lawrence in Arabia* (1924).

On 28 September 1930, Thomas replaced Floyd Gibbons on NBC's first daily news brief and spent the next four decades alternating between NBC and CBS “as America's eyes and ears” (Stephens). In 1939, he made the first televised nightly newscast from the World's Fair and continued doing TV newscasts until the war stopped them. After the war, he decided to stick with radio, but used TV along with newsreels and public lectures to maintain his public persona. Having lied about being shot in World War I, he continued to engage in personally serviceable fabrications (e.g., having interviewed the salt heiress Helen Morton) and what Stephens endorses as “clever and often respected hoaxes.”

**THE TIMES (OF LONDON).** *The Times* (of London) was founded by John Walter I in London in 1785 as the *Daily Universal Register*. Its front-page manifesto said that its aim was “to facilitate the *commercial* intercourse between the different parts of the community, through the channel of *Advertisements*; to record the principal occurrences of the times; and to bridge the account of debates during the sitting of Parliament.” These priorities would in time be reversed, especially after the paper became *The Times* on 1 January 1788. In 1792, it set up its own foreign news service and by 1801 had the largest circulation of London's morning newspapers. But despite obtaining a printing contract from the board of customs and a direct treasury subsidy of £300 a year, it was in serious financial difficulties in 1803 when Walter passed the ownership and editorship over to his son.

In conjunction with the harsh reaction of John Walter II to a printers' strike in 1810, *The Times* began using non-union labor, which made it easier to make the technical changes needed for a larger paper capable of attracting more readers and advertising. A shrewd businessman, Walter II kept the virtuous cycle going by hiring more and better writers and establishing a faster and more reliable newsgathering system. *The Times* was the first newspaper to print by steam, assigned its reporters to specific "beats," and took pride in having the fewest printing errors of any of its competitors. By 1821, its circulation of 7,000 was more than double that of its closest rival.

In a data-mining experiment using the Gale Cengage Times Digital Archive, Dallas Liddle has traced how the transformation of the *Times* as a complex informational system was mediated by systemic constraints on its performance capabilities. At the end of the 1780s, *The Times* was still a small, traditional, four-page folio newspaper. But by the 1820s, it was a massive broadsheet containing various new genres of news. What drove this process of change, according to Liddle, was increased demand for news about the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars and parliament's response to these events. The process of expansion began under Walter I and was accelerated under Walter II. Each innovation in production and format required changes in workplace routines, which, in turn, depended on legal and economic considerations.

By placing the paper on a sound economic foundation, Walter II enabled it to become independent of government and party patronage, which further increased its popularity among the upper-middle class. *The Times*, wrote Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1811, is the only newspaper which "without impudence can dare call itself independent or impartial." Under Thomas Barnes, who replaced John Stoddart as general editor in 1819, the paper became not only politically independent but politically influential. Barnes made its long leading articles the main feature of the paper for politically engaged members of society. It was a leader in support of the Reform Bill in 1832 that led to its nickname "the Thunderer." And it was Barnes's editorial support in 1834 that enabled Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington to form a new government.

*The Times* reached the pinnacle of its influence under John Thaddeus Delane, who succeeded Barnes as editor and in 1847, and John Walter III, who took over as owner six years later. "We all know," wrote an English critic in 1855, "that this country is ruled by *The Times*." That year, it contributed to the resignation of Lord Aberdeen over the British disaster in the Crimean War. But the same year also saw the elimination of the final **taxes on knowledge**. As Andrew Hobbs (2013) relates, their abolition brought an end to the "golden age" of *The Times*. Because of its high editorial costs, it could not

reduce its price below 3d and it also lost its cheap postal distribution, making it increasingly difficult to compete against London papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* and *Standard* as well as provincial dailies like the *Manchester Guardian*.

By 1855, *The Times*' circulation had risen to some 60,000 and it continued to rise for a time, reaching 71,000 in 1866. But by 1908, when it was purchased by **Lord Northcliffe**, its circulation had plummeted to 38,000. "For the rest of the century," Hobbs writes, "only past glories maintained the *Times*'s reputation." It made the dubious decision of supporting the South in the American Civil War and in 1887 lost both prestige and over £200,000 when it was revealed that it had purchased 10 forged letters during its campaign against Charles Parnell. Yet as Hobbs points out, "The brilliance of *The Times* still dazzles historians and literary scholars a century later, distorting our view of Victorian journalism and producing some over-generalized conclusions in political, social and cultural historiography."

Northcliffe instituted numerous changes in an attempt to restore *The Times*' fortunes. But it retained its cumbersome broadsheet format, continued to reserve the front page for small commercial advertisements, and maintained a formal style for personal references. In 1922, the Northcliffe estate sold the paper to John Jacob Astor V. He retained ownership until 1967, when the Canadian media magnate, Roy Thomson, purchased the paper. After a lengthy strike in 1981, Thomson was forced to sell the paper to **Rupert Murdoch** of **Australia**. Under Murdoch, *The Times* eventually began to modernize its operations by adopting a more compact format with news on the front page and providing its news online.

**TIMESE.** The kind of term *Time* magazine might have devised to label its own obsessively playful and idiosyncratic use of language, especially its propensity to label current events and phenomena with clever new compounds on the assumption that ordinary English is insufficiently descriptive for its purposes. In *American Speech* (1940), Joseph J. Firebaugh suggested the *Time*'s stylistic mannerisms reflected a Menckian social philosophy of "irreverence towards authority," but other commentators have been less charitable toward its efforts, as Henry Luce III put it, to "enrich the idiom." In an update to Firebaugh's assessment, Yates argued that *Time*'s use of language revealed "an inconsistency in values amounting almost at times to ethical schizophrenia." Of the 150 words that Yates considered to be "possibly coinages by *Time*" for the years 1968–1977, only a handful have become part of common parlance (e.g., chillout, Disneyfication, superbug, televangelist). The others were either too closely tied to passing events (e.g., Carterphobia, Koreagate, Nixspeak) or

overzealous attempts to be clever with words (e.g., crediholics, outcumbent, superbaul) to have any lasting impact or utility. *See also* LUCE, HENRY R.

**TURKEY.** The first Turkish newspapers appeared during the final century of the Ottoman Empire as the Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and his sons, Abdülmecid I (1839–1861) and Abdülaziz (1861–1876), tried to stave off collapse through a series of reforms. An official gazette was founded in 1831, followed by two nonofficial publications: the *Ceride-i Havadis* in 1840 and *El-Cevaib* in 1861. Edited by Ahmed Faris and his son Selim, the latter was influential throughout the Turkish and Arabic world. In 1867, it was joined by *Muhbir*, a political newspaper founded by Ali Suavi to further propagate reform. After opposition papers were banned in March of that year, it moved to London but died a year and a half later. *El-Cevaib* survived until 1884, when it too was suppressed. In 1895, *Yeni Azir* (New Century), currently Turkey's oldest daily newspaper, was allowed to begin operations in Ismir, and Turkish nationalists such as Ahmed Ferid soon began to use the press to promote the Young Turk movement.

Late Ottoman newspapers continued to use Arabic characters as the basis of the Turkish language, resisting the efforts of modernizers to replace these with Latin characters. In doing so, they were supported by the Young Turks and their Committee of Union and Progress, which opposed this form of Europeanization. In 1911, however, Zekeria Sami Efendi began printing the content of his newspaper *Esas* in Monastir (now Bitola) in both an Arabic and Latin-based version of Turkish. Following his creation of the modern Republic of Turkey in 1923, Kemal Atatürk sided with the modernizers and made Latin the script for printed Turkish. This policy initially deprived newspapers of many of their readers, but eventually facilitated substantial growth.

During Atatürk's presidency, a number of new dailies were founded in Turkey, including *Cumhuriyet* (1924), which is still published in Istanbul. The *Anadolu Ajansi* (Anatolian Agency), which Atatürk had established in 1920, continued as the main Turkish news agency. It placed correspondents throughout the country, but it relied on external news agencies for foreign news. It was not until the creation of the cooperative news agency Turk Haberler Ajansi in 1950 that Turkish correspondents began gathering news in other countries.

Following his creation of the modern Republic of Turkey, Kemal Atatürk sided with the modernizers and made Latin the script for printed Turkish, initially depriving newspapers of many of their readers but eventually facilitating their growth. After Atatürk's death in 1938, the Turkish press remained subject to tight controls. Following a coup d'état in 1960, however, Turkey



acquired a new constitution guaranteeing freedom of the press. Newspapers acquired greater influence and diversity and schools of journalism began to flourish. In general, the Turkish press became one of the most independent in the Middle East, though various forms of repression continued to operate. In recent years, media ownership of Turkey's 45 daily newspapers has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few corporations. While this process initially provided the press with more power to resist government **ensorship**, it has reached the point of threatening journalistic autonomy in its own right, with one conglomerate (Do ğ an Group) now owning 70 percent of the Turkish media. Of the three largest dailies currently being published, *Milliyet*, *Sabah*, and *Hürriyet*, two are Do ğ an properties.

**TYPEWRITER.** A key technology in the emergence of modern journalism beginning in the mid-1880s. Although a number of patents were taken out for mechanical writing devices in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the typewriter did not become a staple of journalism until near the end of the 19th century. In 1867, a group of amateur inventors in a small Milwaukee machine shop developed a clumsy writing contraption. Foremost among these was Christopher Latham Sholes, former editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Through the constant prodding of journalist-promoter James Densmore, Sholes gradually improved his writing machine to the point where it was commercially feasible. By then, however, the two were heavily in debt. In 1873, they sold the rights to manufacture and market their typewriter to the Remington Arms Company in Ilion, New York, which began marketing its Model 1 typewriter in 1867. By 1885, the demand for typewriters from business, government, and newspapers exceeded the supply and rival machines began to enter the marketplace. In addition to providing numerous job opportunities for women, the typewriter transformed journalism by speeding up the writing and editorial processes. It enabled newspapers to feed wire services much more quickly. The first electric typewriter appeared around 1935.

# U

**UNDERGROUND PRESS.** Following in the footsteps of the *Guardian*, a radical paper founded in New York City in 1948, and *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, hundreds of underground newspapers arose in the United States during the 1960s to oppose the Vietnam War, promote the sex revolution, and challenge the “establishment” generally. Inspired by figures like Allan Ginsberg, Bob Dylan, Jack Kerouac, Lenny Bruce, and Norman Mailer and aided by their own press associations, papers such as the *Village Voice* (1955) in Greenwich Village, the *Los Angeles Free Press* (1964) founded by Art Kunkin, and the campus-based *Berkeley Barb* (1965) provided an uninhibited perspective on the American political and social scene before the movement petered out in the 1970s.

**UNITED STATES.** The first newspaper in colonial America was entitled *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick*. It was published in Boston by the English bookseller and printer Benjamin Harris for the first—and last—time on 25 September 1690. Harris had previously been imprisoned in London for the vehement anti-Catholicism of his biweekly *Domestick Intelligence*, despite its being published during a lapse in the licensing system. Now, following the restoration of licensing, his new American publication was immediately banned for daring to publish two stories critical of the governor of Massachusetts, including one on his conduct in the war against France. Harris's stated goal was to give his readers a “Faithful Relation” of events so as to bring about the “Curing, or at least the Charming of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails amongst us.” To this end, he proposed relying on reports from credible citizens and printing the names of those who circulated false rumors—an interesting idea in the age of **fake news**.

The first newspapers published on a regular basis in the Thirteen Colonies were initiated by postmasters, who had franking privileges and access to both European newspapers and official government information. On 24 April 1704, the Boston postmaster John Campbell hired Bartholomew Green to begin printing a newsletter he had previously distributed to New England

governors in handwritten form. Although licensing had expired, the *Boston News-Letter* took no chances by declaring on its masthead that it was published by authority. In addition to proclamations, speeches, and commercial news, it contained short accounts of accidents, fires, shipwrecks, and piracy. With a clientele of about 250 subscribers, it was the only newspaper in the colonies until December 1719, when William Brooker, Campbell's successor as postmaster, started the *Boston Gazette*. Like Campbell, Brooker continued to secure government approval of each issue before publication.

It was not until 1721 that James Franklin, who had been printing the *Gazette*, founded the first independent newspaper in the colonies, a literary endeavor modeled on *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, which he had read while apprenticing in London. The *New-England Courant* combined regular news with witty commentaries, including the Silence Dogood letters of his younger half-brother **Benjamin Franklin**. Shortly after its creation, it became embroiled with the *Boston News-Letter* over the controversial practice of inoculation during a smallpox epidemic that was raging in Boston. Whereas the *News-Letter* supported local Puritan minister Cotton Mather's advocacy of inoculation, the *Courant* lined up with the Boston physicians who, seeking to establish their jurisdiction over medicine, opposed the experimental use of inoculation.

Despite being jailed for three weeks in 1722 for an article on the government's lackluster efforts to curb piracy, James Franklin continued to publish critiques of its performance. When the government banned the publication outright, he named Benjamin as publisher and continued to issue the paper secretly. It was only after he left to establish his own newspaper that the *Courant* folded at some point in 1726 or 1727. As the first colonial American paper to be published without government approval, it helped to establish the principle of editorial independence. It was succeeded by two other literary papers, the *New England Weekly Journal* (1727) and the *Weekly Rehearsal* (1731). But they too were unable to attract a sufficient number of readers.

Cognizant of the *Courant's* difficulties, Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* adopted editorial diversity as a deliberate market strategy, an approach set forth explicitly in an "Apology for Printers." As businessmen "continually employ'd in serving all Parties," Franklin wrote on 10 June 1731, printers should "naturally contract an Unconcernedness as to the right or wrong Opinions contained in what they print." At the same time, however, Franklin connected "serving all Parties" to John Milton's self-righting principle in *Areopagitica* (1644). Printers, he said, were taught to present each side of a dispute to the public because "when Truth and Error have fair play, the former is always an overmatch for the latter." The failure of some newspapers to live up to this ideal in the first years of the new Republic undermined

Franklin's faith in the self-righting principle and led to his rueful joking near the end of his life that the only counterweight to freedom of the press is "the liberty of the cudgel." But during the pre-revolutionary period, a number of newspapers followed in the *Gazette's* footsteps.

For example, after taking over the *Weekly Rehearsal* around 1732 and renaming it the *Boston Evening Post*, Thomas Fleet, Sr. and his sons turned it into one of the most popular newspapers in Boston by accommodating various political viewpoints, even quoting from Franklin's "Apology" at one point. And while exhibiting a strong editorial voice of its own, the *South-Carolina Gazette*, edited by Peter Timothy from 1738 to 1780, also presented a variety of views on controversial issues such as religious toleration, paper money, and smallpox inoculation. Even when relations with Britain worsened and most colonial newspapers abandoned even the pretense of neutral coverage, Timothy remained committed to the ideal of balance. During the nonimportation debates, for example, he published opinions on both sides of the issue.

By the late 1730s, however, most colonial newspapers were following the lead of the *New-York Weekly Journal* in pursuing an overtly political news agenda. Founded by a group of wealthy New Yorkers, it began publication on 5 November 1733 for the purpose of attacking the rule of Governor William Cosby. Its satirical critiques were written by lawyer James Alexander using various pseudonyms. But in 1734, the government brought charges of seditious libel against John Peter Zenger, a recent German immigrant who had been hired to print the paper. The *Journal* hired the famous Philadelphia attorney Alexander Hamilton to defend Zenger. Although the law was clear that truth was no defense in such cases, Hamilton persuaded the jury that their role was to determine the accuracy of the criticisms and determine guilt accordingly. Although Zenger's acquittal did not formally change the law of libel, it made colonial American authorities more reluctant to challenge criticism using satirical techniques.

As the century progressed, the content of colonial newspapers became increasingly diverse, including stories about crime, commerce, healthcare, and race relations as well as politics. But most of the improvement in news-gathering consisted of advances in the exchange of news. In response to the threat of French and Indian warfare in the late 1750s and early 1760s, for example, colonial newspapers developed more elaborate networks for sharing news. These networks were facilitated by the decision of Benjamin Franklin and William Hunter, deputy postmasters general, in 1758, to allow printers to exchange copies of their papers without charge. But on the eve of the Revolution, there were still no paid reporters working for any of the colonies' 36 weeklies (and one thrice-weekly).

During the Revolution, patriot groups routinely attacked the presses and offices of newspapers which supported the British side. James Rivington, who began publishing the *New York Gazetteer* in 1773, was hanged in effigy for publishing both Loyalist and Patriot pieces. The prevailing sentiment was reflected in the radical *Massachusetts Spy*, which Isaiah Thomas began publishing on 4 November 1771; the most prominent Patriot editor during the Revolution, he revived the editorial cartoon “Join or Die,” which Franklin had devised during the French and Indian war of the 1760s.

Once independence was achieved, the press became the crucible in which a more democratic form of government was forged. Discussions of the proposed Constitution were widely printed in newspapers, including not only the Federalist Papers but essays opposing the creation of a strong central government. But its adoption in 1788, together with passage of the First Amendment in 1791 guaranteeing freedom of expression and the press, did not lead to a more tranquil period of political journalism. On the contrary, the politicization of the press during the Revolutionary period continued in the new republic as both the Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton and the anti-Federalists under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison used the press to establish party alignments. In addition to subsidizing newspapers loyal to their respective causes, both sides established official newspapers expressing the party line.

The first official newspaper was the *Gazette of the United States*, a semi-weekly founded on behalf of the Federalists by John Fenno in New York in 1789. A year later, it followed the government to Philadelphia, the nation’s new temporary capital. It became a daily in 1793 and changed its name to *United States Gazette* in 1804. To counter its influence, Jefferson and Madison helped Philip Freneau found the semiweekly *National Gazette* in 1791. Known as the “poet of the American Revolution,” Freneau had edited the *Freeman’s Journal* in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War and became one of the leading journalists of his day.

Madison contributed at least 19 unsigned articles to the *National Gazette*, including one on “Public Opinion” on 19 December 1791. “Public opinion,” he began confidently, “sets bounds to every government, and is the real sovereign in every free one.” But he then introduced the worrisome caveat that “the larger a county, the less easy for its real opinion to be ascertained, and the less difficult to be counterfeited.” This statement implied that America’s extensive territorial limits, which would multiply several-fold in his lifetime, were problematic for liberty. But Madison countered that “whatever facilitates a general intercourse of sentiments, as good roads, domestic commerce, a free press, and particularly a *circulation of newspapers through the entire body of the people . . .* is equivalent to a contraction of territorial limits, and is favorable to liberty, where these may be too extensive.” During the 19th

century, his anticipated growth of the press became a reality. By 1860, there were 387 daily newspapers in the United States—increasing to 850 by 1880 and to 1,967 by 1900.

Apart from the official party organs, most newspapers in the new Republic aligned themselves with one party or another in the hope of receiving financial support and rewards such as political offices. The result was a highly partisan press and personal and vitriolic style of journalism. President John Adams complained, not unjustifiably, that he was a constant object of scurrilous misrepresentations and lies. Even **Thomas Jefferson** eventually became disenchanted with the excesses of the press, despite his strong belief in the necessity of its freedom. Mean-spirited personal attacks were directed not only at politicians but editors on the other side. The antipathy between **William Cobbett's** *Federalist Porcupine Gazette and Daily Advertiser* and **Benjamin Franklin Bache's** *Republican General Advertiser* or *Auroa* culminated in a street fight.

The increasingly vituperative attacks on Federalist leaders by journalists such as Bache contributed to the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts by the U.S. Congress in 1798. They were signed into law by Adams in response to French interference with American ships and scathing criticism of the Federalist party's handling of the conflict. They were mainly used to harass journalists, with 14 prosecutions—all ending in convictions. Their implicit attack on the First Amendment made them a major issue in the election of 1800 and helped propel the Democratic-Republicans led by Jefferson into a governing coalition. But once opposition to them ended, the divided interests, which it had masked came into full view again. Although the Sedition Act was allowed to expire in 1800, the Alien Enemies Act still remains in effect.

Some editors, such as Duff Green and Francis Preston Blair, not only wrote on behalf of particular political parties but played a key role as party organizers. After purchasing the *United States Telegraph*, Green made it the main Democratic organ and became a member of President Andrew Jackson's kitchen cabinet. Blair was a member of the same informal group as editor of the *Washington Globe*, which he began editing in 1830. Before its demise in 1845, it received some \$500,000 in government printing contracts. Blair later supported Martin Van Buren as president. But he was forced to sell his interest in the *Globe* when Polk won the Democratic leadership in 1844. In 1856, he presided over the first national convention of the Republican party, which his antislavery views had led him to help found. Though an influential advisor to President Lincoln, he opposed radical Republicanism and later returned to the Democratic fold.

By the 1830s, a few editors were becoming worried about the impact of their fierce partisanship on the reputation of the press. "We have descended to

abuse each other in a manner that has lost the respect of the world,” declared Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, at a convention in 1838 to consider the problem. “We earnestly reprobate [*sic*],” resolved a convention of Ohio editors in 1854, “the practice, (all too common amongst political editors), as derogatory to the dignity and well being of the Press, of personal vituperation and abuse, instead of the candid and dispassionate discussion of principles or measures, or an examination of official conduct and qualifications.” These early press conventions led to the first formal newspapers organizations in the late 1840s. But their pronouncements did little to hasten the development of editorializing that was un beholden to political parties.

During the 1830s and 1840s, **penny papers** such as the *New York Sun* and *New York Herald* led the way in adopting a stance of political independence. But at the mid-century point, no more than 5 percent of newspapers were prepared to proclaim their independence from the party system. During the 1850s and 1860s, the *Sun* and *Herald* were joined by other independents, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Springfield Republican*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and the *Missouri Republican*. But partisanship continued not only to determine the editorial policy of most newspapers but to influence their news reports. In its front-page account of the Democratic convention in Syracuse on 23 September 1869, for example, the Republican-aligned *New York Times* allowed that “there were some . . . who were anxious to place the Democracy of the Empire State in a more advanced position than it has hitherto occupied,” but reported that “they were in the minority and had to succumb to the antediluvians.”

In an editorial on “Independent Journalism” on 13 September 1872, the *Chicago Tribune* criticized American journalism for this long-standing subservience to party interests:

The newspaper press of this country has grown up as part of the machinery of politics. It has never risen above the party standard. It . . . has received . . . its guidance from the party convention. It has been compelled to accept as true, just and wise whatever has been so decreed by the party to which it belonged. There have been exceptional cases where journals have spurned this dictation; and, in every such case, such paper has been subjected to the denunciation and hatred of the party managers whose decrees it has disobeyed.

The *Chicago Tribune* boasted that it had “long since refused to accept policy platforms and party nominations as things not to be questioned, not to be opposed, and not to be exposed for their errors and depravity.” But independent journalism was not thought to entail neutrality. As the *New York Tribune* reminded its readers on 10 September 1872, “it cherishes just as strong

convictions as ever and means to express them just as strongly: it simply does not accept party decisions.”

The *Chicago Tribune* claimed that “in proportion as these journals have rejected the absolute decrees of party . . . they have attained a higher and wider influence . . . with the public generally. Business prosperity has increased with all papers in the proportion that they have maintained their independence and their freedom.” A recent study of newspapers from 1880 to 1885 found that areas with higher advertising revenue were in fact more likely to have independent newspapers. Therefore, although disgust with party politics may have led some newspapers to embrace independence, for many it was primarily a strategy for maximizing advertising revenues.

The movement toward a more independent press was overshadowed by a variety of other changes in American newspapers during the half century between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of **World War I**. At the beginning of the period, newspapers were still relatively small publications, with modest circulations, a relatively narrow range of content, limited advertising, and unimpressive graphics. But by 1914, the modern American newspaper was clearly in evidence, with its banner headlines, big stories, news photographs, comic strips, sports pages, and extensive display advertising. In some cases, older papers were refashioned so as to gain greater respectability. In the 1870s, **Charles A. Dana** turned the *New York Sun* into a “newspaperman’s newspaper,” while Adolph Ochs made the *New York Times* the nation’s paper of record. They were joined by a number of influential new papers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1865), the *Boston Globe* (1872), the *Chicago Daily News* (1876), and the *Kansas City Star* (1880).

During the 1880s, increased competition produced what became known as the **New Journalism I**. Its crusading element was spearheaded by **Joseph Pulitzer**, who had emigrated from Hungary to fight in the Civil War. In 1878, he purchased the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, a failing German-language Liberal Republican newspaper, which he later combined with the *St. Louis Dispatch*. After switching his political allegiance to the Democratic Party, Pulitzer used the *Post-Dispatch* to launch a middle-class reform movement in St. Louis. Its crusading journalism became the model for another floundering paper, the *New York World*, which Pulitzer bought from Jay Gould in 1883. Pulitzer expanded the paper from 8 to 16 pages and used illustrations, stunts, and contests to attract readers. But he also improved political coverage by having reporters such as **Ralph Julian** cultivate relationships with public figures and supported issues of importance to New York’s burgeoning immigrant population. By 1887, the *World’s* circulation had increased from 20,000 to 250,000, the largest in the country.



Among those who got their start in journalism at the *World* was **William Randolph Hearst**, the son of a wealthy California mine owner. In 1895, eight years after purchasing the *San Francisco Examiner*, Hearst returned to New York as a direct competitor of Pulitzer. His *Morning Journal* used scare headlines, fake stories and pictures, and other sensationalistic means to match the circulation of the *World*. Its jingoistic propaganda, which played a role in the American declaration of war on Spain in 1898, led to its denunciation as *yellow journalism*. But its circulation war with the *World* pushed both papers' circulation to one million at times.

In 1911, *Collier's* magazine published a 15-part series by journalist **Will Irwin** criticizing the American press for its irresponsible reporting, subservience to advertising interests, and general failure to keep up with the times. The series was part of a larger movement undertaken by a number of reform-minded magazines during the Progressive era. Inspired by Benjamin Orange Flower's magazine *Arena* in the 1890s, *McClure's Magazine*, *Everybody's*, *Hamptons*, and *Collier's* attacked the social and political abuses of monopoly capitalism to the point where President Theodore Roosevelt castigated their journalists as **muckrakers**. But their journalism emphasized verifiable facts that were not tied to any particular political ideology and contributed to several pieces of corrective legislation. In 1906, for example, passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act was aided by **Samuel Hopkins Adams'** series "The Great American Fraud" in *Collier's* a year earlier. By 1914, however, the muckraking magazines had all been eliminated or bought out and transformed by the interests they threatened.

On 13 April 1917, one week after the U.S. declaration of war, President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information to coordinate the government's information campaign and serve as a liaison with the press. It was chaired by former newspaper editor George Creel (1876–1953), who had been active in Wilson's 1916 reelection campaign. In *Mobilizing America*, written before the war, Arthur Bullard, a journalist and novelist in the tradition of the muckrakers, had argued that the United States should make the world safe for democracy. His ideas were scrutinized by Colonel Edward Mandell House and probably reached Wilson through him. The Creel committee drew up a voluntary censorship code and on 10 May 1917 began publishing an *Official Bulletin of the United States*. Closely affiliated with the executive branch, the *Official Bulletin* reprinted news releases in newspaper form. The CPI's staff grew to 150,000 and, in addition to many journalists, included historians Carl Becker and Frederic L. Paxon. Its operations of the CPI were later described by Creel in *How We Advertised America* (1920) and his autobiography *Rebel at Large* (1947). A 1941 study of the committee's thousands of news releases praised it for its record of honesty.

But subsequent assessments have been less charitable. Though successful in the short run, its blatant propaganda contributed to disillusionment with journalists after the war.

During the first third of the 20th century, American newspaper owners remained hostile toward the unionization of their employees, opposed wages and hours legislation, and even fought against the application of child labor laws to their carriers and news hawkers. They did so on the grounds of that theirs was a privileged industry that should be exempt from regulations governing other industries. During the Depression, this position brought them into conflict with the New Deal legislation of President Franklin Roosevelt. The initial confrontation occurred in 1933–1934 over the National Industrial Recovery Act, which required businesses to draft cooperative agreements increasing employment, shortening working hours, raising wages, and stabilizing profits. It also required collective bargaining and gave the president the authority to license businesses. The American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), which was given responsibility for the newspaper code negotiations, eventually agreed to wages and hours provisions, an open shop, and child labor regulations. But it also demanded that the president accept a clause declaring his commitment to the First Amendment and joined the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to lobby against other New Deal legislation.

For its part, the American public did not accept the argument that social welfare measures such as the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act constituted a threat to freedom of the press. It believed that newspaper owners were trying to avoid making reasonable adjustments to new socioeconomic conditions. In the presidential election of 1936, it gave its overwhelming support to Roosevelt, despite the fact that most newspaper editorials had supported the Republican candidate, Alf Landon. The following year, the Supreme Court dealt a further blow to the newspaper publishers. In *Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board*, the court declared that “the publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws.” Publishers were required to recognize the ANG and were prohibited from firing an employee because of union activities. This confrontation contributed to the declining public image of the press and efforts such as the **Hutchins Commission** to restore that image.

Ironically, the 1930s saw the emergence of what became known as the “labor beat” in mainstream newspapers. Publishers began allowing reporters to cover labor issues in society generally as a way of selling papers and furthering their political interests. Journalists, for their part, wanted to support the labor movement in its struggles to improve the lives of workers. Some had close connections to labor leaders and used these to give unions significantly

more coverage. Major metropolitan newspapers, the wire services, and news magazines all assigned some of their best reporters to the labor beat. However, as David Witwer (2013) has pointed out, “such coverage both bolstered and undermined the labor movement.” During the 1950s, a more critical style of labor reporting was adopted, but anti-communism and major economic gains for industrial workers reduced the incentive for labor reporting. “Currently,” Witwer notes, “the labor beat has all but disappeared.”

The reputation of journalists was subjected to contradictory pressures stemming from the beginning of a long, steady decline in newspaper readers. Between 1910 and 1930, the number of daily newspapers declined from 2,600 to 1,942. At the same time, the number of cities with two or more dailies dropped from 502 in 1923 to 243 a decade later. In this context, there was a temptation to provide more sensational, attention-grabbing news reports. But at the same time, less partisan reporting was essential to attract and serve readers in one-paper markets. It was supported by corporate advertisers who wanted to avoid offending anyone.

This corporate predisposition quickly came to dominate news on the national radio networks whose stations blanketed the nation by the early 1930s. In response to efforts by newspapers and the ANPA to restrict the broadcasting of news, NBC, CBS, and the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) resorted to using news commentators, many of whom had written for newspapers and in some cases continued to do so. But in 1934, they signed the Biltmore Agreement, named after the New York hotel in which it was negotiated, agreeing to use only bulletins supplied by AP, UP, and INS as the basis of such commentaries. This agreement was soon scorned by some unaffiliated stations, which turned to new independent news services such as Transradio. A few stations, beginning with KMPC in Beverly Hills, also began hiring their own reporters to gather news. But even after the news agencies began allowing stations to make unrestricted use of their news, the concise, factual, neutral style of news service bulletins continued to characterize newscasts in contrast to the lively, provocative commentaries, which sometimes followed them.

An additional form of separation in the name of objectivity consisted of the institutional compartmentalization of public or current affairs programs that sought to give a voice to a range of viewpoints on social issues. The first such program was NBC’s *University of Chicago Round Table* in 1933. It was followed by *The American Forum of the Air*, carried on the MBS network, and *People’s Platform*, which CBS created in 1939. Although *America’s Town Meeting of the Air*, which began on the NBC-Blue Network in 1935, was fairly influential, these programs were generally scheduled at non-peak hours and drew small audiences compared to the entertainment-oriented programs that dominated early American radio.

After the war, several of these programs were transferred to television. But they remained marginalized and tended to attract rather than deflect those who read newspapers. This was the case for both *Meet the Press*, which NBC shifted to TV in November 1947, and *Face the Nation*, which CBS began in November 1954 (ABC later responded with *Issues and Answers*). The only prime-time television public affairs program with any pretense to popularity was *See It Now*, which **Edward R. Murrow** adapted from *Hear It Now* in November 1951. But it only lasted until 1958.

Although the FCC affirmed that the radio spectrum belonged to the people and should be used in the public interest, it initially left broadcasters largely to their own devices. But in 1941, it criticized station WAAB for its practice of “editorializing” on the air, declaring that because of the “limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his [*sic*] own partisan ends.” While the argument that “a truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee” was consistent with practice of representing various voices through public affairs programming, it discouraged stations from having commentators like **Walter Winchell**, whose views were not necessarily those of his employer.

In various decisions in 1945 and 1946, the FCC also instructed broadcasters to make time available for those who wished to purchase it to present their own viewpoints. Realizing the inconsistency of its statements, the FCC sought to rectify matters in 1949 by instructing broadcasters to devote a reasonable amount of time to discussions of public issues and include different views on those issues. This requirement became known as the **Fairness Doctrine** and was intended to encourage a public sphere on the air. But the FCC compromised its operation by overly prescriptive rules for achieving balance while also saying that “overt licensee editorialization, within reasonable limits and subject to the general requirements of fairness . . . is not contrary to the public interest.” Stations that were now allowed to promote a particular ideological perspective were also expected to create a balanced discussion of public issues. The predictable result was a chilling effect on public affairs programming, the eventual abandonment of the Fairness Doctrine in the 1980s, and the subsequent unrestricted use of talk radio as an instrument of ideological warfare. Only National Public Radio (NPR) offered a refuge from the venomous diatribes of self-proclaimed radio pundits and its operation remained precarious at best.

Long before the demise of the Fairness Doctrine, television not only displaced radio as the dominant news broadcaster but became the major source of all news content for Americans. The first network newscast was *Douglas Edwards and the News*, which went on the air in 1948 on CBS. NBC followed

a year later with *Camel Newsreel Theater*, which was soon changed to *Camel News Caravan*. It was sponsored by Camel cigarettes and was anchored by John Cameron Swayze, who wrote his own script and delivered it without cue cards, but was still less popular than Edwards. Both programs were 15 minutes and consisted mainly of “talking heads” and a few still pictures and maps. In the fall of 1956, Bill McAndrews, the president of NBC News, replaced the *Camel News Caravan* with the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*, which featured two actual reporters as anchors and tried to keep the audience’s attention by having one in New York City and the other in Washington. When it began to pull ahead in the ratings, CBS responded by replacing Douglas Edwards with the venerable **Walter Cronkite**.

The increasing dominance of TV news was reflected in the further decline of daily newspapers and cities with more than one daily. By 1970, there were fewer than 1,700 dailies, while between 1953 and 1973, the number of cities with two or more dailies decreased from 91 to 37 or less than 10 percent of what it had been a half century earlier. While New York residents still had many papers to choose from, they lost the *New York Sun* in 1950, the *Brooklyn Eagle* in 1955, and the *New York Mirror* in 1963. The deaths of the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1966 and the *Washington Star* in 1981 signaled that not even New York and Washington were capable of supporting two quality daily newspapers.

Since 2000, the decline of newspapers has continued unabated. By 2011, the number of daily newspapers had dropped to 1,383, and as of 2010, there were only 16 cities with two or more separately owned, competing full-service dailies. Despite continuing population growth, total circulation also continued to decline—from 55 million in 2003 to 41.7 million in 2011 and 28.6 million (for both print and online newspapers) in 2018.

# V

**VENALITY.** The practice of buying favorable press coverage. In the 1720s, the government of **Great Britain** paid Elizee Dobree £800 a year to drop “Cato’s Letters” from the *London Journal*. During the 1730s, Robert Walpole paid various writers and publishers some £50,000 for articles favorable to the government. A half century later, seven of London’s 10 dailies, including *The Times (of London)*, were receiving secret government subsidies. This practice was also common in **France**, where it continued throughout the 19th century. When the movement to abolish slavery began to gain strength in the late 1830s, colonial delegates drummed up contributions from the plantocracy with which to bribe Parisian newspapers into opposing emancipation. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, **Russia** secured substantial French loans by bribing French newspapers into presenting a favorable, and highly misleading, view of the Russian war effort.

**VIRTUAL REALITY.** In 1963, the American sportswriter George Plimpton temporarily joined the Detroit Lions football club to give his readers an intimate experience of playing on the team. Since the turn of the 21st century, digital technologies have been used to provide even more immersive news narratives in which clips of actual scenes and sounds are combined with virtual or simulated ones. One study (de la Peña, 2011) describes this novel form of journalism as “the production of news in a form in which people can gain first-person experiences of the events or situation described in news stories. The fundamental idea of immersive journalism is to allow the participant, typically represented as a digital avatar, to actually enter a virtually recreated scenario representing the news story.”

The use of a virtual reality headset allows audience members to directly experience events such as the torture of a prisoner or the chaos following the explosion of a terrorist’s bomb. In 2014, **Facebook** invested some \$2 billion in Oculus VR technology and its CEO Mark Zuckerberg predicted that “one day, we believe this kind of immersive, augmented reality will become a part of daily life for billions of people.” The following year, the *New York Times* began sending subscribers a disposable Google Cardboard VR headset

for use in a new stream of “multisensory” content news and feature content. “Stand alongside Iraqi forces during a battle with ISIS,” the newspaper said in one promotional pitch for its nytvr service. “Walk on a planet three billion miles from the sun. Join our award-winning journalists at the center of it all. Explore the library of 360-degree virtual reality experiences for yourself.”

# W

**WALL STREET JOURNAL.** Conservative U.S. financial and business newspaper published nationally from Monday through Friday. It was first issued by Dow Jones and Company, a news agency established by reporters Charles H. Dow and Edward D. Jones in New York City in 1882 to provide information to Wall Street's financial district. In 1889, Dow and Jones changed its name from the *Customers' Afternoon Bulletin* to its current title. During the 1890s, Dow began an index of leading stocks as a daily indicator of the market's performance. In 1902, Clarence Walker Barron, who later founded *Barron's* magazine for investors, purchased both Dow Jones and Company and the *Wall Street Journal*. Some of his columnists scandalized the publication by selling their opinions on stock movements. Following his appointment as managing editor in 1941, Bernard Kilgore broadened the paper's coverage, while making its articles and columns livelier and better researched. The result was an extraordinary increase in circulation, rising from 65,000 in 1950 to over 1,000,000 by the time of Kilgore's death (as president) in 1967. Until the publication of *USA Today*, the *Journal's* circulation was the highest in the **United States**.

**WAR CORRESPONDENTS, EARLY.** Who was the first war correspondent? In his classic study, *The First Casualty* (1975), Phillip Knightley began his account of war correspondence with William Howard Russell (c. 1820–1907), who covered the Crimean War (1854–56) for *The Times* of London. Russell described himself as “the miserable parent of a luckless tribe” and may have been the first correspondent to focus on the appalling conditions he observed. But he was not without his predecessors. The American journalist George F. Kendall accompanied the advance of General Zachary Taylor across the Rio Grande during the war with Mexico in 1846. He then set up a pony express system (“Kendall's Express”) to relay dispatches back to the daily *Picayune* in New Orleans and was himself injured in one of the battles. In his *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism* (1997), Mitchel P. Roth takes Kendall and other Mexican war correspondents as his starting point. But Kendall was also a cofounder of the *Picayune* and had used the paper to campaign



for war. He was not, therefore, a war correspondent in the modern sense of being a specialized reporter.

One of the first owner-editors to hire reporters to cover a war of sorts was **James Gordon Bennett**. In December 1837, Bennett sent an unnamed correspondent to cover the rebellion of William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada for the *New York Herald*. While the dispatches themselves proved disappointing, they did lead other papers to send their own correspondents to cover the armed uprising.

There are, however, even earlier examples of war correspondence. In 1815, for example, James Morgan Bradford, who edited a small weekly called *The Time Piece*, wrote an account of the Battle of New Orleans for his paper. A few years before then, Henry Crabbe Robinson provided even more impressive coverage of Napoleon's campaigns in Spain and Germany for *The Times*. But the first example of printed war correspondence may well have occurred on 3 May 1775 when Isaiah Thomas, editor of *The Massachusetts Spy*, published his earlier eyewitness account of the battle of Lexington.

**WASHINGTON POST.** One of the leading newspapers in the world and the anchor of a media empire, which includes *Newsweek* magazine. Founded as a Democratic paper by Stilson Hutchins in 1877, it was economically conservative for the next 60 years. In 1933, it was purchased at a bankruptcy sale by Agnes and Eugene Meyer for \$825,000. After the war, they transferred their voting stock to Philip and Katharine Graham (their daughter), who used it to attack McCarthyism and promote civil rights. In 1963, Katharine Graham took control of the paper and hired Benjamin Bradlee to improve its national and international coverage. The *Post* remains famous for having broken the **Watergate** story, publishing the **Pentagon Papers**, and rejecting Vice President Spiro Agnew's attacks on the press.

**WASHINGTON PRESS CORPS.** During the Civil War, the larger American newspapers created special correspondents to obtain war news from Washington. After the war, the reporters who remained in Washington gained considerable independence and stature within their news organizations by cultivating politicians as sources. Initially, the focus was mainly on Congress as presidents tried to remain distant from reporters. The first woman correspondent in Washington was Jane Swisshelm, followed by Sara Jane Lippincott. William McKinley was the first president to cultivate a formal relationship with correspondents, making the White House a regular "beat."

During the Progressive era, newspaper correspondents like David S. Barry, whose ongoing coverage of Washington required good relations with its politicians, defended the Senate against charges of corruption by popular

magazine writers like David Graham Phillips, one of the **muckrakers** who operated under no such restraints.

During the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, a few executive branch agencies began using their own publicists. But Woodrow Wilson's secretary, Joe Tumulty, was the first to serve in effect as a press secretary, although the term itself was not used until 1929. Tumulty met daily with the press, relaying the words of the president through his own voice, and maintaining contact with correspondents after American entered **World War I**.

While President Herbert Hoover's tendency to ignore reporters in favor of editors undermined press relations to some degree, his decision to allow direct quotations at press conferences was very well received. Franklin D. Roosevelt worked much harder at cultivating key journalists by providing lots of lively copy about his programs.

During his first term as president, Dwight D. Eisenhower became disillusioned with traditional press coverage and decided to use televised press conferences as a way of reasserting control. A television studio was constructed in the White House and the Hollywood actor Robert Montgomery was hired to coach him on his presentations. Eisenhower also hired former journalist James Hagerty to serve as the White House's first "director of communications."

Whereas Eisenhower's press conferences were filmed for broadcast later, President John F. Kennedy allowed the television networks to carry them live. In contrast to Kennedy's deft manipulation of the press, President Richard Nixon saw it as the enemy and assigned Vice President Spiro T. Agnew the task of reigning it in. Among recent presidents, Ronald Reagan remains the icon of managing White House coverage.

Beginning in the late-1960s, however, journalists in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere began to assert themselves more aggressively. They became more critical of politicians and established power generally. This trend was evident in the manner of questioning presidents during press conferences. A study of the Washington press corps from 1953 to 2000 found that from 1969 onward, there has been "a long-term decline in deference to the president and the rise of a more vigorous and at times adversarial posture." Reporters began taking more initiative by contextualizing their questions, asking more than one question during their turn, and injecting follow-up questions. They also invited particular answers more frequently and challenged the president to respond to the criticism of others.

**WATERGATE.** Scandal that led to impeachment proceedings against U.S. president Richard M. Nixon and his resignation in August 1974. It resulted from the revelation of a series of unethical and in some cases illegal activities

engaged in by the Nixon administration to maintain itself in power. The first sign of such activities occurred in June 1972 when police caught five men who had broken into the national headquarters of the Democratic Party in the Watergate office-apartment complex in Washington, D.C. While most of the press ignored the burglary, *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward eventually traced it to a larger operation involving key White House personnel. In 1973, Woodward and Bernstein won a Pulitzer Prize for their reporting and turned Watergate into the apotheosis of investigative reporting in *All the President's Men* (1974). During Senate committee hearings to investigate the affair, former presidential counsel John W. Dean III revealed the existence of a White House “enemies list” that included numerous reporters, columnists, and media executives.

**WEBSTER, NOAH (1758–1843).** A Connecticut-born, Yale-educated lexicographer, most famous for his best-selling *Spelling Book* in the early 1780s. In 1787, he began editing the monthly *American Magazine*, a staunchly Federalist publication, which included articles on education and subjects of interest to women. It lasted less than a year, but in 1793 Webster founded *American Minerva*, New York City’s first daily newspaper. Renamed the *Commercial Advertiser* in 1797, it was edited by Webster until 1803 when he abandoned journalism to work on *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828). Later edited by Thurlow Weed, it merged with the *New York Globe* in 1905 to become the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* before being purchased by the *New York Sun* in 1923.

**WHISTLEBLOWERS.** Persons inside governments, corporations, and other institutions who raise alarms about possible wrongdoing to protect the public interest. A whistleblower movement emerged in the United States in the early 1970s as an outgrowth of consumer advocate Ralph Nader’s campaign to improve automobile safety. Nader urged those who knew of unsafe manufacturing practices or lax safety standards to “blow the whistle” on offending companies and regulatory agencies. In a speech at the Conference on Professional Responsibility in Washington, D.C., in 1971, he asked: “At what point should an employee resolve that allegiance to society must supersede allegiance to the organization’s policies, then act on that resolve by informing outsiders or legal authorities?”

That same year, Daniel Ellsberg released what became known as the *Pentagon Papers* to the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, bringing to light government secrecy about the war in Vietnam. Even more celebrated and consequential were the leaks to the *Washington Post* by “Deep Throat”—later identified as Mark Felt, an official in the **FBI**. They led to the

**Watergate** scandal and the resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974. In both cases, whistleblowing relied on mainstream media and depended on journalistic judgments of the public interest to proceed. More recently, however, this safeguard has been thwarted by operations without similar accountability or standards of evidence. In 2010, Wikileaks dumped a selection of secret diplomatic cables leaked by U.S. Army intelligence analyst Bradley (later Chelsea) Manning on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Three years later, in contrast to the prior measured reporting of the American journalist Glenn Greenwald in *The Guardian* about a global surveillance program of the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA), it simply released everything provided by its employee Edward Snowden. These actions have undermined attempts by the U.S.-based Committee to Protect Journalists to secure stronger legal protections for whistleblowers and the journalists with whom they collaborate.

**WHITE, WILLIAM ALLEN (1868–1944).** Longtime editor of the *Emporia* (Kansas) *Gazette*, which he bought in 1895 and through which he achieved a national reputation as a liberal-minded Republican and “the Sage of Emporia.” Although the *Gazette* only sold a few thousand copies, White’s editorials were widely quoted and reprinted. One of the Progressive movement’s most eloquent spokesmen, White used both political essays and fictional works such as *Stratagems and Spoils* (1901) and *A Certain Rich Man* (1909) to expose corruption in the manner of the **muckrakers**. However, his faith in moral progress and America as the new Eden was belied by the cool reception of *In the Heart of a Fool* (1919) and further evidence in the 1920s that the Progressive mood had passed. White grew up in the self-sufficient frontier Kansas village of El Dorado and his journalism was influenced by its increasing dependency on the railroad and a market economy. He reported numerous political conventions and corresponded with numerous politicians and statesmen, including the presidents of the United States from “T.R. to F.D.R.” as he labeled them in his papers, deposited after his death in the Library of Congress. Upon the death in 1925 of Frank A. Munsey, who ruined a number of America’s best newspapers, White wrote famously: “Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meat packer, the morals of a money changer and manners of an undertaker.” His *Autobiography*, written in the same colloquial style as his journalism, won a posthumous Pulitzer Prize. In his 1975 study, Louis Filler called him “the maverick on main street.”

**WHITE, THEODORE H. (1915–1986).** American political journalist. At the end of **World War II**, he was appointed head of *Time* magazine’s China

Bureau, but resigned a year later following a dispute with **Henry R. Luce**. After two decades of writing magazine articles, nonfiction books, and novels, he won the **Pulitzer Prize** for general nonfiction for *The Making of the President 1960* (1962). It was on the *New York Times*' best-seller list for 20 weeks and sold more than four million copies. White later also wrote *In Search of History* (1978) and *America in Search of Itself* (1982). But it was his pathbreaking account of John F. Kennedy's victory in the 1960 presidential election that made his reputation.

In his study (1999) of *The Making of the President 1960*, John Miller wrote that it “wove fact and anecdote, characterization and narration, personal description and secondhand observation into an artistic dramatic whole . . . explaining the outcome and meaning of the election.” It became a model for subsequent campaign analyses, but it was not without defects and shortcomings. By focusing on the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of the candidates, it deflected attention from the public issues that were at stake. White later regretted that he had, as Miller paraphrases him, “invented a style of political analysis that went to great lengths to describe the brand of cereal that candidates ate for breakfast.”

**WILKES, JOHN (1725–1797)**. English journalist, MP, and demagogue with a reputation for depravity whose fight against the supposed tyranny of George III made him a popular hero and contributed to the establishment of freedom of the press. In 1757, after studies at the University of Leiden, he was elected (with the assistance of his wife's wealth) MP for Aylesbury as a supporter of William Pitt. Following the resignation of the Grenville-Pitt ministry in 1761, he was encouraged by Earl Temple to found *The North Briton* (1762) as a vehicle for attacking the Earl of Bute, George III's favorite minister. With Bute's resignation, he switched his attack to the new Grenville ministry, ridiculing the speech from the throne in the famous issue No. 45 in April 1763. Arrested under a general warrant for seditious libel, he argued that MPs could only be imprisoned on charges of treason, a claim which parliament also adjudged to be seditious.

In the ensuing struggle, Wilkes's arrest was deemed to be unconstitutional. But in 1764, he was charged with obscenity for his contribution to an *Essay on Women*, expelled from the House of Commons, and forced to flee to Paris to escape imprisonment. Upon his return in 1768, he was elected as MP for Middlesex, but not allowed by the king's supporters to take his seat. He then surrendered himself to the authorities and was imprisoned for 22 months. During the popular protests to secure his release, violence ensued and Wilkes' reputation as a symbol of the fight of liberty against despotism was enhanced.

Following his incarceration, Wilkes became an alderman of London. In this capacity, he helped to secure greater freedom of the press by providing immunity to printers charged with violating the ban against parliamentary reporting. The Commons' refusal to recognize his election by Middlesex voters on three further occasions provided Wilkes with a final libertarian cause, the right of the people to elect their own representatives. Supporters, including Edmund Burke and the unknown writer Junius, organized a nationwide petition on his behalf. Ironically, after finally gaining admission to the Commons in 1774, Wilkes lost popular favor for his actions in suppressing the Gordon riots in 1780.

**WINCHELL, WALTER (1897–1972).** Popular American columnist whose newspaper style and radio showmanship were derived from his early years in vaudeville with Eddie Cantor and George Jessel. After a stint at the *Vaudeville News* in the early 1920s, Winchell began to build a reputation for himself as a brash, no-holds-barred writer for the *New York Evening Graphic* before moving his long-running column “On Broadway” to the *New York Daily Mirror* in 1929. In December 1932, he began broadcasting the free-wheeling *Walter Winchell's Journal*, a rapid-fire 15-minute commentary and gossip program on NBC radio. Broadcast on Sunday evenings, the program had more than 20 million listeners at its peak. In 1955, it was transferred from the Blue Network (by then ABC) to Mutual for a final season. For his attacks on all and sundry, Winchell gathered most of his information personally: during the 1930s, he berated, Hitler, the Nazis, and American isolationists; after the war, he switched his guns to domestic communists, supporting the witch hunt of Senator Joseph McCarthy. When he called the voters “damn fools” in 1943, the show's sponsor (Jergens Lotion) and the network began censoring his scripts. After his eventual retirement from radio, Winchell narrated *The Untouchables* for ABC-TV.

**WISNER, GEORGE W. (1812–1849).** Generally regarded as the first police reporter and quite possibly the first reporter in the modern sense of the term. In 1833, after working for several newspapers, he offered to write original court reports for Benjamin Day's **penny paper**, the *New York Sun*. A young printer by trade without much education, Day needed an assistant who could not only set type but produce content that would interest the working-class readers at whom the paper was aimed. He offered Wisner \$4 a week and a partial interest in the paper to provide reports similar to the ones which he had been cribbing from the *New York Courier* and *New York Enquirer*.

Wisner framed his reports as humorous, sometimes humiliating, morality tales and included the names of those unfortunate enough to attract his

attention. He not only assumed the guilt of the figures in question but also did not hesitate to shame them for their alleged offenses. On 2 September 1833, for example, he told how:

Patrick Ludlow was sent up by his wife, who testified that she had supported him for several years in idleness and drunkenness. Abandoning all hopes of a reformation in her husband, she bought him a suit of clothes a fortnight since and told him to go about his business, for she would not live with him any longer. Last night he came home in a state of intoxication, broke into his wife's bedroom, pulled her out of bed, pulled her hair, and stamped on her. She called a watchman and sent him up. Pat exerted all of his powers of eloquence in endeavoring to excite his wife's sympathy, but to no purpose. As every sensible woman ought to do who is cursed with a drunken husband, she refused to have anything to do with him hereafter.

Wisner's support for the immediate abolition of slavery, which he frequently introduced into his writing, brought him into conflict with Day, who favored gradualism. Although generally using a factual approach, he often tilted his stories or added editorial comments so as to play up the mistreatment of African Americans, whom he generally referred to as "blacks." His divergence from Day over abolition may have contributed to the 1834 pro-slavery riot in New York. He separated from Day in June 1835.

**WOMEN IN JOURNALISM.** Today more than a third of all journalists in Europe and North America are women. But for most of journalism's history, it was a man's world. In colonial America, a few women such as Elizabeth Timothy in South Carolina and Mary Katharine Goddard in Maryland assisted their fathers or husbands with the printing of newspapers and in some cases inherited and ran the business side of the papers on their own. But it was not until the second third of the 19th century that a few women worked as editors or reporters.

Beginning with the small Washington paper *Paul Pry* (1831–1836) and continuing with *The Huntress* (1836–1854), Anne Royall, a self-styled protector of democracy who turned to journalism at the age of 62, wrote about bureaucratic waste and fraud. From 1837 to 1877, Sarah Josepha Hale (author of "Mary Had a Little Lamb") edited *Godey's Lady's Book*. And from 1840 to 1842, Margaret Fuller edited the quarterly Transcendentalist magazine *The Dial* until her philosopher friend Ralph Waldo Emerson took over.

A child prodigy in languages and literature, Fuller joined **Horace Greeley's** *New York Tribune* as literary editor in 1844 and wrote critical articles on equality for women, the treatment of African Americans, the prison system,

Irish immigrants, and poverty. Following the publication of her book *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), she went to **Italy** as a *Tribune* correspondent. There she had a son by revolutionist Giovanni Angelo, whom she later married, and supported Giuseppe Mazzini during the Revolution of 1848. On the voyage home, she and her new family drowned in a shipwreck off Fire Island near New York City. The body of her child was the only one recovered and her manuscript on the revolution was lost.

On 17 April 1850, Jane Swisshelm, one of the first women hired by Greeley, became the first female reporter to be admitted to the reporters' gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives. Previously women reporters, as "mere letter writers," were confined to the public galleries. In the case of the Senate, Senator Willie Magnum had come to their defense in 1846 saying that "they diffused more information amongst the masses of the people than the reporters for the city papers." But plans to rebuild the press gallery to accommodate women reporters were rebuffed on the grounds that they would undermine the chamber's architectural beauty. Swisshelm's coverage of her first day in the House included a lively account of a member drawing a pistol when charged by a fellow congressman. She was later joined by Sara Jane Lippincott, the first female correspondent for the *New York Times*.

Using the pseudonym "Grace Greenwood," Lippincott developed the format of writing informal letters on issues such as slavery, capital punishment, and women's rights. In 1849, she became an editorial assistant for *Godey's Lady's Book*, but was fired after offending Southern readers with her anti-slavery views. During the Civil War, she gave lectures to raise funds for injured soldiers and was called "Grace Greenwood, the patriot" by President Abraham Lincoln. In her travel correspondence from Europe in the 1870s, she promoted the value of greater freedom for women while titillating her readers with references to women's physical vulnerability. The early use of journalism to promote women's rights was epitomized in the newspaper *The Revolution*, which Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton began publishing and editing in 1868.

Together with Mary Clemmer Ames, Amelia Bloomer, Paulina Wright Davis, and Lucy Stone, these figures helped establish a place for women in American journalism. But they tended to do so as star members of what Susanne Kinnebrock calls the "border crossers between literature and journalism." Only through their exceptional accomplishments have they made it (barely) on to the radar of male journalism historians for whom reporting "hard" political news is primarily what makes one a journalist. For Kinnebrock, this conception of journalism eliminates women from its history until they begin entering newsrooms in the early 20th century. Before then,



according to censuses taken with this conception in mind, only about 1 percent of journalists were female.

By adopting a wider definition of *journalist*, feminist scholars have revealed a larger presence of women in journalism. For example, Kinnebrock understands journalism as observing the general societal environment, rather than simply the male-dominated world of politics, and turning these observations into a media reality for public discussion. Using Sophie Pataky's *Encyclopedia of German Ladies of the Pen* (1898), which was based on a recent census of German-speaking women writers, she calculated that 1,133 of the 2,048 active writers in the encyclopedia were engaged in journalistic writing. Although many only worked part-time or as freelancers without a contract and wrote essays, features, or fiction instead of hard news, their "contributions to the public discourse were manifold and numerous."

In heroic accounts of women in journalism, it is not the literary journalists but the female stunt journalists who are seen as paving the way for women in mainstream journalism today. The practice of initiating and performing unusual actions that could then be reported as news stories was a feature of late 19th century circulation wars and one which mainly exploited women willing to do whatever it took to make it as reporters. An un-regrettably short-lived Anglo-American phenomenon associated with the **New Journalism I**, stunt journalism made their women practitioners' bodies part of the performance generating a newsworthy experience. Feigning madness, **Nellie Bly** underwent the same treatment as women in New York City's insane asylum in order to expose its horrendous nature. Posing as a lowly housemaid, flower-girl, and laundress, **Elizabeth Banks** endured the treatment of working women in London. And for her story "How It Feels to be Forcibly Fed" for **Joseph Pulitzer's** *New York World*, Djuna Barnes experienced the same brutality as the imprisoned British suffragettes during their hunger strikes.

Despite the fortitude displayed by their stunt practitioners, women journalists were still labeled "sob sisters" and confined for the most part to "women's pages" in the late 19th century. In the case of trials, a few women were permitted to cover them on a solitary basis. In 1893, for example, Elizabeth Jordan reported the Lizzie Borden murder trial for the *New York World*. But it was not until the sensational 1907 trial of the wealthy New York playboy Harry Thaw for the murder of the prominent architect Stanford White that several women reporters were allowed to attend. Even then, they were placed under intense scrutiny and denigrated for supposedly sympathizing with the accused. The term *sob sisters* is thought to have been coined by journalist Irvin S. Cobb to describe the accounts of Winifred Black, Dorothy Dix, Nixola Greely-Smith, and Ada Patterson, who produced most

of the female-authored coverage of the trial. However, a recent study of the trial coverage found references to women reporters as the *pity platoon* and *sympathy squad*, but no specific mention of *sob sisters*. This characterization became common, nonetheless, in the 1910s and served to restrict opportunities for women and diminish their accomplishments as journalists. While coverage of the Thaw trial by male reporters was actually no less sentimental, it did not give rise to similar stereotypes.

In 1886, Pulitzer instigated a special column called the “World of Women” in *The World*. By the 1890s, what became known as “women’s pages” were a regular feature of larger newspapers. Among their early designers were Jane Cunningham Croly in the **United States** and Kit Coleman in **Canada**.

Born in England, Croly began her career in journalism by writing feature articles on topics of interest to women for the *New York Tribune* under the pseudonym “Jennie June.” In addition to being the first woman journalist to syndicate her column, she edited both the fashion pages for the *New York World* (where her husband David was editor) and *Demorest’s Quarterly Mirror of Fashion* in the 1860s, and was part owner and editor of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* before using its content to design the first women’s pages for the *New York Herald*.

Largely restricted to information about society, fashion, food, and household matters of interest to women and written almost entirely by women, the women’s pages were rejected as banal “drivel” by many of those same women, some of whom penned sardonic columns “for our male readers.” Coleman managed to escape the women’s pages and write about more serious topics by keeping some of her readers guessing as to whether “Kit” was a man or woman. But her response to an article entitled “In Praise of Ignorance” in the *London Globe* in December 1891 may have blown her cover. “If a woman is clever,” she wrote in her column on 27 February 1892, “she must repress her talent and feign ignorance on the topics of the day in order thereby to delight and rest the man who deigns to dally with her.” In 1904, Coleman and 15 other women journalists conceived of the Canadian Women’s Press Club while traveling by train to cover the Louisiana Purchase Exposition or St. Louis World’s Fair.

Coleman also covered the Cuban phase of the Spanish-American war in 1898. But she was not the only woman to do so; 24-year-old Anna Benjamin, the first female photojournalist to cover a war, was also there for *Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*. Born in Salem, Massachusetts, she began her brief career in journalism two years earlier by covering the Cuban revolt against Spain for the *New York Journal* and in 1897 sent dispatches from **Greece** about its war with **Turkey**. Instead of writing about the Spanish-American war from the expected “woman’s angle,” she filed stories with headlines such

as “The Truth about Army Rations” (June 30) and “The Darker Side of War” (4 August). Despite army efforts to prevent her from reaching the front lines, she reached Santiago and wrote “A Woman’s Visit to Santiago” (25 August) and “Santiago after the Surrender” (3 September).

Benjamin reported on the continuation of the conflict in the **Philippines** for the *New York Tribune* and *San Francisco Chronicle*. Resented by the male correspondents, her stories provided more depth and background and gave an unsentimental portrait of the war. She also said that Americans had an obligation to understand the Filipino character if they were to govern responsibly. “We Americans find it difficult to see from the standpoint of other peoples,” she wrote in “Filipino Characteristics” for *Outlook* (31/08/1901), “or to appreciate standards of civilization different from our own.” After narrowly escaping the Boxer Rebellion in Peking, she reported the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. She then completed what amounted to a trip around the world, returning to Europe in 1901 to write about peasant life in **Russia**. But the following year, she died in France from a brain tumor.

At the turn of the century, male newspaper editors were still using female stereotypes to restrict opportunities for women. “The Press Gallery of the House of Commons remains absolutely closed to the female reporter,” wrote Mary Frances Billington in *Pearson’s Magazine* in July 1896, “and there is good reason to think it will remain so, and for the ‘rough and tumble’ work of outside reporting the ordinary proprietor will continue to prefer a man.”

The struggle of women to become fully accepted as journalists, and their linkage of this objective to the larger goal of becoming equal members of society in all respects, was even more daunting outside of the West. In the Arab world, the pioneering Lebanese novelist and playwright Zaynab Fawwaz used her position in the Egyptian newspaper *Jaridat al-Nil* to promote the advancement of women in terms of education, labor rights, and access to public space. Responding to an article by Hanna Kawrani rejecting women’s suffrage in the Lebanese newspaper *Lubnan* in 1892, she countered that gender roles are socially constructed rather than divinely ordained. “We have not seen . . . any religious law (in Islam),” she wrote using the pseudonym *Durrat al-Sharq* (Pearl of the East), “ruling that woman is to be prohibited from involvement in the occupations of men.” A woman, she said, “is a human being as man is, with complete mental faculties and acumen . . . capable of performing according to her own abilities.”

At the risk of overkill, she later showed as much by presiding over a literary salon (albeit from a room apart from the male participants) and writing a 552-page biographical dictionary of 456 women and their achievements. Her efforts to unveil women’s voices in tandem with uncovering their faces were carried on by Nabawiyyah Musa, the first woman to obtain a baccalaureate

secondary degree in Egypt, and Bahithat al-Badiya, the pseudonym of the Egyptian feminist poet Malak Hifni Nasif.

During the same period in **Mexico**, Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza combined ardent feminism with political activism. In 1901, she sold her only possession, a herd of goats, to buy a printing press and start the newspaper *Vesper* to fight against the injustices of the Díaz regime and its subservience to foreign domination. After it was confiscated, she established *El Desmonte* and used it to support the Mexican Revolution, despite being jailed several times. She invoked the myth of the *heroe agachado* to encourage men to take up arms against the regime out of a sense of pride. A polymath like Fawwaz, she translated the works of Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Proudhon into Spanish to help spread their emancipatory ideology. Together with her partner Elisa Acuna y Rosette and other women journalists, she urged Mexican women to begin *occupying their space* in the *puesto* or **public sphere**, which had long been denied to them.

Between 1900 and 1930, the number of full-time women journalists in the United States increased from about 2,000 to some 12,000—a “massive influx” in the words of New York newspaper editor Stanley Walker in *City Editor* (1934). But according to Ishbell Ross in *Ladies of the Press* (1936), American newspaper offices were still “as sacred to men as a stag club or pre-Volstead saloon.” Only a handful of women were reporters or “front-page girls” with their stories accompanied by their photos.

One such reporter was Anne McCormick, who began her career in Cleveland as associate editor of the weekly *Catholic Universe Bulletin*. During the interwar period, her husband’s business travels enabled her to write about postwar conditions in Europe for the *New York Times*. She won recognition for her stories on the rise of Benito Mussolini and in 1936 began writing a thrice-weekly column entitled “In Europe.” The same year, she became the first woman member of the *Times*’ editorial board, writing two unsigned editorials a week, and a year later became the first woman to win a **Pulitzer Prize** for foreign correspondence. In addition to Mussolini, her interviewees included Joseph Stalin, who used Western journalists like the seasoned *Times* correspondent **Walter Duranty** and the young American photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White to shape Western conceptions of the Communist revolution.

Just two years after being hired as associate editor and staff photographer for *Fortune* magazine in 1929, Margaret Bourke-White was given permission by Soviet authorities to photograph their Five Year Plan (1928–1932) to achieve rapid and widespread industrialization. Until then no foreign photographers had been allowed access to the country. By her own admission, she undertook the assignment with naïve excitement. “No one could have known

less about Russia politically than I knew—or cared less,” she acknowledged in her autobiography *Portrait of Myself* (1963). “To me politics was colorless beside the drama of the machine. It was only much later that I discovered that politics could . . . [have] a profound effect on human destiny.”

With her affinity for photographing architecture and other structures, Bourke-White was a natural choice as the first foreign journalist to be allowed to take pictures of what she called the “great scenic drama being unrolled before the eyes of the world” in her book *Eyes on Russia* (1932). The Soviet press published her photographs in various magazines and she was allowed to visit the country on two more occasions. But she was not entirely blind to problems such as food shortages, corruption, and poverty and feared that critics would say she was only allowed to see what the government wanted her to see. In *Seeing America: Women Photographers between the Wars* (1999), Melissa McEuen suggested that she tried to deflect such criticism “by concentrating on the tedious details of cement-making, steelmaking, and dam-building.”

The rise of Mussolini, Hitler, and other European dictators led French journalist Louise Weiss to abandon her attempt in the 1920s to promote a New Europe in a weekly newspaper by the same name and embrace feminism as the best means to redress “the injustice of my condition and the wrongs inflicted on women by customs and the law.” Together with Cécile Brunsvicg, she founded the suffragist association *La femme nouvelle* in 1934 and took its cause to the streets of Paris along with other French activists. Her six-volume autobiography *Mémoires d'une Européenne*, mostly published in the 1970s, documented the difficulties facing women journalists four decades earlier in which women contested traditional gender roles in a political culture in which they could not even vote.

The rapid growth of radio was less of a boon to women than to men pursuing careers in journalism. Men’s voices were considered (by men) to be more authoritative in newscasting, further ghettoizing women to informational “women’s” programs about domestic matters. While journalism schools were slowly opening their doors to women, they tended to give lighter assignments to female students. It was not until **World War II**, when men left to cover or serve in the war, that newspapers and radio stations turned to women to fill their spaces.

In the United States, women reporters were further aided not only by First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt**’s participation in journalism as a syndicated newspaper columnist but by her insistence on working only with women reporters. By the end of the war, a number of women also reporting from the field. Sigrid Schultz broadcast the bombing of Berlin; Marguerite Higgins reported from Europe for the New York *Herald Tribune*; and photojournalist Dickey Chapelle covered Iwo Jima and Okinawa for *National Geographic*.

In 1951, Marguerite Higgins became the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting for her coverage of the Korean War, while Chapelle developed a highly interpretive documentary style, which anticipated the New Journalism of the 1960s. During the Algerian War of 1957, she went against her colleagues' sympathies for the French by portraying the rebels as brave freedom fighters. She won numerous awards for her journalism before sadly becoming the first war correspondent to be killed in Vietnam and the first female American reporter to die during battle.

After World War II, women journalists were expected to return to writing stories on cooking, beauty, and fashion. But during the 1960s, the women's pages also became a venue for promoting the women's movement through articles on equal rights, childcare, and spousal abuse. For advocates such as Gloria Steinem, this use created the danger that news about the women's movement would be buried on these pages, continuing the discrimination against women in many news organizations.

In 1971, the FCC ruled that women should be given equal hired opportunities, opening the door somewhat for American women journalists. Five years later, ABC's Barbara Walters became the first woman to anchor a nightly network newscast. But she was subjected to heavy criticism and switched to interviewing less than two years later. In 1985, Christine Craft lost a sex discrimination suit (on appeal) after being fired as the anchor of a Kansas City television station on the basis of a consultant's report saying she was too old (at age 37) and not sufficiently deferential to men. It was not until 1993 that CBS's Connie Chung became the second woman coanchor on an evening network newscast and not until 2006 that Katie Couric became the solo anchor of *CBS Evening News*.

Since the 1980s, about two-thirds of graduates from American journalism programs have been women. While many women journalists in the United States and other Western countries still face discrimination and harassment in the job market, their situation is considerably less grim than that of their counterparts in other parts of the world. In *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya*, published posthumously in 2007, Russian journalist **Anna Politkovskaya** described how Chechen female reporters accepted the burden of issuing a newspaper. "Are these Chechen women simply not afraid of anything? This is what many people ask. Including the soldiers, robbing, mocking and raping them. Yes, the Chechen women aren't afraid of anything—because they're afraid of everything."

Among other women journalists for whom these words might apply is the Pakistani journalist Nafisa Hoodbhoy. Enrolled by her parents in British schools in Karachi to prepare her and her two sisters for further education in the West, she combined voracious reading of Jane Austen with four years

of judo and karate. Following General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's declaration of martial law in 1977, she left sooner than planned for the United States where she studied and worked for six years. But in February 1984, with Zia's military government still in power, she returned to her homeland and applied for a reporting job at *Dawn*, the country's premier English-language daily in Karachi.

"In those days," she recalled in *Aboard the Democracy Train: A Journey through Pakistan's Last Decade of Democracy* (2013), "women journalists worked behind closed doors as subeditors, columnists and magazine editors and within different sections of the newspaper. My request to become a reporter baffled *Dawn's* hierarchy. The assistant news editor—Zubeida Mustafa—who knew me as a schoolgirl warned me rather cautiously that there was hardly any precedent for a woman reporter. 'Would you like to be a sub-editor?' she asked." She insisted she would not and was given an antique typewriter and a wooden desk set apart from the work space of the senior staff in the "Reporter's Room," as the City Desk was then called. "Being the only woman to report on city events was especially unique in an environment where Pakistan's rape laws had forced women out of public places."

As a reporter, she "took a different track from the one traditionally used by the male-dominated press." "Instead of falling back on sensationalist media practice of publishing the names and details of women victims of rape, I turned the spotlight on the accused." She survived at *Dawn* for 16 years before turning to writing for various periodicals and her first book, *Aboard the Democracy Train*, a powerful account ordinary people's hopes for a true democracy in **Pakistan**. See also **ADVICE COLUMNISTS**; **COLUMNISTS**.

**WORLD WAR I.** During the Great War of 1914–1918, journalists were faced with unprecedented pressure to join, assist, or at least avoid compromising the huge propaganda machines, which were created by both the Entente and Central Powers and which targeted the home population as much as the enemy. In **Great Britain**, the government was particularly successful in securing the support of newspaper owners like **Lord Northcliffe**, though its own military was slower to appreciate the morale-building role that most correspondents were prepared to play. Stephen Badsey has argued that what made this cooperation possible was the general policy of placing favorable interpretations on "the facts," rather than fabricating events or focusing on enemy atrocities. Together with their control of the transatlantic **telegraph**, this approach helped the British to win the major propaganda battle of the war: the struggle over American public opinion. In **Germany**, where the press was censored rather coopted, the less sophisticated methods of its propagandists weakened their efforts to keep the **United States** on the

sidelines. Among the journalists who contributed to the British propaganda victory was Philip Gibbs (1877–1962). In works such as *The Soul of the War* (1915), he adhered to the standard refrain about German atrocities and Allied bravery. After the war, however, he tried to reveal its horrors and the extensive use of propaganda in *Now It Can Be Told* (1920) and *More That Must Be Told* (1921).

Before entering the war in April 1917, the U.S. federal government, aided by state and local agencies, instituted wide-ranging censorship of printed materials. It also suppressed outright socialist publications such as *The Masses* and the influential *International Socialist Review* (ISR), published by Charles H. Kerr & Company in Chicago. Upon joining the Allies, President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to control press coverage and distribute government propaganda. Headed by former journalist George Creel, the CPI engaged in a more selective use of the facts than the British Ministry of Information, portraying the war as a glorious fight for democracy and freedom against a despicable enemy. Only a few American journalists, such as **Richard Harding Davis**, succeeded in showing the destructiveness and dehumanization of the war. In **France**, the possibility of transcending sensationalistic appeals to patriotism was even more remote, although one study has found that papers outside of Paris tended to report the war more objectively. Even in the case of the British, however, wartime propaganda contributed to the widespread disillusionment with journalists in the 1920s.

**WORLD WAR II.** During World War II, the roles played by journalists ranged from criticism to boosterism to outright propaganda. In **Germany**, Joseph Goebbels, the propaganda minister, used newspapers, magazines, radio, and film to control domestic perceptions of the war. He also tried to influence foreign opinion, especially in the case of **Italy** where there was opposition to fighting on the Axis side. Of particular importance in this regard was the periodical *Segnale* [Signal], which was published in half a dozen languages every two weeks from April 1940 until the end of the war. Goebbels was less successful as a foreign propagandist, however, in part because of rivalry with Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister.

In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party kept tight controls not only over the information disseminated to the Russian people but also over what the Allies could report. Ironically, while the British were able to extract substantial intelligence information from the news reports of the German-controlled French press, the Anglo-Soviet wartime alliance enabled the Russians to exercise almost total control over the British press corps in Moscow. All foreign correspondents were required to stay in the Hotel Metropole, base their



reports almost entirely on Russian newspapers, and submit them to Soviet censors. They were not allowed to go to the Front under any circumstances and were denied a visa to return to the Soviet Union if they engaged in any criticism while on leave. The result was that any questioning of Soviet political intentions was effectively eliminated.

In contrast, newspapers in **Great Britain** escaped strict censorship during the war, even though tabloids such as the *Daily Mirror* were quite critical of Churchill's administration. What made this possible was their strong support of the British war effort generally. Unlike the Soviet press, which kept the population in the dark about German advances until August 1941, the British media provided a fairly clear picture of the course of the war.

In the **United States**, coverage of the war brought numerous values into conflict. Early in 1942, the federal Office of Censorship drew up guidelines for editors and publishers and then used volunteer veteran journalists to disseminate and supervise them at local newspapers across the country. These provisions were later broadened to include descriptions of advance military knowledge of enemy resources as a result of an incident involving the *Chicago Tribune*. On 7 June 1942, following the battle of Midway, the *Tribune* published a front-page story implying that the United States had broken the Japanese naval code. At the insistence of the Navy, U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle convened a grand jury to investigate whether the *Tribune* should be indicted for compromising national security. According to Dina Goren, the decision not to indict the paper was based on the subsequent realization that the story had not actually tipped off the Japanese that their code had been broken. For its part, the *Tribune* never allowed that it might have undermined the national interest and attributed the investigation to President Franklin Roosevelt's prejudice against the paper.

As the war proceeded, the Office of Censorship was particularly concerned to suppress news about the development of the **atomic bomb**. But most journalists had a clear sense of what was necessary to avoid compromising the war effort and voluntarily cooperated with the censorship guidelines. In the case of editorial cartoonists, their images of the enemy were generally so hostile that no form of direct oversight was considered necessary. The main exception to the belief that journalists could be trusted to do their duty was the **FBI**, which closely monitored critics of the government such as Inga Arvad, a Washington *Times-Herald* columnist.

To ensure that the media promoted patriotism as fully as possible, however, the government also created the Office of War Information (OWI) in 1942 and placed CBS news commentator Elmer Davis (1890–1958) in charge. For women, being patriotic meant taking jobs in previously male-dominated fields and then, after the war, relinquishing these jobs to returning soldiers.

It also meant becoming a “kitchen patriot” by changing patterns of food consumption in line with rationing needs, a campaign in which journalists and home economists worked together with the OWI and War Advertising Council. In line with the OWI’s efforts to get women to give up paid employment after the war, employee magazines and War Department publications such as *Yank*, *the Army Weekly*, treated “Rosie the riveter” as a temporary wartime exigency. Women journalists, who had also benefited from increased opportunities as reporters, photojournalists, and broadcasters because of the war, were similarly expected to retire or return to the women’s pages.

The discrimination faced by women journalists during the war was suffered by African-American journalists as well. The only African American accredited as a war correspondent by the U.S. government during the war was the Ohio journalist Ralph W. Tyler, although Emmet J. Scott, special assistant to the secretary of war for race relations, was later assigned to be an observer of prejudice in the Allied Expeditionary Force. Aware of the segregation experienced by black soldiers fighting for American democracy, the African-American press strongly supported the war but began to insist that “victory in war” be followed by “victory at home” (the so-called Double V campaign of W. E. B. Du Bois). The African-American artist Charles Alston voluntarily prepared numerous editorial cartoons for the OWI, but it remained a militant opponent of racial discrimination.

A further dimension of American press coverage during the war was its treatment of Japanese Americans as a threat to national security. While a number of Japanese-language newspapers had supported **Japan’s** foreign policy in the late 1930s, they all abandoned their allegiance to Japan after Pearl Harbor. Nonetheless, a number of Japanese-American editors and publishers were arrested and their papers shut down. Those that remained were afraid to speak out against plans to intern 110,000 Japanese Americans and were themselves terminated in May 1942 when the internment began. The mainstream press contributed to the public hysteria that culminated in the internment. Ironically, interred journalists such as Paul Yokota were allowed to produce camp newspapers and write editorials about the abuse of their rights without being censored.



# X

**XINHUA (NEW CHINA) NEWS AGENCY.** The Xinhua News Agency is the world's largest news agency. It began as the Red China News Service in November 1931 to spread propaganda about the rising Communist Party movement and the territorial advances of its army. It was renamed the New China News Agency or Xinhua when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) joined the government to resist invading Japanese forces. By the late 1930s, it had offices across the country and began to develop a network of radio stations. By the time of the formation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, it had overseas offices in London and elsewhere and had established its headquarters in Beijing.

Since then it has functioned as the government's official news agency. Its workers are all government employees and it has a monopoly of news distribution in the country. During the 1950s and 1960s, it provided mainly internal news and, after signing an exchange agreement with the Soviet TASS news agency in 1950, relied mainly on it for international news. After the death of party chairman Mao Zedong in 1976, it was gradually given more latitude in its reporting. But its use of this freedom to provide extensive coverage of the uprising of university students in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989 led to a tightening of controls over its operations even as dozens of new branch offices were established in other countries. Today most Xinhua journalists are members of the CCP and all news employees undergo ideological training. They prepare different sanitized feeds for domestic and foreign news media as well as more forthright reports for party and government leaders. In 1997, the news agency launched Xinhuanet.com as its official website. Although it went public in 2006 as part of a process of financialization, both it and Xinhua remain state-controlled.



# Y

***YOU ARE THERE.*** A semi-documentary program on which real-life CBS journalists imaginatively reported great world events of the past such as the Battle of Hastings, the assassination of Lincoln (the first broadcast), and the Hindenburg disaster. “All things are as they were then, except for one thing” it began, “when CBS is there, *you* are there.” Conceived by Goodman Ace, it began on CBS Radio as *CBS Is There* on 7 July 1947 but changed its title to *You Are There* for the last 67 of its 90 radio broadcasts, ending on 19 March 1950 after running into sponsorship problems. From 1 February 1953 to 13 October 1957, it was broadcast by CBS News on television with **Walter Cronkite** as host. Its semi-documentary format, which mixed fact and fiction, challenged conventional definitions of journalism and documentary and **Edward R. Murrow** was concerned that it would undermine the credibility of John Daly, Don Hollenbeck, and other journalists who appeared on it.

While celebrating heroic individualism and reinforcing patriotic accounts of American history, the radio program also reflected producer-director Robert Lewis Shayon’s optimistic liberalism in addressing postwar issues. He was blacklisted by *Red Channels* as a communist sympathizer shortly after being released by CBS as part of its cost-cutting transition to television. According to Walter Cronkite, the TV version secretly hired blacklisted writers for a time to prepare some of the scripts. But it was much less politically outspoken than its radio predecessor.

**YOUNG, ARTHUR (1741–1820).** An unsuccessful farmer who began the genre of agricultural journalism in **Great Britain** by popularizing new farming techniques in the 18th century. During the 1760s, he made extensive tours of farms in England and Wales and published his observations in numerous pamphlets. To supplement his income during the economic downswing in the 1770s, he reported on parliamentary debates for the *Morning Post*. In 1784, he began publishing his *Annals of Agriculture* to publicize recent experiments in farming and provide a forum for agricultural debates. George III, Edmund Burke, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson were among those who requested Young’s advice. During a lengthy tour of farming in **Italy** and

**France**, he witnessed the outbreak of the French Revolution and later published an account of its underlying causes in the countryside in his *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*. In 1793, he was appointed secretary of the newly created Board of Agriculture. Although he carefully assembled a wealth of statistics on things like grain yields, his data did not always support his generalizations.

# Z

**ZAMAN.** Turkish newspaper founded in 1986 and closely tied to the Islamic preaching of Fethullah Gülen. It is considered by some list-makers to be among the world's top-ten newspapers and in 1995 was the first daily in **Turkey** to go online. It has an English-language sister newspaper *Today's Zaman*. A content analysis comparing its coverage of the Ergenekon case in 2007–2011 with that of the *Hürriyet Daily News* confirmed its pro-Islamist approach to news in contrast to the more secular news values of its competitor. Ergenekon was an alleged clandestine ultra-nationalist organization with supposed ties to the country's military and national security apparatus. It became the object of a large and controversial judicial inquiry after the discovery of a crate of grenades in Istanbul in 2007.

**ZAN (WOMAN).** Newspaper founded in Iran in August 1998 by Faezah Hashemi, a member of parliament (1996–2000) and daughter of the former president of **Iran**, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. It was the first newspaper devoted to women and achieved a circulation of 40,000. It enabled Hashemi to pursue her feminist objectives, which included organizing activist women's committees in various cities, campaigning for women to stand as candidates for the *Majlis Khebreghan* (Assembly of Experts), and advocating on behalf of women's participation in sports.

In an interview published in *ASAHI Shimbun* on 6 February 1997, Hashemi said that “men have always been those who interpreted Islamic law; they were the main Islamic scholars, and they were the ones who implemented these interpretations, and, therefore, they manipulated Islamic law.” For her, feminism was about “defending women's rights and fighting for equal rights for women and men.” She was encouraged by what she believed was a “global women's movement that is unstoppable, like a stream.”

Her high profile enabled her to use *Zan* to challenge the conservative faction within the ruling elite. But in January 1999, the paper was fined and closed illegally for two weeks on a charge of criticizing the government's security forces. And on 3 April, it was shut down for good after publishing an interview with the widow of the Shah and a cartoon satirizing the Retribution law according to which the blood money for a murdered woman was only



half that for a man. The caption showed a gunman pointing at a couple being encouraged to “Kill her, she is cheaper!” By the 2000 parliamentary election, Hashemi’s father had become an object of hatred and she lost her seat.

**ZOLA, ÉMILE (1840–1902).** French journalist-turned-novelist who is regarded as the founder of naturalism in literature. His journalism was characterized by anti-Catholicism and social reform. His open letter to President Félix Faure on the front page of the Paris daily *L’Aurore* on 13 January 1898 entitled *J’Accuse* attacked the French government and military for a willful miscarriage of justice in the so-called Dreyfus Affair. A Jewish army captain, Dreyfus had been convicted of treason for allegedly spying for the Germans. Zola was sentenced to prison for libel, but he escaped to England and was granted amnesty a few months later. He did not live to see the eventual full exoneration of Dreyfus, dying in his sleep from carbon-monoxide poisoning under suspicious circumstances—many years later, a roofer claimed on his deathbed that he had blocked the chimney for political revenge.

For many 20th-century historians, Zola’s defense of Dreyfus was the birth of the modern French intellectual. However, as Maya Balakirsky-Katz’s work has shown, *J’Accuse* was merely the culmination of a series of attacks on elitist cultural institutions and moral degeneracy in the Second Empire not only by Zola but also by other pre-Dreyfusard intellectuals. As early as 1866, Zola the art critic was being caricatured in *Le Journal Amusant* as a polemicist and provocateur for his subversion of the salon system. And despite his unprecedented popular success, Zola the novelist was rejected by the literary establishment as a decadent Jewish cultural infiltrator. Complaints over his support of Dreyfus were thus the culmination of 30-year polemic against his activities as an engaged intellectual.

Similar attacks were directed at other members of the French avant-garde in the petit-journals of the 1880s and 1890s. But long before the massive centenary celebrations of *J’Accuse*, during which President Jacques Chirac effectively apologized to the Dreyfus and Zola families, it was the open letter that became the symbol of the intellectual as a new social category. Despite the tendency to overstate its significance, *J’Accuse* has served to mobilize other intellectuals. It was an important influence, for example, on J. M. Coetzee’s novel *Age of Iron* (1990), which dealt with questions of complicity and personal responsibility related to South Africa.

# Bibliography

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## INTRODUCTION

The literature on the history of journalism has grown substantially since the first edition of this *Historical Dictionary of Journalism* was published in 2008. Two changes have been made to the organization of the present bibliography in order to provide easier access to this literature. The main change is that *every* entry, including particular individuals, publications, and countries, has its own list of sources and there are no composite categories (e.g., magazines) unless there is a composite entry. While it has been tempting to add categories for which there is no entry, this has been resisted. With the exception of the section for general reference works, there is a strict one-to-one relationship between the dictionary entries and the bibliographical categories. Priority has been given to moving as quickly and easily as possible from any given entry to the sources on which it is based and further reading on the topic.

At the same time, the reference works section has been reconstituted as General Reference Works insofar as it is now restricted to titles which cover the field as a whole or a large part of it. For ease and efficiency of consultation, reference works which pertain to a particular topic have been placed with the sources for that topic. Reference works focusing on one country have likewise been placed with the select bibliography for that country to facilitate one-stop shopping. In the case of reference works that pertain to both topics and countries, the topic has been given precedence over the country, unless there is no entry for the topic. In a few cases of entries, the reference works have been placed at the beginning because of their number.

Newer works continue to be given precedence over older ones, except for those that have gained the status of “classics” or remain indispensable for a particular topic. Judgments of scholarly value have determined most selections, but in a few cases an item has made the cut by virtue of being one of the few sources available. The bibliography is limited to works in English or English translations, but a few sources in other languages are used in the Introduction.

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## About the Author and Contributor

After receiving a PhD in history from Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, in 1978, Ross Eaman joined the faculty of the oldest school of journalism in Canada, now the School of Journalism and Communication at Carleton University in Ottawa. One of his first projects was to write a Canadian-oriented textbook for its new program in mass communication—*The Media Society: Basic Issues and Controversies* (1987). After being appointed research director for the CBC Oral History Project, he organized a team of graduate students in the University's School of Canadian Studies to conduct interviews of former CBC personnel across the country. He used some of this research to write works such as *Channels of Influence: CBC Audience Research and the Canadian Public* (1994) and entries on Canadian broadcasting for various encyclopedias, paving the way for the first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Journalism* in 2008. The present revised and expanded edition was completed with the assistance of his longtime colleague Randy Boswell and research assistant Rema Al Nader. Dr. Eaman is currently completing a manuscript on architecture as communication.

Randy Boswell, who helped to map out the materials for the 21st century and drafted many of its entries, is also a professor in the School of Journalism and Communication at Carleton University. He had a long career in journalism with the *Ottawa Citizen* and Postmedia News, holding numerous writing and editing positions and developing a unique specialization as a national reporter focusing on Canadian history. He was shortlisted for the Pierre Berton Award, Canada's top prize for popularizing Canadian history, and was the 2010 winner of the Yves Fortier Earth Science Journalism Award.

His contributions to the revised edition include the entries for Colombia, data journalism, drone journalism, fake news, listicles, multimedia journalism, podcasts, Lowell Thomas, virtual reality, and whistleblowers.



