

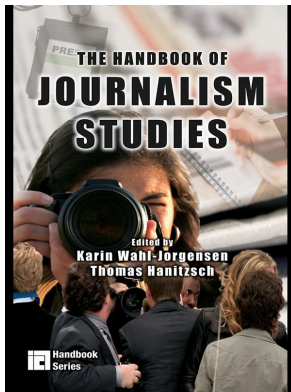
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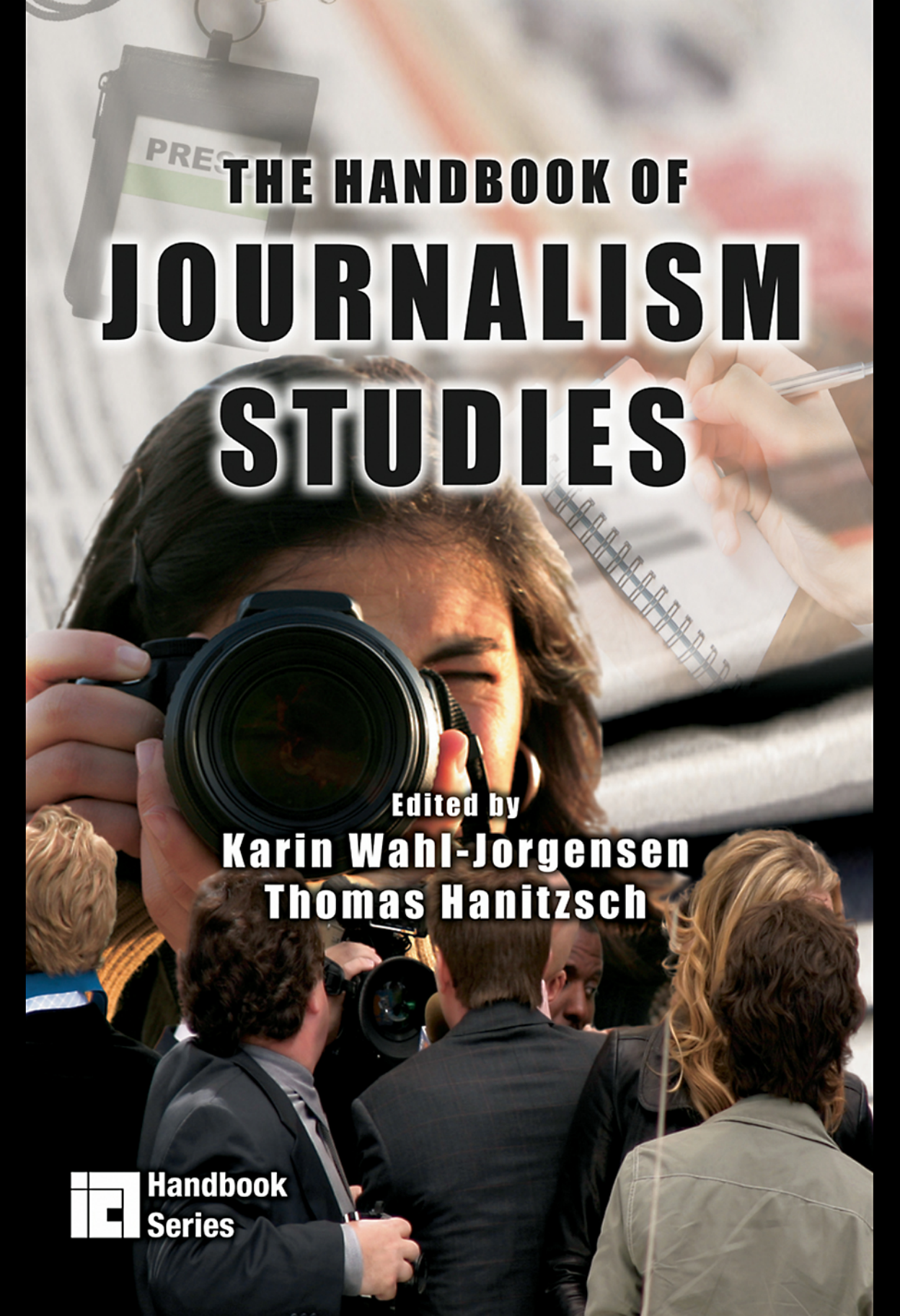
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JOURNALISM
STUDIES**

Edited by
**Karin Wahl-Jorgensen
Thomas Hanitzsch**

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Journalism History

Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone

The term *journalism history* is of relatively recent coinage, more recent than the term *journalism*, of course. But the discourse now called journalism history has a longer history, one that tracks the rise of news culture as a realm of first print culture and later media culture. As each new formation of news culture appeared, new genres of doing the history of news developed. Throughout this history of journalism history, the boundary separating it from other forms of media history has been porous and blurry. Since the 1970s, journalism history has been wrestling with an identity crisis, one that in many ways anticipates the broader crisis in the identity of journalism today.

Because journalism histories are so various, the best way to map them is to historicize them. This strategy has the additional advantage of showing how the project of writing histories of journalism has been part of a larger project of defining and disciplining news culture. For many scholars today, history provides an indispensable tool for critiquing professional journalism by showing its contingency and entanglements.

Journalism history emerged from two sources. The first was a kind of general intellectual interest in the evolution of means of communication. Many scholars trace this interest back to Plato's *Phaedrus*, which discusses cognitive issues related to writing. Enlightenment thinkers in Europe were particularly attentive to how literacy, then alphabetic literacy, and finally the printing press occasioned deep structural changes in social, cultural, and political life (Heyer, 1988). Twentieth-century thinkers like Harold Adams Innis and Marshall McLuhan expressed the same outlook. In works of journalism history proper, this outlook often appears as a tendency to emphasize the importance of machines in shaping the course of journalism. Comprehensive histories often use the introduction of new technologies, like the steam press or broadcasting, as narrative turning points, and journalists' autobiographies often dwell on the changes that occurred in newsroom technology in the course of their subjects' careers.

The second source for journalism history was more occupational. As newswork developed and professionalized, it constructed a history for itself by projecting its identity backward into the past. So journalism history grew up with journalism, and its historical awareness is a feature of its actual development.

PREHISTORY

Printed newspapers first appeared in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were a late feature of the so-called printing revolution (Eisenstein, 1979; Johns, 1998), which at first concentrated on multiplying and extending the sorts of books that had previously been reproduced by hand, and only subsequently produced newer formats that took fuller advantage of the capacities of the printing press. Newspapers were not immediately established because the uses of newspapers were not readily apparent to printers and their patrons. But, with the rise of religious controversy following the Protestant Reformation, and the appearance of new economic institutions and the rise of market society, activists and entrepreneurs developed newspapers as practical media.

Early newspapers aimed at specific readers (business proprietors, landed gentry, Calvinists). By the middle of the seventeenth century, such newspapers were common in the capital cities of Western Europe. Amsterdam, a leading city in both commerce and religious independence, was a particularly important location; in fact, the first English-language newspapers (weekly news-books called *Corantos*) were published in Amsterdam in 1620.

For the most part, not until the eighteenth century did it become normal for newspapers to target a more general readership with political concerns. The rise of a bourgeois public sphere (Habermas, 1989) transformed the newspaper from an instrument of commerce, on the one hand, and religious controversy, on the other, into an instrument of continual political argumentation and deliberation. Newspapers became central resources in the age of bourgeois revolutions. The Glorious Revolution in England, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution all produced vigorous news cultures and active combat in print.

As political systems developed in Europe and North America, norms for the conduct of politics in newspapers appeared. The newspaper became a key part of a system for representing public opinion. As newspaper discourse announced its proper role, it claimed a set of expectations for rational discourse in line with what Jürgen Habermas (1989) ascribes to the bourgeois public sphere. Historians disagree, however, on whether these norms reflected the actual sociology of the news (Lake & Pincus, 2006; Mah, 2000; Raymond, 2003). Many dispute the openness, impersonality, and rationality that Habermas attributes to eighteenth-century public discourse. But even if newspapers were partisan, impassioned, and exclusive (primarily for the propertied, white male reader), they continually appealed to norms of universal rational supervision. Prime examples of such newspaper discourse were the frequently reprinted letters of Cato (Trenchard & Gordon, 1773) and of Publius. The latter was a trio of political leaders (James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay), who published their letters, better known as the *Federalist Papers*. Their pseudonym refers to a figure from the Roman Republic but translates literally as “public man,” or citizen, a rhetorical position meant to emphasize a non-partisan concern with the common good (Furtwangler, 1984).

The eighteenth-century revolutions forged a relationship between the media and democracy. Because the basis of political legitimacy shifted from blood and God to the will of the people, the principal problem of good government became the continual generation of consent through public opinion. Political thinkers dwelt on the problem of public opinion. After some experience with the practicalities of government, they began to comment actively on the need for systems of national communication, and to encourage what we would call infrastructure development in the form of postal systems and the transportation networks they required (John, 1994; Mattelart, 1996).

Until well into the eighteenth century, regulation and censorship of news culture was typically considered appropriate and necessary. The spread of news in print had coincided with and

gained impetus from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and was deeply implicated in the long series of wars of religion that followed the Protestant Reformation. The states of Europe considered the control of public discussion essential to maintaining peace and legitimacy. They, along with the Vatican, developed systems of press control that included licensing and prohibition (Siebert, 1952). Printers and booksellers, meanwhile, participated in the creation of copyrights and patents. In essence, the state made grants of monopoly that assured revenue while encouraging responsible behavior (Feather, 1987; Bettig, 1996).

“Freedom of the press” became one of the common narratives for early journalism histories. During the age of Revolution, narratives of heroic publicists and propagandists struggling against censorship became themselves part of the public discourse surrounding contests over forms of government. Over the next century or so, a canon of liberal thought would be created, hailing figures like John Milton, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine into a long conversation with each other. This largely artificial discourse would form part of the shared culture of subsequent journalism histories (Peters, 2005).

The age of Revolution proposed that democratic governance should be based on public opinion generated by an arena of discussion governed by norms of impartial, rational discourse. But this theory always competed with the reality of the partisan uses of the newspaper. Much of the heat of early party politics in all the new democracies came from the questionable legitimacy of the tools of party competition, including the press.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century in most Western countries, a frankly partisan model of news culture became ascendant. Only at this point does the word *journalism* come into play. It is French in origin, and initially referred to the journalism of opinion that flourished in the years following the Revolution. The term migrated into English by around 1830, but still referred to partisan debate over public affairs and had a negative connotation, as a sign of political dysfunction.

Though never made fully respectable, partisan journalism gradually acquired a positive justification. As democratic government became the norm, the spectacle of political combat came to seem healthy. Observers argued that, like the competition of the marketplace, political dispute served to promote a general social good. And, as most of Western Europe and North America relaxed press regulation through the early to mid nineteenth century, a freer market in newspapers interacted with partisan journalism to create something like a marketplace of public opinion.

EMERGENCE

At this point the first works of what would later become journalism history appeared. Predecessors include early chronicles that recorded the growth of printing, including newspapers among other publications (e.g., Thomas, 1970 [1810]). These mostly celebratory accounts of the rise of the press were usually also patriotic, inflected by a sense of the triumph of democratic government and freedom of the press. The works fell into what historians have called the Whig theory of history, a term that refers to a grand narrative constructed around the inevitable conflict of liberty and power, featuring the progressive expansion of liberty (Butterfield, 1931). The Whig model of journalism history was to remain ascendant well into the twentieth century, even as notions of journalism and freedom of the press changed dramatically (Carey, 1974; McKerns, 1977).

Whig history leaned toward biography. Because it pivoted on the advance of a specifically liberal notion of freedom, the model tended to present narratives of strong individuals as producers of change. News organizations also tended to be personified. Examples include early

biographies of newspaper publishers. An admiring former aide would set a pattern of lionizing the publisher in a popular memoir, and that view would endure, either through subsequent, expanded editions of the work or in the background of biographies by authors not associated with the prominent figure. Parton's (1855) biography of Horace Greeley established this pattern in the United States, and later writers followed it for press moguls like James Gordon Bennett (Pray, 1855; Crouthamel, 1989), Joseph Pulitzer (Ireland, 1937 [1914]; Seitz, 1970 [1924]), William Randolph Hearst (Winkler, 1928; Older, 1972 [1936]), and Edward Scripps (Gardner, 1932; Cochran, 1933).

In the middle to late nineteenth century, a mass press appeared nation by nation in the United States and Europe (Chalaby, 1998), with the timing of its appearance tied to the persistence of taxation or other forms of press regulation. This commercialized press was more reliant on advertising revenue and consequently aimed at a broader audience than the earlier, primarily political newspapers. Newspapers segmented these more inclusive audiences by gender, age, and class, deploying new kinds of content to assemble specific readerships that could in turn be sold to advertisers. The news matter in the mass circulation press included more event-oriented news, especially crime news, and also more reporting on social and cultural concerns, or so-called human interest stories.

Journalism came to acquire its modern sense, as a discipline of news reporting, around that time, when it also began to distinguish itself from its "other." As a mass audience grew, the popular press fed readers sensational stories, and acquired the reputation of social marginality. Yellow journalism, perhaps named after the cheap paper produced by the new wood pulp process, or more likely named after the yellow covers on earlier cheap crime fiction, was a transnational phenomenon. Illustrated news also became popular, first in Britain, then, in a direct line of descent, in France and Spain, and then in North America and other European countries (Martin, 2006). Along with the growth of the popular press, a politics of news quality appeared. Reformers and traditional elites complained about the impact of journalism upon public intelligence and morality. The episodic character of newspaper content was said to hamper the ability of the public to engage in sustained or complex thought or deliberation, while the general taste for scandal and sensation seemed to coarsen public mores.

Journalism thus took on the task of uplifting and policing news culture. This mission suited the purposes of public figures, who wanted more decorum in news culture. In the United States, one outcome of this dynamic was the discovery of an implied constitutional right to privacy (Warren & Brandeis, 1890). Other involved parties had other reasons to support journalists' mission to purify the news. Publishers wanted to purify their image to protect themselves from a public now inclined to think of the power of the press as a danger. Newswriters, in turn, aspired to elevate the status of their work.

The project of improving journalism coincided with a particular sociology of newswork (Nerone & Barnhurst, 2003). Newswriters divided into three broad sorts: editors, who compiled news and wrote opinion pieces; correspondents, who wrote long letters from distant places and generally had a voice and expressed attitudes; and reporters, who scavenged news from beats and transcribed meetings and other news events. The attempt to uplift journalism enhanced adjustments to this sociology. A proto-professional form of journalism appeared as a union of the positions of the reporter and the correspondent, coupled with the construction of walls of reified separation between them and editors on the one hand and business managers on the other. The increased autonomy that came from this redefined journalism was evident in the rise of muckraking in the United States, as well as other journalisms of exposure elsewhere.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

At the beginning of the twentieth century, journalism in the West was ready to begin a professionalization project. The process was manifest in broadly based phenomena like the founding of press clubs and associations and of schools of journalism, along with the crafting of codes of ethics. In some places, journalists formed unions; in others, governments established credentialing regimes (Bjork, 1996). In all developed countries, aspects of monopoly arose around the most industrialized elements of the news system, especially metropolitan newspapers and wire services, supporting the kinds of control that an autonomous profession might establish.

The professionalization project required a somewhat different form of journalism history. The new schools of journalism wanted a teachable history that could provide moral exemplars for aspiring professionals. The old Whig histories were somewhat useful, but only after being cleansed of their mavericks.

Teaching about the news industry also called for more awareness of the conditions for business. The countries with more commercial news arenas, especially the United States, inserted a narrative of market redemption. The history textbooks most used in U.S. journalism schools saw independent journalism as a product of the market that vanquished any partisan ties (Nerone, 1987). This view was evident not just in standard textbooks (Bleyer, 1973; Mott, 1941; Emery & Smith, 1954) but also in key essays that would become canonical in journalism history: in the United States, Walter Lippmann's *Two Revolutions in the American Press* (1931) and Robert Park's *Natural History of the Newspaper* (1923). This faith in the beneficence of market forces seems odd for a series of reasons. It seemed to require a willful forgetting of the mass market press that had given the professionalization project its urgency at the close of the nineteenth century. It also seemed to make invisible the conditions of monopoly in the wire services and in the new medium of broadcasting, which both caused the popular anxiety over media power and provided the levers for imposing standards on news culture. And it seemed to argue against the call for a "wall of separation" between the counting room and the newsroom that was a central feature of the professionalization project.

Most Western countries institutionalized journalism under the professional model in the twentieth century. The project of forming journalism schools, creating codes of ethics, setting licensing standards, and forming unions contributed to what has been called the high modernism of journalism (Hallin, 1992, 1994). The rise of broadcast journalism, especially when associated with monopolistic national broadcast authorities (like the BBC in the UK or RAI in Italy) or oligopolistic commercial systems, reinforced the professionalization of news. The twentieth century wars were especially important in raising anxieties about the power of propaganda and encouraging the creation of prophylactic notions of media responsibility. And the rise of the corporate form of ownership (and its criticism) also encouraged professionalization.

Variations existed in the West regarding the institutionalization of professional journalism. Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) have identified three models or "media systems": partisanism in southern Europe (represented by what they refer to as the polarized pluralist system), social democracy in northern Europe (the democratic corporatist system), and market based systems in the North Atlantic (the liberal system). But all three systems paid attention to preserving for professional journalism some measure of autonomy from existing authorities, as well as from market and party influences.

Meanwhile, the model of autonomous journalism was exported to the south and east, along with the notion of freedom of the press. In the Americas, a partisan form of journalism had taken root along with national liberation movements in the nineteenth century, but in the period

following World War II, especially after the 1970s, another model of investigative journalism imported from the United States supplemented—and in some cases replaced—the partisan model (Waisbord, 2000). In Asia, and especially in China, the notion of an independent journalism was an important part of early nationalist movements in the opening decades of the twentieth century.

ALTERNATIVES

Radical political theory in the nineteenth century projected an alternative vision of journalism, with a different notion of professionalism, and inspired the media systems of the communist regimes of the twentieth century. Marxism and other materialisms challenged the autonomy of the realm of ideas. In simple terms, these philosophies understand communication, and especially mediated communication, as a form of material production. Capitalist systems of communication incorporate the class structure and reproduce the class power of capitalist society. Journalism as a work routine and as an alienated occupation mystifies class power. Post-capitalist media systems, therefore, should work to expose and then overcome class power. Such systems could re-imagine journalism in two contrasting ways. Journalism could devolve to the province of ordinary citizens, or journalism could become the mission of a vanguard. The former case would absorb journalism into daily lives of citizens (an idea to return later), but the latter case would produce the opposite: an intense professionalism of journalism practice. As it happened, the media systems of the communist countries tended toward Party vanguardism.

This understanding of journalism obviously proposed a different narrative about the origins of Western journalism, which became a feature of the rise of bourgeois class relations and part of the ideological apparatus that reproduced capitalist hegemony. The heroes of journalism were not the intrepid reporters but the principled partisans who criticized establishments from the margins. Karl Marx himself was one such journalist. During his long exile in London, he supported himself in large part by working as a correspondent on European affairs for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*.

At the end of World War II, a new world order embraced an ambiguous liberalism. The UN Charter embodied a notion of sovereignty based on the consent of the governed, and all new national constitutions acknowledged it. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights endorsed freedom of expression and the right to communicate. But these formulations covered a broad range of possible interpretations and systems. What Hallin and Mancini (2004) identify as the North Atlantic or liberal model interpreted the right to communicate as authorizing the expansion of U.S.-style news media and especially the wire services that supported them. Others interpreted the right to communicate as referring to rights of the people as opposed to the media, which were saddled with a “social responsibility” to service these rights. In the United States, the notion of social responsibility was embodied forcefully in the report of the Hutchins Commission (1947), a document that echoed but utterly failed to refer to a global discourse on press responsibility.

Post-war global conditions occasioned another powerful frame for journalism history based on a comparative media systems approach. The most influential exemplar of this approach was the book *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956), which produced a simplified schema based on philosophical presuppositions about the nature of humanity, the state, and truth. Many critics have pointed out the shortcomings of this approach, including its unreflexive incorporation of liberal presuppositions and its implied narrative of a natural history leading toward a neoliberal model (Altschull, 1984; Nerone, 1995; Hallin & Mancini, 2004) as

well as its neglect of non-Western histories and especially the global south (Park & Curran, 2000; Semati, 2004).

Post-war conditions also drew attention to the rise of a global information system. Histories of the international wire services appeared (e.g., Schiller, 1976; Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1979; Rantanen, 1990, 2002; Hills, 2002). The criticism of an unequal flow of information became part of a political movement for a New World Information and Communication Order, which took shape within UNESCO in the 1970s and reached a climax with the report of the MacBride Commission in 1980, but succumbed to a counterattack from the Western countries and then shifted to other arenas, including the GATT through the 1980s and the WTO in the 1990s. Critical histories of the geography of information responded to these dynamics, the most influential of which were by Manuel Castells (2000) and David Harvey (1989).

Journalism historians often neglect the international dimension. A few exemplary works put national histories in dialog with each other (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Martin, 2006), but most remain within national borders. The same is true for media history more generally. Because national media systems are so intimately entwined in the life of the polity, scholars tend to treat them in isolation, as the nervous system of the political organism. In addition, the collection of archival materials and the funding of scholarship are usually carried out under national auspices.

The end of the twentieth century in the modern West saw the erosion of the high modern moment. Globalization, the end of the Cold War, the rise of new digital technologies, the eclipse of public service models of broadcasting and telecommunications, and the weakening of traditional cultural support for monolithic national identities have all undermined previous models of autonomous journalism. Recent trends in news include the rise of the 24-hour television news service, of new so-called personal media like talk radio and the blogosphere, of the tabloid form and a hybrid journalism, especially in Scandinavian countries, and of a new pattern of partisan media power associated with broadcast entrepreneurs like Silvio Berlusconi and Rupert Murdoch in the West and with the post-Soviet media explosion in Eastern Europe. With the erosion of high modernism came, on the one hand, calls to rethink the role of the press as an institution within the governing process (Cook, 1998) and, on the other hand, calls for a new public journalism or citizen journalism (Downing, 2002; Atton, 2002; Rodríguez, 2001; Rosen, 1999).

SCHOLARLY APPROACHES

As journalism history followed in the tracks of the history of journalism, it also tracked developments in historical and in media scholarship. Some of the impulses from other fields influencing journalism historians include the legal-political landscape and currents among mainstream historical scholarship.

The history of law and policy is perhaps the oldest and best established scholarly tradition influencing journalism history. Besides the problematic of freedom of the press already traced here, legal and political developments have reified the professionalization project of journalism. Lawyers and legal scholars have shared with professional journalists the habit of doing the history of journalism as a history of autonomous individuals in conscious action. One outcome of this mindset has been the legal recognition of journalism itself. As a particular occupation or practice, credentialed journalists acquired rights before and during legal proceedings, as well as privileges in policy to accommodate their presence at close quarters with government activities, beyond the rights and privileges of ordinary citizenship (Allen, 2005). Communication encompasses all interactions affecting the polity, but the development of special rights and political practices around what journalists do means that, in the law, journalism has become different from communication.

The boundary that separates journalism history from the broader history of media and communication has been less defensible in other arenas. The history of technology, for instance, suggests that the same forces that impel other media practices also shape the practices of journalism. Telegraphic communication is a case in point. It is a commonplace that the telegraph transformed the space-time matrix of the nation-state (Schivelbusch, 1986; Czitrom, 1982; Carey, 1989; Peters, 2005) and simultaneously produced cooperative newsgathering (Schwarzlose, 1988–90; Blondheim, 1994). The result was a particular style of journalism, characterized by brevity and ultimately the inverted pyramid as a way of organizing news narratives (e.g., Carey, 1989, but compare Pöttker, 2003). The standard narrative of journalism history often foregrounds the transformative impact of technologies: All comprehensive journalism histories discuss the camera and the steam press; many mention as well the telephone, the typewriter, and the more recent digital technologies. In these histories, agency comes from technology (sometimes mediated through the marketplace) in addition to, or rather than residing in, individual conscious actors.

In the 1970s, a different impulse came from a movement called social history. There have been many kinds of social history, but all share an aversion to event-centered history and to so-called great man history. Common to social historians was a dedication to doing history from, in the popular phrase, the bottom up. This persuasion covered a large spectrum of strategies, from the romantic notion that ordinary people make history, most influentially expressed in E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*, to the impersonal histories of the long flows of civilizations and regions in the work of French Annaliste historians like Fernand Braudel. For journalism historians, these impulses filtered through scholars like Robert Darn-ton (1975), William Gilmore-Lehne (1989), and Michael Schudson (1978). Social history challenged the uniqueness of journalism history at about the same time that newsroom ethnography challenged the intellectual roots of journalism practice (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980), and led some to conclude that "there is no such thing as journalism history" (Nerone, 1991).

GENRES

But obviously journalism history continues to exist, and as the academy has become more specialized and trade and then academic publishing has pursued marketable formulas, journalism history has subdivided into a set of genres. Most work in journalism history falls into four genres, three of them narrow and one broad, which emerged in this order: biographical, comprehensive, event-focused, and image-focused. The oldest and probably still most common genre is the biographical. Focusing on an individual actor, whether a journalist or a news organization, has two practical advantages. Such actors often produce neat bodies of primary documents, and their lives support the writing of neat chronological narratives. In any country, the dominant national news organizations, like the *Times* of London or *il Corriere della Sera* in Italy, have been the subjects of multiple biographies (Licata, 1976; Woods & Bishop, 1983).

Nearly as old as the habit of press biography is the genre of comprehensive journalism histories. These are almost always national. As already indicated, the first comprehensive histories appeared in the nineteenth century, alongside the appearance of journalism as a positively con-noted term. Written to give an illustrious pedigree to the practice, comprehensive histories then became indispensable teaching tools in journalism schools. These products of professional historians usually offered progressive narratives, showing the advancing autonomy and respectability of the occupation while offering inspiration for would-be professionals (Bleyer, 1973; Mott, 1941; Emery & Emery, 1977). Usually focusing on exemplary practitioners, such histories often

amount to a collective biography. More recent comprehensive histories have proposed more critical narratives (Folkerts & Teeter, 1989). A common device is to focus on a particular explanatory motif, as Michael Schudson (1978) did when he analyzed objectivity as a feature of democratic market society.

Event-oriented histories constitute a third common genre. Any particular crisis or controversy can be a useful hook for analyzing press response. The earliest of this genre grew out of journalism practice, such as the study two (later prominent) journalists conducted of World War I newspaper coverage (Lippmann & Merz, 1920). Journalists continue to produce popular histories of major events from the perspective of journalism practice. Although in the main, this genre lends itself to flat narratives of point-counterpoint, it can also afford scholars an opportunity to conduct a diagnostic exploration of the capacities or biases of a press system (Gitlin, 1980; Hallin, 1986; Lipstadt, 1986).

The image-oriented genre attempts to expand the purview of journalism history beyond media leaders and enterprises by examining larger collectivities. Image-oriented histories have limitations and affordances similar to event-oriented histories. Studies of images of groups like women or ethnic minorities, or of entities such as a nation or religion usually are flat and obvious, but have the potential to unpack and expose the cultural work of the press (e.g., Coward, 1999).

NEW DIRECTIONS

Each of these conventional genres of journalism history tends to essentialize journalism, treating what journalists do as an un-problematical set of existing practices. Another form of journalism history takes the construction of journalism itself as a problem. The construction-of-culture tendency has recently been setting an agenda for the field.

Many years ago, James W. Carey called for a history of the “form of the report” (1974, p. 5). Although this history remains unwritten, some recent contributions have explored how the form of the newspaper invites readers to participate in rituals of citizenship (Anderson, 1991; Clark, 1994; Leonard, 1995; Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001).

The analysis of the form of news suggests a different approach to the question of the power of the press. The traditional genres of journalism history equate the power of the press with the power of ideas, suggesting that the press has power to the degree that it can persuade the public by exposing audiences to true information and sound reasoning. This historical notion of the power of the press does not comport with scholarly understandings of the power of today’s media, which point to agenda-setting, framing, and priming as ways that the media work to reproduce hegemony, all matters concerning which traditional journalism history is in denial.

Traditional journalism history also tends to treat journalism itself as a universal subject position. Again, this runs counter to the consensus of studies of present-day media, which detect particular racial, ethnic, gender, and class valences in media practice. Put crudely, traditional journalism history remains white even as it seeks to include nonwhites and women. To date, no exemplary history of the racing and gendering of journalism has been published, though many narratives in more or less traditional genres herald such a history (Coward, 1999, Rhodes, 1998; Tusan, 2005).

These histories will explore race and gender as aspects of newswork. Journalism history has had a tense relationship with the notion of its subjects as workers. In its first generations, journalism history sought to portray its heroes as autonomous professionals, not the sort of workers who would need to join unions or negotiate for wages and hours. For more than a decade, there have been calls to center journalism history on the concept of work (Schiller, 1996; Hardt & Brennen,

1999). This is itself a labor-intensive enterprise, and easier in countries that have powerful central journalists' unions. It should also be an international history.

Like any other kind of history, journalism history responds to its times, although, like other historical fields, it attempts to present itself as preservationist and answers to the needs of journalists and journalism education while at the same time attending to the trends and fashions of professional historians. In the future, journalism history will likely continue to do so.

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