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An Encouragement of Television News History Research: A Roundtable Discussion.

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An Encouragement of Television News History Research

A Roundtable Discussion

New York City experienced its first television “boom” nearly ninety years ago when inventors and companies began broadcasting live sight and sound signals.¹ American commercial television started in 1941 and just over twenty years later, television news topped newspapers as the most popular format for news—a position it still holds today.²

With close to a century of history and more than fifty years as the dominant source for information, television news still receives little attention in the field of journalism history. Television news history has been the focus of less than 10 percent of the research in the top two American journalism history journals (*Journalism History* and *American Journalism*) for more than thirty years.³ Why aren’t more journalism historians digging into the medium that has had such a profound effect on American culture in the last century?

This roundtable began as an e-mail exchange, leading to a panel at the 2016 American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA) annual conference in St. Petersburg, Florida, on the opportunities and challenges in taking on historical projects involving television. The four scholars then edited, amended, rearranged, and elaborated on the AJHA session for *Journalism History*.

Gathering, Saving, Using

Mary E. Beadle: Local television history is an important area of research. A challenge in completing projects is the lack of material. Much has been lost; often because no one considered the material valuable and sometimes because there is no place to store the records. News film, videotape, and photos can be found in various locations; universities, libraries, archives, and personal collections. I want to focus on the challenges and opportunities related to gathering, saving, and using material related to local television news history. This panel gave me the opportunity to contact some other local special collections, most notably

the Western Reserve Historical Society, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland State University (Special Collections), and the Cleveland Public Library System.

Dr. Alan Stephenson, the former director of the Northeast Ohio Broadcast Archives (NOBA), was contacted one day by a Mr. Tick. Mr. Tick was a bit of a hoarder, in fact, a professional dumpster diver. On one of his rounds he rescued six large cans of news film from a local station. He wondered if the NOBA would have any interest. As it turned out, it is the only news footage that we have from that particular station. Mr. Tick illustrates the precarious nature in the preservation of film from the early day of television.

There are many challenges facing the preservation of local news history, including gathering, saving, and using the footage. Since archives have limited space, a major issue is what to accept. There needs to be a rationale for keeping footage and other documents. This might mean a gatekeeper. Who should decide? NOBA now has about 300,000 videos, film clips, pictures, scripts, and audio tape. Since media history is unique history, I believe an advisory board would be an important next step. The board would be made up of donors and faculty members who specialize in media history and would help to preserve important items and give status to the service.

Once the material is gathered, the next challenge is preservation. Each type of historical object has unique properties that need to be considered when storing. The condition of the material is of prime importance especially for film and video. For example, it is not unusual for film clips to be held together with a bit of white adhesive tape. Film is often stored in metal cans, which will speed up the disintegration process. Other issues include identification of material. Often, there are poor or no labels and no one knows the people in the film, video, or picture.

For the video and film footage to be used, equipment that can play the various formats is needed. In addition, equipment needs



From left: MARY E. BEADLE, John Carroll University; MIKE CONWAY, Indiana University; MADELEINE LISEBLAD, Arizona State University; and MICHAEL D. MURRAY, University of Missouri at St. Louis. The panelists would like to thank Alexandra B. Hitchcock for her assistance in transcribing the panel discussion.

to be repaired and it can be difficult to find parts for the older formats. For example, most news film used a mag-track (magnetic track) for sound. It is extremely difficult to find the equipment to convert that format for today's use. Finally, the storage environment is critical. It needs to be temperature and humidity controlled.

The purpose of preservation is so historians, filmmakers, and writers can use the material. There need to be guidelines about who will have access to the material. This includes having the rights from the donors clearly articulated and a fee structure based on usage, type of organization, the amount of material used, and the region and duration of use. Clearance may also be needed from field reporters or others on camera. Another major issue is the use of material from the archive in commercials.

Management of the archive is a consideration, especially at a university. An archivist or individual with knowledge of film, audio, and photography is essential. New material should be organized, processed, and catalogued. An appropriate computer search program is vital. Requests must be filled. Budgets are small and technical expertise is required. Space considerations might include a screening room for people to look at the clips unless the material has been digitized and placed on line. But of course, that is an additional cost and fees for usage will not pay for the digitizing process. If screening copies are to be provided, or if the material is digitized and fed over the Internet some means of marking of the product must be available to prevent stealing. Requests for material can come from anywhere in the world.

Although history is often overlooked, media archives have a unique opportunity to build interest with the public. Media archives often receive requests from family members regarding some relative who appeared on such and such program years ago. The Western Reserve Historical Society and Cleveland State University Special Collection report they receive many requests for family research. Cleveland State reports about 50 percent of requests are from the public. Archives and special collections also serve as a record of local history. Often news footage is an important piece for understanding where we came from. Alan Stephenson, retired director of the NOBA, reminds us that a film archive helps to prevent history from being forgotten or distorted: "Film captures reality and saves it far into the future. You can effectively be on the campus of Kent State University the tragic day of the shooting of students."⁴ NOBA has the largest collection of material related to Kent State. Stephenson adds that historic film lets us see and hear how campus leaders reacted to that horrific and historic event, "and it gives us more appreciation of their contributions."⁵

To help preserve local history, various local archives could work together. The Association of Moving Images Archivists (AMIA) has developed a program to learn about a Community Archiving Model. This may be important to the future of preserving local history, which is stored in various locations, small and large, throughout a community. To demonstrate the importance of archival material and local history, universities can develop projects with local institutions that have material in the archive. Since NOBA is located at a university, the material can be used for student research. For example, I will be teaching an introduction to mass media class that is linked with a twentieth-century history class. As one of the student research projects, we will use material

from the archives. This helps to develop in students an interest in historical research and an appreciation of the local area, since many students come from outside the immediate community.

Finally, both Dr. Stephenson and the AMIA remind us that without understanding the past it is difficult to comprehend the present and the future. "As our culture is increasingly shaped by visual images in the digital age, historians may soon rely on moving images as much as on the printed word to understand twenty-first-century culture. By relying increasingly on moving images to understand the times in which we live, society is increasingly reverting to its roots grounded in oral tradition."⁶ Media archives play an important role in bridging the gap to understanding the past and looking forward to the future.

Making Connections

Michael D. Murray: As a member of what we might like to think of as kind of a distinguished "minority group" of AJHA members from the broadcast news point of view, I've always taken the approach of whenever anybody asks me to do something, I always try to do it. Therefore, I'm always working on a couple of projects

at the same time. When our organization first started, I was asked to create a collection of major resources in broadcasting, consisting of what people were doing, and so there was an article I did for *American Journalism* summarizing those resources and a summary of our activity in the form of an introductory chapter for Lucy Caswell's book, *Guide to Sources in American Journalism History*.⁷

As Mike Conway said in the introduction, it is true that I have interviewed a lot of famous people in the news business, but I was also making connections with people behind the scenes. The contact with the "on-air" people would often be made, at least initially, through their producers or through other people who were associated with a particular story. That's true with a recent interview with Dan Rather. I discussed the subjects in some detail with his producer first, and then proceeded from there. I would also contact newspaper reporters and editors if the story originated in print before transitioning into a broadcast story. So in a lot of cases it was really the simple process of getting to know people and becoming close with some of those folks, or at least establishing enough credibility with them so that would help me get an interview with the bigger names.

Within the past year, I conducted a lengthy interview with CBS News' *48 Hours* correspondent Erin Moriarty in New York. While I was there, I also spoke at some length to her producer, Gail Zimmerman. This involved a complicated crime story that took place in Columbia, Missouri. Since those interviews, I've put together a little textbook that we publish internally through the Mizzou Publishing operation, which generates scholarship money for our students and includes a careful "run-down" on those interviews.

The story was about a high school kid, Ryan Ferguson, who was accused and convicted of murder near our campus in Columbia, for having killed the popular sports editor of the *Columbia Tribune*, Kent Heitholt. The case was based on what turned out to be the so-called "repressed memory" of another young person who claimed, at least initially, to have been an accomplice in that murder.

The CBS News coverage described how that story played out, and eventually how Ryan Ferguson was released from jail. So that's always been my basic approach: talk to a lot of people, try to get as much information as possible about how a story was constructed and then told. Historically speaking, because of the assignments

"Management of the archive is a consideration, especially at a university. An archivist or individual with knowledge of film, audio, and photography is essential."

I have chosen to give myself, I most often have to ask the basic question: Who are the kind of people who might have saved material that could be useful? And then just gather as much “inside information” as possible. Then a lot of time has to be invested in studying and preparing the right questions.

Mary’s department is named after the late NBC political reporter Tim Russert. Just before Tim died, he spoke at Founder’s Day at our school. I asked if I could interview him when he came to our campus and when we spoke. I said, “You know I interviewed people about important news things that they’ve been involved in. Would you have time to talk to me sometime?” He said, “Well, what kind of questions would you ask me?” And I said, “Like what’s Ross Perot really like?” So he got a big laugh out of that. Of course, I was just trying to send him a signal that I actually already knew quite a lot about some of the things that he had done and even some of the jokes that he made regularly. But really, what I was looking for what was might be important for us to remember down the road.

European Television History Research

Madeleine Liseblad: I’m going to start with some of the challenges of doing historical research in Europe and then discuss the opportunities. Obviously, the first challenge is distance. It’s not right next door. And with that comes cost, as well. It can be fairly expensive. Europe is not somewhere you can go quickly and get what you need done. You need to make a time commitment. In addition, even though as Americans we may look at Europe as one big entity, there are cultural differences among the countries, especially between countries in Western and Eastern Europe. Those differences can have an impact on the research-gathering process. Language is another issue. Materials in national archives are in the native language. If you’re going to do research in the Czech Republic for example, you really need to know Czech even though many people now know English. You need to be able to assess the material you are looking at and you may go to places where the archivist doesn’t speak English. If you don’t speak the language, sometimes you can’t get around that hurdle without an interpreter.

But, having said the above, the European Union is putting more historically significant items online and they’re doing it in both English and the native language.⁸ That is great because it means you can do research and get the gist of the information, without knowing the native language. With the European Union efforts to digitize archives, material is becoming a lot more accessible and it is going to make it easier for us historians.

There are so many opportunities in Europe. Do not be afraid to tackle new territory. Yes, European history scholars have examined many different areas. However, from an American perspective, there are a lot of American influences in European media that have not been fully explored. I’m researching American news consultants and their role in the privatization of European television, and there are many opportunities for me. And it’s exciting because it has both that American connection and the European connection.

My advice for doing European research is to find an ally. I have done a lot of research on an American-style television station in the Czech Republic. While I speak and read Czech, I don’t write Czech. However, I have found several Czech scholars willing to assist me when I have needed it. I have one in particular who

have helped me decipher broadcast law and who knows the ins and outs of media in the Czech Republic. His personal network of connections has helped me more than once. He is someone I found while I was working on my master’s degree and he is still someone I go to today if I need help with something in the Czech Republic. Find people that have done research in your area in the country you are studying because, in my experience, they are very willing to share what they know.

Personal archives, especially in Eastern Europe, can be incredibly rich. Overall, people there have a habit of saving everything. They don’t generally throw things away. Company archives are different and a bit tricky to get into. I’ve been denied access to company archives before, and have encountered some suspicion in Eastern Europe, even if you explain that you are using information for academic purposes. That’s where the personal archives come into play and become extra important.

Don’t be afraid to do research in Europe. Find someone to help guide you, if you don’t know the language. But don’t be afraid. If you’re passionate about a topic, and you see a hole in the research, then don’t be afraid to tackle it.

Getting Access to Historic Broadcasts

Mike Conway: Looking at journalism history scholarship, we know more about the newspapers of the colonial period than we do about television of the 1950s and ‘60s because someone saved so many of the colonial newspapers while the majority of television broadcasts have been lost. I worked in local television news for many years and I watched stations pitch the film and files into dumpsters. On the network level, when Reuven Frank was in management at NBC in the 1960s, he would budget for a video archive of the *Huntley Brinkley Report*, NBC’s nightly newscast, and every year parent company RCA would cross out that budget line as an unnecessary expense. On the day of President John F. Kennedy’s assassination, Frank could not find a copy of Kennedy’s famous inaugural address. He had to dig out a public affairs program he had personally saved that included part of the speech. In other words, to even do a content analysis of the *Huntley Brinkley Report* (1956-1970) especially before the Vanderbilt Television News Archive started in 1968, you would mostly be using transcripts, which only includes the words spoken in the newscast, not the moving pictures. So that’s a definite disadvantage and something that makes television history difficult. And of course if you want to research the period before the kinescope process of recording live television broadcasts on film, which started in 1948, then there aren’t any moving picture images, unless somebody brought a film camera to the studio.

Murray: Well, I think network ownership has had a lot to do with access to historical documents recently, and sharing information in general. For the powerful figures in the history of broadcast news, such as the network news presidents I interviewed years ago—Fred Friendly, Bill Leonard, or someone at the very top of the company such as Dr. Frank Stanton of CBS, whom I interviewed over different decades—they all had special resources and connections to save important archival material and make it available to you, if they thought you were serious about it. At least that was my experience.

During an earlier period, networks and key leaders saw sharing

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historical information as kind of a public relations strategy. But with ownership changes, the networks began to see all of the on-air material as potential commercial values to the company.

The major network operations used to distribute photos of their on-air talent and historic moments for free or just a small photocopying fee. They viewed it as another cost of doing business to attract attention to their company. Later, while I was working on the *Encyclopedia of Television News*,⁹ I discovered that photographs I had earlier been given for free, would now cost substantial amounts of money to be used in a published book.

For example, I interviewed Walter Cronkite on a couple of occasions and he gave me a bunch of photographs. But to publish the photos, I had to get clearance from CBS. For some pictures, the network wouldn't give me clearance without a fee and denied the use of others because CBS did not know who actually owned the photos.

Liseblad: When I visited Czech Television's archive, I was amazed how much there was. Their archive contains raw footage, edited broadcast material, newspaper clippings and photos, and is quite extensive. It's a gold mine, especially for an American scholar. I also think the European Union is doing some fantastic work in pulling historical materials together in a central location. It will be interesting to see how that progresses. At the moment, it still has a ways to go, with a lot of holes. But it's nice to be able to sit in front of your computer and look up historical European footage. I recently looked up a video from the Velvet Revolution, which was when communism collapsed in the former Czechoslovakia [in 1989]. On the European Union's broadcast archive site, I was able to pull up not only full packages from Czech Television but also raw material, raw video complete with sound. It was fantastic to be able to do this from my home in Arizona. I'm really looking forward to the opportunities we're going to have as scholars in the near future.

Archive Technology Issues

Beadle: One of the issues I think that faces moving image archives is the technology piece. Say for example, if you have film with mag [magnetic] track, then you need equipment that can play that format. Even if you have the equipment, when it breaks, there are few places that can repair it. We even have an old transcription player for some electrical transcriptions that were given to us by WEWS-TV in Cleveland. But when that transcription player no longer works, what's going to happen? If the equipment can't be fixed, you're left with cans of film or tape that you can't really access. I do think there's a technology issue that we have to overcome because it's becoming harder and harder to get archives to save the material.

Local Television News, Local Station Histories

Liseblad: I feel that as media historians, we have a responsibility to tell stories, to find those special history nuggets. But, in my opinion, there's a little too much focus on the networks. We need to find important local stories and highlight those. I kind of struck gold when I did a study on Sacramento's KCRA-TV¹⁰ because they had a photographer who saved everything. Today much of KCRA's material from the late 1950s to the early 1980s is housed at the Center for Sacramento History. There are these nuggets out there; we just have to find them. We have to uncover them and tell

those stories, before they become lost. Local television history is important, too.

Conway: If you're from the United States and you grew up in the 1950s through the 1970s, you most likely spent time watching your local TV station back when it included local programming, both news and entertainment shows. You connected with the local newscaster, cartoon show host, or the late-night horror movies introduced by a station staff member dressed up as a vampire or ghoul. It is fascinating when those people pass away decades later to see the reactions of people who watched those programs.

In the Indianapolis market, we recently lost Cowboy Bob [Bob Glaze], host of WTTV's *Cowboy Bob's Corral* cartoon show for twenty years. I have very strong and fond memories of watching that show as a kid.

Later, in my television career, I worked with people who had hosted those shows at various stations. Often they were just camera operators or staff members thrown in front of a camera to fill time. The shows were low budget, but they meant something to people of that generation. What does that mean? These programs were very specific to a geographic area, which by definition makes it a narrow focus, but I don't think they should be ignored.

Two of the most important works on local television history are edited volumes, Mike and Mary's *Indelible Images: Women of Local Television News*, and *Television in America: Local Station History from Across the Nation*, edited by Mike and Donald G. Godfrey. I've always wondered if it was a conscious decision to bring in other scholars in both of these works.¹¹

Beadle: Well, especially for *Indelible Images*, the intention was to get people from these local communities involved, because how would you know the local stories? And the sense that maybe this would lead to other people being interested in local history enough to do further works. So I think there was a real intention to involve other scholars, especially in that women's history book. The other work I've done, especially about local television history in Cleveland, that all started because of my master's thesis. Somebody said to me, there's not been a history written about the development of television in Cleveland, and so I did a history of the founding stations there, which led to the book chapter eventually. So a lot of it had to do with my advisers, right? It's mentoring people into this kind of historical importance and then helping find those places that would be helpful. So I've always felt there has to be an intention about involving people in this kind of process. You can't really do an edited volume involving different local histories by yourself.

Murray: Yes, I think that's very true, if you find the right people and you get the word out and just ask some basic questions: Do you know of anyone in your market or in your community or, in some cases, where people grew up and determined in retrospect that their local broadcast stations did an especially good job? Ironically, through some cross-ownership arrangements between newspapers and broadcast stations, there was in some places a special relationship and special appreciation. There's a real story to be told in some cases, so it can provide a kind of motivation. It can be really insightful.

As Mary said, a lot of these stations in development mode had at least one or two people who were kind of specialized in

playing an archival role, someone who may have been there at the beginning of the operation and tried to function as the resident historian making sure they remembered the indelible moments. In interviewing those people, you can learn quite a lot. And the thing that this recognition does is it also opens up opportunities on the station anniversaries to highlight some of the innovations and “firsts” that they may have been involved in. So you’ve got to, I think in some ways, kind of be in the right place at the right time.

When Mary and I first gathered information for the *Indelible Images* book, with Don Godfrey’s help, it coincided with the fortieth anniversary of a lot of early Midwest local television stations. Some of the stations saw our projects as a great opportunity to “connect” with the local community. For my chapter on KSD-TV in St. Louis [now KSDK], I was invited back a decade later to “fact check” the promotions for their fiftieth-year anniversary. It was a real “win-win,” as we like to say now.

Saving, Accessing Historical Television Sources

Murray: Of course, in the most current era of consolidation and station cutbacks, access can get a little more complicated. A local station approached my university and asked if the university would be willing to take over the station archival material and keep it up to date. But the station expected us to maintain the archive in perpetuity and continually transfer all the material to the current video format and provide easy access to the station for use. Of course we did not have the budget for that kind of service.

My point is that local stations, like the networks, now recognize they may be sitting on a gold mine, or at least material they could trot out for anniversaries. So the stations are trying to find an inexpensive way to digitize their historic video and then keep it in the current format.

Beadle: The archives at John Carroll University were set up by accident. A person who was directing at the local station was a Carroll grad. He was teaching part time, he saw the material was going to be thrown out, he asked the president of the university to take the material. There was this personal connection that saved the material. I don’t think that would happen today. Somehow we have to connect with, in my case, local stations to save material, and it’d be a little easier today obviously because of the technology. But all of us who are involved in media history need to work with the local organizations, and radio too, to help preserve this material somehow and find space for it and find people that are willing to help. That’s why I think this community archive process might be a way to help. So I think that’s really important—for us to make those connections, because if we don’t, I’m not sure anybody else is going to do that.

Archive Access

Conway: Unfortunately, it is not often we can rely solely on personal collections for our television history projects. We usually need to visit archives across the country for primary source material. For written documents, that process works pretty well. But as Mary mentioned earlier, the problem is when you want to access audio or visual archive material.

Archive material is a revenue stream for the networks so I know in some cases they will not even transfer historic footage to a viewable format until someone is willing to pay for the rights to use the footage in a documentary or other project.

Most archives are set up to collect material, but there is rarely money for the equipment needed to let us watch or listen to the material. Then, even if the technology is available, the archive is

rarely staffed to a level to allow you to use the audio or visual archives. You have to hope to find passionate librarians and archivists who are willing to go beyond their job functions to help you.

In my experience, most librarians and archivists have gone out of their way to help me, as much as they can, because they really want this material to be used and delivered to a wider audience. They care about this history as much as we do.

But they are often forced to help us on top of their heavy work load, and that pinch is getting stronger for all of us.

Narrow Focus

Conway: Here’s one question I wanted to pose to our group. Journalism historians have been criticized for focusing too much on individual people, organizations, or events in our work, without opening those projects out to show why it matters beyond the field of journalism or media history. Especially as we talk about the need to study local television histories, which are, by nature, very specific to a community, how do we make that work relevant to a wider audience?

Beadle: I would use the old phrase, “what’s the hook?” History happens in a context, whether it’s local or national. And somehow you have to find how that piece fits. If there’s a local history that’s important that you can attach to, I think that makes it much more interesting for people. Or if there’s some local themes, international themes, or national themes that you can use, I think that’s the way to approach doing local history. Because you can’t do your research in a vacuum. It might be important to the local area, but you’ve got to understand why this is important in the bigger picture. And sometimes it takes awhile to figure out. Sometimes it isn’t so obvious. So you do have to have, to me, a broader concept of history of the moment in order to find that hook to make the local history kind of fit in.

Murray: Some of my research on the Pulitzer family was done when I returned to St. Louis. In this instance, you not only have a highly successful newspaper, but you also have a historic figure. Joseph Pulitzer had a great impact because his newspaper had a distinct philosophy and invested heavily in the quality of the paper and its staff. That historical benchmark leads you to the next stage: showing a relationship between this dominant newspaper and other company properties. I published an article, “The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*’s Campaign against Radio’s Middle Commercials,”¹² about what became known nationally as “plug uglies” on KSD, Pulitzer’s radio station.

These were so-called middle commercials during the war years. Joseph Pulitzer II had an underlying philosophy that it was inappropriate to interrupt war news containing reports on death and destruction with commercial announcements. He thought that was disrespecting the soldiers and their families’ sacrifice. And this became a big national campaign at the time. *Broadcasting* magazine wrote quite a few articles about it and newspapers also editorialized on the subject. Pulitzer was trying to defend his position, sort of along the lines of the newspaper advertising code. Eventually, even though I think it played out as an important consideration for people at the time, at least in America, we don’t generally think about what we’re hearing and seeing in that kind of relational way today.

“Firsts” in Television History

Responding to an audience question about early women broadcasters.

Beadle: With all broadcast history, especially for women's history, you have to start somewhere. Starting with the "first" gives you a baseline. Then if you want to follow up with other women contributions, you can use that as a way of saying, "Well, look at the progress," or "Wow, we haven't gone too far from this." In that sense, if you need a baseline, if you use that as kind of a reference.

Liseblad: Sometimes defining and verifying "first" can be an issue. As historians, we do our best to tell the story based on the primary evidence we have found, but as new material is uncovered, sometimes what we know changes. How can we be certain someone or something was first? As I was rewriting my KCRA-TV study, Dr. Don Godfrey [Arizona State University emeritus professor] and I had a discussion about the notion of claiming first. He pointed me to a study by Joseph Baudino and John Kittross¹³ where they examined four radio stations claiming to be the "oldest station in the nation." One of the initial items they did was to define just what a radio broadcast station is. Setting up a theoretical framework for your inquiry is especially important when you're examining who was first with something. However, someone being first is not always the only significant history. If you can show how one thing impacted something else, that then in turn perhaps impacted another item, you still have a great study. And the headache of defining and proving first becomes a moot point. Find an important story that fits into the literature, and tell that story well.

Conway: For me, it is their [women broadcast pioneers'] experiences that become the history. How they felt about being new in an area is an important part of that moment in broadcast history. Of course as a historian you need to dig into the primary documents and secondary sources to figure out if it really was a "first," or just that person's impression.

In American television news history, so many of the famous television news pioneers claim they were the first and that nothing happened before they got there. The years they came into television

can range from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s, but they say they had to invent the process. When you tell them about some people who proceeded and worked with them, these people have totally forgotten that they learned from other pioneers. I feel it's my responsibility to show the true progression of format and processes, but also that each person's perceived experience adds to our understanding. With each person, station, or program's story, we add building blocks to our understanding of the bigger picture.

NOTES

¹ Joseph H. Udelson, *The Great Television Race: A History of the American Television Industry 1925-1941* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1982).

² Amy Mitchell, Jeffrey Gottfried, Michael Barthel, and Elisa Shearer, "The Modern News Consumer: Pathways to News," *Pew Research Center*, July 7, 2016, <http://www.journalism.org/2016/07/07/pathways-to-news/>.

³ Mike Conway, "The Ghost of Television News in Media History Scholarship," *American Journalism* 34, no 2 (Spring 2017): 229-39.

⁴ Dr. Alan Stephenson, interview with Mary Beadle, Sept. 5, 2016.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The Association of Moving Images Archivist, "Why Preservation Is Important," n.d., <http://amianet.org>.

⁷ Lucy Shelton Caswell, *Guide to Sources in American Journalism History* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

⁸ See the European Union's digital library/archive Europeana, www.europeana.eu, or the European TV archives EUScreen/EUScreenXL, www.euscreen.eu.

⁹ Michael D. Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of Television News* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Madeleine Liseblad, "Clearing a Path for Television News: The First Extended Newscast at Sacramento's KCRA," *Journalism History* 42, no 4 (2017): 182-90.

¹¹ Mary E. Beadle and Michael D. Murray, eds., *Indelible Images: Women of Local Television* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2001); and Michael D. Murray and Donald G. Godfrey, eds., *Television in America: Local Station History from Across the Nation* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1997).

¹² Michael D. Murray, "The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* Campaign against Radio's Middle Commercials," *American Journalism* 6, vol. 1 (1989): 30-40.

¹³ Joseph E. Baudino and John M. Kittross, "Broadcasting's Oldest Stations: An Examination of Four Claimants," *Journal of Broadcasting* 21, no 1 (1977): 61-83.

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