



University of
Massachusetts
Amherst

Neil Postman's Missing Critique: A Media Ecology Analysis of Early Radio 1920-1935

Item Type	dissertation
Authors	Halper, Donna Lee
DOI	10.7275/2175065
Download date	2024-12-02 17:33:08
Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/38806

**NEIL POSTMAN'S MISSING CRITIQUE: A MEDIA ECOLOGY
ANALYSIS OF EARLY RADIO, 1920-1935**

A Dissertation presented

by

DONNA LEE HALPER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2011

Communication

© Copyright by Donna Lee Halper 2011
All Rights Reserved

**NEIL POSTMAN'S MISSING CRITIQUE: A MEDIA ECOLOGY
ANALYSIS OF EARLY RADIO, 1920-1935**

A Dissertation presented

by

DONNA LEE HALPER

Approved as to style and content by:

Jarice Hanson, Chair

Erica Scharrer, Member

Olga Gershenson, Member

Lisa Henderson, Chair
Communication

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late parents, Bea and Sam Halper, who taught me to love and appreciate books; and to the late Dr. Robert DeLancey, who believed in me at a time in my life when nobody else did.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people contributed to making this dissertation a reality. I would like to first thank my committee, Olga Gershenson, Erica Scharrer, and committee chair Jarice Hanson (who was always patient and helpful, no matter how many questions I asked). I also want to thank Michael Morgan and Briankle Chang of the Communication Department at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst, who believed in me and admitted me to the PhD program. I am grateful to Bruce Logan, Associate Dean at Lesley University in Cambridge, for encouraging me during the last two years of the process. And I am forever indebted to Bryan Benilous at Proquest Historical Databases and Brett Kolcun of Newsbank/Readex; each provided access to numerous historical newspapers, and made my research easier to do. I am grateful to Frank Bequaert, whose New Hampshire bookstore was an excellent resource for rare magazines from the 1920s and 1930s. Thanks also to Henry Scannell and the staff of the Boston Public Library's microfilm room, as well as the reference librarians at the Thomas Crane Public Library in Quincy, the Emerson College Library in Boston and the DuBois Library at UMass/Amherst; I couldn't have done my research without you! And of course, I am eternally grateful to my husband Jon Jacobik, who understood what achieving this goal meant to me, and never complained about how long it took for me to write the dissertation.

ABSTRACT

NEIL POSTMAN'S MISSING CRITIQUE: A MEDIA ECOLOGY

ANALYSIS OF EARLY RADIO, 1920-1935

MAY 2011

DONNA LEE HALPER, B.A. NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

M.A., NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

Ph. D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Jarice Hanson

Radio's first fifteen years were filled with experiment and innovation, as well as conflicting visions of what broadcasting's role in society ought to be. But while there was an ongoing debate about radio's mission (should it be mainly educational or mainly entertaining?), radio's impact on daily life was undeniable. To cite a few examples, radio was the first mass medium to provide access to current events as they were happening. It allowed people of all races and social classes to hear great orators, newsmakers, and entertainers. Radio not only brought hit songs and famous singers directly into the listener's home; it also created a new form of intimacy based on imagination -- although the listeners generally had never met the men and women they heard on the air, they felt close to these people and imagined what they must really be like. Radio was a medium that enhanced the importance of the human voice--

politicians, preachers, and performers were now judged by their ability to communicate with the “invisible audience.”

My dissertation employs a media ecology perspective to examine how the arrival and growth of radio altered a media environment that, until 1920, was dominated by the printed word. Neil Postman, a seminal figure in Media Ecology, wrote that this field of inquiry “looks into the matter of how media of communication affect human perception, understanding, feeling, and value.” Radio certainly exemplified that description: it not only affected popular culture and public opinion; it affected the other media with which it competed. My research utilizes one of those competing media-- print journalism. Using content and discourse analysis of articles in thirty-three newspapers and sixteen magazines of the 1920s and early 1930s, I examine how print and radio interacted and affected each other. My dissertation also analyzes the differing perceptions about radio as expressed in print by fans, reporters, and such interest groups as clergy or educators. And finally, my research explores some of the critiques of the programs, and compares the reactions of the critics at the mainstream press with those who worked for the ethnic press.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT	vi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
II LITERATURE REVIEW.....	42
III. METHODOLOGY.....	78
IV. EARLY RADIO AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE.....	98
V. READING ABOUT RADIO	163
VI. ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES IN THE POPULAR PRESS	245
VII. RADIO AND ITS CRITICS.....	355
VIII. CONCLUSIONS	465
APPENDIX: RADIO ARTICLES, 1920-1923	494
WORKS CITED	501

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to many of today's media critics, radio is now obsolete, having been replaced by iPods, the internet, and television. In fact, long before the internet age, some scholars had already dismissed it. In 1977, one professor wrote, "Radio... is a medium whose time in the sun of social importance has come and gone" (James A. Anderson, qtd. in Rubin 281). These days, the common wisdom is that young people no longer care about radio (Tucker 9), and that even among adults, radio's influence is minimal. But studies compiled by Arbitron, PBS, and the Pew Research Center contradict the belief that radio is yesterday's technology. In fact, these studies conclude that it's too soon to write radio's obituary. Radio listenership may be less than it was several decades ago (understandable in a fragmented media landscape that offers so many choices), but formats like news/talk, religion, and sports continue to have millions of fans, and even some music formats are still prospering (Perse and Butler 2005; "Public Radio Today" 2009; Janssen 2009). And as for the alleged decline in radio's impact on public opinion, political talk radio has repeatedly shown that it can influence voters and arouse indignation (Hertzberg 2009; Jamieson and Cappella 2008; Holbert 2004), while fans of one particular Christian talk show, James

Dobson's "Focus on the Family," sent him so much fan mail that he ultimately required his own zip code (Gilgoff and Schulte 2005).

If we look back on the late 1940s, the formative years of television, we find that the critics were making similar predictions about radio: now that TV was finally here, they expected radio to disappear, relegated to the pages of history books. But somehow, radio reinvented itself and survived (Hilmes, Only Connect 150-151). And in 2011, despite rumors of its impending demise, radio remains alive and well. This brings up some interesting questions for those of us who are media historians: Why do some mass media adapt and endure while others cease to matter? What can be learned from studying how old and new media affect each other? And how does each new medium change the way we communicate? One way of analyzing the impact of a mass medium is to utilize a media ecology perspective. Neil Postman, who gave this field of study its name, explained that media ecology "... looks into the matter of how media of communication affect human perception, understanding, feeling, and value; and how our interaction with media facilitates or impedes our chances of survival... The word 'ecology' implies the study of environments: their structure, content, and impact on people. Media ecology is the study of media as environments" (Postman, qtd. in Eurich 1970).

In this dissertation, I examine the formative years of radio (1920-1935), using a media ecology perspective to do so. I have chosen this period of time because it is surprisingly under-researched by scholars. Academic journals offer numerous scholarly articles about early television, yet early radio has never attracted as much scrutiny. Even today, a database search of the major scholarly resources, such as JSTOR and Project Muse, shows that modern academic researchers are increasingly interested in the role of the internet, and they continue to analyze television. But radio, once again, is considered less important. This should not be the case. There are many important lessons that can be learned from studying radio, and the medium's first fifteen years are a good place to begin. Radio's early years were filled with experiment and innovation, as well as conflicting visions of what radio's role in society ought to be. And by studying what happened during those formative years, we can not only see how a new medium is introduced and how the public becomes familiar with it, but how social attitudes about it develop and evolve.

Research Questions:

Q1: How did discursive shifts in print media contribute to public perceptions of radio?

Q2. What did print media contribute to a media ecology perspective of radio's formative years?

Q3. How did print media contribute to an understanding of marginalized groups, such as women, African-Americans, and members of minority religious denominations?

Methodologies Used

In order to answer these questions, I rely upon two methodologies: qualitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis. Using this two-faceted approach, I am able to assess the attitudes and beliefs about radio, and to demonstrate how the media landscape changed. There is ample scholarly precedent for employing content analysis as a research method. In her Content Analysis Guidebook, Neuendorf notes that:

“Content analysis has a history of more than 50 years of use in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business... [It is] the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics... Content analysis is applicable to many areas of inquiry, with examples ranging from the analysis of naturally occurring language ... to the study of newspaper coverage of the Greenhouse Effect... In the field of mass communications research, content analysis has been the fastest growing technique over the past 20 years or so...” (xv, 1)

Actually, in the course of my research, I discovered an additional fact that might have been unknown to Neuendorf when she wrote her

book in 2001: she located content analysis in the early 1950s, which may indeed be the era when it was popularized. But as far back as the mid-1930s, a few sociologists were exploring content analysis of newspaper articles as a way to understand the issues that mattered most to readers (for example Woodward 1934).

In this dissertation, my units of analysis will be a selection of print sources from both large and small cities (called “markets” in the parlance of broadcasting) that addressed radio broadcasting during radio’s first fifteen years. These texts will include newspaper opinion columns about radio (especially those that evaluate particular programs or performers); news reports or stories that focused on something noteworthy that radio was doing; and letters to the editor (whether to praise or criticize). And content analysis can dovetail very nicely with discourse analysis.

Neuendorf remarks that there are a number of ways to perform an analysis of messages, and “...discourse analysis has been a popular method for analyzing public communication...” (6) In his seminal work, Discourse Analysis, Paltridge elaborates, offering the following definition:

“Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts, and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings... Discourse analysis examines both spoken and written texts” (2).

As previously mentioned, I have analyzed primary narrative texts from a select number of print sources (newspapers and magazines of the 1920s and early 1930s); these source documents are representative of the academic, popular, and trade viewpoints of that time. The sample is geographically diverse: it includes content from newspapers and magazines in cities of various sizes, and from twenty different states of the United States. It is also racially diverse: it includes publications considered “mainstream” (directed towards predominantly white audiences) and publications aimed at African-American readers. Additionally, the sample takes gender into account by including a number of articles by and about women in broadcasting. Thus, I am able to identify the changing attitudes and perceptions about radio; my research not only points out the shifting discourses that radio inspired throughout the period of the 1920s and early 1930s, but locates when these discourses changed, and allows me to analyze the factors that led to the differing interpretations and opinions about the role of broadcasting in American culture during radio’s formative years.

Lessons from the Study of Broadcasting

Further exploration into the role radio has played in America life is certainly warranted, given the medium’s continued ability to impact the popular culture. As sociocultural historian Michele Hilmes asserts, radio

should be seen as “...part of the social glue that held America -- and other nations --together” (qtd. by Ehrlich 87). Contrary to the myth that only television and the internet are influential in contemporary society, the evidence suggests otherwise. For example, Arbitron figures from Fall 2008 showed that more than 33 million people a week tuned in to National Public Radio, the majority of whom were seeking news programs (quoted in Everhart 2009). And while music formats like oldies, country, and top-40, as well as spoken-word formats like sports, religion, and ethnic/foreign language programming continued to do well in the ratings, the most dominant radio format is still political talk. Ninety-five percent of the programs in this format are hosted by conservative Republicans, led by Rush Limbaugh, who is by some accounts, syndicated on more than 600 stations and has a weekly audience of about 14 million listeners (Bachman 22; Halper, Icons of Talk 177). While analysis of the impact of political talk on the audience is outside the scope of this dissertation, Jamieson and Cappella (2008) have studied the effect of conservative talk radio on public perception. Hendershot (2007) and Barker (1999) provide a more historical view of conservative talk radio’s influence on political discourse.

Unfortunately, only a small number of scholars have devoted their time to analysis of radio. One well-known example is the classic work of Eric Barnouw in the 1960s; in more modern times, radio historians

include Susan Douglas (1987 and 1999), Michele Hilmes (1997, 2002 and 2007), Christopher Sterling and J. Michael Kittross (2002), and Robert L Hilliard and Michael C. Keith (2005, 2010). But television has attracted far more attention, as a search of scholarly databases like JSTOR and Project Muse will demonstrate. It is also worth noting that while radio has generally been ignored by academics, interest in critical study of television is relatively recent-- J. Emmett Winn and Susan Brinson point out that for a number of years, academics regarded both media as nothing more than “cultural pollution,” and as a result of that dismissive attitude, radio remained under-researched, while television did not receive much scrutiny until the mid-1960s (4). There is no evidence that Neil Postman, the father of Media Ecology, regarded radio with disdain (in fact, during the early to mid 1970s, he was a frequent guest on educational radio stations in New York City); he simply chose to focus his research on television, writing his first book, Television and the Teaching of English, in 1961, before many of his colleagues in academia had begun studying TV’s educational value (or lack thereof). And yet, although Postman wrote over 20 books and numerous essays during his career, he never once wrote a serious critique of radio.

It is my belief that there is much to be learned from radio’s formative years. As Neil Postman stated, “...A new technology does not add or subtract something. It changes everything” (Postman, Technopoly

18), and radio certainly has exemplified that assertion. My dissertation employs a media ecology perspective to examine and explain how the presence of radio altered a media environment that, until 1920, was dominated by print. As my research demonstrates, radio changed the way people learned, the way they thought about current issues, and the way they formed opinions of speakers and entertainers they had never seen. There are numerous other examples of how radio changed American society; and it is useful to analyze radio's impact on the culture, because the success of radio paved the way for the changes that emerged as a result of television and the internet.

Among the many changes brought about by radio, a few stand out: Radio altered the public's perception of distance (radio programs could be sent from cities 500 miles away, yet sound as if they were happening right around the corner); it changed the expectation of how long it should take for information to be disseminated (with newspapers and magazines, the reader had to wait for the next edition, but with radio, the event could be received in real time, as it was occurring); it created a new form of intimacy based on imagination (although the listeners generally had never met the people they heard on the air, they felt close to these people and imagined what they must really be like). It also created a new type of expert, one who, although unseen, sounded trustworthy, and dispensed advice the audience found useful. And with no pun intended,

radio also amplified the importance of the human voice-- politicians, preachers, and performers would now be judged by their ability to communicate to large numbers of listeners from what came to be called the “invisible audience.” And while the listeners may have been out of view, they were not always passive-- they expressed their approval of their favorite radio speakers by sending them fan mail; and they did not only send letters of approval to entertainers; preachers and political figures received surprisingly large amounts as well (“Applause Card” F16; Levi viii).

Radio also changed the language Americans used, whether by introducing new expressions such as “stay tuned” (derived from the necessity of twisting the dials on the early radio sets, in order to receive a signal); changing the meaning of the word “broadcast” (from sowing seeds in a field to disseminating messages via radio signals) or creating new jargon like NEMO (an expression referring to a broadcast that took place at a location away from the studio). Radio created national hit songs and national hit performers (and some national slang that worried educators); it gave the rich and the poor equal access to cultural events (even those who could not afford to own a radio were able to go to a department store or other public place and hear the programs); and it broke down some of the barriers based on race or religion (radio made it possible for black or Jewish performers to be heard in cities where their

physical presence might not have been welcome, while their electronic presence was accepted by radio listeners). Radio's growth in the 1920s and early 1930s offers many important lessons for modern scholars, yet few studies of that era have employed content analysis of newspapers and magazines from that time, nor have scholars performed discourse analysis on what was written and said about radio. The way radio changed the environment has been studied from a social and cultural history point of view by such modern scholars as Hilmes (2007) and Susan Douglas (1999), and from a political science point of view by McChesney (1999), but few scholars have studied it from the media ecology point of view. Thus, my research adds to the exploration of how a new medium affects and transforms the culture, as well as how it affects and changes the other media with which it contends.

Problems and Limitations

One of the biggest drawbacks for those who want to study radio's early years is that few authentic sound recordings of programs from that period have survived. Audiotape would not be perfected till the mid-1940s, and the only reliable way to record a program, a method known as "electrical transcription," was not introduced until the late 1920s (Russo 4-5). This new technology, pioneered by Harold J. Smith of the Vitaphone Corporation (Kenney 188) and then promoted by advertising

executive Raymond Soat (Laird 34; Russo 5), provided the ability to make radio programs more consistent. Live broadcasts were prone to mistakes, resulting in some performances sounding much more professional than others. If a program could be recorded ahead of time, the end result would be the best version of that performance. But unfortunately for media historians, only a small number of programs from the first fifteen years of radio were transcribed. There were several reasons why transcribing was not instantly popular, and the first was economic-- making a transcription disk required a cumbersome and expensive process that necessitated special equipment and a special studio; many stations, and many performers, found the procedure time-consuming, and they decided to avoid it. Another factor involved an ongoing dispute about whether it was a good idea to encourage the broadcasting of "canned music" (music that was not performed live). Some radio executives, and nearly all musicians, believed that the public preferred live music, and that any recorded or 'canned' music was of inferior quality (Codel, "Canned Music" 3; and "Canned Music Not for WGN" 25). This was an understandable belief in the early 1920s, when reception was often poor and the equipment distorted the way phonograph records sounded; however, concern about the effect of phonograph records could be traced as far back as the turn of the century, when bandleaders and music professors worried that recorded

music would cause people to lose interest in live performances (“Canned Music” 6).

By the late 1920s, the state of the art in radio broadcasting (as well as in the quality of the receiving sets) had greatly improved, and many stations did play phonograph records without any complaint from the audience (August 142). But when it came to using transcriptions, a 1929 ruling by the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), General Order 78, came down on the side of live music only. It mandated that any station airing a transcription had to announce this fact every fifteen minutes and explain to the audience that it was listening to a recording rather than a live performance (“Mechanical Music” 26; Power A11). This FRC ruling was finally repealed in early 1932, but it was not until 1934-35 that transcriptions become more widely available, as large companies such as World Broadcasting System and the NBC Electrical Transcription Service began mass producing them.

However, despite the growing number of transcriptions that were produced in the late 1930s, not many of them have survived. In his 1977 doctoral dissertation, Michael Biel noted that only a handful of recordings of programs from the late 1920s/early 1930s were still around. (There are, of course, surviving copies of numerous hit songs and even some recorded speeches from that era, but for my dissertation

research, what was needed were recorded programs that were broadcast in their entirety, and it is these transcribed programs which remain scarce.) Since he wrote his dissertation, Professor Biel and several other technology historians have located some more transcriptions from the late 1930s and early 1940s, but there are still only a small number of surviving transcription discs from the period prior to 1935. Thus, as mentioned earlier, I am only able to rely on the reporting about the programs that print journalists and fans put into writing, rather than listening to what the public heard in radio's formative years.

And just as most of the transcribed materials from the late 1920s and early 1930s are difficult to locate, so too are many early radio magazines and newspapers, which have long since gone out of business; and as I discovered when trying to find specific articles, even some of the most popular magazines of that era, such as Radio Broadcast and Radio Digest, have not survived either-- only a few libraries own back issues, and as of 2010, no database offered any of the early radio magazines. A small number of scholars have managed to perform content analysis on early radio magazines (Brown 70; Butsch 1998), but they are hampered by this lack of available source material. Fortunately, I am a collector, and own copies of many of the radio publications of that era, and although I do not own them all, I have sufficient numbers of magazines to overcome this challenge. Another way to augment my study of this

time period is by utilizing electronic databases. Since the early 2000s, a growing number of historical newspapers have come on line, offering researchers full-text issues of publications from Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, New York, Portland OR, and other American cities. These newspapers have provided me with much of the research I needed for my dissertation.

The Need for Media Analysis

Neil Postman was known for his critical inquiry into the role of media and new technology. Through his critiques, Postman "...[showed] how technology in general imposes its values on us, how it restructures and even recreates us and our world in its own image... and how we have willingly surrendered our freedom to the control of the technologies we have made (Van der Laan 145). Postman observed that in most schools, students were taught how to use new technologies, but they were seldom taught to analyze technology from an ecological perspective. He wanted students to explore the changes each new technology brings, and to consider the advantages and disadvantages that result whenever a new technology becomes popular. (Postman noted the advantages were never evenly distributed, and that "every new technology benefits some and harms others.") Analyzing what it meant to live in an "information age," he wanted students to think about "...what technology helps us to do

and what it hinders us from doing... how technology uses us, for good or for ill, and... how it has used people in the past for good or ill” (Postman, End Of Education 191-192). For Postman, asking questions was an essential part of the educational process. For example, when trying to understand media, he suggested such questions as: “To what extent do new media give greater access to meaningful information?” And, “To what extent does a medium contribute to the uses and development of rational thought?” And also, “To what extent [does a medium] enhance or diminish our moral sense, our capacity for goodness?” (Postman, qtd. in Lum 65-67).

While many scholars have done research about the effect of broadcasting and/or the internet on critical thinking (for example, Postman and Powers 1993; Jones 2007), there might be some discomfort with Postman’s belief that ethics and morality should be considered in a critique of mass media. Historically, it has been members of the clergy, or politicians, or conservative newspaper columnists, rather than academics, who were more likely to discuss the media’s effect on “our moral sense, our capacity for goodness.” But when Postman used terms like “goodness” and “moral sense,” there is no evidence that he associated them with any particular religious tradition, nor was he asking scholars to engage in philosophical discussions of good and evil when analyzing the media. Rather, he was asking scholars to evaluate

the impact of a given mass medium on specific aspects of daily life. To cite one example, in his well-known critique of television, Amusing Ourselves To Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business, Postman's focus was on how television had turned serious topics into entertainment and spectacle. He remarked on how talk radio had ceased to provide the kind of thoughtful analysis it once did. He spoke of "...the chilling fact that ... [radio's] language ... is increasingly primitive, fragmented, and largely aimed at provoking a visceral response..." And he observed that the hosts of the call-in shows seldom engaged in a discussion with the callers, but rather, preferred to insult them (112-113). He recognized that television and radio could provide comfort and companionship or offer harmless escapism, but he was deeply concerned by what he saw as the detrimental impact of these media on the "...public discourse-- our political, religious, informational and commercial forms of conversation" (28).

As previously stated, the media ecology perspective encourages us to look at the role of a new medium or technology in changing the way people live -- both the positive changes and the negative ones. For Neil Postman, it was dangerous to assume, as some technological determinists did, that just because something was "newer" and "faster," that was synonymous with "better." It is well-known that Postman had a complicated relationship with new technology. He refused to stand in

awe of it, and generally regarded it as a means to an end. But he would never have been called an early adopter: by his own admission, he refrained from abandoning the old unless he could find a good reason to do so (Postman, Building a Bridge 55). And he often resisted the new, just to be a contrarian: in 1997, when everyone on campus was using e-mail, he refused to use it because he believed it led to less face-to-face interaction. He enjoyed talking to people in person, and in the one e-mail he ever sent, he spoke in the persona of “the ghost of Marshall McLuhan” to chastise his students for spending too much time on the internet rather than reading books or perfecting their writing skills (Postman, qtd. by Strate 2000). Postman did agree that sometimes a new technology such as the internet simplified and sped up our quest for knowledge; but he also pointed out that at other times, it could overwhelm us with misleading facts or false information, and give us little opportunity to evaluate what was true and what was not (Postman, Building a Bridge 89-90).

This critique can certainly be applied to commercial broadcasting’s early years. At that time, there were few resources to fact-check or analyze what had been broadcast. The listeners were left to sort out all the information themselves, with no easy way to decide what was accurate and what was not (Landry 1940). In other words, the fact that radio delivered the information quickly did not necessarily mean the

information was reliable. A good example of this occurred in late 1922 and early 1923, when a French pharmacist named Emile Coué burst onto the media scene. Referred to in the print press as a doctor (although at best, he was a pharmacist and a self-taught psychologist), he became the subject of numerous articles about his theory of “auto-suggestion.” Coué believed that most diseases could be cured by chanting “Every day, in every way, I’m getting better and better.” His theory was that by immersing oneself in positive thinking, healing would occur. He claimed that people from all walks of life were coming to his clinic and applying his methods, with amazing results (“Behind Closed Doors” 41). There were a few skeptics who did not get caught up in the frenzy over the “miracle man” from France (see for example, the editorial entitled “Wonderful Cures” 4; the title was sarcastic, as the editor sought to debunk Couéism). But many reporters seemed wildly enthusiastic about Coué and accepted his claims as true; a typical example was an extensive profile by Hayden Church, in the Atlanta Constitution, headlined “From Obscure Druggist to Foremost Psychologist” (4 June 1922 C9).

Sorting Out the Facts

In late 1922, in preparation for a planned speaking tour in America (“French Exponent” 6), Emile Coué wrote a syndicated series of

articles about the success of his theory (modern critics might ask if these newspaper essays were actually ghost-written by somebody else, but since Coué's name was on them, most American readers of that time undoubtedly believed he wrote them); and when his book, Self Mastery Though Conscious Autosuggestion, was released in America in the early autumn of 1922, it remained a best-seller for the rest of the year. It wasn't long before proponents of "Couéism" were on the radio, claiming to deliver the same results that Coué himself did. Among them was a radio actress named Mona Morgan who did several broadcasts about the Coué method over station WJZ in Newark; she told her audience how a listener had written to say these broadcasts had helped cure his rheumatism ("Girl Teaches" 3).

While the relationship between health and mental attitude is not a subject for this dissertation, the use of "experts" on radio certainly is. Radio offered something new to the audience-- what might be termed "mediated expertise"-- experts who, although unseen, had mastered the art of sounding trustworthy, and used radio to dispense advice to the listeners. The men and women the audience heard in the early to mid-1920s were identified as people who were skilled and knowledgeable in their subject. They included professors, scientists, musicologists, world-travelers, professional athletes, authors, and theologians. Among the radio guest speakers with actual expertise were inventor Thomas Edison,

physicist Albert Einstein, suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt, economist Roger Babson, and baseball star Babe Ruth, just to name a few. But unfortunately, some of the guests on early radio had impressive titles and nothing to back them up; their credentials, which sounded so important, gave the audience the (false) impression that these speakers surely must be scholars. On station KGW in Portland OR, for example, the speaker on Couéism was Dr. Innes V. Brent, who was dean of the Brent School of Applied Psychology. There was no way for the audience to know that Mr. Brent was neither a medical doctor nor a psychotherapist (he was a self-described naturopath), yet he spoke as an expert on psychology, and the Portland Oregonian said he was “well-qualified to speak on this subject” since he was “one of the foremost exponents of the Coué method in this country” (“Broadcasting From KGW” 11). The Oregonian also said that Dr. Brent’s talk was heard by thousands of people, some of whom called the station to ask questions about what they had heard. But with no available technology for taking phone calls on the air while the talk was occurring, whatever claims Mr. Brent made were difficult to challenge.

A similar example could be found in greater Boston, where a physical fitness fad was going on, spurred by a popular football coach named Walter Camp. His suggested regimen, which he called the “Daily Dozen,” was a series of twelve exercises that anyone could do at home or

in a gymnasium; the “Daily Dozen” only took about ten minutes, and those who performed them were promised better health (“Camp’s Daily Dozen” 64). Although Americans in the television and internet world might find it difficult to imagine, exercise by radio became very popular, beginning at WGI, where one of the first such programs began in early September 1922. The instructor, Arthur E. Baird, was said to be a graduate of Tufts College, a school known for its Bachelor of Science program, leading to an advanced degree in medicine; he was also a former college wrestling coach, and was now on the faculty of Boston’s Caines College of Physical Culture. My research in the Tufts Archives during mid-2009 would show that Mr. Baird never graduated from Tufts, nor was he a coach there; and besides that, it is doubtful the Caines school could really be considered a college. But the readers of the Boston newspapers who were introduced to him, and the radio listeners who were told about his impressive qualifications had no reason to doubt him. They probably regarded it as an amazing stroke of good luck to have Arthur E. Baird, an expert from a respected university, teaching them how to be fit through exercise and proper diet (“Radio Health School” 8D).

In Teaching as a Subversive Activity, a book that Neil Postman co-wrote with Charles Weingartner in 1969, the first chapter was about “crap detecting.” Derived from a quote by Ernest Hemingway, the

expression was explained by Postman and Weingartner as the ability to perform what today is known as “critical thinking” -- that is, to be able to recognize and resist “...faulty assumptions, superstitions, and even outright lies” (3). The need for critical thinking and the duty of teachers to encourage it, was a concept Postman would frequently revisit in other books. And he repeatedly spoke of the need for healthy skepticism, whether people were listening to politicians or newscasters or even professors. Such an attitude might have been useful in radio’s formative years. Even the Washington Post, then as now considered a mainstream publication, gave credence to the Coué fad by sponsoring the local broadcasts of his lectures when he came to America for a speaking tour in early 1923. After stations WMU and WJH had broadcast the talks, the Post received many letters of appreciation. Listeners were amazed to hear the famous psychologist’s voice, and those who could not attend his lectures in person felt the broadcasts were a great service. Of course, there is no way of knowing whether the Post received letters critical of Coué; the comments that were published expressed gratitude, and some letter-writers also expressed the hope that by hearing and applying what Coué taught, they and their family would benefit (“Radio Users” 17).

An analysis of the first decade of broadcasting would show numerous other examples of frauds and charlatans -- from astrologers, to faith healers, to preachers who claimed they could do miracles, to

another fake doctor, John R. Brinkley, who used radio to sell his alleged cure for male impotence-- goat gland surgery (Lewis 163). There were politicians making campaign promises ("To Campaign" 5), as a new addition to the media environment of 1921-1922 was reaching potential voters by using radio. And occasionally, there were speakers on controversial issues, like a woman who wanted to discuss the importance of birth control, and an official from the Ku Klux Klan who wanted to discuss the importance of white supremacy (Barnouw 102). But it would be misleading to say that the quacks, partisans and bigots were typical. In fact, they were only a small part of what was on the air. Early listeners also heard some of America's greatest poets, philosophers, and scholars; and several veteran print journalists (Frederic William Wile in Washington D.C. and H.V. Kaltenborn in New York City) went on the air to comment about current events. But with few media critics and almost no scrutiny from the academy, it was up to the members of the radio audience to decide who was accurate and who was not. Still, despite a lack of consistency in the early programs, most Americans seemed convinced that the new mass medium of radio was changing their life for the better. As Susan J. Douglas explained, "Radio provided out-of-body experiences, by which you could travel through space and time mentally while remaining physically safe and comfortable in your own house... There was also the...sense of superiority and freedom from responsibility

that accompanied listening in on others without their knowing who you were, or even that you were there” (Douglas, Listening In 75).

Even though Neil Postman grew up in the 1930s (radio’s so-called “Golden Age”) rather than a decade earlier when radio was just becoming a force in American life, he would still have heard spokespeople from the major networks praising what radio had achieved, and predicting an even brighter future. Most notable among those who articulated this discourse about radio’s progress was David Sarnoff, president of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Chairman of the Board of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), who asserted in a 1936 speech that while experiments with television were already proving successful, this would in no way minimize radio’s importance. In fact, he predicted that one day, there would be “individual radio channels” that would provide each American with his or her own assigned frequency and a wider array of programs to enjoy (“Predicts Marvels” 23). Sarnoff also said that “television is an accomplished fact” that would soon begin broadcasting (which it did, at the 1939 New York World’s Fair); in addition, he expressed excitement over the development of high speed facsimile communication. And while speaking at a conference in Washington D.C., he assured attendees that even better broadcasting technology was on the horizon, and radio would continue to be a major component of the public’s expanding choices (“Radio’s Outlook” X10).

Living during the years when radio was still the dominant medium, Postman might have listened to some of the educational radio programs, or enjoyed a popular adventure show like “The Shadow” or “Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy.” He might even have been exposed to some of the competing discourses about broadcasting, as critics and proponents debated what was on the air (and what ought to be); discussed the effect of commercialization (then as now, critics complained there were too many commercial interruptions); or tried to predict what the future held in store for radio now that television was on the horizon.

What Media Ecologists Wrote About Radio

In his 1992 book Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology, Postman warned repeatedly about the danger of deifying and worshipping technology, commenting that over-reliance on our machines could be detrimental to our ability to think critically, or even to think for ourselves. He observed that too many times throughout history, we humans were told that some new invention would be the solution to our problems, only to find that what had been proposed as the answer created an entirely new set of problems. Postman’s critics had long accused him of being a Luddite and worse. One good example is the New York Times book reviewer, who called him “sanctimonious,” and someone

who “hates our technology-obsessed culture”; she also wrote that many of Postman’s assertions made him sound “strident” and “paranoid” (Kakutani E51). But contrary to what his detractors said, Postman insisted he was not opposed to new technology. He just wanted everyone to think carefully about what they were giving up; as he explained in both The End Of Education and Technopoly, new technologies are not neutral. They leave us with winners and losers. And they do not always leave us better off than we were before they came along (Postman, Technopoly 10-11; End Of Education 192-193). Of course, to radio fans in the early 1920s, such comments would have seemed unnecessarily harsh, which is exactly how his critique of the internet, expressed in such books as Technopoly and Building A Bridge To The 18th Century, seemed to some of his contemporaries in the 1990s.

Although it is Neil Postman’s name that has become synonymous with the media ecology school of thought, he was not the only media ecologist to observe how media could alter the public’s attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors. Among the other theorists who addressed this issue were Marshall McLuhan, Harold Innis, Walter Ong, and Tony Schwartz. McLuhan is best known for a much-quoted phrase “The medium is the message,” which he explained at the beginning of chapter one of Understanding Media: The Extensions Of Man. “[T]he personal and social consequences of any medium

-- that is, any extension of ourselves-- result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology” (7). He went on to add that “...the ‘message’ of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs” (8). McLuhan, like Postman, would focus on the analysis of television, but unlike Postman, he recognized and wrote about the importance of radio, even in an era increasingly dominated by visual media. And because McLuhan theorized that each mass medium (print, radio, television, etc.) could change or shape the message, he understood that communication sent by radio was different from that sent by a newspaper or by television.

The first edition of Understanding Media came out in 1964, a time when television had already established its dominance. However, radio was still very popular, especially with teenagers, who relied upon it for their favorite music and their favorite announcers (S. Douglas, Listening In 255); these announcers were called disc jockeys, often abbreviated as “DJs” (Sterling and Kittross 368). Because the children born during the post-World War II “baby boom” were the fastest growing demographic group, an increasing number of radio stations began catering to the music they liked. What they wanted to hear was very different from the music of the big-band era that their parents preferred; young people liked up-tempo songs with an intense beat, a style that came to be called

rock and roll; and the best place to hear it was on a Top-40 station (Hilliard and Keith 152); top-40 was a format with a limited playlist of hits which were played over and over, announced by fast-talking DJs.

Although most adults could not relate to rock and roll, that didn't mean they abandoned radio. There were stations that played music with a softer sound, and some of these stations even played a few songs from the big band era. But adults were not listening to radio just for music. The 1950s and 1960s were an era before the arrival of 24 hour news channels or all-news radio stations. Radio stations programmed for adults provided important formatic elements in addition to music -- hourly news, weather, and traffic reports, as well as popular sports like baseball or college football. McLuhan remarked upon how the growth of television had caused radio to move away from network entertainment programming (which was now on TV), to become more of a news and information service for its adult listeners (McLuhan, Understanding Media 298). But in addition to TV being visual and radio being aural, there was one other major difference between the two: radio was portable, whereas television was not. Thus, while television viewing usually required a fixed location, such as the living room (Adams, 1992), radio listening could take place almost anywhere. People could listen while they were doing something else-- driving in the car, taking a walk, or, to the chagrin of many parents (my own included), doing homework

(Schwartz, The Responsive Chord xi). Radio's portability helped assure its popularity even during the rise of television. Thanks in large part to that portability, radio remained an important part of people's life, especially during recreational activities. Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the use of car radios increased, while portable radios were taken on vacation, taken out in the yard, or even taken to the beach (Schiffer 144). Further proof that radio had carved out its own niche was demonstrated in research conducted by CBS circa 1971. It showed that radio and television usage still remained close: people surveyed reported that they watched an average of 26.4 hours of TV a week, and listened to radio 21.2 hours a week. Reading newspapers had declined to 4.2 hours, and magazines were at 3.3 hours (qtd. in Schwartz, The Responsive Chord 52).

But as if anticipating McLuhan's theory that "the medium is the message," the Kennedy-Nixon presidential debates of 1960 provided an interesting demonstration of that theory's validity-- the medium which transmits the message also alters that message. Although millions of Americans watched the presidential debates on television, many others listened to them on radio; and each medium created a very different perception of the event. Where the TV audiences were impressed by how photogenic and confident Kennedy *looked*, the radio audiences thought Nixon had won because he *sounded* like the better debater (McLuhan

299; Sterling and Kittross 382). This was not surprising to McLuhan, who devoted a chapter of Understanding Media to each of the various media, both old (like the telegraph) and new (like television). In the chapter about radio, he discussed how radio is a mass medium that speaks to the listener almost as a friend would. Radio thus had the ability to involve the listener in a way that was far more personal than television, even during programs that were scripted, like newscasts. As McLuhan explained, “radio affects most people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker and the listener. That is the immediate aspect of radio” (McLuhan 299). And, in words that seemed to predict the rise of conservative talk radio in the late 1980s, he observed that radio “contracts the world to village size, and creates insatiable village tastes for gossip, rumor, and personal malice.” It is also, he continued, a “mighty awakener of archaic memories, forces, and animosities” (McLuhan 306).

Like McLuhan, Harold Innis was also Canadian; in fact, at one point, the two men were colleagues at the University of Toronto (Heyer xi). Innis was known for his work in political economy, and his expertise was in the study of “...various Canadian industries, such as the railway, the fur trade, mining and the cod fisheries” (Radner 77). But in the mid 1940s, he shifted his focus to the study of communication. During this

time, he began to analyze “how different media of communications affect communication content, cognition, and the character of societies” (Deibert 273). This of course, was similar to McLuhan’s theory, and it became a basic tenet of media ecology-- that “...it is the structure of a medium... that defines the nature of information” (Lum 32). Innis lived in the era before television became a major factor in daily life, when information was transmitted mainly through print and subsequently, through radio. As he analyzed the role of technological change in human communication, he differentiated between what he called “time-biased” media and “space-biased” media. He wrote that “a medium of communication has an important influence on the dissemination of knowledge over space and over time...” Some communications media are “better suited to the dissemination of knowledge over time than over space, particularly if the medium is heavy and durable and not suited to transportation; or to the dissemination of knowledge over space than over time, particularly if the medium is light and easily transported” (Innis, “Bias of Communication” 457). Innis thus believed that print exhibited a time-bias, since the original method of writing required clay tablets and later, scrolls, neither of which was easy to carry. Geographer Jonathan M. Smith suggests that this type of communication can also apply to architecture and sculpture -- what these very durable items tell us about earlier societies allows communication from the past to enter into the present and “...ensure a degree of continuity in the life of the

society” (J. Smith 109). Further, time-biased media keep information in a fixed location -- such as a book or a manuscript; therefore, these media are suitable for preserving and passing down information from generation to generation. And it should be pointed out that when Innis used the word “bias,” he did not mean “prejudice”; he was trying to explain how one medium favored or gave advantages to those who had mastered or learned to control it (Heyer 61; J. Smith 110).

Regarding control of a medium, Innis theorized about the creation of what he called “monopolies of knowledge.” He spoke of how the most powerful group in a society will try to prevent innovation and resist any new techniques that would weaken their control of the flow of information (L.M. Dudley 757; Heyer, qtd. in Lum 154-155). For example, in Medieval times, when only a select few were educated, most of whom were in the hierarchy of the Catholic church, it was these religious elites who controlled the content of manuscripts and books, and who resisted making literacy more widely available (Radner 78; Christian 32). This attempt to monopolize knowledge ultimately failed, as the printing press made the hand-copying of manuscripts obsolete and led to increased literacy, as a greater number of people wanting to own books. Technological change also contributed to more efficiency in the publishing of periodicals: because of improvements in printing presses, magazines and newspapers could be put out in a more timely manner,

and thus, disseminated more quickly. Of course, as Innis pointed out (“The Newspaper” 17), eventually, new monopolies of knowledge in the newspaper world arose, as powerful individuals like William Randolph Hearst, families like the McCormicks in Chicago, and large chains like Scripps-Howard were among the most influential players (Heyer 77-78). The same phenomenon would happen with radio -- it would start with many stations owned by a few corporations and many individual entrepreneurs, but ultimately be dominated by an oligopolistic system where a handful of corporations, led by the two major networks (NBC and CBS), along with the biggest advertisers, determined much of the programming. The influence of this system extended to which announcers would be hired, which news stories would be covered, and which subjects were considered too controversial: these included stories about racism, criticism of how much advertising was on the air, and discussions of social issues like birth control (Kassner and Zacharoff 1936; Brindze, 1937).

Print sources remained the dominant means of gaining information until new technologies like radio (and later television) were perfected. These new mass media did not require the ability to read, and as a result, access to information was more readily available to a greater number of people. The popularity of radio weakened the public’s reliance on books and magazines; and while reading and studying print sources

has continued even to our current day, it is no longer necessary to be an excellent reader in order to learn about current events or politics or literature. This trend began with radio, which was offering educational programs as early as 1922 (“Tufts College” 7), as well as presenting plays and skits (both dramatic and comedic); also, a number of poets and authors read some of their work for the radio audience to enjoy (“New Music of the Spheres” 5). Of course, unlike a book, radio presentations were impermanent, since audiotope had not yet been invented. Still, despite the temporary nature of the performances, radio brought literary works to an appreciative audience that might otherwise never have known about them or been able to read them. And one other surprising thing that early radio did-- it brought the dead back to life. Thanks to the fact that some radio stations played phonograph records, the voices of the greatest singers, including Enrico Caruso (who had died in 1921), could be heard and enjoyed as if the person were still around (Gelders 16).

In 1942, Innis wrote a journal essay about the economic development of newspapers since their inception, and in it, he remarked on how radio had affected the newspaper’s dominance as the prime source of current events information. “The character of news since [World War I] is a reflection of the change in the newspaper. The national field was profoundly influenced by technological change.

Limitations of the newspaper in providing background and interpretation of the news and the importance of photography contributed to the phenomenal success of [such magazines as] Life... Time, Fortune, and the news weeklies. Technological change also contributed to the development of the radio with its serious effects on spot news... The radio capitalized the development of the headline, reduced the importance of the extra edition, and provided interpretation and background. It could reach lower levels of intelligence and literacy” (28).

While this may seem like a sarcastic comment, I do not think it was intended that way. Innis was, by his own admission, a strong believer in the power of oral communication (Heyer 68-69), and as a result, he seemed to have high hopes for radio. In his 1951 book The Bias of Communication, he expressed the belief that radio was a medium that would make people think and pay closer attention, because messages delivered orally required “...the senses and the faculties [to act] together in busy cooperation and rivalry, each eliciting, stimulating and supplementing the other” (Innis 105-106). Radio was thus able to change the historical “monopoly of communication based on the eye” (81). In other words, now that radio had come along, the ear and the ability to listen became as important to the average person as the ability to read. In 1950, Innis wrote in Empire and Communications that “[t]he bias of paper towards an emphasis on space and its monopolies of

knowledge has been checked by the development of a new medium, the radio. The results have been evident in an increasing concern with problems of time” (170). As the networks took over in the late 1920s, listeners paid more attention to time, because radio station schedules became standardized. Favorite programs came on at a specific hour, and with no audio tape or other means to easily record it, if a listener was not near a radio at that specific time, the program would be missed. Innis himself evidently had some favorite programs he made sure to listen to -- he especially liked several popular American comedians, Jack Benny and Fred Allen (Heyer 87), whose network programs were carried by Canadian stations.

Of course, radio did not replace print; instead, there was a period of strife, and then the two competing media gradually learned to accommodate each other. This is not surprising: as Neil Postman noted in The End Of Education, “A new technology usually makes war against an old technology. It competes with it for time, attention, money, prestige, and a ‘worldview’ ” (192). And so, after some initial resistance, newspapers like the Boston American, which did not own a station, made arrangements with pioneering 1XE/WGI (“Boston American to Give” 2) to share their provide news reporters for radio; and the Detroit News similarly used its owned-and-operated station, 8MK/WWJ, to let readers of the newspaper hear print reporters reporting news over the airwaves.

In fact, the printed word was an essential part of broadcasting. Almost from the beginning of commercial radio, announcers made use of news reports, political commentaries, commercials, and radio dramas, all of which were scripted. Thus, while the listeners might not need to be accomplished readers, the performers they heard had to be. Even though the voices on the radio were often reading lines from a script, these performers and guest speakers all tried to sound spontaneous, so that the audience would not know they were reading. This would turn out to be problematic for certain speakers, and more will be said about that in subsequent chapters.

In a 1995 essay about how the theories of media ecologist Walter J. Ong applied to radio, Charles U. Larson noted that "...radio is probably one of the most overlooked oral/aural media among those that make up what Walter Ong has termed "secondary orality" (Larson 89). Father Ong (who was a Jesuit priest in addition to a media scholar), studied the history of communication and looked at the role of technological change, as Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan did. Ong made the distinction between what he called the "typographic culture" and the "oral and aural culture." In a 1959 essay, he observed that "...the [printing] press changed our sense of what thinking is." Elaborating on this, he explained that early human beings, living in a pre-literate era, were part of a "voice and ear culture... [K]nowledge was

stored in the mind, and when verbalized was communicated primarily by the voice and other sounds.” However, sound was ephemeral -- with no way to record it, what people spoke was remembered, but there was no way to preserve it. The creation of the alphabet changed that. It was an innovation that dramatically transformed communication, by “reduc[ing] the evanescence of sound in time to relative permanence in space...” Sound could thus become words, and the words could be preserved on a printed page. And while oral communication certainly did not die out, the importance of literacy meant that sound was now “[broken]... into little spatial parts, which were reassemble[d] on a surface in countless configurations” (Ong, “Is Literacy Passé” 28).

These “spatial parts,” the words on a printed page, were not the only way that language was transformed by a new medium. Electronic media like radio and television transformed it even further. Ong elaborated upon these changes in his 1982 book Orality and Literacy. Writing about the oral tradition as he had done in earlier works, he differentiated between what he called “primary orality” and “secondary orality.” Ong was living in a time when there had been “an explosion of orally based media,” including radio and television, both of which could transmit oral communication electronically. Yet he saw similarities in the oral customs and traditions of pre-literate human beings and the mediated orality of our age (Larson 90). He called “the orality of a culture

totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print, 'primary orality'. It is 'primary' by contrast with the 'secondary orality' of present-day high-technology culture, in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print" (Ong, Orality and Literacy 11).

Discussion of radio as an example of secondary orality can also be found in the work of Tony Schwartz, a close friend of Marshall McLuhan and a respected media theorist in his own right. Schwartz was best known for the commercial advertisements he created for television (he also designed political ads for such numerous candidates, including Lyndon Johnson and Bill Clinton); but he also had a deep appreciation of radio, and produced and hosted his own program, "Around New York," on New York's non-commercial station WNYC for 31 years (Fox B6). In 1973, he wrote The Responsive Chord, in which he discussed how media like radio and television can affect the perceptions of the public. And while, like most media theorists of the 60s and 70s, he often focused on the influence of television, the first sentence in the introduction to The Responsive Chord was "Radio and I grew up together, and my ear developed a sensitivity to audio communication" (Schwartz xi). Later in the book, he expressed his belief that "[i]n many ways, we are today experiencing a return to an auditory-based communications

environment.” He stated that the impact of radio, along with other electronic media, including movies, television and recorded music, had “contributed to a radical transformation in our perception of the world-- from a visual print base to an auditory base” (12-13). And while the majority of his advertising work appeared on television, radio remained an integral part of both his professional and personal life.

There is much that can be learned from studying the theories of such media ecologists as McLuhan, Innis, Ong, Schwartz, and Postman. Their writings demonstrate how the media ecology approach can be applied to the study of contemporary modes of mass communication like the internet, as well as to the analysis of older technologies like radio. And while media ecologists are able to identify the winners in the race for media dominance, they are also able to explore what was lost and what changed as one medium replaced or dominated another. Postman’s critique of television, as expressed in Amusing Ourselves to Death, is an excellent example of this sort of analysis. Because he had seen first-hand how radio and print were affected when television came to the forefront, he was able to provide a thought-provoking overview of media change, as he discussed how the shift from print and radio to television affected American society.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining the Categories

As I have explained, doing research about the formative years of radio is complicated by the lack of archival recordings of actual programs, since audiotape had not yet been invented and few early transcriptions have been located by modern researchers. But despite the lack of audio recordings, there are numerous print sources that can be utilized to provide information about which types of programs were on the radio, who the stars were, and what the critics and fans thought about what they heard. And while many of the radio magazines from that era are long out of print and not widely available, a sizeable number of newspapers and magazines did survive; they can be accessed from library microfilm, in electronic databases, and in hard copy from historical museums and the personal collections of media historians. Thus, it is possible to find a large selection of articles about radio during the 1920s and early 1930s, in both scholarly and non-scholarly publications. Reading them is invaluable to an understanding of the changing media environment, since they describe the perceptions and opinions of people who both experienced and participated in radio's

development. They are augmented by perspectives from a number of modern scholars who have done extensive archival research into radio's first several decades. The print sources to be used in the literature review are categorized as follows:

1. Research derived from modern sources, written by contemporary media historians who specialize in the formative years of broadcasting (books such as Stay Tuned by Christopher H. Sterling and John Michael Kittross, or Only Connect by Michele Hilmes, or journal articles like " 'A Godlike Presence' : The Impact of Radio on the 1920s and 1930s" by Tom Lewis).
2. Research derived from academic sources during radio's first fifteen years-- the period from 1920 through 1935 (scholarly journals and related publications, such as the Quarterly Journal of Speech, English Journal, and Education Research Bulletin).
3. Research derived from mainstream print sources during the period from 1920 through 1935 (sources that were targeted to a mass audience: newspapers such as the New York Times and Washington Post, or magazines such as The New Republic and Literary Digest).

4. Research derived from 1920 through 1935 print sources specifically aimed at women, as well as periodicals directed at ethnic and religious minorities. These include publications for African-Americans (such as the Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier); publications directed to religious minorities (such as Boston's Jewish Advocate and Pittsburgh's Jewish Criterion); and publications targeted to women (such as magazines like McClure's and Independent Woman, or the women's pages of the newspapers).

5. Research derived from niche publications published between 1920 and 1935, magazines and books that were specifically devoted to radio fans (books such as The Complete Radio Book by Raymond Francis Yates and Louis Gerard Pacent, or This Thing Called Broadcasting by Alfred N. Goldsmith and Austin C. Lescarbourea; and articles from publications such as Radio Digest and Radio News).

As Neil Postman wrote in Technopoly, "...[I]t is not always clear, at least in the early stages of a technology's intrusion into a culture, who will gain most by it and who will lose most" (12). But by studying the shifting discourses about radio during its formative years, it becomes possible to better understand the ecological change that resulted when radio became a part of the media landscape. Such change is exemplified by Postman himself: his initial book about broadcasting, Television and

the Teaching of English, was generally favorable; written in 1961, it focused on television's educational possibilities and invited educators to find ways to embrace this new visual medium. But by 1985, Postman's attitude about television had become much more negative, as we see in the first edition of Amusing Ourselves to Death. Similarly, early writing about radio tended to be enthusiastic, often attributing utopian possibilities to the new mass medium; only fifteen years later, critics would be speaking far differently, sometimes praising what was on the air, but more often, expressing disappointment that commercialism had led to a preponderance of soap operas and comedies, and turned educational programs into an endangered species.

Assessing Some Histories of Broadcasting

As explained in chapter one, there are surprisingly few modern books that offer scholarly critiques about radio's impact, or research related to its formative years. While a discussion of why scholars find certain subjects more interesting than others is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is certainly appropriate to consider factors which impede research on early broadcasting. One complication is the lack of primary sources. There are few existing archival recordings of actual programs, since audiotape had not yet been invented and few early transcriptions have been located by modern researchers. This often means that

researchers must rely on print sources, many of which contain descriptions of the programs or popular reaction to them. But even this research is sometimes difficult to do, because some of the print sources, especially older magazines which were never digitized or microfilmed, are not indexed (nor for that matter is most microfilm), requiring the researcher to spend hours going page by page through the source documents. Further, many publications may no longer be in wide distribution. For example, while researching this dissertation, I located two important booklets about early stations, but found that neither was available for Inter-Library loan, due to the fragility of the original copy. In another case, only one library (Brown University's Special Collections) owned the book, and its availability was restricted to use within that library-- fortunately, I was within driving distance of Providence RI, and was able to read the book; but I frequently found other books which I needed were housed in more distant locations, making it difficult for me to access the information they contained.

And I am not the only modern researcher who has encountered this problem. While many major newspapers, such as the New York Times and Washington Post, as well as such magazines as Time, have been digitized back to their very first issues, a large number of potentially valuable publications have not. To cite several examples, as of the writing of this dissertation in 2010, neither Broadcasting nor Billboard,

two seminal modern magazines about radio and popular culture, have been completely digitized, nor has pioneering early radio magazine Radio News. And while Variety has now been made available, the cost to access the database is far greater than what most academians could afford. Thus, contemporary media scholars who wish to engage in the study of early broadcasting often need to rely on archival materials that are not readily available, or are not all housed in one location, a problem noted by numerous media historians, including Christopher Sterling and Michael Keith. In their 2008 book Sounds of Change: A History of FM Broadcasting in America, they mentioned that “different parts [of the NBC archives] reside in both the Library of Congress and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin” (xv). Their research also took them to libraries in Maryland and New York. And when Sterling and I were writing a 2006 journal article about inventor Reginald Fessenden’s possibly mythic Christmas Eve 1906 broadcast, my research in print sources necessitated trips to university libraries in New York and throughout New England, while my colleague went to the Fessenden Archives at the State Archives of North Carolina (132-33).

But despite the challenges in gaining access to needed materials, there are a few contemporary researchers who have done essential work in studying early broadcasting. Perhaps the best known was Erik Barnouw (1908-2001), who has been praised as “the foremost scholar of

broadcasting” and whose three volume history of broadcasting is still considered a classic (Barringer B9). The first volume, A Tower in Babel was published in 1966; it covered radio until 1933. (Subsequent volumes focused on the arrival of new radio formats, the growth of FM and the rise of television.) In 1971, the book reviewer for the New York Times (a newspaper known for thorough coverage of radio since its earliest days) stated that Barnouw’s history of broadcasting was “...continually readable and sharply observant” (Books Reviews, 28 November 1971, B9). But not all scholars were as kind, although there was general agreement that Barnouw should be applauded for making a long-overdue effort to write a history of broadcasting. One critic who disliked his approach to the topic was George H. Gibson of the University of Delaware, who commented on the second volume, covering radio from 1933 to the 1950s. Gibson wrote that Barnouw’s style was much too oriented towards “loosely connect[ed] vignettes,” which end up being a “lighthearted traipse down memory lane.” He concludes by saying that “...those who want tight sociological and psychological analysis of the impact of network broadcasting on society... [will find] the writing... too loose and the sources too general” (286). Another scholar, Burl Noggle of Louisiana State University, agreed, saying that while the vignettes about various radio pioneers were interesting and entertaining, Barnouw’s history was lacking in analysis. “When he dutifully tries to place his story in the political and social setting of the twenties, he flounders...”

As Gibson had done with the second volume, Noggle took Barnouw to task for the same problem with the first volume-- he asserted that Barnouw was too focused on story-telling, and too “casual” about his sources and references (187). But another critic, Richard D. Heffner of Rutgers, was more forgiving of Barnouw’s use of anecdotes, saying that this was appropriate for the kind of history he was trying to write. Heffner believed that Barnouw’s larger point was about power-- who in early broadcasting had it, and who did not. “Barnouw correctly sees that the *real* story of American broadcasting is... that of the giant industrial combinations that all too quickly came to dominate the airwaves: General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, Westinghouse, and the Radio Corporation of America... [Barnouw]... has written a pre-eminently financial, rather than cultural, history...” Heffner also praised him for being a “fine business historian” (247).

And to be fair to Barnouw, the historian who came before him, Suffolk University’s Gleason Archer, whose *The History of Radio to 1926* was written in 1938 (and relied mainly on corporate sources), was similarly accused by critics of not being sufficiently focused on facts and figures, and too focused on story-telling. To cite one example, I. Bernard Cohen, writing in the science journal *Isis*, praised him for his thorough research and for at least trying to write a history of early broadcasting; but he then said that Archer had seemed uncertain what kind of history

he was writing. At times, he seemed to be writing about the science of broadcasting, but then he would veer off into discussions about commercial broadcasting and how the early stations operated. Cohen felt that the first half of the book was about the technology of broadcasting, and of use to historians like himself, whereas the second half was more oriented towards offering interesting anecdotes for the general reader (211).

Since Archer and Barnouw made their attempts to write broadcasting histories, there have been a small number of modern scholars who have either done original research or have revisited older research and updated it. Among the best-known contemporary media historians with books that touch upon or look closely at radio's early years are Christopher H. Sterling and John Michael Kittross; Michael C. Keith and Robert L. Hilliard; George H. Douglas; Michele Hilmes; Susan J. Douglas; and Tom Lewis. There are also scholars who study particular stations, such as Samuel J. Brumbeloe and J. Emmett Winn, who wrote about pioneering station WAPI in Birmingham AL, or Randall Davidson, whose expertise is in the history of early broadcasting at 9XM/WHA in Madison WI. And there are scholars who focus on certain key individuals in radio history, most notably the work of Mike Adams, who co-wrote (along with his colleague Gordon Greb) a biography of early broadcaster Charles "Doc" Herrold, or Susan Ware's biography of

women's show host Mary Margaret McBride. We may sub-divide the work of these contemporary radio scholars into two basic types: the first group employs traditional historiography, with minimal analysis, and an often-chronological telling of the story; the other group employs a more recent trend, providing social and/or cultural history, which includes critical analysis of the impact of radio broadcasting on certain segments of society, and may examine radio from various perspectives (such as feminist, Marxist, or critical-cultural). For these scholars, radio is studied as a "social practice, grounded in culture, rather than in electricity" (Hilmes, qtd. in Monaghan A17).

Contemporary Broadcast Historians

Arguably the best known of the modern group of traditional media scholars are Sterling and Kittross. They are the authors of what some critics (for example Edgerton 231; and Brown 377-378) believe to be the definitive traditional history of broadcasting-- Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting (3rd edition, 2002), a massive volume of more than 900 pages, which includes copious footnotes, charts, graphs, illustrations, timelines, and a 50-page bibliography. The first 280 pages are devoted exclusively to the development and growth of radio, from its pre-history (the telegraph and amateur radio) up through the arrival of radio networks, the Golden Age of Radio, radio during World War II, and

finally, the arrival of television. The rest of the book switches back and forth between events and important people in radio and TV. While scholars were enthusiastic about this updated version of Stay Tuned, some noted the lack of any “detailed theoretical analysis” (Walker 570). In the review I wrote in 2002 for Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, I joined with other reviewers in praising the book for its outstanding scholarship and thorough research, but I commented on the lack of discussion regarding the development of rock music formats, including top-40 and album rock; and unlike the other (male) reviewers, I also remarked upon how little of the book was devoted to the achievements of women and minorities-- there was more than in the second edition (and I provided some of it), but it was still not as much as the subject deserved (1026).

Also in the category of traditional history is Hilliard and Keith’s popular The Broadcast Century and Beyond, now in its 5th edition (2010). The authors follow a chronological approach, but unlike many other books of this genre (and unlike the earliest edition of this book), there is more of an attempt to incorporate theoretical approaches, in addition to providing straight historiography. For example, the authors devote a segment to Diffusion of Innovation theory (2) and another to the Scarcity Principle (49); they also offer theories about why there was little resistance to radio’s becoming commercialized (59). The book is written

in a more casual style than Sterling and Kittross's-- chapter titles include the "Furious Forties" and the "Soaring Sixties." At the top of each page, there is a timeline of major events from each year, and the text is interspersed with photographs of famous radio and television performers and executives, as well as interviews with modern experts in different aspects of broadcasting. And although the authors accept that KDKA was the first station (something that is very much contested, as mentioned earlier), they also include a number of female broadcasters and do a commendable job of discussing how radio (and TV) affected popular culture.

Another contemporary scholar who focused on radio history was J. Fred MacDonald, author of an important volume from 1979, Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life from 1920 to 1960. MacDonald was ahead of the curve in his belief that it was time for the academy to abandon its disdain for popular culture. While in some ways his book was a traditional history, with emphasis on the types of programs listeners heard in each era, it was unique in addressing topics not often researched in the 1970s, including radio's use of racial stereotypes, and the roles assigned to African-Americans in the Golden Age of broadcasting; in fact, Don't Touch That Dial would continue to be cited by scholars of race well into the 2000s (for example, Vaillant 2002; Sklaroff 2004). One critic suggested that MacDonald's

work showed him to be a proponent of “reflection theory” -- derived from the social sciences, this perspective held that the study of popular culture (in MacDonald’s case, manifested in the study of the programs on radio), is valuable because of “what it reveals or reflects about the society which produces and consumes it” (Havig 405). And another critic found MacDonald’s analysis of different themes-- such as of the rise of broadcast journalism, or the popularity of the mythic “radio detective” or “radio cop” -- very insightful. In fact, the reviewer asserted that this book was “one of the best histories of the first four decades of radio programming so far printed” (Hofer 102).

Also worth mentioning in the category of traditional books about radio history is George H. Douglas’s 1987 book, The Early Days of Radio. While most histories revisit some of the same territory (including the role of large corporations like Westinghouse and RCA, major figures like David Sarnoff and Lee DeForest, etc), Douglas, a professor at the University of Illinois, covered some previously under-researched territory, discussing certain Chicago stations such as KYW and WMAQ, and unique local announcers like pioneering female broadcaster Halloween Martin (184, 189). He also wrote briefly about the marginalization of women announcers (65), a subject that Michele Hilmes would expand upon in books such as Radio Voices. While critics found Douglas’s relatively short (248 pages) book very readable, he was taken to task for

not being sufficiently thorough. Fellow media historian Susan Smulyan wrote that while Douglas tried to tell the story in a conversational style -- it was advertised as an “informal history” -- he seldom explained the underlying reasons for why key events occurred, nor did he place them into a historical context. She also observed that the text was “too sparsely footnoted,” giving readers no easy way to know the sources for his information (342-343).

Smulyan reviewed another more widely-known volume about early radio history-- the 1991 book by Tom Lewis, Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio; it gained its fame because it was subsequently turned into television documentary by filmmaker Ken Burns. Lewis told the story of early radio through the eyes of three of its seminal figures-- RCA and NBC executive David Sarnoff; the inventor of the audion tube, and the man who claimed to be the Father of Broadcasting, Lee DeForest; and the inventor of FM broadcasting Edwin Howard Armstrong. Smulyan praised Lewis’s “engaging prose style” and commended him for his unique research on Armstrong (much of the rest of the book drew upon the research of other media historians, including Susan Douglas and Erik Barnouw). But she found the shifting narratives difficult to follow, as Lewis’ alternated between the three protagonists, letting each tell his own version of the story; and because these three men were not very likeable as people, it was “dreary” to keep reading about every little

thing they did. She concluded, "Empire of the Air attempts to be a widely accessible history of the interaction between technology and business, and yet it ultimately fails because the author focused his gaze too narrowly and left out too much." Once again, as she saw it, the problem was the author's failure to place the events and the actions of the three men in any social or cultural contexts, leaving the reader with the impression that only Sarnoff, DeForest and Armstrong "made" what became radio broadcasting (701-702).

Susan Smulyan herself is a frequently-quoted cultural historian, one of the group of scholars whose research explores the intersection of traditional and social history. In her 1994 book Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, she addressed the process by which radio became entirely supported by advertising, a decision that she asserts was "...neither natural nor inevitable. Other financial support models also were proposed; Additionally, as late as 1928 many broadcasters, business leaders and members of the public felt that radio should not carry advertising" (Smith 88). Unfortunately, the sponsors won out, and that decision dramatically affected the types of programs heard on the air. "Smulyan's strongest chapter is an incisive analysis of the relationship between advertising and entertainment that resulted in the creation of groups like "The Happiness Boys," sponsored by Happiness Candy" (Auster 487). And Smith, while favorably disposed to

Smulyan's work, also refers to her as a "revisionist electronic-media historian", and reminds readers that like others from that school of thought she "views these pivotal 1920s and 1930s events from 1980s and 1990s perspectives" (89).

Another book that combined social and traditional history, Inventing American Broadcasting 1899-1922 by Susan J. Douglas, received considerable praise from scholars when it was published in 1987. One critic stated that the author offered new insights into the development of early radio technology, and combined these insights with fresh information about the relationship between the popular press and the newly emerging mass medium; Douglas was also commended for giving readers the backstory of radio's emergence, by elaborating on the events that led up to the radio craze of the early 1920s. And where other authors got bogged down in detailed descriptions of technological minutia, Douglas was praised for placing the inventions (and inventors) into a cultural context, discussing the impact of wireless telephony on the general public at that time, and explaining what the mainstream press thought about it (Banta 459). Another critic noted that Douglas took a thematic approach, telling each important strand of the story with clarity, while avoiding the use of "technological or business jargon" and similarly avoiding any "hero worship" about the important individuals in the narrative. One of her themes focused on the efforts of

early corporations and entrepreneurs to control access to the technology; another, where she offered unique research, was in looking at the influence of the “boy engineers,” and how the interests of these young amateur radio enthusiasts were pitted against the interests of corporations, the government, and the military as broadcasting continued to develop (Wise 1436). In the introduction to her book, Douglas had remarked that her two loves were American studies and the history of technology (Inventing xi), and that her intent was to write about “the social construction of radio” (xvii). Given the positive critical reception she received, it was evident that she had succeeded: nearly every journal reviewer expressed appreciation for her then- new approach to radio history, a combination of economic, social, and political history, that served to elucidate the technological history she discussed. The one quibble that some critics had was with the short final chapter-- fewer than 23 pages were devoted to the end result of all of the strands she had so thoroughly discussed in the previous eight chapters. For some reason, she concluded the story somewhat abruptly, rather than explaining how radio ended up becoming what one critic called a “medium for mass entertainment, information and propaganda” (Friedel, 486). How did the transition from wireless telephony to wireless telephony, which she so thoroughly described in all the previous chapters, suddenly become mass appeal commercial broadcasting? Friedel went on to say that this was one very important topic that needed

to be “rounded out” but never was. Douglas is also the author of a 1999 book, Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination, from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern, described on the back cover as “...the first in-depth history of how radio culture and content have kneaded and expanded the American psyche.” One critic remarked that in this book, Douglas “rhapsodizes about” radio’s ability to loosen cultural strictures and speaks with enthusiasm about radio as theater of the imagination, a medium that, in its golden age, could “[transport] us out of the house, out of our dull neighborhoods, and off to someplace where life seemed more intense, more heartfelt, less fettered” (qtd. by Monaghan A18).

Among the best-known of the contemporary sociocultural historians is Michele Hilmes, author of such books as Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States and Radio Voices: American Broadcasting 1922-1952. She also co-edited The Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio. As mentioned earlier, the first histories of broadcasting followed a traditional and chronological path, and did not provide much analysis or critique. The works of historians like Susan Douglas, Smulyan and Hilmes have changed that focus, providing a more critical perspective: as Hilmes explains, her goal is to “...place broadcasting in a detailed web of social, political, and cultural connections that inform and illuminate...” And further, she

seeks to "...[highlight] the tensions and contradictions that run through broadcasting's history, bringing out social struggles, utopian and dystopian visions of media power, [and] attempts to restrict what can be said and heard on the air..." (Only Connect xii). Reviewing an earlier edition of Only Connect, one critic praised her for offering "alternative stories" and a perspective that differed from the normal version of the "received history." He said her book was a "personal and qualitative history that has richness and depth," and noted that some of her "connections" included a discussion of the impact of black radio on popular culture, or detailed the influence of the "unruly women," female radio comedians who later became popular on television. "For Hilmes, history is not a static set of facts to be discovered and reported; history is shaped by choices made by historical and theoretical assumptions and by the character of the historian producing the work. Hilmes makes it clear that this book represents her interpretations of broadcasting history, and others may not agree with those interpretations" (Brown 379). Radio Voices, which came out in 1997, was similarly praised; Hilmes was one of the first media historians to examine the role of women in early radio, exploring how and why their participation was marginalized by sponsors and male network executives. As one critic observed, "Others have challenged certain aspects of the received history of the commercial system of American broadcasting... and other books have examined the creation of a daytime "women's realm" in the

broadcasting schedule... But Hilmes offers us something new: a re-examination of the entire history of radio through this frame of lost voices. The amount of archival research she undertook to recast broadcasting history is impressive; even more impressive is her power of synthesis, bringing all this information together in a comprehensible and engaging format” (Meyer 372). The sociocultural approach to broadcasting history can also be found in the 2002 collection of essays Radio Reader, which once again explored the interaction of radio and various segments of the audience. Hilmes and co-editor Jason Loviglio provided essays from a number of contributors, who wrote about marginalized and under-researched groups such as rural radio listeners, ethnic minorities, and the working class. Some of the essays, such as one by Loviglio, offered new perspectives on particular genres of programming such as the “vox pop” (voice of the people) programs which had originally purported to let “ordinary Americans” have their say, but which was turned into a sort of quiz show by the networks, with the man or woman on the street being asked trick questions to see how they would respond (98).

As with other volumes by Hilmes, critics praised her and her colleagues for shining a light on a mass medium far too often ignored by the academy. The 570 page volume reflected such a diversity of thought that one critic suggested it could benefit students in a number of

disciplines, including “...politics, communication, American Studies [and] history” (Lee 273). And another critic said the collection provided “many stimulating, original accounts of the potentially transgressive power of radio” (O’Neill 63). He too was pleased to find so many topics and perspectives-- among the best essays on radio during its formative years, he pointed out Kate Lacey’s exploration of radio programming during the Great Depression, Bruce Lenthall’s study of what the critics said about broadcasting during radio’s so-called Golden Age, and Derek Vaillant’s discussion about the impact of local radio in Wisconsin in 1930-1932. O’Neill’s review also noted that the twenty-four essays in the Radio Reader illustrated the conflicting forces that pulled at the new mass medium-- how radio could be both commercial and progressive, deeply traditional yet surprisingly open to differing ideas.

It should also be noted that while most contemporary media ecologists have only mentioned radio in passing, occasionally, the topic has been given some much needed attention, as in the 1998 book by Paul Levinson, The Soft Edge, which addressed “the difference that communications media make in our lives (xi). Levinson, a professor at Fordham University and a frequently-quoted media critic, discussed the benefits and the consequences of each mass medium, including radio. It is a tenet of media ecology that “[a]ll technological change is a Faustian bargain. For every advantage a new technology offers, there is always a

corresponding disadvantage” (Postman, End Of Education 192).

Levinson observed that for generations, it was well-known that “hearing was the archetypal mode for perception by the multitudes.” Applying that fact to ancient Greece, the more people who heard a speaker, the more democracy was affected (Levinson, The Soft Edge 78). This was, of course, a mixed blessing. While it was good that large numbers of people were able to hear a particular speaker’s ideas, those speakers with the strongest rhetorical skills (rather than the best ideas) were often able to influence the public, and thus affect the democracy, a problem remarked upon by such theorists as Emmanuel Levinas, who associated rhetoric with “ruse, artifice, and exploitation” rather than honest and straightforward conversation (qtd. in Perpich 115). Levinson noted this problem as well. He said that, as in ancient Greece where the speakers with the largest audiences often had the most influence, deserved or not, radio too transformed the culture into what he called an “acoustocracy.” The pervasiveness of radio during the 1930s, plus the fact that it was a one-way medium (authoritative voices could speak to millions at the same time, but listeners lacked the ability to respond) empowered a number of great statesmen like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill; but it also empowered totalitarian leaders like Hitler and Stalin (Levinson 77; 86-89), as well as populist demagogues like Huey Long and Father Coughlin.

Modern Journal Essays About Radio

As mentioned previously, for many years, only a few academic journals published research or critical discussion about radio. These included the English Journal, Educational Research Bulletin, and the Quarterly Journal of Speech. It was not until 1956 that the Journal of Broadcasting (today known as the Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media) was first published (McCain iii). Other radio journals came along even later, with the Journal of Radio Studies making its debut in 1992 (Ehrlich 87). As a result of the small number of scholarly publications devoted exclusively to the study of radio, some contemporary academics have published their work in American Studies or American History journals, while others turned to journals that addressed a particular niche, such as film studies (since some radio stars also made movies), economics, business, or technological history, and wrote about radio from that perspective.

Similar to the different types of books about radio and its history, there are also journal essays that address broadcasting in a more traditional and chronological manner, as well as essays that take a sociocultural, and thus more critical, approach. Some of the traditional history essays can be divided into those that focus on a profile of a

particular individual and those that explore a certain era or trend. An example of a biographical essay is Ross Melnick's "Station R-O-X-Y: Roxy and the Radio," a 2005 depiction of theater impresario and radio host Samuel L. Rothafel, better known as "Roxy." Melnick, a doctoral student at the time, wrote an in-depth exploration of the importance of Roxy's work, and what he meant to popular culture in the 1920s. He also discussed the impact that hosting a weekly variety program on radio had on Roxy's already successful career. Roxy was well-known for managing the Capitol Theatre, where he selected the movies to be shown, and also served as master of ceremonies for live entertainment; he had an ear for talent, and his support helped vaudeville performers become stars. On radio, where he did his first broadcast in 1922, he became known to an entirely new audience; by 1924, one estimate said his weekly variety show was receiving more than 10,000 fan letters (Melnick 221), and when "Roxy and his Gang" was picked up by the NBC Blue radio network, his fame spread even further; in 1927, he built a theater that bore his name, the Roxy, and began to broadcast his variety show from that new location. Melnick uses old theater programs, newspaper accounts, letters, and oral histories to shed some light on a seminal figure in early radio history.

A good example of a traditional exploration of a period in radio history is a 1984 essay from the Journal of Contemporary History, "Written On The Wind: The Impact of Radio During the 1930s," by Alice

Goldfarb Marquis, in which she first discusses the development of the two national networks (then known as the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System) in 1926-1927, looks at initial resistance (by listeners and by the government) to commercial advertising, and explains how that resistance was overcome, thereby allowing NBC and CBS to be supported by commercial advertising (386-388). Famed radio historian Erik Barnouw also employed this traditional style in a 1982 journal article for the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science , in which he offered a “Historical Survey of Communications Breakthroughs.” This technologically-themed essay discussed the major inventions, inventors, and corporations responsible for advances in broadcasting, from the telegraph up through the then-new technology of cable television; although Barnouw was writing about technology, his audience was political scientists, and he employed the story-telling style for which he was known. And one other example of a traditional historical approach was Hugh Richard Slotten’s 2008 essay, “Radio's Hidden Voice: Noncommercial Broadcasting, Extension Education, and State Universities during the 1920s,” which offered an interesting look at early efforts to provide educational, noncommercial programming, and what happened when stations resisted becoming commercialized. Slotten focuses upon a New Mexico station, KOB, that began with noble intentions but ended up abandoning educational broadcasting and becoming yet one more commercial station. He makes

an important observation about an issue that has affected media historians for many years-- the lack of primary documents from the majority of the early stations. "Because historians generally focus on analyzing winners, we know a great deal about the "mainstream, hegemonic practices" of large commercial stations connected to networks during the late 1920s and 1930s" (2-3). He goes on to say that since it is mainly the major corporations that tend to preserve their history, it is a challenge for scholars to find sufficient information about the activities of the smaller or the non-corporate radio stations. (Some of the material in this essay ended up in Slotten's 2009 book Radio's Hidden Voice: The Origins of Public Broadcasting.)

Slotten's assertion about the dearth of primary source materials is certainly one with which many scholars would agree. For example, Wolfe (389) acknowledged that he found no surviving documents from station KTNT in Muscatine, Iowa, home of Norman Baker, a famous radio charlatan of the 1930s; in order to write about the man and his station, Wolfe had to rely on newspaper accounts and interviews with "old timers" from the area. And similarly, Schultze (see especially 291-292), in his assessment of early Christian radio broadcasts, lacks both audio and primary documents, so he too relies upon what newspapers and radio magazines reported. But although it may be difficult to locate primary documents from smaller stations or cities, there are some scholars who have managed to do it, and who focus their research on uncovering the

radio history of a particular city or town. One example of local radio history appeared in a 1969 volume of Minnesota History (the publication of the Minnesota Historical Society), where Ted Curtis Smythe provided an excerpt from his doctoral research, “The Birth of Twin Cities' Commercial Radio.” Smythe, who went on to become an associate professor at California State University at Fullerton, established himself as an expert in journalism history, including broadcast journalism; in this essay, he elaborated upon the success or failure of the earliest Minneapolis-St. Paul radio stations, several of which had close ties to local newspapers.

An additional example of local radio history can be found in a 1998 essay published in the Michigan Historical Review, “Women Don't Do News: Fran Harris and Detroit's Radio Station WWJ,” by Sue Carter. In this essay, as with others in this genre, Carter focused on a particular era of radio history and discussed the changes that occurred -- while the central theme of this essay is a pioneering female newswoman from Detroit, who was on the air during the 1940s and 1950s, the essay begins with a look at some of the pioneering women of broadcasting in the 1920s and early 1930s, such as radio homemakers like Ida Bailey Allen (80), theater critic and, later, program manager Bertha Brainard (81), and radio actress and then news commentator Kathryn Cravens

(82); it discusses the limited roles of women in the 1920s and 30s, and then shows how Fran Harris succeeded in challenging these roles.

The sociocultural perspective that is seen in books by scholars like Michele Hilmes and Susan Douglas can also be seen in numerous journal articles, most of which are from the post-1980 period. A good example is Derek W. Vaillant's 2002 essay about racism in early Chicago radio, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921-1935." Vaillant's essay explores a specific place and time not often researched (Chicago, during the 1920s and early 1930s), and as MacDonald had done in 1979, Vaillant's research focuses on how radio was somewhat of a mixed blessing for African-American performers. On the positive side, "...radio enlarged the possibilities of a multiethnic, multiracial public culture by popularizing the sounds of African American musicians. Radio undermined the power of morals police to control public discourse about popular music now that listeners could easily sample African American jazz for themselves" (35). Thus, even though America was segregated, black entertainers were now being heard in cities where they might have been refused the right to perform. But this did not mean early radio was egalitarian. As the title of Vaillant's essay noted, Chicago radio (and nearly all radio in America) exemplified the Sound of Whiteness. Chicago had only one program devoted entirely to black music and black performers, the "Negro Hour,"

hosted by Jack L. Cooper, and it did not go on the air till 1929 (29). Otherwise, although certain songs by African-American artists might be played, there was “an unspoken agreement that a racialized white identity should... serve as the basis of American broadcasting” (30).

Among the scholarly essays that analyze radio’s hegemonic practices, especially the promotion of consumer culture and the stereotyping of rural listeners as inferior to those from big cities, are two that focus on the new mass medium’s effect on farmers. One is from 2006, “ ‘The More They Listen, the More They Buy’: Radio and the Modernizing of Rural America, 1930-1939,” by Steve Craig. The other, from 2003, is by Randall Patnode, “ ‘What These People Need Is Radio’: New Technology, the Press, and Otherness in 1920s America.” Both essays discuss how radio’s proponents framed its development as part of a “discourse of progress,” in which certain groups (in this case, farmers) who were perceived as needy could derive great benefit and improve their situation by having a radio. As Patnode explains, the popular discourse about farmers often depicted them as “lonely, desperate, and victims of geography,” since they lived so far from centers of modern urban life (288). Farmers were also stereotyped as less intelligent and less up-to-date than their city cousins; the common wisdom, as expressed in radio magazines, was that farmers who listened to radio would gain the sophistication and wisdom they lacked (294). While Patnode described

how radio benefitted the farmer (for example, weather reports were quite helpful, as were programs featuring experts who answered questions about crop diseases or farm management), he also observed that radio preached a gospel of consumerism; farmers and their families were encouraged to own the right radio set, wear the right clothing, and enjoy the right music, in order to be seen as “modern” (304). In Craig’s essay, he too observed that radio promised farm families a better life, and gave them greater access to music, news, and information. Even the commercials served a useful purpose, “...present[ing] images of a modern urban consumer lifestyle that many rural families found compelling” (3). Radio also entertained and provided companionship for the farmer’s wife, who often felt alone and isolated when her husband was at work (“Radio Brightens” 5), an emotion also shared by housewives in the cities. In fact, one of the other discourses about radio was that it made the homemaker’s life more bearable by providing her with variety and entertainment, and thus offering a respite from the “drudgery of the household tasks” (Goldman 34). And, there is one other important point in Craig’s essay: he also notes that radio made rural dwellers feel more included in the national conversation. The fact that radio networks played the same programs and the same commercials in cities of all sizes reinforced the idea that despite our individual differences, there was a “single, American national identity” (3). Interestingly, part of that identity involved bringing certain country and western performers into

the mainstream. Previously scorned by city dwellers as “hillbilly music,” barn-dance programs became very popular during the 1930s. Among the best-known were the Grand Ole Opry (broadcast by WSM in Nashville, a station with a strong enough signal to be heard all over the Eastern United States) and the National Barn Dance, which was carried on Saturday nights by NBC (Craig 15).

A few essays also analyze radio’s hegemonic practices from a feminist perspective, demonstrating how corporations and sponsors worked to delegitimize or marginalize feminist discourses and privilege discourses of domesticity. Two good example of this type of critique are a 1993 essay by Susan Smulyan, “Radio Advertising to Women in Twenties America: ‘A Latchkey to Every Home’ ” and a 1998 essay by Richard Butsch (who acknowledged that “helpful comments” were provided by Susan Smulyan), “Crystal Sets and Scarf-Pin Radios: Gender, Technology, and The Construction of American Radio Listening in the 1920s.” In Smulyan’s essay, she discussed the desire of advertisers to create a market for their products and the willingness of broadcasters to design programming that furthered this end. Actresses playing the role of fictional homemakers like “Aunt Sammy” and “Betty Crocker,” along with real-life homemaking experts like Mrs. Julian Heath and Ida Bailey Allen took to the airwaves in the mid 1920s. The “Roaring 20s” was actually an era of personal discovery, where many middle and upper-

class women did in fact seek out careers, but that was not how radio portrayed women's lives. In the world of Betty Crocker or Ida Bailey Allen, a woman's place, and her true identity, could only be found in the domestic sphere. The radio homemakers thus "...helped reinforce the ideology which united women with consumption. Radio helped bring business and the home together. As [these home economists] used radio to reach large audiences with ideas about homemaking as a vocation, they also told women that happiness and success could be gained by purchasing products" (Smulyan 1998).

As for Butsch's essay, he examined the representations of women in some of the radio magazines of the 1920s, tracing the changes in the visual images on cover illustrations and in advertisements. As other researchers have similarly observed, Butsch located many of these changes in 1922-1923, when radio moved beyond a hobby for boys and men, and became an activity that could be enjoyed by families. At that time, magazines like Wireless Age made a conscious decision to minimize the technical articles and put more emphasis on articles which presented radio's positive impact on the lives of America's listeners. Where previous issues of this magazine had featured black and white photos of radio equipment, and articles about choosing the right tubes or putting up the perfect antenna, suddenly with the May 1922 issue, the focus completely changed, as reflected in the magazine's cover art. "Covers now

featured color drawings of people listening, Norman Rockwell-style romanticizations of upper middle-class American domestic life. The May cover depicted a well-dressed woman sitting and listening with headphones in her parlor, the radio on a table with wires and batteries hidden in a furniture cabinet” (561). Another magazine, Radio World, underwent a similar change: while much of the magazine remained technical in focus, throughout much of 1922 and early 1923, it ran a weekly column by a pseudonymous female columnist “Crystal D. Tector” who stressed women’s ability to master technology and chatted about famous women who had benefited from their knowledge of radio. But this column gradually disappeared, replaced by representations of women that were more objectified. “Cover design changed to pictures of young women in bathing suits, or dancing, legs exposed, while *listening to radio*. A majority of Radio World covers for April through July of 1924 depicted attractive young women in bathing suits. Cartoons depicted women as ignorant of the technology, restoring the boundaries of gender spheres” (567). Most early radio magazines ignored the female radio fan, but when she was seen in photos, she was depicted doing exactly what men did-- turning the dials on the set or sitting at her own receiver. But the images from the mid-1920s shifted to depictions of women listening while doing domestic activities (ironing or mending clothes while listening to radio, cooking while listening, etc). Butsch discussed how this re-imaging of women was part of a strategy to persuade potential

advertisers that there was a distinct female audience, and it was worth pursuing; these female listeners had their own separate sphere, with daytime radio programs that helped them to pass the time while teaching them to be better homemakers (568-569).

There are also some contemporary journal essays that address radio's business practices. A good example is a 2004 study by Alexander Russo, "Defensive Transcriptions: Radio Networks, Sound-on-Disc Recording, and the Meaning of Live Broadcasting." In radio's early years, most performances were live (although sometimes, phonograph records were played), due in large part to the lack of technology for recording programs. When a process for transcribing the programs made its debut in 1929, there was considerable resistance from musicians (who obviously saw a threat to their livelihood), but there was also resistance from network executives, since they had repeatedly asserted that live music was superior to recorded (and now transcribed) music. "In December 1933, Merlin Aylesworth and Richard Patterson, president and vice president of NBC, exchanged a series of memos on sound-on-disc transcription recording. One of the most visible public faces of NBC, Aylesworth had spent much of the last seven years explaining the superiority of live networked radio" (Russo 4). The idea that playing "canned music" was a negative had even been taken up by the Federal Radio Commission, after the FRC was lobbied by the Chicago Federation

of Musicians and by NBC. General Order 16 stated that playing recorded music perpetrated a “fraud” on listeners (6). And yet, as Russo’s essay describes, while publicly insisting that transcribed music was a bad thing, NBC (and later CBS and Mutual), quietly began to produce, and make money from, transcriptions (8). Russo shows how the discourse about the superiority of live broadcasts, and in fact the very definition of broadcasting as a medium for live performances, was gradually superseded by the benefits of having tailor-made recorded programs by well-known artists: since these transcriptions were for radio only, they did not compete with NBC’s records division (Victor Records, later known as RCA Victor), radio stations could play them on more than one occasion (without having to bring the entire orchestra and vocalist back into the studio), they sounded good from a technological standpoint, and they contained availabilities that were sold to local sponsors. Despite some internal resistance at NBC from those who continued to believe that broadcasts should be live, soon the transcription business was a very profitable one for the network (12).

While all of these contemporary essays provide important research on radio, there are still a far greater number of scholars who focus on television (and increasingly now, the internet). The field of radio studies has certainly expanded, and there are now more essays that touch upon radio than there were in the early 1970s, when Michele Hilmes first tried

to do research on radio's history; at that time, she discovered, to her dismay, that although television had evolved from radio, "books on TV acted as if radio hadn't existed" (qtd. in Monaghan A17). But as mentioned before, given how much radio has influenced popular culture and continues to play a role in public perception of political issues (see for example Barker 1999; Bolce, DeMaio and Muzzio 1996), I would hope that further scholarly attention will be paid to this important mass medium.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Challenges In Conducting Radio Research

Because audiotape had not yet been invented, and there was no easy or inexpensive way to record early broadcasts, researchers who focus on radio's formative years are faced with a unique set of challenges. With only a few surviving programs from the 1920s and early 1930s (S. Douglas, Listening 3), it is difficult to become familiar with what the listeners heard; such familiarity is helpful when trying to understand how people of that time felt about the quality of the programs. Some of the available resources for learning about the first fifteen years of broadcasting are found in oral histories, which provide the memories of the old-timers who lived during those years. But while these recollections are interesting to read, the information they contain can be problematic. As R. Kenneth Kirby has noted, oral histories can be affected by "...whether the group of people available to interview is representative of the general population... with the location of the interview, the degree of trust in the interviewer, the reliability of memory, the willingness of the informant to be candid, and the informant's tendency to be nostalgic." And as Kirby points out, even under the best

circumstances, the fact that the data is often collected years after the events calls into question its accuracy (Kirby 24-25).

A more effective way to do research into radio's early years involves studying and analyzing what was written about the new medium during the 1920s and early 1930s, the period of time when radio was still in its developmental phase. By focusing on the writings of three groups of people -- (1) print reporters and radio editors; (2) scholars who were studying radio's effect on their students; and (3) fans who wrote letters to the newspapers and magazines -- modern researchers can learn what people of that era thought and believed about radio. However, although it is possible to derive a large sample of opinion by using this technique, there are also some drawbacks. The radio audience of the early to mid-1920s was poorly understood, as questions of who listened and what they liked were not yet being studied.

Steve Craig (2010) has noted that some of the earliest attempts to study the audience were done in 1928, when researcher Daniel Starch conducted over 5,000 interviews for NBC to answer such questions as when did people listen most, and which programs did they prefer (182-183, 187). The next attempt to do audience research occurred in 1929-1930, when Archibald Crossley explored which network programs were the most popular (Sterling and Kittross 140). The impetus for networks

like NBC to want audience research was to attract potential sponsors; before advertisers purchased time on a network, they always asked which programs had the largest number of listeners (Marquis 388). This advertiser interest even factored into the research: Craig examined the questionnaire that Starch used in 1928 and found that some questions asked about programs according to which company sponsored them, rather than asking about the programs according to who starred in them-- for example, "Do you prefer programs like Eveready, ... General Motors, ... Goodrich, and Ipana" (189). Then, in 1934, Ohio State University professor Frederick H. Lumley published Measurement in Radio, the first book-length scholarly work on audience research; although it derived most of its data from self-reporting by means of mailed-in questionnaires, this was considered a reliable method in the early 1930s. It was not until the late 1930s that scholarly research about the listening habits of the radio audience began to appear on a regular basis, using techniques other than asking people to fill out and mail in surveys (Jefferson Pooley, qtd. in Park and Pooley 49-50).

Today, audience research, both demographic and psychographic, is readily available. Numerous companies, most notably Arbitron, survey the preferences of listeners in a variety of formats (Gertner 2005). Other research firms identify the songs and musical genres that the majority want to hear on their favorite station (Richter 2006; Fisher 2007). The

availability of information about the audience is important for contemporary radio programmers, who understand that the majority of listeners neither write fan letters nor call radio stations to express their preferences (Boehlert 1994; Gertner 2005); the challenge for station programmers is finding ways to reach these so-called “passive listeners.” But in the early to mid-1920s, no research companies were surveying radio listeners; and even when professional firms like the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB) began in 1930, little was known about how to differentiate the kinds of listeners. That is, today we understand that not all listeners use radio the same way. There are “active listeners,” who pay close attention to what is on the radio, since their favorite station is a major focus of their life (Richter 80), and the previously mentioned “passive listeners,” who listen casually and do not always know what station or what programs they have heard. But so-called “Uses and Gratification Theory” did not come into prominence until 1949, and it was originally applied to newspaper readers (Katz, Blumler and Gurewitsch 514).

In broadcasting’s formative years, several radio magazines tried to do surveys of their own readers, but because the idea of random sampling was relatively new, obtaining objective data about the typical listener was difficult; this caused even the most experienced reporters to offer guesses, usually based on those magazine surveys, or on letters

from radio fans (“Public Criticism” X7). Even some early academic journals had to hedge, using qualifiers like “as far as can be determined...” or “it is safe to assume...” when discussing what was known about the average person who listened to the radio (Hettinger 1935). Radio station owners had their own strategies: they estimated their “potential audience” based on the growing number of people in their city who had purchased a radio receiver (Smythe 330). Stations also made use of “applause cards,” pre-printed postcards, often containing photographs of popular entertainers. These cards had room for listeners to write their praise for a performer or for the station itself (Berg 178, 180; Lumley, Measurement 101-102; advertisement in Popular Science Monthly, June 1924, p. 132). The owners assumed that the performers who received the most applause cards were the most popular.

Of course, in the early years of radio (and of radio research) it was not commonly understood that fan letters and applause cards did not adequately represent the thoughts of the mass audience, since the majority of listeners did not write to their favorite station. Further, today’s researchers understand the importance of techniques like random sampling, which was not in general use in the 1920s. But despite the fact that much of the early radio research is flawed by modern standards, it still contains useful information. The reactions of radio listeners who cared enough to write, as well as the opinions of the

reporters who covered radio, can provide valuable insights into how radio was perceived by some of the people who were there during the new mass medium's formative years. That is why I have chosen to use these articles and essays, rather than basing my study on oral histories. Keeping track of comments and discussions about broadcasting that appeared in print sources from 1920 through 1935 provides more accurate information about when and why public perceptions of radio began to shift, as well as when the discourses began to change. These are important areas of inquiry for media ecologists. In doing my analysis, I will thus utilize what Earl Babbie (2010) called a "purposive sampling," a sample selected "on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study... [T]he units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative" (193). When studying early broadcasting, it is impossible to locate and analyze every print source, but a selection of the available materials can still yield important information. Through analysis of a sample derived from print sources that discussed broadcasting, a researcher can better understand how this newest mass medium interacted with the other existing mass media, and how the media environment changed as a result.

During the first year and a half of commercial broadcasting, it is difficult to find many articles written about it, because most newspapers

and general interest magazines intentionally ignored radio's arrival. Their rationale was understandable: unless their newspaper owned a radio station, as the Detroit News did, most print journalists regarded the new mass medium as potential competition (S. Douglas, Inventing 303-304), since radio was capable of bringing people information more quickly than newspapers or magazines could. Some newsgathering organizations like Associated Press (AP) even banned radio from using any of their news reports, fearing radio's potentially "harmful encroachment" on the traditional functions of the press, but also fearing the competition radio brought to newsgathering (Charnley 5; Beuick 617). The AP ban did not prevent other news organizations and individual newspapers from cooperating with radio, however, and many continued to do so until the so-called "Press-Radio War" of 1934 (Hammargren 91-93). Meanwhile, in academia, there was a different reason why most journals ignored radio. Scholars were skeptical about the importance of broadcasting; they believed radio was just a fad, and few journals of that era devoted time to fads. Moreover, there seemed to be a general disdain for popular culture (whether it was jazz or vaudeville or mass-appeal novels). Its critics often equated popular forms of entertainment with a poison or a disease, and educators were warned that they must inoculate students by teaching them an appreciation for so-called "good music" (opera and classical) as well as great literature. Since most academics associated radio with popular culture, that may

explain why they felt that radio did not deserve any critical analysis (Deborah Lubken, qtd. in Park and Pooley 21).

However, the initial reticence to acknowledge radio's existence did not last long. While the amount of newspaper coverage was relatively slight in 1920-21 (for example, a database search of the Boston Globe, using search terms like "wireless telephone," "radiophone," and "radio broadcast" found fewer than 20 articles; a similar search of the New York Times showed a slightly greater number, but still no more than 50 articles total), by the spring of 1922, nearly every newspaper across the country, the Times and the Globe included, had daily coverage of broadcasting, which often included a full page devoted to what was happening in local and national radio; many of the larger newspapers even offered an expanded radio section, two or three pages in length, usually on Sundays. The scholarly journals were much slower to respond-- there was little critical analysis of radio till 1932-1933. Yet, despite the lack of interest from academia, there is still a sufficiently large body of articles and essays in the popular press to give researchers a valid sample.

Selecting the Sample

In order to obtain a representative sample of attitudes and opinions about early broadcasting, the following factors are important:

(1) The sample includes newspapers and magazines from cities of varying sizes, rather than only focusing on big cities like New York or Los Angeles. One reason for surveying radio in cities of varying sizes is that where a person lived could affect what kinds of radio programs were available. To cite one example, in the largest cities, stations had more frequent access to famous entertainers like Eddie Cantor, Vincent Lopez, or Rudy Vallée-- the biggest names were more likely to perform in New York City or Hollywood rather than in Duluth or Des Moines. As a result, the listening experience in medium or small-sized cities was often quite different from what the listeners in big cities heard (G. Douglas 77; Durant 24). The smaller stations placed more emphasis on homegrown talent, and the most popular local performers were regarded by the audience as celebrities; one of many examples is Atlanta's Footwarmers' Orchestra, a dance band who performed on station WGM; whenever they were heard on the air, listeners deluged the station with applause cards, telephone calls, and song requests ("Footwarmers' Orchestra Receives" 18). While it is true that AM radio signals traveled long distances, making it possible for people in a small town to hear big city programs, local fans loved their own hometown station and its local performers, some of whom they knew personally; newspaper articles from the smaller cities

frequently expressed great pride in these stations and their programs (for example “Last Radio Concert Best Yet, Say Fans” 1; “Wesley Music Student Sings for Radio Fans” 7). Thus, in order to understand how listeners and critics felt about the programs, it is useful to examine reactions to radio in cities of various sizes.

(2) The sample includes data from cities across the country, rather than concentrating only on the East Coast or the West Coast. As mentioned before, some content analysis has focused on articles from the New York Times, since this is a widely available newspaper. While the Times certainly is a worthwhile publication to analyze, the interests and tastes of a New York audience might not be the same as those of an audience in Atlanta or Dallas or Minneapolis. Sociologists and political scientists have long recognized the existence of regional differences. For example, in Mark Silk and Andrew Walsh’s 2008 book, One Nation, Divisible: How Regional Religious Differences Shape American Politics, they examine how religion affects voters from specific parts of the country (Pacific Northwest, Northeast, deep South, etc.), and how particular religious beliefs can influence political views. Other scholars have studied the rural audience versus the urban audience, as Randall Patnode (2003) did when he focused on the attitude of farmers about radio broadcasting. Musicologists and

folklorists have also noted regional differences in what kinds of music people prefer. More will be said about this in item 3. Given the fact that, depending on where they live, people have differing views about religion, politics, and music, this might affect what kinds of programs are popular in those parts of the country. Thus, for a study about radio listening to be accurate, it should include research from as many regions of the United States as possible.

- (3) The sample takes into account differences that are the result of race or gender. Researchers have observed that race can affect musical preferences. For example, Larry J. Griffin (2006) explains that “...Americans generally favor popular genres of music and forsake both "high arts" music (classical and opera)... What may be unexpected is how music preferences seem to mirror the racial divide in this country. Blacks report they are especially fond of gospel, blues and R&B, and jazz—music that decades ago was called "race" music—and whites, regardless of region, express a strong affinity for country [and] oldies (presumably rock 'n' roll of preceding decades)” (101). But these racial differences were not just related to musical choices. Race also played a part in attitudes about the programs that radio stations broadcast. What a white audience in the 1920s might have found entertaining, a black audience might have found highly offensive (for example, “Protest

Use of 'Nigger' On Radio" 13; "Baltimoreans Comment on 'Darkey' Songs" A13). As Derek Vaillant (2002) points out, early radio was generally an all-white medium, where African-Americans were either relegated to stereotypic character roles in radio dramas (as maids or butlers) or they were portrayed by whites, who depicted them as buffoons (Amos 'n' Andy). Some black musicians became popular, but in general, whiteness was the norm in early radio. It is mainly in the historically black newspapers, like the Chicago Defender, Baltimore Afro-American, Pittsburgh Courier, and Philadelphia Tribune that issues related to representations of Negroes on radio were discussed. While there were no black-formatted radio stations yet, nor would there be till the late 1940s, sometimes a black vocalist like baritone Harry Burleigh or the cast of the hit musical "Shuffle Along" could be heard on the air, to the delight of the radio critics (for example, "High Class Aggregation" 9). The black newspapers were also quick to point out a radio talk by a community leader, such as when an executive from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People spoke over WJR in Detroit in February 1924 and condemned the bigotry of the Ku Klux Klan, while contrasting the views of the Klan with those of the NAACP ("Assails Klan" 9). Reporters for the black newspapers also provided their opinions, as well as publishing letters from listeners, about topics that concerned the black

audience. This included criticism of sponsors whose programs contained racist “coon songs” and radio stations that continued to depict Negroes stereotypically in dramas or comedies (“Colgate Dental Cream” A1). Unfortunately, the so-called “mainstream” press seldom discussed anti-black stereotypes, nor criticized radio stations that played songs with racist lyrics. Nor could the major newspapers and magazines provide the perspectives of black editors or columnists, since only a small number of black journalists were employed at majority-white newspapers and magazines; one of the few newspapers which did have a black editor was the Boston Post, where Eugene Gordon was in charge of the Sunday Features pages (“Meharry Professor” 4). Thus, for a researcher to construct as accurate and representative a sample as possible, when seeking opinions from that era, minorities, as exemplified by the black press, must be included.

Similarly, there is the matter of gender. Most of the columnists and reporters were male, as were nearly all of the early station owners, guest speakers, and announcers. This topic will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter, but it is worth noting that the men who ran the stations reflected a commonly held belief that women were only suited for certain jobs. These jobs tended to be either as studio hostesses and receptionists, vocalists, accompanists, or hosts of programs directed to

homemakers. One New York station even took a survey in July 1926 and the manager claimed the results proved overwhelmingly that the audience only wanted male announcers (Goldsmith and Lescarbourea 136). Given the lack of expertise in survey research back then, it is possible that the questions were biased, providing the management with the ammunition it wanted to keep women announcers off the air; on the other hand, in an era when women had just gotten the right to vote and were only now beginning to enter the public sphere in larger numbers, the survey results may have reflected the fact that the average listener was still unaccustomed to hearing a woman as the “voice of authority.” Since there were so few women in positions of power in early broadcasting or in print journalism (even the majority of the fans who wrote to the newspapers and magazines were male), it might be easy to assume that women were not much of a factor. But this is not an accurate assumption. While they may not have been numerous, women definitely played a part in radio’s formative years. For example, there were several women station owners; Iowa’s Marie Zimmerman was the first in 1922 (Halper, Invisible 18-19), followed in 1927 by Arizona’s Mary Costigan. There were also women station managers, program producers, and network executives (two of whom, Bertha Brainard and Judith Waller, worked for the National Broadcasting Company throughout the

late 1920s and 1930s). And in print journalism, there were a few exceptions as well. One of the first was a former musician and music critic turned radio columnist, Jennie Irene Mix, who expressed strong views on what she believed were stereotypic attitudes about women's abilities (391-396; also qtd. in Halper, Invisible 41). Other women radio columnists of the 1920s included Julia S. Older of the Hartford Courant and Agnes Smith of Life magazine. It should also be remembered that the 1920s and 1930s lacked anything resembling the women's movement of the 1960s; women like Bertha Brainard who had achieved success in a "man's world" saw no benefit in complaining, and when asked, insisted that there were many opportunities for women who wanted to enter broadcasting (Brainard R16). Thus, whether they were working as columnists or as radio executives, the women of this era usually discussed subjects other than gender-- for example, they offered their critique of the programs on the air, and suggested areas where radio needed to improve (Mix, qtd. in "10,000 is Demanded" EF7; Brainard, qtd. in Scully 39, 122). Therefore, given that a number of women were involved with radio in the 1920s and 1930s, their views (whether about the role of gender in broadcasting or about the programs they liked) must be included in any effort to construct as accurate and representative a sample of opinions as possible.

Having established the criteria for determining the units of analysis, I have chosen the following newspapers and magazines from which to derive the data. Each is well-suited for both content analysis and discourse analysis, and as explained earlier, these thirty-three newspapers and sixteen magazines are geographically diverse. They include publications from all over the United States, in cities large and small; they also include several ethnic newspapers. Among the magazines are general interest publications as well as publications devoted solely to broadcasting. All of the publications chosen for this study either provided regular coverage of broadcasting (on a separate “radio page” or as part of a daily column); or they had a particular reporter or editor who wrote frequently about radio. Some were available in online databases, while others were obtained either on microfilm or from the actual newspaper or magazine.

The newspapers that I studied include: (New York City) Amsterdam News; Augusta (GA) Chronicle, Atlanta Constitution; Baltimore Afro-American; Baltimore Sun; Billings (MT) Gazette, Boston Globe; Chester (PA) Times; Chicago Defender; Chicago Tribune; Christian Science Monitor; Cleveland Plain Dealer; Dallas (TX) Morning News; Hartford (CT) Courant; Los Angeles Times; (Reno) Nevada State Journal; New Orleans Times-Picayune; New York Times; Oakland (CA) Tribune;

Pittsburgh Courier; Portland Oregonian; Seattle Daily Times; Springfield (MA) Union and Republican; Trenton (NJ) Evening Times; and Washington Post. These are the newspapers for which the largest number of available copies exist; however, I have also examined other newspapers for which a more limited number of issues are available. These include the Boston Post, Boston Traveler, Detroit Free Press, Indianapolis Star, Kansas City (MO) Star, New York Tribune, Quincy (MA) Patriot and Daily Ledger, and San Francisco Chronicle.

The magazines that I studied are: Broadcasting; Editor and Publisher, Educational Research Bulletin; Forum and Century; Harper's, Independent Woman, Life, Literary Digest; The Nation; New Republic, The Outlook; Radio Broadcast, Radio Digest, Radio News, Radio World, and Variety. As with the newspapers, there are some magazines for which only selected issues were available, but I did examine them. These included North American Review, Radio In The Home, Radioland, Radiolog, Radio Stars, and Wireless Age. Time magazine is not included because that publication had no regular coverage of radio until 1938.

Coding the Data

My units of analysis are radio columns found on the radio page of the newspapers and magazines, letters to the editor, and editorials. I also coded the occasional article found in a general interest magazine. I also included poems and cartoons about radio, as long as they expressed some viewpoint about broadcasting. (The daily radio listings that were found in some newspapers were not coded, since these were standardized listings sent out by the stations, and offer no opinions or perspectives about broadcasting.)

Based on an in-depth study of my sample, I was able to notice certain recurring themes, expressed by specific groups of people. Using the following categories, I have grouped those who expressed written opinions about radio into the following categories:

- a. radio editors in newspapers and magazines
- b. radio listeners and fans
- c. experts on radio as a business
- d. experts on subjects frequently discussed on radio
- e. educators (especially those who taught speech, English, and sociology)
- f. journalists (not radio editors; general interest reporters or columnists)

- g. newsmakers (politicians, sports stars, celebrities, comedians)
- h. civic leaders (clergy, clubwomen, public intellectuals)

Having created the sample from more than nine thousand articles, I then coded the recurring themes that I noticed. I categorized the themes as follows:

1. favorable discourses about radio

- (a) radio as the greatest technological marvel
- (b) unique and amazing things radio can do
- (c) radio as a source of inspiration (religious services, sermons, etc)
- (d) radio as a source of information (weather, news, stock quotes, etc)
- (e) radio as a positive influence on politics, voting, political involvement
- (f) predictions about radio's positive future impact

2. unfavorable discourses about radio

- (a) problems with reception (static, fading, interference, air too crowded)
- (b) people will stop reading books or attending concerts or buying records
- (c) radio programs are a negative influence on children
- (d) radio promotes "vulgar" popular music rather than "good music"
- (e) radio programs have become too commercialized
- (f) radio disseminates stereotypes about race, religion or gender

3. radio as an agent of change in daily life

- (a) new words and expressions (stay tuned, listen in, invisible audience)
- (b) listeners change their schedule to be home for a certain program
- (c) ordinary Americans become local stars thanks to appearing on radio
- (d) listeners in one city hear news from cities hundreds of miles away
- (e) listeners able to hear voices of political figures or celebrities
- (f) programs for specific demographic groups (children, housewives, etc)

Thus, analysis of the thematic content of the various publications, along with analysis of the most common discourses, will provide insights into the role that radio broadcasting occupied in its first fifteen years. And analysis of the shifting discourses (as some subjects ceased to be a concern, and others then took their place) will also demonstrate how attitudes about radio changed as the novelty wore off, at what point listeners began to have higher expectations for what they heard on the air, and how radio criticism developed.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY RADIO AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Choosing a Vocabulary

Looking back on Neil Postman's frequently-quoted definition of media ecology, it is a field of inquiry concerned with "...how media of communication affect human perception, understanding, feeling and value; and how our interaction with media facilitates or impedes our chances of survival" (qtd. in Strate, "The Judaic Roots" 190). Studying what was written about broadcasting in its formative years provides many excellent examples of how this new mass medium went from being regarded as a curiosity to being regarded as an essential part of daily life. Some of radio's early proponents saw it as something magical, and ascribed it with wondrous abilities, from creating a universal language to bringing about world peace (Howe 39; "Radio is Seen" 4; Harbord, "The War" 400). It was even supposed to restore the importance of the home--previously, family members needed to go out to be entertained, but now they would be able to stay in and enjoy radio listening together ("Radio and the Home" 6). But radio inspired a number of emotions and a number of discourses, not all of which were utopian. Detractors would complain about the music (too much dance music, not enough grand opera), or about the excessive number of commercials; they would say that the programming was not intellectually stimulating, and accuse the sponsors of only promoting shows that were safe and non-controversial (see for example Kelly 1924; Adams 1933; Dennison 1934). Some of the critiques even had racial overtones, as in a commentary by a well-known Los Angeles clubwoman, Mrs. Anne Faulkner Oberndorfer, whose organization wanted to wage a war against the playing of what she called "jungle music" -- her terminology for jazz -- which she accused of being uncivilized, primitive, and dangerous ("Is Jungle Music" 80). As for the

fans, many were pleased to hear their favorite performers, but others, along with certain critics, soon became disappointed, saying the programs lacked sufficient variety. Few people in the 1920s and 1930s were indifferent about radio, and it was frequently a topic of discussion and debate.

While it is outside the scope of this dissertation to analyze the origins -- and the myths about the origins -- of commercial broadcasting, it is important to at least mention a few facts about the contested narratives of radio's birth (see for example, Lewis, "A Godlike Presence" 32-33; Barnouw 61-64, 68-70), since the narrators of broadcasting's "story" were often involved in decisions about what language would be used to tell it. There are many sources, the New York Times and Associated Press among them, that accepted the dominant version promoted by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, stating that KDKA, Pittsburgh's pioneering radio station, was the first commercial station in the United States. These sources said that the birth of broadcasting was 2 November 1920, when KDKA aired the presidential election returns (Craig 9; Lescarbourea 58; Dunlap Jr., "In the Beginning" X11). Other claimants for the title of "first radio station" had their own version of events, but they often struggled to get that version into print or into the public conversation. Westinghouse was a successful and prosperous corporation with very effective advertising and publicity departments that knew how to get attention from newspapers and magazines nationwide (Barnouw 70-71). Stations like 8MK (later WWJ), the radio station owned by the Detroit News, and 1XE (later WGI), owned by the American Radio and Research Company (AMRAD) in Medford Hillside MA, lacked the budget and the staff to compete with Westinghouse, and as a result, their accomplishments were not as well known.

KDKA's broadcast of the presidential returns did not receive immediate acclaim, but news of the station's achievements began to attract more media attention within the next several months (S. Douglas, Inventing 300). Meanwhile, 8MK was on the air with Michigan state election returns on 31 August 1920 ("The News Radiophone" 1), and that station too carried the presidential election results on 2 November 1920, a fact that is rarely reported in most broadcast history texts. As for the pioneering status of 1XE, it had done sporadic experimental broadcasts (including concerts of phonograph records) as far back as February 1916 ("Music Sent by the Wireless" 9); and there is evidence that 1XE was on the air in August and September 1920. Also, another claimant, Union College in Schenectady NY, said it was on the air with regular programs beginning in mid-October 1920 ("First Broadcasting Radiophone" A6).

Telling the Story

While 8MK/WWJ does not seem to have actively publicized its activities anywhere except in the pages of the Detroit News, other stations which claimed to be first tried to get their story told nationally, as Westinghouse had done so successfully with KDKA. AMRAD in particular was eager to promote the claim that 1XE/WGI, not KDKA, had been on the air first. Several members of 1XE's management team wrote irate letters to the editors of the radio magazines and newspapers that accepted the KDKA claim without question (in one such letter to Radio World, AMRAD's Harold M. Taylor accused the magazine of publishing an article that "emanat[ed] from the publicity department of ... Westinghouse," and was likely to have left readers with "a false impression" ("1XE Claims Broadcasting Record" 18). When letters to the editor failed to get much attention from the press, 1XE decided upon another technique -- making the case by means of a station identification

slogan. Since on-air slogans were frequently repeated, the hope was that listeners would come to remember and believe what the slogan said.

From a media ecology point of view, this technique made perfect sense. Walter Ong, in his book Orality and Literacy, pointed out that in cultures which depend on oral communication, "...restriction of words to sound determines not only modes of expression but also thought processes. You know what you can recall" (33). As discussed elsewhere, the technology of early radio provided no easy way to record and capture the words people heard, so those sounds lived only in the memory of the hearer. To help listeners to recall what they had listened to, station program directors began using mnemonic devices (such as clever, often alliterative slogans). The best example was American entrepreneur Frank H. Jones, who operated station 6KW in the city of Tuinucu, Cuba; he created a sound-- the cuckoo -- and a slogan to go along with it: "If you hear the koo of the cuckoo, you are in tune with Tuinucu" ("Broadcasters' Slogans" 5). Later, sponsors would use singing slogans, called "jingles," for the same reason-- such rhetorical devices aided the listeners in recalling (and thus knowing) what they had heard.

KDKA's slogan did not try to be clever; its intent was to reinforce its narrative, so it called itself "the pioneer broadcasting station." ("How to Identify Each Station" E5). Not to be outdone, 1XE/WGI began to use "the pioneer broadcaster" in its print advertisements (see for example, Radio News, December 1922, 1177), while using "AMRAD, the voice of the air" during live broadcasts ("Broadcasters' Slogans" 5). This slogan was an attempt to tell the listeners that the first radio voices they ever heard coming through the air into their homes had originated from 1XE/WGI. (But according to the aforementioned 1923 list of station slogans, KDKA and 1XE/WGI were not alone in using slogans to state their claim of primacy; another

station, WRK in Hamilton Ohio, used “Oldest Station in Existence,” even though there was little evidence to support that assertion.)

As Martin H. Levinson, a former student of Neil Postman, wrote, “Discussing what words to use in describing an event is not a matter of ‘mere semantics’. It is about trying to control the perceptions and responses of others” (Levinson 70). Thus, whether by using clever slogans or by trying to frame the story in a way that made their station look more important, it was no accident that a number of owners of early radio stations tried their best to shape the narrative to their advantage, with varying degrees of success. And as my research will demonstrate, certain narratives became part of the common wisdom, and were treated as factual, while others were regarded with skepticism or completely ignored. For example, Gleason Archer, in his History of Radio to 1926, was dismissive of 8MK/WWJ, saying that the station was “an alleged... wireless telephone station,” whose history could not be substantiated (Archer 207); this is a puzzling statement, given all of the newspaper coverage the station’s first broadcasts received in the Detroit News during August and September 1920, the published letters from ham radio operators and other fans who heard the station (“Wireless Stations Praise News Radiophone Service” 1-2), and the book the Detroit News published in August 1922, on the second anniversary of its involvement with broadcasting. On the other hand, a claim that actually was unsubstantiated, although frequently quoted, was the Westinghouse assertion, picked up by some newspapers and magazines (for example “Why Radio Broadcasting” 1029), that KDKA was not just the first station in the United States-- it was the world’s first station. (Most historians today recognize that XWA, the Marconi radio station in Montreal, and the station of the Radio Argentina Society in Buenos Aires had both been on the air months before KDKA.)

When analyzing how the story of early radio was told, it is useful to examine the various narratives, since each is important in understanding the role radio played in the culture. Neil Postman defined a historical narrative as a profound and complex story that “...offer[s] explanations of the origins and future of a people; stories that construct ideals, prescribe rules of conduct, specify sources of authority, and ... provide a sense of continuity and purpose” (Postman, Building a Bridge 101). And while the narratives of early broadcasting may lack the importance of sacred scripture or philosophy, these stories did what good narratives are supposed to do. They told about radio’s inception, growth and development, introducing the audience to broadcasting’s founding fathers (and a founding mother or two); they gave voice to the public’s awe and amazement for this new technological marvel; they related examples of the many ways that radio was important to people from all walks of life; they provided rules and guidelines for those who were becoming too obsessed with radio, and taught the neophyte listener how to get the most out of owning a radio; they provided a forum for discussion of trends in broadcasting; and they provided “experts” who could give advice on everything from how to get better reception from a receiver to how to let station owners know what programs were the best. And as radio increased in popularity, there were narratives about the stars and the key stations, and even some critics who took issue with the quality of what was on the air. The narratives could be found in newspapers, often on the radio page, and in a new group of special-interest magazines devoted to different aspects of broadcasting-- some technological and others aimed at the fans.

But before the story could be told in a way that was understandable to the average person, there had to be an agreed-upon vocabulary for the narratives. Since the early founders of what became known as Media Ecology came from the fields of linguistics and semantics, it is not surprising that some of their writings focused on

such topics as how meaning is created and how words are used in a culture. As early as 1969, Postman had written about this “semantic environment,” and how humans use language to “negotiate and manage our relationship” with the world that our symbols (including our language) have created (Thomas Gencarelli, qtd. in Lum 209). As mentioned previously, to a media ecologist, word choices are neither accidental nor trivial. “[O]ur language’s internal symbolic structure or logic is the parameter within which we come to conceptualize or ideate about what we...believe to be the world around us, the world that we ‘think’ we ‘know’ ” (Lum 30).

In radio’s earliest years, there was not much question about which terminology to use when speaking about it. In the 1910s, it was mainly hobbyists (amateur radio operators) and engineers who were familiar with radio. Magazines like QST and Electrical Experimenter were read by men and boys who were interested in the technology; while there were a few women amateurs, the vast majority of participants in ham radio were male, and editors assumed their audience was comprised of men who might want to teach the hobby to a younger brother or a son; an excellent essay about this subject is Carroll Pursell’s “The Long Summer of Boy Engineering” (in Wright 1992). The radio magazines of that era instructed the reader in how to build a better radio set, how to receive distant signals, and how to communicate with other amateurs. As for the language, some good examples can be seen in a popular magazine called Radio Amateur News, where the authors regularly employed the jargon and nomenclature of engineering. “Increasing the Secondary Voltage of Your Transformer” and “The Eaton Oscillator and the Eaton Circuit Driver” were two articles from the December 1919 issue. And although editor Hugo Gernsback promised young amateurs that a section of each issue would be devoted to them, with articles in “plain English,” the specialized nature of amateur radio required the reader to

use a very technical vocabulary. As much as Gernsback may have tried to make his publication more readable, it is doubtful the average person who was not involved with the hobby ever picked it up.

The arrival of so-called commercial radio in mid-to-late 1920 seems to have caught the magazines (and the newspapers) somewhat by surprise. Whether readers believed that KDKA, 8MK, 1XE, or some other station was the first to make such broadcasts, the amateur radio publications had little to say about the subject, even though all of the pioneer commercial stations were founded by licensed ham radio experts. And the mainstream publications were not much better, with the majority of newspapers giving little attention to the new mass medium. 8MK was an exception because it was owned by a newspaper-- the Detroit News-- but the rest of the newspapers seemed to regard radio as either a fad or potential competition (Barnouw 70-71; S. Douglas, Inventing 303-304). Other than the mentions found in advertisements (Westinghouse, which owned KDKA, manufactured radio receivers, batteries, and other equipment; and 1XE was owned by a smaller manufacturer of receiving equipment, AMRAD; both placed ads in newspapers and magazines), the press decided the birth of broadcasting was not a big story. That would soon change, but content analysis of the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature during the period from 1919 through 1921 demonstrates that radio was not yet a topic of much conversation. For example, the Readers' Guide had no entry for "Broadcasting," and there were only two pages (1789-1790) listing articles about both wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony. A total of twenty-four articles were grouped under the heading "wireless telephony," the name that engineering magazines often used for radio. (More will be said about which names were used by the various publications.)

Of the small number of magazine articles about radio, thirteen of them were from one source-- Scientific American. And as for the content of the articles, one or two tried to predict what this new technology could do, such as the article that asked "Can We Send a Radio Message to Mars?" But most were technological in subject. Of these, several are typical: "Wireless Telephoning," from the May 1919 issue of Review of Reviews and "The Limitations and Boundless Possibilities of Wireless Talk" from the December 1920 issue of Current Opinion both share similar themes. The 1919 article, written by Frank B. Jewett, chief engineer with the Western Electric Corporation, discussed the technological advances that had occurred in radio to that point, and focused on how effectively the wireless telephone (radio) now sent long-distance messages to ships at sea. Both articles also noted that overseas businesses were using wireless telephony to receive information from America; the problem was that there was no way to keep the messages private. Once a message was sent by radio, anyone with a receiver could hear it. The article in Current Opinion predicted that radio's future would be brightest if it was used for broadcasting speeches by important people in the news, or sending out news and weather reports. Neither article saw radio as a potential vehicle for entertainment.

While magazines were slow to recognize the importance of radio, a handful of newspapers began providing some coverage of individual events that seemed newsworthy. For example, in Boston, home of pioneer station 1XE, both the Boston Globe and the Boston Traveler offered several articles a week about interesting guests and programs on the station, beginning in early 1921 (and since 1XE was located in nearby Medford Hillside, the local Medford Mercury had occasional mentions of the station's activities). But the newspaper reporters seemed as uncertain as their magazine colleagues about what to call the new mass medium. The Boston newspapers occasionally made use of the

word “radio,” as in a 2 November 1921 Boston Globe story about famed classical pianist Dai Buell (“25,000 to Hear Piano By Radio Tonight”). The Globe and the Traveler also alternated between using “wireless telephone” and “radiophone,” or sometimes used the words “wireless station.” And in the article about Dai Buell, the reporter was even unsure how to refer to the receiving set, saying that “Only a few [listeners] will actually see Miss Buell. The enormous majority of her audience will simply take down their receivers, or whatever it is one hears with on a wireless telephone” (22). The same confusion of terminology was also found in the newspapers of other cities during 1921. For example, in the Kansas City Star, the words “wireless,” “radiophone” and “wireless telephone” were all used in the same article about hearing a concert that was broadcast from Chicago (“Hear Opera On Wireless” 17).

Writing About The “Radio Craze”

Although there were a few radio stations on the air in 1921 (including three that were owned by Westinghouse), it was not until the spring of 1922 that a dramatic shift occurred in the amount of attention print journalism paid to broadcasting (S. Douglas, Inventing 303-304). One reason was that radio’s growth was becoming “news,” as more and more stations were going on the air in a relatively short time. The Department of Commerce had licensed only five stations in the first eleven months of 1921, but in December, twenty-three new stations received their licenses, and the number continued to grow in early 1922. (Barnouw 91) As more stations began to broadcast, thousands of people went out to buy radios. There was such a dramatic jump in radio ownership that U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, whose agency supervised the new mass medium, talked about it in a speech at a radio conference; he said that there were only about 50,000 radio sets in use in late February 1921,

but now, just twelve months later, there were as many as 600,000 (Hoover, qtd. in "Radio Development" 10). With the number of radio stations and the number of radio listeners multiplying, the newspapers and magazines finally began to take notice. By early March, some newspapers were reporting that thirty-five commercial stations, in cities from coast to coast, were on the air ("35 Radio Broadcasting Stations" 2); but other newspapers reported it was a larger number-- as many as 60. According to the Detroit Free Press, the number of new stations was increasing by an average of three stations a day, to the point where in early May, there were more than 200 licensed stations ("Radio Stations Now Total 235" 7). This was not just an interesting statistic-- it was about to be a major problem. The media environment, which had seemed so vast and limitless, was rapidly becoming overcrowded. Unprepared for the popularity of the radio craze, the Department of Commerce had only allocated a limited number of frequencies for stations to use -- most were now sharing 360 meters (about 830 on the AM dial), with a few at 485 meters (about 620 AM).

In addition to the explosion of stations and the enthusiastic support from the general public, some newspapers had an extra incentive to give radio more coverage -- they now operated a radio station of their own. The Detroit News had been the first, back in 1920, but by mid-1922, a growing number of newspapers saw the benefit of embracing the radio broadcasting trend. The Washington Post, Atlanta Constitution, New Orleans Times-Picayune, Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, and the Oakland Tribune were among them. And in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul, there were three newspapers operating radio

stations-- the Minneapolis Journal, Minneapolis Morning Tribune, and St. Paul Pioneer Press (Smythe 327-328). Such stations brought goodwill from the public, which appreciated the concerts and talks the newspaper-run stations provided. Stations operated by a newspaper also offered print reporters and columnists an opportunity to become better known, and perhaps gain new fans in other cities. And to attract younger listeners, some of these stations created “wireless clubs.” Young people who signed up were sent a membership card, and they had the opportunity to see their name in print on the newspaper’s radio page. Members also qualified for events (outings, picnics, trips to amusement parks) sponsored by the newspaper, thus providing even further promotion and making certain the station (and the newspaper) would be remembered. In an interesting twist on the “kids’ club” idea, the Oakland Tribune created a radio club for adults in mid-March 1922; in addition to being sent a “neatly engraved” certificate of membership, those who signed up could receive discounts on radio parts and receiving sets at a number of local dealers. Whether it was to show their support of the Tribune’s station KLX, or whether they wanted to get those discounts, readers and listeners loved the idea; the Tribune was soon receiving an average of 400 requests a day for membership (“Tribune First to Promote Wireless” 28). Belonging to the wireless club provided fans with what political scientist Benedict Anderson would later call an “imagined community” (Anderson, Imagined 6). It had no actual

meetings (although like the kids' clubs, it would soon sponsor some events and get-togethers), yet for the Tribune's readers and radio fans, it was another way they could feel connected to their favorite station.

As researchers study the attitudes held by the press and the public in radio's formative years, both discourse analysis and content analysis can offer important clues (or, as that word was spelled in 1922, "clews"), providing opportunities to explore how and when opinions and perceptions about radio changed. For example, discourse analysis demonstrates which phrases and newly coined slang expressions became part of the average American's vocabulary; it also helps modern scholars to better understand the way people of a much earlier time talked about radio. And content analysis makes it possible to determine which topics were most frequently covered by reporters, as well as which assertions about radio's effect on society (both positive and negative) were most often expressed.

As Neil Postman observed in Technopoly, that technological change shows up not only in how we perform certain activities; it also shows up in the language that we use. Discussing how new inventions like the Walkman, the VCR and the personal computer had affected communication, he wrote, "In our own time, we have consciously added to our language thousands of new words and phrases having to do with new technologies...We are not taken by surprise at this. New things

require new words. But new things also modify old words, words that have deep-rooted meanings. The telegraph and the penny press changed what we once meant by “information.” Television changes what we once meant by the terms “political debate,” “news,” and “public opinion” (8). And although he did not mention radio, it is fair to say that this new invention too changed our language, including re-defining what was meant by “listening,” and later creating new forms of communication like the “call-in talk show,” where listeners from all over the country could react to current issues by phoning the usually opinionated host and expressing their own points of view (additional research on the radio talk show format can be found in Halper, Icons 2008).

As mentioned on page 105, during 1920-1921, most newspapers generally ignored radio, unless they owned a station (as the Detroit News did), or they derived advertising support from a corporation like Westinghouse (this was one reason why the Pittsburgh Post covered KDKA). And as the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature had shown in its 1919-1921 volume, radio was also not a major topic for magazines-- there were fewer than two pages of articles listed. But the 1922-1924 volume was entirely -- and dramatically -- different. For one thing, there were *eleven* pages of articles listed. And radio was no longer relegated to occasional mentions in science and technology magazines; it was now a major topic of discussion almost everywhere in the publishing world, as magazines that had never mentioned it suddenly began offering coverage.

Among the periodicals carrying articles about radio during 1922-1924 were political and current events magazines like The Nation, Literary Digest, Outlook, New Republic, and Current Opinion; general interest magazines like Saturday Evening Post; literary magazines like Scribner's; music magazines like Étude and Musician; and magazines for educators like School and Society and the journal of the National Education Association. These and other mass-appeal publications joined Scientific American and a new group of special-interest radio magazines (many of which came along in mid-1922, as interest in the new mass medium intensified). Led by Radio Broadcast, the new magazines addressed both the technology and the programs (S. Douglas, Inventing 303-304). It should also be noted that the Readers' Guide did not include most of the growing number of magazines dedicated exclusively to radio. One of these magazines, Radio Amateur News had changed its name to Radio News in mid 1920, reflecting the fact that not just amateurs cared about radio. Also publishing during this time, and not included in the Readers' Guide were Pacific Coast Radio, now re-named just Radio; Radio World; Radio Digest; Radio Age, and Popular Radio. Like Radio Broadcast, these magazines all recognized that some of their readers were amateur radio operators who still enjoyed building and modifying their radio set, while others were fans who were happy to "listen in" and wanted the latest news about the people they heard on the air.

An examination of what the magazines were writing about during the period from 1922 through 1924 shows that the content varied. While general interest magazines like Literary Digest added a radio department in February 1922, most of the mass-appeal magazines only offered occasional radio articles; however, print journalists were definitely spending more time writing about the new radio craze. An analysis of the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature from 1922-1924 shows that article topics included the business of radio broadcasting, the types of programs on the air, whether women were suitable as announcers, and how radio was influencing politics, religion, and family life. Subject headings included "Radio Apparatus," "Radio Broadcasting," "Church Services," "Educational Applications," "Political Applications," and "Radio Communication." In the category of "Radio Broadcasting" alone, there were one hundred and twelve articles, seventy-three of which had nothing to do with technology. In fact, the majority of these articles were about the stations, the performers, and the programs. To cite one example, an early radio critic, and one of the few women, Jennie Irene Mix, wrote an article for Radio Broadcast in which she defended women announcers, "Are Women Undesirable Over the Radio?" Another article, in Literary Digest, "Women and Wireless," extolled radio's ability to make the housewife's daily chores go by faster. There were business articles like "Radio-- A New Field for Investment" and "Radio Merchandising in Department Stores"; articles about the many ways that radio had

become an essential part of daily life, such as “The Long Arm of Radio is Reaching Everywhere”; and early efforts to ascertain the interests of the listeners, such as “What We Think the Public Wants.”

There were opinion pieces about whether radio could be an effective way to spread the Gospel, and news items about the growing number of colleges that were now offering courses by radio. Some articles were filled with praise for what radio was doing to make the world a better place, such as providing news and entertainment for the blind, exposing rural listeners to grand opera, and cheering up sick people in hospitals. A few were first-person accounts, where a writer was sent to a radio studio to view the proceedings and then report back. A good example is Bruce Barton’s piece for the June 1922 issue of The American Magazine; his attitude about his experience could be seen in the title of his essay: “This Magic Called Radio.” Among his observations were that the performers (in this case, they included the famous vaudeville comedian Ed Wynn) seemed uncertain how to address these listeners that they knew were out there somewhere yet could not be seen. Wynn even addressed the equipment before beginning his routine: “Can you see me?” But the only people who could see him were those standing in the studio, a fact that Wynn, accustomed to performing at large theaters, seemed to find disconcerting. The orchestra and handful of spectators, including the author, tried to smile at Wynn to let him know his jokes really were funny, but the people in the studio had been

told to be silent at all times, since the slightest noise would be picked up by the microphone (11). Another interesting fact in the essay was that radio stations cooperated with each other: as mentioned previously, most stations were located at 360 meters (about 830 AM), but when word got out that the great Ed Wynn was going to perform from station WJZ, other stations voluntarily went silent so that DXers in other cities could hear the performance. The author saw this as further proof that radio was having a positive effect, promoting a spirit of “hearty good will” among fans as well as station owners (72).

Of course, even in 1922-1923, there were a handful of articles expressing disappointment, usually at the choice of music. The proponents of “good music” were upset that there were too many dance bands, and the proponents of dance bands wished the classical music would go away (“Radio Audience” 28). There were also some requests for an expanded number of educational broadcasts, or requests for more talks by particular speakers. And a few columnists began to notice a need for a greater number of professional announcers. Now that there were more stations on the air, listeners were beginning to evaluate what they heard, and compare the quality of the bigger stations with what they heard on the smaller ones. The author suggested that soon, the trained announcers that were heard at the large corporate stations run by Westinghouse and General Electric would become the norm. These trained professionals enunciated clearly and were easy to understand, as

opposed to the inexperienced announcers who mumbled or stood too close to the microphone (“Clearer Speakers” 9).

Also common were articles lamenting such technological problems as static interference during bad weather, or signals that suddenly faded out. Additionally, there were a few articles complaining about people with poorly tuned receivers that made so much noise the neighbors could not hear their own radio. While acknowledging the problem, some of the radio publications decided that complaining was not sufficient; magazines like Radio News and Wireless Age offered solutions for improving the quality of older receiving sets. Some of the solutions came from readers, who won prizes for their ingenuity: for example Abraham Ringel won \$10, and his four page essay, complete with diagrams and explanations, was published in the November 1922 issue of Wireless Age (67-70). Conducting contests for the best radio receiver, or asking for reader suggestions in solving problems was a popular part of these early radio magazines. And although there were still no perfect solutions to static or fading, the radio magazines provided the opportunity for listeners to vent their frustrations about having their favorite programs interrupted, while also giving columnists and enterprising readers a chance to offer possible fixes.

A glance at the tables of contents for radio magazines of 1922-1923 showed that while there were still technological articles, most of

these publications had begun adding more essays about individual stations or popular performers. For example, Wireless Age (which, like Radio News, had begun as a strictly technological publication aimed at amateurs), now began each issue with at least five pages of photos of celebrities, newsmakers, and adorable children all using their radios. Among the articles in the December 1922 issue, were a piece about how radio broadcast political news but did not take sides (“A Non-Partisan Political Medium”), an article about how radio got news more quickly and immediately than newspapers did (“How Radio ‘Scooped’ The Newspapers” and an article about how college football was now being broadcast live, to the excitement of fans who were now able to listen, whether they could afford tickets to the game or not (“Radio Brings Football To All People”). Additionally, there was a page of radio-themed cartoons, and even some humor involving the foibles of radio listeners, especially those who perceived themselves as know-it-alls and were usually shown to be less than expert. And while there was still a section of the magazine devoted to technology, the wide range of topics and the steadily increasing number of articles in this and other radio magazines of mid to late 1922 demonstrated that radio was no longer a club only engineers could join; it had truly become a mass medium, the subject of ever-increasing public interest.

A word should also be mentioned about the appearance of radio-themed cartoons. Wireless Age was not the only place such cartoons

were published. A number of other magazines and newspapers, beginning in the spring of 1922, found radio to be worthy of their cartoonist's time, a further indication of how important the new mass medium had become in the popular culture. Even characters like "Peter Rabbit" got caught up in the radio craze; for example, in the comic strip that ran in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on 7 May 1922, Peter's attempt to put up a radio antenna and impress his friends by broadcasting a concert was foiled by one of his neighbors, who thought the wire made a perfect clothes line and hung her wash on it (C27). While a study of jokes and cartoons is outside the scope of this dissertation (it is touched upon in Butsch 1998), content analysis shows that common topics of the cartoons and jokes were the previously mentioned male know-it-alls who received their come-uppance; elderly listeners who were unsure how this new-fangled radio thing worked; women, usually housewives, who were equally uncertain how radio worked, or who nagged their husband when he was trying to listen to a sporting event; and minorities who either feared the radio or became as obsessed with it as their white employers.

Searches of the two major online historical databases (Proquest Historical Newspapers and Newsbank's America's Historical Newspapers), plus an exploration of microfilmed copies of newspapers that are not online, illustrate the steady increase in the number of radio articles. Examination of the content in the thirty-three newspapers I analyzed shows that there were fewer than thirty mentions in 1920 and

not quite two hundred at the end of 1921. But then, a major shift occurred. The public's increasing interest in reading about broadcasting-related subjects is reflected in the fact that there were more than 1,900 newspaper articles by the end of 1922 and 2,700 at the end of 1923. (For more about this, including exact totals by month, from 1920 through 1923, see the Appendix on page 494.)

In addition to the growing number of articles, some of which were now part of a "radio page" which was exclusively dedicated to news about broadcasting, another interesting trend was taking place in the language the reporters used. Beginning in mid-March 1922, they began referencing what Hoover had discussed at the radio conference in late February: there was a definite explosion in the public's interest in radio. Members of the press were fascinated by this. They remarked on how passionate radio fans were, almost to the point of obsession, and this phenomenon soon became known as the "radio craze." That expression had not been in common use during 1920 and 1921, but by the spring of 1922, it was seen in a rapidly expanding number of newspaper articles. On Proquest, in the one year period from the first mention on 26 March 1922 to the end of March 1923, the term recurred more than fifty times. In Newsbank's newspapers, March was also the month when the phrase first began to appear, and from the initial mention on 13 March 1922 to a year later, the term was seen more than 100 times. (The reason for the higher number on the Newsbank database is the fact that it contains

more newspapers, the majority of which are from smaller cities; these newspapers tended to republish content from the Associated Press or other wire services, so the same piece appeared in a number of the newspapers.) And a search of NewspaperArchive.com, another database which focuses on newspapers from small and medium-sized cities, also showed that the first uses of the phrase “radio craze” occurred in March 1922. From the initial mention on 28 March 1922 till about a year later, the phrase recurred more than 125 times, again due in large part to wire service articles that were reprinted in small newspapers like the [Logansport \(IN\) Pharos-Tribune](#) and the [Connellsville \(PA\) Daily Courier](#).

Choosing the Right Words

As mentioned before, a tenet of media ecology is that word choices matter. As Neil Postman wrote in [Crazy Talk, Stupid Talk](#), “Our language structures the very way we see, and any significant change in our way of talking can lead to a change in point of view” (xiv). So, the fact that reporters decided on the phrase “radio craze” was by no means a trivial point. And further analysis of the way the terminology was employed in written discourse shows that “radio craze” not only referred to a popular fad that had come to dominate the public’s attention; for some reporters, the radio craze evoked far more dramatic imagery. It called to mind either an illness or an insect-- two types of invaders that could infect (and affect) the human body. The idea of radio as some sort of “invader”

showed up in a number of articles, such as a late April 1922 story, “Radio Fever Has Invaded Lindsay,” about how students at a high school in San Francisco had become so obsessed with broadcasting that they formed a radio club, and they were now seeking to operate an experimental station. Another use of “radio fever” can be seen in articles like “Amateurs Applaud Radio Treat Given by Times-Picayune,” where the anonymous reporter noted that “...the radio fever [has] New Orleans truly in its grip...” (2) And Ben A. Markson wrote in the Los Angeles Times of 7 October 1923 that “[t]he radio craze has swept round the globe faster than the influenza...” As for the other analogy, a typical usage could be seen in a brief article about well-known stage actor Tom Wise, the Washington Post noted that he had “succumbed to the dangerous ‘radio bug’,” and would be giving his first performance over the air that evening (9 August 1922, 9E). These metaphors were not necessarily meant to imply that radio was evil; in fact, in Markson’s article, he went on to state that unlike the flu, radio’s effect on his life was quite beneficial; and the Times-Picayune was commenting about the deluge of cards and letters it was receiving in praise of its radio station, WAAB. In addition to comparing the public’s interest in radio broadcasting to influenza or to a fever, other metaphors were put into use-- for example, Charles Sloan, the Chicago Tribune’s radio editor, compared radio to a whirlwind in a June 1922 article (23). These images made a certain amount of sense: the impact of radio was swift and hard

to predict, and nobody could explain why it swept through entire cities the way it did. And once it arrived, it was equally hard to cure -- for the person who got the radio disease there was a definite and lasting impact. As for being bitten by the mythic 'radio bug', the press usually applied this to celebrities, especially those who had initially resisted going on the air, or had never thought they would become loyal listeners. Once they had been bitten, their attitude about radio changed dramatically, as when the wealthy entrepreneur Colonel Edward H. R. Green immediately began to install expensive radio equipment and loud-speakers all over his mansion, so that even his neighbors would be able to hear the programs ("Hetty Green's Son" 2). It is also important to note that there was one other completely different use of the term "radio bug," and this will be discussed subsequently.

Although the press agreed that there was indeed a craze sweeping the nation in 1922, the reporters who wrote about it were having a difficult time agreeing on the right vocabulary to describe it; in fact, many were not even able to decide what to call the new mass medium. While the term "radio craze" was often seen in headlines, analysis of the articles themselves shows that "radio" was not yet the agreed-upon word that print journalists employed. The period from 1921 to 1922 was time of transition for the art and science of broadcasting, and it was also a transitional time for those who reported about it. Radio was moving

farther away from its origins in science and engineering, and reporters who had become accustomed to using the technical jargon preferred by engineers now had an entirely different audience-- men and women who had bought a radio set to enjoy the programs, and who had no technical background whatsoever. The old terminology was no longer appropriate for these new radio fans, but print journalists were still trying to develop some new terminology that would be easier for their readers to understand. It was during this time of transition that two basic vocabularies emerged. One type referred to radio as “wireless”; this was a term which had come into use during the 1890s, a time when experiments were being done in so-called “wireless telegraphy,” as inventors like Guglielmo Marconi, Nicola Tesla, and Valdemar Poulsen were able to transmit messages using electromagnetic waves, gradually eliminating the need for telegraph wires. The term “wireless telephony” was then created to describe the sending of voice rather than Morse code. (Interestingly, even after the United States and Canada had discarded this word and begun using the term “radio,” Great Britain and France both continued to refer to the new mass medium as the wireless.) Some of the technology-oriented magazines like Radio News employed both “radio” and “wireless” almost interchangeably, but by late 1922, “radio” was much more common. The use of the word “wireless” did not entirely die out in American publications till the mid 1920s.

Other magazines combined the word “wireless” with the word “telephone” to come up with a hybrid expression, “wireless telephone.” This term, along with another hybrid which combined “radio” with “telephone” to come up with the new word, “radiophone,” seemed especially popular with the newspapers. Meanwhile, one magazine, Radio News, devised a variant spelling, “radiofone,” as in a 1921 article about a Pittsburgh church that was without a regular pastor; several members decided to broadcast the services of a nearby house of worship so that the assembled congregants could still hear a Sunday service (“Church Uses Radiofone” 860). During the early 1920s, it was also common to see newspaper articles refer to a “wireless telephone station” or a “radiophone stations,” or sometimes even a “radio-telephone station.” (For example, “To Give Election Results” 10; in that article, Cleveland amateurs were told that Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing in Pittsburgh had gotten a government license to “send out election returns by the wireless telephone.” Also, in “Radio Fans Expect” 3, both “wireless telephone” and “radiophone” are used to explain how listeners will be able to hear the Dempsey-Carpentier boxing match as it is happening.) And finally, there were several instances of another awkward construction, “radiophony,” which was used to describe radiophone broadcasting as a technology; it can be seen in such magazine articles as “How De Forest Put Radiophony On the Map” (1922, 113). But the New York World expressed its opposition to using such

cumbersome phrases as “wireless telephone,” suggesting that it was time for a shorter expression that was easier for the average person to say. The editors believed it was a mistake to choose a name based on an earlier invention, such as when the automobile was first called the “horseless carriage” (qtd. in “Shorter Words Needed” 28).

In the other style of newspaper and magazine writing, there was a preference for the term “broadcasting,” a word that, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, was first used in the early 1800s-- back then, it referred to a farming method of scattering seeds by hand over a wide area. The word “broadcasting” as a term for what a radio signal did as it disseminated the programs for hundreds of miles was quickly embraced. By early 1922, there was even a popular program called “Broadcasting Broadway” on pioneering Newark station WJZ; hosted by Bertha Brainard, it featured theater reviews and interviews with performers. And by the end of 1922, Dr. Frank Vizetelly, editor of the Funk & Wagnalls’ Dictionary, told an interviewer that he was including a definition of “radio broadcasting” in the next edition because “it is a new phrase that has come into common use” (qtd. in “Radio and the Dictionary” 22). Interestingly, newspapers and magazines of the early 1920s, used the verb “to send” with “broadcast,” saying that a particular radio program was “sent broadcast” by station WJZ, for example. And radio stations during this time were often called “sending stations,” another term left over from the days of wireless telegraphy. For example,

a syndicated article, “Music by Wireless in Your Own Home,” which appeared in the Baltimore American on 22 May 1921, stated that it was now possible to receive church services or music concerts in one’s home, “...through the efforts of three powerful radio sending stations in the east...” This terminology persisted into the mid-1920, such as when the radio editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, discussing the style of speaking necessary for a successful radio announcer, stated that an effusive personality is essential because “[t]he radio is such a cold, inanimate thing, both in the sending station and in the home, that it is difficult to get the feeling and warmth necessary into his work” (“Hooking Up With the Radio Editor” 1). Far more short-lived was the use of the term “sending operator” as a synonym for an announcer. This term too originated with amateur radio, where Morse code (and later voice) was sent out from one ham to another. But a few newspaper columnists in radio’s first year applied it to the person on the air, as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch did in late 1921 when describing some of the programs heard on KDKA and WJZ. “Early in the evening, a bedtime story is read by the sending operator” (“Night Filled With Music” 7).

As for the word “broadcast,” in its early years of usage, some writers put an -ed on the end of it when they wanted to express the past tense. Where today we say that “last night, WBZ broadcast the debate,” in the early 20s, it was common to say that WBZ “broadcasted” a program. To cite one example, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1 December

1921, 12, reported on an upcoming band concert, saying that the concert “will be broadcasted tonight.” But this usage became a contentious issue, as grammarians disagreed with creating what they believed was an incorrect past tense. Despite their complaints, some newspapers and magazines persisted in using “broadcasted” well into the mid- 1920s (“Enrichment of Our Speech” 16; also, Wallace 390, in which columnist John Wallace notes that Radio Broadcast magazine stopped using “broadcasted” three years earlier). Contrary to the problems the editors of Radio Broadcast had in making up their mind, it didn’t take another magazine, Radio World, three years to make such a decision-- within weeks of their first issue in April 1922, the editors, after consulting with scholars and experts in the field of grammar, announced that they would treat “broadcast” the way they treated “forecast”-- with the past participle the same as the infinitive form. Therefore, “It is incorrect to say that a message was ‘broadcasted’. Hereafter, the word will not appear in the columns of Radio World.” (qtd. in “Radio Broadcasted” 7; however, the editors of Toronto Star, where this article appeared, then consulted their own grammarians and experts, some of whom disagreed with Radio World’s conclusion.)

There was another interesting expression in early 1920s print journalism, a construction that would be considered redundant today, but was perfectly normal for the reporters of that time. When referring to the people who eagerly put on their headphones (the only way to hear a

station during those early years) and tried to find their favorite station, they were said to “listen in.” A contemporary reporter would simply say they “listened” to the radio, but back then, the accepted phrase was they “listened in.” An early example of this usage can be seen in the Baltimore American, 21 November 1921, 14. The story told about how Rabbi Louis Bernstein had given a radio sermon that was heard in distant cities and even by ships at sea. The headline said “5000 Hear Bernstein Sermon by Wireless; People in Boston and Pittsburgh Listen In.” In addition to the popularity of “listen in,” there was a similar expression, “tune in.” This referred to the primitive radio receivers that were first available; it was necessary for the listener to twist and manipulate several dials, in hopes of finally receiving a station (for example, “Store Tonight to Give First Radio Program; Fans Who Tune In to 360 Meter [Wave] Length Will Hear Entertainment by Grand-Leader” 3). And a strange quirk of early newspaper and magazine articles about radio was that sometimes, reporters made use of British orthography, calling a radio program a “programme,” as on page 1 of the Portland Oregonian of 7 April 1921, which headlined “Concert Sent by Radio; Programme Carried by Wireless to College 12 Miles Away.” The other term that was unique to early radio was “the ether,” which referred to what we today call “the air.” Then, as now, the average person was not well-versed in physics, and how radio waves traveled was regarded as quite a mystery. The ether, as described in the Oxford English

Dictionary, was believed to be a "...substance of great elasticity and subtilty... thought to be the medium through which radio waves and electromagnetic radiations [were] propagated." Scientists like Charles Steinmetz tried to explain otherwise, but the belief in a mystical substance that carried radio waves persisted ("Is the Ether Mythical?" 31-32).

The New Radio Jargon

There was one other necessary element in the creation of a shared vocabulary about radio -- deciding upon the best way to talk about what modern scholars call the "mass audience," the millions of radio listeners nationwide. It should be noted that the terms "mass audience" and "mass communication" were not in general use in radio's formative years, although there is evidence that they appeared sporadically in the late 1920s and early 1930s. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 2009 online edition, "mass audience" was used first in Broadcasting magazine in February 1933, and "mass communication" was used by David Sarnoff, writing a chapter about the business of broadcasting for a 1930 book, Radio and Its Future, edited by Martin Codel. But I found an earlier usage, in a quote from NBC's president Merlin H. Aylesworth, who used both terms at a speech he gave in mid-March 1927 (qtd. in "Merchants Hold" 27). The fact that these terms were used by Aylesworth and then Sarnoff -- two executives at the same company --

suggests that “mass audience” and “mass communication” were already a part of RCA and NBC’s corporate vocabulary. However, based on database searches of major historical newspapers, neither term seems to have gained popular use in mainstream publications until the mid-1940s. Similarly, a search of scholarly journals shows that, as a result of the work of academic researchers like Harold Lasswell and Paul Lazarsfeld, both expressions gaining more prominence in academic publications of the early 1940s (Waples 463).

Given the lack of any existing vocabulary that was appropriate for describing radio listeners, newspaper and magazine editors of the early 1920s had to invent new ways to convey the concept of a vast, anonymous audience of radio enthusiasts. As mentioned earlier, occasional efforts to come up with a clever usage, as Radio News did with the word “radiofone,” led newspapers like the Boston Globe to coin the phrase “radiophans” to describe the proponents of the radiotelephone. For example, the Globe’s radio editor, Lloyd Greene, in his 31 December 1922 column, “Secretary Hoover Seeks Enactment Of Bill To Clear Ether Of Radio Interference,” said such a bill would be “a kind of Christmas present to a Nation of radiophans.” (35) The Globe also had a regular feature called “Radiophone Reception by Globe Radiophans,” where readers submitted the names of the distant stations they had been able to receive. But while “radiophans” might have been amusing, it did not garner much mainstream support from other newspapers, some of which

tried to find their own descriptions for people who listened to radio. One popular expression that did get some widespread use was “radio bug.” (I have previously discussed, on page 121, how reporters sometimes used this term metaphorically. They would remark upon how someone had suddenly become obsessed with radio, and would describe that person as having been “bitten by the radio bug.”) The additional meaning, referring to a radio fan whose love of the new mass medium dominated his or her life, became equally common in 1922. “Radio bug” was a good example of a phrase whose original meaning was shifting-- in the amateur radio days, the word “bug” was a slang expression for the key with which the amateur sent Morse code; as an extension of that, calling someone a “radio bug” meant someone (usually a boy or a young man) who was totally immersed in amateur radio technology, building his own receiver, and trying to contact the farthest ham stations (“Boys Responsible for Radio Craze” 14).

But as Jack Binns, radio editor of the New York Tribune, observed when he covered a big radio exhibition that was held in New York City, the fan base for radio was beginning to change. Many of the attendees were members of the general public, and they came to the show because they were fascinated by what they were hearing on the air. He noted that this audience was far different that of previous shows, which were dominated by the “radio bugs” who were focused on exchanging information about the newest equipment (“Future Unfolds” 22). Around

this time, the term “radio bug” was losing the connotation of a person obsessed with technology and was beginning to refer exclusively to a devoted radio listener. Proof of that shift could be seen in the many articles about famous people who were now radio fans. One such article, “Mary Garden Is Radio Bug and Will Have Set in Apartment Here,” was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on 27 March 1922. In that article, the famous opera singer refused to stay in a hotel unless the management could guarantee that her room would have a radio installed in it. The reporter explained that Miss Garden wanted to listen to some radio programs while she was in town; at this time, few hotels had put radios in each room, but the Fairmont Hotel made sure her request was accommodated (1). By the end of 1922, “radio bug” was synonymous with a loyal fan who loved “listening in” whenever possible.

In addition to calling loyal fans “radio bugs,” some newspapers and magazines devised other words, with varying degrees of success. During 1922-1924, a few publications borrowed an abbreviation from amateur radio-- BCL, which stood for “broadcast listener.” This term had been created after the commercial radio stations came along, to differentiate between the ham radio operator, who knew Morse code and radio technology, and the people who liked to listen in to the growing number of commercial stations. Although the hams encouraged the BCLs to learn Morse code and try to build their own receivers, the majority of BCLs were not technically inclined; they just wanted to enjoy

the programs the commercial radio stations offered (“QRM: Events of Interest” 18). The term “BCL” was mainly used in magazines that catered to the amateurs, as well as in a few newspapers like the Washington Post and Boston Globe that had a weekly column for ham radio fans. It should be noted that unlike the mainstream news magazines, ham radio publications used BCL with a much more negative, almost derisive connotation (Fry 48). For many amateurs, the fact that broadcast listeners were unwilling to learn the technology meant they were not true radio fans. However, the term BCL never gained much mass appeal, and it was generally considered an example of ham radio jargon.

There were other attempts to find a new word for commercial radio’s growing legion of fans. The San Francisco Chronicle tried “auditors,” as in the 4 August 1922 article, “Soprano Solos Will Entertain Radio Auditors” (11). While that expression, derived from the Latin word “to hear,” found some acceptance in a small number of newspapers, including the New York Times (“Radio Bells” X8), it too never gained widespread popularity. The Atlanta Constitution briefly referred to the listeners as “radio enthusiasts,” as in the page 1 article from 19 March 1922, “Emory Glee Club Entertains Radio Enthusiasts.” But in the end, the obvious choice, “radio listeners,” was what the majority of newspapers and magazines decided to use.

When referring to the listeners as a group, however, the print media settled on an interesting new phrase: the “invisible audience,” sometimes also expressed as the “unseen audience.” While this would later become a cliché, in radio’s early days, it was an apt description of one of the new mass medium’s biggest challenges. Entertainers were accustomed to performing live, and on the stage or in a concert hall, they received immediate feedback from those in attendance, whether it was cheers or boos. But radio, which sent disembodied voices through the air, left the performers with no way of knowing whether they were being heard, how many people were listening, or what those people thought. This was very disconcerting, especially for comedians who relied upon audience reaction to know if their jokes were working (see for example Scottish comic Harry Lauder, qtd. in “Comedian Stripped of Props” X19; he mentioned that part of his stage act involved appearing in costume and doing a traditional Scottish dance, but he was uncertain as to whether to bother bringing his normal stage props, since there would be nobody watching). Lauder was not the only one to find it awkward to perform in a radio studio. A columnist for the New York World reported on the foibles of certain other radio performers, including a famous orator who became so caught up in the lecture he was giving that he began to point and gesture, as he would in a classroom, forgetting that his “invisible audience” could not see him and had no idea what he was

doing (qtd. by Barnitz 4). But other performers adapted quite easily. The Fort Wayne (IN) Sentinel carried a wire service interview with the famed Russian soprano Madame Lydia Lipkowska, who expressed her excitement about singing for the “invisible audience.” She explained that radio was revolutionizing the world of music, allowing opera to be heard simultaneously by people in a number of cities; she was thrilled to be part of this new experiment. Although singing in the studios of KYW in Chicago or WJZ in Newark was quite different from singing in the great opera houses of Europe, Mme. Lipkowska said she knew that her performances were well received, because listeners sent her hundreds of telegrams and letters after each radio performance. (“World-Wide Radio” 9).

Performing for the “invisible audience” was certainly different from being in a theater or concert hall, but it should also be noted that hearing entertainers on the radio was different for the audience, which had no way, other than through the power of imagination, to envision what the performers and speakers looked like. For every Madame Lipkowska, there were performers who found coping with an “unseen audience” problematic. But as for the listeners, the effect of coping with “unseen entertainers” was somewhat more benign. Of course, some listeners were curious, and eventually, star entertainers would send out autographed photos. But the good news for most of radio’s earliest

performers was that being invisible meant the listeners could not pass judgment on them based on factors like their race or their physical appearance, as attendees of a live concert might. As long as a radio performer was interesting and had a warm personality, listeners seemed content. And the frequent use by 1920s journalists of the phrases “invisible audience” and “unseen audience” provided a reminder of the unique effect that radio had upon the performing arts.

It was not only entertainers who had problems getting accustomed to broadcasting. It could be equally awkward for certain guest speakers to give an address to people they could not see; but for many of them, especially preachers and politicians, a mitigating factor was radio’s ability to reach large numbers of listeners in a variety of distant locations. The New York Tribune told of a candidate for governor of New Jersey, State Senator William N. Runyon, who gave a talk to the “invisible audience” from the studios of WJZ in Newark and then sang the listeners a song (“Jersey Candidate” 6). The New York Times reported that when a New Jersey pastor, Rev. Charles Lee Reynolds, gave a sermon to the “unseen audience” via WJZ, an estimated “half a million” people heard him -- although of course there was no accurate way to determine the actual number (“Preaches to 500,000” 4). And pointing out another challenge for radio speakers, the Boston Globe, in an editorial comment the next day, mused that while it might be true that a

half million people heard the pastor's voice, there was no way of knowing how many of them were still listening by the end of his sermon ("Editorial Points" 12).

Thus, while "invisible audience" and "unseen audience" could be considered examples of clichés, these terms actually had a particular significance for radio editors and columnists. When they mentioned the audience's invisibility, they did so to give a fact (unless there was a studio audience, the speakers and performers were situated in a room with only an engineer and an announcer present); but they were also providing a context for an effect; that is, not being able to directly experience the reaction of the audience affected the people who were broadcasting. Even those who were not intimidated or nervous still had to adapt their performance to the unique surroundings of a radio studio.

New Activities, New Words

As an anonymous reporter in the Seattle Times observed in late February 1922, "Overnight the hobby of a few enterprising amateurs in the wireless field has developed to the point where the word 'radio' is the talk of the civilized world" ("Radio Becomes" 8). And as radio continued to grow in popularity, it also continued to change the language. By 1923, expressions like "wireless telephone" and "radiophone" had given

way to “radio.” The “auditors” and “radiophans” became “listeners.” Radio was developing its own unique jargon, as “radio bugs” gathered around their sets to “listen in” each night. Unfortunately, not everyone grasped this new language immediately, and for some adults especially, what the young people were saying was somewhat mysterious. (This is a phenomenon which still occurs, as new technologies create new jargon -- in the early 2000s, young adults were talking about internet-based social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter, neither of which were commonly used by their parents yet.) In early 1922, newspapers reported on the strategies some educators were using in an attempt to catch up to their young students, who all seemed so at ease with radio. In Seattle, which had three stations operating by February, several female teachers from Ballard High School began attending meetings of the local Totem Radio Club. They told a reporter that so many of their students, both male and female, were obsessed with radio that it was a constant topic of conversation. The teachers felt out of touch with what was happening, and saw the radio club as an opportunity to “understand the language their students were talking” (“Totem Club Members” 4).

At least these educators were being proactive about it. Some adults seemed to throw up their hands in despair and not even try to keep up with this new craze. Newspaper opinion pieces took such adults to task, reminding them that they needed to stop resisting the modern world. Said one editorial, using a term for an old fogy or a person who

was not up with the times, “The youngsters caught the [radio] idea in a flash... [while] the grownups are snoring away, with no definite idea what the ‘wireless business’ is all about... Adult America will shortly be a mossback, if it doesn’t waken. The youngsters are experimenting with wireless wizardy [sic] while the rest of us ride in stage coaches” (“The Mossback Danger” 4). After all, wrote Professor R.W. Sorenson in an opinion piece for the Los Angeles Times, this was now the radio age, and whether people liked it or not, radio’s influence was beyond question. Families were putting aside time every evening to “listen in,” and previously under-used rooms were being turned into “radio rooms.” For those not yet comfortable with the radio craze, he suggested that they read the radio column in their favorite newspaper and make the effort to learn the newest radio expressions. Given the amazing possibilities radio broadcasting offered, Sorenson believed the time had come for more Americans to be included in the discussion about radio’s future. (Sorenson 7)

Of course, many adults did decide to learn about radio, and a sizeable number became big fans. By late 1922, there was a new activity for these avid listeners-- “radio golf.” Listening to distant stations was called “DXing” (another term left over from the days of amateur radio and wireless telegraphy), and this new game rewarded those who received stations from the most distant locations. Invented by Frank H. Jones, the American entrepreneur and ham radio operator who lived in

Tuinucu, Cuba (“No 19th Hole” 33), the object of the game was to pull in as many distant stations as possible. Scoring was based on how many miles each station was from one’s home city. The players had to keep score, using a log (called a “golf card”), where they recorded the call letters of each station they heard, along with the city, and what program was on the air. They would then calculate the number of miles for each station and submit the total score to their local newspaper; DXing was very popular with radio fans in those early years of commercial broadcasting, and some of the newspapers and magazines printed news of the achievements of the best “radio golfers.” A few newspapers and magazines held competitions for the DX fans, with prizes awarded to the radio listener who had the highest score that month. Most of the players seemed to compete just for the thrill of the contest, whether they received a prize or not (“Radio Golf” X16). And while radio golf was fun, it was also good for the economy-- it encouraged participants to buy new and better receiving sets, in hopes of getting the best reception and winning the competition.

In addition to “radio golf,” there was one more new addition to the vocabulary of radio fans: collecting Ekko stamps. This new hobby for DXers began in late 1924, when Ekko, a Chicago-based company, created a radio stamp album; it had spaces for each of the stations then on the air, and a place to mount an Ekko stamp for each one. The stamp album also came with “proof of reception” cards. These had to be filled

out with the time, the date, and what program the person heard; the card was then sent to the radio station, which verified the information and sent the Ekko stamp to the listener. This procedure made sure that the would-be collector really did receive that station, and was not just claiming to have heard it in order to add another Ekko stamp to his or her album. Collecting these colorful stamps became a craze of its own, even making the cover of Radio News in February 1925. In addition to being fun (stamp collecting was a popular pastime in its own right, and now, radio fans could collect Ekko stamps), it also had an educational benefit -- participants learned more about U.S. geography. The stamp album featured a map of the United States, and listed the cities and towns in each state, along with the names of the radio stations in those places (“What Radio Fans Welcome” XX13). According to the Radio News article, Ekko stamps got a lot of people talking-- fans liked to brag about their collection and show their friends the tangible proof of how many distant stations that they had received (“The New Radio Stamp Fad” 1401, 1550).

Evidence that radio was on everyone’s mind could also be found in the way local businesses and volunteer organizations chose radio themes when planning an outing or a holiday party. To cite several examples, Westinghouse (owner of WBZ, then located in Springfield MA) sponsored a “radio dinner” at which fans and Boston-area business executives were invited to listen to a radio concert at a popular recreational facility,

Norumbega Park. Not only did the attendees hear the concert; they also met several radio experts, who talked about the latest trends in broadcasting. And the menu for the guests included “ether soup, amplified beefsteak, high frequency salad, ... and 25-watt coffee” (Radio Dinner” 4). A syndicated article that ran on the women’s page in a number of newspapers suggested how a hostess might give a “radio tea.” The instructions included selected a time when an interesting program that attendees might enjoy was scheduled for broadcast, and having decorations that looked like a radio tower (or a “sending tower” as the article said) or purchasing toy telephones that could be decorated to look like the microphones used on the radio at that time (“How to Give a Radio Tea” 5). And for those who did not collect stamps or play radio golf or attend radio teas, there was also radio fiction. Capitalizing on the radio craze, Arthur B. Reeve, a well-known author of mystery and adventure tales, wrote “On Wings of Wireless” in mid 1922. This serial was described in newspaper advertisements as “a mystery story as engaging, as enthralling... as the mystery of radio itself” (“Arthur B. Reeve” 10). and it was syndicated in a number of newspapers during the summer.

For younger readers, there were also books with a radio theme. Especially popular in 1922-1923 were a series of popular novels called the Radio Boys. These books featured the adventures of two wireless enthusiasts, fifteen year old Bob Layton and his friend Joe Atwood, who

solved mysteries and saved lives, against a backdrop of their interest in amateur and commercial radio. Written by the pseudonymous Allen Chapman, the series included First Wireless, At the Sending Station, and Trailing a Voice. And it is interesting to note that young girls were not left out of the radio craze-- there was also a series called the Radio Girls, written by the equally pseudonymous Margaret Penrose. The four-book series came out in 1922, and included On the Program and On Station Island. These books are especially interesting because unlike much of the fiction aimed at the female audience, the characters in the Radio Girls series were every bit as resourceful and adventuresome as the boys, and were just as excited about radio broadcasting (Egoff 242). In chapter five, more will be said regarding the discourses about radio that could be found in books and magazines of the 1920s and early 1930s.

And speaking of books, one of the fears expressed by some of radio's detractors was that it would lead to a reduction in reading. If people could just sit and listen to information, why would they want to read about it? But as media ecologists like Walter Ong, Neil Postman and Joshua Meyrowitz have pointed out, a new technology seldom replaces the ones that came before it; rather, it "alters the functions, significance and effects of earlier media" (Meyrowitz 19). Or, to reiterate what Postman believed, "...A new technology does not add or subtract something. It changes everything" (Postman, Technopoly 18). Further, "New technologies alter the structure of our interests: the things we

think about...” (Postman, Technopoly 20). Thus, it was not surprising that during the summer of 1922, when the so-called “radio craze” was at its apex, many people were thinking about radio. But they did not think about it to the exclusion of other forms of media. In fact, not only did they want to listen to radio; they also wanted to read about it, as the new radio culture and the older print culture became intertwined. There were so many new radio books being published that The Bookman, which generally focused on reviews of literary fiction, or non-fiction books about history and anthropology, offered a five-page survey of the new books about radio. Reviewer Pierre Boucheron noted that there were about fifty such books that had come across his desk, ranging from the very interesting to the very confusing. He categorized them as books that were aimed at the novice, who wanted a little information about the technology as well as some of the history of how radio came to be; books that were aimed at the technology wizards and experimenters who wanted to build the best radio receivers; and a few books which were so poorly written and contained so much jargon that they “should never have been published” (Boucheron 638). By early June, two of the books Boucheron reviewed were in the top five on the list of non-fiction best sellers at a major New York bookstore (“Ten Best Sellers” D8). They were Radio for Everybody by Austin C. Lescarbours (which Boucheron praised as a good introduction to the subject), and Home Radio by A.

Hyatt Verrill (which Boucheron criticized for giving inaccurate and misleading information).

Further proof that radio was having a positive rather than a negative effect on reading could also be found in the number of newspapers and magazines that began offering a radio page or a radio section (in the majority of publications, this occurred between February and April 1922), and the number of new magazines devoted exclusively to radio. And one early 1924 survey of librarians in eastern Massachusetts found little evidence that radio was having a detrimental impact on library usage; while a few libraries had experienced a temporary drop-off in patrons in mid 1922, this soon turned around, and usage remained high at the majority of libraries surveyed. But one thing had changed-- more patrons wanted to read books about radio. As a librarian from the Waltham Public Library told the Boston Globe, the supply of books about radio had been exhausted, and the constant demand made it difficult to keep enough books on the shelves (“Have Library Readers” 21).

Other New Radio Slang

As radio’s first decade progressed, the industry of broadcasting was developing its own unique vocabulary, with certain expressions that

were embraced by the general public, and others that were only popular among people who worked at a radio station. As Royal W. Sorensen, a professor at the California Institute of Technology, observed in an early April 1922 article, “war times” had been replaced by “radio times,” and this new radio age was changing the way Americans spoke. He remarked on how words formerly used only by engineers could now be heard in daily conversations, as people compared notes on the best receivers and discussed the distant stations they had heard (Sorensen 7). Despite the lack of psychographic research from the 1920s that might explain why certain words seemed to capture the public’s fancy while others did not, my analysis of selected newspapers and magazines of that era indicates that some newly created radio expressions became part of the popular culture almost immediately (this included a few words that were adopted from amateur radio and then applied to commercial broadcasting). Two examples are “radio bug” (which originated with ham radio) and “invisible audience” (which was coined by radio columnists in the early 1920s). And it was not just print journalists who used these terms. Fans, when writing letters of praise to their favorite radio stations, or when talking with reporters, also employed this new radio slang. To cite an example of the use of “radio bug,” in early April 1922, a reporter for the Los Angeles Times asked some people at random whether they had noticed a growing interest in radio, and one replied that “radio bugs” were “thick as a swarm of locusts,” while another explained that a “radio bug” could be

male or female, young or old; in fact, a 62 year old woman proudly discussed her new radio set (Harwood 5). And as for “invisible audience,” some listeners to WDAF in Kansas City used it when praising the station’s broadcast of a World Series baseball game in early October 1922. A fan from Keytesville, MO was among those who praised WDAF’s good signal and commitment to sports, concluding, “...You can rest assured that you will have an invisible audience at Keytesville ever day” (“Heard Scores” 43).

But not every new word caught on with the public. In fact, some attempts to popularize a word or phrase met with resistance and were either ignored or, ultimately, rejected. In 1923-1924, Radio Digest tried very hard to popularize “radarios,” the name for radio plays first coined by Cincinnati’s WLW (“Radario Contest” 9; “Radarios Make Fans” 5). But despite how often Radio Digest tried to promote this terminology, it was not incorporated by the majority of newspapers or magazines, which continued to refer to “radio plays” or “radio dramas.” And as mentioned on page 130, another good example of a failed attempt to create a new word came from Lloyd Greene, radio editor of the Boston Globe, when he tried to boost the term “radiophans” in late 1922, but only a few other radio editors followed his lead. Then, in 1924, there was a more organized effort to boost a new word-- “radiocasting.” The Associated Manufacturers of Electrical Supplies (AMES) decided that because the

word “broadcasting” had its origins in farming, it should no longer be used, and a word exclusive to radio should be chosen instead (“‘Broadcasting’ Now Obsolete” 2). But there was almost immediate disapproval of this idea. The recently created National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) led the criticism, with its president, Eugene F. McDonald, asserting that the world did not need a new term when the old one was doing just fine. “Why try to re-educate a hundred million people? There are many more useful and productive angles for thought and research... [rather] than changing something that is perfectly intelligible to everybody right now” (qtd. in “Objects to Changing” XX15) While a few newspapers, most notably the Christian Science Monitor (for example “Caruso Radiocast Aria” 11), and a small number of syndicated columnists, including Martin Codel (“Radiocasting a Thriving Business” 4), championed the word during the period from 1924 through 1930, they were the exceptions; “radiocasting” never caught on with the majority of the newspapers and magazines. And despite several subsequent efforts by AMES to promote the new terminology, it was the old stand-by, “broadcasting,” that remained the commonly accepted term.

In the early to mid-1920s, the word “blooping” (along with the person who did it, the “blooper”) was introduced in newspaper and magazine articles, when talking about radio reception and interference.

While some interference was atmospheric and could not yet be remedied, given the limitations to the technology in the early 1920s, “bloopers” were regarded with scorn because they either did not know enough or did not care enough to properly tune their radio set, or they used a very primitive model, a regenerative receiver, which lacked the capacity for accurate tuning; in either case, the result was their radio set emitted loud squawks or whistles and interfered with the reception of other listeners who lived nearby (Gilchrist D7). Complaining about bloopers was one of the most common topics in letters to the radio editor, and it also provided fodder for a number of newspaper opinion pieces about the annoying interference the bloopers caused their neighbors (for example Gilchrist, “Silent Night” E10; a ‘silent night’ in early radio was a night when all local stations in a given city were asked to refrain from broadcasting so that listeners could receive distant stations from other cities).

Sometimes, trying to insert a bit of humor into a trying situation, radio writers used personification to discuss the technical difficulties common to early broadcasting. For example, static interference became known as “Old Man Static,” and when radio reception was especially poor, he was metaphorically taken to task. Lamenting that the problem was worse in some months than others, the radio critic of the Chicago Tribune observed that “[s]ummer is approaching, and old man static has

already begun his usual summer labors... Static eliminators may put an end to him someday, but not today” (Davis E15). And WGM, an Atlanta station with a powerful signal, bragged that its “midnight concerts continue to break through ‘Old Man Static’ and get into every nook and corner of the continent” (“Big Midnight Features” 16). The fact that amateur radio operators had also used this term probably contributed to its acceptance when commercial radio came along. Some radio stations also personified the microphone, with the theory that this might help performers to feel less intimidated by being in a studio, surrounded by various pieces of equipment. At KHJ in Los Angeles, this technique was used to remind the entertainers and speakers how to properly project their voice into the microphone. “The microphone is the sensitive instrument,” wrote station manager John S. (“Uncle John”) Daggett. “We call it ‘the old man’ for in speaking into it, ...[the] best results are obtained by imagining that you are talking into the ear of a nice old gentleman who is hard of hearing. Leaning forward, quite close to the imaginary hand cupped behind the imaginary ear, you say ‘Hello, hello, this is Radio KHJ...’ ” (Daggett, “Radio Fright” 6)

In certain instances, a new word gained acceptance after it was championed by a person who was considered an authority, or when the government began using it. A good example of this phenomenon is the word “kilocycles.” This word was first promoted in 1923 by John V.L.

Hogan, former president of the Institute of Radio Engineers, author of The Outline of Radio, and a frequently-quoted expert on technological matters. While he may not have invented the word (it seemed to first gain attention at the second National Radio Conference, held in late March, where several committees made suggestions to Herbert Hoover, then secretary of the Department of Commerce, about how to resolve some of radio's technical problems, and proposed expanding the broadcast band to make room for more stations), Hogan was certainly instrumental in introducing it to radio editors nation-wide. For example, in a piece entitled "Why Kilocycles," he said that this new word came from 'kilo' or 1000 and 'cycles' and explained how this would be a far more accurate way of measuring a radio station's frequency on the dial. (Previously, radio stations had been measured in meters, but Hogan believed this system was outdated.) Ultimately, amateur radio operators would continue using meters, while commercial stations would adopt "kilocycles," as their roles and their locations on the broadcast band were further separated.

In early radio, amateur and commercial broadcasters were often interchangeable, but by 1923, there were different and very distinct sets of rules for each group. Amateurs, for example, were permitted to do only 'point to point' communication, much like one person talking to another on a telephone. Commercial stations were not allowed to do

this; they were allowed to read excerpts from fan letters over the air, as long as no names were given, and as long as they were not reading a personal message intended for only one person. The aim of commercial radio was to ‘broadcast’-- to present programs for a wide number of listeners (“Urge Wide Reforms” S5). With the blessing of the National Radio Conference and the encouragement of engineering experts like Hogan, a few newspapers (the Boston Globe among them) began giving radio station frequencies in both meters and kilocycles on the radio page. According to James Snyder, a technology expert from the Library of Congress, the acceptance of the term “kilocycles” was accelerated when new radio receivers improved and became capable of very precise tuning; at that point, the use of kilocycles rather meters made more sense. By 1927, few if any newspapers used ‘meters’ any longer, and radio sets featured easy to use dials with station frequencies measured only in kilocycles (Snyder, personal e-mail to author, 11 November 2010; see also “When Radio’s Gold Rush” X14).

Amateur radio had developed its own jargon, which was used mainly by other hams (Fry 45-49), and acronyms like QRM (static interference) or numerical codes like ‘73s’ (a way of saying “best regards”) probably seemed mysterious to the non-ham. (Proving perhaps that there’s nothing new under the sun, Fry noted in that 1929 essay about “Ham Lingo” that hams abbreviated “see you later” as CUL; in modern

times, people sending text messages still use this abbreviation. There was also a way to indicate that a message contained a joke, or that the sender was not being serious-- the word used was "hi". Today, we see that people sending text messages use LOL for that same purpose.) As first seen with ham radio, the process of inventing specialized abbreviations and acronyms also occurred in commercial radio. Certain expressions were only used by those who worked at a radio station, and these expressions were not well understood by the general public. One example was "NEMO," referring to a broadcast that originated in a remote location, rather than in the studio. NEMO was a word of uncertain origin. Some newspapers, including the New York Times, claimed an engineer with station WEAJ, G.E. Stewart, came up with the term, perhaps as early as 1923, after becoming frustrated over the disagreement among radio personnel about what to call this type of broadcast. "Let's call it NEMO and quit wasting time," he was quoted as saying. "In Latin, 'nemo' means 'no name' and it looks like we're never going to get an appropriate title" (qtd. in "The 'Nemo' Broadcasts" XX 17). While years later, a popular explanation was that NEMO stood for "not emanating from the main office," there is no evidence that this claim is accurate. In fact, the Oxford English Dictionary accepted the New York Times version, referring back to the Times' first usage of the term, in mid-July 1927. The 2009 edition of the OED said that the word was now obsolete, but noted that in 1927, it was "[a] new word to supplant

‘remote control’ ... coined by engineers working on the WEAFF network”
(Online OED, 2009 edition).

Before the word “NEMO” came into popular usage at radio stations, there was another term related to doing remote broadcasts: “pick-up man” or “pick-up operator.” This terminology began to be heard around radio stations between 1923-1925 (see for example “Forty Pick-Ups” R4); it referred to an engineer who was on the scene at the remote location. His duties included placing the microphones in the correct locations on the stage, checking all of the connections back to the studio, and remaining at the remote venue to ensure that the performance would sound good from start to finish. It was a challenging job, which often required moving microphones to get a better sound, without the audience knowing. (Most listeners had never heard of the “pick-up operator” unless occasionally, a newspaper explained how the remote broadcasts were done. In fact, the average listener had no idea what went on behind the scenes unless something went wrong during a broadcast.) And yet, despite the unfamiliarity of the public with this new radio expression, the success of the remote broadcasts they enjoyed frequently depended on the skills of the “pick-up man” (“Problems of a Pick-Up Operator” D7).

One other phrase unique to radio was “mike fright.” The concept of “stage fright” was well known to actors and actresses-- the fear of

forgetting their lines, or becoming temporarily unable to remember what came next in the performance. Stage fright could come unexpectedly, often to a new or inexperienced performer, but even veterans worried about it (Kirkley SM1). By mid-1922, the term “radio fright,” as opposed to stage fright, had been introduced, usually referring to performers who were intimidated by all of the equipment in the studio (Daggett, “Radio Fright” 6). But by early 1925, the expression had morphed into a fear of only one piece of studio equipment-- the microphone, or the “mike.” In April 1925, the phrase “mike fright” was employed in a syndicated column written by impresario (and radio star) Samuel L. Rothafel, or “Roxy,” who told a story about opera star Luisa Tetrazzini. It seems that when Madame Tetrazzini performed for the first time at London radio station 2LO, she became overwhelmed with dread, saying to a reporter that “I would rather sing to a thousand audiences than one microphone” (qtd. in Rothafel, “Roxy’s Hello Everybody” 7). The expression “mike fright” was also seen in an October column by Quin A. Ryan, an announcer for station WGN in Chicago; he observed that even at the stations which had created room for a studio audience, ostensibly to help performers feel more relaxed, it didn’t always work. Sometimes, even with a studio audience to applaud or cheer, certain performers still experienced a sudden case of mike fright (Ryan E6). And one of the most thorough descriptions of the effect of being in a radio studio came from a 1927 first-person account by vocalist Donald Kirkley. He had been

asked, along with his theater group, to perform selections from a Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera on Baltimore station WBAL. But the fact he was not alone and he had performed these selections many times did not help him to feel confident once he got into the studio. The moment he stepped up to the microphone, he began to panic, especially when he was told that more than 80,000 people would be listening, far more than all of the live theater audiences he had ever entertained. He imagined that the microphone was alive, staring at him, almost waiting for him to make a mistake and embarrass himself in front of so many listeners. Of course, in the end, his professionalism prevailed and he got through his performance, but up until he first began singing, his mind was playing all sorts of tricks on him and he wondered if, when he opened his mouth to sing, any voice would come out. And in the end, he got used to singing on the air, and even returned for another performance. But that first experience with microphone fright was one Kirkley would not soon forget (Kirkley SM1).

As discussed in earlier in this chapter, during the height of the “radio craze,” new words and expressions came and went. But this process continued throughout the 1920s. Sometimes, a new word was invented to describe a specific situation; these words tended to be short-lived. A good example arose from a problem in 1926 and early 1927 with “wave jumpers,” radio stations that ignored the rules and changed their

wave (location on the dial) without permission because they thought a new dial position would give them a better signal and more listeners. Prior to the creation of the Federal Radio Commission in 1927, wave jumping often occurred, and the Department of Commerce seemed unable to stop it (“Radio Hearing” 20). The FRC was tasked with bringing order to what had become a chaotic and over-crowded broadcast band, where stations boosted power illegally (often to drown out a competitor), and operated from a variety of dial locations (to the frustration of radio editors who wanted to provide a daily list of the local stations, but could no longer guarantee where on the dial a station might be found). The new federal agency was given the authority to grant licenses to broadcasters, and to assign each station a specific number of watts and a specific dial position. There was a process for requesting a change, and owners who ignored the process were threatened with having their station removed from the air. Within weeks of the FRC’s creation, it had already summoned twenty New York station owners to Washington for hearings; the owners were accused of wave jumping and were asked to show cause why their license to operate should not be revoked (“20 Radio Stations” 25). Thanks to the FRC’s strong enforcement, the problem of wave jumping vanished, and once that happened, the word to describe it vanished too.

But other examples of radio slang lasted long enough for the resident expert on words, lexicographer Dr. Frank Vizetelly, to include them in the next edition of the New Standard Dictionary. Interestingly, radio helped popularize Vizetelly's work. He began broadcasting on a New York area station in November 1924, discussing the creation of new words and giving his educated opinion about them. One that he discussed was "microphobia," a more elegant attempt to describe "mike fright." Vizetelly disliked "microphobia," which he saw as an artificial word, created by combining "microphone" with "phobia"-- but it was not a "micro" that people feared, and thus, he asserted that this word would not appear in his dictionary; he also doubted this word would catch on with the general public (Roland D7). He was right; it never did, and the somewhat more colloquial "mike fright" eventually moved from something that only performers knew about to a concept that average listeners could understand, whether they had ever been in a studio or not. Vizetelly was also on the right side of the "broadcast" versus "radiocast" controversy when it occurred in 1924. He told the radio manufacturers trying to push for the use of "radiocast" that it was "an ambiguous term, for it does not connote diffusion..." That is, he explained, "radiocast" did not express radio's ability to disseminate a signal across a wide area. He remarked that while only time would tell, he did not expect "radiocast" to become a part of the American vocabulary. And once again, he was correct (Roland D7). As for his own experience with radio, Vizetelly told

Charles Roland, the reporter who interviewed him in 1927, that he had never been afraid of the microphone. His first appearances were on pioneering station KDKA and he said he felt perfectly at home, since he enjoyed discussing the history of words. Listeners evidently liked what they heard, because to Vizetelly's surprise, the eminent lexicographer began receiving fan mail (Roland D7).

By the early 1930s, many radio-related words, like "newscast" and "network" (also called "chain broadcasting") had become part of American speech. Many others, like a "sustaining" program (one that had no sponsor, usually a public service program of some kind) or a "crooner" (a male vocalist who sang in a soothing and romantic style) were increasingly familiar to the audience. Radio editors even offered helpful explanations of radio slang, so that when listeners heard an expression, they would know what it meant. By 1935, Carroll Nye of the Los Angeles Times had not only compiled a glossary (some of which was serious, and some of which poked fun at certain radio customs) but he also offered photos of studio engineers using particular symbols during the broadcast. Radio had not only developed its own vocabulary; it had also developed a set of signs used during a broadcast to give directions to the performers or the announcer. For example, the engineer touching his nose meant the broadcast had ended "on the nose," or right on time. Engineers also used these hand signals to give instructions to the

performers -- letting them know they needed to play longer, or wrap up their song, or play a little softer (Nye A6). The development of this “radio sign language” was also the result of the growing use of the studio audience. As performers requested (and got) a group of fans who were not invisible, stations had a new set of problems -- how to keep these fans quiet when the program was taking place, and how to let them know when it was time to applaud. Further, the need for hand signals was intensified by the rise of network broadcasting, which contained frequent breaks during the program for sponsor messages. The signals to the performers and speakers notified them that the microphone was being turned on, warned other studio guests that they needed to remain especially quiet, and then let everyone know that the microphone was being turned off. By some accounts, it was station personnel at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) who popularized the use of the radio hand signals, in the late 1920s (Daggett, “Sign Language” A10). And as if to illustrate the old saying “be careful what you wish for,” by the mid-1930s, some artists who once wanted a studio audience had changed their mind; not only did audiences sometimes clap or cheer at the wrong time (despite the hand signals telling them to remain silent), but once the performance had ended, many attendees wanted autographs, or tried to chat with the entertainers (Wolters, “Air Stars” S8).

While most newspaper and magazine critics seemed to regard the new radio slang with amusement, by the early 1930s, some scholars were expressing their concern. They worried that radio announcers were introducing the audience, especially impressionable young people, to some bad speech habits, by popularizing colloquialisms and catch-phrases rather than standard English; mispronouncing even common words; and making errors in grammar or usage. Several critics noted that there was little consistency from station to station, with some announcers very proficient at the art of radio speaking and others incapable of pronouncing a famous person's name correctly (see Aiken 1929, and Combs 1931). Critical response to radio will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter, but suffice it to say that the slang and jargon emanating from radio was not embraced by academia the way it was embraced by the listeners, who seemed to enjoy knowing the vocabulary used behind the scenes at their favorite station. In fact, some fans dreamed that one day they too would become radio entertainers. These fans were undoubtedly the reason why editors in the mainstream press often published articles about the vocabulary aspiring radio performers needed to know, teaching them about the "program arranger" (the man or woman who holds the try-outs for prospective new talent) and the "studio director" (the person who makes the final selection from among the people who auditioned), as well as explaining how auditions for announcers were conducted, with examples of the

pronunciation tests they would have to take. These articles, while educational for radio fans who wanted to feel like insiders, also warned those with dreams of instant fame that getting chosen to be on the air was much more difficult than it might seem (Power, "Radio Try-Out" A7; Sammis 16-17).

CHAPTER 5

READING ABOUT RADIO

As mentioned in chapter three, during much of the 1920s and early-to-mid 1930s, public opinion research was still not widely available. The first efforts to identify the likes and dislikes of the radio audience occurred in 1928 (Daniel Starch) and 1929-1930 (Archibald Crossley), but these studies were limited to network programs, and were conducted to produce data that could be presented to potential sponsors (Craig 2010; Crossley 1957). A few journals like Social Forces, founded in 1922, and Public Opinion Quarterly, founded in 1937, offered some data on what Americans were thinking about political and social issues; and George Gallup began offering national polling information in late 1935. It was a truism back then that the popular press (newspapers, magazines and books; and later, radio) exerted an influence on public opinion, although the question of whether these media actually shaped or merely reflected what average Americans thought was still debated by scholars (for example Lippmann 1922; and Woodward 1934). In fact, Woodward was among those social scientists who recommended performing content analysis of newspapers and magazines in order to identify recurring issues that were probably salient to the general public (530-531). During the 1920s and early 1930s, social scientists continued to hold the view that the print media, especially the daily

newspaper, had far more influence on public perceptions of current events than radio did. Print was tangible, so the daily newspaper could be perused, kept, and re-read, whereas radio was ephemeral and even the most influential speaker's words were heard and then possibly forgotten (Meier 204). By the mid-1930s, this viewpoint was being challenged by a number of journalists (for example Hard 1935) and educators (Tyler 1935), who wrote of radio's growing influence on public perceptions about newsmakers and opinion leaders. It should be noted, however, that both men acknowledged they were offering opinion, based largely on anecdotal evidence. I. Keith Tyler was a well-known professor of education at Ohio State University; in his essay, he wrote that "scientific evidence is not yet available as to the effect which radio listening is having upon children and youth," but it was apparent to him and some of his colleagues that "there is every reason to believe that the influence is large and not always beneficial" (208). He went on to observe that, according to the 1930 census, about 40% of the American public now had at least one radio in the home, and by 1935, that number had grown to nearly 70% (208).

Tyler was not the only educator who believed radio was becoming an influence on young people. So did some of the members of the National Council of Teachers of English. When they met in Indianapolis for their annual convention in 1935, one of the panel discussions was

about what would today be called “Media Literacy.” Francis Shoemaker, a high school English teacher from Radnor PA proposed a course in critical thinking, to help students distinguish between factual information and propaganda. “An intelligent course in news reading and radio listening will show the student the power of the press and radio in the molding of public opinion” (“Teachers of English” 1).

But the attention paid by certain academics in the 1930s was somewhat late. Although the radio craze took hold in 1922 and the explosion of interest in broadcasting was thoroughly documented by the popular press, this dramatic change in the media landscape appears to have had little impact on academia. Several universities, notably Tufts (in 1922) and Columbia (in 1924) began offering a select number of educational lectures by radio, but it was not until 1924-1925 when a small number of scholarly essays about broadcasting could be found in communication-oriented academic journals. (As mentioned earlier, technology publications had followed radio from its inception, but these journals were mainly written for engineers and scientists, rather than for a liberal-arts or humanities-oriented audience.) The fact that it took so long for professors and teachers of the communication arts to acknowledge radio’s importance is puzzling, given the fact that radio had become a national obsession. One modern theorist, Simon Frith, whose expertise is in what we now call “popular culture,” has suggested that the

academy regarded the popular, especially dance music (which radio often played) as low culture, and saw little reason to take note of it (103).

But with or without attention from scholars, proof of radio's expanding importance could be seen in the growing number of radio stations -- within the first six months of 1922, it increased from about 21 to over 200 (Lawton 256); further indication of the public's involvement was shown by the millions of Americans who began building or buying radio receivers-- by one estimate, more than \$60,000,000 worth of equipment was sold during 1922 (Allen, Only Yesterday 164-165). The growing interest also created a demand from listeners for publications that focused on the latest news about the broadcasters -- such magazines as Radio Broadcast, Popular Radio, Radio World, and Radio Digest made their debut in 1922, joining Radio News, Wireless Age, Radio (formerly Pacific Coast Radio), and several others. Newspapers across the country followed the example of the San Francisco Chronicle, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post and New York Tribune, and set aside an entire page for the latest information about radio stations, radio personalities, and radio technology. Not only that, but a number of high schools began operating their own stations, or at least having a radio club where fans of the new mass medium could listen as a group or discuss the technical side of broadcasting (for example "HPHS To Have" 5; "Radio Clubs Are Organized" 40). It should have been difficult for

academics to ignore radio, given that students all over the country were excited about it.

And the excitement did not diminish. Throughout the 1920s, there was continued interest from not just students but their parents as well. Adults of all ages were reading about their favorite radio stations, announcers, and entertainers; it could no longer be said (as some of radio's detractors had suggested in the early 1920s) that radio was just a passing fad. An exploration of the 1925-1928 edition of the Readers' Guide To Periodical Literature demonstrates that interest in radio had only intensified: there were nearly fifteen pages of articles about radio, from advances in the technology to the types of programs on the air; in fact, there were nineteen articles that focused on the stations. A new addition was a section on "Radio Advertising," a result of the arrival of the networks and their sponsored programs in 1926-1927; this section already contained ten articles. And further analysis of the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature from the period covering 1929-1932, a decade after commercial radio's debut, shows that interest in radio had remained strong. There were thirteen pages of articles devoted to radio; the slight drop in pages reflected the fact that several publications that covered radio had gone out of business and were no longer included in the Readers' Guide. The topics continued to shift: as previously mentioned, in 1922-1924, there was little radio advertising, so few

articles referenced the subject. That changed in 1925-1928: there were now many sponsored programs, and ten articles about the subject were written. In the 1929-1932 Readers' Guide, articles about the sponsors and their effect on radio were the subject of fifteen articles. In the two pages of articles under the heading "Radio Broadcasting," were such topics as pronunciation errors (Aiken 716), the question of whether radio was benefiting society (Fisher 125), radio's increasingly contentious relationship with newspapers, and whether some of the new educational programs would be successful. There were also a large number of profiles of famous radio entertainers and well-known stations.

As previously noted, the Readers' Guide excluded a number of magazines; a search of Proquest's American Periodical Series displayed some articles published in trade publications (such as magazines aimed specifically at bankers or merchants). Despite the Depression, advertisements continued to be heard on radio, with old sponsors returning and new ones deciding to give radio a try ("Broadcasting Feeling" 6C). Given the economic conditions, some of the trade articles offered constructive suggestions to prospective advertisers about how to create commercials that would bring results and how to select the right programs for the sponsor's product (for example, Meredith 1932). And a search of radio fan magazines such as Radiolog showed a number of profiles of popular network announcers and entertainers, as well as

informative articles about how much it cost the networks to provide news broadcasts from remote locations or what went on behind the scenes at a popular locally produced program. There was even some criticism: an article in the 24 April 1932 Radiolog brought up a subject that was also frequently discussed in a number of other publications of the early 1930s: how the best and highest quality programs were too often interrupted by commercials (“Commercialism Pushes” 3). Complaints about excessive commercialism will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

And a look at the newspapers during this period of time shows that most of them continued to have a radio page or even a radio section; and by now, there were well-known radio editors, such as Orrin Dunlap Jr. (New York Times), Robert S. Stephan (Cleveland Plain Dealer), Howard Fitzpatrick (Boston Post), and Larry Wolters (Chicago Tribune). And in spite of economic hardships, radio magazines like Broadcasting remained successful, and entertainment industry publications like Variety and The Billboard (today known simply as Billboard) continued to increase their amount of radio coverage. Of course, it was not surprising that some radio magazines were hurt by the Depression: Radio Digest was forced to merge with another publication, Radio Revue, in an effort to survive, and in 1933, it became Radio Fan-Fare (“Personal Notes” 19), but by the end of the year, the magazine had run out of money. Radio

World too ceased to publish around this time, as a result of a lack of advertising support, and so did some local radio publications like Boston's Radiolog. However, for each magazine that closed in the early 1930s, it seemed that a new one emerged, such as Radio Stars, Radioland, Radio Art, and Radio Mirror.

Given the overwhelming evidence of interest in radio broadcasting, the scarcity of scholarly analysis in academic journals of the 1920s and early 1930s remains both puzzling and disappointing. At the height of the radio craze, and during the period of time when radio established itself as an essential aspect of American life, academia continued to lag behind. In a 1965 journal essay, Lawrence W. Lichty spoke of his attempt to find the first scholarly articles about various aspects of broadcasting. He noted that a small number of graduate students showed an interest in radio long before any journal articles appeared. For example, as early as 1923, David Weinbloom, from City College in New York, wrote his Master's thesis about "The Growth, Development and Organization of the Radio Industry in the United States" --Lichty believed that this paper was the first academic study of broadcasting (Lichty 73-74). However, despite the intense interest from the public (which certainly included student interest), it was unusual to find many other scholarly articles about radio during its formative years, a dearth which persisted even into the late 1920s and early 1930s. As mentioned

earlier, it was only in the engineering and science journals where new developments in radio were consistently addressed. But academic publications such as Science and the Science News-Letter generally did not discuss the social impact of broadcasting; they mainly kept up with the information their particular target audience would find useful, such as when a lecture about science was being broadcast (“Radio Talks” 431). And they provided updates about what inventors and experimenters were doing to make improvements in radio transmission (“Science in 1922” x, xii).

Among the small number of non-technological journals where radio received frequent mentions in the early 1920s were those devoted to nursing. Nurses recognized the advantages to making radios available in hospitals, and championed their use. To cite two examples, a 1923 article asserted that being able to listen to radio could “[lessen] the irksomeness [sic] of hospital life” by ...bringing into [hospital] rooms and wards music, speeches, sermons and other messages from the outside world” (McMillan 93). In a 1924 article about the use of radio in hospitals, a nurse remarked on how the availability of radio sets was especially beneficial to the cancer patients she treated. “We have found that the radio is not only a source of pleasure and entertainment, but a real curative agent. Patients wait eagerly until it is ‘tuned in’, giving them something to think of other than their bodily ills” (Buckwalter 711).

Nurses not only encouraged radio listening-- some of them were quick to embrace the idea of broadcasting, and went on the air to give health talks as early as 1922 (Arnoux 14); and in 1923, the Southeastern Pennsylvania Council for Nursing Education made use of radio to promote the nursing profession and encourage girls to consider attending nursing school (at that time, the medical profession was quite gendered, with nursing marked as a female occupation); three informational broadcasts about nursing aired on Philadelphia radio station WOO, and they received a favorable response (Maltby 15).

One of the earliest journals of pedagogy to devote an article to broadcasting was the Peabody Journal of Education, published by the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville TN. In March 1924, this journal printed a short piece entitled “When ‘Professor’ Coolidge Lectured” (288). The anonymous author stated that radio had great potential as an educational tool, remarking upon broadcasting’s ability to bring the voices and the ideas of newsmakers, in this case the president himself, directly into the classroom. Another publication, this one from Ohio State University’s College of Education, discussed trends in educational broadcasting up to late 1925. Written by the pseudonymous E.J.A. (who in reality was a well-known professor of education named Ernest J. Ashbaugh), the Educational Research Bulletin noted in its 18 November 1925 article that while the most common use for radio up to

that point involved entertainment, radio was also proving to be a valuable resource in what we today would call “distance learning” -- it offered courses to people who lived far from a university (“Education by Radio” 364).

There is one other scholarly publication that should be mentioned here. In April 1925, the Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics offered one of the first efforts to analyze the business side of radio. Hiram L. Jome, a professor of economics, traced the development of radio from an activity which was the domain of hobbyists and volunteers to a professional industry which now had over 550 stations. Jome explored the importance of radio to various segments of the population, as he discussed a growing problem: despite how popular broadcasting was all over the country, as many as 50% of all licensed stations in the United States were failing (204). In August 1924, there had been over 1100 stations, but a large number had since left the air, unable to generate sufficient revenue to survive. Today, most radio and television stations rely on commercial advertising to pay their bills, but in 1925, the broadcasting of ads was still considered controversial. Broadcasters had originally put their stations on the air to serve their community and generate good will, and there was not supposed to be any direct advertising, in accordance with the wishes of Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce (“Radio Congress” 20). But as time passed,

stations were on the air for longer hours; this meant staffs increased in size, equipment needed to be upgraded, and the audience was beginning to express a preference for certain types of programs, some of which were expensive to produce. As a result, a small but growing number of stations had begun airing commercial advertising. Those that still did not either relied upon a corporate parent company that was able to support a radio station, or hoped the public would send donations (205). Individual entrepreneurs, who had paid out of their own pocket in those early days, were now unable to afford to continue. Jome noted that communities suffered when their local station went off the air. In his view, the services radio provided (weather reports, agricultural news, educational courses, etc.) as well as the ability to publicize local community events and performers, made radio essential; in fact, he asserted that radio was deserving of public utility status (207-208).

While economists like Jome found radio worthy of analysis (he even continued with his research, and the journal article became part of a 325 page book, Economics of the Radio Industry), the editors of publications connected to communication-- including journals related to speech, English, and journalism, had little to say about the impact of broadcasting. To illustrate this point, a search through the Index to Journals in Communication Studies (Matlon, 1980) shows that the Quarterly Journal of Speech did not publish its first article about radio

till June 1930 (“Principles of Effective Radio Speaking” by Sherman P. Lawton); and Journalism Quarterly did not discuss the relationship between radio and print journalism until March 1936 (“The Origin of the Press-Radio Conflict,” by Russell J. Hammargren). A similar search through a different set of communication-related journals, this time using the electronic database JSTOR, showed the same result: only a handful of articles discussing radio could be found in the early to mid-1920s, and few of the mentions were in communication-related publications. As mentioned previously, conversations about radio were published in nursing journals, several education journals, and a number of engineering and science journals.

One other place where radio was discussed occasionally was in music education journals, although the writers at first regarded the new mass medium with uncertainty. Music educators seemed to be of two minds about radio. Some saw it as a potential vehicle for spreading so-called “good music” to places where it had never been heard, and creating a new generation of fans for operas and concertos (Oberndorfer 10). But others were far less optimistic. They worried that listeners would hear too much popular music (jazz, ragtime, etc) and not enough opera and classical music. For every educator who shared Oberndorfer’s view that the radio would introduce millions of people to famous operatic singers and classical orchestras, other music educators expressed

dismay that radio played so much popular music, particularly the dance genres then known as “jazz.” For these educators, listening and dancing to popular music was directly associated with “looseness in speech, morals, dress, and conduct” (Hilderbrant 300). The newspapers had no problem finding teachers and professors who agreed about the potential harm popular music was alleged to cause. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, editorializing about the dangers of jazz, quoted a well-known expert, Peter W. Dykema, Professor of Music at the University of Wisconsin, who specialized in teaching young people to appreciate good music. The editorial said America was “cursed with barbarous popular music” and expressed the hope that soon Americans would reject the “banal trash” they were listening to, and see the benefit of the finer and more elegant types of music that Professor Dykema recommended (“Down With Jazz” 6B). Most educational journals devoted to music were not as polemical as the newspaper editorial just cited, but the views were often similar. There was the previously mentioned hope that radio would become a vehicle for promoting “an intimate knowledge of good music,” so that the average person would “develop an [sic] universal love and appreciation” for it (Erb 2-3). But there was also the scorn for the popular. Erb too referred to popular musical forms like jazz as an “epidemic” that was “transitory” (4); like many of his contemporaries, his solution was increasing public exposure to the classics, which he and his colleagues

in the “Music Appreciation” movement believed were superior to popular music in every way.

But while music instructors and professors of education at least made a comment about radio now and then, during the majority of the 1920s, their journals lacked essays about broadcasting. The same was true of journals of English or Speech or Journalism. It wasn’t that radio was taking anyone by surprise: a search of some of the journals devoted to these academic disciplines demonstrated that educators from the early 1920s were well aware of how excited their students were about the new mass medium. The English Journal put out a suggested reading list for boys (the common wisdom was that girls were not interested in the technology of radio) in November 1923; one of the recommended titles was Home Radio: How to Make and Use It by A.H. Verrill (DeMille 628). A year earlier, in November 1922, a journal aimed at secondary school teachers, the School Review, had also reported that a new book about wireless (as radio was still called by some sources) had just been published; according to the reviewer, Wilbur L. Beauchamp, The Radio Amateur’s Handbook by A. Frederick Collins was one of the few that offered a “non-technical discussion of wireless communication, suitable for the average person, again assumed to be a boy or a man, who wanted to learn more about constructing a radio set or receiving radio signals (Beauchamp 710-711). And an English teacher, writing in the English

Journal in December 1924, spoke about her high school class, which had a unit in public speaking; she held a contest, and chose subjects she thought her students would want to discuss. Among the suggested topics she gave them was “Recent Radio Developments” (Lewis 723).

And yet, it would not be until September 1925 that the English Journal would publish a full article focusing entirely on radio. It was a teacher’s description of how her English class set up a radio station, which broadcast during fifth period each day, and was heard by all of the students at State Street Junior High School in Springfield MA; it received an enthusiastic response from students and teachers alike, and proved to be a creative way to utilize interest in radio as a way of teaching such skills as announcing, writing scripts, reciting poems, and giving book reviews (Danforth 551-553).

Analysis of Journal Reactions from the Late 1920s

Until the very end of the 1920s, academia continued to downplay the importance of radio, as the paucity of articles on the subject illustrates. A common subject of discussion in a number of the articles was the potential harm that listening to radio could do. (Given the lack of reliable audience research, the academics who expressed such opinions were doing so without any objective data to support their

assertions. But that did not stop them from being certain that radio was doing more harm than good for society.) Among the journal articles that exemplified this type of discourse was “The Radio and Music” by William Arms Fisher. In his February 1926 essay, Fisher, a well-known musicologist, offered some praise to radio for exposing listeners to a wide range of musical genres (69); but like other critics of this period, he focused his concern on the fact that mass-appeal hit songs, most of which were jazz and ragtime -- two musical styles he believed were vulgar -- received far more exposure than “good music” (opera and the classics). Like most music educators, Fisher was scornful of the lyrics of popular songs (14), and believed that radio station managers had a duty to help the audience develop a more refined taste in music. Radio, Fisher wrote, would never become an essential part of daily life until it stopped broadcasting so much “triviality [and] vulgarity” and began giving the public more “great music, splendidly performed” (Fisher 72).

There were a few other journal articles about radio during this period, and several were as dismissive as Fisher’s, asserting that radio was a passing fad, or regarding it as something not worthy of a scholar’s scrutiny. A good example of this type of dystopian discourse is found in an essay from the January 1927 issue of the American Journal of Sociology, “The Limited Social Effect of Radio Broadcasting,” by Marshall Beuick. He was not totally negative about broadcasting: for example, he agreed with Fisher’s point that radio had “[brought] more music in great

variety” to the largest number of people in history (616). But as the title of his essay indicated, Beuick believed the long-term impact of broadcasting would be minimal. He seemed to find no value in academic study of radio, and advised educators not to worry about it, given that it was just a “novelty.” He further asserted that because human beings were gregarious by nature, listening to the radio, a solitary activity, would not meet the needs of the average person (618-619). And he concluded that most people would prefer to attend a live performance, rather than passively listening to it on the radio (621-622). Another academic essay, from September 1928, was written by George A. Lundberg, and appeared in the journal Social Forces; it quoted Beuick’s essay, and while not as dismissive as Beuick had been, it agreed with some of his conclusions. Lundberg surveyed the kinds of programs currently on the air and concluded that radio devoted most of its time to entertainment and commercials, and as a result, it probably had only a limited effect in the shaping of public opinion about current events (Lundberg 58-60). In fairness, it should be noted that in 1927-1928, radio news and commentary were still in their infancy, and it would not be until several years later that the networks greatly expanded their newscasts. At the time of Lundberg’s essay, it was easy to come to the conclusion that radio had no future as a source for coverage of daily news.

One other type of journal article is worth noting because it signaled a growing concern in academia: were the bad habits of radio announcers having an adverse effect on proper speech and diction? In the late 1920s, after the creation of the two national networks (NBC and CBS), professors who wrote for journals of speech and rhetoric began to offer their assessments. The earliest journal to engage in this sort of discourse was American Speech, which began offering regular updates for educators so that they could correct the errors students may have heard on the air (See Heck 1929). The impact of radio announcers on young listeners was first mentioned in American Speech in the mid 1920s: for example, in a December 1926 article, “Language Consciousness of Students,” Professor J. M. Steadman, Jr. was discussing the reasons why young people changed the way they pronounced certain words. Among the most common influences were the way that teachers, parents, and clergy said those words. But at least one student said that the pronunciations used by radio announcers were a factor, causing Professor Steadman to be puzzled that “...a person one has never met may be accepted as a superior linguistic authority” (123).

As might be expected, given their tendency to pay close attention to the technology of radio, science journals continued to follow the latest radio achievements throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. The content in these journals tended to offer a far more positive view of radio, concentrating on what contributors saw as the progress that was being

made in the state of the broadcasting art. For example, among the subjects discussed in the late 1920s were recent technological improvements in the transmission of radio signals (“Research in Radio” 244); predictions of new forms of broadcasting, such as so-called “radiovision,” (“Radiovision in Homes” 113, about early experiments by radio engineers who were trying, with varying degrees of success, to transmit visual images in addition to sound); and the predictions of high-powered radio stations in the near future (“Million Watt Broadcaster” 340). There was also some political news, in an article about how a Dutch shortwave station with a powerful signal was going to broadcast the meetings of the League of Nations, and the broadcasts would also be carried by other shortwave stations (“League of Nations to Broadcast” 131). There was also a technologically-focused article in the March 1929 volume of Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, called “Radio and Safety” by C. B. Jolliffe. It was not specifically about commercial radio programs; it discussed advances in the sending and receiving of emergency messages by means of wireless telephony (ship-to-shore broadcasts), and radio’s role in sending weather reports to the ships at sea. But Jolliffe did mention that commercial radio performed a valuable service by informing the public about storms and tornadoes, which enabled anyone living in affected areas to be prepared; and radio news reports provided information to organizations that wanted to send assistance (Jolliffe 67, 70).

In the late 1920s, there were also several articles about radio as a business. Although none were as in-depth as what Jome had written in 1925 about the economics of broadcasting, experts were now studying how radio stations and radio networks operated, and the role that direct advertising played in generating revenue. One article, “The Commercial Uses of Radio,” was written by the president of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), James G. Harbord, and it was part of the previously mentioned March 1929 issue of Annals. Harbord discussed the history of commercial broadcasting up to that point, and talked about the companies and corporations (his own included) that had gotten involved with the new medium, and how successful their efforts had been; among the successes with which RCA had been involved was the creation of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), a network founded in late 1926. As of the time Harbord was writing, it now had fifty-eight affiliates in cities across the United States (Harbord 62). Also interesting was a brief October 1928 essay which explained some research done in Chicago. James L. Palmer, a professor of marketing at the University of Chicago, analyzed the results of a survey of one thousand owners of radio sets, and among the findings were these: the peak time for radio listening in that city was between 7:30 and 8:30 pm; listeners most preferred programs of sporting events or popular music; and network programs which had been on the air for a while and were considered “of high

quality” remained popular even though they now had commercial advertising in them (Palmer 495-496).

Another discipline where radio became a topic of discussion was the law. Legal scholars began discussing radio by the mid-1920s, especially related to matters of copyright. In radio’s early years, it was generally accepted that broadcasting a copyrighted song or play was acceptable, since it brought the author of the work some positive publicity. But as radio grew in influence and popularity, playwrights and songwriters wanted to be compensated for the use of their works. Legal battles between station owners and organizations like the American Society of Authors, Composers and Publishers (ASCAP) were ongoing throughout much of the 1920s. One of the issues was how royalties should be calculated. Traditionally, the amount of royalties was negotiated based on the size of the venue where the works had been performed (at Carnegie Hall in New York City, for example), or how many copies of the sheet music or the phonograph record were sold (for more on this, see Sanjek 1988). But on radio, it was difficult to determine how many people had heard the work, or even where those people were located; while a performance might have been done on a Boston station, thousands of listeners in a number of cities might have received the signal. Neither ASCAP nor the station owners seemed able to agree on a

formula that was fair to both sides, and legal scholars tried to sort out the competing claims (Davis 40, 43-44).

An additional topic of discussion in law journals came about after the creation of the Federal Radio Commission in 1927. At issue was whether the new FRC's rulings were legally binding; several station owners were challenging the validity of the Radio Act of 1927, which had brought the FRC into existence. A 1930 essay by Louis Caldwell, "Principles Governing the Licensing of Broadcasting Stations," addressed legal matters from the first two years of the FRC, 1927 to 1929. There were several pending suits challenging the Radio Act: one complaint questioned the Act's assertion that a radio station had to operate in the "public interest, convenience and necessity" -- the complainant believed this definition was too vague, making adherence to it impossible; another challenge involved whether the FRC (rather than congress) had the authority to generate and enforce rules that broadcasters had to obey (Caldwell 114). Also being challenged were several rulings that the FRC had already made, including General Order 32, which tried to address overcrowding on the broadcast band by eliminating more than 100 of the smaller radio stations. Some of the owners affected by this ruling were demanding hearings and asking that the FRC's decision be reversed. They believed the FRC had shown bias by favoring powerful, corporate-run stations over community stations that served a local audience

(McChesney, Rich Media 192-193). Questions were also being raised by several owners whose license to broadcast had not been renewed; at issue was whether the FRC's criteria for license renewal were fair. One of the complainants was the notorious "Dr. Brinkley," who used the station he owned to sell fake medications and unproven "cures" to unsuspecting listeners. John R. Brinkley, whose medical credentials were as suspect as the cures he sold, was a polarizing figure: his supporters believed every word he said, and his detractors saw him as a charlatan who should not be on the air. The FRC was quick to point out it had no desire to censor programs, but the decision to revoke Brinkley's license was based on his refusal to operate his station in anyone's interest but his own (136-137).

By the mid-to-late 1920s, an increasing amount of scholarly attention was being paid to the question of whether radio could be used to educate students; although there were still only a small number of journal articles on this subject, at least it was on the minds of certain scholars, especially in publications like the previously mentioned Educational Research Bulletin. Writing in the April 1930 issue about "Recent Activities of the Ohio State Department of Education," Clifton discussed the new educational radio program, "Ohio School of the Air," which had made its debut in January 1929. While acknowledging that it was too early to make any claims about whether students demonstrated

increased skills after having listened to this type of program, Clifton said that anecdotal evidence from teachers suggested students were listening attentively to the programs. Further, teachers were then able to use the programs to promote class discussion and encourage new ways of analyzing the weekly topics. Clifton, a major proponent of using radio as a teaching tool, stated that if educational radio programs were interesting and well-produced, they could become a valuable resource for teachers and students alike (Clifton 200).

Meanwhile, in New York, there was a similar educational program, the “American School of the Air,” which debuted in February 1930. William C. Bagley, a faculty member at the Teachers College of Columbia University, wrote a brief article about the new program for the Elementary School Journal in December 1930, and like J.L. Clifton, Bagley expressed the belief that such programs could be valuable as long as they held the students’ interest and led to further learning-- that is, if the program was merely entertaining, that would not necessarily make it useful for teachers, but if it stimulated students’ curiosity and made them want to know more about the topic, the program could become an asset to the teachers’ weekly lesson plans. Bagley noted that thus far, response was favorable, with many students writing fan letters to the stations that broadcast “American School of the Air.” And he further noted that some of the most enthusiastic fan letters came from blind

students, who felt that the dramatic presentations of history and literature enhanced their ability to understand these subjects (Bagley 256-257). How elementary and secondary school educators were using radio was also discussed by J. J. Tigert in the essay "Radio in the American School System" which was part of the May 1929 Annals issue. Tigert, the president of the University of Florida, noted that some colleges were using their campus radio station to produce educational programs and even offer courses, but the average young person listened mainly to the commercial stations, which only broadcast a limited number of these types of programs. (Tigert's article was written before the nationally syndicated "American School of the Air" made its debut.) Still, a growing number of schools were installing a radio and loudspeaker so that students could listen to certain programs that were considered to have educational content, especially concerts of classical music or dramatic presentations of literary works. The challenge for teachers was to find a way to assess whether students were in fact learning anything from being allowed to listen to radio at school (Tigert 71-72).

Analysis of Journal Reactions in the Early 1930s

Although no explanation has been provided by scholars from that era, it was in 1929-1930 when academia finally began paying more attention to radio. For one thing, during that time period, a group of

educators got together in New York and formed the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, with the intent of promoting educational programs on radio, and researching the use of radio in education (National Advisory Council, 3-4). And that March 1929 volume of Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science was further proof that scholars were interested in studying radio. (The aforementioned essays, nearly all of which stressed the positive aspects of radio, were actually issued as a supplement to the regular March issue. It contained sixteen articles -- over 100 pages -- about all aspects of broadcasting, including essays about educational radio, amateur radio, the technological improvements in radio over the past decade, changes in broadcast law, the role of the Federal Radio Commission, broadcasting in other countries, and military uses of radio. This was perhaps the first time an academic journal devoted an entire issue to the subject of radio, and while most of the authors were not from academic backgrounds, their presence in a well-respected journal like the Annals demonstrated that scholars realized they could no longer ignore radio's impact on American culture... and on their students. Other academic journals would soon follow the Annals' lead, with a growing number of essays by university professors, in addition to those by professional broadcasters.)

From 1930 on, essays about radio appeared more frequently in academic journals, as did the beginnings of scholarly critiques. Among

the most popular topics for discussion were the best methods for giving an effective radio talk; how radio was affecting diction; the use of radio in education; and radio's impact on public opinion. Efforts were also made to evaluate the radio announcers, and the best speakers were rewarded annually with a medal (Hamlin 211-212). Journals like the Quarterly Journal of Speech, American Speech, and later in the 1930s, a new journal called Public Opinion Quarterly offered a wide range of radio-themed essays, as did journals that had covered radio in the 1920s, such as Educational Research Bulletin and the English Journal. In some of these journals, attitudes about radio seemed to have shifted. For example, the Musical Quarterly, one of the music journals that had previously expressed its doubts about broadcasting, now introduced a new discussion: how to compose or perform a song that would sound good on the radio. It was an important topic for would-be musicians, since the technology of the late 1920s, while much-improved, still distorted certain high-pitched voices and certain musical instruments. A composer who wanted to be successful had to avoid those sounds that would be suitable for a live concert but unsuitable for a radio broadcast (Raven-Hart 135-136). And another essay, from the March 1931 edition of the Music Supervisors Journal, addressed the negative opinions many music journal editors still had about radio, based on their belief that radio seldom if ever played "good music." Alice Keith, in "Radio Programs: Their Educational Value," was the ideal person to refute these

erroneous beliefs: she was the director of the new radio program, “American School of the Air,” and very familiar with what was on the radio. She noted that for all the complaints about too much popular music, radio listeners could hear regular performances by the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, the Rochester NY Civic Orchestra, and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, just to give a few examples; there was even a special program for young people, featuring conductor Walter Damrosch leading the “Music Appreciation Hour.” And the “American School of the Air” broadcast a wide range of music, including folk music, chorale singing, and famous classical selections (Keith 60)

Among the other positive essays about radio was one in the January 1931 issue of the Musical Quarterly; written by Garry Joel August, it shared Alice Keith’s point of view. August was pleased that radio played classical and operatic phonograph records, and while he acknowledged that attending a live concert (or even listening to one) was a meaningful experience, listening to classical and operatic selections on radio was beneficial too. He praised radio for helping listeners to discover (or rediscover) recorded music that had not been heard in a while; and by giving airtime to such a wide variety of classical recordings, radio was introducing the performers to a whole new audience (August 142-143).

Typical of the journal articles in non-music publications of the early 1930s was “The Principles of Effective Radio Speaking” by Sherman P. Lawton of the University of Michigan. Now that nearly every city had a network radio station in addition to local outlets, the public had the opportunity to hear some of the best (and some of the worst) radio speakers. The Quarterly Journal of Speech was at the forefront of analyzing what made certain radio speakers better than others, as well as commenting on the best practices of successful announcers. In Lawton’s June 1930 essay for QJS, he explained the most common difficulties of being a radio speaker, and provided information from several perceptual studies (as mentioned earlier, radio research was still in a very early stage) of what audiences liked and disliked in the speakers they heard on the air. He also noted that many students now sought to have a career in radio, and a few colleges had begun offering courses in radio speaking, while textbooks were now including material on how to give an effective speech on radio (Lawton 257-258).

After having no articles about radio till 1930, there were a growing number of relevant critiques appearing in speech journals. Among the radio-themed essays was “Broadcasting and Speech Habits,” by Henry Adams Bellows. This piece, which appeared in QJS in April 1931, expanded upon a concern of speech and English teachers-- that radio’s popularity had led students to imitate the grammar mistakes they heard on the air, or pick up the clichés or catch-phrases on the most popular

programs. Bellows gave the example of well-known announcer Ted Husing, who tended to use the phrase “believe you me” as a verbal crutch, a habit his many fans had picked up (Bellows 246). But Bellows was not one of radio’s detractors-- he was a network executive, who served as Vice President of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and he did not believe that the use of catch-phrases was ruining America. His essay discussed the recent attempts by the networks to professionalize the job of “radio announcer,” and his point was that the networks, in their efforts to maintain high standards, had done their job too well. They had eliminated the unique personal quirks of the announcers, and made all of them speak exactly the same way, with no trace of a regional accent nor any opportunity for colloquialisms. They were given their scripts, and they were expected to read flawlessly. Thus, an announcer or commentator who occasionally used a catch-phrase immediately stood out in that proverbial sea of imposed conformity. Bellows was ambivalent about this situation-- on the one hand, he understood the need to have standards that made sure the announcers avoided slang, incorrect pronunciation, and verbal gaffes. But on the other hand, many announcers now sounded almost robotic, and impersonal. They all spoke correctly, they all read their scripts well, but they were not allowed to manifest any trace of their own unique personality. Bellows did not believe this was necessarily a good result (Bellows 247).

At this time, academics who studied radio came from either schools of education or speech departments, so it is not surprising that they seemed most interested in whether or not radio could be utilized for educational purposes (“Education Plucked” BR 9; Lumley “Audiences” 14-16), whether the announcers spoke proper English (Sutton 12), and which announcers were the best speakers, and worthy of emulation (Garland 212). There was also a new concern from speech teachers: more students wanted to master the skills necessary to become a radio speaker, but how best could those skills be taught? There was an interesting editorial in the Quarterly Journal of Speech in April 1931, entitled “When is Speech Not Speech?” The anonymous author remarked on how radio was changing previously-held beliefs about the relationship of the speaker to his or her audience. Most students were still being taught “...a type of circular social behavior in which the speaker stimulates the audience, the audience in turn stimulates the speaker, the speaker again stimulates the audience, and so on ad infinitum (or ad nauseum).” The problem was that with radio, unless there was a studio audience, the speaker had no way to directly see or hear how the speech was being received; so how could the effectiveness of such a speech be evaluated? The author questioned whether a speech given to an empty room yet heard by millions of invisible listeners could still be considered a speech, as that term was traditionally understood (253-254).

Another early 1930s journal article from QJS was by an expert on pedagogy, Henry Lee Ewbank of the University of Wisconsin. Professor Ewbank had become involved with educational radio in 1929, when his state board of education formed a committee similar to those taking place in New York and Ohio. The mission was to study the possible uses of radio in the classroom and develop programs that would be useful. As he acknowledged, in 1929-30, there was little available research, and few attempts had been made to assess the use of radio in the classroom for anything other than entertainment (Ewbank 560); and although some schools did allow students to listen to a presidential speech or some other news event, there were no criteria for how and when radio should be used. The 1920s tendency of some educators to be scornful of radio or dismiss it as vulgar popular culture had been replaced by a new attitude; now, most educators seemed to realize they could not prevent their students from listening. The goal was to find ways to engage young people with programs that would both entertain and educate them. Thus, Ewbank's November 1932 essay, "Studies in the Techniques of Radio Speech," was further proof that academia was willing to subject radio to critical scrutiny, and to find the most effective ways to utilize what radio had to offer. Ewbank and his colleagues began doing research on student attitudes towards different types of speeches. Among the questions they researched, by asking students in their speech classes, were: what made them think a speech (whether delivered in

person, or delivered over the radio) was interesting; did they prefer a formal or informal speaking style; and what rate of speech (how quickly or how slowly) was the most effective. They also experimented with how many words the script for a ten minute speech should contain. This was not a frivolous exercise-- advertisers who sponsored the programs on commercial wanted information to be delivered in a way that was concise yet thorough, and there were very real questions about how many words could be included before the listener felt overwhelmed (Ewbank 565). Since this was the very beginning of this sort of analysis, Ewbank's essay did not draw any definitive conclusions. It was offered as a starting point in the effort to teach students how to perform what we know today as "active listening," as well as deriving benefit from the speeches they heard. Ewbank was also interested in whether it was necessary to see a speaker in order to be engaged in what he or she was saying. His preliminary conclusions were that while the majority of the students who were surveyed preferred to see the speaker and observe his or her facial expressions and gestures, there were still quite a few who did not mind hearing a talk from an "invisible" speaker. Those students felt it was less distracting to simply listen; they believed it forced them to pay more attention to the content of the talk (Ewbank 564).

The Quarterly Journal of Speech was not the only academic publication to finally discover radio as a topic for critical scrutiny. The ongoing question of whether announcers who made grammar or

pronunciation errors affected the speech of their listeners was discussed in American Speech by Josiah Combs in his December 1931 essay, “The Radio and Pronunciation,” in which, like Bellows in QJS a few months earlier, he criticized the verbal crutches and usage mistakes of broadcasters. One of his pet peeves was the actors and announcers who adopted a pseudo-British accent. For some reason, the myth that an Oxford University accent was the sign of good breeding and higher social class persisted in America, and evidently some radio performers had decided that sounding British would impress the audience. Combs felt it just sounded artificial and he hoped the custom would soon come to an end (Combs 125-126). And in a very informative segment of his essay, he took certain announcers to task for the way they frequently mispronounced common words-- for example, numerous sports writers and commentators pronounced “athletics” as if it were “ath-a-letics” (127) and they also liked to turn “wrestle” into “wrastle” (129). Combs also discussed the persistence of another quirk, one that I will address further in chapter four-- the fact that some people still used the word “broadcasted” for the past tense of “to broadcast,” even though “broadcast” had long been preferred (127).

Given how few recordings of 1920s and early 1930s announcers survive today, the thorough critiques of professors like Combs, Ewbank, and others help modern scholars to know what the listeners back then were hearing. And American Speech offered further analysis of radio

announcing in the February 1933 issue, when Vida Ravenscroft Sutton, a former English instructor who had been hired by the National Broadcasting Company in 1929 to train the network's announcers, wrote a short essay about what makes a good announcer. Miss Sutton, director of an education program called "The Magic of Speech," said that announcers "...must have a good voice and be able to read well at sight and speak extemporaneously without glaring peculiarities of dialect." She also said they must "have a college education, linguistic and musical training, and experience as an announcer gained on a smaller station" (Sutton 10), so that they would set a good example of proper speech and diction.

Among other topics covered by academic journals of the early 1930s was whether listening to foreign language speakers on radio helped students master that language; writing in the Modern Language Journal, Frederick H. Lumley Jr.'s 1934 essay, "Does Radio Broadcasting Help Pupils Pronounce a Foreign Language?" Professor Lumley, who was becoming well-known in academia for his research on radio listening habits, concluded that students who listened regularly to educational programs (in this case, the programs were in French, and broadcast over Ohio State University's campus station, WEAO) did in fact show some improvement in their pronunciation, although the author acknowledged that it was a small sample, and that the top students made the most gains (Lumley 388). Lumley had first begun studying the effect of radio

on foreign language learning during 1931, and his essay about these early studies, “Le Radio Parle Français,” appeared in the Educational Research Bulletin in February 1932.

Considering the subject of education by radio, it was not just foreign language teachers who were talking about the impact it might have on their students. Scientists and science teachers were also interested in the role radio could play. A typical article was one written by Austin H. Clark, “Science and the Radio” in Scientific Monthly. He remarked upon the possible difficulty with teaching science by radio-- most young people preferred to listen to programs that were entertaining-- in fact, most Americans associated radio with diversion or amusement. And in a comment that could have been written in 2010, Clark also complained that schools had changed, and not for the better. Where in the old days, there was a rigorous process for educating the young and expectations were high, now education was synonymous with fun, and the goal was to learn enough to enter a lucrative profession, rather than to acquire some of the wisdom of the ages (Clark 269). So in a time when education was supposed to be entertaining as well as instructive, how could a radio program teach a complicated subject like science? Clark was cautiously optimistic that it could be done-- but he reminded science educators to avoid sounding pedantic or contemptuous of those who were not as well-versed in the subject as they. Science talks needed to be relatable to the lives of the listeners, and the people delivering them

needed to stress what was new and exciting about scientific discovery. Clark had no magic answers for how to do a good educational program about science, but he believed the average listener, whether young or old, wanted to learn new things, especially if the information seemed relevant to daily life.

One of the most frequently discussed topics in the early 1930s was how to harness the students' interest in radio, and use it to achieve educational goals. The English Journal offered a 1933 essay that was undoubtedly considered helpful in its day, but which, to the modern researcher, exemplifies the sexism that was the norm in that era. The author noted that more and more boys and girls were being asked to perform on the radio (there were children's programs and talent shows where the voices of young people were heard), so he wanted to guide the English teacher in helping these students to do well on the air. His suggestions included making the students aware of time-- on radio, a talk had to be delivered in a certain number of minutes and then there were commercials or another program segment. So students needed to practice delivering their talk conversationally, without running over their allotted amount of minutes. Also, it was suggested that students avoid using words that had harsh sounds-- certain combinations of letters, such as too many words in a row with the S sound (which sounded like hissing) or consonants like P (which could give a popping sound in the microphone), sounded unpleasant on the air. And as for selecting

students to speak on the radio, the author was very clear-- teachers should NEVER choose girls or young women as prospective announcers, since their voices were too high-pitched and would not sound good on the air (Newlin 644). As I will discuss, this durable myth would soon be refuted by such researchers as Cantril and Allport (138), who acknowledged that while in the early 1920s, radio microphones did in fact distort higher voices, by the mid-1930s, the idea that women did not sound good as radio speakers was grounded more in social custom and prejudice rather than in fact. (And as I demonstrated in my own 2001 book, there were some very successful female announcers on the air in the 1930s, including Nellie Revell, Mary Margaret McBride, Corinne Jordan, Dorothy Thompson and Kathryn Cravens; while Revell and McBride did programs that were typical of “women’s shows,” Jordan was a popular vocalist and announcer, while Thompson and Cravens were network news commentators.)

But generally, the English Journal did not concern itself with social issues. Its focus when discussing radio was about how to help students to become more eloquent, and how to use radio to encourage interest in literature-- a number of plays had been broadcast since radio’s earliest years, and now that there were two major networks (NBC and CBS), with a third (Mutual) to come along in 1934, some of the best-known stage actors and actresses were heard on a regular basis.

Teachers of the 1930s were finding, just as Dorothy Danforth did in the

previously mentioned 1925 article she wrote about setting up a school radio station, that students enjoyed pretending they were radio performers. So, in an October 1934 essay, "Broadcasting Shakespeare," Virginia Tanner discussed how a class performed a portion of "Merchant of Venice" as if it were a radio play, with a student announcer, and student actors and actresses. The class studied what would be needed to provide realistic touches from that time period-- they even came up with sound effects, playing horns and using phonograph records of old English folk songs. Fellow students provided the listening audience, and their reactions were very enthusiastic (Tanner 679). The English Journal also published a December 1933 article by Carlton H. Larrabee, "Ten Radio Lessons," in which he gave suggestions to teachers who wanted to put students' interest in radio to good use. He suggested doing some in-depth research to understand what role radio played in their lives. Step one was surveying the class to see which programs were most popular and which ones they liked the least, as well as asking for their suggestions about how to improve radio. Students were then asked to keep a journal about their radio listening habits-- what they listened to by choice, what they listened to because their parents were listening to it, what they paid close attention to, what was on in their home but they tended to ignore it, etc. Students were also asked to present to the class their list of the best programs on the air, and the various choices would be discussed (and even debated). Students were also given assignments

to listen to new programs and write a critique of them. Larrabee also offered other activities that promoted such skills as critical listening, writing a review, writing a fan letter, reading and evaluating radio columns by some of the best known columnists, even writing a script for a potential program. The goal was to incorporate the students' love of radio with the pedagogical outcomes of the English classroom -- improving student writing, encouraging critical thinking and listening, and promoting reading skills (Larrabee 824-829).

After being ignored for far too long, radio became such an important topic during the 1930s (a decade which historians came to refer to as the “Golden Age of Radio”) that the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science decided to revisit the subject for an entire volume, which came out in 1935 under the title “Radio: The Fifth Estate.” This edition of the Annals contained more than 200 pages of essays on such topics as the problems inherent in having a commercial system (as opposed to one supported by the government); new Federal Communications Commission regulations that affect broadcasting (the former Federal Radio Commission, or FRC, had been expanded and re-named in 1934); how radio broadcasting was done in other countries (Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Russia); the current state of educational radio in America; questions about the quality of children’s programs; whether radio programs that feature commentators affect public opinion about politics; the radio networks and religious

broadcasts; technological advances since the 1920s; and issues related to freedom of speech (questions of what constituted slander, what the public had a right to know about the private lives of newsmakers, and whether certain topics should be censored).

Unlike the essays in the 1929 volume, which were written in large part by people not actively involved with broadcasting, this group of essays featured an expert in broadcast law (Louis G. Caldwell, a former member of the FRC, whose 1930 essay in a legal journal was previously mentioned; he now contributed a piece about “Freedom of Speech and Radio Broadcasting”); an expert in children’s programming (Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, author, professor, and member of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, who contributed “Radio and the Child”); an expert on educational broadcasting (Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, whose university had a campus station that produced educational programs for the public schools, and who wrote “Radio as an Educational Force”); a veteran journalist and broadcaster with expertise in politics and public opinion research (William Hard, who contributed “Radio and Public Opinion”); the presidents of both of the major broadcasting networks, CBS (William S. Paley, who contributed “Radio and the Humanities”) and NBC (Merlin H. Aylesworth, who wrote “Broadcasting in the Public Interest”); a popular conductor whose orchestras were frequently heard on radio (Walter Damrosch, who wrote “Music and the Radio”); and the first journalist to do a regularly

scheduled news and current events program on radio (H.V. Kaltenborn, who wrote “An American View of European Broadcasting”).

Analysis of Radio Books from the Early 1920s

In commercial radio’s earliest days, the majority of the books that were published still assumed an audience of technophiles, many of whom came from amateur radio. Thus, some of the first books about radio broadcasting were actually books about how to build a receiver or how to hear distant signals. Several good examples of this genre are Experimental Wireless Stations: Their Theory, Design and Construction by Philip Edelman and The Radio Amateur’s Handbook by A. Frederick Collins. Pierre Boucheron, who wrote for the literary journal The Bookman, remarked that Collins’s book was useful for any “...boy... who wishes to tinker and to make his own [receiving set.” But while the schematics and diagrams may have been up to date when the book came out, Boucheron noted that some of the suggested “hook-ups” were already outdated, as the state of the art was moving very quickly. Further, the reviewer found some of the writing difficult to follow, even “ponderous” (Boucheron 638). He was much more pleased with another new radio book, Radio for Everybody by Austin C. Lescarbours, the managing editor of Scientific American. According to Boucheron, this was the best of the many books about radio he had received over the past few months. Lescarbours’s experience at a major magazine had

served him well-- Radio for Everybody was both entertaining and easy to understand, with an emphasis on telling the story of radio up to that point. While it had its share of technical information for the would-be radio set builder, it also had interesting facts about some of the companies that were involved with broadcasting, and the various ways that broadcasting was being used (Boucheron 638). The book proved so popular that in early 1923, a new edition came out, and it now included profiles of some of the major stations, along with photographs of radio studios and some of the performers. (Like several other authors in the early 1920s, Lescarboursa mainly wrote about the stations owned by Westinghouse; the company seems to have cooperated with him by providing numerous publicity photographs taken at KDKA in Pittsburgh, KYW in Chicago, and WJZ in Newark.) While the new edition also offered an updated history of commercial radio to that point, Lescarboursa still devoted many pages to how the technology worked, including illustrations of the various components in a radio receiver, descriptions of transmitters, and other technological facts. But he insisted that his goal was still to write a mass-appeal volume that would appeal to the average listener. "This work... has been prepared for the layman who wants to enjoy radio concerts and talks... but does not wish to... delve into the intricacies of radio engineering" (Lescarboursa vi-vii).

Boucheron also reviewed several other 1922 books about radio, and his second favorite was The Complete Radio Book by Raymond Francis Yates and Louis Gerard Pacent. Yates, former managing editor of the magazine Popular Science, as well as the radio editor of the New York Mail newspaper, and Pacent, a longtime electrical engineer, wrote a book that was highly readable, almost like a work of historical non-fiction. It told exciting stories of unsung heroes like inventor Mahlon Loomis and entrepreneurs like David Sarnoff. As Lescarbourea had done, The Complete Radio Book attempted to cover the “romance, tragedy, history, [and] scientific facts” about the new mass medium (Boucheron, 639); even when discussing various kinds of radio equipment, the style was very user-friendly; this was another book for the radio fan, rather than for the “boy engineer.” And speaking of boys and boy engineers, while nearly every radio book presupposed a male readership, one book at least acknowledged that some girls and women were interested in radio too-- A. Hyatt Verrill’s The Home Radio. Verrill, a widely published author with expertise in history and the natural sciences, mentioned that “Today, thousands of men, women and boys, as well as girls, are using wireless telephone receiving sets successfully...” (Verrill iii) But while a lot of people bought his book, according to the New York Tribune’s “Best Selling Books” list (see for example 4 June 1922, p. D8), Boucheron was not impressed with it at all. Verrill’s intent was to provide useful information about how radio equipment worked

and what functions it performed, as well as offering the novice guidance on how to build various types of sets. But Boucheron felt the book had been rushed into print, to capitalize on the radio craze, and as a result, it contained a number of erroneous statements about how the technology worked, as well as oversimplifications, and some explanations that did not to make much sense (Boucheron 641).

Boucheron was not the only reviewer to find that certain radio books seemed utterly lacking in quality. He had mentioned the large number (more than fifty) that were suddenly piling up on his desk, and as he saw it, more was not necessarily better (Boucheron 638). That view was shared by New York Times reviewer Thomas L. Masson, who observed in June 1922 that many of the new volumes seemed “cast from the same mold,” and he wondered, “Who reads all of the books of instruction [about radio] that are turned out with such rapidity?” The answer, evidently, did not include his own son, who, upon being shown some of the multitude of new radio books, reacted with boredom-- the young man was much more interested in listening to his new radio receiver, and learning from his friends how to get the most out of it (Masson 27).

One volume that neither Masson nor Boucheron reviewed was by the well-known editor of Radio News magazine, Hugo Gernsback, who

had written a book called Radio For All. Like several of the other 1922 radio books, it was mainly focused on explaining the technology of transmitting radio signals, how to tune radio receivers (a complicated task in radio's early days), what kinds of aerials would bring in the best signals, etc. There was also a chapter devoted to predictions about how broadcasting's technology would be used fifty years from now (Gernsback was a futurist who would later publish science-fiction magazines; he popularized the genre so much that to this day, the annual awards for the best science fiction are known as the "Hugos," in tribute to him). And although evaluating the accuracy of early histories of radio is outside the scope of this dissertation, a word should be said about one interesting comment that was found in Gernsback's book. He first wrote about the early innovators like Marconi, Hertz, and Poulsen, and acknowledged that the "original inventor of broadcasting" was very much a subject of debate. But then, Gernsback stated that, in his view, the person to whom the credit should be given was Reginald Fessenden; Gernsback referred to Fessenden as "...the first and real inventor of radio telephony. Back in 1906, he operated a radio telephone transmitting station which was heard by thousands of radio professionals as well as amateurs" (Gernsback 168).

That assertion probably inspired little discussion in 1922-- most readers of technologically-oriented books were more interested in

learning new techniques for building a receiver than in learning who really invented broadcasting. In fact, radio as a mass medium was so new that there was no consensus about how to write its history, and no agreement about which of the many inventors should receive the most credit. Thus, it is worth mentioning that Gernsback is one of the few authors of that time who named Reginald Fessenden as the father of what became modern broadcasting. Yates and Pacent also mentioned him, but they did not say he was the creator of radio telephony, as Gernsback asserts. They refer to Fessenden as “one of the most successful of the first experimenters in the art of radio telephony,” but they fix the date of his broadcasts as 1908 (Yates and Pacent 79). And other authors, including Lescarboua, did not mention Fessenden at all. While the debate over who was the real “father” of broadcasting has continued for decades, most textbooks today have accepted an unsubstantiated but widely disseminated story (put forth after his death in a biography written by his wife Helen) that Fessenden’s first broadcast was on Christmas Eve 1906. But in Fessenden’s time, this event received no coverage in the press, nor did Fessenden himself mention it in any of the essays he wrote. Still, there is credible evidence that Fessenden was sending out voice and music in 1906 (although not necessarily on Christmas Eve)-- there is documentation showing that he conducted tests during the previous week in December, and on several earlier occasions (see Halper and Sterling, 2006), making it interesting to

modern historians that Gernsback got it right long before most other authors did.

As radio became more popular with the general public, books about the new mass medium continued to diverge in several directions-- some were still directed at the experimenters and the technologically-inclined, while others were aimed at those who “listened in,” but did not necessarily want to build a set. Among the mid-1920s books with a technological orientation was one from the radio editor of the New York Times, Orrin E. Dunlap Jr. His 1924 volume, The Radio Manual, was reviewed in the Times by one of the era’s most admired radio engineers, Alfred N. Goldsmith, who would later (in 1930) co-author a far more mass-appeal book about radio, This Thing Called Broadcasting. In his review of Dunlap’s book, Goldsmith acknowledged that radio fans had become quite distinct, and wanted entirely different kinds of books. Those technophiles who wanted a book with something new to say on the subject of broadcasting would be very pleased with what Dunlap had achieved; this book was more than just another volume with diagrams and instructions for building the perfect set. Goldsmith praised Dunlap for writing with clarity and providing accurate information on the current state of radio engineering; and he also praised Dunlap’s ability to perform a function today’s fans have come to expect from internet publications-- saving the busy reader time by surveying all of the many

books and magazines on a given subject and then providing summaries of what each contained. The Radio Manual was thus a handy destination for the technophile who wasn't able to read every technological publication-- the book synthesized information from a vast number of sources and rendered it easily accessible to the interested experimenter (Goldsmith BR2).

As mentioned earlier, the first radio books, from Verrill in 1922 to Dunlap in 1924, focused entirely on how to build a better receiver. There was also a group of books that tried to blend some technology with some information about certain American radio stations and their programs (this is what Yates and Pacent, Gernsback, and Lescarbours tried to do). And there were several books that profiled a specific radio station, mentioning the technology almost as an afterthought, or explaining it in a very non-technical manner. One of the first of this genre of station biographies was WWJ-- The Detroit News, published in mid-1922. I have already discussed how a number of scholars (and more than a few journalists) have debated whether KDKA was really the first commercial station. Sterling and Kittross (66) are among the many who accept this claim. Barnouw (62-63), Hilliard and Keith (2005, 21) and Lewis (32-33) are among those who have expressed some doubt. And among the proponents of 8MK/WWJ was inventor Lee De Forest, who insisted he had personal knowledge that the Detroit station preceded KDKA: he

stated that he was present in the Detroit News building when 8MK made its debut, on 20 August 1920 (qtd. by Wolters SW7). Readers might have expected that WWJ-- The Detroit News would wade into the controversy over which station was first to broadcast, but surprisingly, the authors did not. Instead, the book focuses on a claim that most scholars find credible: “The Detroit News was the first newspaper in the world to install a radio broadcasting station, and the first to increase its social usefulness by furnishing such a service to the public” (WWJ 7). Granted, the assertion that the Detroit News’ station was the first “in the world” to do these things is difficult to prove, but the idea that the Detroit News was the first American newspaper to operate its own station is generally accepted by media historians (see for example Baudino and Kittross 76).

As for the contents of the book itself, it only had 95 pages (about half of which were devoted to the station’s programs and personnel, and the rest to an easy-to-understand explanation of how radio had developed and what it was doing to change society for the better). By today’s standards, it might seem like a work of publicity, containing no analysis and mainly promoting how innovative WWJ and the Detroit News were. But the fact that the book was written only two years after the station went on the air gives modern researchers useful information about what early broadcasting was like. In addition to describing the

programs on the air in the station's first two years, the book paid tribute to James Edward Scripps, who founded the Detroit News in 1873 and whose family saw radio's possibilities; it also spotlighted the men and women who brought the programs to the listeners-- the "Detroit News Orchestra" (conducted by Otto E. Krueger), the various announcers, and some of the performers. And it explained what went on behind the scenes at WWJ-- what the studios looked like (including photographs), how the program director selected the entertainers, and how the newspaper's staff also made sure that the latest news got on the air.

A few other stations also published books that promoted the wonders of radio in general and the wonders of their station in particular. A number of these books appeared in 1924-1925, a time when radio was now fully established as part of American life, and listeners wanted to know more about their favorite stations and the announcers they heard on the air. A good example of this style of publication was issued by the General Electric Company (as it was then called) in January 1924. More a booklet than a book, it was about 15 pages total, and offered information about the debut of KGO, General Electric's new radio station in Oakland, California. KGO-- The Pacific Coast Broadcasting Station was comprised of photos of the station and some of its personalities, along with text that extolled the General Electric venture in effusive prose like this: "...KGO is the result of an

untiring, unselfish progress toward an ideal, in its own sphere not unlike that sublime devotion that sustained the Spanish missionaries as they plodded over desert and rock with the sole purpose...of bringing new truth to waiting ears.” Granted, the public was excited about radio, and there was certainly appreciation directed towards the station owners who provided the programming. But equating the arrival of a new station with the arrival of the Spanish missionaries might seem somewhat overblown to modern readers. On the other hand, to the audience of 1924, radio was still amazing, even if some of the novelty had worn off; and when a community did get a new station, especially a powerful outlet owned by a major corporation, the press covered it like a news event. And because KGO was a high-powered station, operating with a then-unusual 1000 watts, its debut was reported by newspapers in cities as distant as Cleveland, Boston, Washington DC, and Portland OR. And KGO-- The Pacific Coast Broadcasting Station also stressed how modern the transmitting equipment was, and told of plans to experiment with even greater power than 1000 watts, in order to serve the widest audience possible.

Two other promotional booklets from this period are worth mentioning. One, This Is WLAG, The Twin City Radio Central, was not just about Minneapolis station WLAG (later known as WCCO), but rather, about a particular program it was broadcasting. The booklet was

published in mid-1924 by the “Northwest Farmstead,” a semi-monthly magazine whose target audience was the farmers of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Just 12 pages in length, it mainly promoted the Northwest Farmstead program. According to the information in the booklet, this program featured lectures on problems common to farmers (and advice from experts on possible solutions) as well as talks about farm-related subjects, quotations on farm products, and even some musical selections. The booklet provided an index to all of the radio talks that had been given over WLAG during the period from 4 September 1922, till 1 May 1924. (Only one copy of this publication exists, at the Minnesota Historical Society, where a reference librarian gave me some examples of the types of talks on the Northwest Farmstead program-- they included raising alfalfa; methods of farm accounting; how to take care of farm equipment; and tips on home-making for farmers’ wives. According to the booklet, the ‘experts’ were usually instructors from the University of Minnesota Agricultural School in St. Paul MN. There was also a photograph of the WLAG studios at the Oak Grove Hotel, where the program took place.)

The other promotional publication began its life as a column by B.J. Palmer, which appeared in his bi-weekly newsletter-- the *Fountain Head News*, issued by the Palmer School of Chiropractic, in Davenport IA. (Palmer was the school’s president.) The Palmer School had its own

radio station, WOC, which had been on the air since February 1922. In January 1924, some of B.J. Palmer's commentaries about owning a radio station, using radio to promote chiropractic, and other topics related to broadcasting, were compiled and turned into a 40 page book, called Interesting Sidelights of Broadcasting Station WOC, Davenport, Iowa. As the authors of the WWJ book had done, Palmer's book discussed WOC's history, its programming, and its mission (which, in addition to entertaining the public, included giving credible information about the benefits of chiropractic care). Because WOC was another station with a very good signal, Palmer believed distant listeners might be curious about what they heard on the air, so he used the book to provide background information about the staff (including chief announcer and station manager Stanley W. Barnett); some of the performers (similar to WWJ's "Detroit News Orchestra," WOC had an in-house band which used the name "Palmer School of Chiropractic Orchestra"); the station's unique programs, especially those related to health; and the many technological advances which had led to WOC's being heard hundreds of miles away.

There were also some additional non-technical books with a radio theme during the early to mid 1920s. One of the most interesting was a book of poems by Charles L. H. Wagner, a Boston-area sign-painter who wrote poetry in his spare time. Wagner's romantic and patriotic poems were often reprinted in local newspapers, and when broadcasting came

along, he became a frequent guest on WGI, reading his latest work. (He was often referred to locally as “The Radio Poet.”) In 1924, he published a 32-page book of poems inspired by radio. In the introduction to Radio Rhymes : A Book of Radio Verse, he explained that he had read some of these poems over the air; they were written in response to listeners, who suggested a topic and he then wrote a poem about it. Many of the poems are humorous, or light-hearted in tone; all reflect the poet’s joy at participating in broadcasting. And while Wagner’s verses are not what modern critics would consider great literature, they are invaluable for researchers-- they give some sense of what topics interested the listeners in 1924. They also offer insights into how radio was changing the culture, from someone who was witnessing those changes firsthand. Among the poems was one about how radio was affecting housewives-- “Mother Tunes In” (Wagner was not the only social commentator to remark on how mom no longer focused on cooking and cleaning because all she wanted to do was listen to her favorite programs). Other poems included a tribute to the wonders of broadcasting-- “The Miracle of Radio”; a look at how radio was impacting the men in the audience-- “Since Father Has a Radio,” which explained that dads were now so obsessed with radio that they had no time for taking the kids anywhere; and a commentary about “The D-X Hound,” the obsessed radio listener who spends far too much time trying to pull in distant stations.

Among the other non-technical books about radio in the early 1920s were some fictional works for young people, all of which used the radio craze as a plot device, showing once again how interested the public was in the new mass medium. The “Radio Boys” adventure novels, which were first published in 1922, were a popular youth-oriented series. Actually, there were several competing series of books using the same name. One group of ten “Radio Boys” titles was written by a former journalist named Gerald Breckenridge (real name Gerald Breitigam); they included The Radio Boys on the Mexican Border and The Radio Boys Search for the Inca’s Treasure. Breckenridge promoted his books in a very appropriate way-- during October 1922, he made three Monday night guest appearances on Newark radio station WJZ, during which he discussed (and undoubtedly read excerpts from) his newest Radio Boys volume. (These books also exemplify a tenet of media ecology-- each new mass medium both changes and incorporates what came before it-- prior to the arrival of commercial broadcasting, there were similar books about amateur radio and Morse Code communication-- such as the 1912 book, The Boys of the Wireless, by Frank V. Webster.)

Equally well-received during this time was a series of Radio Boys books written by a team of pseudonymous authors, using names like Allen Chapman and Wayne Whipple, which included such titles as

Chapman's The Radio Boys at Ocean Point, or The Message That Saved a Ship, and Whipple's The Radio Boys Cronies, or Bill Brown's Radio. And proving that girls too were getting involved with the new mass medium, there was even a series of four books called The Radio Girls, written by the equally pseudonymous Margaret Penrose. Today, modern researchers know that all of these books were produced by "The Syndicate," a publishing house owned by Edward Stratemeyer, whose team of free-lance writers, using various pseudonyms, produced more than a thousand books for young adults, including such popular series as the Bobbsey Twins, the Hardy Boys, and later, Nancy Drew (Lenhart 68). The previously mentioned 1912 Boys of the Wireless volume had been written by a Syndicate author (Frank V. Webster was another pseudonym); the Stratemeyer writers were known for being flexible, and when wireless technology changed, they simply reworked their plotlines, turning Wireless Boys into Radio Boys.

In the Breckenridge books, the Syndicate books, and a few other books that capitalized on the Radio Boys, there were certain common themes: the plot revolved around a mystery, which led the "radio boys" or "radio girls" on an exciting adventure as they tried to solve it (which they always did). Along the way, there was often a crisis or an emergency of some kind, which gave the protagonists a chance to demonstrate quick thinking and a willingness to help (witnessing the

crash of a small plane or coming upon an automobile accident, for example). The books' illustrations showed fashionably dressed (and always white) upper-middle class young people, all of whom had non-ethnic names like Bill Brown, Bob Layton, and Amy Drew. And all were very passionate about listening to radio, building their own sets, and trying to receive distant signals. (The first volume of the Breckenridge series opened with advice from the author about how to build a simple yet efficient radio receiver, while the first Chapman book opened with a foreword by well-known ham radio operator and journalist Jack Binns, who told readers to take on the challenges of life, as the Radio Boys did, and to enjoy the many ways that radio communication was changing society for the better.)

While today's technologically-savvy young readers would undoubtedly find the dialogue trite and the characters unrealistic, to the young people of the 1920s, the "Radio Boys" and "Radio Girls" stories were very entertaining, with characters who led far more exciting lives than the average reader did. (And it should be noted that while the "Radio Boys" went off to interesting places, where they looked for a treasure or outsmarted thieves, the "Radio Girls" too had their share of interesting events. The young female protagonists were as actively engaged in radio as their male counterparts; contrary to the stereotypic representations of girls in all too many books of that era, these girls

could put up their own antennas and even repair the equipment when they needed to, and they were loyal to their friends, just like the boys were. But the “Radio Girls” lived in both the non-traditional and the traditional worlds-- in addition to repairing a radio or solving a mystery, they also enjoyed wearing new dresses, and they dreamed that one day, they might become radio singers.) Like Charles L. H. Wagner’s poems, these books offer contemporary researchers many examples of how language (especially slang) has changed over the years, as well as insights into how the new technologies of that era fit into the average person’s daily life.

Analysis of Radio Books from the Late 1920s and Early 1930s

By the middle of the 1920s, several new genres of radio books were being published. There were still a number of books like the 1928 volume The Radio Manual by George E. Sterling, with a subtitle For Radio Engineers, Inspectors, Students, Operators and Fans; it contained nearly 700 pages and addressed every topic a technophile might find interesting, including the latest schematics, news about new radio transmitters, what was happening on the short-wave band, and how to get the most out of one’s radio equipment; it also had a chapter on the current rules of amateur and commercial radio. But books aimed at those who enjoyed tinkering and building their own radios were not as

numerous, since the technophiles now comprised a smaller percentage of radio fans. High quality and aesthetically pleasing radio sets could be purchased at any department store, and fans no longer expected to need to know Morse code or understand technical jargon. The audience for radio publications seemed eager to read about their favorite station, or learn how to get on the air. By the mid-1920s, more books were written for a mass audience; some discussed where the broadcasting industry had been, how it had changed in only a few short years, and what the listening audience could expect from it in the future. A good example of this genre was Broadcasting: Its New Day, by theater impresario (and radio entertainer) Samuel L. Rothafel, better known as “Roxy,” and his co-author, journalist Raymond F. Yates. Published in 1925, the book explored both the good and the bad about the programs on the air, and in that regard, it was an early attempt to do some criticism. Rothafel and Yates were not writing a book about technology-- the only time they discussed technical matters was to remark upon reception problems some listeners were still having. Rather, this was a book about how radio’s programs had grown and changed. It also discussed some of the challenges the industry faced -- was radio advertising inevitable, for example, and if not, then how could the performers (and the bills) be paid? While the authors were willing to point out radio’s shortcomings, they were just as quick to point out the major achievements (and improvements) that had occurred in radio’s first five years. Rothafel and

Yates examined all aspects of what was on the air, from musical performances to religious programs to attempts to use radio to educate. They also discussed what they perceived as the effect radio was having on American society. While neither man was from academia, their years of experience (Roxy in the entertainment industry and Yates in both engineering and print journalism) allowed them to offer a number of practical insights into what radio did well and what it needed to do better.

Another well-known print journalist also published a new book in the mid-1920s. Orrin E. Dunlap Jr. was an experienced engineer, and since the early 1920s, he had served as radio editor for the New York Times. Dunlap had written a more technical volume in 1924, but his 1927 volume, The Story of Radio, was written in a conversational style suitable for young people (although undoubtedly adults read it too). A talented writer and story-teller (much like Eric Barnouw years later), he discussed how radio had developed, but unlike some books, Dunlap's was part history and part personal experience. For example, Dunlap was a wireless operator in amateur radio's formative years, and he related how the Morse code signal for "danger" or "distress" was originally CQD, a choice with which he disagreed because it was a very cumbersome combination of dots and dashes (57). The distress call was finally changed to the much simpler SOS, but despite the difficulty with typing

CQD, knowing how to send it saved many lives. Dunlap related the example of how two ships (the Florida and the Republic) collided in January 1909, and the operator of the Republic, Jack Binns (who later went on to become a print reporter and radio editor), stayed at his telegraph key, sending out the CQD to summon help, which arrived before anyone drowned (59). Dunlap also related how he had been one of the radio operators who tried (and failed) to get help for the Titanic as it was sinking; he was able to send messages to at least one ship, but it was too far away and unable to get there in time. As a wireless operator, part of Dunlap's duties were relaying information to other ships, and sadly, he had to inform them that he assumed many lives on the Titanic had been lost (62). And he also debunked the durable myth that CQD stood for "Come Quick, Danger" or that SOS stood for "Save Our Ship"--neither was true. The letters were not abbreviations at all; they were arbitrarily chosen as the official distress calls because they sounded unique when sent by Morse code, and were unlikely to be confused by those receiving them (63). Throughout the book, Dunlap employed the same style, interspersing interesting facts about famous inventors and inventions with stories of what he had personally witnessed during his years as an engineer and radio expert. The Story of Radio was so well-received that by 1935, he had written a second revised and up-dated edition.

And one other journalist is worth noting, both for the book he edited and for his work as a syndicated radio columnist for the North American Newspaper Alliance during the mid-to-late 1920s: Martin Codel. As mentioned on page 148, Codel tried unsuccessfully to promote the new word “radiocasting.” But that was one of his rare misses in a very successful career. In addition to his widely-quoted columns, Codel and a journalist colleague named Sol Taishoff would found Broadcasting magazine in 1931. Just prior to that, in 1930, Codel published a collection of essays, Radio and Its Future. Among the contributors were a who’s who of current radio executives-- David Sarnoff, President of RCA; H.P. Davis, President of Westinghouse; Edwin H. Colpitts, Assistant Vice President of American Telephone & Telegraph, just to name a few. There were several essays about improvements in radio production and radio receivers, but mostly, the focus was on radio as a business, including why radio had become such a success, and what the listener could soon expect from broadcasting. Codel contributed an essay called “The Radio Structure,” in which he explained the differences between the American commercial system of broadcasting and government-supported broadcasting in countries such as England or France. He also elaborated on other aspects of American broadcasting that the public might not fully understand, such as how the programs are paid for (the importance of sponsors), and the importance of the “chains” (the NBC and CBS networks). Codel’s essay, with its praise for both the

advertisers and the corporations that dominated the broadcasting landscape (Westinghouse, RCA, General Electric, and others) was followed by an essay on “National Broadcasting,” written by Merlin H. Aylesworth, the president of NBC. As might be expected, he used his chapter to reiterate the positive contributions the chains (and especially his network) had made to American life. Modern critics like McChesney (1999) would later have an entirely different and not as sanguine view of what the corporations and networks had done to radio, but in 1930, such media analysis was scarce. Corporate voices dominated the conversation, and most listeners undoubtedly did feel that the programs they heard on NBC and CBS were far more professionally produced and featured many more big stars than before the networks came into being.

An additional book about radio that appeared in 1930 was co-authored by two very respected radio experts, Alfred N. Goldsmith and the previously mentioned Austin V. Lescarbours. This Thing Called Broadcasting was a 362 page tour de force written for radio fans who wanted to learn the history of an industry that was now ten years old. In a conversational style that avoided any technical jargon (a far cry from Lescarbours’s earlier work, which was aimed at an audience of hobbyists and engineers), the two men attempted to write a somewhat “official” history of radio, which, as it turned out, was mainly a corporate history,

asserting that KDKA was the first station and most major innovations in radio had come from major players like Westinghouse and RCA.

But in fairness to Goldsmith (a vice-president at RCA and a respected engineer), and Lescarbours (former editor of Scientific American magazine), both were strong proponents of broadcasting and wanted to establish a narrative that explained how radio had become such an essential part of American daily life. As Neil Postman pointed out in The End Of Education, human beings “make meaning through the creation of narratives that give point to our labors, exalt our history, elucidate the present, and give direction to our future.” And as he further observed, these narratives may not be “true” or even objective, and yet they are necessary: “The purpose of a narrative is to give meaning to the world, not to describe it scientifically” (7). In the case of books like This Thing Called Broadcasting, the authors put forth a utopian version of events that stressed the adventure of broadcasting. They used allusions from popular songs -- one chapter sub-head about how the engineers employed wires of varying lengths in order to get the sound from a remote location to the microphones was called “The Long, Long Trail Awinding,” a reference to a hit song from the first world war (92), as well as word play, puns and metaphors. They referred to the radio craze of 1922 as the “gold rush of the air” (42) because it seemed everyone suddenly wanted to try their luck at broadcasting; and when the government did not move fast enough regulate the new industry,

they compared the Department of Commerce to the mythical Nero: “Nero was certainly fiddling while the radio Rome burned” (60). In addition to using a breezy style with many colloquialisms, the authors filled the book with glossy photos of radio stars, and explained how a radio program was conceived and then implemented. And in this version of the story, black people are never mentioned, and women are only listeners and potential consumers of the sponsor’s products -- the authors expressed their belief that women were not suited to being announcers or managers, although some might be acceptable as vocalists; Goldsmith and Lescarboura further asserted that women were actually better off staying at home, where programs directed at their interests could teach them to be more efficient housewives (230-231).

The popularity of radio stars and announcers inspired a few books that offered guidance to those hoping for a career in broadcasting. Two good examples of this genre, which began to appear in the early 1930s, were S-o-o-o You’re Going On The Air! by Robert West, and Gateway To Radio by Major Ivan Firth and Gladys Shaw Erskine. Both books were published in 1934, and each offered a slightly different perspective on current trends in broadcasting.

Firth and Erskine were both experienced radio script writers and had performed in a number of radio dramas. For them, this book was an opportunity to encourage people with creativity and writing skill to

consider a career producing radio dramas or writing the scripts for them. Live dramas, including what came to be known as soap operas, were very popular in the early 1930s, and there was a need for new story ideas. Further, this book focused on the art of producing a program; it included examples of several radio scripts, and showed the reader how the program was put together. Firth and Erskine also discussed the duties of the announcer, how children's programs were written and performed, and it even explained the different departments of a radio station, from the program director to the commercial sales staff to the person who does the sound effects. Because both authors continued to perform on air, their book was generally very positive about broadcasting, a profession they both seemed to genuinely love.

A somewhat different approach was taken by Robert West, director of the Radio Art Guild and an expert in speech pathology ("All About" BR17). Because of his interest in the teaching of correct speech, he devoted nearly half of his book to that topic. He included a "Radio Speech Primer" which listed common grammar and pronunciation errors that announcers made; verbal crutches and artifices that the aspiring radio performer should avoid; and techniques for becoming a conversational and relatable radio speaker. Of special interest to me, West proved to be a man ahead of his time. Unlike other authors of his era, with their insistence that women could never be announcers, he not

only disagreed but asserted that with proper training, women could... and should... gain acceptance. For West, biology was NOT destiny. He acknowledged that the culture was accustomed to the deep, male voice, and that radio equipment made the higher-pitched female voice sound affected or shrill; but he was certain this could be overcome, if women trained their voice to employ the lower registers, and if they were taught how to speak in a way that sounded personable and warm. "The time is coming when the woman announcer will be welcomed as a permanent asset in radio," he wrote. "...[I]t's up to the woman to demand her place on the air and to equip herself with the qualities of voice and personality which make for popular broadcasting (121-122). Where Firth and Erskine adopted the tone of two friendly professors who hoped that the reader would see a radio career as an adventure worth taking, West's persona throughout his book was that of a media critic who believed radio did a number of things right, but who wanted the state of the art to be elevated. To that end, he devoted a chapter to the developing field of radio critique. In broadcasting's formative years, radio editors seldom had an unkind word to say about the programs; they mainly gave the listeners helpful hints about which programs were the best and which entertainers ought not to be missed; but now that radio was almost 15 years old, some of the editors had begun to apply a set of standards to what they heard, and not every program (nor every performer or announcer) got a positive review. As the chapter on faulty radio speech

is interesting, so is the chapter on what early 1930s radio editors thought of current trends in broadcasting. Some still seemed to feel their role was as head cheerleader or as broadcasting's number one fan; but others had pet peeves and were quite willing to share. Among the most common complaints (some of which seem surprisingly modern) were too many irritating commercials, announcers who talked too much and said nothing useful, and programs that seemed to aim at the lowest common denominator rather than aspiring to give the audience something thought-provoking. And there was also a feeling that many of the programs sounded the same, with a certain "formula" that was used over and over (152-155). In his conclusion, West observed that radio was at a crossroads; it had become extremely popular, and many of its programs were impressive, but it had also fallen into some very bad habits, including the ones his friends the radio editors had mentioned. He hoped the time had come for industry executives to examine what they were putting on the air and aspire to a higher level of programming (161-162).

Several interesting locally produced books were published in Boston in 1934-1935, and they are worth mentioning because they show that there was sufficient interest in local personalities to want them to write about their experiences. As mentioned earlier, Rabbi Harry Levi of Temple Israel in Boston became so popular as a result of his radio

broadcasts on station WNAC that he had to issue two books of his sermons, The Great Adventure in 1929, and A Rabbi Speaks in 1930. But while Rabbi Levi acknowledged his surprise and delight at his sudden popularity, neither book was autobiographical, and other than a brief preface in each, he provided no discussion, no background information, and no explanation regarding what he said in the sermons; modern researchers like me were left to cross-reference the sermons with events in local newspapers in order to understand some of the references he made. In fairness, Rabbi Levi did state in the preface of The Great Adventure that issuing these sermons in book form had not been his idea-- it was a response to the many fan letters and requests for his sermons that he had received from radio listeners (viii-ix).

On the other hand, the two books that came out in the mid-1930s were actual narratives, in the one case (Pardon My Accent) a book written by a newspaper reporter and radio commentator named Howell Cullinan; and in the other (News While It Is News), the story of the development of the first local news network, the Yankee News Service. Cullinan's book was an often-humorous look at his eight years at station WEEI. In addition to historical vignettes (celebrities he met and interviewed, news stories he covered), he related his love-hate relationship with his listeners. He often had to deal with the know-it-all types, who were quick to write (or call the station) to tell him he was

pronouncing a word wrong, or chastise him for not having his facts in order. But he also heard from shut-ins in rural parts of the listening area, who just wanted to thank him for keeping them informed; lonely women who developed crushes on him; and appreciative fans who adored WEEI and eagerly awaited his reports. As with Charles L. H. Wagner's 1924 book of radio poetry, Cullinan's 1934 volume was filled with interesting insights into how radio was done, and provided a rare eye-witness account of Boston radio in the 1920s and early 30s, a time before there were many recordings of the actual broadcasts.

And even more valuable for researchers, Cullinan wrote his book at a time of discord between radio and print journalism. While the "press-radio war" is not the subject of this dissertation, it is an event well-known to media historians, involving the competition between broadcasters and newspaper reporters in the early 1930s. As radio grew in popularity, many stations began broadcasting regular newscasts, and station personnel sought the same press credentials and opportunities to cover news as the print journalists had. Prior to this time, when radio rarely offered news, print journalists were happy to be occasional (and unpaid) guests on radio programs, discussing what could be found in the latest edition of the newspaper. But newspaper owners were becoming increasingly concerned about radio's influence, especially its ability to provide immediate reports about breaking news stories. And not only

was radio capable of cutting into the sale of newspapers, but it was costing newspapers money in another way-- it competed for the same advertising dollars that newspapers did (Hammargren 93). So the publishers and the wire services (such as the Associated Press) decided to withdraw their support from broadcasting; they not only blocked radio reporters from getting press credentials (necessary for attending press conferences of major political figures), but they also stopped letting reporters be unpaid guests on the air. Some newspapers even removed their radio page or refused to print the daily listings of radio programs (Sterling and Kittross 136-137). And most importantly, the publishers tried to negotiate restrictions on how many newscasts radio stations could broadcast.

But John Shepard 3rd of WNAC fought back against efforts to limit radio news-- he founded the Yankee News Service in March 1934, choosing as its slogan "News While It *IS* News," a sly jab at newspapers and a reminder of radio's instant coverage. The 1934 book about the founding of the Yankee News Service used this slogan as its title. The co-author of News While It Is News was WNAC radio announcer and Yankee News Service Editor in Chief, Leland Bickford; in addition to expressing his appreciation for the willingness of his boss (John Shepard) to take on the newspaper establishment, Bickford also offered an insider's account of how radio news was done in those first months. But while reading

Bickford's firsthand descriptions of the growth of radio news, it is equally interesting to read some quotes about the "Press-Radio War," and about the Yankee News Service, that are found in Cullinan's book, since he was at a competing radio station while the controversy unfolded, and found himself caught in the middle. Cullinan worked for the Boston Globe, and suddenly the newspaper no longer wanted people like him on the air doing news. The restrictions were not well-received (nor well-understood) by listeners, who wrote angry letters, as well as impassioned pleas, to WEEI. And although he tried to support the policies of those who paid his salary, his chapter on the Press-Radio War acknowledged the difficult position he was in, and even seemed to have grudging respect and admiration for Shepard's attempt to thwart the newspaper publishers (Cullinan 196-204). These two books, perhaps without realizing it, demonstrated that by 1935, radio had changed the public's expectation of when they could get the latest news; like the Luddites of old, the publishers were trying their best to destroy radio's ability to report on current events, in the vain hope that the public would forget about it and go back to reading newspapers exclusively. And the battle between the print press and the broadcasters seems to exemplify what Neil Postman meant when he wrote that "a new technology usually makes war against an old technology" (End Of Education 192).

It was in the early 1930s when some of the first books about audience research were published. As mentioned in chapter three, this was a relatively new area of inquiry. There were few journals devoted to researching public opinion (Public Opinion Quarterly did not make its debut till early 1937), but it was becoming an area of increased interest, as certain social scientists (especially Hadley Cantril, Harold Lasswell, and Paul Lazarsfeld) began to publish essays that measured public attitudes and perceptions about a number of topics, including what they thought about radio. According to Archibald M. Crossley, accepted by many as the first to focus on radio research, the earliest efforts to measure the radio audience occurred in 1929-1930 (Crossley 161). This is contradicted, however, by Steve Craig (2010) who noted that NBC hired Boston-based researcher Daniel Starch in early 1928 to perform some of the first research about the likes and dislikes of the radio audience (182-183). But there is general agreement that Crossley was the first to establish a system of ratings for radio programs. However, his focus was not on psychographics, that is, audience attitudes or perceptions. He mainly researched which sponsored programs on the major networks had the biggest audience, since advertising agencies wanted to know how many listeners heard their commercials (Sterling and Kittross, 140). As mentioned previously, it wasn't until mid-1934 that a book-length scholarly attempt was made to ascertain the preferences and perceptions of the radio listeners, when Frederick H.

Lumley Jr. of Ohio State University published Measurement in Radio. Lumley had already written a number of journal articles for the Educational Research Bulletin, and was well-regarded as an expert; his new book was seen as useful for radio executives, as well as for academics who wanted to better understand the listeners and their preferences.

As discussed previously, the state of the art in research was fairly primitive by our standards-- while he quoted from some of the research Starch had done in 1928 (S. Craig, "Daniel Starch" 183), Lumley mainly relied on surveys, where the responsibility was on the respondents to mail them back. While today, self-reporting is not considered a trustworthy method, back then, it did not cause any concern. Also, today, researchers know that certain listeners or viewers, called "actives," are more likely to participate in such a survey and they are usually not representative of the vast majority of the audience (the "passives"); however, back then, using mailed-in surveys was a common technique. In his 309-page book, Lumley explained how to perform this kind of research; he showed the results of some surveys he had done, and discussed what he hoped to learn from future surveys of the radio audience. Because he was an experienced researcher, Lumley was aware that the available techniques of his day each had some drawbacks: in discussing sampling error, for example, he remarked that some

companies had begun to switch to telephone research, calling people at home to survey them about their listening habits, but since many Americans still did not own their own telephone, this method excluded millions of radio listeners (17-18). It is interesting to note that this was a persistent problem even years later: during the 2010 mid-term elections, the Pew Research Center documented that polling firms which only surveyed homes with landlines, and did not include cellphone users, obtained skewed results (Keeter, Christian and Dimock 2010).

Lumley also discussed the tendency of some radio stations to survey the audience based on lists they had compiled from people who had written to the station in the past. He recognized that this was not a random sample and would create an unreliable result. He gave the example of surveys that attempted to determine which station was the listeners' favorite; the problem with relying on a sample derived from people who had written to one particular station is that those people tended to name that station as their favorite (21). Throughout the book, there are numerous examples of how research was being used, both by advertisers (who generally wanted to know which were the most programs so that commercials could be placed in them) and by program managers (who wanted to know whether the public liked certain locally produced programs, which types of music they wanted to hear more frequently, and which speakers evoked the greatest response). Today,

Lumley's efforts are all but forgotten-- a search of the index to past issues of the Journal of Broadcasting showed that Lumley received just two passing mentions (Lichty 1965; Cole and Klose 1963). Lichty mainly cited Lumley as an early researcher (79), while Cole and Klose said a little more, praising his book, and saying it remained "a monumental work on research methods and practices" (261). But despite the fact that its methods are outdated, modern researchers will find that Lumley's work provides an excellent foundation for the way research is done today, while giving rare insights into how some of the first academic efforts to measure the radio audience were conceived and implemented.

One other important research-oriented book came out in 1935: written by two social scientists, Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, it was called The Psychology of Radio. The early 1930s saw an increased demand from advertisers for even more quantitative survey research (Sterling and Keith 140-141) but social psychologists wanted to go in a different direction. They were not as curious about *which* programs were popular; they wondered *why* the public liked certain programs better than others. Cantril and Allport used their book to discuss audience listening habits (what times people were most likely to listen, what demographic groups listened most at which times, etc), and to share with readers what they had learned about the likes, dislikes, and pet peeves of those they surveyed. The Psychology of Radio also demonstrated to

station managers that certain cherished assumptions about the audience were not necessarily true, especially the role of fan mail. Where in the early 1920s, station managers seemed convinced that the number of fan letters or applause cards they received could provide a reliable indicator of a program's success, Cantril and Allport asserted that fan mail was written by "only a small fraction of the total listening population," large numbers of whom were mainly seeking to express their emotions, especially after a broadcast perceived as sad or tragic (96). And agreeing with some of Lumley's research, they noted that a majority of letter-writers came from lower socioeconomic groups and from rural parts of the country (95). For its time, it was a remarkably thorough study, and what made it unique was that the authors did actual laboratory experiments, including one where they asked respondents to compare a number of announcing styles, to see which ones they found the most pleasing, and another where they assessed listening to educational material on the radio versus reading educational material in a textbook. They also surveyed college students, and found that 68% of respondents studied while listening to the radio (105), proving that contemporary complaints about students multi-tasking are not new after all. One of their chapters was about perceptions of male versus female voices, and while they acknowledged that survey results often showed that male voices were preferred by listeners, they shared the viewpoint of Robert West: there was no logical reason why women announcers could not be

successful, with proper training; Cantril and Allport even suggested that the problem was psychological -- people had negative opinions that were often based on “economic and social prejudice” rather than on how the women actually sounded on the air (138).

At this point, it is worth re-stating that, contrary to what its detractors had feared, radio did not replace reading. As McLuhan pointed out, “[I]f print, or if the written word, is in danger, it can be rescued by some other medium” (qtd. by James C. Morrison in Lum 163). It may not be true that print was in danger during radio’s formative years, but some authors and booksellers perceived a threat, and feared the worst (Cushing 643). But as it turned out, radio and print developed a mutually beneficial relationship: newspapers and magazines began writing about radio, and a number of authors began appearing as guest speakers on radio programs, sometimes serving as experts, and at the same time, promoting their newest works. Authors and poets continued to be heard on radio throughout the 1930s. Nor was it true that educational programs replaced books and magazines. Certain educational programs (especially college courses and talks by famous experts) gained loyal audiences and garnered critical praise during radio’s Golden Age. Also well-received were programs aimed at the younger listeners. A good example was “Let’s Pretend.” This award-winning children’s show encouraged young listeners to use their

imagination (and let some of them act in the weekly radio stories); but as popular as “Let’s Pretend” was, library use remained equally popular. In fact, some of the radio hosts of children’s programs encouraged library visits. They would read a story to their young listeners and ask them to send in reports about their favorite books. In Boston, one popular children’s show host, “Big Brother” Bob Emery, even arranged to have some of his most popular radio stories compiled and published in book form as Big Brother Club Tales (Wells 1928).

The same synergy between reading and listening was found on programs aimed at adults. Ida Bailey Allen, to cite one example, was a renowned “radio homemaker” and author of numerous best-selling cookbooks, who had hosted the “National Radio Homemakers Club” locally in New York since 1925 and nationally via the CBS network since 1928 (“Ida Bailey Allen” E10); she would frequently explain a recipe on her radio show and then refer her listeners to her cookbooks. Furthering the tie between listening and reading, in June 1932, she and her sponsor (Coca Cola) arranged for anyone who filled out a coupon (published in local newspapers nationwide) to receive a book called When You Entertain, which offered helpful tips for hostesses. By all accounts, radio and print continued to accommodate and complement each other, and while Postman believed that “a new technology usually makes war

against an old technology” (End Of Education 192), radio and reading seemed to find a way to be partners rather than enemies.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSES IN THE POPULAR PRESS

Favorable Reactions About Radio

As Neil Postman has pointed out, media ecology explores not only how a new medium affects the culture (and the people in that culture) but how it also affects the technologies that already exist. For example, in Building A Bridge To The 18th Century, Postman looked at the idea of “information” and related it to the development of the telegraph. He discussed how the great scholars and philosophers of a bygone age believed “information” was not something to be collected for its own sake, nor was it a “commodity to be bought and sold... it was not thought to be worthwhile unless it was embedded in a context, unless it gave shape, texture, or authority to a political, social, or scientific concept” (86). Postman then asserted that the invention of the telegraph changed the meaning of information. “[T]elegraphy... gave legitimacy to the idea that the value of information need not be tied to any function it might serve in social and political life. It may exist by itself, as a means of satisfying curiosity or offering novelty. The telegraph made information into a commodity, a ‘thing,’ desirable in itself, separate from its possible uses or meaning... The principal strength of the telegraph was its

capacity to move information, not collect it, explain it, or analyze it” (87-88, italics mine).

Of course, at the time when the telegraph came into common use, the kind of critique that Postman would later offer was totally unknown. The telegraph’s proponents saw its invention as beneficial; in fact, many regarded it with awe and amazement, especially those who directly benefitted from its arrival. For example, the New York Times, in early March 1861 commended the telegraphers for doing something that had never been done before-- relaying President Lincoln’s inaugural address from Washington DC to New York City in less than an hour. This achievement, said the editors, should be seen as a “source of pride” (“The Inaugural” 8). Receiving a news item within an hour or two was a great improvement from how long it had previously taken a messenger on horseback or even a carrier pigeon to deliver a news report (Sterling and Kittross 10). For the journalists (and the readers) in 1861, the telegraph was miraculous, able to speed up communication in a way never thought possible.

But as Postman frequently observed, a new technology is not neutral (Technopoly 10-11), and for every advantage that it offers, there is always a disadvantage (End Of Education 192). Now that information could travel more quickly, newspapers began to compete for the story, and getting it first became of utmost importance. Soon, new schools

were teaching telegraphy, new telegraph companies were opening up, and many newspapers decided to have their own wireless room with their own wireless operators. (The same phenomenon was also affected the business world, as corporate executives and buyers found the telegraph as useful as journalists did; many department stores and corporations set up a sending and receiving station somewhere in the building, so that orders could be placed more quickly and business news, like stock market reports, could be more easily obtained. And with the increased demand for telegraphic communication, an offshoot of Morse code was developed; the “Phillips code” created abbreviations and acronyms for commonly used political and business expressions; this made the telegrapher’s job easier, since it was no longer necessary to spell out these frequently used phrases. Some of the coded acronyms have survived and are still seen today in news reports and “tweets” from journalists, most notably POTUS and SCOTUS -- President of the United States and Supreme Court of the United States -- most people probably do not realize these acronyms were first used by telegraphers of the late 1800s (“Telegraph Operator” 12).

But unfortunately, as Harold Innis discussed when referring to “monopolies of knowledge” (L.M. Dudley 757), both the Morse and Phillips codes were mysterious to the average person, with the letters and words formed by electrical bursts (also called dots and dashes); only a small group of people (the telegraphers) knew how to decipher and

interpret the code, giving them power over what was being transmitted. There would sometimes be mistakes in transcription, but since reporters generally were not experts in telegraphy, they had to trust the person sending or receiving the message; in fairness, being a telegrapher was a high- stress occupation, which required listening carefully to the sounds of the coded messages and instantly transcribing them. And while the skilled telegrapher usually got it right, sometimes problems could and did occur (“Sending Out The News” 6). Still, despite its flaws, it cannot be denied that telegraphy changed communication dramatically. Bursts of sound, coded as “dots and dashes,” were sent through the air, received by a telegrapher and turned into something intelligible. By changing the public’s expectation of when information would arrive, and making it possible for information to travel from one end of the country to the other within hours, the telegraph was quite an amazing invention.

Similarly, when wireless telephony (radio) came along, scientists and a few sociologists wondered what effect it would have on society, and on existing technologies like the telephone and telegraph. It is particularly interesting to read the comments of these scholars at the point where one new technology was introduced and its arrival threatened existing technologies. Back in 1877, an un-named journalist, quoted in Scientific American, wondered whether the newly invented telephone would replace the telegraph. The editors of the magazine assured their correspondent that this was not going to happen, since

messages sent by telephone still needed to be written down, and what the person had just said could easily be misunderstood and thus, misreported (“Professor Bell’s” 359). By 1905, journalists had accepted that the telephone was here to stay, and were asking a different question: is frequent telephone use changing the way we speak? That is, now that use of the voice had become more important, were people beginning to speak and enunciate more clearly so as to be better understood? A long essay in the Atlanta Constitution even provided helpful hints about telephone etiquette, and interviewed a Boston professor with expertise in the subject of voice and articulation -- William H. Kenney of the Emerson College of Oratory (today, Emerson College), who gave advice about how to make a favorable impression when using the telephone for business (“Is The Telephone” E1).

The question of the role of the old versus the new continued to be asked. Writing in 1924, New York Times Science Editor Waldemar Kaempffert mused that it was not so long ago when journalists were amazed by electronic communication, with its ability to send messages over long distances, by use of wires. “We used to call the telegraph and telephone ‘space annihilators’. Space annihilation indeed! Not until radio conquered the home did we know what the term meant ... What are two hundred miles in radio? Denver is heard every day in hundreds of New York homes” (768). Given radio’s ability to send a signal hundreds of miles, it is not surprising that the new medium’s earliest proponents

believed it was the most important invention in history (Michael Brown, qtd. in Winn and Brinson 19-20), and the early discourses expressed amazement and delight. As with the fans of the telegraph in the 1860s and 1870s, radio's early adopters were equally convinced that it was going to revolutionize society. In fact, a study of newspapers and magazines from March through June 1922, the period when "radio [was] sweeping the country," according to Variety ("Radio Sweeping" 1), shows that words like "miracle," "amazing," and "a marvel" were frequently used, both in headlines, such as this from the New York Times: "New Radio Marvels Mystify Thousands" (23) and in the articles themselves: "The radio telephone is the marvel and miracle of today..." from a pictorial essay in the Miami Herald titled "Radio Telephone Is Making Over the Modern World" (2). In other articles, radio was also referred to as the "8th wonder of this day" and "science's new triumph" (Bide Dudley, F1). The San Francisco Chronicle, inaugurating its first radio page, called the new mass medium the "latest wonder of science" and "the newest boon to the public" ("Hear It" F1).

Radio was the subject of songs, as lyricists were quick to capitalize on this new trend. Among the songs with radio themes recorded in 1922 were "Kiss Me By Wireless" and "I'll Build A Little Westinghouse For You" (Bide Dudley, "Song Writers" D4). And not only did poets like Edgar Guest and Amy Lowell read their work on the air; there were poets who offered rhymed tributes to the new mass medium, much to the delight of

the listeners. One of the earliest poets to praise radio in rhyme was humorist (and frequent contributor to the New York Times), Arthur Guiterman. After performing at Newark's WJZ in early 1922, Guiterman wrote a parody of the Longfellow poem "I shot an arrow in the air," and came up with the following lines, which were then quoted extensively in the press (for example, qtd. in "Books and Bookmen" 7; and also in "The Gossip Shop" 670):

*"I breathed a song into the air;
That little song of beauty rare
Is flying still, for aught I know,
Around the world by Radio."*

The predictions made in radio's first several years tended to be utopian, as were the assertions about how radio would benefit society. One common assertion was that radio could bring world peace: Clark McAdams, writing in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch stated that if former president Woodrow Wilson, who advocated for a League of Nations as a way to prevent future wars, had been able to use radio to speak about peace, it could have changed history. Wilson, in the pre-radio era, was forced to try to win people over by going from city to city, an exhausting tour that cost him his health; had radio been available to him, he could have used his powers of persuasion and reached millions of people simultaneously, and McAdams was certain that the former president

would have been successful (20). Another article, in the Los Angeles Times, headlined “Radio Fad Sweeps World, Turning Sorrow Into Joy.” The sub-headline was “Radio Lightens World’s Heart” (1). An editorial in Radio Digest suggested that since music was loved the world over, radio would be able to promote “mutual understanding among the people of all civilized nations” (“Universal Language” 16). And inventor Lee DeForest stated that radio would turn people away from the vulgar genres of music (jazz especially) and teach them to love and appreciate opera (DeForest 13).

Given that most broadcast listeners (and even some reporters) regarded the technology of radio as somewhat mysterious and magical (“The Long Arm of Radio” 684), it is not surprising that many of the discourses from radio’s first several years had an awe-struck quality to them. Here is what the Washington Post said on 26 March 1922, the day the newspaper inaugurated its “Radio Page,” devoted to the latest news about ‘wireless telephony’, as broadcasting was often called back then.

“Yesterday a scientific marvel, today wireless telephony is the most thrilling interest and enjoyment within reach of the average American home. Day and night, in regular programs, superb concert and dance music, important speeches, hilarious vaudeville, sermons, world weather reports, correct time signals, &c, are broadcast by radio transmitting

stations in all parts of the country. Here is a new world of information, education, and inspiration which seems like an Arabian night's entertainment... Verily, man can now 'listen in' on the universe, and to his home can be brought accurate details of every phase of human activity" ("Wireless Communication" 40).

Radio As A Magical Medium

In a commentary that might have been written by a media ecologist, an anonymous writer in The Outlook magazine in 1922 noted that "Radio is swiftly revolutionizing the thought, expression, and habits of the world..." The writer then continued, capturing in one paragraph many of the most commonly expressed utopian discourses about radio in the early 1920s.

"Already it seems probable that this new resource of civilization will affect the lives of the people more intimately and change the currents of human activity more radically than the introduction of the locomotive, the harnessing of electricity, the telephone, automobile, or the moving picture. Radio... is creating new industries, new fields of employment. It is opening up new avenues of education and entertainment, of public information, health protection and life saving. Its early sensational service was in saving life and property at sea. Its present great opportunity is to give to remote and isolated communities the educational and recreational facilities which hitherto have drawn youth away from the land to the crowded cities" ("Radio's Magic Wand" 218).

And it should be noted that The Outlook was not usually given to hyperbole about popular culture. It was a well-respected weekly

magazine of opinion and current events, edited by Lyman Abbott, a liberal Christian theologian. And yet, its editorial staff became as caught up in the radio craze as any fan publication-- in fact, the previous week, it had featured an article entitled "The Marvel of Radio" (410).

Although media ecologist Harold Innis would later assert that "The printing press and radio address the world instead of the individual" (qtd. in Lum 143), most radio listeners had a different perception. They felt that radio was an intimate medium that was talking directly to them, enabling them to do what Paul Levinson called "eavesdropping on the world" (184); that is, although Innis was correct that a broadcast, by definition, was sent out to large numbers of people, Levinson noted that members of the audience generally listened at home (or much later, in their car), in a private space where they heard "...radio voices from afar-- voices [they] personally did not know..." and as they listened, they made assumptions about those voices, imagined what the announcers or entertainers looked like, or what kind of personality each one had in real life, and they formed a bond with those disembodied voices, receiving them into their home "as members of [the] family" (86). Thus, almost from its inception, radio established itself as an intimate medium. As Marshall McLuhan had written in Understanding Media, "Radio affects most people intimately, person to person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker and the listener. That is the

immediate aspect of radio. A private experience” (299). As people sat in their radio room, enjoying the words of the preachers, the poets, the politicians, and the performers, the messages seemed personal, even though the words originated in a studio and were articulated by speakers the listeners had neither seen nor met. Guglielmo Marconi himself had commented about this: in a July 1922 opinion piece, he observed that broadcasting was spreading the human voice farther, and to more people, than at any time in history. He predicted that there would come a time when listeners would know the newsmakers by the sound of their voices, and feel a sense of familiarity. “[T]he voice of the President of the United States may be as much of a living, daily reality to a hunter in his shack in the Rocky Mountains, or a sailor in the middle of the Pacific, as it is now to the President’s intimate circle.” And given that politicians were already beginning to use radio in their campaigns, he predicted that soon “the ‘voice of the government’ will no longer be a figure of speech, but a literal truth” (Marconi MS3). But whether they were listening to a political speech or a comedy routine, thanks to the power of the imagination, members of the “invisible audience” had the opportunity to vicariously “participate in somebody else’s life” (McLuhan, qtd. in Sanderson and MacDonald 14), and that was part of radio’s appeal.

A good example of this phenomenon can be found in events like the “radio birthday party” famous bandleader Paul Whiteman held for his

mother in mid-April 1922. Whiteman said he was unable to get home to spend time with her on her special day, so he devised a clever plan. He and his band broadcast a radio concert from station WJZ in Newark and dedicated it to her. Not only was she able to hear it, but thousands of listeners were able to vicariously receive an invitation; even though it was undoubtedly a staged event, radio fans would not have known that, since the ins and outs of publicity were not well-known by the average person. What the radio listeners did know was that on that evening, they were able to feel as if they were a part of the Whiteman family's birthday party that night ("Three Million Guests" 12).

Also attesting to the feeling that radio listening was a wonderful way to spend an evening were letters like one that was written in April 1922 to Harrison Durant, radio editor of the Indianapolis Star. The writer, a local railroad worker named Earl C. Thompson, explained how pleased he was with his new radio, asserting that those who had not yet bought (or built) a receiver had no idea what they were missing. "...[T]he air is as full of everything enjoyable as the ocean is full of all kinds of fish, so why not put up a wire and catch your share?" Thompson went on to say that now he could hardly wait to come home and see what new and exciting stations and programs he would receive from his radio set. He even suggested radio as a cure for delinquency: boys who had a radio would no longer want to waste their time hanging on street corners,

when they could be part of the growing number of radio fans (Durant, “Wireless Phone” B11).

When I was analyzing fan letters like Thompson’s, as well as the newspaper and magazine articles of the early 1920s, it became quite apparent that radio fans (and radio columnists) did not regard themselves as simply passive recipients of whatever the ether was sending that night. While audience members may have willingly listened to almost anything their sets could receive in the first days of commercial broadcasting (when only a handful of stations were on the air), by mid-1922, the radio craze had brought several hundred stations to the airwaves. Now, listeners were making choices, receiving the programs and then deciding which ones they preferred. As one commentator noted, being a radio listener offered some advantages that attendees at a concert or a speech did not have, most notably the ability to “quit an audience without offending a speaker or disturbing a neighbor” (Hall 510).

And far more than feeling as if they were eavesdropping on the lives of celebrities and newsmakers, many listeners believed that radio provided an opportunity to learn something new. In some cases, the learning involved appreciation of opera and classical music: surveys repeatedly showed that despite the wishes of the proponents of “good music,” the average listener much preferred the popular hits (Wile, “Big

Radio Growth” 6), so exposure to the classics was actually a learning experience for many listeners. In other cases, it was the opportunity to hear the views of a political figure directly, rather than waiting to read what he or she said (“Coolidge Gives Talk” 1); radio also allowed listeners to hear informative speeches by advocates for various causes, or benefit from experts on public health. Listeners could also hear uplifting sermons, from their own faith or from somebody else’s. Listeners were so intent on finding the best programs that some newspapers even provided special radio weather reports: as mentioned earlier, in those early days of radio technology, reception varied due to atmospheric conditions, and some nights were better for listening than others. In the mid-1920s, Boston radio meteorologist E.B. Rideout published a daily column in the Boston Traveler, predicting which parts of the country would have the best reception, and what the radio listener should expect with regard to static and fading (“Radio Forecast” 14).

The fact that listeners believed having a radio was a major asset can be seen in the many newspaper and magazine articles from the early 1920s about radio’s life-changing ability, and its impact on members of the audience. In addition to stories about listeners who were impressed when they heard a great opera star or a famous orator for the first time, there were also numerous stories with an almost Biblical feel to them, referring to radio as a miracle-worker. The Baltimore Sun carried a story

about a child who had been deaf since birth, who was suddenly able to hear music on radio (“Girl Deaf” 2). Another article, in the Los Angeles Times, made the connection more directly: the story of a woman who had been deaf for sixty years and suddenly was able to hear a radio program when she put on her headphones) was headlined “Radio Program Is Miraculous” (7). There was even a newspaper report that Helen Keller herself was able to hear a broadcast, although closer examination of the 1924 news report explained (in her own words) that when she put her hand on a radio receiver, she was able to “feel, not only the vibrations, but also the impassioned rhythm, the throb and the urge of the music” (“Radio Concert” A9).

Of course, not everyone experienced these amazing results, but in a time when radio seemed to be an agent of miraculous change, these stories gave people hope. One other disabled population who actually did benefit from the new mass medium was the blind. As Innis pointed out, radio had now broken up the historical “monopoly of communication based on the eye” (Bias of Communication 81), and this was of great benefit to people with limited vision or total blindness. Because radio presented news and information as spoken word, blind people who were not proficient in Braille no longer needed to find someone to read the newspaper to them; they now had access to what was happening in the world. In the 1922 article “Radiophone God-Send

To Blind,” a blind social worker from Chicago praised his favorite radio station for sending out daily news bulletins, and he also expressed appreciation for the live concerts-- it was difficult for many blind people to travel long distances, and thanks to radio, both the live newscasts and the concerts came directly to wherever they lived (6). Radio stations frequently received letters of thanks from blind listeners (“Radio For The Blind” 27), and these stations would sometimes raise money to provide radio receivers to a school for the blind or a hospital where there were blind patients. Further, radio also gave blind musicians a wider audience, proving that a disability did not mean a person was incapable of becoming a successful performer (see for example “Blind Artists” 16).

There were also a number of articles about how radio was helping shut-ins, the elderly, and people in hospitals to feel less alone. Doctors and nurses wrote fan letters to radio stations and newspapers, asserting that radio was therapeutic for their patients, since it cheered them up and helped them to temporarily forget they were hospitalized. A Los Angeles doctor at a sanatorium for patients with tuberculosis wrote a long fan letter to KHJ, saying in part: “These patients, most of them bedridden, take a great interest in the radio programs...it would do your heart good if you could see a ward full of patients sitting up, looking eagerly at the loud speaker, and at the close of [a song], clapping their hands vigorously” (Ormiston, “Radio Program” 3).

While some of these articles and fan letters praised the ability of radio to offer companionship and entertainment to shut-ins, the most common focus was on the beneficial impact of the religious broadcasts. In August 1922, Boston's newest radio station at the Shepard Department Store began broadcasting live religious services from St. Paul's Church. The response was immediate, as grateful listeners wrote to station owner John Shepard 3rd to thank him for making the services available. One letter-writer identified as "an invalid for nearly two years" who had been "unable to attend church for such a long time," while another wrote on behalf of a mother-in-law who was 92 and also not able to get to church. There was even an inmate at the Charles Street Jail who expressed appreciation for the message of hope; he remarked that some of his fellow-prisoners were even singing along with the hymns ("Religion By Radio" 5). In fact, the anonymous radio editor of the Hartford Courant editorialized in late 1922 that "...broadcasting church services is perhaps radio's supreme achievement" because so many people could now receive the comfort of religious messages, including shut-ins, the blind, and people who had been estranged from their faith for years ("Sermons By Radio" 12). And while the majority of the clergy on the airwaves were Christian, rabbis had been broadcasting since 1921, and several, like New York's Stephen S. Wise and Boston's Harry Levi had become quite well known, even by non-Jews. Rabbi Levi was a

strong proponent of radio; he asserted that it was an asset to religion because it reached people in distant locations, and brought words of comfort directly to those in need. Further, while attending a church or synagogue services could be meaningful, there could also be distractions, such as people who insisted on whispering to each other or people who came in late. A service by radio did not have such interruptions, and could be a more peaceful and private experience. And Rabbi Levi also acknowledged that radio broke down sectarian barriers in a way previously not possible. “Few of us know any religion save our own. The radio gives us the point of view of other people” (qtd. in “Radio Aids Religion” 20).

There was one other narrative that is worthy of note: it involved radio’s ability to actually save a life. This discourse of radio as a life-saver was somewhat different from the “radio as miracle-worker” narratives, where in many cases, the reporter used hyperbole or utopian pronouncements about how radio was bringing people together or creating world peace. These “radio as life-saver” stories were actual examples of how a radio broadcast contributed to minimizing a tragedy. The best examples were reports about radio’s role in sending out breaking news. In September 1922, Atlanta’s WSB, operated by the Atlanta Journal newspaper, went on the air with news of a fire that threatened an entire city block; the story was heard by a number of area

fire departments, all of which rushed to the scene. The station's chief announcer, Lambdin Kay, better known by his persona as "the Little Colonel" (Barnouw 167), suddenly found himself serving as a newsman, sending out bulletins and providing vital information as the fire raged. One fire chief later told the print media that "[r]adio saved Atlanta from destruction" ("Radio Saves City" 8).

Here in New England, there were also examples of radio's ability to broadcast this kind of breaking news: in Providence, in March 1923, a fire broke out at the Shepard Department Store. As with the Boston store, which contained studios for WNAC, the Providence Shepard Store was the home of station WEAN, which was doing its normal evening broadcast when the fire broke out. A group of performers were in the studio, ready to go on the air, when everyone smelled smoke. The announcer informed the public that a fire had broken out, and he also tried to find out more information before the fire department arrived and told everyone they had to leave immediately ("Big Fire" 16). And in Bridgewater MA, in early 1925, a small local station, WFBN, which had studios in a downtown store, was doing its daily broadcast when the announcer noticed smoke in a nearby building. Once again, radio provided essential information, including an on-air call for assistance from local firefighters who might be listening; some were, and they arrived on the scene in time to prevent further property destruction ("Two

More Expensive Fires” 5). And it wasn’t just during fires that radio distinguished itself. On a number of occasions when storms damaged telephone and telegraph wires and made communication impossible, it was radio that sent out weather reports and kept listeners informed about the latest conditions. For example, during a severe ice storm in late 1924, the Associated Press was unable to transmit dispatches to member newspapers; despite a rivalry with radio, the AP decided emergency conditions required temporarily making use of the airwaves. Radio stations in Kansas City and St. Louis sent out news and weather bulletins to newspapers throughout the midwest (“Score Dead” 1A).

Using Radio In Daily Life

Another common topic for discussion in the formative years of broadcasting was which famous people had gotten their own radio, and where these people liked to listen. Perhaps the best example was the flurry of interest when President Warren G. Harding announced in early February 1922 that a radio had been installed in the White House. The story was treated as important news by many of the major newspapers, which pointed out that the president’s favorite place to listen in was his study, where he could put on his headphones, look out the window at the White House lawn, and listen to the news of the day (“Harding Has Radio” 2). In addition to articles about governors, senators, and other

political figures getting a receiving set, magazines like Radio World, Radio Digest, and Radio News began publishing photos of movie stars or stage entertainers, who were usually shown seated at their radio receiver, enjoying a program. This type of photograph was especially common during mid-1922 through mid 1923, a time when many publications still regarded radio as an interesting novelty. To cite several of many examples from Radio News, in the June 1922 issue, there was a photo of comedian Ed Wynn trying to listen to a device that purported to be a car radio (1090). Interestingly, Wynn's photo was located next to a photo of some college-age women (called "girls" in the caption) from Radcliffe College, who demonstrated that it was not only men and boys who loved radio-- young women too had become radio bugs. And in the October 1922 issue, there was a photo of silent movie star Wanda Hawley, smiling as she listened to her new radio (642). While undoubtedly some of these were publicity shots, created to give a celebrity some extra publicity by being seen as a fan of this newest hobby, in other cases, these entertainers really did become fans of broadcasting: as previously mentioned, opera star Mary Garden refused to stay at a hotel unless there was a radio installed in her room ("Mary Garden 1).

And in addition to photo opportunities, there were also profiles of famous people who were radio fans. Popular silent film actress Marjorie Daw was the subject of a lengthy profile in the magazine Radio In The

Home, in which she admitted that her husband, a movie director, had introduced her to radio; and it was he who showed her how to manipulate the radio dials so that the stations could be heard. But now, she had become a passionate radio fan, and eagerly showed the reporter which room in her home had the radio receiver (Littlefield 3, 26). For publicists, called “press agents” back then, radio was a winning proposition: it provided a good excuse to get their clients into the newspapers and magazines, and created a perception that certain stars were staying on top of this most important new trend. Few fans would have wondered if the movie stars really did love radio, or whether they were claiming to be big fans in order to get some publicity. That type of skepticism was seldom articulated in the 1920s and 1930s.

While many readers were fascinated by which celebrities were radio fans, another frequent topic for the print media was about how far radio signals traveled and which stations reached the longest distances; articles and fan letters were especially common during the period from late 1921, when a few new stations had made their debut, through the end of 1924, when DXing was no longer seen as remarkable; in fact, it was at this time that some fans seemed to lose interest in it (“Distance Still Lures” B6). It is probable, that the discursive shift that occurred during the period from 1924 to 1925 had its roots in the overcrowded airwaves. As I will explain, positive discussions about the exciting game

of DXing were gradually replaced by conversations about the problems listeners had with interference, wave jumping, and other annoyances. But during the period from 1922-1923, when commercial radio was still in its honeymoon phase, listeners continued to eagerly seek out distant stations, and they did not let “Old Man Static” spoil their fun. During this time, it was impossible to read a newspaper or radio magazine without finding examples of what New York Times columnist Waldemar Kaempffert would later call “space annihilation” (768), the ability of radio signals to break down geographic barriers and travel long distances in a way that seemed almost magical. Most newspapers with a radio page not only listed the local programs but also gave the programs from other cities. Fan letters praising the reception of distant stations were as common as letters praising the programs. Typical examples of this could be seen in the letters published after the Canton (OH) Daily News put a station, WWB, on the air in mid-July 1922. Among the printed comments were “Very good program and excellent results [in reception] obtained here,” “Heard you exceptionally well, and very enjoyable program,” and “I heard the musicians as plainly as if they had been standing before me...” Of the ten printed comments, nearly all were pleased with the station’s signal strength, and half were from outside of Canton, including Waco TX and Louisville KY (“What Few” 1).

It should be noted that many stations of that time invited listener comments, promising to read every one and pay attention to any suggestions the audience might have. But the requests often seemed as if the goal was to receive fan mail, rather than critiques. J.J. Fanning, one of the announcers at Shepard's Boston station, WNAC, told the Boston Globe in September 1923 that the station was committed to making the listeners happy, by giving them the kinds of programs they preferred. He then mentioned the need for applause cards and listener feedback, saying telephone calls were fine, but written responses were better, since they could be passed on to the performers. "It is hoped that listeners-in will lend their support to the cause of better programming by giving proper encouragement to the artists who strive to entertain them" (qtd. in "Better Broadcasting" 19).

Along with the letters from listeners delighted at hearing the programs on a given station, a common narrative was record-setting receptions by fans who were able to pull in a distant station. Sometimes these narratives were told from a fan's point of view, but more often, the radio station proudly told the story of how strong its signal was. A few examples included an article in the Los Angeles Times, "Hears KHJ Perfectly At Boston," which told of how a Boston-area listener, J.C. Evans, was able to receive the Los Angeles Times' radio station several times. In the same article, it also mentioned listeners from Cuba and

Québec who had heard the signals from KHJ (6). The Atlanta Constitution's station, WGM was received in St. Louis and in Calamus, Iowa ("St. Louis" 4); and the Dallas Morning News was pleased to learn that WFAA was being heard in such cities as Philadelphia and Toronto ("Radio Fans Laud" 7). And one night, Boston's Mayor James Michael Curley found, to his amazement, that a talk he had given over station WBZ had been picked up in Ireland ("Mayor Curley" 6). Several radio magazines allowed listeners to send in the list of stations they had received-- as mentioned previously, DXing (listening for distant stations) was a popular hobby during this period of time, and some fans compiled long lists. They also enjoyed bragging about their radio sets and discussing the number of stations they had received. From month to month, it was clear from their comments that friendly competition existed between some of these fans, who in their day were called "DX hounds" ("Radio Advertising Advice" A9).

Another subject in early 1920s newspapers and magazines was which businesses (hotels, shops) and institutions (schools, hospitals, apartment houses, even prisons) were installing radios. Examination of newspapers and magazines showed frequent articles about the interesting or unusual locations where radios were being used. One example was radio in an automobile: car radios would not become common till the late 1930s, but that did not stop enterprising inventors

of the early 1920s from finding creative ways to install a radio in their car; some of these contraptions were pictured in newspapers and magazines (see for example Schiffer 70). A young female journalist named Julia Elmendorff from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer was pictured with her new way of listening to radio-- a "radio garter"; designed by one of the newspaper's photographers (Walter Miller), it enabled her to sit at her desk or walk around the news room and still be able to listen to radio ("Girls, Have You" 2). During this period of time, there were also photos of women who found a way to place a small receiver in their hat or in a handbag, and articles about young men who created their own version of a portable radio to take on a camping trip ("Well Entertained 3).

And then, there was radio on a train, a new convenience being made available during long business trips. In early 1924, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce had sent an east coast delegation out to some west coast meetings, and the train they were on was equipped with a radio set, courtesy of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company (U.S. C. Of C. 8Z). There was also a story of an interesting test run on the Lackawanna Railroad, where passengers headed from Ithaca, New York to Hoboken, New Jersey were able to dance to radio music on a moving train: the railroad was trying out this new form of entertainment, and they installed a radio receiver and an amplifying horn in the buffet car. By all accounts, the experiment was well-received by

the passengers, some of whom did try to dance, upon hearing some jazz music from station KDKA in Pittsburgh (“Passengers On Train” 1).

In commercial radio’s first year, studios were often located at the factories where the receivers were manufactured. But during 1922-1923, the press observed that a number of radio stations, eager to create a more welcoming environment for performers, had begun installing studios at hotels; among them was WBZ in Springfield MA, which moved from the Westinghouse factory on Page Boulevard to a more modern and spacious location at the Hotel Kimball in early August 1923 (“Mayor Curley” 6). Some hotels used radio as a marketing strategy, claiming to be the first in a particular city to install them in many of the rooms, as the Hotel Brunswick in Boston did (“Radio Service” 10). Others mentioned this feature in their print advertisements or publicity photographs (for example, the photo display of radio-equipped Philadelphia apartment buildings and hotels, on page 6 of the October 1922 issue of Radio In The Home). And not only were radios installed in hotel rooms; at some hotels, a radio receiver and speaker were also installed in the ballroom, so that when the hotel’s orchestra was not playing, guests could still have music for dancing (Daggett, “Hotel Orders” 6). As for apartments, in some cases, it wasn’t the landlord but the tenants who got a radio installed, which often meant stringing up an antenna on the roof. A Boston Globe article from early May 1923 reported that not only were people putting up their own antennas, but

some devised their own outdoor ballroom, creating roof gardens, where couples could dance (Cullinan, "Radio Craze" A5).

But the one location that surprised many people was radio in the prisons. As mentioned earlier, in mid 1922, the Charles Street Jail in Boston had begun allowing inmates to listen to religious services, and several other prisons also installed radios for that purpose. In late July 1923 newspaper report announced that Sing Sing Prison was about to make radios available to the inmates on death row, but the next day, the warden claimed he had been misquoted, and that only the general population of his prison would be allowed to listen to certain programs ("Radio Set" 9; "Condemned Men" 2). On the other hand, some prison wardens used radio as reinforcement; if inmates obeyed the rules, they were allowed to listen. By mid-1924, a very popular discussion was about a Missouri State Prison inmate named Harry Snodgrass, the "King of the Ivories," who had won a talent contest and was allowed to perform on WOS, a radio station in Jefferson City MO. He received so much praise that he was asked to return for another performance, as fans letters and telegrams poured into the station (Vorpe, 10). The prison warden cooperated, perhaps feeling that it was better for inmates to study music than to study better way to commit crimes (Snodgrass was serving time for attempted robbery, and upon his release, radio fans donated hundreds of dollars to help him make a new start).

Along with who had a radio and where the radios were installed, another popular topic in 1922-1923 was “radio shows” (not to be confused with a term for the radio *programs*, such as the “Eddie Cantor Show”); this referred to a radio exposition, held in a hall or in a hotel, where merchants and manufacturers displayed the newest in radio equipment, radio station personnel broadcast from the exhibition site and then signed autographs, and sometimes, live talent performed. These radio shows were very successful, especially at the height of the radio craze. One such exposition in New York in March 1922 was so well attended that it had to turn people away (Binns, “Future Unfolds” 22); another in Chicago later that year was so successful that the organizers had to extend it for an extra week (Smith 428). Stories that reinforced radio’s growing popularity were reported from coast to coast, illustrating that radio was not a fad-- thousands of people were attending these shows to learn more about radio and to mingle with other fans.

Some newspapers of 1921-1922 were noticing what modern writers would call the “early adopters,” the young boys (and a few young girls) who had immediately embraced -- and were now driving -- the radio craze. These young people were obsessed with the new mass medium; they wanted to study radio, build radios, listen to radio, and talk about what was on the radio. But newspaper columnists also noticed a generation gap: the young were delighted by radio, but the radio craze

was puzzling to their parents, many of whom were not yet involved or knowledgeable about it. In addition to the previously mentioned early 1922 editorial “The Mossback Danger,” which suggested that parents learn about radio sooner rather than later, there were a number of articles noting how involved the younger generation was, and how the parents continued to be somewhat puzzled by it all. Said one father to the Los Angeles Times’ John Daggett, “I don’t know what this radio business means, but I do know that my 12-year old son, instead of idling his time...is deeply interested in his radio equipment in the garret. To me, it’s a bunch of knobs and wires, but I am beginning to understand that its influence is to have a permanent effect on my son’s development” (Daggett, “Times Club Picnic” 1).

While much of the discourse about radio focused on its positive impact on daily life, it should also be noted that some radio fans seemed to carry their interest a bit too far. Now and then, newspapers would note the “radio divorce.” A good example was a July 1922 story about Elizabeth and Fletcher Tibbs of Washington DC. Mrs. Tibbs was seeking a divorce because, as she explained, her husband was a fanatic about radio, to the point where he ignored her and their children. All he wanted to do was spend money on radio equipment and then sit for hours and listen; back then, headphones were necessary in order to listen, so Mr. Tibbs was thus completely unavailable for any conversation (“Wife

Seeking” 1). And another story from Oakland, CA later that year referenced an anonymous husband who was so obsessed with radio that he was constantly late for work, putting his ability to earn a living in jeopardy. According to the newspaper report, he also insisted that his family not make a sound when he was listening to his favorite programs. The columnist, commenting on the story, remarked that while a love of radio was understandable, a married man had a duty to “tear himself away from the radio set” to support his family and pay attention to them, rather than putting the radio first (“Radio Supplants” 18).

The Debut of Educational Radio

The earliest essays about radio in the schools focused on vocational high schools that were installing radio receivers or offering courses in radio set construction. The courses at the vocational schools were gendered, since it was believed only boys had the ability or the interest in building receivers, but the intentions of the school departments were positive: boys and young men were often very much involved in amateur radio, and they wanted to learn how to design a receiver that would pull in the most stations. Schools decided to take advantage of this interest by creating new courses that would not only let the students build radios but teach them about electricity, physics and other aspects of science. According to the print press, these courses

were very well received. In early July 1922, the New York Times reported that students at Hoboken Junior and Senior High Schools in New Jersey had made more than 350 sets, and other schools in the district had equally impressive results (“Students Make” 8).

It was not difficult to justify creating vocational courses, and reporters enjoyed writing about the successes of the “boy engineers.” But installing a radio so that students in junior high or high school could listen to certain programs during school hours was a more contentious topic. While there had been college courses offered by radio at Tufts, over station 1XE/WGI, beginning in early 1922 (“Tufts College Has” 7), junior high and high school teachers were not convinced that listening to radio during school hours was a productive use of time. Among the earliest journals to support the educational use of radio was the Educational Research Bulletin, which, as mentioned earlier, editorialized in November 1925 about how radio might be used to teach about “music appreciation, agriculture, calisthenics” and other subjects, in conjunction with a local radio station that was willing to broadcast educational programs (Ashbaugh 364). Prior to that, in April 1924, the journal’s editors acknowledged the perception among teachers that “radio [is] a means primarily for entertainment,” but noted that at least one school publication was now predicting greater use of radio in the classroom (Landsittel 197). The debate over educational uses of radio

could be seen in a number of newspaper articles, including the New York Times, which observed as early as 1923 that radio could be a major asset in combating illiteracy; courses by radio could be especially beneficial for young people who had dropped out of school or adults who could not read well. The anonymous Times columnist (probably Orrin Dunlap Jr.) suggested that radio could easily create a “little red schoolhouse” of the air (“Radio Education” E6).

This was a theme echoed by Connecticut’s Lieutenant-Governor Hiram Bingham in a speech that same year. He predicted a bright future for radio as an educational vehicle, suggesting that teachers could have students listen to concerts or speeches by famous orators (“Says Development” 5). Increasingly, teachers did begin to ask students listen to certain radio programs. Some students even had the opportunity to appear on radio, usually as part of a glee club or choir, and their classmates were invited to listen to their performance. But although some school departments, including New York City’s, formed education committees to explore the best use of radio in the schools, during the early to mid 1920s, there was no consensus about developing a policy. And in 1927, proponents of radio were still asking why “Uncle Sam slumbers on,” when countries like England, Wales, and Australia had already devised such a policy and worked with their radio stations to create educational programs for the classroom (“U.S. Lags” D9). It would

not be till the arrival of the previously mentioned “Ohio School of the Air” in 1929 and the “American School of the Air” in 1930 that more educators began to make use of educational programming; to further encourage teachers to utilize these programs, both NBC and CBS provided teachers with lesson plans, informational booklets, and other materials geared towards what each network was offering that month. By 1932, Dr. William C. Bagley Jr., host of the CBS Network’s “American School of the Air,” even wrote a helpful journal article for teachers, offering techniques for ensuring that their students would derive the most benefit when listening to educational radio programs (“How To Listen” 154).

Once both NBC and CBS established regular educational programs, the use of radio in the classroom became a frequent topic of discussion in the press. The discourses shifted away from complaints by critics who wondered why it was taking so long for a national educational strategy to be devised; they were replaced by discourses of enthusiastic praise for the programs, and appreciation for those involved with producing them. The first wave of articles in the late 1920s focused on the creation of these national educational programs. Perhaps anticipating some parental concern about young people listening to the radio during school-time, the articles stressed the nationally-known educators and experts who were supervising the program content. For

example, there were a number of articles in 1929 about the inception of the “American School of the Air.” Reporters discussed the high quality of the advisory committee, which included the U.S. Secretary of the Interior Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, and the U.S. Commissioner of Education Dr. W. John Cooper, as well as the previously mentioned Dr. Bagley, a professor of education at Columbia University’s Teacher’s College. The faculty was directed by Alice Keith, formerly of the Cleveland (OH) public schools an expert on the use of radio in the classrooms; the teachers who would deliver the radio lessons were men and women with expertise in music, art, literature, and health (“Advisers Chosen” A7). Also mentioned favorably by newspapers and magazines was a music education program on NBC, the “RCA Educational Hour,” which featured concerts by the New York Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Walter Damrosch. This program, which was broadcast at 11 AM, not only provided students with an opportunity to hear some of the finest classical music; teachers appreciated the lesson plans, which were grouped by age: some for elementary students, and others for students in junior high and high school (Saettler 200). Damrosch was nationally known, both as a conductor and as a passionate advocate for using radio to teach music, and educators were delighted to find out that he would offer a series of programs to introduce their students to the classics (“Damrosch Concert” 12).

The next wave of articles in newspapers and magazines were about how many schools were installing radios to participate in these educational programs, and what the teachers thought of them. There will still no reliable way to ascertain whether students were learning from these programs; and while some educators wondered whether the programs were as useful as a lesson by the actual teacher in the classroom (“13 Schools” R2), anecdotal evidence suggested the students looked forward to the broadcasts and were deriving some benefit from listening to them; some students even began to critique the programs and post written reviews on school bulletin boards (Tyler 211) And in late 1930, when the Office of Education surveyed students who had listened to “American School of the Air,” the students overwhelmingly reported that they preferred radio dramas (especially dramatized versions of history and literature) rather than listening to long lectures on those subjects (“Pupils Prefer” E12).

Discourses Of Radio “Firsts”

A very popular narrative of the early to mid-1920s involved assertions of primacy. These “firsts,” included the first time something related to radio broadcasting had been done, or the first time a certain newsmaker or celebrity spoke on the radio. Of course, as discussed earlier, some of these “firsts” would later be contested, as stations tried

to tell the story in a way favorable to their version of broadcasting history. In an era when it was more challenging to find out what was going on in far away locations, some stations claimed “firsts” because they were probably unaware that the same thing had already been done in another city. A good example was the assertion in late May 1922 from the San Francisco Chronicle that station KZY was broadcasting the first concert of Jewish songs ever in the United States (“Jewish Song Program” 11). The station’s personnel undoubtedly did not know what was going on in Indianapolis, where two weeks earlier, a concert of Jewish songs had been broadcast by station WOH (“WOH Radio Station” 1). Various “firsts” filled the pages of many newspapers and magazines during 1922-1923, and sporadically after that. Often, the “first” was associated with the station’s ownership or its location, such as when the Honolulu Advertiser put a radio station on the air in mid-May 1922, and stated (accurately in this case) that it was the first and only newspaper in Hawaii to sponsor a station (“Advertiser Gives” 1). Similarly, the Hartford Courant opened station WDAK in late May of that same year, and asserted that it was “the first radio broadcasting station maintained by any newspaper in the east,” a qualification necessary because the midwest (8MK/WWJ) and south (WGM) had several well-known newspaper-run radio stations (“Courant Radio” 1).

Since there was so much excitement about radio in 1922, it is not surprising that stations which went on the air that year were often the subject of conversation, and received attention from local newspapers; while many newspapers still thought of radio as competition, others embraced the new mass medium, as the Hartford Courrant and Los Angeles Times did, and when a station involved with a newspaper went on the air, the coverage was often extensive. The news that the Department of Commerce had granted permission to go on the air was often placed on page 1, as seen when KDZR in Bellingham WA received its license on 2 June 1922; the brief contents of the telegram from the government were even reprinted, along with an announcement that regular broadcasts would soon commence (“KDZR” 1). And when the station began to broadcast several weeks later, the Bellingham Herald, which operated the station, made sure KDZR’s every activity was documented, and the evening’s programs were placed on the front page. Another example of how a new station’s debut was handled could be seen in the pages of the Kansas City Star. This newspaper too decided to operate a radio station, and the page 1 news announced in early May 1922 was filled with excitement and a bit of hyperbole. The story related that The Star would soon have the most up-to-date and most powerful radio station in the United States, one capable of being heard over a distance of 2,000 miles. Further, its state of the art microphones would eliminate the hum that had been so irritating to radio listeners up until

now. Inspired by the achievements of 8MK/WWJ, the Detroit News station, which members of the new radio staff had visited, The Star promised its readers that the new station would provide as impressive a radio service as that of the Detroit News (“The Star’s New Radio” 1). Once the call letters were assigned (in this case, WDAF), the newspaper made certain its debut was thoroughly reported, giving it a prominent place above the fold on the front page. And anticipating that the arrival of this powerful radio station would make an impact, The Star announced that tours of the new station would soon be available, and suggested that WDAF might be a good destination for a school field trip. “Teachers who desire to have their classes see the radio sending station... may make such arrangements by calling the radio editor of The Star” (“WDAF Will Talk” 1).

Whether in a big city or a small town, the narratives about the first broadcast of most 1922-1923 radio stations followed a similar pattern: words like “big” and “powerful” were in the story somewhere, as were terms like “unique,” and the debut was often followed the next day by laudatory coverage and fan letters that praised the station’s outstanding program and looked forward to future broadcasts. A typical example of the type of story can be seen in the announcement in mid-March 1922 by the Portland Oregonian of its new (and powerful) station, which was “the first newspaper enterprise of its kind in Oregon and has been taken

up because of the phenomenal progress of interest in the radio phone.” As soon as the new station went on the air, it would be able to “send the human voice 500 miles” (“Radio Is Installed” 1). When the Detroit Free Press radio station, WCX, debuted in early May 1922, the newspaper headlined after its second day on the air that its programs were considered a “triumph” (“2nd Free Press Concert” 1), while the Hartford Courant, referred to its own first broadcast as a “big hit” (“Courant Radio Officially” 1).

Also typical of the “station debut” discourses were early audience estimates, usually in the thousands (millions were unthinkable, since not everyone had a radio receiver yet), along with assertions that no station in that region had been heard by so many people. To cite one example of many, when WOO in Philadelphia went on the air for its first broadcast in August 1922, the station’s owner, John Wannamaker, of the department store that bore his name, gave a talk. The Philadelphia Inquirer reported that his voice was heard by “what is believed to have been the largest audience ever addressed by a Philadelphian” (“Wannamaker Via Radio” 2). On the other hand, by 1923, as more Americans purchased a radio, some magazines began to assert that the size of the audience was in the millions, even though there was still no reliable way to measure it. One such estimate was made by Wireless Age magazine: based on the number of receiving sets that had been sold, the

editors came up with a figure of more than two million radio listeners (“How Big Is” 23).

One other fact about these early radio narratives should be mentioned: operating a radio station was expensive, and in the years before advertising was allowed, many stations failed after only a year or two because their owners couldn’t afford the expense. One estimate was that in 1922, it cost about \$1,000 a week to operate a station (“Plan Improvement” 15), and after the initial flurry of community good will from having a new station, some owners realized it required a constant outlay of cash, with no way of making it back. Among the newspaper-run stations which finally gave up on broadcasting after fewer than two years were WDAK, the Hartford Courant station, and WGM operated by the Atlanta Constitution. While their stations received frequent coverage and much publicity when they were new, it is interesting to note that when they finally ceased broadcasting, their newspapers (and most of the other newspaper-run stations as well) downplayed the event, providing only minimal coverage, if it was even mentioned at all. Sometimes, the station re-appeared under new owners and with new call letters (WCX in Detroit later became WJR, for example, and the Detroit Free Press was no longer its owner), but just as often, the old station vanished without any explanation, unless a curious reporter tried to provide some answers a few years later, as Frank F. Atwood did in 1929, when he offered a

retrospective of the Hartford Courant's year and a half adventure with broadcasting, "Courant Station WDAK Gone But Not Forgotten" (E16).

Other "firsts" reported by the press in radio's formative years involved fans doing something unusual-- such as the first "radio prodigy," an eight year old from Los Angeles named Bobbie Garcia, who was said to be the youngest licensed ham radio operator in the United States; he also helped his parents, who manufactured radio receivers (Jungmeyer 18). His story was syndicated in a number of newspapers as well as in several magazines. There was also the first (and only) woman running a radio school, Mary Texanna Loomis. As I will discuss presently, when writing about a woman doing something that was gendered masculine by the culture, reporters were quick to note that "she is thoroughly feminine" and in the case of Miss Loomis, she had not even adopted a mannish hairstyle: "she hasn't bobbed her hair" ("Mount Holyoke Girl" 6).

And it is also not surprising to note that when women did something that was a first, it seldom received the attention that men's accomplishments did. A good example is the story of Marie Zimmerman, usually referred to in the press as "Mrs. Robert Zimmerman," as was the custom back then. Mrs. Zimmerman, by all accounts, seems to have had an egalitarian marriage, and her husband Robert ("Zim"), who was an

electrician and engineer, was quite supportive of his wife's interest in radio: when she decided to put a local station on the air in Vinton, IA in the summer of 1922, he designed and then modified the equipment for her station, so that it would be heard by DXers (Von Lackum 7).

Although the station, which broadcast both from the Zimmerman home and from a truck that drove around the area, was evidently well-received locally, the Vinton newspapers barely mentioned it. It was a nationally syndicated article that told how Mrs. Zimmerman was the first woman broadcaster, and again, reflecting the framing of that time, the anonymous author was quick to point out that while Mrs. Zimmerman was enthusiastic about radio, and known as "one of the most progressive spirits of her community," she did not feel that her work in broadcasting would cause her or any woman to neglect their "home duties" ("First Woman" 14).

In addition to unique broadcasters and unique fans of radio, there were the stories about celebrities who came to the airwaves for the first time. The Detroit Free Press was happy to point out to readers that baseball star Ty Cobb and popular local poet Edgar Guest were both heard first on the Free Press station, WCX, in May 1922 ("America Given" 1; "Ty Broadcasts" 11). And economist Roger Babson spoke on radio for the first time over 1XE/WGI in late 1921 ("Babson Uses Radiophone" 35). Business executive Henry Ford spoke on radio several times in the early

1920s, but he surprised auto racing fans when he unexpectedly gave a radio talk over station WGN in June 1924; the Chicago station was broadcasting the Indianapolis 500, and Ford, who was a fan of auto racing, discussed the importance of the race, tying it to progress in the auto industry (“Big Classic” 7). And later in the decade, when opera legend Amelita Galli-Curci was persuaded to make her first broadcast, in late January 1928, a number of newspapers nation-wide reported on it (“How Radio Won” XX16).

As the radio page of the New York Times showed, listeners had a treat on 9 December 1922 when the famous expert on manners Emily Post and the respected poet Amy Lowell were both heard on WJZ in Newark (22). Lowell had already broadcast over 1XE/WGI several months earlier, on the 8th of September; that broadcast was reported as “the first radio broadcast of free verse in the country” (“Poems by Wireless” 10). There was the first senator to campaign by radio (Harry S. New of Indiana), whose competitor, former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, also decided to make a radio speech on the same night as Senator New was making his. The press framed this as a “debate” of sorts, “for the first time in the history of political campaigning,” even though both men were speaking at different times from different locations (“Senate Radio Debate” 2). Pioneering station WJZ, then located in Newark NJ, broadcast what was said to be the first radio play, when famed comedian

Ed Wynn and his troupe performed a live version of “The Perfect Fool” in February 1922; by his own admission, Wynn was reticent to go on the air, because he did not feel his comedic style was a good fit with an “invisible audience,” and although his radio performance was very well received, he did not return to radio for nearly a decade (“This Business” X10). Similarly, humorist Will Rogers admitted to the Washington Post’s radio editor that although he had made several appearances on the air during the mid-1920s, he was still very nervous every time he went on the air (Heinl, “Will Rogers” A7).

Then there were the “first programs.” In greater Boston, in the summer of 1921, 1XE/WGI claimed, with some justification, that theirs was the first station to broadcast police reports of stolen cars (“Newton Boy” C5). At this time, there were only a handful of stations on the air, and I have yet to locate any articles about police reports from those other stations. There would be several stations in 1922 that broadcast such reports, but in 1921, 1XE’s claim seems valid. On the other hand, some “firsts” were more difficult to verify: the Los Angeles Times said in mid-April 1922 that their station, KHJ, was broadcasting an Easter Sunday church service “for the first time in the history of the southwest” (“The Times To Pioneer” 1). Given all the stations on the air in that part of the country by mid 1922, there is reason to believe one of them may have broadcast an Easter service too. One “first” that seems more probable

for the Times was the first radio traffic reports and road conditions, broadcast through the courtesy of the Automobile Club of Southern California beginning in late 1922; while I have found stories about police reports (in addition to the previously mentioned stolen car bulletins from 1XE/WGI in 1921, a Detroit station, with the clever call letters of KOP, was the voice of the Detroit Police Department in 1922), I have not seen other mentions of road conditions by radio anywhere other than on KHJ. Of course, the Times, as was their habit, wrote that this feature was being offered “for the first time in the history of motoring” (“Automobile News” 1, 4). But in fairness, it seemed to be customary in the early 1920s for stations to claim their broadcast of a particular event or a famous speaker had never been done anywhere else. The New York Times stated in early October 1922 that “[r]adio for the first time carried the opening game of the world series, play by play, direct from the Polo Grounds,” and by doing so, it turned the entire east coast into a “vast grandstand” (“Radio Makes” 29). It should be mentioned, however, that other sources, notably the December 1922 issue of Popular Radio, disputed the Times account, asserting that there had already been play by play from the Polo Grounds a year earlier, carried by several stations (Kaempffert, “Who Will Pay” 236).

Whether or not the claims of primacy could be verified, most radio fans seemed to accept the hyperbole. This was a time of gratitude, when

fan letters and applause cards poured into stations. In fact, in addition to the list of real and exaggerated “firsts,” a related subject of discussion, especially for the newspapers that owned or operated radio stations, was the number of letters that praised the particular station’s signal strength as well as the programs it broadcast. As with referring to radio broadcasting as a “marvel” or a “wonder” or a “miracle,” the fan letters were sprinkled with words like “excellent” and “amazing” and “splendid.” While it may be true that some people wrote to complain now and then (often about static interference which blocked a given program), the newspapers of this time tended to focus on the letters that offered appreciation. Typical were these several examples, from listeners to KSD in St. Louis in August 1922. One Wisconsin listener wrote “We appreciate the broadcasting service of your paper, and have listed your station as one that we can depend upon to furnish a program of real merit.” And an Iowa fan wrote, “I thank you for your splendid programs during the week. I wish KSD a lasting success. It seems to be the most efficient broadcasting station of the many I hear” (“Radio KSD Makes” A12).

Another frequent topic of articles and editorials in the mainstream press during the early 1920s was radio’s impact on the lives of rural listeners. One additional miracle attributed to broadcasting was its ability to offer companionship and vicarious friendship to people who felt

isolated, or who lived far from a center of population. It should be pointed out that some modern scholars, notably Patnode (2003) and Craig (2006) have questioned the dominant narrative that radio was transformative for farmers and farm wives. Neither scholar was skeptical about the existence of people in rural areas who enjoyed radio (after all, a number of positive letters from rural listeners were printed in the newspapers, attesting to the fact that some audience members did in fact feel radio's arrival was beneficial); but Patnode and Craig questioned the framing that the mainstream press used when discussing the rural audience, and especially farmers. The most common discourse about farm life depicted these listeners as unfortunate, since they were "lonely, desperate, and victims of geography" (Patnode 288). Patnode surveyed articles in both the popular press and farm journals, and found few if any oppositional discourses to the depiction of life on the farm as tedious and lonely, with the concomitant discourse that radio had come to the rescue. Typical of this is a 1922 article in the Atlanta Constitution, "Radio Brightens Farm Wife's Life," which asserted that the "problems" of life on the farm were especially acute for women, and could lead to "mental diseases" that could be "traced directly to the isolation and monotony" of the life farm wives were forced to endure (5). This was a theme reiterated by other newspapers in radio's early years, and applied to all residents of the farm, as can be seen in "Radiophone Is Farmer's Link To Busy World," which presented radio as an essential modern

invention that could help the farmer to be as up-to-date as his “city brother,” by providing equal access to news, entertainment, sermons, and market quotations (13).

But it wasn't just rural listeners who joined radio's imagined community. In mid-March 1922, an editorial in the Baltimore Sun observed that radio was creating a spirit of neighborliness in people all over the eastern United States; they listened to the same programs and then talked about them with each other (“Radio Phone Creates” 7). Some stations almost immediately created listener fan clubs: as mentioned earlier, the Oakland Tribune's radio station (KLX) created one, and by late March 1922, it had morphed from a community of listeners into a club that actually held meetings at a local theater, the result of popular demand (“Members of Radio Club” 11). On the other hand, some clubs remained as imagined communities: Detroit's WCX radio established a club for women listeners in mid 1922, and members at 10.35 AM daily, and communicate with the Detroit Free Press (which operated WCX) and the women's page editor would consider listener suggestions about future guests or topics to be discussed on the air. The guest experts would also answer questions the listeners sent in (“WCX Women's Club” D7). That same year, WCX also began a club for late night listeners-- the Red Apple Club. Its “meetings” occurred on Tuesdays at 11 pm, a time that was considered unusual for a broadcast, but one which was extremely well-received. The club had membership cards for listeners

who “joined,” and its popularity illustrated what Walter Ong meant when he observed that radio, an exemplar of “secondary orality,” was a medium which “...foster[ed]... a communal sense” (Ong, qtd. in Larson 90). Years after the club had disbanded, its former fans requested, and got, the station (which was now known as WJR) to hold a Red Apple Club reunion, which included some of the musicians and performers heard in 1922 (“Red Apple Club” 12).

Making Broadcasting Profitable

While I will consider the unfavorable or critical discourses about radio in chapter seven, it is worth mentioning here that one of the most common topics for discussion in radio’s formative years involved consumerism, whether the buying of the best radio set (or other radio equipment), or later, the purchase of various products mentioned on the air. As Randall Patnode (2003) pointed out:

“The popular press preached the gospel of consumerism through the news it chose to report and through the advertisements that made the news possible in the first place. In touting a growing array of consumer products, the press asked its readers to imagine what might be better than the old-fashioned possessions in their homes. As one of the

preeminent agents of modernity, the press prepared the way for the new by pointing out the shortcomings of the old” (289).

Consumerism was nearly always portrayed positively by radio stations, which framed it as a sign of America’s progress; this was especially seen in the advertisements for new radio sets, which were positioned on the radio page of newspapers and magazines. Beginning in December 1922, these ads were using the phrases “Make This A Radio Christmas” or “Make It A Radio Christmas” as they highlighted their new sets and the new features these receivers possessed (“Inexpensive Radio Sets” 16; “Radio Christmas Arrangement” 59). Even newspaper columnists began suggesting that a radio made an excellent Christmas gift (“Radio: Christmas Giving” X10). As the radio craze took hold, the idea of the “Radio Christmas” became a common theme, and could be seen annually in newspapers and magazines throughout the early to mid-1920s, as radio receivers became more technologically sophisticated and more attractive. A year end report by political commentator Frederic William Wile noted that by the end of 1923, so many orders for radios had been placed that manufacturers like the Radio Corporation of America could not keep up with them (Wile, “Big Radio Growth” 6).

But the growth of the radio industry was not just another interesting business story-- it was a story with financial benefit to the

newspapers and magazines. In broadcasting's formative years, some of the radio editors had an engineering background, and they designed a radio receiver which they then recommended to readers. Lloyd Greene of the Boston Globe is a good example of this; his columns in the spring and summer of 1923 featured diagrams and schematics for his "Greene Concert Receiver," as well as suggestions for which parts were needed by those who wanted to build one ("Globe Diagrams Used" 2). And as for those reporters who were not engineers, they could, and did, recommend certain radio sets, and suggest which parts should be purchased in order to get the best reception (see for example "Chapman, "Buy Your Set" 8). With a growing number of advertisements for radios and radio equipment in the daily newspapers, the New York Times noted in December 1924 that an ever-increasing number of people were buying radio receivers or radio equipment to give as gifts ("Sale Of Radio" X16).

There was another important issue related to consumerism: how owners could derive income from their stations. In the early days, radio stations were mainly seen as a way to make a positive impression in the community, especially if the owner also had a particular product or operated a local business, like John Shepard 3rd of the Shepard Department Stores; the theory was that people who appreciated the programs on WNAC would also appreciate the Shepard Stores (and possibly shop there). And as newspaper reporters like Lewis "Whit"

Whitcomb were quick to notice, there was an enthusiastic response from the listeners, who not only called the station or sent applause cards but visited the Shepard Store to buy radio equipment (Whitcomb A3). Radio thus provided a surprisingly effective way for owners to introduce their company to thousands of potential new customers. In June 1922, Lee A. White of the Detroit News, explained during a newspaper conference that he was still uncertain whether operating 8MK (Now WWJ) had helped newspaper circulation, but he recommended to newspaper executives from other cities that they too open a radio station, since he was convinced that “it creates much good will for the newspaper operating it” (qtd. in “Circulation Men” 22).

But as radio broadcasting became more expensive to do in a professional manner, questions began to be raised about whether programs should be sponsored. In the early 1920s, “direct advertising” (thirty second or one minute commercials) was frowned upon (“Radio Congress” 20), but radio stations found ways to get around the ban. One way was to use barter to obtain the latest phonograph records, in exchange for mentions of the stores which provided them. For example, on Friday, 19 October 1923, station KJR in Seattle was featuring “a one hour phonograph concert which includes the following numbers from the Remick Song and Gift Shop” (“Today’s Radio Program” 23). Some stations used the slogan of the company that owned them as a way to promote

both the station and the owners' business, or requested call letters that contained the slogan. Chicago station WLS was owned by Sears-Roebuck Department Store, whose slogan was "**World's Largest Store**"; WLS was frequently called the "Sears-Roebuck Station" by the Chicago press (see for example "Radio Fans: Cut This Out" 2). And the previously mentioned WNAC in Boston, which went on the air in late July 1922, was only called the "Shepard Station" or the "Shepard Stores Station" by the local press for much of its first year. That name continued to be used interchangeably with "WNAC" by both the press and the public (see for example "Radio Concert" 17). Like other stations owned by department stores, WNAC had studios located inside the store, so that when fans came to watch a live broadcast on the fourth floor, they would have to walk through a number of departments to get to the studio, and many browsed the merchandise in the process. And in addition to using barter, call letter slogans, and stations in department stores, there is evidence that actual sponsor mentions were being heard on a number of stations throughout the spring and summer of 1922, much to the dismay of several radio columnists, who, as I will discuss in chapter seven, felt this not a good idea ("Radio Advertising" 14).

It should be noted that not all columnists were opposed to sponsorship. During the period prior to the arrival of the networks, radio editors at newspapers and magazines were agonizing over how to

pay for the big-name stars, some of whom had willingly broadcast once or twice when radio was an interesting novelty that provided a good opportunity for publicity. By 1924, a frequent topic of discussion was how to bring these famous stars back-- few celebrities wanted to perform for free now that radio had become an established and popular medium. Columns about who should pay for broadcasting were seldom framed in a negative way; rather, columnists expressed admiration for the owners who had continued to provide so many good programs to the public. But these columnists were also aware that the situation was becoming untenable. Raymond Francis Yates, writing in The Outlook in 1924, noted that while listeners remained pleased by the varied kinds of programs they could hear, it was becoming more and more expensive to operate a station, and without commercial advertising or some way of paying for the talent, stations would have to cease broadcasting. Yates explained that some companies had previously been able to offset their expenses by the sales of receiving sets, but of course, not every radio station was owned by a manufacturer of receivers. While noting that there were other reasons why performers did not broadcast (including exclusive contracts with theaters or symphonies that only permitted them to perform at a concert hall), he believed that the current policy that forbade "direct advertising" was driving the best performers from the air, since it was natural that the top names would want to be compensated for their performances ("What Will Happen" 205).

Among other suggestions offered by radio columnists were subsidies from the government, since broadcasting was considered a public service; or perhaps subscription fees from those who owned receivers, a system used by England and Canada (“Broadcasting On A Business Basis” 22). But these suggestions met with immediately disapproval from the public, the owners, and the manufacturers (“Tax On Radio” XX18). One radio trade group even tried to turn the problem into a contest: the American Radio Association offered a \$500 prize (a lot of money in 1924) to the best suggestion from the public about how broadcasting might be paid for (“American Radio Offers” 6).

But whatever the final decision, Jennie Irene Mix of Radio Broadcast, also writing in 1924, joined the group of critics who agreed that something needed to be done soon. Mix was not convinced that commercial advertising was the answer, however. Because she believed that artists received so much favorable publicity from being heard on the air, she thought that the symphonies or artists’ managers might devise a plan for paying the performers when it came time for them to broadcast. But whatever the solution, she stated that the time had come for the major radio stations to agree upon a way to attract the top name concert performers. Mix had a long history in classical music, both as a reporter and a critic, prior to becoming a radio editor, so her concern was mainly

focused on how radio could further the appreciation of classical music. She wanted the stations to find a way to compensate the performers so that the listeners would not have to settle for mediocre talent and would be able to hear the best (“How Shall We” 11-14).

News Coverage By Radio

While there were numerous other subjects that were addressed by the print media in the early to mid-1920s, the ability of radio to broadcast important news events as they were happening became one of the most frequent topics of discussion. Increasingly, many of these key events were political in nature: as mentioned earlier in this chapter, Senator New of Indiana had spoken on radio in 1922, but he was not the first politician to use the new mass medium to campaign: as early as 1921, one of the first elected women members of the House of Representatives, Alice Robertson of Oklahoma, gave a radio talk on Pittsburgh’s KDKA (Power, “Broadcast Anniversary” A5). President Harding, who was a fan of radio from its inception, gave a few speeches that were broadcast, undoubtedly the first time for many that they heard a president’s voice. When he died suddenly in August 1923, the news was quickly transmitted on stations across the United States; even the president’s own brother first got the news of his death from a radio broadcast (“Brother Gets Word” 10). Americans were deeply affected by

the loss of President Harding, and this was especially true for radio listeners, since they were familiar with him as a speaker by that time.

Interestingly, some of the first discussions about the president and radio were related to *when* he might finally give his next radio talk; President Harding had been heard as part of ceremonies on Armistice Day in November 1921 (“Amplifiers to Peal” 6), but there was a far smaller audience for the event, since there were just a few commercial stations on the air at that time; also limiting the audience was the fact that the radio craze had not yet taken hold, so a smaller number of people owned radio sets. But by the spring of 1922, more stations were broadcasting, and there was considerable demand for him to give additional talks, according to a report in the Baltimore Sun. However, the president did not know which requests to honor, so he decided to wait (“Harding Bars” 2). In late June 1922, he was back on the air, speaking at the unveiling of a monument to Francis Scott Key, author of the ‘Star Spangled Banner’ (“Amplifiers To Peal” 6). He was also heard on a few other occasions after that, making him America’s first “radio president.”

It is therefore not surprising that when President Harding’s death was announced, many radio stations decided to stay silent the day after he died, and some remained off the air the day of his funeral; those that broadcast agreed to play only somber music or hymns the president had

liked (“Condolences Swamp” 8; “City Pays” 3). There were also local services and tributes to the late president, such as one held in Springfield MA and broadcast by WBZ (“Memorial Service” 17). And in December 1923, when a national memorial service and commemoration of the late president’s life was held, it too was broadcast. Department of Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover sent telegrams that were published by the major newspapers, requesting that any station not carrying the memorial remain silent. As the Hartford Courant explained, this was not just a matter of showing respect for the late president. At a time when the airwaves were becoming crowded with new stations, some listeners were concerned about missing programs they wanted to hear. Thus, “[w]ith all interference done away with, it will be possible for almost all radio enthusiasts to ‘listen in’ on [President Coolidge’s] address without interruption” (“Silence On Radio” 10). The extensive radio coverage was one of the first examples of how the electronic media, (in this case, radio), helped the nation to grieve and then to heal. It also showed the general public some spontaneous (and unexpected) displays of emotion by some of the newsmakers, most notably when Brigadier General Charles Dawes, who had been the late president’s budget director, lost his composure and began to sob in the midst of the eulogy he was delivering (“Dawes Breaks Down” 4). As radio became more scripted (Power, “Announcing” A11), such moments would become increasingly rare.

In the early 1920s, the public was excited just to hear the voice of the president, but by 1924-1925, some radio reporters now wondered if there would soon be a need for more analysis. At this point, announcers mainly introduced the candidates and described where they were speaking. But with only a couple of exceptions (H.V. Kaltenborn broadcasting from New York, and Frederic William Wile broadcasting from Washington DC), there were hardly any political commentators who could explain or comment on what the candidates were saying, nor were there any exchanges of ideas about what the parties stood for. And as mentioned earlier, fact-checking was not well-established, leaving the listeners to sort out the various claims. The analysis was still being provided by newspapers and magazines, but some of the reporters who covered radio wondered if soon this medium too would be giving opinion along with the facts (Barnard 93). One of the commentators, H.V. Kaltenborn expressed his own concern about whether the audience was ready for commentators: while he was pleased to be both a print journalist and a radio commentator, he also noted that some listeners were very quick to call or write and criticize him the moment he said something with which they disagreed. And yet, Kaltenborn found it rewarding to be one of the first commentators, and he said most of his mail was positive. He also acknowledged that thanks to radio, he had become more well-known in a shorter period of time than in his years as a newspaper editor and columnist ("On Being" 583-585).

A related discussion about what the future held for radio news was found mainly in magazines: radio critics and columnists wondered whether the newspapers would agree to work with radio or whether the relationship would remain contentious. As radio expanded, this was becoming a more urgent question, since few stations in the 1920s had the experienced and large newsgathering staff that the average newspaper did. By the late 1920s, some radio stations were developing their own news reporting, but many others still called upon newspaper reporters to provide news headlines. However, the networks were well equipped to cover a major event, whether a World Series or a presidential inauguration or the big parade held in July 1927 in honor of Commander Richard Byrd, the North Pole explorer who had just attempted a non-stop flight to Paris. His plane was unable to successfully complete the flight--in fact, it crash-landed in the water near Normandy and he and his crew needed to be rescued; but his bravery and sense of adventure earned him much acclaim in France as well as in America. When he returned home, he received a hero's welcome: the festivities were carried live by sixteen NBC-affiliated stations, with Graham McNamee and Milton Cross doing the announcing ("Radio Aids Millions" 4).

But most local stations still lacked a team of news reporters who could provide day-to-day coverage, and the expense of long distance

telephone lines for remote broadcasts was daunting, far more than the average local station could afford. As mentioned previously, while the newspapers had the resources to offer in-depth coverage, many still regarded radio as competition, and were unwilling to help. Of course, there were a few newspapers like the Detroit News and the Los Angeles Times that had embraced radio since the early 1920s, but many more were still reticent to do so (Bent 33-34). Would the rest of the decade bring more cooperation or more dissension between the two media? At this point, few stations could offer daily newscasts without assistance from print journalists, and it was uncertain how much local coverage radio would be able to provide. H.V. Kaltenborn, in a 1927 address to newspaper publishers, tried once again to explain that radio was not really a threat to the newspapers, and that attempting to monopolize news coverage was not a wise strategy. He noted that about forty newspapers were still involved with broadcasting news bulletins or newscasts, but he also observed that some news organizations refused to see the benefit in broadcasting, and forbade their newspapers from helping their local radio stations. And amusingly, some newspapers showed their dismay at the advertisers who supported radio by refusing to mention them by name, even when their name was part of the program's name. As discussed in chapter three, when Daniel Starch was doing his research in 1928, he asked about the programs by the sponsor's name, since he believed this was how most listeners could

identify the particular show (Craig, "Daniel Starch" 189). Thus, said Kaltenborn, while continuing to cover radio or give the daily program listings, newspapers lodged their protest by not printing the names of the sponsored entertainers-- if a group was called the "Soothing Syrup Duo," some newspapers were changing the listing to "Smith and Brown" or whatever their real names were (qtd. in "Radio And Newspapers" B9). But as Harold Innis could have explained, monopolies of knowledge, which occurred when a powerful group in a society, in this case newspaper owners, tried to prevent innovation and resisted the weakening of their control over the flow of information (L.M. Dudley 757; Heyer, qtd. in Lum 154-155), were rarely successful in the long run. Newspapers would have to come to terms with radio sooner or later.

Radio Becomes A Profession

In one of his earlier definitions of media ecology, Neil Postman explained that it was "the study of the effects of communications technology on culture... how media affect people's cognitive habits, their social relations, their political biases, and their personal values" ("The Day" 382). By 1924-1925, radio had demonstrated a dramatic impact on American society. This newest mass medium had transformed Americans of all ages, races, and social strata into a nation of listeners; what had begun as a hobby was now perceived as a necessity. Marshall

McLuhan would write in 1964 about media being the “extensions of man,” but this observation was already being made about radio in 1925, in an editorial in the (Boston) Jewish Advocate. Remarking upon how, since radio came along, paying attention to sounds had become so much more important, the editorialist (probably Alexander Brin) wrote, “...through the help of the radio...our sense of hearing is extended immeasurably into space, and the effect is the same as if our very selves had been infinitely extended” (“As To The Radio” 4). Unfortunately, the editorial continued on to say that despite this amazing invention, society did not yet appear to have become more knowledgeable or more moral, comments which certainly are related to Postman’s queries about “To what extent [does a medium] enhance or diminish our moral sense, our capacity for goodness?” (Postman, qtd. in Lum 65-67).

By 1924-1925, radio had definitely enhanced the listeners’ desire for entertainment. Audiences were enjoying some of the best-known performers (including famous orchestras, gospel choirs, comedians, jazz bands, orators, actors, and opera stars); they heard both Democratic and Republican politicians, and advocates for a wide range of social causes; they heard the issues of the day discussed (and occasionally debated); and they were given the latest weather, news bulletins, and stock market quotes. There were clergy for nearly every denomination of Christianity, as well as rabbis, priests, and an occasional member of a religion

considered unusual back then, such as Buddhists or Muslims (called “Mohammedans” back then); some stations featured an evening where a tribute to a particular country and its culture was broadcast. To cite several examples, in early 1923, WJZ in New York broadcast a “Japan Evening,” during which listeners heard “Japanese music on Japanese instruments,” as well as readings of poetry by Japanese authors and an address by Sessue Hayakawa, identified as a “Japanese actor and motion picture star” (“A ‘Japan Evening’ ” 1). And in Tampa (FL), also in early 1923, a “Spanish Night” was broadcast by WDAE, the radio station of the Tampa Times, featuring a number of Cuban-American and other Spanish-speaking performers. The program included songs (both folk songs and operatic selections), dramatic dialogues and comedy routines; WDAE received numerous messages of gratitude from Spanish-speaking listeners (“Spanish Night” 46). There were a number of similar programs honoring French, Greek, and Italian culture during 1923-1925: in an era when overseas travel was only for the very wealthy, such programs were considered both entertaining and educational.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, listeners could now hear numerous experts giving advice on such topics as how to be physically fit and follow the right exercise regimen (“KHJ Keeps” A3), how to gain confidence as a public speaker, or how to live on a budget. Health talks were especially well-received, as the doctors on these programs often

answered questions from listeners (“Noted Doctors” A5). Among the medical professionals giving these talks were New York State Health Commissioner Dr. Hermann Biggs on station WGY in Schenectady and Dr. Harold E. Miner, a member of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health, on WBZ in Springfield; both men were very well-known and it is unlikely that prior to radio, the average person had been able to benefit from their knowledge. On their radio programs, Dr. Biggs and Dr. Miner discussed subjects like prevention of diseases like tuberculosis or diphtheria, how to select healthy foods, and how to avoid accidents in the home. Unfortunately, as mentioned in chapter one, there were also fake doctors and pseudo-scientists, men and women who had learned how to sound authoritative on radio, despite having little actual expertise. Listeners not well-versed in principles of skepticism were left to fend for themselves, and perhaps suffer the consequences of unproven quack treatments such as “Doctor” John R. Brinkley’s goat-gland cure for impotence. Until the newly-created Federal Radio Commission finally shut him down in the early 1930s (an unsuccessful attempt, as it turned out), radio surveys showed that Brinkley was extremely popular with the radio audience (Hilmes, Only Connect 12-13).

By the mid 1920s, a growing number of listeners had developed a definite preference for certain announcers. One of radio’s first star announcers was Graham McNamee, of New York station WEAJ; he began

announcing sports in 1923, and then announced political conventions and some musical programs. The arrival of the National Broadcasting Company raised his profile greatly. As Agnes Smith explained in a Life magazine article:

“...Mr. McNamee is the star of [NBC]...No aviator has really arrived until he has been introduced to the public by Mr. McNamee. No football game is really important unless Mr. McNamee tells you about the scenery, the weather, and (now and then) the plays” (“This Is” 15).

This column did veer into sarcasm, as Smith remarked on McNamee’s tendency to over-emote, and his habit of sometimes talking too much. But she could not deny that McNamee had become a household name, as well known as some of the events he covered. This was evident in the number of newspaper and magazine articles written about him, and the fact that he was given his own syndicated column, “Graham McNamee Speaking,” in the late 1920s (for example, McNamee “Women and Radio Orchestras” E10).

Another beloved announcer of the mid-1920s was George D. Hay, first of WLS in Chicago, and then with WSM in Nashville; he had a persona called the “Solemn Old Judge,” a folksy story-teller who was a lover of country & western music. Hay was the founder of a popular

radio program, the “National Barn Dance.” When several radio magazines began doing popularity polls in 1924, he was one of the first winners (Husing 25). And one other announcer who developed a large number of listeners was Leo Fitzpatrick of WDAF in Kansas City (who later moved to WJR in Detroit). Fitzpatrick too used a radio persona, the “Merry Old Chief.” And during his years in Kansas City, he hosted a late night program, with a radio fan club (complete with membership card) known as the Kansas City Nighthawks (Parr 43-44). Also at this time, impresario Samuel L. Rothafel, better known as Roxy, was becoming a popular radio master of ceremonies with his live broadcasts from the Capitol Theatre in New York. And while the NBC announcers like Graham McNamee had the highest profiles, other announcers were also gaining fame during the mid-1920s. In fact, a speaker at a conference of the Radio Manufacturers Association remarked that radio announcers were now more popular than film stars, especially to female listeners (“Radio Announcers” 1). It was now very common for women who liked an announcer’s voice to write and ask for an autographed photo (“Romance Enters” C8). Actually, fans of both genders were eager to learn more about the men (and a small number of women) whose voices they had come to enjoy, and profiles and photos of announcers became a staple in newspapers and magazines of that era (for example “Voices You Hear” 22).

By late 1924, the debut of a new station was no longer as much of a novelty, and narratives about the “first person to do X on the radio” were also in decline-- although newspapers still wrote about the debut of new stations, especially if the station was locally owned (“Radio Station Is Now In Operation” 10); many newspapers also focused on residents who were about to broadcast on a big station. This was a popular narrative for small-town newspapers, the story of how a local performer was now making good in the big city. To cite one of many examples, the Centralia (IL) Evening Sentinel followed both current and former residents who were performers. One piece was about Myrtle (Mrs. Stanley) Decker, who was chosen to perform piano selections over Chicago radio station WBCN; Centralians who knew her from when she lived in the area were invited to listen in (“Mrs. Stanley Decker” 5).

The topic of local people making good in broadcasting would continue to be popular in radio magazines and in newspapers, since many people now had dreams of performing on the air. Frequently, there were articles about a young man or woman who got a chance to be on the radio and went on to become a star. These stories followed a predictable pattern, stressing the humble beginnings of the person, and telling how being on the radio had changed his or her life. In Boston, one example was Max Zides, who worked as a clerk in the advertising department of the Boston Globe by day, and by night, sang and played

his ukulele on several stations. Max soon became part of the popular singing duo “Hum and Strum,” and went on to national fame in the 1930s and 1940s. But in 1925, he was a young man on the way up, having won acclaim from Boston listeners, a number of whom wrote letters to WBZ and WEEI asking for Max to return soon; and others, who knew his family, contacted his mother to tell her how much they enjoyed her son’s music (“Popular South End Boy” A27).

As radio became an important part of daily life, it is not surprising that the content in newspapers and magazines shifted away from the “firsts” and the novelties-- readers were no longer as fascinated by radio garters or which hotel had installed radios in the rooms. By 1924-1925, most stations had regular schedules, with certain recurring programs and personnel who were now familiar to the listeners. The print media thus shifted towards profiles of the people who worked at the best-known stations, as well as stories about the stations themselves: for example, in late 1924, Radio Broadcast began a monthly series of profiles of the major cities: their stations, entertainers and announcers. Among them was a look at Kansas City’s two big stations, WHB and WDAF (Smith 88-90). In 1925, other radio magazines published similar pieces: Radio Age took a look at the Los Angeles radio scene and discussed the programs on stations like KNX and KFWB (F.L. Power 28); the same issue also published an essay which presented the recollections of one of the

south's few woman announcer, Gwen Wagner (Wagner 30-31). It is also not surprising that it was the magazines that provided a national focus at this time, while the newspapers generally remained focused on local stations and performers. As I will discuss later in this chapter, this would change somewhat after the networks came along and listeners could hear the biggest names in entertainment every night.

In addition to a large number of articles about the performers and the announcers, there were now more articles about how to get a job in radio. While some listeners asked the radio editor how to get an audition to be a performer, many other fans wondered what the process was for getting hired as announcers. For listeners who lacked the ability to sing or play an instrument, announcing seemed like a dream job-- meeting celebrities, working with musicians, and telling the listeners what was on the program that evening. Some of the newspapers offered helpful advice about how to learn from the best announcers, and how to become a more confident public speaker, whether planning to be on the radio or not (Holland 4). Few universities had courses in radio speaking yet; in early 1925, New York University became one of them, announcing that the school's Public Speaking Department had just formed a committee to research what qualities made an ideal radio announcer, and to consider how the art of radio announcing could be taught ("Study Of Voice" X14). By the end of the decade, the National Association of Teachers of Speech

had begun to address the influence of radio, making it a topic of discussion at their annual conference (O'Brien XX11). And a few more courses on speech communication, including radio speaking, were introduced in high schools and at colleges, including Columbia University and Ohio State University. However, while the fact that these courses were being taught showed the importance of radio in the lives of students, it should be noted that in the late 1920s, the goal of such courses was not to prepare students for jobs in broadcasting. Rather, the emphasis was to encourage critical listening, and to correct the errors that professors of speech heard on the air, so that students would not emulate these bad habits. In fact, speech courses were presented as the antidote to what the students were hearing from the popular culture. "Broadcasters in general, announcers in particular owe a duty to the public, and this duty of correct pronunciation should not be swept aside with a mere gesture" (Axley 78). More will be said in chapter seven about similar complaints by professors and radio critics.

It was during the mid-1920s when newspaper columnists began giving their opinion about announcers they felt were especially talented, and, as we saw with Agnes Smith's critique, giving opinions about announcers in need of improvement. But in either case, radio editors recognized that there were now some standards. As an un-named columnist, probably Orrin Dunlap, remarked in the New York Times,

“Radio announcing is getting to be a profession requiring specialists” (“Qualifications Necessary” X17). In other words, radio had moved beyond the days when almost anyone willing to volunteer was given a chance to announce. Now, listeners had an expectation that the person they heard would sound proficient, with a clear voice, good enunciation, and the ability to be knowledgeable yet conversational. It was also assumed that the ideal announcer would be male, married (hence a stable individual according to the mores of that era), able to play an instrument (since radio was still live, when a guest was late, the announcer might have to perform), and knowledgeable about many kinds of music so that he would pronounce the artists’ names correctly (“What College Graduates” X14). By 1925-1926, there were increasing numbers of articles about the duties of the announcer, all of which stressed that it was a much more difficult job than it seemed. Some announcers not only told the audience what songs were about to be performed, but in an era when almost all radio was done live, announcers had to deal with shy or temperamental performers, guests who arrived late, and guests who didn’t arrive at all. The announcer was also supposed to be able to ad-lib in the event that something went wrong, whether with the equipment or with a performer suddenly developing a case of mike fright (“Demands On Announcer” A9; Dineen, “Boston Radio” E1). And most challenging of all, as radio began to follow a strict schedule, the announcer was often the time-keeper, signaling a guest when he or she had gone on too long,

or when there were problems with the connection. This was especially nerve-wracking if the guest was famous: one un-named announcer on Washington DC's WCAP had to inform Secretary Hoover that he needed to start his talk for a second (and then a third) time due to problems with a microphone. And in another case, the guest, President Coolidge, showed up early, and the announcer quickly discarded his lengthy introductory remarks to let the president speak, rather than making him wait ("Announcers Do Not" 11).

As radio grew in influence, so did the importance of certain announcers, especially those heard on the new national radio networks, beginning in late 1926. By the end of the decade, it was noted that some of these celebrity voices were making very lucrative salaries: when former print journalist and war correspondent Floyd Gibbons became a radio commentator in 1929, his employer (General Electric's WGY in Schenectady) paid him the then-astounding sum of \$500 a week to get him to broadcast. And he was not the only one doing well as an announcer. National Broadcasting Company stalwart Graham McNamee was now making as much as \$2000 a week; this figure was reached because he was paid extra for broadcasting certain special events. His colleague, Phillips Carlin, was said to make about \$1000 a week ("Floyd Gibbons" 6C). And while few local announcers made such astronomical sums, the reports about how well-paid the network announcers were

showed how much progress radio had made. It was a far cry from the early 1920s, when most announcers volunteered their time, just for the excitement of being involved in the newest mass medium. (Of course, as noted previously, now that there were standards for announcers and some had become famous, radio critics like Agnes Smith began to evaluate them. More will be said on this in chapter seven.)

Throughout the mid-to-late 1920s, and especially with the inception of national broadcasting, a frequent topic in nearly every newspaper was the debut of a new network program, whether a musical variety show, a comedy, or a drama. To cite one example, when “The Rise of the Goldbergs” starring comedienne Gertrude Berg, went on the air in late 1929, it was unique because it was the first network program whose plot followed a Jewish immigrant family. In an era when anti-Semitism was often part of the popular culture, there were questions as to whether such a program, even a comedy-drama, would be accepted by the mass audience, most of whom were not Jewish (“Rise Of” X14). As it turned out, “The Rise of the Goldbergs” had universal themes and a likeable cast, and it quickly became a huge hit, receiving thousands of fan letters a month and lots of attention from the press (“The Goldbergs” XX16).

Audiences were fascinated by the performers they heard on the networks, and nearly every radio editor began providing regular biographical sketches of the biggest and most popular stars, Gertrude Berg among them. Many of these sketches undoubtedly came from the star's publicist, but to the readers, these were important pieces of information: for example, in the early 1930s, the Boston Daily Record's radio editor Steve Fitzgibbon, offered regular profiles of network entertainers, such as bandleader Harry Horlick, leader of the "A&P Gypsies," who, the fans were told, was born in Russia and was a child prodigy at playing the violin (Fitzgibbon, "Harry Horlick" 23). And local stars were not neglected. Included in his profiles was the story of an inspiring WEEI announcer, Edward Gisburne, a Medal of Honor winner during the world war. He lost a leg during the fighting, came home and ultimately reinvented himself as a successful radio producer and air personality (Fitzgibbon "Edward Gisburne" 13).

Radio's Effect On Political Discourse

One program that attracted some favorable attention from the critics was "The March of Time," a unique way to broadcast current events, produced by Time magazine. It debuted on network radio in early March 1931 and provided the audience with dramatized versions of the week's big news stories. In the era before satellites, when

broadcasting from overseas was challenging, “The March of Time” was able to create the impression that reporters were present all over the world, reporting on news as it happened. Time may not have had a radio page till 1938, but the fact that the magazine brought its news coverage to radio in 1931 spoke volumes about how important radio had become, even to a news magazine: broadcasting some of the big stories from the pages of Time brought those pages to life for millions of listeners on the Columbia network (as CBS was often called back then). One of the earliest efforts at making news more entertaining to the average person, “The March of Time” featured well-written scripts, and the major newsmakers were portrayed by experienced actors and actresses, many of whom had visited places like England and France to more accurately play the roles of the leaders of those countries. It was also the era before audiotape, making it difficult to simply replay the actual voice of any famous person; but the dramatic re-enactments of the news sounded very real to the listeners, few of whom had ever heard the actual voices of foreign leaders (Barnouw 277-278). For Time, it was a win-win situation. The radio program received critical acclaim (“March Of Time” 25), and it undoubtedly encouraged more people to read the magazine to learn more about the stories. Unfortunately, as Barnouw noted, it was a rare example of print cooperating with radio, and most major newspapers and wire services continued to do whatever they could to hamper radio’s attempts to broadcast news (Barnouw 278). In this case, Postman was

correct in his assertion that “[a] new technology usually makes war against an old technology. It competes with it for time, attention, money, prestige, and a ‘worldview’ ” (End Of Education 192). The main concern the newspaper editors and owners had was that radio would steal away their advertisers, that people would prefer the immediacy of radio and stop reading newspapers and magazines. As mentioned previously, this did not happen, and people continued to read and to listen to radio, as the media environment expanded to include both. But although there were a few exceptions like “The March of Time,” most print journalists continued to see radio as an enemy.

Meanwhile, in spite of the discord that persisted between radio and print, the networks were able to carve out a niche by covering particular news events, rather than providing day-to-date coverage. As mentioned earlier, reporting on current events went back to radio’s inception, although remote broadcasts were much harder to achieve back then. The press frequently took notice of special occurrences, especially if the broadcast was considered a “first”-- such as the World Series, which was first sent to a limited audience in 1921 (“Wireless Men Hear” 10), and then sent out to a much larger one in 1922 (“To Broadcast Series” 27). Coverage of political events had been a major topic of conversation as early as 1921-1922, when the public heard their elected representatives for the first time. Now, later in the decade, the

discussion shifted to reports from all the cities where a candidate's voice was being heard, and the articles sometimes included mentions of how radio was affecting the campaign. Radio editors referred to broadcasting's impressive ability to disseminate information to large numbers of people, although some wondered if there was any correlation between how many people listened to a candidate and how many people would vote for him or her (Sullivan 19). Most columnists praised radio for giving the public direct access to the candidates; it was believed that hearing the politicians (in addition to reading about them) would help the average person to form his or her own opinion, based on how well or how poorly the politicians expressed their ideas ("Radio Politics" 91). Martin P. Rice, manager of broadcasting for General Electric (which owned WGY in Schenectady NY), remarked in late 1927 that radio was also helping the candidates, since they could now campaign via the airwaves and not have to travel as much; he also observed that the political parties had learned from their mistakes in 1924, and were prepared to modify the 1928 conventions to make them more interesting to the radio listener (qtd. in "Spotlight Focused" XX12).

Throughout the mid-1920s, the role that radio was playing in politics became a frequent topic of discussion. Martin P. Rice had mentioned the 1924 Democratic and Republican conventions, both of which were broadcast live for the first time, and both of which were later

criticized for being too dull and drawn-out for radio. But even with their faults, the broadcasts were widely listened to: in an early example of networking, about fourteen stations were scheduled to carry the 1924 Democratic convention from Madison Square Garden in New York (“14 Radio Stations” 2), and that number grew to twenty just before the convention began (“Millions To Hear” 35). Interestingly, among the listeners was one particular Republican, President Coolidge (“Coolidge Listens” 4). Meanwhile, about fifteen stations carried the 1924 Republican convention in Cleveland (“Republican Convention” X19); the cost was a mitigating factor, with only the larger stations able to afford to purchase the necessary telephone lines from the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; more will be said about this subsequently.

As many newspaper and magazine reporters observed, broadcasting was changing how politics was done: the more political events that were broadcast, the more obvious it became to politicians that they needed to adapt if they wanted to be effective on the air; a speech that was only heard by attendees at a local venue required a far different style of oratory than a speech that would be heard by millions nation-wide. “Brevity and appeal to reason are two main factors political broadcasters must keep in mind,” wrote an anonymous author in the New York Times in late March 1928. The newspaper surveyed a number of members of congress, both Democrats and Republicans, and they all

agreed that radio was changing the strategies of the campaigners. Among the comments was this, from Frank B. Willis, a Republican senator from Ohio, who recommended that candidates be prepared to give “brief, pithy statements” because “[l]isteners are not appreciative of long-drawn-out political arguments over the radio.” And another Republican, Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, said that many people did not (or could not) read a newspaper, so radio was becoming the one way to find out about the candidates. And he believed radio *would* contribute to voter turnout, since the public would now be better informed. Because the campaigns were being broadcast, “...the candidates can speak directly to the people. No longer can any man or woman... plead ignorance of the issues involved as an excuse for remaining home on election day.” And Democratic senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana predicted that in the near future, there would be an end to the “front porch campaign.” No longer would politicians gather for small, intimate events with local families. “The addresses of the candidates will all, or nearly all, be made over the radio” (all qtd. in “Politicians Call” XX16).

It should also be mentioned here that the crafting of a radio speech also required the crafting of a radio persona, something most candidates had only begun to understand. With few radio critics, this was a subject seldom discussed. One of the few articles that touched upon it was a 1924 piece in the New York Times, “Coolidge Dictated

Campaign Policies.” This article discussed in detail how President Coolidge created, with assistance from an “advisory board” that he assembled for this purpose, the persona of “Silent Cal,” a terse, laconic man from small-town Vermont. And as with modern politicians, Coolidge tested and then used certain lines of attack on his political opponents, devising speeches that would play well to a live audience, and others that were meant for a radio audience (“Coolidge Dictated” E1). Thus, the person the listeners heard, and thought was folksy and warm, “a regular person” rather than an elite politician, was the product of a brilliantly executed political strategy that utilized all forms of media to the candidate’s advantage. Without having any knowledge of the tenets of media ecology, it certainly seems that Coolidge inherently understood McLuhan’s assertion that “the medium is the message” (Understanding Media 7-8).

Increasingly, as political speeches and events became a staple of radio, especially during election years, discussions arose about which politicians were the best at addressing the “invisible audience.” In fact, now that radio was becoming such a factor in campaigning, some politicians even began to worry that unless their speeches were interesting, listeners would tune them out (“Radio The Real Revolution” A4). As a reporter for Current Opinion observed, radio put listeners in control of their program choices:

“Politicians must realize they are facing a new situation when they face the microphone... No longer are they addressing crowds of their own adherents... Don’t forget how easy it is for a radio listener to silently absent himself. One twist of his wrist will substitute jazz or a symphony for the bawling and the drawling of the loudest or languidest campaigner... Woe to the misguided man who would harangue his auditors. Though they lend him their ears for a moment, upon its expiration, they will ruthlessly call the loan, and leave him... squirting invisible ink into the infinite ocean of air” (380).

By 1927, syndicated columnist Frederic J. Haskin observed that President Coolidge had perhaps the most widely known voice in the world, thanks in large part to his frequent use of radio. And Haskin noted a very interesting change that radio had helped to bring about-- especially as a result of the emergence of the two major radio networks. Prior to the debuts of the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System, speeches that were broadcast tended to be heard mainly in the city where the person spoke (unless the station had a good signal and could be picked up by DXers). So, back then, in order to make sure their policy statements reached the public, presidents relied upon newspapers, which printed their speeches verbatim. But now, when a president or member of congress spoke in one city, the speech could be broadcast from coast to coast via NBC or CBS. Haskin observed that the public seemed to prefer hearing the speeches live, as opposed to just reading them. They felt comfortable with President Coolidge, and they almost seemed to expect that the president would deliver his remarks to a live audience, rather than conveying them in print. And while there was still no research to support Haskin’s assertion, he based it on the

“avalanche of telegrams and letters” that descended upon the White House after every talk; the messages often referred to having heard the president; the more stations that broadcast President Coolidge’s talks, the more communication from listeners he received (Haskin 6).

The Emergence of National Broadcasting

Once the two networks were up and running (and soon competing with each other), even the local newspapers began paying more attention to their programs. But while the coverage of the big name stars gradually began to occupy more space on the radio pages, certain columnists like Howard Fitzpatrick of the Boston Post or Robert Stephan of the Cleveland Plain Dealer maintained their local focus. Reporters like Fitzpatrick and Stephan understood the bond listeners developed with their favorite station and its performers; the radio editors often received questions from listeners asking what a certain entertainer’s real name was, whether he or she was married, and how that entertainer had gotten into radio. Both men also wrote vignettes about what went on behind the scenes at the various stations, telling fans how their favorite local star celebrated a birthday, or got a new puppy, or went somewhere interesting on vacation. Whether or not these stories were true, the little details made listeners feel as if they really knew the people they heard on the air. For example, Stephan related that announcer Fred Ripley of

WTAM in Cleveland had to wear uncomfortable rubber boots while standing outside for hours at the airport, as he provided the live coverage of two local aviators who were trying to set a record for the longest endurance flight (the amount of time spent in the air before needing to land and refuel); and his engineers had to stay up all night to make sure the live broadcast went smoothly (“WEAR Broadcasts” 16). And Fitzpatrick related that WNAC radio actress “Molly Malone” was really Virginia C. Reed, and that Lewis “Whit” Whitcomb, who now worked for WEEI in Boston, came to work with a bad sore throat from screaming so loudly when he watched the exciting Boston Bruins hockey game the night before; he could hardly talk, causing Fitzpatrick to suggest that perhaps next time, Whit should bring a horn with him, rather than using up his voice (“Among The Studios” 14).

In the two years prior to the inception of the networks, the quality of the programs had continued to improve, especially at the larger stations. Most listeners probably did not know the reason why they were now able to hear an increasing number of important events sent from distant locations, but one factor was ongoing technological advances. These improvements began around 1924-1925, when the primitive crystal radio receivers were being replaced by much more sophisticated sets, capable of better reception. Also, the government gave broadcasters additional frequencies on the AM band and relocated certain stations, in

a further effort to relieve overcrowding and minimize interference (“WEEI Announces” A11). And microphones had now been improved, which made musical programs sound better; the first radio microphones often distorted certain voices (sopranos especially) and were unable to reproduce certain musical genres like opera with the clarity that the newer microphones could (Dowd 43). One other important improvement in technology allowed network engineers to transmit remote broadcasts from almost any part of the country, by making use of special long distance telephone lines. Local stations certainly would have liked to do such broadcasts, and one reason they later affiliated with the networks was to have access to these kinds of programs. Few local stations could afford the expense of producing an event like coverage of an inauguration; this was still an era when long distance service was relatively new, and as a result, leasing the long distance lines was quite costly. To cite one early example, in 1925, the Chicago Tribune had to pay more than \$1000 a day in telephone line toll charges to broadcast the Scopes trial from Tennessee on the Tribune’s station, WGN (“W-G-N Will Take” 3).

While an analysis of the cultural impact of the Scopes trial is outside the scope of this dissertation, suffice it to say that this controversial legal case exemplified the heated debate between science and scripture, and was a frequent topic of conversation in print

journalism sources. A biology teacher named John T. Scopes was accused of violating a Tennessee law that forbade the teaching of evolution; the law only permitted the teaching of the Biblical story of creation (Moore 488). Scopes was being tried in a small town in the heart of the so-called Bible Belt, and another aspect of the story was that it featured two famous lawyers, men the public had frequently read about but probably were hearing for the first time-- William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution and Clarence Darrow for the defense. This was also the first time the public could hear an actual trial on radio, and in 1925, a year before the creation of national broadcasting, listeners in other cities were hopeful that they could receive WGN's signal, as newspapers praised the Tribune for bringing such an important news event to radio. For some listeners, the Scopes trial was regarded like a sporting event, with people taking sides and following "their" side closely (Coughlin and Fink 21); but reporters on the scene at the courthouse doubted that anyone actually listened to the entire trial; they noted that certain parts were compelling, but much of the testimony was rather tedious, as was the frequent bickering between the two attorneys ("Defense Hangs In" 27). And yet, even those who were not taking sides were still somewhat curious, and many people tuned in to hear for themselves what the so-called "Scopes Monkey Trial" was all about.

Before the WGN broadcasts began, other radio stations were bringing in guest speakers to discuss the trial's implications. One station, WLW in Cincinnati, scheduled its own debate, on the topic of "Conservatism vs. Modernism." This was to be followed by a summary of the specific issues at stake during the trial ("Radio Debate" 26). The fact that evolution was being discussed on the air struck some reporters as unique: normally, radio stations tried to avoid debates about religion (especially speakers who questioned whether the Bible was true), and contentious issues like birth control or evolution were also considered too divisive (Lautner and Friend 364). More will be said in chapter seven about radio's avoidance of controversial topics.

But although there were occasional controversial broadcasts, much of the mid-1920s was devoted to discussions of the improvements in the quality of the programs. Fans seemed interested in every little detail about who was on the air and how the programs were prepared; they asked radio editors questions about how stations accomplished their remote broadcasts, how the talent was selected and booked, and what being a guest in a radio studio was really like ("Behind The Scenes" 1). And the arrival of the national networks corresponded with the continued growth of public interest in radio. Sociologists noted that purchase of radio sets had risen steadily from 1921 through 1927: in 1921, only about 60,000 homes had radios, but by 1927, according to

government figures, there were more than seven million homes with radio receivers (qtd. by Burgess 124). Now that the public expected to hear the best performers and the biggest newsmakers, the content of radio pages in newspapers was shifting to a greater focus on the stars heard on the networks. By the late 1920s, even the local newspapers like the Boston Globe and Boston Post were including daily reporting on the network programs and stars; on some days, the national coverage even exceeded coverage of local programs.

The birth of the national networks was treated like a news story, and even some newspapers that lacked a strong relationship with radio still provided coverage of the new National Broadcasting Company. This may be because the first network broadcast involved music only, and since it did not involve the coverage of what is today called “hard news,” it was not perceived as threatening to newspapers. Or it could be because the sister company of the new network was the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), manufacturer of radios and phonographs, and a long-time newspaper advertiser, as seen in frequent advertisements for various models of the RCA Radiola (for example Gilchrist’s department store advertisement in the Boston Globe, 21 December 1927, p6; or Meier & Frank’s department store advertisement in the Portland Oregonian, 7 October 1926, p. 26). Further, the new network placed large advertisements in a number of newspapers,

announcing its impending debut; interestingly, the ads also asserted that the Radio Corporation of America, which was purchasing WJZ in New York to serve as the new network's flagship station, was "not in any sense seeking a monopoly of the air" and that the goal of the National Broadcasting Company was only to provide a way to "insure a national distribution of ... programs of the highest quality" ("Announcing The National" 5).

But whether or not a correlation between large advertisements and positive coverage could be established in this case, there was extensive reporting on the new network's debut, and the majority of the editorials and articles were positive. For example, writing about the formation of the National Broadcasting Company (which was not yet referred to as NBC in any print sources), the Portland Oregonian stated that this new network was undoubtedly "...the forerunner of the greatest chain of broadcasting stations this, or any other country, has ever seen..." And as for the commercials, the Oregonian agreed with the network executives that sponsorship was necessary, since it was expensive to run a network; the advertisements would help pay for the "attractive programs" that would make listeners feel they would never want to be without their radio ("Broadcast Chain Forms" 9). The Associated Press' headline read "Radio's Greatest Program Will Be Broadcast Tonight," referring to the star-studded cast of the National Broadcasting

Company's opening night: The New York Symphony Orchestra, Metropolitan Opera Company baritone Titta Ruffo, soprano Mary Garden from the Chicago Civic Opera Company, humorist Will Rogers, bandleaders Ben Bernie and Victor Lopez with their respective dance orchestras, vaudevillians Weber & Fields, and many others. The four-hour event was "one of the greatest free performances ever given" (3). And as was a common convention of radio news reports, a number of the stories estimated the size of the audience, arbitrarily deciding it was in the millions ("Millions Hear" 12). Also, in a camaraderie reminiscent of the early 1920s radio clubs like the Red Apple Club, some New York listeners wanted to share the experience of NBC's debut with other listeners: a thousand fans gathered at the ballroom of the Hotel Waldorf and enjoyed the program as a group ("Stars Go On" 18).

Actually, the National Broadcasting Company would not truly become national for a few more months, as it lacked the ability to connect with the west coast when it made its initial broadcasts. In late February 1927, tests began on a seven-station west coast link, and if all went well, this group of stations would be added to the network's list of affiliates, probably by April ("Details Of Radio" 10). By the summer, the west coast link was operational; when the World Series was played in October, it was the first baseball championship to be broadcast from

coast to coast, finally uniting eastern baseball fans with those from the west (“World Series Broadcast” 20).

Several months prior to the World Series, in July 1927, NBC had already achieved a coast to coast broadcast of an event from a different sport. It was a championship boxing match, live from Yankee Stadium in New York. But while fans were probably excited to hear the fight, it turned out that both the broadcast and the fight itself aroused controversy. Former heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey was trying to make a comeback, fighting against Jack Sharkey at Yankee Stadium in New York. More than fifty stations carried the bout, with Graham McNamee and J. Andrew White doing the announcing. The match featured several low blows and when Sharkey was finally counted out, some fans disputed the referee’s call. But neither radio announcer commented about the decision nor questioned the referee. They later explained they believed he had made the right call, and it was not their place to demand a different outcome (“Referee Admits” 9). Sports pages in the newspapers continued to debate, which now included opinions about the broadcast. The New York Times even transcribed McNamee’s words and printed them, so that the public could read for themselves why he believed the referee was right (“Story Of Tunney-Dempsey” 21).

As for the fight, some boxing fans decided that listening at home was not the best way to enjoy it. Similar to how some New York fans had gathered in a New York hotel so they could listen together when NBC made its debut, there were fans in Boston who had a favorite place to go when they wanted to share a radio experience-- the part of the city known as "Newspaper Row." For decades, long before radio was invented, people would gather on Washington Street in downtown Boston, in front of the offices of the Boston Globe, Boston Post, and Boston Evening Transcript, to wait for telegraphers to deliver the top news stories and newsboys to write them on a chalk board (Kenny 1987). And even in the late 1920s, when radio was broadcasting many sporting events, some of the fans preferred to gather on Newspaper Row to listen as a group. (Before radio, they would listen to the newspaper's designated announcer, who received bulletins via telegraph and then announced them through a megaphone.) For the Dempsey match, the Globe set up loudspeakers, so that the assembled fans could not only listen but share the experience and argue about the results; it was an interesting blend of the traditional and the modern, as fans thronged in front of the Globe building, just as they had done when they waited for election results by telegraph in the 1890s... except now, they were all listening to the radio, and the gathering was reported by the Boston newspapers ("Thousands In Boston" 13).

The expansion of national broadcasting was especially welcomed during such groundbreaking events as aviator Charles Lindbergh's solo transatlantic flight in late May 1927, as well as the adulation and spectacle that followed. As Minnesota historian Bruce L. Larson explained, "Throngs of well-wishers gave the twenty-five year old Minnesotan a hero's welcome in several European capitals. Then he sailed back to the United States... and received tumultuous ovations in Washington D.C. and New York... Minnesotans had their turn to honor Lindbergh in August when he returned home briefly during a national good-will tour... The object of Lindbergh's journey was to promote commercial aviation rather than himself, but he was met everywhere with an unrestrained acclaim" (B.L. Larson 141). And radio carried both the local and the national events, including the parades and the speeches, and the meeting the popular aviator had with President Coolidge. The National Broadcasting Company was still the dominant network and it distinguished itself: after Lindbergh returned to the United States, the network linked fifty stations in twenty-four states to report on the celebratory events held in his honor. Chief announcer Graham McNamee and a team of his colleagues were situated throughout Washington DC, along the parade route; they remained on the scene for more than eight hours, describing every element of the celebration (Lewis, " 'A Godlike Presence' " 27-28). And in a further example of one technology accommodating another, the Baltimore Sun printed the full

transcript of all the day's radio coverage, with the commentaries of McNamee, Phillips Carlin, Milton J. Cross and John B. Daniel available to anyone who either missed the broadcast or wanted to re-live it ("Announcers Broadcast" 3).

By 1928, even greater examples of spectacular events were being broadcast to a national audience. While celebrities like Lindbergh, and sporting events like the World Series and championship boxing matches were very popular, politics was now a regular part of radio, and presidential elections received maximum coverage. Listeners were able to hear speeches by most of the candidates, although there were some exceptions-- socialist candidate Norman Thomas regularly accused radio of marginalizing or even censoring him ("Cancel Radio Talk" 18). Still, as mentioned earlier, listeners were able to hear the 1928 election covered as never before. There were even celebrity campaigners in addition to the politicians; among them was baseball slugger Babe Ruth, who gave a radio address to a national audience in October, on behalf of Democratic presidential candidate New York Governor Alfred E. (Al) Smith ("Babe Ruth Talks" 1). And it should be mentioned here that local politics was also receiving increased coverage: for example, in 1930, former President Coolidge got involved in the Massachusetts governor's race, giving a radio talk on behalf of Frank G. Allen, the Republican candidate ("Makes His Initial" 1). And radio had now added another dimension to politics: late

night broadcasts were still relatively rare, but by 1928, radio stations were promising to stay on the air until the final results of the presidential election were known (Codel, "Radio To Stay" 8). By the inauguration of President Harding in 1929, print journalists remarked that listeners had a better 'view,' metaphorically speaking, of President Hoover's inaugural than the actual attendees did, since the actual event was held on a cold and rainy day; those who crowded the Capitol trying to catch a glimpse of the ceremonies were far less comfortable than those at home who heard the entire ceremony in relative comfort ("Millions 'Saw' Inauguration" 5).

The Columbia Broadcasting System was up and running in September 1927, but it was far smaller than its competitor, the National Broadcasting Company; however by 1930, Columbia would have seventy-six affiliates (Sinclair 12). It also provided some unique and important programming, such as the previously mentioned "American School of the Air," which first broadcast to a nation-wide audience of students in early February 1930 ("Launch CBS School" E10). And for those critics who complained that radio did not pay enough attention to "good music" (which will be discussed further in chapter seven), CBS participated in an interesting "first" in October 1930, when the newly expanded network transported a nation-wide audience to Carnegie Hall, where listeners heard the famous New York Philharmonic in concert. The Philharmonic had never been heard from coast to coast in its entire eighty-eight year

history. Arrangements were also made for a series of live broadcasts from Carnegie Hall, some of which would feature the famous conductor Arturo Toscanini (“The Microphone” XX10). For fans who lived in cities far from New York, radio was giving them an amazing opportunity to enjoy the best in classical music. And whenever the networks broadcast a symphony concert or a performance by a major opera star, there were always letters of praise sent to newspapers, as well as praise from radio editors and columnists. For example, when it was announced that the Columbia network was entering into an agreement with seven of the largest concert bureaus, in order to bring their classical and operatic artists to radio (in some cases for the first time), syndicated writer John F. Sinclair of the North American Newspaper Alliance asserted that this move would place radio in the forefront of bringing the “finer music,” especially grand opera, to a wider audience, as opposed to the “sentimental mush” too many stations broadcast. But the president of what was later known as CBS, William S. Paley, took a more moderate view of the situation; he acknowledged that he personally loved opera, but understood that for some listeners, “[t]aste for good music is acquired,” and he explained to the reporter that running a network meant offering a variety of musical genres. “So, while some radio programs do not appeal to me, they do appeal to others... That’s the way of radio audiences. We need fine music and grand opera singing. But we need the lighter entertainment too” (qtd. in Sinclair 12).

To the credit of both networks, they not only took the listeners to events that might be expected, such as a major campaign event, a presidential speech, or the debut of a famous star who had never performed on radio before; they also took listeners to events they might not otherwise have known about, such as when NBC sent an announcing team to Cleveland to cover the finish of the Women's Air Derby in 1929. The late 1920s and early 1930s were the era of the "Lady Fliers," female aviators (or aviatrixes, plural of aviatrix, which is what they were called back then) that included Ruth Elder and Amelia Earhart. It was the men like Charles Lindbergh who got most of the attention, and some fans found that unfair, as a letter-writer to the Baltimore Sun remarked after reading an article in which a local male aviator claimed the women aviators knew nothing about flying and were mainly performing publicity stunts. The writer, who only used the initials J.A. H., stated that the lady fliers deserved everyone's praises for "sustain[ing] popular interest in aviation... I cannot see why their participation should provoke gratuitous criticism" ("A Word For" 8).

And yet, while Lindbergh's exploits dominated the media, there was evidently a certain amount of interest in the women aviators, even if some of the male critics to whom "J.A.H." referred did not take them seriously. A look at the major newspapers in 1927, when Elder was

making her first effort at a transatlantic flight, showed that she was often on the front page (for example “Elder And Haldeman” 1). And although she failed in the attempt, she prompted quite a bit of conversation, both pro and con. Some people wrote to newspapers praising her courage, but others, including Eleanor Roosevelt, (in 1927 identified as a “civic leader”), criticized Elder for taking un-necessary risks that could have killed her (qtd. in “Harshest Critics” 11). Interestingly, the attractive and photogenic young “aviatrix” was given a warm welcome in France, where her bravery in attempting the flight earned her many fans; the newspapers covered her every move while she was in Europe and the coverage continued when she returned to the United States; she developed an enthusiastic following, and also became a heroine to American feminists of that time (“Feminists Hail” 2). The other “Lady Flier,” Amelia Earhart, did successfully complete a transatlantic flight, the first woman to do so, and that too received a lot of page 1 coverage (for example Raymond 1). It also earned her a chance to speak, along with the other members of her crew, over the NBC network in July 1928, when the story of her achievement was told to a national audience (“Microphone Presentations” E8). Given the fame of Elder, Earhart and several other woman aviators, broadcasting the Women’s Air Derby was a good decision. This was the first time the listeners had the opportunity to vicariously participate in a competition which included the top female

fliers, women they had often read about (Stephan, “Broadcast Women’s” 17).

One other point should be made regarding Charles Lindbergh, and it was not about his career as an aviator. In March 1932, the American public was stunned to learn that the infant son of Charles and Anne Lindbergh had been kidnapped, and his body was discovered several months later. Newspapers and magazines followed every detail of the case, and so did radio. The networks both put all of their resources into covering the story, as did a New York-area radio station, WOR. According to Broadcasting magazine, WOR, then located in Newark NJ, broadcast news and information about the kidnapping almost non-stop, beginning when the story first broke. The station installed a remote line to the state police in Trenton NJ, and broadcast bulletins the moment they became available (“Radio Covers” 6). Soon, nearly every New York station was doing the same, as listeners “flooded” local radio stations with pleas for more information about the shocking case. It did not take long for the Lindbergh baby’s abduction to dominate both print and radio (“Kidnapping Holds” 8). Radio also became part of the story, as the Lindberghs did interviews and made appeals to the then-unknown kidnapper(s), as did the police (“Radio’s Facilities” 9). Clergy broadcast inspirational messages as millions of Americans prayed for a happy ending. Several clergymen even devoted sermons to the subject, hoping

the perpetrator of the crime would hear their words and return the baby safely (“Kidnapping Arouses” 1). CBS and NBC brought in remote broadcasting trucks, so that wherever the story took them, their personnel could be there. There were news crews near the Lindbergh home, and at the state police station, with network staff standing by twenty-four hours a day, ready to transmit a bulletin, if there was anything new to share with affiliates. But not wanting to upset the newspapers, with whom CBS was sharing reporters, that network came up with a novel strategy: whenever a bulletin was broadcast, the announcer would then tell listeners they could find out more by reading their local newspaper (“Radio Covers” 6).

The details of the Lindbergh kidnapping trial (the arrest of a suspect, his conviction, and the controversy over the death penalty), are outside the scope of this dissertation, but one other fact about the role of radio is worth mentioning. In September 1934, Bruno Hauptmann was charged with the abduction and murder of the Lindbergh baby; he was put on trial in early 1935. Where the Scopes trial a decade earlier had only been heard by a limited number of people, this time, the trial attracted a nation-wide audience and extensive network coverage through frequent newscasts and bulletins. But unlike the Scopes trial, and unlike a 1931 murder trial in Los Angeles that was broadcast-- a controversial decision at that time, because lawyers, and some judges,

were concerned the presence of microphones would turn the trial into a spectacle (“Microphone At Murder” A1), in this trial, the judge decided that allowing a live broadcast from the courtroom would be too distracting (K. Smith C3).

By the early-to-mid 1930s, the networks had a number of news commentators; one of the best known was Boake Carter, who served as the chief correspondent for CBS during the trial. He provided a nightly summary of the day’s events for the Columbia network. As for daily coverage, numerous New York and New Jersey stations were set up in the courthouse, and every couple of hours, they provided listeners with updates of what was going on in the trial to that point; there were also reporters from other cities, providing coverage to an audience that wanted to know every detail. (Reporters, both print and broadcast, were permitted to be in the courtroom to take notes, but they would then go outside and file, or transmit, bulletins as important points in the trial occurred.) The Hauptmann trial became one of the most heavily covered and frequently discussed events of the year, with some stations calling in what today would be termed “pundits,” experts on various facets of the law, to discuss the case and make predictions about the verdict. And proving that even the best news reporters could get the story wrong, an embarrassing error occurred when the Associated Press (AP) misinterpreted Hauptmann’s sentence and reported that he had been

given life in prison; the networks were relying on AP and they broadcast the erroneous information. A few minutes later, both CBS and NBC had to interrupt their programs to announce the correct verdict: Hauptmann had in fact been given the death penalty. Interestingly, one of New York's independent stations, WOR, not affiliated with either of the major networks and not relying on AP, got the verdict right ("Wrong Verdict" 11).

As it turned out, WOR did become part of a network, when in late 1934, the Mutual Broadcasting System was formed by four stations, including WGN in Chicago. But Mutual did not focus on news at that point. Rather, it quickly became known for children's adventure programming, including the Lone Ranger ("Lone Ranger" N6), and for entertainment features such as the comedy duo Lum and Abner ("Lum and Abner" N4). Also worth noting is that in 1930, the New England area got its own regional network. Believing that the national networks focused too much on New York, John Shepard 3rd decided that there should be a chain that could promote local performers, local news, and of course, local products. He and his brother Robert had begun linking WNAC in Boston with WEAN in Providence in 1928, and by early 1930, they formally created the Yankee Network. Within months, the Shepards had signed up six stations, in such places as Worcester MA, Bangor ME, and Bridgeport CT. The Yankee Network agreed to use some Columbia

programs, but much of the day, it generated its own locally produced entertainment, sports, and news (“Yankee Network” 51). John Shepard 3rd and his Yankee Network would become participants in the “Press-Radio War,” as I discussed in chapter five; the previously mentioned book News While It Is News (1934) tells about the controversy from Shepard’s perspective, as he defended the right of local radio stations to do as much news as they felt was necessary, whether newspaper owners approved or not.

Assessing What Had Changed

As the decade of the 1920s ended and the Golden Age of Radio began, anyone looking back at the previous few years would notice how much had changed in a relatively short time. There had been the rise of the star announcer; the increased availability of the biggest and best-known entertainers, including Jessica Dragonette, Will Rogers, Gertrude Berg, Rudy Vallée, and Roxy; the beginning of syndicated radio dramas (including soap operas), variety shows, and comedies; the presence of important guest speakers that included Guglielmo Marconi, Albert Einstein, and Thomas Edison, as well as naturalists like Thornton W. Burgess, meteorologists like E.B. Rideout, and humorists like Will Rodgers; two national schools of the air to help educate young people; greater coverage of presidential politics, and the first time the voice of a

First Lady was heard; and the continued improvements in the design and fidelity of radio sets.

As noted previously, the first few years of print coverage were generally favorable and often adulatory (except for complaints about technological problems), a trend that continued in some of the radio magazines: while publications like Radio Broadcast and Popular Radio returned to a mainly technical focus (and ultimately went out of business during the Depression), Radio Digest became a glossy fan magazine, with articles that gave readers what seemed like insights into the lives of the stars (as mentioned earlier, few fans could discern between publicity and fact, and the radio or movie star who had a scandal was seldom profiled in a fan magazine). Typical articles from Radio Digest in the early 1930s were an article by popular crooner Rudy Vallée about how he and others chose the songs they sang on the air (“Tuneful Topics” 24-27) or a piece about comedy duo George Burns and Gracie Allen, which was not actually a biographical sketch but rather, a feature in which the two played their respective characters-- Gracie as the “dumb Dora” who makes foolish remarks and does foolish things, and George as her loving but often-exasperated husband (L.S. Smith 16-17). Radio Digest did allow for some criticism, especially in the monthly column “Voice of the Listener,” and in occasional Editor’s Notes, but in general, it followed a pattern that could also be seen in another fan magazine-- Radio Stars: it

focused on articles about the network's top performers, gave listeners a chance to ask questions about their favorite programs, and purported to tell readers what the network stars (and a few local personalities) were "really" like. There were also profiles of lesser-known but very important radio performers. In the era when radio was still live, which included the sound effects necessary for the radio dramas, magazines often took readers behind the scenes to explain how these sounds were generated. For example, in the June 1933 Radio Stars, there were two such articles, one about Sallie Belle Cox, a woman whose talent was her ability to "imitate the crying of a little baby" so flawlessly that listeners believed there was an actual baby in the studio (Brown 10); and Bradley Barker, aptly named because his unique talent was the ability to imitate the sounds of various animals, including the bark of a dog (Kent 11).

There was also a trend towards using current air personalities as pundits: although criticism of the networks that employed them was, understandably, off-limits, as were critiques of the sponsors, the on-air performers were asked to comment on their favorite radio characters or programs, or offer reminiscences of their own career. Typical of this type of article was a 1933 interview in Radio Fan-Fare with veteran sports announcer Ted Husing, in which he was asked to choose the ten best events he had announced. While he mainly selected exciting games (both college and professional) and provided his recollections of both the

players and his own work as an announcer, one of his most memorable games was selected not because the game was so outstanding but because of what happened afterwards. Husing announced a 1931 football game between Harvard and Dartmouth, and during the broadcast, he was critical of the way Harvard played. He very forcefully said so during the broadcast, and quickly learned he had been banned from announcing any of Harvard's subsequent games. Husing found this ironic, given that he was a Harvard graduate, and he remarked that some Harvard fans were still angry with him two years later (qtd. in Endicott 15, 44). And a similar article in Radioland in September 1933 asked some of current announcers and commentators what their biggest thrill was, of all the radio events they had broadcast. A CBS newsman, Edwin Hill, remarked on how moved he was by President Roosevelt's inauguration. Hill admitted that although he was there as a professional reporter, he could not help but feel hopeful about the new president, an emotion he noticed on the faces of those in the crowd, "These were dark times. They looked to this man for leadership." And said Hill, even the confident way the new president took the oath of office inspired the audience, as did his speech which "electrified" and "transfixed" everyone in attendance (qtd. in Sammis 60).

It is also worth noting that in the early 1930s, several radio magazines finally acknowledged the presence of black network

performers, who had previously been mentioned occasionally but never pictured. One of the first was Radio Doings, a west coast publication. In its April 1931 issue, in which there were several photos of local black performers, there was also a four-page article about the Hallelujah Quartette, the “four horsemen of harmony,” who had performed on a number of west coast stations as well as on NBC (Larkin 20-23, 42). Unfortunately, as was the custom in mainstream white publications, they were described during their childhood as being “four little pickaninnies” (21), and even in an article which was effusive in its praise of the Quartette, the author still referred to them as “colored boys,” despite the fact that they were now adults (22). Another article about black performers appeared in the November 1932 issue of Radio Digest; that issue featured a “Special Colored Supplement,” two pages of photos and short profiles of three popular black vocal groups and entertainers: vocal groups The Mills Brothers and the Three Keys, and bandleader Cab Calloway, under the headline “Radio’s Dark Town Harmonizers.” It too was a positive article, but contained language that would today be problematic, such as saying that the light-skinned Calloway possessed “the graces of the Caucasian aristocracy,” which the anonymous author contrasted with the “folk songs of the jungle” that were said to influence the rhythms his band played. It was also noted that Calloway displayed “the ever-present good nature of his race” (22). Despite the stereotypic language, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven, it was

a good sign that more entertainers of color were gaining so much popularity (and acceptance by white audiences) that they were being profiled in publications outside of the black press.

The other important change in the content of magazines and newspapers was the growth of radio criticism, a trend that began slowly in the mid-1920s, and increased by the late 1920s and early 1930s. While such early critics as Jennie Irene Mix and Agnes Smith were no longer on the scene (Mix died suddenly in 1925, and Smith, for whatever reason, was no longer doing radio criticism after 1928), a few veterans like Orrin Dunlap Jr. at the New York Times and Robert D. Heintz of the Washington Post were still around, and other newer critics were beginning to emerge, like Albert D. Hughes of the Christian Science Monitor and Newcomb F. Thompson of the Boston American & Sunday Advertiser. And in magazines like The Forum (soon to become Forum & Century), The Nation, The New Republic, and Harper's, as well as in a number of daily newspapers, certain columnists were finding some aspects of radio that deserved a more critical look. There was also a growing critique from ethnic newspapers such as the Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier, and Baltimore Afro-American. Even some of the fan magazines like Radio Fan-Fare and Radio Stars, while continuing to be cheerleaders for the networks and the most popular performers, expanded the amount of criticism, as I will discuss in chapter seven.

And although academics were slow to join them, by the early 1930s, it was possible to read on a regular basis the perspectives of a group of radio critics, men and women who commented on a wide range of subject matter that included excessive consumerism and inappropriate sponsor plugs; poor announcing (frequent use of slang, incorrect pronunciation); lack of quality and originality in many network programs; and censorship of controversial subjects and speakers.

CHAPTER 7

RADIO AND ITS CRITICS

Discourses About Race

As mentioned in chapter six, the initial coverage of radio by the mainstream press was enthusiastic and often utopian; it was rare to see any serious criticism, and radio editors seemed more like fans than journalists. It was predicted that radio would bring harmony, create a universal language, and solve the world's problems. This discourse of radio as a source of unity was still articulated in the late 1920s, especially when the national networks came along. Veteran announcer Major J. Andrew White, now a part of the Columbia Broadcasting System, said that “[r]adio can and will link the nations of the world in a bond of common understanding (qtd. in “Radio Will Hasten” 7).

But still unspoken amidst the hopeful predictions was any mention of what we would today call “the other,” especially those perceived as inferior because they were female, members of minority religions (such as Judaism, Islam, or Buddhism), or from a non-white racial group. Seldom discussed by America's broadcasters, for example, was the fact that in the southern United States (and in much of the midwest) society was segregated; and it is safe to say the new mass

medium was not a trailblazer in its attitudes towards people of color; most stations banned black announcers, and restricted black performers to the most stereotypic roles in radio dramas and comedies (Vaillant 26-27). While disappointing to modern critics, it should not be entirely surprising. Radio certainly did much to change the society for the better, but as Marshall McLuhan noted in Understanding Media, radio also could cause harm, whether intention or accidental, since the new mass medium was capable of:

“contracting the world to village size, and creating insatiable village tastes for gossip, rumor and personal malice... Radio is not only a mighty awakener of archaic memories, forces, and animosities, but a decentralizing, pluralistic force” (306).

The role of radio, along with the press that reported on radio, in disseminating malicious and bigoted messages can be seen in a number of ways. To cite one example, there were certain problematic visual images of non-whites in the radio magazines of the early twenties. It should be noted that for most of the magazines, minorities were invisible: the vast majority of the era’s publications depicted only people who were white (and usually middle or upper class), except for an occasional “mammy” who was cleaning or cooking for a white family. One of the most stereotypic representations was on the cover of the May 1920 issue of Radio Amateur News (soon re-named Radio News): it showed a frightened black cleaning woman, terrified by the sounds coming from the radio, as a young (white) man in the background is seen laughing at

her. The caption read: “Her Master’s Voice.” The August 1920 cover was not much better: it showed a smiling, middle-class white family, in some sort of carriage-like vehicle, listening to radio while being pushed by a uniformed black servant. (A look through the next eight years of cover art, up through 1929 when the magazine changed owners, shows that these were the only two representations of black people; all subsequent covers depicted only white faces.)

Throughout much of the 1920s, that was typical of other radio magazines as well; when a family was shown, it was a white family, and even though there were black performers on the air, they were never shown in photographs. Occasionally, a report would come from Africa or Latin America, where radio was presented as a civilizing force, and residents of that continent were described as “savages,” as in the May 1924 issue of Popular Radio, which showed a photo of Dr. Alexander Rice, a white explorer, who had set up a radio in the Amazon in order to “[keep] in constant touch with civilization” while working among the “savages of the Amazon country” (496).

Racist jokes that featured foolish or superstitious “colored people” were all too common in the print media of the 1920s, and not just in the south. Even some of the most reputable newspapers used the word “nigger” -- the Boston Globe regularly reprinted racist jokes from other

newspapers, including jokes containing that word (for example, “Getting It Right,” 28 July 1926, p. 6), and the Globe was not alone. Suburban Massachusetts newspapers like the Quincy (MA) Patriot Ledger not only used the expression “nigger in the woodpile” (to refer to an unexpected or unwanted problem) but also used racial charged language to frame sporting events: a barnstorming black baseball team came to the area in July 1925 and a white team played them. The Patriot-Ledger reported that the white team needed to defeat the “black boys” because “White Supremacy [is] at stake” (“Watch For Nigger” 4; “Fore River Must” 5).

Unfortunately, radio was not much better-- so-called “coon songs,” which used insulting terms for black people were sometimes sung, much to the consternation of black listeners, who contacted the offending stations to complain (“Protest Use of ‘Nigger’ ” 13). Sometimes, it took a more organized response to get some results: in early 1925, the Baltimore Afro-American newspaper lodged a protest with WNYC, a New York station, which had broadcast “darky” stories for children. The station’s manager wrote back and seemed rather puzzled that a “harmless watermelon story” which used the term “darkies” would offend anyone, but he promised the story would not be read again (“Radio Station Bans” A6). And then there were the white preachers on certain stations who defended segregation and who also used words like “niggers” and “darkies” in their radio talks; one such preacher, Rev.

George R. Stuart, was a guest speaker over WCAP in Washington DC in July 1925; in the midst of his talk, he repeatedly uttered bigoted remarks, and due to the powerful signal of the radio station, what he said was heard by a large audience, much to the dismay of black listeners who had tuned in, expecting something more inspirational (“South’s Voice” 9).

Complicating the issue was the fact that one of the approved roles for black performers at white radio stations was as singers of so-called Negro Spirituals, many of which were written by white composers and contained the offending words. In March of 1925, a debate broke out among readers of the Baltimore Afro-American, which had asked for opinions about whether black performers should sing those songs, no matter how popular they were. The majority of the letter-writers felt the words may have been acceptable or customary in the Plantation era, but in the modern world, they were degrading to black people. Typical of the responses was this one: “The Negro of today is rapidly shedding the mantle of servility, and humiliating references contained in the lyrics of ‘Old Kentucky Home’ and ‘Suwanee River’ are not conducive to the establishment of proper ideals for the present generation and posterity... No matter what the monetary consideration obtained, it does not compensate for the debasing influence of these terms” (“Baltimoreans Comment” A13).

Another complication, which undoubtedly caused listeners some confusion, was that radio frequently used white performers in non-white roles.

Long before the popular but controversial blackface team known as “Amos ‘n’ Andy” went on network radio in the late 1920s, there were orchestras like the Cliquot Club Eskimos and the A&P Gypsies. Nobody in either band was an Eskimo or a Gypsy (and today, those terms are contested by members of those groups who find them pejorative), but the sponsors selected the names and the performers had to use them (Hilmes, Only Connect 51; Barnouw 158). The “Eskimos” were led by Harry Reser (a native of Dayton, Ohio); he and his entire orchestra were white. As mentioned in chapter six, the same was true of the “Gypsies,” with bandleader Harry Horlick. Also white were early blackface radio performers “Goldie and Dusty”-- the Gold Dust Twins, named for a popular cleaning product but turned into an entertainment duo on radio (“Directs Cliquot Eskimos” 17; “Leaders in Radio” 19). The matter of minstrelsy and blackface representations on the air would be frequently debated in the black press, as some fans found programs like “Amos ‘n’ Andy” entertaining, while others found them demeaning. Although an in-depth study of attitudes and perceptions about this program, and the unsuccessful campaign by some in the black press (notably Pittsburgh Courier editor Robert Vann) to get “Amos ‘n’ Andy” banned are outside

the scope of this dissertation, it should be noted that for many black listeners, the lack of black performers on the air was extremely troubling, as was the fact that some of the performers perceived to be black were actually white. Black educator Nannie Burroughs wrote a column in the Baltimore Afro-American in 1930, and in it, she stated that programs like “Amos ‘n’ Andy” and the “Gold Dust Twins” were making millions of dollars for their white performers and white sponsors, while disseminating stereotypes of black people as “ignorant, standardless, credulous, [and] dishonest...” She worried that such depictions were further reinforcing in the minds of white listeners that black people could not be trusted, that they were lazy buffoons and perpetual failures, and worst of all, that they deserved the jokes being made about them (8).

The problem with the very heartfelt outrage from black listeners at what they heard on the air is that more often than not, the mainstream newspapers (and most of the news magazines) did not report on it. The only reporters who seemed to notice and critique the racism on the airwaves worked for the black press; there was an occasional exception, such as when the Brooklyn (NY) Eagle editorialized in 1929 about how “the popularity of Amos ‘n’ Andy is due to the feeling of superiority evoked in listeners by the blundering mistakes of the pair” (qtd. in Skinner 23). But nearly every white radio critic of that time, whether in newspapers or magazines, found the program either amusing or clever--

one editor, from Radio Fan-Fare, even praised the two men who played Amos 'n' Andy for their "good taste and a clean point of view" ("Slipping And Gripping" 3); the occasional criticism was that the show was low comedy, too predictable, and no longer as funny as it once had been (Teilhet 276-277). The program's racist caricatures were rarely noted. In fact, even a generally liberal magazine like The New Republic, when writing about the program, only examined its impact on listeners. One article, by Bruce Bliven, was written about the show's midwestern fans (Bliven had just returned from a visit to several midwestern cities); he remarked on the "national passion" for the program, including the fact that some movie theaters had to install radios because the public refused to miss "Amos 'n' Andy," and wanted the movie stopped (or begun late) so that they could hear their favorite program first. He also noted that where several years earlier, the two white actors, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, who played the "happy-go-lucky Harlem Negroes" had been making about \$100 a week, now they were making over \$100,000 plus bonuses from their sponsor (Bliven 199).

A closer look at a typical radio magazine, one of the many which praised "Amos 'n' Andy," is instructive. The July 1930 issue of Radio Digest was ninety-six pages in length. On nearly every page, there was a photo of a radio star or performer. I counted close to 100 pictures, some small and some full-page, including illustrations and cartoon depictions

of radio stars. Only two small photos showed a black person. In one, the performer was playing a waiter, but unlike the captions for photographs of white performers, his caption was written in the black dialect that performers of color were expected to use. The other photo depicted several white CBS performers chatting with a black pullman porter on a train. Further, in the five-page article devoted to Amos 'n' Andy, the two white men (Gosden and Correll) who played these characters were pictured in blackface, with their captions also written in black dialect, complete with grammatical mistakes and mis-spellings. And interestingly, Gosden and Correll, insisted the dialect they used was real and accurately represented how black people in some parts of the south spoke; the author of the article acknowledged that her magazine had received some complaints from black listeners, but she agreed with Gosden and Correll that their version of the Negro dialect certainly sounded realistic (Steward 13, 95). The next month, Radio Digest followed up with a four page article, "If Amos and [sic] Andy Were Negroes," in which it was asserted that most black people admired Gosden and Correll's work, did not find the two men patronizing, and agreed that many black people did in fact act like Amos or Andy (Clarke 10-12, 90). There undoubtedly were black listeners who enjoyed the program, but a modern researcher might wonder why the magazine felt the need to devote segments in two issues of the magazine to insisting the program was realistic and had the approval of the black audience.

Also, Radio Digest held a contest in which readers were asked to submit their own short script, where they constructed a dialogue, using “blackface dialect,” between Amos and Andy. According to the editors, hundreds of entries had been received, and evidently the judges assumed that most of the submissions came from white readers: one judge, writing anonymously in the August issue, remarked that the dialogues were very affectionate and many reflected a common theme: on the radio show, Amos was not treated fairly by Andy, so the dialogues cast Amos in a favorable light. This, said the judge, exemplifies “the sense of fair play inherent in all Anglo Saxons” (“Sidelights On” 13).

Although many black newspapers lacked a regular radio column, the editors of these newspapers were very willing to speak out about the racist nature of the popular culture. Among the most outspoken editors was the previously mentioned Robert Vann, of the Pittsburgh Courier. His crusade against “Amos ‘n’ Andy” did not succeed, but he was able to generate an important, and on-going, conversation in his and other newspapers about the harm that stereotypic programs caused. In the early 1930s, Vann used “Amos ‘n’ Andy” as a way to begin that conversation: he challenged his readers, especially those who found the program amusing, to ask themselves why they listened, what they liked about the program, and whether they felt it painted a positive image of American Negroes. He encouraged readers to send him their responses

("Write In Your Views" 12). He also wrote a scathing editorial about how only black people would put up with, and support, a program that was so patronizing and demeaning. He repeated his assertion that white people who listened believed the characters on the program were typical of the black community, and they assumed black men were either like Amos or like Andy ("Amos 'n' Andy" 10). At one point, the Courier claimed to have gathered more than 400,000 signatures on petitions demanding that the program be removed from the air ("White Dailies" 1,4).

While readers who write to newspapers tend to be "actives" (Richter 80), 99% of letters that were printed in the Courier expressed the same concerns that Vann had expressed. Typical of these sentiments were those of J.W. Rawlins of Detroit who stated that "Amos 'n' Andy should be run out of town as spreaders of propaganda, to keep the Negro before the whites in his primitive state, who after his 65 years of freedom is yet in his infancy" ("Run Out Of Town" A1). But at least one letter-writer said Vann was making much ado about nothing. "[Amos 'n' Andy]" is no reflection on the Negro-- it is merely a kind of minstrel sketch designed to please people and induce them to buy certain goods..." The writer, who did not sign his name, also asserted that many other racial and ethnic groups on radio are "imitated to

entertain the people-- innocent fun, all of it, nothing to belittle anyone” (“This Courier Reader” A2).

Whether editors like Robert Vann were exaggerating the problem, the fact remained that a problem existed, and in the 1920s and early 1930s, the white-owned press didn’t seem eager to discuss it. For example, on the sporadic occasions when white-owned newspapers wrote about black performers, there was no mention of the conditions under which American blacks lived or worked. When the Atlanta Constitution reported on the programs broadcast by its radio station, WGM, it gave the impression that the black performers were treated quite well and that they were perfectly contented living under segregation. For example, in early May 1922, the audience heard a concert by “200 of the south’s best Negro singers, students of different Negro schools in Atlanta...” And the newspaper noted that these singers had been trained by “Kemper Harrold, one of the best musicians of his race” (“Songs Of South” 14). Programs of Negro Spirituals were frequently heard on WGM, including songs like “Old Black Joe” at “Old Folks At Home,” which contained the kinds of lyrics that made readers of the Baltimore Afro-American so uncomfortable. But according to the Atlanta Constitution, whenever these programs of spirituals were performed, the audience enjoyed them (“Big Midnight Feature” 16).

However, neither the Constitution nor any of the other mainstream newspapers of that era mentioned that when black performers came to the studios of all too many stations, they were expected to ride in the freight elevator, rather than in the regular guest elevator (“Negro Radio Artists” 5). Further, some stations, including some in Atlanta, even made black performer wait in the basement, rather than in the lobby or the waiting room used by the white performers. While waiting in the basement was certainly humiliating enough, one segregated hotel made the black performers wait where the garbage cans and rubbish were stored. But such insults were not reported by the mainstream press, nor were they allowed to be mentioned on the air if the performers wished to be invited back. The Chicago Defender, which did report about these incidents, wondered why some black entertainers agreed to perform on stations that treated them so disrespectfully; the newspaper also wondered why white entertainers remained silent about the treatment of their black colleagues (“Herd Of” 2).

But while insults and disrespect certainly occurred at some stations, the news was not all bad for black performers. For one thing, they were being heard in cities where, because of segregation, they might never have been allowed to perform. One of the biggest names to be heard on the air was blues singer Bessie Smith, who, after giving a concert for a white-only audience at a local theater in Memphis in

October 1923, then performed a late night concert on station WMC, where her songs were very well-received (“Hit On Radio” 6). And on KDKA in Pittsburgh in September 1923, the cast of the hit Broadway musical “Shuffle Along,” including jazz greats Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle, performed all of the songs from the show. The Pittsburgh Courier asserted that “[n]ever before in the history of radio has such a venture been undertaken” (“High Class Aggregation” 9), undoubtedly unaware that the cast had performed selections from “Shuffle Along” over Boston’s WNAC in August and again in November of 1922.

During the mid-to-late 1920s, certain black bandleaders like Duke Ellington and Noble Sissle were heard on the airwaves, but their programs were usually placed late at night, rather than in a prime-time position. Further, the networks were slow to employ black entertainers as “regulars” or give them their own programs. In fact, the majority of radio jazz in the 1920s was performed by white artists, led by the previously-mentioned (and ironically-named) Paul Whiteman, whose radio persona was the “King of Jazz.” Later critics would observe that Whiteman’s role on radio (as well as other white bandleaders who purported to play jazz) was to make jazz more palatable to white audiences. A good example of this modern critique can be seen in Jerving (2004); he noted that most of the discourses about jazz in the 1920s occurred in white-owned publications, where jazz was divided into

that which was regarded positively because it was melodic, and performed with what the white audience considered excellence; as opposed to what was assessed negatively because it was performed in a 'primitive' style that was neither smooth nor commercial in its sound (654-655). And as mentioned in chapter four, there were white critics, often music school teachers, like Anne Faulkner Oberndorfer, who condemned jazz in more overtly racist terms, calling it "jungle music" and accusing it of "debasing society" (qtd. in "Is Jungle Music" 80). Meanwhile, the black press took issue with giving Whiteman the title of "King of Jazz": one 1927 article in the Chicago Defender noted that bandleader Fletcher Henderson was regarded by fans in Harlem as the real king; now that he was broadcasting on KYW in Chicago, it was assumed that fans could judge for themselves ("King Of Jazz" A8).

While black entertainers were usually associated with blues, jazz, and spirituals, there were also some who became famous for their work in opera or light classical music, among them Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson. Another African-American vocalist, Paul Robeson, was a graduate of Columbia University Law School, as well as a stage actor (Peretti 107). In his career as a baritone, however, he was usually expected to perform Negro Spirituals, songs which employed the kind of non-standard English he would never have used in real life. An example of this was when he appeared on New York's "Edison Hour" on station

WRNY in June 1927, singing songs that included “Wade in de Water” and “Hear de Lambs a-cryin’ ” (“Display Advertisement” 32).

Contrary to the myth that black audiences only liked jazz and spirituals, there were efforts to demonstrate more diverse musical tastes. In 1923, WEAR in Baltimore presented one of the first radio programs produced by a black organization. The Banneker Radio Club (a Baltimore-based group of black amateur radio operators), was led by a young engineer named Roland Carrington, and it was he who chose the music for the program, which was comprised entirely of classical music selections (“Banneker Club” 6). And it is doubtful that most fans of country & western music in the mid-1920s realized that DeFord Bailey, the popular harmonica player of the Grand Old Opry on Nashville’s WSM, was black (Stuart 22). In a time of segregation and racial prejudice, the fact that the performers and producers of radio programs were invisible was another beneficial aspect of radio for African-Americans. As mentioned earlier, the “unseen audience” did not know what the performers looked like, and it was left up to each listener’s imagination. Thus, a radio editor for a black newspaper in Norfolk VA observed,

“... a lot of white folks do not know they are listening to a colored artist when they ‘tune in.’ The radio dissipates color ... Colored artists are singing and playing to audiences which they could not reach in person ... The radio managers understand the weakness and the financial hazard of American race prejudice-- therefore they never announce that the said artist is a Negro, and they usually use fictitious and foreign-sounding

names as a further cover-up... [like] Madame Melissa Polanissa. Then all the dear white Radiolandiers settle back in their easy chairs... and listen to this dark brown girl entertain them through the colorless air" (Pickens 9).

Meanwhile, not only did white reporters completely ignore the prejudice on the airwaves, but the Department of Commerce did not interfere with WHAP in New York, a station owned by Franklin Ford, who, during the mid 1920s, regularly used his station to excoriate blacks, as well as Jews and Catholics ("Tells Of Fighting" 22). Nor did the DOC's successor, the Federal Radio Commission distinguish itself--the FRC gave WTFF, a station run by the Ku Klux Klan, a license to broadcast in Washington DC, and then considered the station's request for higher power, which was boosted to 10,000 watts ("Klan Radio Station" 6). And in 1930, despite numerous complaints to the FRC about his racist tirades, W.K. Henderson, a controversial broadcaster from Shreveport, Louisiana, was still on the air at KWKH, the station he owned ("Louisiana Broadcaster" 6). Equally disappointing to the black press and to liberal critics was that after the networks established themselves, their executives wanted to avoid any mention of subjects that might offend the southern affiliates. News reporters did not mention lynchings or race riots, and guest speakers who wanted to speak on these themes were told they could not. Even the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Professor Joel Spingarn, found that a speech he wanted to deliver about the harmful aspects of segregation was censored by NBC (Radio Is Censored

26). The only opportunities provided to proponents of desegregation who wanted to make their case occurred in the pages of magazines considered liberal, such as The Nation, and in the black press. With only occasional exceptions, the mainstream newspapers and radio magazines scrupulously avoided discussions of race. As for the black press, few of the newspapers had a radio column till about 1924; the Chicago Defender had occasional radio columns in 1922 (Hawkins 8) and the Philadelphia Tribune began its radio column in 1924 (M'Cray 15); these were two of the earliest. But as with the early radio columns in the mainstream press, the columns in the black press focused mainly on technical issues, with an occasional mention of broadcasting's possibilities as a vehicle for education or companionship. While critiques of the programs would not generally occur in the black press till the late 1920s, some of the early radio columns called attention to whenever a black performer or speaker was going to be on the air, and on which station, so that readers could be sure to listen.

By most accounts, the first full-time black announcer was Jack L. Cooper, and he had to purchase time on Chicago radio station WSBC in order to get on the air in the late 1920s; some sources say 1928, while others say 1929 (Vaillant 38-39; "Jack Cooper Is" 6). As with most "race announcers" and "race performers," his accomplishments were followed with pride by the black press (Henderson A8). At least one black

sportscaster, Jocko Maxwell, was on the air in 1929 at WNJR in New Jersey (Baird 1), but few other black announcers were able to get hired by white radio stations. Efforts by prominent black businessmen to purchase a station were also unsuccessful, as Kansas City newspaper publisher Dr. William J. Thompkins found when his request for a broadcasting license was turned down by the Federal Radio Commission in 1930 (“Radio Broadcasting License” 1). In fact, there would not be a black-owned radio station in the United States till 1949, when Jesse B. Blayton Sr. put WERD on the air in Atlanta (“Jesse B. Blayton” 4). Thus, during much of the 1920s, it was not possible to find articles or commentaries about black announcers or managers, and while there may indeed have been an editorial about the lack of opportunities, it does not seem to have been a common topic of discussion; rather, the focus was on the members of the race who had distinguished themselves as entertainers or as spokespeople for particular organizations.

But while it was easier for black musicians, especially those who performed dance music or gospel, to get on the air, there were a few occasions when black scholars and community leaders were able to broadcast; however, these talks usually took place at smaller, independent radio stations which did not have powerful signals. Still, these programs were greatly appreciated by the black audience. To cite several examples, in New York, an educational program on WEOF in 1923 featured author and scholar (and former follower of Marcus Garvey)

Dr. Hubert Harrison speaking about “The Negro and the Nation,” one of the first times a black scholar had spoken on this station (“Business Men” 1). In October 1927, Floyd J. Calvin, Features editor at the Pittsburgh Courier, gave a talk over New York’s WGBS. This station had been very receptive to black entertainers and speakers; among those who had been heard were poets Countee Cullen and James Weldon Johnson, and vocalists Ethel Waters and Paul Robeson (Calvin 13). After Calvin gave a talk about “Some Notable Colored Men,” he received a considerable amount of fan mail (“Meharry Professor” 4), encouraging station manager Terese Rose Nagel to invite him back for another educational talk, this time as part of a newly created “Pittsburgh Courier Radio Hour.” The new program was envisioned as a combination of education, inspiration, and entertainment-- it would have talks about positive achievements in black history, and feature interesting guests and performers (Calvin 13). Another similar program made its debut in early 1928 on New York’s WABC. “The Negro Achievement Hour,” was a weekly program of music, educational talks, commentary, and reviews of the arts. The program was “produced by and for Negroes,” and sponsored by the reference work “Who’s Who In Colored America” (“To Celebrate Negro” 9). The “Negro Achievement Hour” focused on areas of black progress. Among its guests were black journalists, philosophers, doctors and professors, in addition to musicians from all genres, and even some of the artists who were part of the Harlem Renaissance. As

such, said the Pittsburgh Courier, it was an antidote to the typical radio programs where blacks were in subordinate or stereotypic roles (“Prominent Artists” 2). And while programs like the “Pittsburgh Courier Radio Hour” and the “Negro Achievement Hour” could not compete with the mass appeal comedies and dramas on the networks, they provided an important opportunity for people of color to speak for themselves, without fake dialects or racist caricatures; and week after week, they introduced the listeners (some of whom, according to fan mail, were white) to a diversity of thought and talent seldom offered by the networks.

Two other attempts to counteract the racism in American life should be mentioned. Educator Carter G. Woodson, in an effort to promote a greater understanding of black achievement, had created what he called “Negro History Week” in 1926, and steadily, a growing number of radio stations (including some network affiliates) began broadcasting at least one program that focused on the positive contributions that blacks in Africa and in the United States had made, from ancient times to the present. Woodson saw Negro History Week as a way to promote a more accurate look at black history, and to provide a different perspective from the one that biased and stereotypic American textbooks often presented (“Negro History Week” 125-127). And while the networks were reticent to specifically discuss racism, once a year,

beginning in the early 1930s, they participated in “Race Relations Sunday,” an annual event sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches, in which famous preachers of all denominations spoke about brotherhood and the need for mutual cooperation between the races. Many churches remained segregated (another subject rarely discussed on the air), but on this one day, at least rhetorically, black and white Christians, as well as a number of Jews who also participated in the event, all expressed a common hope for an end to bigotry (Haynes 28, 36). And as long as the message remained inspirational and non-confrontational, the networks were willing to broadcast it.

A final word should be said about the coverage by the mainstream (white) press versus that of the black press. While it is unfair to apply 2011 attitudes to people from the 1930s, content analysis of mainstream radio columnists from publications like the Washington Post or the New York Times demonstrates that how minority performers were treated or whether certain subjects (race riots, lynchings, segregation) were censored did not seem to be on the minds of the average writer. An examination of ten years of radio columns (1924-1934) from Orrin Dunlap Jr., for example, found articles about certain black performers, but no mention of any social issues that related to representations of blacks on radio, the roles they were allowed to play, or whether they were treated fairly by concert promoters or managers (nearly all of whom were

white). To Dunlap's credit, his style in writing about black performers was rarely patronizing or demeaning. In 1931, one of the most popular new vocal groups on the air was the Mills Brothers, and Dunlap wrote a very favorable piece about them, saying they had "ability and talent that other male quartets on the radio have never discovered" and said he expected them to go on to a successful career on the air; however, praise of the Mills Brothers was immediately followed in Dunlap's column by another favorable piece about how talented Amos 'n' Andy were ("Listening-In" XX10). Dunlap also gave a positive review to a new program called "John Henry," which featured an all-black cast. He noted that this program was based on the book by Roark Bradford, which thus made it "true to life" ("New Mystery" XX10). It should be mentioned that Bradford, a Southern white man, wrote stories that utilized black folklore and dialect. White critics of his time often asserted that Bradford was an expert on "negro life" (Tracy 9). In fact, other critics at mainstream magazines referred to him in that way: the critic from Radio Fan-Fare said that Bradford was offering an accurate view of "the Southern negro," praising the program for its "exciting and authentic negro folklore and 'voodoo' ceremonials" ("Reviewing" 27). And in fairness to Dunlap, even some black critics gave "John Henry" favorable reviews ("John Henry Going Over Big" 7), perhaps because there were few black actors or programs on radio at that time.

Dunlap's comparison of the two programs in his radio column was interesting as well. He praised the cast's dramatic skills (especially lead actor Juano Hernandez), and said this program about a legendary black man who was "represent[ed] Negro life in a way that may be termed more highbrow than the antics of Amos 'n' Andy," and he wondered if the mass audience would give the program a chance or prefer to listen to its competition, the comic and singer Eddie Cantor. And then, once again, he returned to more about the talents of Amos 'n' Andy, how hard they work on each script, and how they devise some of the plot twists ("Actors In" X10).

Dunlap did write other articles that mentioned black performers, but interestingly, he was one of the many mainstream radio critics who ignored what was for the black community a very important story. In January 1934, popular humorist Will Rogers used the word "nigger" in a radio skit, referring to a song as a "nigger spiritual" ("Protest Rogers" 1). Rogers had used the word in print in his syndicated newspaper columns on a few occasions, but this was evidently the first time he used it on the radio, and thousands of black listeners were outraged. Many wrote to their local black newspaper in protest, while others wrote to Rogers himself or to his sponsor, Gulf Refining Company; the NAACP led some of the letter-writing, also contacting Rogers' network, NBC. But a search of major newspapers shows that the incident received little coverage. In

fact, according to the black press, the New York Daily News and the New York World-Telegram were among the few that mentioned it (“Will Rogers Hurls Back” 1; “Protest Rogers” 1). And in spite of how upset the black community was, NBC downplayed the importance of what had happened, saying Rogers had a contract that gave him complete freedom to say whatever he wanted (“Claim Will Rogers” 2).

Discourses By And About Women

While the subject of the marginalization of women’s voices and women’s issues has been thoroughly discussed by Michele Hilmes (2007), Susan Douglas (1999) and myself (2001), it is worth noting that attitudes about the proper role for women shifted several times during radio’s formative years. As early as 1920, a small number of newspapers and radio magazines noted the existence of “lady amateurs” in what was otherwise considered an all-male hobby. It is interesting to note that one early article, while generally positive and admiring of the young women who had mastered building receivers and broadcasting messages over the air, referred to what these women were doing as “gossiping,” whereas descriptions of men chatting on their ham radio sets were never framed in that way (“New York Amateurs” F4). In Boston, the first woman announcer was Eunice Randall, on 1XE/WGI (Halper, Invisible Stars 3-4). Eunice also had a background in amateur radio, and was an

accomplished “draftslady,” making technical drawings for AMRAD, owner of the radio station and a manufacturer of radio equipment. On the air several nights a week from 1920 through 1923, her duties, in those days of all-volunteer broadcasting, were varied. They included announcing the police reports of stolen cars, reading children’s bedtime stories, and if a guest did not show up, Eunice would have to entertain (she sang in a church choir, so performing was not unfamiliar to her). Despite later myths that women announcers had never been accepted, Eunice was so well-regarded that a syndicated columnist wrote a profile of her work as a designer of radio equipment; he then spoke of her skill as an announcer, referring to her as “one of the pioneer figures in the development of radio broadcasting. She is known from coast to coast” (Finch 4).

There were a few other women announcers at that time, the best known of whom was probably Bertha Brainard, who began by doing theater reviews in 1922 on Newark’s WJZ and ended up the first woman executive at the new National Broadcasting Company (Scully 39, 122). Brainard, who insisted she had not encountered any discrimination during her career (Brainard, “Sex No Longer” 7), became known for her expertise in what kinds of programs women listeners wanted to hear, and was credited with the creation of one of the most popular women’s programs, featuring Mrs. Julian Heath, founder of an organization called

the National Housewives' League (Goldman 34-35; Brainard R16). She was also known for her skill in producing network programs and hiring talent. And yet, few profiles of her avoided mentioning that she was attractive, petite, a stylish dresser, and despite her success as an executive in a mostly male programming hierarchy, she had "retain[ed] her femininity" and did not believe in acting in ways associated with men. For example, rather than arguing, she recommended a collaborative approach. "You can bang the table and swear... but any man you tried that on could bang harder, yell louder, and swear more fluently, so why not be yourself and use feminine tactics? One of them I've always found effective in any impasse is to appeal for advice. What's more, I get it" (Brainard, qtd. in McLaughlin 42).

A debate about the suitability of women announcers broke out in 1926, when the station at which Brainard worked, WJZ, conducted a mail-in survey and the results seemed to overwhelmingly indicate that listeners did not want women announcers (the newspaper reports said the margin was 100 to 1 in favor of men). Respondents said that female singers were perfectly acceptable, but announcers should only be male-- and female respondents were as negative about women announcers as male respondents were. Among the reasons quoted were that women sounded patronizing or overly emotional as speakers; their voices were too high-pitched; and women did not know enough about sports or news

to cover them effectively (“Pick Men” 16). Although Brainard had at one time been on the air at WJZ (and according to fan letters, her theater reviews seemed popular), she never commented on the survey, even when her own boss, Charles Popenoe, stated that women did not sound good on the radio. At one point, she did agree that women lacked sufficient training in how to control their voice. As she told McCall’s magazine in 1927, “It is difficult... to make a woman’s voice sound natural on the air. When we’re under tension or nervous strain, our voices seem to show it immediately.” But she also asserted that many women who are trained as actresses or professional speakers have mastered the art of keeping their voice well modulated (qtd. in “Women Need Vocal Art” 16).

However, as mentioned in chapter three, some female critics, notably Radio Broadcast’s Jennie Irene Mix, were dismissive of such assertions, whether they came from male program managers like Popenoe, who told Mix in an interview that he would never hire a woman announcer (Mix, “For And Against” 393) or whether they came from listeners who filled out the survey. Mix pointed to several female announcers of that era who were well-accepted, and also suggested that in time, the public would become more accustomed to hearing women’s voices in the public sphere. But attitudes remained negative: in 1928, Terese Rose Nagel of WGBS in New York, who had worked as a print

journalist and was now one of the few women still doing any announcing, asked some of the male network announcers their views about training women for on-air jobs. Among the most outspoken opponents was NBC's Phillips Carlin; he told her that women's voices lacked authority and conviction, and they did not sound sincere. "The woman announcer should confine herself to women's programs, including recipes, hostessing, and other feminine angles." NBC announcer Pat Kelly said women were not suitable because some announcing jobs were too dangerous, such as covering a breaking news story where violence or danger might be involved. And Milton J. Cross asserted that "announcing is... a straight, common-sense, practical job" and women were not cut out for it (Nagel, "Shall We" 5).

As these answers demonstrated, there was still a stereotypic set of beliefs that restricted women's role, similar to the stereotypes that restricted African-Americans. While there were now more women entering such formerly male occupations as lawyer and scientist, prejudice often prevented them from advancing, and many women were still learning to navigate the professional world. After a long struggle, women had finally gotten the right to vote in 1920, and some did attempt to run for office, with varying degrees of success. But as a result of being excluded until recently, few of the new group of female politicians had experience at public speaking, whether in front of a crowd at a political

rally or on a radio station. One of the most common topics of discussion in the press was about the impact that female politicians might make: among the questions asked were whether women voters would arbitrarily vote for any candidate who was female (they quickly showed they would not); whether women politicians would change political discourse; whether women in politics would be taken seriously; and whether men would vote for a female candidate. The answers were complicated, and while a thorough discussion of voting patterns in the first decade after suffrage is outside the scope of this dissertation, suffice it to say that in some parts of the country, women were able to enter politics and get elected (in 1925, Wyoming had a female governor, Nellie Tayloe Ross; and in 1926, Seattle had a woman mayor, Bertha Landes, just to name two examples). As noted in chapter four, what to call various aspects of radio (“radiophone,” “invisible audience,” etc) also came into question with regard to what titles to use for women in public life. If a woman aviator was an “aviatrix,” should a woman governor be called a “Governoress”? That was the suggestion when Governor Ross gave a radio talk over KOA in Denver in 1925, and Radio World was among the magazines unsure if a new term for a female governor was needed; the same problem arose in Minneapolis in 1926, when Mayor Elizabeth Ries of the town of Shakopee spoke on station WCCO and the Radio Record referred to her as the “Lady Mayor” (qtd. in Halper, Invisible 271).

Meanwhile, the League of Women Voters, a non-partisan, educational organization, frequently provided guest speakers to radio stations across the country throughout the 1920s; these speakers encouraged women to vote and also provided useful information about the candidates and the issues (“Post’s Radio Hour” E6). And newspapers also reported on women politicians when they took an interesting or unusual stand on an issue, or if they participated in a debate (having a woman in a political debate was still a novel experience in the early to mid-1920s). A good example was a 1926 radio event that featured two women members of the House of Representatives, Mary T. Norton (a Democrat from New Jersey) and Edith Nourse Rogers (a Republican from Massachusetts). Each expressed their views on why their political party was best. Their talks were carried by both WRC in Washington DC and WJZ in New York (“Two Women” 5). And although women politicians of the early 1920s may have been inexperienced compared to their male counterparts, some quickly mastered the necessary skills; two woman praised as an excellent public speakers (and who were also heard on radio) were Harriet Taylor Upton and Izetta Jewell Brown. Both were said to be skilled at eloquent political communication, and able to impress male and female voters equally (Bell SC 18).

Yet, for all the gains that women had made, newspapers still tended to relegate news about their achievements to the so-called

“Women’s Pages.” These pages featured recipes, household hints, and news of volunteer organizations to which women belonged. And on radio, the previously mentioned “women’s shows” were an audio version of the Women’s Pages-- these were hour-long programs aimed at the homemaker, and nearly every city had one. Phillips Carlin was correct about this much: one of the only times when a female announcer was the norm was as host of a Women’s Show. It is noteworthy that the discourses about the housewife were similar to those about the farmer-- women at home were perceived to be lonely and bored, and radio was presented as a companion, as well as a way to keep in touch with the outside world. As a writer for Radio Digest explained, the typical housewife was confined to four walls, too busy with household chores to make new friends, too overwhelmed with the running of the home, raising the kids, keeping her husband happy, and living on whatever her husband can afford to provide. While her husband met interesting people at the office and was able to find mental stimulation through his job, the housewife often lacked such opportunities. But then, along came “her Liberator, pushing down the walls that confined her, bringing her new life, new power” (McGee 90). Of course, the new power was not emancipation from the drudgery of housework by somehow convincing her husband to help around the house. Radio helped her to become more efficient, through listening to Women’s Shows and benefitting from radio homemakers like Ida Bailey Allen. Thanks to radio, the housewife

was entertained, but also informed. She learned how to dress more stylishly, how to be a better cook, and how to become a wise shopper. And thanks to radio, women at home became much more contented, because they no longer felt alone (McGee 91).

There were many similar articles, praising women's traditional role of wife and mother, while crediting radio for teaching female listeners (who were assumed to be homemakers) to perform that role more effectively (see for example Goldman 34-35 and "Radio For Women" 20). Few if any of these mainstream print "homemaker" discourses included any question or challenge to the idea that a woman's proper place was in the home, and interestingly, a few of the articles were written by women. It is unknown how these female writers, who worked in print journalism, personally felt about promoting the discourse that women should remain within the confines of traditionally- defined gender roles or give up their career and be housewives.

Even at a time when much was changing in the culture, attitudes about women's role still remained traditional, especially regarding the frequently expressed assertion that women had to choose between a career and a successful marriage. This was the subject of numerous articles, and even advice columnists agreed with it: Dorothy Dix was asked by a young women reader whether she should pursue her ideal

career or marry a young man with whom she had a lot in common; Dix wrote to her that “if you want a career, don’t marry at all... Somehow matrimony and careers for women don’t mix. When a man marries, he merely annexes a wife to his business in life, but when a woman marries, marriage becomes her business in life.” She went on to say a woman pursuing a career would leave her husband and children to fend for themselves, which “robs her husband and her home” (“Dorothy Dix’s Letter Box” 10). At this time, when traditionalist religious views strongly dominated public discourse, the idea that a woman might not want children, or that she might be able to negotiate the housekeeping and child-rearing with her husband, was rarely mentioned. Further, marriages where the woman was vocal about feminism or publicly expressed opinions independent of her husband were often denigrated, even in academic journals of the time. For example, Ruth Hale, about whom more will be said, was considered a “radical” in The Journal of Social Forces. The reason for this was that “Miss Ruth Hale does not permit herself to be called Mrs. Heywood Broun, even when accompanied by her young son” (Johnson 613). The essay goes on to examine the arguments made by leading feminists and show why, in the author’s view, such views are unwise, especially “[t]he two chief doctrines of radical feminists... economic independence and birth control” (613); Johnson also asserts that women who want to have children cannot be effective at a career (616). And all the more puzzling in the negative

framing of feminism is that Johnson, a former journalist, with a PhD in Sociology, was female and was also married. And while she did not keep her name, she did continue her career after marriage.

As a result of the vehement opposition from what today would be called “social conservatives” -- conservative members of the Christian clergy, especially Catholics, along with religious-based civic groups like the Knights of Columbus or Catholic Daughters of America (“Sees Birth Control As” 29), the subject of family planning was one that radio scrupulously avoided (Radio Is Censored 28); in some states, even advocating for or teaching about birth control was a punishable offense, as Margaret Sanger found when she tried to give a talk in Boston in 1929 (Kennedy 82). Meanwhile, in 1927, a related controversy had begun after Benjamin B. Lindsey, an outspoken juvenile court judge from Denver, co-wrote a book, The Companionate Marriage, in which he suggested that young men and women should be able to live together in a trial marriage, where the couple could have a year to assess whether or not they were compatible. The only caveat was they had to agree not to have children. If after a year, the couple decided to stay together, then they could do so. But if the relationship was not working out, they would be able to dissolve it easily. Or, if they decided they were compatible and did want children, they could change the status of their relationship to a traditionally understood marriage (“Lindsey Urges” 3). Since one of the

most common discourses in the popular culture was about women having children, and many clergy believed that sexual intercourse within marriage should only be for purposes of procreation, Judge Lindsey's essay aroused strong emotions; a number of priests and ministers, as well as civic leaders accused him of promoting immorality, promiscuity and free love, charges which he denied ("Judge Lindsey" 11). At one point, even the Pope spoke out against him ("Pope Excoriates" 1).

The idea that a woman might not want to have children, and that sex between husband and wife could be for some purpose other than procreation was contentious, and it was frequently argued, often heatedly, but usually only in print (for example, "Is Companionate Marriage Moral," a debate which occurred in the pages of the July 1928 issue of The Forum). This was normally the kind of issue radio wanted no part of; the National Association of Broadcasters even had a code of ethics which discouraged any broadcast which members of the public might regard as offensive to their religious beliefs (Brindze 176). But of course, some stations made exceptions, especially where a newsmaker was concerned. In mid-March 1927, Denver station, KOA, perhaps sensing an opportunity to attract a large audience, scheduled Judge Lindsey for a midnight talk on companionate marriage ("Program on Ireland" F7); the controversy had intensified in that city because some of his critics wanted Judge Lindsey removed from office (which they

succeeded in doing). But a search of online and microfilm sources show that the Judge's talk in favor of trial marriage was the exception. During 1927, most of the radio speakers who addressed the topic were clergy or conservative civic leaders who opposed it (for example "What's On the Air" B13 spoke of a talk by "Sailor" Ryan, identified as someone who was a defender of morality and of the traditional definition of marriage).

Then, in early February 1928, several stations carried a talk from WJZ in New York by actress and author Beatrice Forbes-Robinson Hale, who offered views more favorable to some of Judge Lindsey's ideas. Among the cities where the talk was heard was Washington DC, where the response evidently was irate. The Washington Post published several letters, which said the topic was obscene and the talk should not have been broadcast. This prompted the editorialist at the Post to offer an apology to listeners, saying it had been a "filthy lecture," typical of so-called experts from foreign countries; and the editorialist agreed that such ideas should never be permitted in decent homes. The anonymous editorialist even recommended that in the future, radio broadcasters refuse to air such "poisonous" discussion ("Obscenity By Radio" 6). But a few days later, the Post published a letter that disagreed with the editorialist and those who had been offended. Mrs. Clara Sidney Wiseman wrote a long and eloquent letter praising the talk and saying it was in no way obscene or filthy. Rather, it was "brilliant," "wholesome,"

and “sincere,” as well as very informative. Mrs. Wiseman suggested that those who protested so loudly were “liv[ing] in darkness,” and probably didn’t even pay attention to the speaker, who happened to be opposed to companionate marriage but in favor of at least providing young people with reliable information about sex so that they could make intelligent decisions (“Mrs. Hale’s Talk” E9) And Mrs. Hale herself contacted the Post, puzzled that the editorial writer had assumed she was some kind of foreign enemy who was trying to attack America’s moral codes; she noted that she was a “native-born American citizen.” Further, she questioned the idea that the topic should never be mentioned-- she asked why radio preachers who opposed Judge Lindsey had the right to rail against him without being accused of obscenity or filth, whereas educators and public speakers who wanted to at least consider his views were accused of being immoral. She suggested that those who were offended by her talk did not have to listen, since it was easy to turn to another station. And she told the editor that she had received a large number of positive letters, thanking her for her balanced approach and praising her for discussing the subject fairly (B. Hale 6).

As previously discussed, while the 1920s were in many ways a time of profound and often positive social change for women, having a career or being a wife were still presented as an either/or proposition. Some of this may have been custom, but unfortunately, even under the

law, many states restricted married women's rights. One discourse about women's "proper" place was occurring in legal journals, especially in the Women Lawyers' Journal, a publication of the National Association of Women Lawyers (NAWL). But the women lawyers seldom were able to move their rhetorical case beyond the women's pages, and it is doubtful that the average person even knew that NAWL existed or that it was fighting in a number of states to give married women more autonomy. In some states, following the custom of the British common law, a married woman was considered the legal property of her husband; in the wedding vows, she had to promise to "obey" him, so the question of whether or not she could work was his decision to make, as was what happened to her earnings. These matters, while also not a subject for this dissertation, were frequently discussed by NAWL members in the Women Lawyers' Journal (for example, Swain 9-11). Questions about the rights of married women were occasionally picked up by the mainstream press and radio, but usually if the person affected was a well-known public figure.

To cite one example, in most states, a married woman was required to take her husband's name, whether she wished to or not. A 1922 news story involved journalist Ruth Hale, mentioned earlier in this chapter; she was president of the Lucy Stone League (an organization that fought for legal autonomy for married women). Hale was married to

fellow journalist Heywood Broun, and they wanted to visit France, but she was denied a passport in her own name. She had to take the matter to court, where her concerns about legal autonomy were treated scornfully by representatives at the U.S. State Department, who told her it would be too confusing if a married woman used a different name from that of her husband (“Uncle Sam” 13). The subject of whether a married woman should maintain her own separate identity or become Mrs. John Smith was debated in print on numerous occasions during the early to mid-1920s.

Prior to the Depression, newspaper and magazine articles about successful “career women” frequently stressed that those who decided to marry understood this meant giving up their (paid) profession and, as Dorothy Dix had stated, accepting the new (and unpaid) profession of homemaker; this was generally presented as something that women were happy to do, since the alternative was to remain single. Despite some of the new opportunities for women, print continued to frame the discussion as one of “career versus family,” a discourse seen in such articles like “Should Wives Take Jobs” (23) and “Can A Woman Run A Home And Have A Job Too?” (40, 63). The concept that it was only natural, and even ordained by Scripture, for married women to be housewives was also put forth in advice columns such as “Women Who Want To Be Men” (Crane 8). But now and then, a magazine article would

discuss that a growing number of women were working, and that even single women were paid less than their male counterparts. In a 1931 piece for Harper's, Agnes Rogers Hyde observed with some disappointment that even the best educated women from the most prestigious universities found their options, and their chances for advancement, limited; she wrote that only a handful of occupations were open to women, and these tended to be occupations that did not pay very well (681). Interestingly, she also noted the phenomenon of women insisting they had never been discriminated against, and the tendency to assert that the playing field was level (684-685), something mentioned in chapter three, in quotes by radio executive Bertha Brainard. And it should be noted that while a number of well-known women gave radio talks during the 1920s and early 1930s, the subject of gender discrimination or the lack of equal pay or married women's lack of legal standing did not show up as topics that were given much airtime.

There is no way to know if an occasional address on these subjects took place, since, as also mentioned in chapter three, audiotape did not yet exist, and researchers today must rely on listings from newspapers and articles in magazines. Based on those print sources, as well as reports in the Women Lawyers' Journal, a speech from NAWL's annual convention was occasionally broadcast locally, and several women lawyers gave occasional talks about the law on local radio stations, but

such opportunities were infrequent. One example occurred in late March 1926, when New York's WRNY broadcast NAWL's annual banquet. It is interesting to note that the New York Times, which reported on the event, did not report on what the women speakers said; rather, it focused on two of the male speakers, one of whom, New York attorney George Gordon Battle, praised women lawyers for their "intuition, sympathy for the oppressed, and ... refinement, which they bring to any walk of life" ("Gerard Praises" 22). Searches of more than forty major newspapers and magazines (including the units of analysis for this dissertation) indicate that topics such as the need for an expansion of women's rights or the problem of discrimination against women were not frequently discussed on radio. In fact, when some of the radio magazines discussed women's rights, it was in the context of consumerism: for example, in the August 1930 issue of Radio Digest, there was an article about "Every Woman's Right" to be beautiful (Conradt-Eberlin 40-41); it was explained in this piece that women "deserved" to have fashionable clothing, wear the most appropriate make-up and find the hair stylist who would bring out their beauty (modern researchers might note the irony of such articles appearing during the Depression).

One interesting exchange of views about women's role in public life that did make some news in the mainstream press occurred in August and September 1934. It involved some statements made in a speech by

Lillian D. Rock, Secretary (and later Vice President) at the annual convention of the National Association of Women Lawyers, and the subsequent response by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Rock was in the forefront of publicly advocating for more women in office, including more women federal judges and even a woman president. In her August address, she asserted there were a number of notable women who were qualified to be president or vice president, and their gender (or their “sex,” as was the common term back then) should not disqualify them from consideration. Rock also stated that “True freedom [for women] depends not upon the making of laws but the interpretation thereof. Hence, with men as the sole interpreters of the law, woman would still be the fettered, groveling thing that she was a hundred years ago.” She further asserted that only by electing more women to positions of political power would there be an end to such social problems as child labor (“Woman President” 19). The First Lady had recently been given a weekly radio program on NBC, and in late September, she decided to talk about what Rock had said. Mrs. Roosevelt stated that women were not ready to be president, since they had only been in political life for fewer than 15 years; while women had made many advances, she doubted a woman could inspire the confidence of a nation the way a man could (“First Lady Favors” 23). Eleanor Roosevelt and Lillian D. Rock continued to disagree on the subject, a discussion kept alive to some degree by Rock’s founding in 1935 of a political committee to work for

getting a qualified woman candidate on the ballot for president or vice president. By early 1935, this committee was said to have more than 3000 members and Rock said she expected to enroll thousands more (“Drive Is Opened” 23).

But especially during the Depression, a more common discourse was that working women were harmful to economic recovery, and that they should give up their jobs because men needed them more, in order to support their family. Some high-profile businesswomen spoke out about the government’s new policies, especially the National Recovery Act (NRA). For example, veteran attorney Olive Stott Gabriel, president of the National Association of Women Lawyers, stated that women were being forced back into the home. She said the NRA discriminated against working women, whether married or single, by giving them a lower pay scale than men, and by making it acceptable for companies to fire women arbitrarily and hire men in their place (“Says World Curbs” 23). Unfortunately, most of these complaints were either ignored or marginalized by the press and by radio.

Meanwhile, the press in the 1920s and early 1930s continued to display ambivalence on the topic of a woman’s proper role. There were the previously mentioned articles about female celebrities who loved radio (movie stars, radio singers, politicians), and as seen in the early

radio discourses about “the first station to do X,” there were a similar number of articles about the first woman to do a particular thing, as women’s roles expanded during the Roaring Twenties. Examples of this type of discourse were articles about the first women’s colleges to install radios or teach radio courses (“First Radiophone” 9); profiles of the first woman federal judge, Florence E. Allen (Harding 18), and the first woman baseball player to play against men (and do quite well), Lizzie Murphy (“Meet Miss Murphy” 11). Female radio engineers or inventors (two occupations considered highly unusual for women) were also sometimes profiled, such as Grace Hazen, a physicist and engineer at the Bureau of Standards Radio Laboratory, who was the subject of a story in Radio World (Stevenson 22); she was also an early expert on short-wave broadcasting, and in 1925, she gave a radio talk about opportunities for women as engineers (“Standards Bureau” E9).

There were also frequent magazine and newspaper articles about female trail-blazers, especially women in non-traditional roles (including newsmakers like “lady fliers” Ruth Elder and Amelia Earhart, women politicians like Nellie Tayloe Ross, or even First Ladies like Eleanor Roosevelt, unique for having her own radio show where she gave opinions on a number of current topics). And speaking of First Ladies, there were articles about why some of them did not mind being in the public eye, and even gave radio talks, while others maintained a lower

public profile: many reporters were frustrated that Mrs. Calvin Coolidge never wanted to broadcast (Kaiser A5), whereas Mrs. Herbert Hoover was a confident and willing radio speaker (“Mrs. Hoover’s Radio Talk” 10). The expectation that First Ladies would in fact speak on radio, rather than staying in the background, was another in a changing set of expectations. First Ladies were not expected to comment about politics, but they were known for their particular “causes” and speaking about those was welcomed-- Mrs. Hoover’s area of interest was promoting volunteerism, especially the Girl Scouts (Wolters, “First Lady” G9). The critics also weighed in on the speaking styles of some of the female newsmakers-- Amelia Earhart was frequently singled out for having a good radio voice and personality. One female critic, Agnes Smith, who had previously asserted that women speakers sounded artificial on the air, wrote a subsequent mea culpa, acknowledging that her blanket condemnation of female speakers was wrong, and praising Earhart as someone worth listening to (Smith, “Ladies On The Air” 30).

And yet, the articles about women as wives and mothers, and women who preferred traditional roles, seemed to far outnumber those about women doing something new or unique. Even Eleanor Roosevelt was quoted as saying that her home and her children came first in her life; she agreed that women who wanted to work after marriage could certainly do so, but once they had children, she recommended that

women remain at home. And she expressed the now-popular view that it was much easier for women today to be homemakers, because they were no longer isolated from the outside world: “The radio brings the whole world into her home, and helps her to keep current with the times” (Genn 26-27). Hilmes and others have suggested that radio, and the publications that covered the industry, had good reason to foreground a more traditional view of women, one in which the female audience was envisioned as potential customers for the sponsors’ products. Advertising studies during the late 1920s showed the growing importance of women as consumers -- one survey indicated that “85% of household purchases [are] made by women” (Hilmes, Radio Voices 137). When the Washburn-Crosby company, makers of Gold Medal Flour, began sponsoring radio talks by the mythical “Betty Crocker” in the mid 1920s, the company did so because it believed this was a good way to promote their products, but they framed the program as “a service... [that] is of direct value to every housewife (“Betty Crocker Talks” 3). And by the late 1920s, even Bertha Brainard understood that part of her role at NBC was matching up performers with advertisers who wanted to sponsor their program (Hilmes, Only Connect 76).

After several years when women announcers like Eunice Randall, and her counterparts at other stations (including Jessie E. Koewing and Vaughn DeLeath in New York, Corinne Jordan and Eleanor Poehler in

Minneapolis-St Paul, and others) could be heard giving the news, announcing concerts, and reading bedtime stories to children, things changed dramatically with the advent of the networks. As announcing became more professionalized and advertising became a fact of radio life, the sponsors, who were paying for the programs, had very distinct preferences as to who could and could not announce. These decision-makers were men who had conservative viewpoints about gender roles: they believed the man should speak, and the woman should listen (Hilmes, Radio Voices 311-312). By the late 1920s, it was rare to hear a female voice announcing anything other than a women's show or a children's program. One of the few survivors was Chicago morning show host Halloween Martin, whose popular program, "The Musical Clock" went on the air on station KYW in 1929 and continued for a decade; it was highly unusual for a woman to host during the time period known as "morning drive," when people are getting up and getting ready for work. To this day, most morning drive announcers are male. But Halloween Martin proved that a woman announcer could win over both male and female fans (G. Douglas 184, 189).

However, as with the lack of critique from the mainstream (white) press about racism, few male radio editors spoke out about the lack of women announcers or about some of the stereotypic representations of women on comedies and radio dramas. In fact, sometimes, the male

radio critics were dismissive of the idea that women should have greater opportunities. Carroll Nye, radio critic for the Los Angeles Times (and married to a woman who wrote for the women's pages) suggested that women should not even try to get announcer training, since "a woman usually misses the mark when she faces a microphone...her voice lacks force. Most woman announcers are saccharine and ingratiating." Nye did not even think women were suitable for becoming radio executives; he seemed to hold the view that being a secretary or a studio hostess was quite good enough, and he advised women not to be "militant," not to attempt to push too hard when society was not ready for women to move up. He admitted that restrictions on women's opportunities in radio were "unjust," but suggested that women be "realists" and accept the way things were (Nye, "Does Radio" A2). The Chicago Tribune's Larry Wolters, whose wife Flora was also a journalist, had a somewhat more nuanced view than Nye's, although he too could not imagine wide acceptance of women as announcers. While agreeing that both men and women preferred the male speaking voice on radio, Wolters stated the seldom-articulated fact that it was the advertisers who insisted on male voices for their commercials. And he said that if a woman had a "full, rich voice," she might be suitable as an announcer, assuming the public would accept women in this role (which he seemed to believe was unlikely). Wolters also remarked that when women were making a speech in public, they "ordinarily rely on... their beauty, personal charm

and such,” not just their voice. He then made a prediction that the arrival of television would be helpful to women, since the audience would be able to see them as well as listen to them. But his caveat was that even on television, a pleasant voice and talent would not be enough. It would be only “good-looking women” who would succeed (Wolters, “Why Men Rule” C8).

There were, however, a few male radio critics who were not so negative about women working in radio, as long as they understood the limitations. One was John B. Kennedy, who, in a 1932 article in Collier's magazine noted that women had been “banned by tradition from the microphone” but had carved out a successful niche in working behind the scenes, as talent scouts, musical directors, production managers, dramatic actresses, publicists, and scriptwriters; he gave a number of examples of women holding these important jobs. He also pointed out that there were some exceptions to the rule that women could not announce-- he named New York actress and announcer Rosaline Green, saying “Critics have called her ‘the most perfect female voice on the air’ ” (14, 45). Some women journalists, perhaps resigned to the idea that there would be few opportunities for women as on-air personnel, also recommended radio jobs behind-the-scenes, especially as writers of radio dramas (Jeffreys, 3). And women who had become successful in these roles, especially Irna Phillips, who created several highly rated soap

operas, and Anne Schumacher Ashenhurst, an advertising executive (whose agency specialized in products that appealed to women) were sometimes profiled in the newspapers and magazines, reinforcing the idea that these were the kinds of positions most suitable for a woman (Hutchinson 12; “We Pay Our Respects” 31).

And one final example of the contradictory messages in the press about women could be seen in the story of “Miss Radio.” In 1925, the New York Radio World’s Fair, a popular annual exposition, announced a contest for the ideal female radio fan. Among the qualifications were the ability to DX, to demonstrate familiarity with how radio works (both technically and programmatically), and to write the best essay on what radio had done to improve women’s lives. The winner would receive a trip to New York and a silver trophy, presented by the governor. The winner was a 20 year old college student, Rena Jane Frew, from Beaver, PA. She was a ham radio operator, advisor to a local ham radio club, and a passionate radio fan. One journalist referred to her as the “Diana of the air, haunting DX stations and thrilling her friends with the story of her interest and appreciation of radio” (“Rena Jane” 11). In 1926, the contest was repeated, as the general manager of the Fair stated he had been deluged with applicants and it was obvious there were many female fans eager to try for the title. And yet, by 1929, the competition had changed dramatically. It was no longer about enthusiasm for radio nor

the ability to DX nor even the ability to write about how radio had changed women's lives. It was now a search for "the most beautiful radio artist," (Dunlap Jr., "Looking For" X8); by the early 1930s, it was indistinguishable from any typical beauty contest.

With few female critics writing for the mainstream press, discussions of what today would be called "sexism" or the stereotypic treatment of women, could only be found in niche publications with a comparatively small circulation, such as the Women's Journal (founded in 1921) or Independent Woman (founded in 1920), both of which tended to focus mainly on issues and current events that affected women. These magazines also featured monthly profiles of female newsmakers-- accomplished clubwomen (members of volunteer organizations), as well as judges, doctors, political figures, businesswomen, and authors. Radio was occasionally mentioned, as were other aspects of popular culture, but media critiques were infrequent. (And while the Women's Journal asserted that its mission was to promote and further equality for women, the photographs and illustrations in selected issues from the 1920s and early 1930s were always of upper-class white women.) One of the first articles about a woman in radio to appear in either publication was a brief profile of Bertha Brainard in the Women's Journal in November 1928. And in the style of that era, even this profile referred to Brainard, by now the National Program Manager for NBC, as "petite, pretty, with

her pink and white skin, blue eyes, and red gold hair, she looks more like a butterfly than an important executive (McMullen 18). As for Independent Woman, it established a radio department and began covering radio on a regular basis in the late 1930s. The coverage did not involve critique, but rather, featured stories about the women who were executives, managers, or owners of radio stations, as well as the women who worked behind the scenes at the networks as producers or writers.

Critiques Of Radio Speakers

As discussed in chapter five, one of the first areas where scholars (who initially ignored radio) became willing to offer their opinion was regarding the impact of announcers and other radio speakers. There was great concern that affectations and mispronunciations by popular announcers would be imitated by listeners, especially impressionable students (Axley 1930; Combs 1931). By the late 1920s, the networks had professionalized announcing and set standards for how an announcer should sound: auditions for announcers were rigorous and the competition was intense. At CBS in 1931, only six new announcers were selected out of a thousand who had applied (“Personality On The Air” X14). The typical audition required the ability read commercial copy without making any mistakes, correctly pronounce the names of musicians from foreign countries, and speak in a way that was both

natural and understandable; a round of interviews also identified those men who were best suited for handling the often chaotic situation in a broadcasting studio yet never letting it affect his ability to sound confident and in command (Reinitz 2). Beginning in 1929, as a further incentive to encourage professionalism in the announcers, The American Academy of Arts and Letters created a series of annual awards, given to those determined to be the best exemplars of their craft. Among the winners was Alwyn E.W. Bach of NBC, formerly with WBZ in Boston. Bach said in his acceptance speech in June 1930 that he recognized the responsibility that he had, to set high standards for good diction and to speak in a “natural, cultured voice... free from any trace of sectional idiosyncrasies” (qtd. in “Gold Medal Winner” X9).

But not everyone had mastered this art, as radio critics in the major newspapers began to point out. Unlike the scholars in speech journals, the critics from the popular press did not focus their critique on whether announcers were proper role models for children. Rather, the focus was on how the average listener perceived the announcers and guest speakers (including politicians). Thus, the newspaper and magazine critics mainly explored what made a radio speaker effective, what styles and techniques did and did not work, what was pleasant to listen to, what was annoying. And while their viewpoints were subjective,

they still provide a valuable insight into perceptions of the on air talent in that era before the programs were preserved on tape.

One area of broadcasting that mystified even the best critics was what it meant to have a “radio voice” or a “radio personality.” Not every popular announcer was possessed with a deep voice, nor did every popular announcer have perfect diction, and yet in every city, certain announcers were beloved by the audience, and the critics could not put their proverbial finger on the reason why this was so. Although the words being transmitted through the air were ephemeral, the listener received them in a very personal way. The best speakers seemed to be able to encourage and promote this sense of friendship, as President Roosevelt did in the 1930s with his Fireside Chats, when he transformed political communication from “an older, oratorical model of public address to [a] chatty, conversational style of mass intimacy” (Hayes 76). How some speakers were able to create that feeling of intimacy in an audience they could not see (and who could not see them) was something scholars, critics, sociologists and, later, media ecologists would try to explain.

Assessing the quality of the speakers and announcers was a frequent subject from radio’s earliest years-- for example a 1922 article “Every Voice Not Suited To Radio,” in which the anonymous author concluded that the chief announcer of WGY in Schenectady, Kolin D.

Hager, was especially pleasant to listen to because he seemed as if he truly enjoyed being on the air; his was known as the “voice with a smile” (16). But while some announcers stood out for their natural and friendly sound, others were a mystery, as a Boston newspaper columnist admitted in 1925 when he said he was “baffled” by why some announcers who seemed artificial or forced, or who used verbal crutches, were very well received by the audience (Radio Voice” 23). The program manager of WEAF, George Engles, said that the best announcers exude confidence and composure; they are a calming presence, one that listeners can rely on (Engles R15). But Ralph L. Power, a critic for the Los Angeles Times, was concerned that all the talk of standardizing and homogenizing the way the announcers should sound was not necessarily a good thing, since it was robbing them of their spontaneity. With everything scripted by the networks, he feared there would be no room for wit or personality (Power, “Announcing In Radio” A11). Even popular impresario Roxy was briefly taken to task by John A. Holman, station manager of WEAF in New York, who told him he needed to sound more “dignified,” something the voluble host refused to do. Fan pressure on Holman persuaded him to back down and let Roxy be Roxy (Wayne B6). But the effort to standardize the announcers continued, much to the displeasure of Life magazine’s critic, Agnes Smith, who found it frustrating that so many announcers said the same thing in the exact same way. She also found certain radio catch-phrases were becoming

over-used and tedious. But her pet peeve was announcers who tried to find clever ways to tie in the song title with a plug for the sponsor's product; she gave an example of a song called "Kiss Me Again" being tied in with the benefits of using a particular toothpaste (Smith, "Announcers" 13).

Veteran print journalist H.V. Kaltenborn received good reviews from the critic at the Brooklyn (NY) Eagle. Modern critics might be skeptical of the favorable comments, since Kaltenborn was an editor at the Eagle; but the remarks made by the anonymous critic in 1925 were later echoed by others who respected his knowledge of current events, and his ability to explain complex issues (Marquis 406). The Eagle's critic stated that Kaltenborn had mastered the ability to be a political commentator: he was able to sound authoritative without sounding pedantic; at a time (1925) when too many speakers tried to sound like orators, Kaltenborn was "easy to listen to, and grasp, and understand, and enjoy" ("On The Radio" 15).

Even presidents were the subject of some critique. While few critics believed Calvin Coolidge had the ideal radio voice, he was praised for learning how to overcome its defects by injecting humor, and sometimes even making fun of himself; on the other hand, Coolidge at times over-compensated, making him sound overly sure of himself, as if

he and only he had the correct ideas (“Political Voice Personalities” 3). Other critics were not as favorably disposed to Coolidge’s voice, believing his very pronounced New England accent made him less effective as a speaker. Said John Carlile, production director at the Columbia network, Coolidge’s voice would not be acceptable on the network because he “ha[d] too much of a Yankee accent” (qtd. in “Personality On The Air” X14). As for President Hoover, most critics found him somewhat awkward as a speaker; New York Times critic R.L. Duffus assessed his radio skills as marginal: “Mr. Hoover does not enjoy making public speeches, and though he has improved noticeably since the beginning of the campaign, he is still not very good at it. His radio personality is somewhat dry and formal” (“Radio Is” F6); a newsreel editor was somewhat less charitable, saying that when Hoover spoke, he seemed as if he was “embarrassed” to be there (“Newsreel Make-Up Editors” 1). Several other comments of John Carlile’s were of interest: this piece was written in early 1932, before Franklin D. Roosevelt became president, but already Carlile said that the then-governor of New York had “one of the finest voices on the radio... It is pleasant and clear... [and] it has a tone of perfect sincerity.” And just as Agnes Smith had praised Amelia Earhart’s voice (“Ladies On The Air” 30), so John Carlile also found a female newsmaker with an excellent voice: Charles Lindbergh’s wife Anne. Carlile stated she had “one of the very best radio voices I have ever heard” (qtd. in “Personality On The Air” X14).

In 1928, Agnes Smith of Life had written a column about how the official position of the networks regarding politics was “non-partisan,” offering candidates from all sides of the political spectrum the opportunity to be heard. The problem with this, she believed, is that it was good in theory; but in practice, it led to various politicians making wild and unproven claims, with no mechanism for what we today would call “fact-checking” of their assertions. While the press was ready and willing to evaluate vocal performance and confidence level of the speakers, only partisan journals assessed the validity of their ideas. Smith found some of the claims she heard on the air laughable, but there was no-one to immediately challenge them. And ironically, while the print press could critique the speaking styles of the candidates, the comedians of the day were not encouraged to do so, even in a humorous way. Will Rogers, an experienced satirist, was told not to do his impression of Calvin Coolidge, for example, since it was perceived by the network executives to be disrespectful (Smith, “Non-Partisan” 20).

Radio and the Jewish Other

Although the networks claimed to be non-partisan, there were some speakers who took a very strong stand on current issues, and were generally allowed to do so-- members of the clergy. In fact, one other

critique of the speakers involved discussions of certain people perceived to use the radio for demagoguery. Among the most controversial speakers of the 1930s was the “Radio Priest,” Father Charles Coughlin, who had a nation-wide pulpit, first on CBS and later, on a network of affiliates that he assembled to broadcast his weekly program. Even before he was being heard nationally, Coughlin was known for being outspoken. While giving a talk on WJR in Detroit in 1928, he harshly criticized socialist candidate Norman Thomas and equated socialism with radicalism; he also defended capitalism and asserted that it was unwise to declare war on millionaires. Thomas was irate, accusing Coughlin of misrepresenting his views by conflating socialism with communism (Warren 28). But whether he had his facts right or not, Coughlin’s anti-Communist fervor would persist on the air during his radio career. And in a tactic that would later be used by Senator Joseph McCarthy, Coughlin would claim he knew the names of Americans who supported Communism; he was fiercely opposed to Communism, and as far back as 1930, had testified before a congressional committee, speaking about the threat to America that he perceived. In his testimony, he asserted something he would repeatedly remind listeners: in his view, Communism was linked with Judaism. When talking about Communism, he would often note that its founder, Karl Marx was “[a] Hebrew” (Warren 33). It should be noted, and at that time, often was not, that Marx’s family converted to the Lutheran faith when their son

was a child, and he was never brought up Jewish. Further, he was highly critical of Judaism in works such as “On The Jewish Question,” perceived by some Jewish theorists (for example Lewis 112) as being anti-Semitic in its assertions that Judaism was synonymous with the love of money and that society needed to be emancipated from Judaism. But for Father Coughlin, ancestry was destiny, and his insistence that the Jews were too powerful or that they were to blame for Communism would persist on his radio programs, although often in coded language: while he might not discuss “Hebrews,” when he wanted to discuss the cause of the world’s current problems, he used a commonly-understood stereotype, “international bankers,” and when he began to name the ones he said were in some way responsible for the Depression, he frequently mentioned only those with Jewish-sounding names (“Jewish Bankers Handle” 11).

Father Coughlin was receiving millions of fan letters by the early 1930s. And his fiery sermons were not just about Jewish villains; he also developed a dislike of Henry Ford, whom he believed to be a dangerous “internationalist” who wanted to “tear down our Stars and Stripes and put up an international flag” (qtd. in Warren 33). And after first supporting Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Father Coughlin became one of his biggest critics. Further, Coughlin vehemently lashed out at any politician or civic leader who dared to criticize him, uttering remarks that

were at times shocking. Yet, radio stations of the early-to-mid-1930s did not seem to censor him. For example, when General Hugh S. Johnson, a former member of the Roosevelt administration (and a former Time magazine Person of the Year), accused the Radio Priest, along with Louisiana's populist Senator Huey Long, of acting like "pied pipers" who were leading desperate Americans astray by giving them simplistic solutions and false villains. General Johnson also expressed his concern that a priest was injecting himself into the politics on the nation, which Johnson saw as a breach of the separation of church and state ("Text Of Johnson's" 10).

Given an opportunity to reply, Father Coughlin used his radio program the following week to lash out at General Johnson. He not only attempted to refute some of Johnson's assertions; he also stated that he knew (and could reveal) certain potentially damaging aspects of Johnson's personal life, and he further accused Johnson of working for the international bankers, especially Bernard Baruch and the Rothschilds ("Father Coughlin Says" 1). After making those remarks, the Radio Priest seems to have suffered no consequences from his affiliates. He resumed his program the following week, and if he lost any affiliates, it was not reported. After the Radio Priest made his response, the Hartford Courant was among the few that criticized his rhetoric. The newspaper published an editorial asserting that Father Coughlin was

trying to cast himself as a martyr; the editorialist agreed that Coughlin should stick to religion rather than politics in his radio talks, and accused him of engaging in a rhetorical “holy war” in which only those Americans who saw things his way were good (“Father Coughlin’s Reply” 10).

Based on analysis of newspaper editorials in the mainstream press, it appears that during the early-to-mid-1930s, criticism of the Radio Priest was still rare. He did have a feud with the Detroit Free Press, which took him to task in 1933 for what the newspaper believed were unwarranted accusations of corruption made against leaders of the Detroit banking and business communities (Warren 48-49). But more often than not, especially in radio magazines, he was depicted as a heroic figure, speaking out against the elites and standing up for morality. A typical article, “The Fighting Crusader Of The Air,” in Radioland referred to the unprecedented amount of fan mail he received, and praised him for tackling the difficult subjects that others lacked the courage to address (Smits 13-15). newspapers too received letters to the editor from fans of the Radio Priest, and on the few occasions when a newspaper editorialized against him, many were quick to defend him. Typical were these comments by an “M.W.W.” who objected to the critical statements of General Johnson: “[Father Coughlin] has the courage to go on with his work. Most of the Catholics of the United States wish him God

speed, and pray for and with him” (“Mr. Tumulty” 8); and comments from F.J. Kolarik, who said that “Father Coughlin is to be congratulated for his courage in taking up for the working people” (“From An Admirer” 12). Use of words such as “courage” and “courageous” were frequent in the published letters praising the Radio Priest, as was the insistence that he was the only one on radio who was speaking the truth about those who were the cause of the country’s problems.

But as his weekly programs became more overtly anti-Semitic, much of the criticism of Father Coughlin’s rhetoric was not found in mainstream publications; rather, it was published in the Jewish press. And one industry where some criticism might have been expected offered very little: the field of entertainment. Although some of radio’s most popular performers (including Jack Benny, Gertrude Berg, Eddie Cantor, and Al Jolson) were Jewish, only Cantor openly spoke out against Father Coughlin. In one 1935 talk, Cantor, a popular comedian and movie star as well as a host of a radio variety program, stated that while free speech was “a beautiful thing,” it also had its ugly side because it permitted people like Father Coughlin to spread their harmful ideas to millions of people (“Priest Cudgelled” 7). But while there were a number of Jewish performers on the air, it was rare in the 1920s or early 1930s to hear them discuss current events from a Jewish perspective. According to Lance Strate, who is well-acquainted with Neil Postman’s life, in the

1930s, it was a common cultural practice among Jews to keep their Jewishness a private matter; one did not deny it, but the goal was to call very little attention to it, and to focus on being accepted as an American (“The Judaic Roots” 193). Thus, many Jewish performers went out of their way to either hide or downplay their Jewishness, making Eddie Cantor’s outspokenness very unusual. More typical was Jack Benny, who was born Benjamin Kubelsky; on his popular radio program, he did not play a Jewish character nor did he give the audience any hint of his ties to Judaism (Siegel and Siegel 3). And the biggest entertainment publication, Variety, did not wade into the controversy about Father Coughlin either. Searches of issues of the magazine from the late 1920s to mid-1930s showed mainly articles discussing how many affiliates the Radio Priest now had, or which stations he was on.

One radio outlet where Jewish perspectives were heard was on Jewish-themed cultural programs that were broadcast by small, often low-powered, stations. These stations leased airtime to a number of ethnic groups (Italians, Greeks, European Jews) to put on programs in their language, usually once a week. And while cities with large Jewish populations, like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, had Yiddish-language programs on the air, whatever discourses were expressed on these programs would have been known only to listeners who spoke that language fluently. Many Jews of the 1920s and 1930s were bilingual,

able to appreciate English-language programs but equally able to listen to a Yiddish-language soap opera, advice program or news broadcast. Unfortunately for students of broadcasting history, these programs remain under-researched, since the majority of today's radio scholars are not fluent in Yiddish. Ari Y. Kelman (2009) has remarked that this may explain why few historians even know these programs existed, and as a result, the role that Yiddish radio played is not well-understood (Kelman 6-7). According to Kelman, Jewish immigrant listeners, even those who had lived in America for a while, were attracted to Yiddish radio because it allowed them to maintain some ties with the music, religious customs, and news of the "old country." And even though Jews had the same civil liberties as anyone else in America, in daily life, they often encountered anti-Semitic attitudes; thus, Yiddish radio provided some comfort and a sense of group solidarity. On these programs, Jews were not made to feel like outsiders (Kelman 174-175).

On the other hand, the non-Jewish and English-speaking audience did get some exposure to Jews and Jewish perspectives, although not on a regular basis. As mentioned on page 319, there was one network program that had some Jewish content-- the popular comedy-drama, "The Goldbergs," which was the story of a Jewish immigrant family; it aired on the NBC Blue network. While the character of Molly Goldberg might be seen as a stereotypic "Jewish mother," Molly

was also compassionate and resourceful (and although she was fictional, she received fan mail); Molly was determined to see her children grow up to have a better life and move from the tenements; while the desire of immigrant families to live the “American dream” was a universal theme, the plotlines of *The Goldbergs* allowed their Jewishness to manifest itself by sometimes including mentions of an up-coming Jewish holiday or a bar mitzvah celebration (Dunning 286). And while a look at the Sunday program listings for the radio stations that were in my units of analysis showed that Christian (mainly Protestant) services and sermons far outnumbered any other religious groups, a number of stations included at least one rabbi when choosing clergy to give inspirational talks; some stations even broadcast a synagogue service once or twice a month, as WNAC in Boston did with Rabbi Harry Levi at Temple Israel. But unlike Father Coughlin’s sermons, most of the rabbis who were invited to broadcast tended to speak about non-controversial subjects such as the Jewish holidays or about universal themes like the importance of helping the less fortunate.

Having read and studied twelve of Rabbi Levi’s radio sermons thoroughly (Levi 1929) as well as reading reports about the topics of other rabbis during 1920s, I came to the conclusion that these rabbis did not want to engage in contentious discussions; rather, they saw broadcasting as an opportunity to humanize Jews and Judaism for a

majority of Christians who had not encountered Jewish people. As Rabbi Levi explained in a 1925 interview (a year after his synagogue's services had gone on the air), being on the radio had already proved to be "a blessing" for him and his congregation. Among the benefits he noticed were that "People of every shade of opinion, frankly confessing to prejudices against the synagogue and its people, have as frankly given assurance of a fairer, juster and more religious attitude henceforth" ("Rabbi Levi Says" 12).

In a few large cities, there was one well-known rabbi whom reporters relied upon when they needed a quote from a Jewish leader-- in Boston it was Rabbi Levi, while in New York, it was Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. There were occasions when these rabbis would comment on a current news event or take a stand on an issue, and in late March 1935, Rabbi Wise decided it was time to speak out against Father Coughlin. The Radio Priest had already criticized Rabbi Wise several years earlier (Warren 49), and now it was the rabbi's turn to criticize Father Coughlin. In a talk that was broadcast on New York's WABC and widely reported in the newspapers, Wise warned the Radio Priest that his inflammatory rhetoric could cause anti-Jewish sentiments to increase in the United States, and he called upon Father Coughlin to put an end to "bear[ing] false witness against a whole people and thus indict[ing] them" ("Rabbi Wise" 7).

As with the black press, which spoke out on issues the mainstream (white) press neglected, so too the Jewish press took note of issues that, for whatever reason, the major newspapers either ignored or minimized. For example, Deborah Lipstadt has written that during the 1930s, a number of major newspapers failed to see the danger Adolph Hitler posed to Jews. In her analysis of the Christian Science Monitor's coverage of Hitler and the Nazis in the early to mid 1930s, she observed that when articles about Hitler's rise to power were printed, they often failed to mention his anti-Jewish attitudes; or they accepted his assertion that he had "nothing against honest Jews" (96). Some of the articles defended Hitler, and even seemed to accuse American Jews of exaggerating what he was doing (98-99). The Monitor was not the only mainstream newspaper to downplay the brutality being perpetrated on the Jews. Laurel Leff (2000) did a similar analysis of the New York Times and documented what Lipstadt had found with the Monitor: the Times frequently (and Leff believed, intentionally) omitted the word "Jews" when discussing Hitler's actions, leaving readers unaware that one group was being singled out, and giving the impression that those being treated harshly were simply Hitler's political enemies. In other examples, when the reporter did mention the specific persecution of Jews, the Times often buried the stories on the inside pages, rather than putting them on page one (31).

And radio was not much better. Media ecologists have noted that one of the problems, the “Faustian bargain” Postman mentioned (End Of Education 192), is that while it brought some of the most respected speakers and performers directly into the home, it also brought demagogues, bigots, and charlatans. Protected by their invisibility, the radio speakers with malevolent intentions could use their skills as orators and their powers of persuasion to mislead the public. As Paul Levinson noted, Hitler did not look like an Aryan, yet he could use radio to promote the doctrine of Aryan supremacy and be perceived by the radio audience as the right leader for such a movement. Radio propaganda offered “simple answers to complex problems,” delivered in a narrative style that was easy for the listener to follow (86-87). McLuhan also discussed how Hitler benefitted from his radio broadcasts. Because “radio comes to us ostensibly with person-to-person directness that is private and intimate” (302), listeners were almost lulled into a sense of trust for what Hitler was telling them. Radio provided him with an easy and non-threatening entrance into millions of homes, where he was listened to, and taken seriously.

While I do not want to seem as if I am equating Father Coughlin with Adolph Hitler, the two shared an ability to give listeners a sense of trust and to win them over with persuasive arguments often based on

fear of, or hatred for, some sinister “other.” And in fact, one of the detractors of Father Coughlin, Baltimore Sun columnist Frederic Nelson, wrote in 1935 that Father Coughlin, and another demagogue of that period, Huey Long, were “embryonic Hitlers.” About Coughlin in particular, Nelson stated that the Radio Priest used some of the same rhetorical techniques as Hitler, and blamed the same people that Hitler did. Nelson believed the American press were making too many excuses for Hitler, and also remarked that it was now part of the common wisdom even in America that the Jews were in control of the press and the government. Nelson, who was the son of a Congregationalist minister, was saddened to find that when he wrote columns that were critical of Hitler, he was accused of working for, and defending, Jewish interests (“Symptoms Of” 8).

By the mid-1930s, Father Coughlin had transformed from dynamic and charismatic preacher on CBS (and then on his own network of stations), a man beloved for his sermons about helping the poor (Wilson 29), to an angry and accusatory speaker who blamed President Roosevelt and the Jews for many of the world’s problems. Yet a search of historical newspapers of the early-to-mid 1930s finds few criticisms of the content of his weekly talks, and only an occasional editorial remarking on his power in the political arena. It is interesting to observe that certain modern scholars like Brian Wilson (29-30) and Philip

Jenkins (43) have stated that Father Coughlin's rhetoric did not become anti-Semitic until the late 1930s, so it is unlikely that he would have been criticized for anti-Semitic views in the period from 1930-1935. And keyword searches of Proquest Historical Newspapers and Newsbank's America's Historical Newspapers seem to bear that out. Words like "demagogue" or "bigot" or "anti-Semite" (or other synonyms) were seldom used by the mainstream press to describe him during that time period, although quotes by others who called him a demagogue were occasionally printed, such as the previously mentioned General Hugh S. Johnson, who referred to his "dangerous demagoguery" in a radio speech, and said the Radio Priest was disseminating "absolute falsehood and distortion"; Johnson even remarked that some of Coughlin's rhetoric reminded him of what he was reading from Nazi Germany ("Text of General" 10; "Johnson Assails" 1). But Johnson's speech did not seem to interest the press as much as the question of how Father Coughlin would respond to it. For the next week, newspaper columnists were focused on what Father Coughlin might say, and when that response came, it received far more prominent coverage than what Johnson had said.

Even some members of the foreign press found the Coughlin phenomenon noteworthy, especially when the Radio Priest began a series of attacks on the World Court and vehemently expressed his opposition to the U.S. becoming a member. A correspondent for London's The

Observer called the Radio Priest “vituperative,” and referred to him as one of America’s “unofficial leaders,” commenting that after each broadcast, millions of his “loyal followers” were willing to “do his bidding.” For example, Coughlin told his audience to send telegrams of protest to their representatives in congress, opposing the World Court, which Coughlin believed was run by the sinister international forces he so mistrusted. Convinced that becoming a member of this body would compromise United States sovereignty, he railed against it and millions of listeners did in fact deluge congress with so many angry telegrams that the proposal to join the court was defeated (“New Element” 20).

As mentioned in chapter one, media ecologist Paul Levinson has remarked on radio as a one-way medium, where listeners could not talk back or debate the speaker. By mid-1935, the first talk-show, “America’s Town Meeting of the Air,” had debuted, but the technology to permit listeners to call in directly and speak to the host or guests was still being developed; listeners gathered in “listening rooms” in various cities, and at some point during the program, a few were allowed, via a remote broadcast connection, to ask their questions. But it would not be until the late 1940s when some of the first call-in talk shows took place. (Halper, Icons 2008). Thus, during much of the Golden Age of Radio, listeners could only participate vicariously; the only exception was when some people became members of a studio audience, and even under that

circumstance, shouting out a question or heckling a speaker was not encouraged.

Levinson, like McLuhan, also noted radio's ability to bring the audience speech that was enlightening and uplifting or speech that was divisive and agonistic (Levinson 77; 86-89). Clearly, Father Coughlin's speech fell into the latter category, so it is puzzling that few mainstream critics seemed troubled by what he was saying. And contrary to the common wisdom that the Radio Priest suddenly became anti-Semitic in the late 1930s, Jewish newspapers were already expressing alarm over Father Coughlin in 1933-1934. For example, in a December 1933 front-page article, Boston's Jewish Advocate stated that the past three weeks of Coughlin broadcasts had been anti-Semitic ("Catholics In America" 1); and in case there was any question that the newspaper was exaggerating, the Advocate also quoted from Father Coughlin's talks, noting his use of phrases like "Jew gold" ("Father Coughlin" 2). Other Jewish newspapers noticed the same thing that the Advocate had. For example, in a May 1934 column about a number of subjects in the entertainment world, Phineas J. Biron, writing in the Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion, suddenly observed that Father Coughlin had "gone anti-Semitic" (6). In fact, throughout the mid-1930s, Jewish newspapers repeatedly spoke of his inflammatory radio speeches, and provided quotes from rabbis like New York's Stephen S. Wise and others who tried

to respond. Some Jewish authors even demonstrated proof that Father Coughlin's claims about the control of international finance by "Jewish bankers" were false (Salmark, 3). But no matter what the Jewish press said week after week, there is little evidence that any sustained critique of Father Coughlin migrated from these publications to mainstream newspapers or magazines. Critical articles did appear now and then, including a two-part analysis in The Nation of how he had gone from a Detroit priest to a national celebrity. The piece was written by radio and print commentator Raymond Gram Swing, who stated that Coughlin was a master at using radio for propaganda purposes. Swing raised some questions about what was done with all the monetary donations Coughlin's broadcasts generated; and Swing also discussed the Radio Priest's vehement attacks on the bankers and big business, his hatred of Communism, and his insistence on blending Christian doctrine with politics (731-733), but nowhere in the profile was any mention that Coughlin sometimes used anti-Semitic tropes. And while the occasional detractor was able to express anti-Coughlin views on the air (for example, Rabbi Wise, or General Johnson), their speeches were a one-time event, while Father Coughlin was heard every week, from coast to coast. Despite the fact that he was considered controversial by certain critics, Father Coughlin remained very popular with listeners throughout much of the 1930s.

The Overcrowded Airwaves

As mentioned in chapter five, there were a few legal journals that addressed the arrival of the Radio Act of 1927, and the challenges to whether or not the federal government had the authority establish an agency to supervise the airwaves. But prior to this point, there was general agreement that something had to be done, as the radio dial had become a chaotic place. One of the most common complaints in the early 1920s was about static, fading signals, and other atmospheric conditions that led to poor reception (in chapter three, the introduction of new words like “blooping” was mentioned, as poorly tuned receivers added to the interference). And the problems intensified as more new stations went on the air. Some critics accused Secretary Hoover’s Department of Commerce of having a laissez-faire management style (Bent 34), as the DOC seemed unwilling or unable to manage the increasing chaos-- by 1925-1926, the terms “chaos” and “chaotic” were frequently found in the reporting (Phipps 57-58). And the problems on the dial had been exacerbated by stations that took it upon themselves to boost their wattage at will, or decided to move to a frequency on the dial that they found more suitable, a practice known as “wave jumping.” By 1925-1926, this had become so prevalent, and so frequently discussed in the American press, that even the international media were taking notice of it: a columnist for the Guardian, then in Manchester, UK, reported on

the issue and on the fact that several bills were being discussed in the US congress to allow for some sort of government regulation of broadcasting (“Radio Control” 10).

While it is outside the scope of this dissertation to thoroughly explore radio regulation, it should be said that the subject provoked contentious debate before the Radio Act of 1927 was finally agreed upon. One concern was whether the new Federal Radio Commission would censor broadcasts; law journals and the mainstream press explained that the new commission would mainly be supervisory, and not interfere with the programs. The new FRC was tasked with making sure that stations operated in the “public interest, convenience, and necessity” or their license to broadcast would be revoked. Among the new rules were that stations provide equal time to candidates for public office, and that they forbid the utterance of “obscene, indecent, or profane language” (Lee 43). And to make sure the new commission was well-received by the public, the acting chairman, Eugene O. Sykes, embarked upon what might be called a charm offensive, doing a broadcast over NBC in March 1927. He reassured listeners that the new agency would make things better for listeners, that no sweeping or disruptive changes would occur, and that the FRC would prove itself worthy of the public’s trust. He also said that the new agency would do nothing to jeopardize the financial

interests or investments of station owners and radio manufacturers (“A Voice” 18).

But as it turned out, the new FRC’s solution for improving the airwaves did cause sweeping and disruptive change, although that is not how much of the mainstream press framed it. In mid-1927, the FRC assigned new frequencies to stations in cities where the radio dial was especially overcrowded. The initial set of moves was generally regarded favorably: New York Times radio editor Orrin Dunlap Jr. said it had made things better, and Frank Jenkins, radio editor of the Boston Herald, agreed. However, several radio editors from smaller markets disagreed, stating they saw no improvement. S.D. Fox of the Terre Haute (IN) Star said that interference from high powered stations persisted, drowning out some of the local stations (all qtd. in “Radio Editors” A6). But then, in mid-1928, the FRC took its next step, issuing General Order 32. This ruling was supposed to address overcrowding by arbitrarily removing 162 stations from the air. Most of these stations were small, lower power, local broadcasters, including the first radio station in Quincy (MA), WRES, which had broadcast since November 1926 to an appreciative audience. Station owner Harry L. Sawyer, who ran WRES from the back of his **Wollaston Radio Electric Shop**, was stunned, as it was his belief he had been providing important service to his community, covering local politics as well as giving area musicians a start. Sawyer

told the Quincy Patriot Ledger that he was mystified-- he had followed all the rules, done what the terms of his license had asked, yet he was being told to leave the air. He wondered whether the FRC had the authority to take his license when he had done nothing wrong (“Local Broadcaster” 7).

Unfortunately for Sawyer and the other small-town owners in his situation, the only answer provided to him was to make a trip to Washington, hire an attorney, and try to fight the revocation order. Fifty-five of the station owners either could not afford to do that or decided there was not much chance of success. Sawyer was among that group, and WRES left the air in the summer of 1928. But other owners, however, did decide to go to Washington and fight, with varying degrees of success. One other Boston area station, WLOE (licensed to Chelsea MA but now with studios in downtown Boston), was able to stall the loss of its license with appeal after appeal from 1928 to 1932. The station’s owners, William and Alfred Poté, even took their case to the federal courts, asserting that the FRC had no authority to remove the station when it had faithfully followed the terms of its license; they also asserted that WLOE had served its community well (“Supreme Court Gets” 22); this was an argument other broadcasters, including Harry L. Sawyer, wanted to make, but they lacked the money to continue the fight. However, although WLOE was able to delay the inevitable, the station lost its final appeal and left the air in 1933.

It is interesting to note that many in the press framed the discussion of General Order 32 as if the airwaves would be better off without these smaller stations. Using the FRC's language, these newspapers agreed that the smaller stations needed to "show cause as to why they should survive" ("Debs Station" 35). Some reporters also took the opportunity to cast aspersions on several of the stations, notably WEVD, the New York station operated by associates and followers of Eugene V. Debs; WEVD was considered by some journalists, like syndicated columnist Martin Codel, to be a haven for radical views by "socialists, labor leaders, and welfare organizations" (Codel, "Stations Fighting" 15). This was a view that the station's fans and proponents disputed. Perennial presidential candidate Norman Thomas made the point that WEVD was a valuable station because it provided airtime to a number of minority religious and ethnic groups, and were the station to be removed, the viewpoints of these groups would no longer be heard. And, as he also observed, since many stations refused to broadcast his own political views, WEVD made sure that the socialist platform was heard ("Opposes Closing WEVD" 28). But for Codel, the FRC was on the right track: reducing interference was seen as the most important goal, and his perception was that the network (chain) stations were better able to serve the public and offer higher quality programs (Codel, "Stations Fighting" 15). As might be expected, this was also the view of Judge Ira

Robinson, Chairman of the FRC, who told station owners that the problem of overcrowding was impacting the entire country, and that while “the removal of 162 stations from the radio waves might effect some injustice, ... the broadcasting structure as a whole [will] be greatly benefited from the result” (qtd. in “Sees Fewer Stations” 28). And the New York Times was among those newspapers which continued to frame the issue as a matter of removing “the smaller stations which are cluttering things up,” while acknowledging -- and then dismissing -- the view that some radio listeners felt the chains were becoming too prevalent, to the exclusion of independent stations (“Effort Is Now” XX16). Interestingly, the one voice rarely heard in the discussion about the FRC was former Commerce secretary and president-elect Herbert Hoover, who made no official statements at all. He had supported the creation of the commission, but now that it was here, he had given no comments about whether he would change any of the FRC’s members, or whether he approved of the commission’s recent actions (“Hoover Is Silent” XX19).

While the majority of the newspapers did not offer much criticism of what the FRC did, except in a few cities where a popular local station was about to lose its license, there was a more troubling interpretation of the commission’s decisions coming from the left-wing press (notably The Nation); these publications believed the FRC was not serving the public

interest, but rather, that of the “radio trust,” the powerful business interests that dominated broadcasting, including the Radio Corporation of America, General Electric, and Westinghouse. It was these giant corporations who were the real beneficiaries of the FRC’s largesse. In two essays, “The Radio Trust” (1927) and “The Radio Trust Rolls On” (1928), Mauritz A. Hallgren remarked on how friendly the members of the FRC were to these corporations. He noted that none of the stations being removed from the air were in any way associated with the “radio trust,” and that the stations they owned or operated received the best frequencies in the reallocation of the AM band (“Rolls On” 42)

This critique was elaborated upon years later by Robert McChesney, who noted as Hallgren had, that the majority of the members of the new FRC had ties to “commercial radio interests” and later, “would go on to careers as executives with NBC or CBS.” He also explained how their reallocation of the airwaves in 1928 was “drawn up in virtual secrecy from Congress or the public, and was crafted largely by engineers and attorneys who worked for commercial interests.” And the effect of the decision, which was ostensibly to make the airwaves less crowded, was that network stations were awarded the best frequencies, including forty so-called “clear channel” allocations, set aside for high powered stations (WBZ in Boston and WLW in Cincinnati were two of them); thirty-seven of these clear-channel stations were affiliated with

networks. Meanwhile, smaller, independent stations (in fact, about 600 stations total) were left to share time and be restricted to lower power (“Media and Democracy” 36; Phipps 59). There were some complaints on the local level: a few of the smaller stations in New Jersey objected to the New York stations getting higher power at their expense (“East Coast Stations” 1), and Boston broadcaster John Shepard 3rd was quite vocal in the Boston press about how displeased he was with the frequency to which WNAC was assigned Codet, “New England Folk” A53); but as with the coverage of General Order 32, the majority of the newspaper coverage of the reallocation of the airwaves portrayed it as a positive step.

Critiques About What Was On The Air

While favorable discourses tended to outnumber negative ones in radio’s first few years, a small number of radio columnists did express concerns as early as March 1922, when A. Leonard Smith Jr. wrote about some of the potentially detrimental effects radio might have. He wondered if the new mass medium might be used for propaganda by America’s enemies, or if radio was going to eliminate privacy-- what if a speaker was broadcasting and a private conversation was accidentally picked up by the microphone? Comments never meant for broadcast could be overheard by the radio audience (“Wireless Butt-In” XX2). But in addition to concerns about hypothetical problems, by the mid-1920s,

there were a number of individuals who had very real concerns about what they heard on the air. Among them was Thomas Edison; in 1926, he expressed his view that phonograph records did not transmit well on radio; he believed radio was well-suited for sporting events and for live concerts, but felt that the public would be better served by purchasing a phonograph and hearing their favorite songs that way (“Edison Calls” 27). The great inventor of the phonograph was certainly not an impartial observer, but his viewpoint was shared by many others, who also had vested interests in keeping recorded music off the air, especially members of orchestras. To put this in perspective, as far back as the turn of the century, musicians had worried about the phonograph and its potential effect on people going to live concerts-- bandleader John Philip Sousa objected to recorded music in 1906 (“Sousa’s Protest” 426). Now, the worry was directed towards broadcasting. As long as radio required live performers, musicians were more likely to be hired. So-called “canned music” could put them out of work. There was a perception among some radio program directors that live music was superior to recorded music, and a heated debate broke out in the press during the late 1920s over whether records should be played on the air. The debate intensified when in 1928-1929, electrical transcriptions were made available to radio stations.

As mentioned in chapter one (see Russo 4-5), transcriptions were seen as useful because they offered some big-name stars (including singer Al Jolson) in a pre-recorded mini-concert. They could be scheduled any time, and could be sponsored, making them attractive to some stations (“Canned Stuff” 14). Another benefit to transcribed programs was they provided an expertly-produced fifteen minute or half-hour show, complete with professionally-done special effects. To cite one example, the popular adventure program “Tarzan of the Apes” required specific background sounds (jungle noises, certain animals and birds, and such sounds as pistol-shots or a rushing waterfall); these were difficult to do reproduce in a local studio at a moment’s notice. But the transcription was ready to be played, and contained all of the needed special effects, thus giving the radio station a program that sounded realistic, with no need for a local production director to try (and possibly fail) to create the effects (“Records’ Use” A3).

While produced adventure programs with unique special effects were acceptable to some stations, the issue of using transcribed musical programs was more difficult for certain stations to justify. WOR in New York was among those that agreed to try using transcriptions, but other stations, like Chicago’s WGN, insisted they would only use live music, claiming that the public demanded it and could tell the difference between a live and a recorded broadcast (“Canned Music Not” 25).

Whether radio stations should only play live music continued to be a frequent topic of conversation in print sources during 1927-1929, with most critics coming out in favor of live performances, joined by musicians themselves, and even in some cases a spouse: in Boston, bandleader Lloyd DelCastillo's wife Nina, who chaired the music department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, urged all clubwomen to boycott stations that used "canned music" since they were depriving musicians of a livelihood ("Canned Music Boycott" 30). One syndicated columnist even worried that if canned music became popular, young children would not develop an interest in playing an instrument or singing; they would just be passive listeners, rather than active participants in music (Bevans 37). And the FRC weighed in the summer of 1927, saying that stations had every right to play some phonograph records, but making a new rule (one that would not be rescinded till 1932) that radio stations had to announce to their listeners that the song they had just heard was from a recording rather than a live performance; to fail to let the listeners know was like perpetrating "a fraud on the public." Violations of this order were subject to a \$500 fine ("Mechanical Music" 26).

There was one notable exception to the musicians, music teachers, and critics who opposed canned music-- Walter Damrosch, conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, whose NBC concerts for young

people were very well-received. He told the press that musicians should embrace recorded music, rather than fight it. He believed there would always be a need for musicians who performed live, whether in concert or on radio, but he also believed that recorded music was a way for the public to hear some of their favorite selections; appreciating a recording did not mean listeners would no longer want to attend a live performance. In fact, he said, rather than losing interest in live music, young people were forming their own school orchestras, often as a result of having listened to his NBC program ("Canned Music To Stay" 12). Reinforcing Damrosch's point was an interview in late 1930 with the chief proponent of transcriptions, advertising executive Raymond Soat; he pronounced the first year's experiment with them as quite successful; the fact that the programs could be sponsored, and were easy to use had in fact won over a number of stations. And contrary to the myth that the public only wanted live music, he reported that fans wrote very positive letters to the radio stations that broadcast the transcribed programs ("Public Accepts" 8C).

But this conversation was actually a small part of a larger issue-- it was the fact that the transcriptions were sponsored that won over wavering program directors. And it was the increasing role of sponsors that provoked the most criticism in magazines and a few newspapers of the late 1920s and early 1930s. As mentioned in chapter six, the arrival

of the networks was generally greeted with enthusiasm, but it did not take long for both listeners and critics to feel there were too many commercials (or “sponsor plugs” as they were often called). In late 1927, an anonymous critic in The New Republic expressed disappointment at the direction radio had taken. The writer lamented the lack of news and commentary (except at big events like a sporting event or coverage of someone like Lindbergh), and noted something that Marshall McLuhan would also observe years later: McLuhan wrote that radio sped up information (Understanding 306), providing short burst of it in the form of news bulletins, weather, traffic, and time signals (298), and a byproduct of this was the shortening of people’s attention span, a process continued to an ever greater degree by television. The writer for The New Republic remarked that radio exacerbated the human tendency to become restless very quickly. For the radio listener, “there is something about the artificiality of music and speech from unseen sources that urges the hearer to ‘tune ’im out and get something else.’” And knowing this, radio program directors kept educational talks extremely brief, no matter how serious or compelling the subject, out of concern that the listener would seek out something more entertaining and less challenging to the brain. But above all, the opinion writer concluded, “broadcasting in America [has become] an advertising device” (“Can Radio Be” 251).

The problem with advertising, as many critics noted, was it never seemed to end. The Boston Post's Howard Fitzpatrick spoke for many when he wrote in June 1929 that some stations had overstepped. They not only had sponsors for every program (which he understood and accepted) but many were also finding ways to insert additional plugs within the programs, and broadcasting talks that were nothing more than extended pitches for a sponsor ("Among The Studios" 27). John S. Daggett of the Los Angeles Times agreed, noting that listeners, who at first were tolerant of sponsor plugs, were now becoming tired of the constant interruptions. Daggett too understood that bills had to be paid, including salaries and charges for use of long distance telephone lines, but he believed the pendulum had swung too far in favor of commercialism-- to the point where it was affecting the quality of the programs ("Radio Commercialism" A7). And satirist Tom Sims of Life magazine, who was doing some of the press criticism that Agnes Smith had done, decided that only a sense of humor was the answer for the beleaguered radio listener. He recommended a game of "Radio Heckling," in which two listeners would compete to utter the wittiest or most sarcastic retort to an especially annoying radio commercial. Although the people on the air couldn't hear what the listeners were saying, Sims suggested making fun of the commercials was a great way to relieve frustration ("The Art Of" 4).

In fact, by the late 1920s and continuing in the early 1930s, one of the most frequent discourses from magazines and some newspapers critics was dismay at the excessive and annoying amount of radio commercials. But some radio editors stated that such dismay was overblown and did not represent how the average person felt. Orrin Dunlap Jr. of the New York Times, demonstrated some understanding of the new radio research being conducted by Starch and Crossley; he explained in a late 1932 article that some radio listeners are what he called “dyed-in-the-wool fans who enthusiastically, whether by habit or for pleasure, follow the programs day after day.” And he observed that this group of fans, while they did not always listen closely, often had the radio on in the background. As a result, Dunlap observed, these “regulars are irked less by advertising, because they listen so much that they are likely to be unconscious of what the announcer talks about (Dunlap, “The Listener And” XX6). And content analysis of fan letters to a typical radio magazine seemed to prove his point. I looked at the fan letters published in Radio Digest’s “Voice Of The Listener” (often abbreviated as VOL) from May 1932 through January 1933. There were ninety-five fan letters published, and none of them complained about commercials. They did, however, complain about other things.

Before discussing the various themes I noticed in the letters, a brief explanation is required, in order to explain one of the most frequent

discourses in these issues of the magazine. As a result of the Depression, Radio Digest introduced a different edition of the magazine in mid-1932; it was smaller in size, had fewer pages, and dropped from 25 cents to 15 cents. Many of the letter-writers to the magazine, while happy Radio Digest was still publishing, expressed disappointment at the reduction in the number of pages.

While it certainly may be true that the editors intentionally selected only positive letters, it may also be true that most listeners who wrote to fan magazines were in fact the “regulars” to whom Dunlap referred. The most frequent comments were praise for favorite artists and requests of the magazine to publish more articles about him or her. Nearly as frequent, in that era before television, were requests for the magazine to print photographs of favorite entertainers. And the fan letters illustrated an aspect of radio that McLuhan later discussed-- its ability to allow the listener to vicariously “participate in somebody else’s life” (qtd. in Sanderson and MacDonald 14). To cite one example, a number of letters were about Nellie Revell, a syndicated columnist, press agent, and now host of a weekly radio program on which she interviewed movie and radio stars (many of whom she had represented in her years as a publicist). Revell’s program was conducted like a friendly chat, and sometimes she mentioned small details about herself as she talked with her guests. Fan letters praised her interviews, said they never missed

her show, and several referred to a comment she had made on the air: they asked about her recent vacation and hoped she would tell more about where she went. The letter-writers, most of whom had probably never seen nor met her, spoke as if Nellie was a friend. In the October 1932 issue, Eugene Cain of Chillicothe, Ohio praised several of Radio Digest's features (notably Rudy Vallée's "Tuneful Topics," a favorite of other listeners and readers), and then expressed his hope that Nellie's vacation had been pleasant. And as for dislike of commercials, Gladys E. Peper, a fan from Atlanta, wrote that she not only had no objection to the commercials, but she was grateful for the information. "I personally have bought several of the advertised articles from listening to their good qualities on the radio, and in no case have I found them to be different from the way they were described." She further stated that when her favorite announcer, Graham McNamee, delivered a commercial, she found him so enthusiastic that it made her want to sample whatever product he was pitching, since he "seem[ed] sold on the product himself" (both qtd. in "Voice Of The Listener" 32-33). Another pastime for Radio Digest's readers and letter-writers was inventing their own "fantasy dance orchestra," which featured the individual performers they liked best, similar to how modern sports fans create their own "fantasy football" or "fantasy baseball" teams. Where in the early 1920s, fans submitted their DXing list to the magazines, now some submitted their ideal all-star orchestra. Interestingly, at least one of the suggested

orchestras included both black and white performers, and the person who submitted it was from the south (Arkansas). And another fan thanked the magazine for its recent piece on “colored radio stars.” One other common discourse in these issues of Radio Digest was a passionate defense of favorite performers against other letter writers who had preferred someone else; again, these were written as though the performer was a personal friend. In the January 1933 issue, Evelyn Coleman of Bakersfield, California, took issue with the suggestions of other readers for the best bandleaders, commenting that “...Ted Fio-Rito has the most perfect orchestra in these United States. It needs no changes to ... win first place from any of the all-star orchestras that have been suggested.” The letter went on to say that Fio-Rito was “well liked by all who know him” and asked how she might start a fan club in his honor (37).

But while Dunlap may have been right that the average listener was unconcerned about commercials as long as the popular programs remained on the air, there were some critics who wondered how much influence the sponsors had over those programs. Wrote Jerome Davis in 1934, “The result of ... commercialization is that the radio [stations] must cater to the widest possible audience in order to make the most effective possible use of the advertiser’s time. [Radio’s] interest is not in trying to elevate the public standards, but solely in getting the maximum returns

for its advertisers” (16). Content analysis of major newspapers and news magazines from the late 1920s through early 1930s shows that some reporters followed the suggestion of Tom Sims of Life, making fun of a particularly obnoxious commercial (commercials for laxatives were frequently criticized), but the consensus was that these advertisements were the price the listeners paid for the free programs they enjoyed. And ironically, although some listeners did write to complain to sponsors (including about the laxative commercials), sales of these products continued to increase (Durstine 150). Still, by 1935, in response to listener criticism, CBS created a new advertising policy in which they would be more restrained in how they described products related to “internal bodily functions” (Marquis 394).

The self-described “Father of Broadcasting,” Lee deForest was not pleased by what radio had become, and he bitterly complained about what was on the air. DeForest had been one of radio’s biggest fans in the early to mid-1920s, praising broadcasters for giving the public a wider exposure to opera (DeForest 13) and great dramatic actors (“Lee DeForest Claims” 6). But in a 1931 speech he prepared for the Institute of Radio Engineers (which he then was unable to deliver in person, so, a colleague read it to the members), deForest remarked on how the “insistent ballyhoo of sales talks on the radio” was interrupting even the finest concerts; he also referred to the expanding commercialism of

broadcasting as a “real and genuine evil,” and accused broadcasters of greed for selling more and more advertising time and leaving less and less time for quality programs (“DeForest Assails” 25). In 1934, deForest reiterated his views in a magazine debate with Harold LaFount, one of the members of the Federal Radio Commission (which had recently been re-named the Federal Communications Commission). When LaFount asserted that “[c]ommercialism is the heart of broadcasting... the life blood of the industry,” and praised it for making so much good programming available to the audience, deForest disagreed, saying “Ninety-ninths of what one can hear is the continual dribble of second-rate jazz, sickening crooning by degenerate ‘sax’ players, interrupted by blatant sales talks” (both qtd. in “For Better Broadcasting” 201-202).

Of course, the point was really moot, because for better or worse, commercialism was now a fact of life, and although critics (and some fans) railed against it, there was no incentive for broadcasters to reduce the influence of the sponsors (Dennison 585). Radio owners, especially those at the networks, were doing very well as a result of their commitment to accepting direct advertising. In fact, even during the darkest years of the Great Depression, many broadcasters were making a profit. And as long as they could document for the FRC that they were not just taking in advertising dollars but also serving their community, their licenses would be renewed (Codel, “When Broadcasters” 12). As

one critic observed, it was no longer correct to use the expression “free as the air” because:

“no longer is the air free, except for breathing purposes; advertisers must pay anywhere from \$150 to \$600 an hour for the opportunity to send the names and descriptions of their commodities into the no longer quiet atmosphere of the American home” (“Radioitis Conquers” E1).

There was tangible evidence of how profitable broadcasting as a business had become: in 1927-1928, the networks had forty-three sponsors who purchased commercial time; a year later, the number had grown to sixty-five (Marquis 387). Among the most lucrative programs, interestingly, were those centered around the political campaigns. Both the Republican and Democratic parties spent large sums to get their candidates messages heard in the Hoover-Roosevelt battle of 1932: the Democrats bought more than 51 hours of airtime, while the Republicans bought 73 hours (Marquis 396).

In the 1920s and early 1930s, few if any critiques of capitalism appeared in mainstream press: “socialism” was considered a radical ideology, and while the networks were supposed to provide equal time to all valid candidates, socialist candidates had a harder time getting on the air; as previously mentioned, veteran presidential candidate Norman Thomas often complained about being excluded from the airwaves; although at times he was able to be heard, he did not get the exposure

the Republican and Democratic candidates were given (“Cancel Radio Talk” 18). And he was not the only one to make the assertion that presentation of his ideas to the radio audience was being restricted. Even respected political commentator H.V. Kaltenborn reported that one of his commentaries was censored because it called for recognition of, and better relations with, the Soviet Union (Kaltenborn, “On Being” 584). And in an era that was two decades before the Cold War, Communist party speakers still found themselves unwelcome. WEAJ in New York was one of the few that permitted a Communist candidate to speak, broadcasting a 1928 talk by William Z. Foster, possible presidential candidate for the Worker’s Party; his remarks included calling Republican candidate Herbert Hoover and Democratic candidate Al Smith “tools of capitalism” and saying America was an imperialist country with a social system that led to endless wars. Foster’s speech brought a number of irate phone calls from listeners, protesting his being on the air and making such controversial comments (“Red Leader’s Talk” 24). And in 1936, General Secretary of the party Earl Browder was scheduled to give a talk over the CBS network, but a number of the affiliates refused to carry it, including John Shepard 3rd’s Yankee Network in New England. Shepard explained that since the stated goal of the Communist party was the overthrow of the U.S. government, he was under no obligation to help them by airing their views (qtd. in “New England Stations” 9).

But whether or not the public was outraged by Communist ideas, it is likely that most listeners remained unaware that there were network rules preventing a number of viewpoints, including critiques of capitalism, critiques of organized religion, critiques of corporate control of the press, or critiques of segregation from being discussed. The networks' executives were especially worried about offending what they perceived the public's sensibilities to be with regard to human sexuality. And on several occasions in 1929-1930, Margaret Sanger and the American Birth Control League wanted to broadcast an educational talk about family planning, but found repeatedly that the networks and individual stations turned them down ("Birth Control" 18). NBC's reason was that such a subject was "a religious issues upon which the three great religions do not agree," and the network's policy was to avoid giving offense to organized religion; further, network executives said the public was not interested in the topic (Lauter and Friend 363). The networks' squeamishness was further illustrated in October 1930: an educational talk about the economic theories of Thomas Malthus was censored when the speaker wanted to discuss "the strength of the sex impulse" as a reason why people sought to marry "as soon as they were able." But that remark was cut out of the speech; CBS said that discussions that mentioned sex were not allowed by the network (Lauter and Friend 363). And then, in 1934, New York's Commissioner of Health, Dr. John L. Rice, was giving an educational talk about public health, but as soon as he

began to discuss the need to prevent venereal diseases, NBC cut him off the air (“Radio Is Censored” 27).

And yet, whenever they were asked, network executives always insisted the airwaves were entirely free of any such limitations, whether about educational talks or about controversial political views. For example, David Sarnoff, in a widely distributed essay in 1924, asserted that radio would earn a reputation for being “the bar at which great causes will be pleaded for the verdict of public opinion,” and he stated that “no political, racial or color line should ever be drawn.” He concluded by saying that the only danger radio faced was not censorship but “over-regulation” (Sarnoff 90). But while Sarnoff insisted that there was no censorship, and most American newspapers did not challenge his statement, at least one foreign correspondent did. In mid-December 1923, an anonymous reporter for the Manchester (UK) Guardian had interviewed Sarnoff and tried to get him to give his views on whether all controversial ideas should be broadcast, and if not, which ones should be excluded. The correspondent noted that radio had been very reticent to air views critical of Prohibition, for example, and equally reticent to air political views considered “radical.” Sarnoff said speeches by Republican and Democratic candidates would be permitted as long as there was no name-calling, but he denied censoring candidates from other parties. He asserted that Socialist candidates would generally be excluded because

they were “unimportant” and not interesting to the vast majority of listeners. Interestingly, the correspondent noted, the one person who had been suddenly cut off while giving a speech was a speaker who was vehemently attacking the Ku Klux Klan (“Radio In Politics” 8).

This uncertainty about how free the airwaves really were was reiterated in 1926 by Morris L. Ernst of the American Civil Liberties Union. Ernst was skeptical of corporate claims that radio was a public utility and that all reasonable views were welcome. He noted that views critical of the U.S. government’s foreign policy had a difficult time getting airtime, and he too observed that another speaker critical of prohibition (Hudson Maxim) had his microphone cut off in the midst of his speech, while an un-named Democratic politician was told he could give a talk about the views of his party, but only if he did not criticize President Coolidge (443-444). And Ernst himself ran into censorship when he was part of a debate on station WOR in January 1935 about balancing the national budget. Ernst had planned to discuss how big business and the extremely wealthy can influence public policy, but was told before he went on the air not to say anything critical about tycoons like Henry Ford, since the Ford Motor Company was a station advertiser (“Radio Is Censored” 25).

As previously mentioned, discussions of censorship and critiques of capitalism were rarely undertaken by the mainstream press; in fact some of the better-known critics, like Variety's Robert J. Landry, insisted these incidents of alleged censorship were overblown. Landry disputed some of the assertions made by Ruth Brindze (1937) and the ACLU (Radio Is Censored 1936), saying radio had learned from its mistakes and for the most part, did give exposure to a wide range of views ("Radio Censorship" 370). And yet, as demonstrated in this chapter, the 1920s and early 1930s were an era when any serious critiques of radio's role in disseminating stereotypes or in censoring viewpoints critical of those in power was lacking, and could generally be found only in the ethnic press and the left-wing press.

But radio criticism of the programs, and the quality of what was on the air did expand considerably, beginning in the late 1920s. A frequent critic of the programs on the air was Cyrus Fisher, who when not writing detective novels, was a regular critic for Forum and Century during the early 1930s. He noted that other critics frequently complained about the lack of intellectually stimulating programs (as did he, on occasion), but writing during the Great Depression, he recognized radio's important role as a means of escape for the listeners, and he praised some of the comedians for brightening an otherwise dark period in time ("Midsummer" 62). He also critiqued the political campaign of

1932, observing that by now, campaigning had become a performance, and if it was not both entertaining and interesting, the public wouldn't listen to it ("Political Static" 189). An advertising executive, Darwin L. Teilhet, also used the pages of Forum and Century to address some of the most common complaints critics made about commercials... but first, he took the time to criticize the critics, saying few members of the public paid attention to them, and besides, all that the majority of critics ever did was make derogatory attacks (275). In his essay, he described some of his favorite entertainment programs and defended the sponsors who made it possible for so much talent to be heard, a viewpoint often expressed by members of the radio networks. And another writer for Forum and Century, F.C. Brokaw, also expressed his frustration with both the critics and the fans who claimed that radio was boring, that all the programs were "terrible trash" or that there was "nothing worth listening to." But when he talked in person with some of the people who made such harsh comments, he often found that they did have favorite programs, and they did enjoy some of the broadcasts. Brokaw pointed out that the broad generalities could easily be disproved by looking at the daily radio listings: while there were indeed some low-quality programs, there were also programs that offered "fine concert orchestras ..., thoughtful comment on current events and problems, really entertaining dramatic sketches, and... top-notch humor." And yet, for some people,

radio was something that was an easy target, and they constantly took aim (27-29).

And perhaps Brokaw was right: more common for the magazines of the early 1930s were essays like “Why Isn’t Radio Better?” by Merrill Dennison, “Clear the Air! A Listener’s Guide to a Radio Revolution” by Cyrus Fisher, and “Radio Needs a Revolution” by Eddie Dowling, a former vaudevillian and playwright. The latter two essays, by Dowling (February 1934) and Fisher (June 1934) were a debate of sorts. Dowling believed the problems radio was having could be traced to the dominance of the networks, making it difficult for creative and independently-produced programs to get on the air. He also observed that the current rules that favored a small group of powerful corporate voices were put in place by “three Republican administrations” to benefit the political and economic policies of that party; Dowling, who by his own admission was friendly with President Roosevelt, believed that during the recent presidential campaign, there had been a concerted attempt to prevent viewpoints favorable to Democrats from getting a fair hearing. Only when it seemed apparent that Roosevelt would win did the networks and commentators become more cooperative (71). Most of Dowling’s essay was not about politics, however. It was about how he believed the chains and the sponsors encouraged “lowbrow” programming and discouraged independent stations from becoming an alternative to what was on the

networks; he further believed it would be difficult to change the current system because the corporations were profiting from it, and their lobbyists had been successful in convincing the FCC to maintain the status quo (70). And Dowling wanted a way for the public to be included in deciding what was on the air, in the hopes of encouraged some better programs.

Although he did not specify a way to accomplish this, Dowling's suggestion was picked up by Cyrus Fisher several months later. Fisher noted that there had been over a hundred essays critical of radio's programs in "various journals" in the past five years, the majority of which either blamed "conservatives" on the FRC (now FCC) who were allegedly "hostile to any change in the sponsored system" or blamed the networks for making large profits while not providing enough of the quality programs the critics claimed were lacking ("Clear The Air" 323). After seeking some ideas and opinions from his fellow critics (he sent out questionnaires to more than two hundred of them), Fisher concluded that the American system of commercial broadcasting needed some modifications, so that the listeners could be more involved. His proposal was for something similar to today's listener-supported radio: allowing the listeners to share in some of the programming costs, with the understanding that if a program did not meet their approval, they would have a direct say in whether it continued to stay on the air, since they

were helping to pay for it. And for Fisher, this new system would be a hybrid-- knowing that listener support alone (especially during the Depression) could not pay for quality programs, he suggested that the new plan could allow some commercials, but only the kinds that the audience felt were in good taste. And Fisher invited further responses and ideas, both from critics and readers/listeners, in the hope that the “radio revolution” could gain some momentum (328).

Not surprisingly, Harold LaFount of the Federal Radio Commission disagreed with Dowling. In a letter to the editor, he defended the American system of broadcasting, saying the advertisers were performing a service by making it possible for the public to receive radio programs free of charge (as opposed to other countries, where listeners had to pay an annual tax or a license fee); further, whether or not the chain broadcasters were too influential (and LaFount disagreed with Dowling on this point as well), stations had to prove they were operating in the public interest if they wanted to keep their license. And he denied that politics had anything to do with the decisions made by either the Department of Commerce or the Federal Radio Commission, insisting that a wide range of viewpoints were taken into account and the government engaged in ongoing research before taking any actions (“The Radio Problem” IX).

And one other interesting viewpoint was expressed in 1934 by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who was interviewed in Radioland. Mrs. Roosevelt refused to engage in criticism of the programs, saying she rarely had time to listen to many of them; she claimed she mainly listened to radio for news or to hear a particular speech, and she also enjoyed the commentators like H.V. Kaltenborn and Frederic William Wile. The interviewer, Everetta Love, observed that Mrs. Roosevelt, like her husband, seemed to regard radio as “an instrument of public service, rather than strictly a medium of entertainment (12). Mrs. Roosevelt expressed her interest in hearing more and better children’s programs-- she was frequently visited by her grandchildren, and wanted them to hear “only the best things,” rather than programs that were too violent or too focused on crime. But although she felt there was room for improvement, she opposed any direct government involvement or censorship of programs. She felt that it was “the duty of mothers and teachers” to protect children from potentially harmful content, and while the previously mentioned critics were often unhappy with what was on the air, Mrs. Roosevelt seemed optimistic. She told the interviewer that she believed “the public will eventually reject what is worst in radio... and select only the best” (56).

Of course, not everyone shared Mrs. Roosevelt’s positive outlook. Even some of the fan magazines of the early 1930s were taking up the

subject of what young people were hearing on the air, and the assessment of one typical article was these programs left a lot to be desired. In "Is Radio Ruining Your Child?", the authors concluded that while the title of the essay was hyperbolic, the topic was quite serious, since most programs aimed at the juvenile audience were sponsored, and in addition to the plot (which often involved somebody getting shot or somebody being annihilated by a "disintegration ray") , there were endless plugs for breakfast cereals and candy bars. The article advised parents to pay close attention to what their children were listening to, because while some of the plots were exciting, others were scary and violent (Allen and Allen 14-15) But while some of the magazine and newspaper articles continued to express disappointment at what was available for children to listen to, some programs were singled out for praise. In 1935, one such program was "Let's Pretend," which featured boys and girls performing dramatized versions of fairy tales and folklore, in a way that encouraged children who were listening to use their imagination. The show's producer was Nila Mack, a former stage actress who was praised for patiently working with the children to bring out their skills as story-tellers ("Radio's Children").

And perhaps inspired by concern for the kinds of programs being offered to children, a number of clubwomen formed the Women's National Radio Committee in late 1934. Its mission was to encourage

higher standards in programs, and that not only meant the programs aimed at children. The committee began to do an evaluation of all genres of radio shows, both musical and non-musical, and planned to give annual awards to the ones that were judged the best. In March 1935, the first awards were given, and among the winners were the weekly news-magazine “The March Of Time,” which was named the best commercial program, and an educational (non-sponsored, or “sustaining”) program “You And Your Government” (“Radio Programs” 25). And given the competitive nature of many in broadcasting, a number of performers and producers who did not win the award were puzzled, especially those who had won popularity polls in a number of fan magazines and were not accustomed to losing. The Women’s National Radio Committee explained that among the criteria were creativity and providing a radio program that was unusual or unique in some way, a “better type” of program. Granted this was highly subjective, and immediately resulted in some performers denigrating the awards; but the founder of the committee, Yolanda Mero-Irion, held firm in her determination to raise the standards of what was on the air, and not just reward the same popular shows year after year (Dunlap, “Showmen Scan” X11). An ongoing conversation ensued, about what made a “quality program” and while Dunlap questioned whether the committee’s awards would bring lasting changes to radio, there was tangible evidence that the FCC was taking notice of their critique. In

mid-1935, Anning S. Prall, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, who approved of the efforts of the Women's National Radio Committee, told broadcasters that, based on what he had personally heard, as well as the information he had received from the clubwomen, children's programming was in dire need of improvement and the FCC might look into it, given that stations were expected to serve the public interest ("Educational Side" 15). As for Mme. Mero-Irion (as she liked to be called) and the rest of her committee, whenever they were asked, they insisted their intent was not to get programs banned, give sponsors a problem or turn radio into something "highbrow"-- rather, they were only seeking to evaluate what was on the air, and raise the quality of what was available to the listeners ("Showmen Warned" X11).

While the Women's National Radio Committee often seemed to focus on musical and educational programs, the group's concerns raised larger issues, especially whether radio's executives would continue to be more concerned with what the advertisers wanted, rather than offering listeners programs of higher quality. The fact that the Committee liked "The March Of Time" demonstrated its belief that the public needed programs that both informed and educated, and that such programs could be interesting rather than pedantic. And like the critics at some of the magazines, the members of the Committee believed radio was at a

crossroads, and that critical conversations about what was on the air could play an important role in charting radio's future.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

Neil Postman's perspective on the study of media as environments can be utilized to consider how radio emerged as a medium that could “affect human perception, understanding, feeling, and value” (Postman, qtd. in Eurich 1970). Using content and discourse analyses, it is possible to demonstrate that what was written about radio from 1920-1935 contributes to an understanding of the media ecology of early broadcasting. Postman's commentary that “...[a] new technology does not add or subtract something. It changes everything” (Postman, Technopoly 18) certainly encapsulates what happened when radio was introduced to the American public.

Among the many changes that radio introduced, were: (1) a sense of time shifting, as information was transmitted instantaneously across time zones and across miles, altering the public's willingness to wait hours or days to receive it; (2) a sense of shifting space, in the practice of listening to information or music that was sent in real-time, from another place directly to the listener's home; and perhaps the most remarkable change, (3) radio transmitted disembodied voices, which were sent across the “ether” (today called the “air”), and through the power of imagination, these unseen voices were transformed by the listeners into companions

and friends, expanding the range of people the listeners “knew.” These three elements also provided a new way of conversing that offered the public a shared topic about which they could speak, and new terminology that enabled them to articulate it.

As Postman wrote, “new technologies structure our interests: the things we think about” (Postman Technopoly 20). People wanted to talk about radio, so fan organizations like the “Red Apple Club” at WCX in Detroit or the “Kansas City Nighthawks” at WDAF, provided listeners with membership cards and station events they could attend, allowing them to have either an “imagined community” or an actual one, where fans could meet and socialize. In those early days, people did not just listen passively: they wanted to collect radio stamps, send “applause cards” to their favorite stations, ask for photographs of the performers whose voices they enjoyed, and play “radio golf” as they searched for distant radio signals. And even when the radio craze passed and radio was no longer an obsession, it continued to exert its influence on everything from how hit songs were created to how presidents were elected.

It is a tenet of media ecology that a new medium will “make war against” or compete with an older medium for “time, attention, money, prestige, and a ‘worldview’ ” (Postman, End Of Education 192). When

radio came along, it provided competition for the telegraph. Telegraphers continued to be employed, especially in print journalism, but the monopoly that telegraphy had over the quick transmission of information was broken, because radio could transmit information even faster; radio also sent the information more accurately, since it did not require knowledge of Morse code.

Radio also competed with newspapers and magazines. Radio could report information faster than print, and thus raised questions about the future of reading. As the “radio craze” took hold in the early 1920s, there were some fears that radio would make reading unnecessary, causing people to avoid libraries or have no interest in the newspaper. Radio did “change everything,” in that it created an environment where nearly everyone was thinking about this new mass medium or talking about what they heard on the air. But rather than eliminating reading, radio created a synergistic relationship with print. People wanted to read about radio, so newspapers began printing the daily program listings and provided a columnist who specialized in broadcasting; a number of new books, about the technology and about the stations, were published, and a number of new magazines, including Radio Digest and Radio World, made their debut. And Neil Postman noted that even general-interest magazines were affected: to better

compete with radio, these publications began offering shorter articles, to accommodate shorter attention spans (Conscientious Objections 63-64).

Although radio did not eliminate reading, it did, however, turn Americans into a nation of listeners, and it brought the spoken word back to prominence. And with the foregrounding of the spoken word came other synergies: educators saw a new interest in what was then called elocution, so new courses in effective speaking were created. Educators themselves were soon called upon to model delivering an interesting speech, as a number of colleges began to offer courses by radio, on a variety of subjects, and while the course was sent by radio, it included weekly readings.

My dissertation research reflects some of these relationships between radio and print, as I have explored various perceptions, attitudes, and discourses that were found in newspapers, magazines and journals during radio's first fifteen years. Using a media ecology framework, I have sought to study the impact that radio had on such areas of daily life as human communication, education, work, and leisure activity.

To cite one example from my research I discussed a unique ability of radio-- how it created "experts," people the audience trusted, without

ever having met them. Because it was (and remains) an intimate medium, radio brought a number of knowledgeable spokesmen and women into the listener's life. This proved to be a mixed blessing, however. Few listeners seemed to possess the ability to recognize "...faulty assumptions, superstitions, and even outright lies" (Postman and Weingartner 3), and as a result, it was easy to mislead them. While some of the speakers sounded knowledgeable because they genuinely were, others were charlatans and con artists, able to create a persona based on a fake title and skillful oratory. This confusion over what was "real" would persist during radio's first fifteen years. Radio was a medium that relied on the power of the imagination, resulting in many listeners believing the two white men playing stereotypic "negro" characters (Amos 'n' Andy) were really two black men; or that "Dr." John R. Brinkley, a notorious fraud who offered dubious medical advice, was a real doctor who could cure them.

Keeping in mind that media ecology considers "...how media of communication affect human perception, understanding, feeling and value" (qtd. in Strate, "The Judaic Roots" 190), a recurring theme in this dissertation is how radio influenced the audience's beliefs about "the other," especially speakers and performers who were from ethnic and religious minorities. The fact that a radio signal transcended geographic boundaries meant that black performers could be heard in segregated

cities, and black professors could reach a far more diverse audience than was possible before radio. Radio also brought conversations by women into the public sphere, introducing listeners to female lawyers, politicians, even clergy. But as I discussed in chapter seven, there were also vulgar and stereotypic representations of “the other,” including on-air uses of the word “nigger” by white radio speakers; anti-Semitic screeds by Radio Priest Father Charles Coughlin; and limited on-air roles for women, who were usually restricted to programs about home-making or fashion. Thus, depending on when the listeners tuned in, they might hear representations of “the other” that contested or refuted societal myths, or they might hear programs that reinforced them.

A Changing Ecology

In the media landscape of the 1920s and early 1930s, some “old media” like books and newspapers continued to be widely used, although they were now sharing the stage with radio; people simply incorporated radio into their daily routine, but by making room for radio, they did not decide to eliminate other media. On the other hand, it is a tenet of media ecology that in every media environment, there are “winners and losers” (Postman, Technopoly 10-11); in the 1920s, there was one medium that was receding in importance-- the telegraph. As for perceptions about radio, it was initially seen by print media as a fad, and then it was seen

as a threat, but this newest mass medium was neither. It did not die out, as its critics at newspapers had expected (or, more correctly, hoped), nor did it eliminate interest in reading, as its critics in print journalism had feared.

My research also shows that when radio debuted in 1920, there were what we today would call “early adopters,” young men (and a few young women) who were the first to embrace the new mass medium by learning the technology, building radio receivers and listening in. It would not be until late 1922-early 1923 when their parents and other adults became involved, encouraged by the availability of ready-to-use radio sets that could be purchased in a department store. But even those who did not own a set were listening to one at a friend’s home. The “radio craze” began in 1922, and proof of its impact can be seen in how many newspapers began to provide a radio page and the number of new radio-oriented magazines that debuted, as well as how many general-interest magazines began to cover stories related to the growth of radio. And the radio stations themselves began to change in 1922-1923, moving from locations in factories to more aesthetically-pleasing and comfortable studios in hotels and office buildings, as the perception that radio was an enjoyable hobby gave way to the belief that radio was a profession. This shift was encouraged by the involvement of companies like Westinghouse, General Electric, and Radio Corporation of America

(RCA); these companies were investing in radio stations and radio equipment, and even before commercials were being broadcast, executives like David Sarnoff saw radio as a business, one that would eventually generate profits in addition to entertaining the public.

As my research has demonstrated, academia was slow to pay attention to radio. While technology-oriented publications like Scientific American followed radio from its inception, articles were usually about how to build the most effective radio equipment, or new techniques for improving reception. Only a small number of journals of pedagogy, speech or English mentioned radio broadcasting: these included Educational Research Bulletin and the English Journal, but not until 1924-1925; there was also one article in American Journal of Sociology in 1927. It was not until the years 1929-1931 that academic journals displayed an increased interest in radio, with articles in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Speech, and Quarterly Journal of Speech.

Until the late 1920s, most articles about broadcasting (whether favorable or unfavorable) appeared in popular/mainstream sources such as newspapers and magazines. A number of newspapers, after having first resisted radio, hired a radio editor, and this person wrote columns about the latest news of the stations and the people who worked there.

One of the first by-lined radio columns was that of Guy Entwistle in the Boston Traveler in February 1921, but by March 1922, the Boston Globe, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dallas Morning News, Indianapolis Star, Portland Oregonian, San Francisco Chronicle, and Washington Post were among those that now had such a column. And by June 1922, when the “radio craze” was sweeping the country, nearly all of the newspapers comprising my units of analysis had a radio column. Some, like the Indianapolis Star and the New Orleans Times-Picayune, operated their radio page in conjunction with the station they also operated: in the case of the Times-Picayune, that was station WAAB; at The Star it was WOH, and in those cases, the newspaper focused mainly on news of that one station, rather than covering broadcasting as a whole. It should also be noted that the radio editor at several of these newspapers had formerly written only about amateur (ham) radio; now, due to increased public interest in commercial broadcasting, the editor was including news of both ham radio and commercial radio. This shifted by mid-1923, at which time, most radio columns were exclusively about the commercial broadcasting stations, and separate columns about the local ham radio clubs were published once or twice a week.

When radio arrived at 8MK in Detroit (late August 1920) and KDKA in Pittsburgh (late October 1920), it had only a limited audience, most of whom were either related in some way to the two companies

operating those radio stations or were fans of amateur radio. It is safe to say that few in the general public were aware of radio in November 1920, and the iconic Harding-Cox presidential election, covered by both stations (and by other ham radio stations as well) generated little attention from the newspapers, most of which said nothing about it. (The Detroit News, which operated 8MK, said a lot, as did the Pittsburgh Post, which was involved with KDKA. But a search of the other newspapers comprising my units of analysis found no mentions of the broadcast.) A year later, much had changed. A few more stations were on the air, several of which were owned by Westinghouse, a manufacturer of radios and household appliances, and a frequent advertiser in newspapers and magazines. While newspapers continued to resist -- the Springfield (MA) Union and Republican reported on the first broadcast of Westinghouse station WBZ in mid-September, but placed the story on an inside page-- the coverage of broadcasting was gradually increasing, and new stations were going on the air. (Interestingly, some newspapers that did begin to mention radio only reported the listings and programs of the Westinghouse stations, perhaps as a result of Westinghouse's well-established publicity department, or its role as a well-known advertiser. But whatever the reason, the result was greater coverage of broadcasting.)

Within a surprisingly short time (a two-year period), radio was no longer considered a hobby or a fad. By early 1923, it had become an accepted part of daily life, and the coverage it received in the press reflected this. The speed with which radio was accepted and embraced, both by the public and the press, is unusual, and may relate to its ease of use. The telegraph required knowledge of Morse code and the ability to type messages with a special key. The telephone, which at the time of radio's emergence was still not available in rural areas of the United States, was easy to use but only permitted one-to-one communication, and only if telephone wires were not affected by bad weather. Radio was originally envisioned as a telegraph without wires, able to transmit information across long distances. But experiments by Reginald Fessenden, Lee deForest and others showed that radio could be used for the transmission of music as well. Thus, radio's ability to carry voice and music from distant locations into the home of anyone with a receiver, and its ability to deliver music, news and information to large numbers of people simultaneously made this new mass medium unique, and contributed to its rapid acceptance.

Having explored in my dissertation research the many changes brought about by the introduction of radio into the media landscape, I should like to address each of my research questions.

Question 1: How did discursive shifts in print media contribute to public perceptions of radio?

When I looked at newspapers and magazines, I observed that there were several distinct shifts. The first occurred in mid-1922, when the “radio craze” took off, and interest in radio exploded across the United States. As a result of this interest, newspapers which had ignored radio up to that point were forced to begin reporting on it. Some newspapers like the New York Times expanded their coverage, beginning first with a radio column and transforming it into a radio section (2-3 pages), while others, such as the Springfield (MA) Union and Republican even created a separate section devoted exclusively to radio; this section, as much as 7-8 pages long, was usually published in the Sunday edition. When the “radio craze” ebbed and the new mass medium had become an accepted part of daily life, some newspapers lessened the amount of coverage, but nearly every one of the newspapers comprising my units of analysis continued with at least a radio column, whether syndicated or written by a local reporter. The newspapers that did not continue with radio coverage tended to be those which had operated one of the early stations; when the station went out of business, the coverage either ended entirely or was greatly reduced (often just the program listings of the local stations that had survived). By the mid-to-late 1920s, certain newspapers like the Boston Post, New York Times, Washington Post, Los

Angeles Times and Cleveland Plain Dealer were at the forefront of radio coverage, with extensive radio columns and even some radio criticism.

While newspapers underwent shifts in how much (or how little) attention they paid to radio, the radio magazines underwent several shifts in their focus and choice of a target audience of readers. Radio Amateur News (re-named Radio News in mid-1920) maintained a mostly technical focus until 1922, when it began to include a few articles about the commercial stations, in response to the “radio craze.” Throughout the 1920s, Radio News offered readers about 75% technological articles, but they were written in a very user-friendly style, rather than in the jargon of engineering magazines. By mid-1926, when the magazine’s owners began operating station WRNY in New York, there was a brief period of time when non-technical articles, about performers on the station or about interesting programs, increased. But the majority of the articles were still about such topics as improving reception or combating static. When Radio News was sold in 1929, the number of technology articles expanded again, covering such topics as how to build a short-wave set, or the latest experiments with television (called “radio-vision” back then), but there was still coverage of the programs at WRNY.

Radio Digest was always a mass-appeal radio magazine with hardly any technical content at all; in 1922, when it first published, it

was tabloid-sized, much like a newspaper, and its pages featured stories about the newest cities to have a radio station, profiles of interesting performers and announcers, and information about unique programs. That blend of stories continued throughout the 1920s, but the publication encountered financial difficulties in 1929 and was forced to reduce its format to a more conventional magazine-size, with fewer pages; it merged with several other radio fan magazines and was able to continue publishing until October 1933. The most interest shift occurred with Radio Broadcast. It began publishing in 1922 and was largely technology-focused, although it did print articles about interesting stations and personnel, and some accounts of radio in other countries. Radio Broadcast changed from a small-sized magazine to a larger format in the mid-1920s, and became more of a general-interest radio magazine during that period, with more articles about the programs and the stations, as well as about issues related to the future of broadcasting, such as a discussion of the government's role in radio (and the founding of the Federal Radio Commission). The magazine also published some of the earliest radio criticism-- first by Jennie Irene Mix and then, after her death in 1925, by a succession of male critics. But by 1928, Radio Broadcast had reverted back to being mainly a technology-focused publication; and it ceased publication in 1930. The same shift occurred with another publication, Radio World, which reacted to the "radio craze" by adding 4-5 pages of news about the

stations, pictures of entertainers and famous people using radio, and news of the broadcasting industry. But by the late 1920s, this magazine too had reverted back to mainly a technology focus, with 1-2 pages of radio news. Thus, radio magazines took two divergent paths-- one that tried to be mainstream and ultimately returned to a technology-themed niche, and another that situated itself as a mass-appeal publication with gossip about the performers and information about the stations.

These shifts mirrored radio's changing audience. In the new mass medium's first full year (1921), most of its listeners came from amateur radio; they knew how to build ham radio equipment, but wanted to learn the newest techniques. The radio magazines and newspaper columns provided articles by engineering experts, who were familiar with the newest developments in broadcasting technology. Even into January-February 1922, many of the radio articles in the mainstream press reached out to that group of technophiles. But in the spring of 1922, the audience suddenly changed, as the "radio craze" brought in thousands of new listeners who had no technological expertise and did not necessarily want to read schematics of new radio hook-ups. The new radio magazines that began in April-May 1922 either tried to please both audiences (the technology buffs and the new radio fans) or decided to focus mainly on one audience-- whether just the fans, as Radio Digest did, or the tinkerers as Radio World did. The same shift could be seen

with radio columns in newspapers. The early columns from 1921 tended to be about news the amateurs wanted to read. But by mid-1922, while still discussing the technology, a majority of radio columns had begun to discuss subjects the average radio listener wanted. And by 1923-1924, it was rare to read about amateur radio anywhere other than in a ham radio magazine like QST or in special ham radio columns in certain newspapers like the Washington Post, New York Times or Boston Globe. While my research has not uncovered any documents that explain why certain editors of the radio magazines reverted to a technological focus, it may be that those editors believed there was still a niche for tinkerers and experimenters, and there were enough general-interest publications to satisfy everyone else.

As for the academic publications, during much of the 1920s, mentions of radio were few, and until 1929, the majority of those mentions were negative, such as a 1927 essay by sociologist Marshall D. Beuick, "The Limited Social Effect of Radio Broadcasting." In the late 1920s, after the arrival of the two national networks, the rise of sponsored programs, and the creation of a pantheon of radio stars (including high-paid and high-profile announcers like Graham McNamee), scholars finally began to address commercial broadcasting, discussing the effect radio was having on the speech habits of students, or praising those announcers who exemplified proper diction. In the first journal that devoted an entire volume to the broadcast medium, the

March 1929 Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, editor Irwin Stewart pointed out that radio had been of great benefit to humanity, and the time had come to “portray in non-technical language a picture of the entire field of radio” (iv). As for why it took nearly a decade for an academic journal to address radio (and even after it did so, few other journals followed the Annals’ lead; radio did not become a frequent topic of discussion and analysis until the mid-to-late 1930s), once again, my research was not able to uncover any stated reason for the lack of scholarly attention; but modern critics with expertise in the study of popular culture, including Simon Frith, have suggested that most academics of that era displayed a preference for high culture, and were therefore contemptuous of that which was mass-appeal or popular, giving them good reason to ignore it (103).

Question 2: What did print media contribute to a media ecology perspective of radio's formative years?

Analysis of the discourses from the listeners (and some print journalists) who were caught up in the “radio craze” in 1922 demonstrates that these proponents of the new mass medium embraced it with an almost messianic fervor, using words like “miracle” and “amazing,” referring to radio’s “triumphs” and “marvels” when writing about it. Even into late 1923, radio was still being described in effusive

prose, as a cure for loneliness, a blessing to shut-ins, and one reporter said it “turn[s] sorrow to joy” (Markson 1). There were a few fleeting concerns, some expressed by early critics, others by letter-writers: if the public could now listen in on the speeches of people they didn’t even know, would radio soon eliminate privacy? What if radio were used for propaganda by America’s enemies? And there were some mentions of the “radio divorce,” brought about by a husband’s obsession with his new radio hobby, to the exclusion of his wife and children. But for the most part, articles about radio showed that the public and the radio columnists perceived it as a powerful and generally positive force in daily life. In the period from 1921-1923, when radio was still in its infancy, letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines praised the new mass medium in terms one might use to discuss a close friend. But by 1924-1925, some of the praise was tempered with frustration, especially about ongoing reception problems, such as static and fading, which interrupted people’s favorite programs. Radio had ceased to be perceived as a fascinating novelty; it was now seen as a necessity, and the public wanted receiving sets to do a better job, as well as wanting more of their favorite kinds of programs. But the listeners who took the time to write to the newspapers and magazines during the mid-to-late 1920s, while no longer speaking of radio as a wonder or a marvel, still seemed fond of it. My research thus shows that this new mass medium enjoyed a “honeymoon phase” when little criticism was uttered, but even after radio

had been around for a while and had become an accepted part of the media landscape, most of the letter-writers and radio reporters continued to perceive it as beneficial. By the late 1920s, there were a handful of radio critics who regarded what was on the air with dismay (too many commercials, not enough “good music,”), but their views contended with the views of fans who could not imagine life without their radio.

Of course it was not just the radio critics who found what was on the air disappointing; there were members of certain minority groups, especially African-Americans, who perceived radio with ambivalence. On the one hand, it helped black performers to gain a wider audience, a source of pride for black listeners who enjoyed hearing a “race performer” (as they were then called) and also enjoyed knowing that performer was becoming a success thanks to radio. But on the other hand, radio employed white speakers who used racial slurs, allowed the Ku Klux Klan to own a station, and put program on the air that depicted black people stereotypically. By reading the commentaries in the black newspapers, researchers can see that many writers were excited about the ability of radio to transmit entertainment as well as news and educational programs directly into the home (a major benefit in segregated cities where attendance at concerts was restricted, and where the educational system for minorities was inferior); however, an equal number were disappointed that the roles blacks were allowed to play on

the air were so limited and often stereotypic. Still, a majority of letters to the editors of these newspapers expressed the same amazement and gratitude that letters to white newspapers did. Many black listeners, especially those in rural areas of the south, perceived radio as a way to gain access to the wider world, giving them an opportunity to hear great orators and great entertainers.

And as mentioned earlier, many academics, especially in the 1920s, perceived radio as something not sufficiently important to address, or perceived it as a purveyor of low culture, such as jazz music. There were a few exceptions, particularly the staff at the Educational Research Bulletin, who believed that radio had great potential as an educational tool. Interestingly, Neil Postman's first book, Television And The Teaching Of English, written in 1961, advised educators to find ways to embrace television and incorporate it in their classroom, since it was a medium their students found very important. While Postman's later work would be very critical of television, he understood the importance of gaining some familiarity with this new mass medium, rather than simply dismissing or denigrating it.

Thus, by analyzing the differing discourses found in print, a researcher can observe how radio moved from the sidelines (the years 1920-1921, when it was generally perceived as a fad or a hobby and only

occasionally discussed in engineering magazines), to becoming an essential part of daily life during the “radio craze” in 1922, and how radio then continued to be a frequent topic of conversation in mass-appeal magazines, newspapers, and fan letters. The print media also illustrate how a previously important medium, the telegraph, receded in importance, even for the news periodicals that had relied upon it for more than seventy years. Also, as mentioned previously, given that little of early radio was preserved, the print discourses about broadcasting provide one of the best resources for understanding the role radio played in American culture-- how it affected the music industry, politics, sports, and religion, and how it foregrounded the spoken word and made a “good radio voice” a necessity for people in public life.

Question 3: How did print media contribute to an understanding of marginalized groups, such as women, African-Americans, and members of minority religious denominations?

As mentioned before, in the 1920s, America was segregated. The racial segregation in the south was de jure, whereas in many parts of the country, there was also de facto segregation that restricted Jews or immigrants or Asians to certain neighborhoods. It was thus possible to live one’s entire life without ever encountering “the other.” While some critics have dismissed radio as nothing more than commercialized

entertainment, radio was also transgressive, because it broke down the barriers of segregation, enabling the voices of Jews or blacks or other minorities to be heard in places where their physical presence would have rendered them unwelcome. In doing this, radio demythologized “the other”-- for example, in a time when anti-Jewish sentiments were often part of the popular culture, rabbis were able to explain what Judaism taught, and to humanize the “Jewish Other” to people who had absorbed many negative stereotypes about Jews. And in a culture where whiteness was the norm, radio allowed black scholars -- scientists, historians, sociologists, and linguists, to demonstrate their expertise, perhaps the first time that some white listeners had encountered blacks in anything other than subservient roles. Radio also allowed victims of cultural discrimination to speak for themselves, discussing their interpretation of current issues or challenging the dominant view of history. Jewish interpretations of Hitler’s rise were far different from the viewpoints expressed by men like Father Coughlin. Black interpretations of American history included the achievements of “negroes,” whereas all too many history books did not.

The same is true of the role of women. Commercial radio was born the year that women achieved the right to vote, and from radio’s earliest years, women who had been active in the suffrage movement, as well as women from civic organizations like the newly created League of Women

Voters, were able to speak about the importance of voting, as well as teaching listeners (both male and female) about how the government operated. Thanks to radio, women politicians, those running for office and those already elected, were able to make an impact on the listening audience. While radio, especially network radio, limited women's roles on air, women scholars did give talks, as did women authors and poets, and a number of women newsmakers. Radio gave the audience its first exposure to the wives of the presidents-- First Ladies had remained in the background till the late 1920s, when President Hoover's wife Louise ("Lou") gave several radio talks, and then, President Roosevelt's wife Eleanor got her own weekly radio program in 1934. Listeners heard women who were in traditional roles-- radio homemakers for example-- but they also heard women in non-traditional roles, including women doctors and lawyers, and a few women announcers. At a time when gender was constructed far more restrictively than today, and men were perceived as the authorities, radio gave listeners the opportunity to "meet" women who had expertise in a variety of professions, and who could speak intelligently about not just traditional "women's subjects," but about business, or journalism, or politics.

Modern researchers who seek an accurate picture of what radio meant (and still means) to its audience are well-advised to study the perspectives of the ethnic, religious, and feminist media, since the

opinions expressed in those pages are often quite different from what was found in the pages of the much more thoroughly researched New York Times or Washington Post. Popular traditional history of broadcasting texts like Sterling and Kittross (2002) and Hilliard and Keith (2010), while very well-researched, say little about the critiques that came from these minority voices. As Neil Postman stated, media ecology offers an opportunity for historians to consider “how media of communication affect human perception, understanding, feeling and value” (qtd. in Strate, “The Judaic Roots” 190); only examining the dominant viewpoints in the culture is not telling the entire story.

In Conclusion

Although both Marshall McLuhan and Neil Postman lived during radio’s Golden Age, it was only McLuhan who devoted any of his writings to an all-too-brief examination of radio from a media ecology perspective. In Understanding Media, McLuhan stated that “...the ‘message’ of any medium or technology is the change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs” (8). As my research has shown, radio introduced a rapid delivery of music, news, and information that transcended geographical boundaries; its messages were provided to listeners from diverse religions, ethnicities, and socioeconomic strata. But while Postman did not focus exclusively on radio, the questions he

asked scholars to consider applied to the study of any mass medium, old or new. He used the media ecology approach to inquire into “how media affect people’s cognitive habits, their social relations, their political biases, and their personal values” (“The Day” 382).

By using a media ecology perspective in analyzing radio, I have presented examples of how radio altered the way people thought about “the other” and about current events. Listeners in the “invisible audience” began to make judgments based on how a person’s voice sounded: did the speaker seem sincere? Did he or she deliver an intense speech that aroused human emotions? Did the speaker appear to be an expert and convey information in a way the audience could comprehend? Franklin Delano Roosevelt was able to capitalize on radio’s ability to create intimacy: he made listeners feel they were listening to a trusted friend, rather than a remote political figure in Washington. But demagogues like Father Coughlin were equally able to use radio’s ability to create intimacy, and these speakers forged a bond with the audience based on what McLuhan referred to as radio’s ability to awaken “archaic memories, forces, and animosities” and to create “insatiable village tastes for gossip, rumor, and personal malice” (306); Father Coughlin aroused his audience by warning them of sinister enemies and generating public outrage against these dangerous “others” in much the same way that Michael Savage or Rush Limbaugh do today.

A media ecology analysis of radio helps to explain why this mass medium continues to be influential, despite the arrival of television and the internet. Just as the debut of radio “changed everything” in the media landscape, so have other mass media had a similar change-making effect. But television and internet have not eliminated radio, just as radio did not eliminate newspapers nor decrease interest in reading. In today’s television and internet age, now it is radio that has adapted: many radio stations have a website and stream their audio; time-shifting has become common, as individual announcers offer podcasts so that listeners can catch up on a particular segment of the program, whenever they want to listen, and wherever they might be. Radio is still very much a part of the culture, and as the continued popularity of National Public Radio and the All-News format demonstrate, there will be a place in the media landscape for good story-telling and objective reporting.

Also, as the continued ratings success of Rush Limbaugh demonstrates, there will be a place in the media landscape for powerful radio speakers who know how to use radio as a “megaphone for anger” (Jim Hightower, qtd. in Kay, Ziegelmüller and Minch 10). In the late 1930s, when Father Coughlin’s rhetoric was finally subjected to critical analysis, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis criticized him for using “...repeated falsehoods, bitter name-calling [and] race hatred” on a

regular basis, promoting his bigoted perspective to “uncritical Americans” who rarely questioned what he said (qtd. in Kay, Ziegelmüller and Minch 13). The same critique could be applied to Limbaugh, Savage and others with similar tactics. This, for good or for ill, is the bias of an aural medium; it is a tenet of media ecology that each mass medium, each technology, has its own particular bias-- not in the sense of a prejudice, but in the sense of a tendency to privilege or favor certain behaviors or perspectives. Radio favors hearing, rather than seeing, and that makes voice, diction, and rhetorical style all-important. And as Levinson suggested, radio’s aurality allows listeners to feel as if they are “eavesdropping on the world” (184).

And that brings me back to one of the scholarly questions Neil Postman posed in a 2000 speech. He asked (qtd. in Lum 65), “To what extent does a medium contribute to the uses and development of rational thought?” Lance Strate referred to Postman as a “defender of the word,” one who “defended the word in the face of overwhelming competition from the image” (“The Judaic Roots” 203). But Postman also defended the word against those who used it in a way he defined as “crazy talk”-- talk that may be effective but which serve an unreasonable or evil purpose (Crazy Talk xi). He went on to explain that crazy talk requires “suspend[ing] critical judgment, accept[ing] premises without question, and (frequently) abandon[ing] entirely the idea that language ought to be

connected with reality” (85). Given that Postman so deeply cared about critical thinking, and believed that one way to analyze and evaluate media was to consider their contribution to rational thought, it is not surprising that one of his few remarks about radio expressed disappointment that talk shows had deteriorated into name-calling and insult. He had expected radio to resist this trend, since the medium was “well-suited to the transmission of rational complex language” (Amusing Ourselves 112).

But as my dissertation research has shown, there is much more about radio to analyze and discuss than the Father Coughlins (or modern day equivalents). Radio continues to serve as a friend and a companion to millions of listeners, not all of whom are seeking outrage or grievance. Some are seeking news, or sports, or advice, or the latest hit songs. Some are multi-taskers, and they can listen to radio while doing something else. The media ecology perspective provides a way to discuss the changing media landscape, since media do not exist in isolation to each other. It encourages researchers to assess who is receiving the benefits of a new medium and who is not; and to evaluate how each mass medium or technology affects the way people think, as well as how they receive (and perceive) information. As my research has explained, a media ecology perspective can certainly apply to the first fifteen years of radio, a time when this new medium was introduced into the culture and

everything changed, for other media as well as for the public. The new medium of radio was first perceived as a fad for hobbyists, then as a miraculous gift, and finally, it was experienced as an important and useful part of daily life.

Neil Postman grew up listening to radio. He spoke on educational radio stations. He understood radio. And yet, he did not subject radio to his unique critical perspective. That is what my dissertation has attempted to do, to provide Neil Postman's missing critique.

APPENDIX

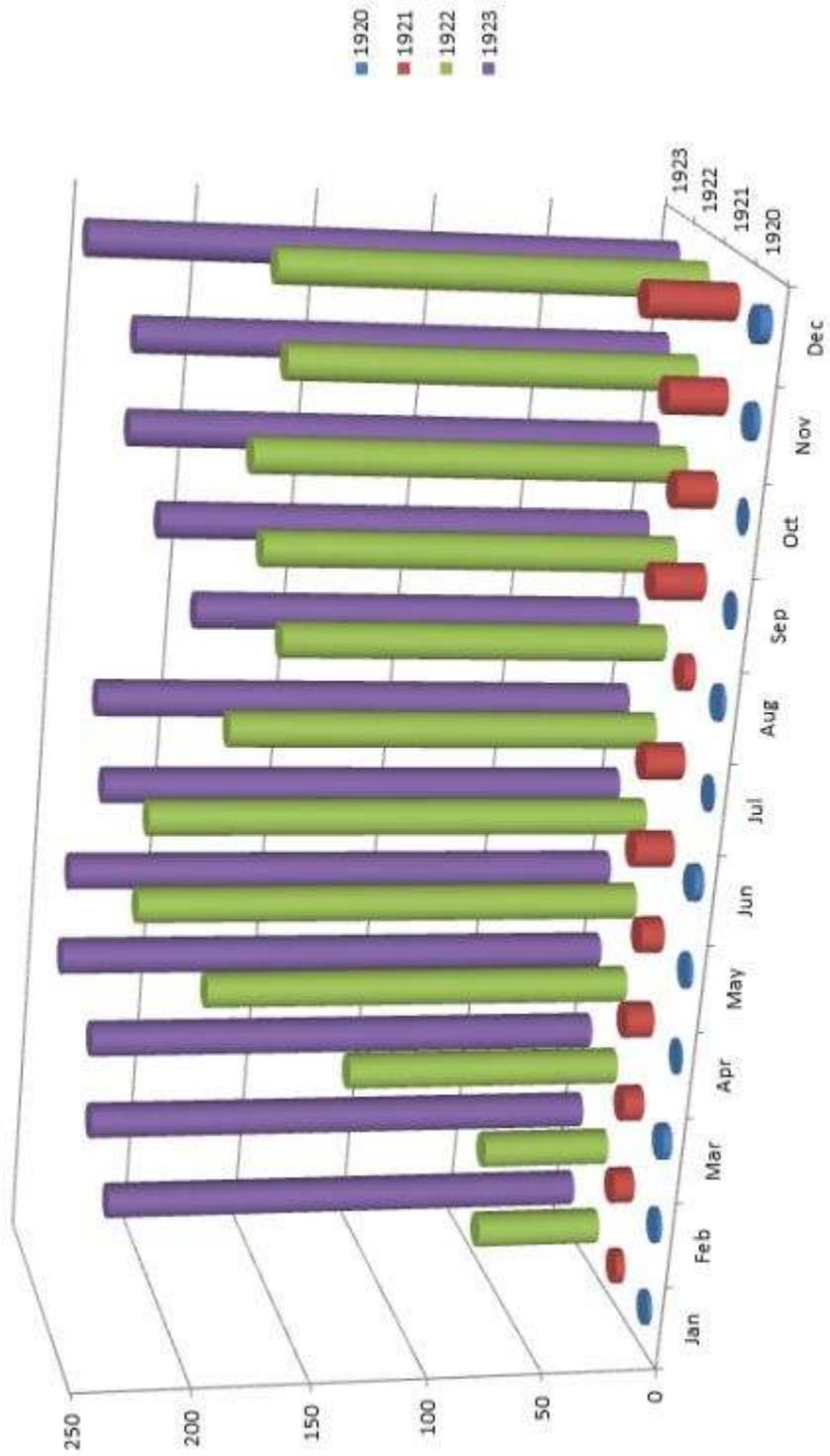
THE GROWTH OF RADIO COVERAGE IN NEWSPAPERS, 1920-1923

From 1920 (the year of commercial radio's debut), through 1923 (the height of the so-called "radio craze"), newspaper interest in covering radio grew dramatically, and more newspapers began to take note of the growing public interest in the new mass medium. In 1920, there were only 27 articles in my units of analysis; in 1921, the number grew to 185 articles; in 1922, when more cities got radio stations of their own and the radio craze broke out, the number of articles increased to 1,907. And in 1923, interest was even higher, with a total of 2,703 radio articles.

The reader will notice that some newspapers are represented in 1921-1922, but not represented in 1923: unfortunately, the electronic databases to which I had access did not track such newspapers as the Detroit Free Press or St. Louis Post-Dispatch after 1922. Similarly, the reader will notice that the historically black newspapers (Amsterdam News, Baltimore Afro-American, Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier) had few radio articles during this period of time; in fact, most of these publications did not even have a full-time radio columnist till the late 1920s. And a word of explanation is needed regarding newspapers that had a large number of radio articles for a few months and then showed a sudden and marked decrease: some stations, like WGM, owned by the

Atlanta Constitution, received extensive coverage every day that they broadcast. For example, in July 1923, the Constitution had nineteen articles about radio, the majority of which were about WGM's programs and the performers heard on the station. But then, WGM left the air, and the coverage of radio was greatly diminished, dropping to only six articles in August. Another factor affecting the number of newspaper articles was that during the summer months, some radio editors seemed to go on vacation, and there were fewer radio columns-- this usually occurred in either July or August.

And as stated earlier in this dissertation, the totals do not include radio listings or program schedules. Included in the tables are the following: articles about particular stations, letters to the editor, profiles of radio announcers or personalities, and editorials/commentaries about radio.



Total Articles by Month / Year

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1920	2	2	4	1	2	4	1	2	1	0	3	5	27
1921	4	9	9	12	10	17	17	5	22	17	25	38	185
1922	55	56	120	185	217	215	184	165	176	183	172	179	1907
1923	213	223	225	240	239	227	232	193	211	226	226	248	2703

1920

	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jl	A	S	O	N	D
Atlanta Constitution		1	2				1					1
Baltimore Afro-American												1
Baltimore Sun			1					2				
Boston Globe												
Boston Post											1	
Boston Traveler												
Chicago Tribune						1						
Cleveland Plain Dealer												
Dallas Morning News												
Hartford Courant												
Indianapolis Star	1											1
Los Angeles Times									1			
New York Times						2	1					2
San Francisco Chronicle	1						2					
St. Louis Post-Dispatch				1							2	
Washington Post		1	1									
	2	2	4	1	2	4	1	2	1	0	3	5
Total Articles 1920								27				

1921

	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jl	A	S	O	N	D
Atlanta Constitution						1						2
Baltimore Afro-American												
Baltimore Sun				1							3	5
Boston Globe	2			1		2			1		2	2
Boston Post				1	1							
Boston Traveler		8	8	7	7	7	7	2	8	8	7	7
Chicago Tribune									1	1	5	4
Cleveland Plain Dealer					1						3	3
Dallas Morning News						1						1
Hartford Courant					1					1	2	1
Indianapolis Star												
Kansas City Star	1			1			3					2
Los Angeles Times							1			2		1
New Orleans Times-Picayune												2
New York Times	1	1	1			5	5	1	8	3	3	2
Oakland Tribune												1
Portland Oregonian				1				1				2
Salt Lake City Telegram						1						
San Francisco Chronicle												
Seattle Daily Times												1
Springfield (MA) Republican									2			
St. Louis Post-Dispatch								1	1			1
Trenton (NJ) Evening Times							1					
Washington Post									1	2		1
	4	9	9	12	10	17	17	5	22	17	25	38
Total Articles 1921						185						

1922

	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jl	A	S	O	N	D
Atlanta Constitution				2	9	9	9	7	7	7	8	7
Augusta (GA) Chronicle			3	1	3	6	3	4				
Baltimore Afro-American				1					1	2		
Baltimore Sun	1			3	4	6	4	4				
Billings (MT) Gazette					1			1			2	9
Boston Globe	4	4	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	5
Boston Post		1		3	3	2		2	2	2	2	6
Boston Traveler	4	7	8	7	8	8	7	7	8	8	8	8
Chester (PA) Times												2
Chicago Defender				1	1	2			1	2	2	
Chicago Tribune	4	2	2	2	6	5	4	4	5	4	5	6
Christian Science Monitor	1	1	1	1	1	1			1		1	
Cleveland Plain Dealer	3	2	8	7	5	5	2	3	2	4		2
Dallas Morning News	1	1	3	3	1	1	5	2	2	2	3	
Detroit Free Press				3	15	10	9	8	9	9	9	7
Hartford Courant	3	1	3	6	8	8	6	5	7	7	7	6
Indianapolis Star			10	10	10	10	8	7	8	7	7	7
Kansas City Star	3	3	3	5	9	10	10	10	11	11	10	10
Los Angeles Times	3	3	6	15	11	10	10	10	11	11		11
New Orleans Times-Picayune			4	14	11	10	10	8	9	9	8	8
(Reno) Nevada State Journal	2		2	3		2	2		2	2	2	1
New York Times	9	11	14	17	12	12	12	9	9	12	11	15
Oakland Tribune	1	2	9	14	23	23	20	12	13	14	15	9
Portland Oregonian		2	8	17	18	13	10	8	8	9	9	7
Salt Lake City Telegram	2			4	6	11	11	10	9	9	9	8
San Francisco Chronicle	4	2	10	8	10	8	8	7	8	7	8	7
Seattle Daily Times		4	4	7	7	8	8	7	10	10	10	9
Springfield (MA) Republican	2	2	4	7	8	8	8	7	10	9	9	9
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	4	4	5	10	10	9	9	7	10	11	11	10
Trenton (NJ) Evening Times	2	2	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Washington Post	2	2	4	5	6	7	5	6	5	5	5	5
	55	56	120	185	217	215	184	165	176	183	172	179
	Total Articles					1907						

1923

	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jl	A	S	O	N	D
(NY)Amsterdam News	3	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1		2
Atlanta Constitution	15	14	14	18	16	15	19	6	5	5	5	6
Augusta (GA) Chronicle	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	5	5	6
Baltimore Afro-American	2	4	4	2	4	4	3	2	4	5	4	4
Baltimore Sun	9	7	8	10	10	8	8	7	8	9	9	9
Billings (MT) Gazette	2	4	2	7	7	4	3	3	3	6	5	5
Boston Globe	9	9	11	12	12	11	12	10	10	11	14	14
Boston Post	9	12	13	12	11	12	13	11	13	12	11	13
Boston Traveler	8	9	9	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	12	13
Chester (PA) Times	6	5	5	6	5	6	5	5	4	5	5	8
Chicago Defender	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	4	4	5
Chicago Tribune	9	9	7	10	10	9	10	9	10	9	9	10
Christian Science Monitor	5	6	5	5	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	6
Cleveland Plain Dealer	7	9	10	11	11	11	11	9	11	10	10	12
Dallas Morning News	13	13	14	13	12	10	10	9	10	12	13	8
Hartford Courant	18	17	15	15	13	10	10	8	8	10	12	12
Los Angeles Times	12	13	14	15	13	13	13	11	14	14	14	15
New Orleans Times-Picayune	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	5	6
(Reno) Nevada State Journal	4	5	5	5	7	8	7	7	7	9	9	10
New York Times	9	10	10	10	10	9	10	6	8	9	11	11
Oakland Tribune	10	10	11	10	11	11	10	10	11	10	11	13
Pittsburgh Courier	1				1	3	4	4	4	4	2	1
Portland Oregonian	8	10	10	9	10	9	9	7	7	9	8	11
Seattle Daily Times	6	8	8	10	9	8	8	7	8	10	10	10
Springfield (MA) Republican	9	13	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	12	13	14
Trenton (NJ) Evening Times	9	8	9	8	9	7	9	6	7	7	8	10
Washington Post	13	14	14	12	14	12	13	11	13	14	13	14
	213	223	225	240	239	227	232	193	211	226	226	248

Total Articles: 2703

WORKS CITED

Books:

Abbott, Waldo. Handbook Of Broadcasting: How to Broadcast Effectively. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937.

Allen, Frederick Lewis. Only Yesterday: An Informal History Of The 1920s. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections On The Origins and Spread of Nationalism. 2nd edition. London: Verso, 1991.

Andrist, Ralph K. (Editor) The American Heritage History Of The 20s and 30s. New York: American Heritage Publishing, 1970.

Archer, Gleason L. History Of Radio To 1926. New York: American Historical Society, 1938.

Babbie, Earl. The Practice Of Social Research. 12th edition. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 2010.

Baker, John C. Farm Broadcasting: The First Sixty Years. Ames IA: Iowa State University Press, 1981.

Barlow, William. Voice Over: The Making Of Black Radio. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999.

Barnouw, Eric. A Tower in Babel: A History Of Broadcasting In The United States To 1933. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Berg, Jerome S. On the Shortwaves, 1923-1945. Jefferson City, NC: McFarland, 1999.

Bickford, Leland and Walter Fogg. News While It Is News. Boston: G.C. Manthorpe, 1935

Birkby, Robert. KMA Radio: The First Sixty Years. Shenandoah IA: May Broadcasting Company, 1985.

Breckinridge, Gerald. The Radio Boys On The Mexican Border. New York: A.L. Burt, 1922.

Brindze, Ruth. Not To Be Broadcast: The Truth About Radio. New York: Vanguard, 1937.

- Cantril, Hadley and Gordon W. Allport. The Psychology Of Radio. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935.
- Chapman, Allen. The Radio Boys' First Wireless. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1922.
- Charnley, Mitchell V. News By Radio. New York: Macmillan Company, 1948.
- Codel, Martin, editor. Radio And Its Future. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930.
- Collins, A. Frederick. The Radio Amateur's Handbook. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1922.
- Coughlin, Francis and John Fink. WGN: A Pictorial History. Chicago: Tribune Publishing, 1961.
- Cullinan, Howell. Pardon My Accent. Norwood MA: Plimpton Press, 1934.
- Davidson, Randall. 9XM Talking. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.
- Dougan, Alice M., and Bertha Joel (Editors). Readers' Guide To Periodical Literatures, 1922-1924. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1925.
- Dougan, Alice M., and Bertha Joel (Editors). Readers' Guide To Periodical Literatures, 1925-1928. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1929.
- Dougan, Alice M., and Bertha Joel (Editors). Readers' Guide To Periodical Literature, 1929-1932. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1932.
- Douglas, George H. The Early Days Of Radio Broadcasting. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1987.
- Douglas, Susan J. Inventing American Broadcasting 1899-1922. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Douglas, Susan J. Listening In: Radio And The American Imagination. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Dunlap Jr., Orrin H. The Radio Manual. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.

- Dunlap Jr., Orrin H. The Story Of Radio. New York: Dial Press, 1927.
- Dunning, John. On The Air: The Encyclopedia Of Old-Time Radio. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Eurich, Alvin C., Editor. High School 1980: The Shape Of The Future In American Secondary Education. New York: Pitman Publishing, 1970.
- Firth, Major Ivan and Gladys Shaw Erskine. Gateway To Radio. New York: Macaulay, 1934.
- Fones-Wolf, Elizabeth. Waves Of Opposition: Labor's Struggle For Democratic Radio. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
- Gernsback, Hugo. Radio For All. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1922.
- Goldsmith, Alfred N. and Austin C. Lescarbours. This Thing Called Broadcasting. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930.
- Halper, Donna L. Icons of Talk: The Media Mouths That Changed America. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008.
- Halper, Donna L. Invisible Stars: A Social History Of Women In American Broadcasting. Stoneham, MA: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.
- Heyer, Paul. Harold Innis. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Hilliard, Robert L. and Michael C. Keith. The Broadcast Century And Beyond. 4th edition. Boston: Focal Press, 2005.
- Hilmes, Michele. Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting In The United States. 2nd edition. Belmont CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2007.
- Hilmes, Michele and Jason Loviglio (Editors). Radio Reader: Essays In The Cultural History of Radio. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Husing, Ted. Ten Years Before The Mike. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935.
- Innis, Harold A. Empire And Communications. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, 1972.
- Innis, Harold A. The Bias Of Communication. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall and Joseph N. Cappella. Echo Chamber: Rush Limbaugh And The Conservative Media Establishment. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Kassner, Minna F. and Lucien Zacharoff. Radio Is Censored. New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1936.

Keith, Michael C. (Editor). Radio Cultures: The Sound Medium In American Life. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.

Kennedy, David M. Birth Control In America: The Career Of Margaret Sanger. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1971.

Kenny, Herbert A. Newspaper Row: Journalism In The Pre-Television Era. Boston: Globe-Pequot Press, 1987.

Kenney, William Howland. Recorded Music In American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

KGO : The Pacific Coast Broadcasting Station. Oakland CA: General Electric Company, 1924.

Laird, Ross. Brunswick Records: A Discography Of Recordings, 1916-1931. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Landry, Robert J. Who, What, Why Is Radio? New York: George W. Stewart, 1942.

Lescarboursa, Austin C. Radio For Everybody. New York: Scientific American Publishing, 1923.

Levi, Rabbi Harry. The Great Adventure. Boston: Temple Israel Press, 1929.

Levinson, Paul. Digital McLuhan: A Guide to the Information Millenium. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Levinson, Paul. The Soft Edge: A Natural History And Future Of The Information Revolution. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Lewis, Bernard. Semites And Anti-Semites. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

Lewis, Tom. Empire Of The Air: The Men Who Made Radio. New York: HarperPerennial, 1993.

Lippmann, Walter. Public Opinion. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1922.

Lum, Casey Man Kong (Editor). Perspectives On Culture, Technology, And Communication: The Media Ecology Tradition. Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press, 2006.

Lumley, Frederick H. Measurement In Radio. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1934.

MacDonald, J. Fred. Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming In American Life from 1920 to 1960. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979.

Matlon, Ronald J. (Editor). Index to Journals In Communication Studies. Annandale VA: Speech Communication Association, 1980.

McChesney, Robert W. Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics In Dubious Times. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding Media: The Extensions Of Man. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1994.

Meyrowitz, Joshua. No Sense Of Place: The Impact Of Electronic Media On Social Behavior. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

National Advisory Council On Radio In Education. Listen and Learn. New York: National Advisory Council, 1936.

Neuendorf, Kimberly. The Content Analysis Guidebook. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2001.

Ong, Walter J. Orality And Literacy. New York: Routledge, 1988.

Overstreet, Harry A. and Bonaro W. Overstreet. Town Meeting Comes To Town. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938.

Palmer, B.J. (Bartlett Joshua). Interesting Sidelights Of Broadcasting Station WOC, Davenport, Iowa. Davenport IA: Palmer School of Chiropractic, 1924.

Paltridge, Brian. Discourse Analysis. New York: Continuum, 2006.

Park, David W. and Jefferson Pooley. The History Of Media And Communication Research. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.

- Penrose, Margaret. The Radio Girls On The Program. New York: Cupples and Leon, 1922.
- Peretti, Burton William. Lift Every Voice: The History Of African-American Music. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
- Phelps, George Harrison. The WGHP Broadcasting Studio. Detroit: Phelps Advertising, 1925.
- Postman, Neil. Building A Bridge To The 18th Century. New York: Vintage, 1999.
- Postman, Neil. Conscientious Objections. New York: Knopf, 1988.
- Postman, Neil. Crazy Talk, Stupid Talk. New York: Delta, 1976.
- Postman, Neil. Technopoly: The Surrender Of Culture To Technology. New York: Knopf, 1992.
- Postman, Neil. The End Of Education: Redefining the Value of School. New York: Knopf, 1995.
- Postman, Neil and Charles Weingartner. Teaching As A Subversive Activity. New York: Delta Books, 1969.
- Postman, Neil and Steve Powers. How To Watch Television News. New York: Penguin, 1993.
- Postman, Neil, with Andrew Postman. Amusing Ourselves To Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business. 20th anniversary edition. New York: Penguin, 2005.
- Richter, William A. Radio: A Complete Guide To The Industry. New York: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Rothafel, Samuel L. and Raymond Francis Yates. Broadcasting: Its New Day. New York: Century & Co, 1925.
- Rubin, Brent D. (Editor). Communication Yearbook I. Brunswick NJ: Transaction Press, 1977.
- Saettler, L. Paul. The Evolution Of American Educational Technology. Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing, 2004.
- Sanderson, George and Frank MacDonald (Editors). Marshall McLuhan: The Man and His Message. Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1989.

Sanjek, Russell. American Popular Music And Its Business. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Schiffer, Michael Brian. The Portable Radio In American Life. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991.

Schwartz, Tony. Media: The Second God. Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1983.

Schwartz, Tony. The Responsive Chord. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1973.

Sherwood, Elizabeth J. and Dorothy Goodman (Editors). Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1919-1921. London, England: Grafton & Company, 1922.

Siegel David S. and Susan Siegel. Radio And The Jews: The Untold Story Of How Radio Influenced America's Image Of Jews, 1920-1950. Yorktown Heights, NY: Book Hunter Press, 2007.

Silk, Mark and Andrew Walsh. One Nation, Divisible: How Regional Religious Differences Shape American Politics. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

Sterling, George E. The Radio Manual. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1928.

Strate, Lance. Echoes and Reflections: On Media Ecology As A Field Of Study. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2006.

Sterling, Christopher H. and John Michael Kittross. Stay Tuned: A History Of American Broadcasting. 3rd edition. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002.

Summers, Harrison B. (Editor). Radio Censorship. New York: H.W. Wilson, 1939.

This Is WLAG, The Twin City Radio Central. Minneapolis: Northwest Farmstead Press, 1924.

Verrill, A. Hyatt. The Home Radio. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922.

Wagner, Charles L. H. Radio Rhymes : A Book Of Radio Verse. Boston: B.J. Brimmer, 1924.

Warren, Donald. Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, The Father Of Hate Radio. New York: Free Press, 1996.

Wells, Lena Clark. Big Brother Club Tales. Boston: Christopher Publishing, 1928.

West, Robert. S-o-o-o You're Going On The Air! New York: Rodin Publishing, 1934.

Whipple, Wayne, and S.F. Aaron. The Radio Boys Cronies. Chicago: M.A. Donohue, 1922.

Winn, J. Emmett and Susan L. Brinson (Editors). Transmitting the Past: Historical And Cultural Perspectives On Broadcasting. Tuscaloosa AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005.

Wright, John L. (Editor). Possible Dreams: Enthusiasm For Technology In America. Dearborn MI: Henry Ford Museum, 1992.

WWJ-- The Detroit News. Detroit: Evening News Association, 1922.

Yates, Raymond Francis and Louis Gerard Pacent. The Complete Radio Book. New York: Century Company, 1922.

Works Cited: Journal, Magazine and Newspaper Articles

“2ND Free Press Concert Wins New Triumph.” Detroit Free Press, 6 May 1922, p. 1.

“14 Radio Stations Linked To Garden.” New York Times, 17 June 1924, p. 2.

“20 Radio Stations Here Under Fire.” New York Times, 1 August 1927, p. 25.

“28 ‘NEMO’ Points For Radio In New York City.” Washington Post, 17 July 1927, p.A6.

“35 Radio Broadcasting Stations Now Active,” Charlotte Observer, 3 March 1922, p. 2.

“5000 Hear Bernstein Sermon By Wireless.” Baltimore American, 21 November 1921, p. 14.

“10,000 Is Demanded In Jazzing Of Classics.” Washington Post, 19 April 1925, p. EF 7.

“25,000 To Hear Piano By Radio Tonight.” Boston Globe, 2 November 1921, p. 22.

“25,000,000 To Hear Coolidge By Radio.” New York Times, 21 January 1925, p. 2.

“Actors Who Use Radio Find It An Advantage.” Indianapolis Star, 16 April 1922, p. B11.

Adams, Charles Magee. “A Hand For Radio.” North American Review, Vol. 236, #3 (September 1933), pp. 205-212.

Adams, Paul. C. “Television As Gathering Place.” Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 82, #1 (March 1992), pp. 117-135.

“Advertiser Gives Its First Radio Program.” Honolulu Advertiser, 12 May 1922, p. 1.

“Advice To Young Radio Fans By Washington Post Expert.” Washington Post, 4 June 1922, p. 36.

“Advisers Chosen For School Of Air.” Washington Post, 15 December 1929, p. A7.

Aiken, Janet Rankin. “Vays, Vayz, Or Vahz?” North American Review, Vol. 228, #6 (December 1929), pp. 716-721.

“A ‘Japan Evening’ On The Radio.” The Independent, 20 January 1923, p. 1.

Albig, William L. “The Content Of Radio Programs, 1925-35.” Social Forces, Vol. 16, #3 (March 1938), pp. 338-49.

“All About Radio: Review of S-o-o-o You’re Going On The Air.” New York Times, 5 August 1934, p. BR17.

Allen, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie H. “Is Radio Ruining Your Child?” Radio Fan-Fare, June 1933, pp. 14-15, 49.

“Amateurs Applaud Radio Treat Given By Times-Picayune.” New Orleans Times-Picayune, 8 April 1922, p. 2.

“America Given Radio Concert By Free Press.” Detroit Free Press, 5 May 1922, p. 1.

“American Radio Offers \$500 Prize.” Christian Science Monitor, 25 March 1924, p. 6.

“Amos ‘n’ Andy.” Pittsburgh Courier, 25 April 1931, p. 10.

“Amplifiers To Peel Harding’s Address.” Baltimore Sun, 1 June 1922, p. 6.

“Announcers Broadcast Description Of Parade From Start To Finish.” Baltimore Sun, 12 June 1927, p. 3.

“Announcers Do Not Have Life Wholly Smooth.” Trenton Sunday Times, 12 September 1925, p. 11.

“Announcing in Radio Changed.” Los Angeles Times, 9 June 1927, p. A11.

“Announcing The National Broadcasting Company.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 13 September 1926, p. 5.

“Apartment Houses To Have Radio Phones.” New York Times, 10 March 1922, p. 30.

“Applause Card Import Great.” Los Angeles Times, 3 February 1924, p. F16.

“Arising by Alarm, Cold Dip, Bending by Radio, All Held Silly and Harmful by Professor.” New York Times, 8 April 1929, p. 27.

Arnoux, G.C. “Popular Health Talks To Be Given by Radio.” Fort Worth (TX) Star-Telegram, 21 May 1922, p. 14.

“Arthur B. Reeve Writes Radio Romance.” Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph, 31 May 1922, p. 10.

Ashbaugh, Ernest J. [E.J.A.] “Education By Radio.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 4, #17 (18 November 1925), p. 364.

“As To The Radio.” (Boston) Jewish Advocate, 21 May 1925, p. 4.

“A Study Of Listeners’ Habits.” New York Times, 10 June 1934, p. X11.

Atwood, Frank F. "Courant Station WDAK Gone But Not Forgotten." Hartford Courant, 8 December 1929, p. E16.

August, Garry Joel. "In Defense of Canned Music." The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1931), pp. 138-149.

Auster, Albert. "Review of Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting." Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television, Vol. 14, #4 (Oct 1994) pp. 487-488.

"A Voice In The Air." Christian Science Monitor, 22 March 1927, p. 18.

"A Word For Lady Flyers." Baltimore Sun, 6 November 1927, p. 8.

Axley, Lowry. "Radio Pronunciation." American Speech, Vol. 6, #1 (October 1930), pp. 77-78.

"Babson Uses Radiophone And Speaks To Many Thousands." Bridgeport (CT) Telegram, 20 December 1921, p. 35.

Bachman, Katy. "Radio Personality of the Decade." Brandweek, 14 December 2009. p. 22.

Bagley, William C. "How To Listen-In To Radio In The Classroom." High School Journal, Vol. 15, #4 (April 1932), pp. 153-154, 162.

Bagley, William C. "Radio In The Schools." Elementary School Journal, Vol. 31, #4 (December 1930), pp. 256-258.

Baird, Christine V. "Breaking Racial Barriers on Radio." Newark Star-Ledger, 15 October 1998, p. 1.

Baldwin, Roger N. "Personal Liberty." Annals Of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 185, The Constitution in the 20th Century (May, 1936), pp. 162-169.

"Baltimoreans Comment on 'Darkey' Songs." Baltimore Afro-American, 21 March 1925, p. A13.

"Banneker Club To Give Radio Concert Over WEAR Friday." Baltimore Afro-American, 29 June 1923, p. 6.

Banta, Martha. "Review of Inventing American Broadcasting 1899-1922." New England Quarterly, Vol. 61, #3 (September 1988, pp. 458-461.

- Barker, David C. "Rushed Decisions: Political Talk Radio and Vote Choice, 1994-1996." Journal of Politics, vol. 61, #2 (May, 1999), pp. 527-539.
- Barnard, Eunice Fuller. "Radio Politics." The New Republic, Vol. 38, #485 (19 March 1924), pp. 91-93.
- Barnitz, Wirt W. "Artists are Temperamental Before Radio Audience." Baltimore American, 27 August 1922, p. 4.
- Barnwell, F. Rivers. "Health Education of Negroes Provided by Press, Radio and Theatre." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 6, No. 3, The Health Status and Health Education of Negroes in the United States (Jul., 1937), pp. 565-571.
- Barringer, Felicity. "Erik Barnouw, Historian of Broadcasting, Dies at 93." New York Times, 26 July 2001, p. B9.
- Barton, Bruce. "This Magic Called Radio." The American Magazine, June 1922, pp. 11-13, 70-72.
- Baudino, Joseph E. and John M[ichael] Kittross. "Broadcasting's Oldest Stations: An Examination of Four Claimants." Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 21, #1 (Winter 1977), pp. 61-84.
- Beauchamp, Wilbur L. "Review: Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony." The School Review, Vol. 30, #9 (November 1922), pp. 710-711.
- "Bedtime Stories Popular With Kids." Hartford Courant, 16 September 1922, p. 14.
- "Behind Closed Doors of Coué's Famous Clinic-- Showing Marvelous New Method." Boston Post, 13 August 1922, p. 41.
- "Behind the Scenes at Opening of P.D. Studio." Cleveland Plain Dealer, 11 May 1924, Radio Section, p. 1.
- Bell, Carolyn Vance. "Women Speakers In Great Demand." Washington Post, 12 October 1924, p. SC 18.
- Bellows, Henry Adams. "Broadcasting and Speech Habits." Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 17, Issue 2 (April 1931), pp. 245-53.
- Bellows, Henry Adams. "Is Radio Censored?" Harper's Magazine, Vol. 171 (November 1935), pp. 697-709.

- Benjamin, Hazel C. "Lobbying for Birth Control." Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 2, #1 (January 1938), pp. 48-60.
- Bent, Silas. "Radio Steals the Press's Thunder." The Independent, 9 July 1927, pp. 33-34, 48.
- Berland, Jody.** "Radio Space and Industrial Time: Music Formats, Local Narratives and Technological Mediation." Popular Music, Vol. 9, #2 (April 1990), pp. 179-192.
- "Better Broadcasting-- How You Can Help." Boston Globe, 12 September 1923, p. 19.
- "Betty Crocker Talks For The Housewife Soon." Springfield (MA) Republican, 30 August 1925, p. 3.
- Beuick, Marshall D. "The Limited Social Effect of Radio Broadcasting." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 32, #4 (January 1927), pp. 615-622.
- Bevans, Gladys Huntington. "With Canned Music, Modern Child Grows Up Without Singing." Chicago Tribune, 26 September 1929, p. 37.
- Biel, Michael J. "The Making and Use of Recordings in Broadcasting before 1936." Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1977. Available from University Microfilm.
- "'Big Brother' Bob Emery Goes Back to Boston's Pioneer Days," Christian Science Monitor, 26 July 1938, p. 11.
- "Big Classic Broadcast." Baltimore Sun, 22 June 1924, part II, p. 7.
 "Big Fire In Providence." Boston Post, 9 March 1923, pp. 1, 16.
- "Big Midnight Features Planned For Wednesday." Atlanta Constitution, 13 June 1923, p. 16.
- Binns, Jack. "Future Unfolds As Radio Show Opens on Roof." New York Tribune, 8 March 1922, p.22.
- Binns, Jack. "Grantland Rice Will Give World's Series Games Over Radiophone, Play by Play." New York Tribune, 1 October 1922, p.1.
- Biron, Phineas J. "Strictly Confidential." Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion, 18 May 1934, p. 6.
- "Birth Control Body Protests Radio Ban." New York Times, 17 January 1930, p. 18.

Blechman, Robert K.. "Praising Postman." Afterimage, Vol. 33, #6 (June 2006), p 14.

"Blind Artists Give Concert." Los Angeles Times, 21 May 1922, p. 16.

Bliven, Bruce. "Twenty Hours To New York." The New Republic, 8 October 1930, pp. 198-201.

Boehlert, Eric. "Call-Out Enters Computer Age." Billboard, 12 November 1994, p. 101.

Bolce, Louis, DeMaio Gerald, and Douglas Muzzio. "Dial-In Democracy: Talk Radio and the 1994 Election." Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 111, #3 (August 1996), pp. 457-481.

"Book Reviews: 'The Story Of Radio, by Orrin E. Dunlap, Jr.'" Seattle Times, 1 January 1928, p. 40.

"Books and Bookmen." Christian Science Monitor, 25 May 1922, p. 7.

"Books On Radio For Enthusiasts." Hartford Courant, 25 June 1922, p. SM7.

"Boston American To Give Last-Minute News Of Day By Radio." Boston American, 18 March 1922, p. 2.

Boucheron, Pierre. "Radio Books For Radio Fans." The Bookman, Vol. 55, #6 (August 1922), pp. 637-642.

"Boys Responsible for the Radio Craze." Hartford Courant, 29 November 1922, p. 14.

Brainard Bertha. "Impresario Says Women Have More Opportunity to Use Radio." New York Times, 18 September 1927, p. R16.

Brainard, Bertha. "Sex No Longer A Factor In Business." Boston Globe, 18 December 1927, section 2, p. 7.

Brinkley, Alan. "Comparative Biography as Political History: Huey Long and Father Coughlin." The History Teacher, Vol. 18, #1 (Nov., 1984), pp. 9-16.

"Broadcast Chain Formed." Portland Oregonian, 26 September 1926, section 4, p. 9.

“Broadcasters Adopt ‘NEMO’ As Radio Term.” New York Times, 17 July 1927, pp. XX17.

“Broadcasters’ Slogans.” Boston Globe, 20 October 1923, p. 5.

“Broadcasting Feeling Effects Of Depression.” Springfield (MA) Republican, 28 August 1932, p. 6C.

“Broadcasting from KGW.” Portland Oregonian, 11 January 1923, p. 11.

“Broadcasting Menaces the Theater?” Current Opinion, Vol. 78, #3 (1 March 1925), pp. 330-331.

“ ‘Broadcasting’ Now Obsolete.” Hartford Courant, 19 June 1924, p. 2

“Broadcasting On A Business Basis.” Boston Globe, 14 November 1924, p. A21.

Brokaw, F.C. “Nobody Loves The Radio.” Forum and Century. Vol. 92, #1 (July 1934), pp. 27-29.

“Brother Gets Word Of Death By Radio.” Boston Globe, 3 August 1923, p. 10.

“Browder on Radio Urges New Party.” New York Times, 6 March 1936, p. 16.

Brown, Michael. “Radio Magazines and the Development of Broadcasting.” Journal of Radio Studies, Vol.5, #1 (1998), pp. 68-81.

Brown, Michael and George Gladney. “Review of Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting (3rd edition) and Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting.” Mass Communication & Society, Vol. 5 #3 (Summer 2002), pp. 377-380.

Brown, Wilson. “She Cries For A Living.” Radio Stars, June 1933, pp. 10, 45.

Buckwalter, Gertrude W. “A Source of Happiness for Cancer Patients.” American Journal of Nursing, Vol. 24, #9 (June 1924), pp. 710-711.

Burgess, E.W. “Communication.” American Journal Of Sociology, Vol. 34, #1 (July 1928), pp. 117-129.

Burroughs, Nannie. "Miss Burroughs Says Amos 'n' Andy Are Drawbacks To The Race." Baltimore Afro-American, 29 November 1930, p. 8.

"Business Men of Broadway Hear Race Lecturer." Norfolk (VA) New Journal and Guide, 7 July 1923, pp.1, 6.

Butsch, Richard. "Crystal Sets and Scarf-Pin Radios: Gender, Technology, and The Construction of American Radio Listening in the 1920s." Media, Culture & Society, Vol. 20, #4 (October 1998), pp. 557-573.

Caldwell, Louis G. "Principles Governing the Licensing of Broadcasting Stations." University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register, Vol. 79. #2 (December 1930), pp. 113-157.

Calvin, Floyd J. "Broadcast From WGB Saturday." Pittsburgh Courier, 26 November 1927, p. 13.

"Camp's 'Daily Dozen' Exercises To Keep Healthy." Boston Globe, 11 July 1920, p. 64.

"Canned Music." San Francisco Chronicle, 24 September 1906, p. 6.

"'Canned Music' Boycott Urged." Springfield (MA) Republican, 17 May 1929, p. 30.

"Canned Music Not for WGN." Chicago Tribune, 12 October 1930, p. 25.

"Canned Stuff Seen Ruling Over Radio." Washington Post, 19 September 1929, p. 14.

"Canned Music To Stay, Says Dr. Damrosch." Dallas Morning News, 10 September 1930, p. 12.

"Can Radio Be Rescued?" The New Republic, Vol. 52, #673 (26 October 1927), pp. 251-252.

Carter, Sue. "Women Don't Do News": Fran Harris and Detroit's Radio Station WWJ." Michigan Historical Review, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall, 1998), pp. 77-87.

"Caruso Radiocast Aria 15 Years Ago." Christian Science Monitor, 5 May 1924, p. 11.

“Catholics In America Rise Up In Protest Against Fr. Coughlin’s Anti-Semitism.” (Boston) Jewish Advocate, 9 December 1933, p. 1.

Chapman, Frank. “Buy Your Set Very Carefully, Expert Advises.” Baltimore Sun, 18 June 1922, part 5, p. 8.

Charters, W.W.; Anderson, Earl W.; Holy, T.C., et al. “The Bureau of Educational Research in 1932-33.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 12, #9 (15 November 1933), pp. 227-38.

Christian, William. “Harold Innis as Political Theorist.” Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 10, #1 (March 1977), pp. 21-42).

Church, Hayden. “From Obscure Druggist to Foremost Psychologist.” Atlantic Constitution, 4 June 1922, p. C9.

“Church Uses Radiofone,” Radio News, June 1921, p. 860.

“Circulation Men Hear Radio Talk.” Indianapolis (IN) Star, 14 June 1922, p. 22.

“City Pays Tribute As Nation Mourns.” New York Times, 9 August 1923, p. 3.

“Claim Will Rogers Is Free To Insult Race Under Agreement.” Kansas City (MO) Plaindealer, 2 February 1934, p. 2.

Clark, Austin H. “Science and the Radio.” Scientific Monthly, Vol. 34, #3 (March 1932), pp. 268-272.

Clarke, A Wellington. “If Amos and Andy Were Negroes.” Radio Digest, Vol. 25, #4 (August 1930), pp. 10-12, 90.

“Clearer Speakers To Mark Broadcasting In Future.” San Francisco Chronicle, 24 April 1922, p. 9.

Clifton, J.L. “Education by Radio. (Recent Activities of the Ohio State Department of Education.)” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 9, #7 (April 1930), pp. 199-201.

Codel Martin. “Canned Music Order Has Teeth Removed.” Atlanta Constitution, 29 November 1928, p.20.

Codel, Martin. “Radiocasting A Thriving Business.” Christian Science Monitor, 18 October 1930, p. 4.

Codel, Martin. "Radio Stations Warned Again: Patrons Must Not Be Fooled With Canned Music." Los Angeles Times, 27 October 1928, p. 3.

Codel, Martin. "Radio To Stay 'Awake' Until Victor Is Known." Atlanta Constitution, 6 November 1928, p. 8.

Codel, Martin. "Stations Fighting To Keep Licenses." Atlanta Constitution, 10 July 1928, p. 15.

Codel, Martin. "When Broadcasters Meet." Christian Science Monitor, 7 November 1931, p. 12.

Cohen, I. Bernard. "Review of History of Radio to 1926." Isis, Vol. 32, #1 (July 1940), pp. 210-211.

Cole, Barry G. and Al Paul Klose. "Selected Bibliography in the History of Broadcasting." Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 7, #3 (Summer 1963), pp. 247-282.

Coles, Stephen L. "Arthur E. Bagley, Apostle of Health." Hartford Courant, 3 October 1926, p. D11.

"Colgate Dental Cream Hands Called For 'Sambo' Adv. Offensive To Race." (Norfolk VA) New Journal and Guide, 26 August 1933, p. A1.

"College Is To Do Broadcasting Work," Hartford Courant, 8 September 1922, p.16.

"Columbia To Teach By Radio." New York Times, 5 October 1924, p. XX16.

Combs, Josiah. "The Radio And Pronunciation." American Speech, Vol. 7, #2 (December 1931), pp. 124-29.

"Comedian Stripped of Props Yields To Microphone Fright." New York Times, 10 October 1926, p. X19.

"Commercialism Pushes Bands Off The Air." Radiolog, 24 April 1932, p. 3.

"Communism Radio Talk Stirs Clash In House." Los Angeles Times, 5 March 1936, p.6.

"Condemned Men Not To Hear Radio." Hartford Courant, 25 July 1923, p. 2.

“Condolences Swamp Cables And Radio.” New York Times, 4 August 1923, p. 8.

Conradt-Eberlin, Eve. “Every Woman’s Right.” Radio Digest, Vol. 25, #4 (August 1930), pp. 40-41, 87.

“Coolidge Dictated Campaign Policies.” New York Times, 9 November 1924, E1.

“Coolidge Gives Radio Talk From Courant Station.” Hartford Courant, 25 October 1922, p. 1.

“Coolidge Listens On Radio.” New York Times, 26 June 1924, p. 4.

“Cooperation Urged by Hoover to Help Radio Broadcaster.” Washington Post, 7 October 1924, p. 4.

“Couldn’t Mention Lynching On NBC Program.” Atlanta Daily World, 15 February 1934, p. 1,5.

“Courant Radio Officially Open, Scores Big Hit.” Hartford Courant, 21 May 1922, p. 1.

Craig, Elizabeth. “Watching a Radio Concert Being Sent Out From the Newark Broadcasting Station.” Christian Science Monitor, 18 March 1922, p. 9.

Craig, Steve. “Daniel Starch’s 1928 Survey: A First Glimpse Of The U.S. Radio Audience.” Journal of Radio & Audio Media, Vol. 17, #2 (November 2010), pp. 182-194,

Craig, Steve. “‘The More They Listen, the More They Buy’: Radio and the Modernizing of Rural America, 1930-1939.” Agricultural History, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Winter, 2006), pp. 1-16.

Crossley, Archibald M. “Early Days of Public Opinion Research.”
Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 21, #1 (Spring 1957), pp. 159-164.

Cullinan, Howell. “Radio Craze Captures The North End.” Boston Globe, 6 May 1923, p. A5.

Cullinan, Howell. “Wireless Dagnet To Round Up Crooks.” Boston Globe, 5 June 1921, p. E6.

Cushing, Charles Phelps. “Despite Radio And The Movies.” The Independent, 5 December 1925, pp. 643-647.

Daggett, John S. "Hotel Orders Big Radio Set." Los Angeles Times, 4 April 1922, section 2, p. 6.

Daggett, John S. "Lure of Radio Mike Growing." Los Angeles Times, 15 April 1930, p. A7.

Daggett, John S. "Radio Commercialism Defeating Its Purpose." Los Angeles Times, 16 May 1930, p. A7.

Daggett, John S. "Radio Fright Is New Order." Los Angeles Times, 21 May 1922, section 2, p. 6.

Daggett, John S. "Sign Language Invoked to Balk Studio Noises." Los Angeles Times, 7 September 1930, p. A10.

Daggett, John S. "Times Club Picnic to Make Radio History." Los Angeles Times, 30 April 1922, section II, p. 1.

"Daily Wireless Telephone Service To Be Sent Out By Sunday Call." Newark (NJ) Call, 2 October 1921, p. 1.

"Damrosch Concert On Radio Tonight." New York Times, 21 January 1928, p. 12.

Danforth, Dorothy. "Round Table: Station SSJH." English Journal, Vol. 14, #7 (September 1925), pp. 551-53.

"Dawes Breaks Down In Midst Of Tribute." Chicago Tribune, 5 August 1923, p. 4.

Davis, Jerome. "The Wide Horizon: Radio... Commercial Or Cultural Agency?" Christian Science Monitor, 28 September 1934, p. 16.

Davis, W. Jefferson. "Copyright And Radio." Virginia Law Review, vol. 16, #1 (November 1929), pp. 40-53.

"Debs Station May Have To Sign Off." Springfield (MA) Republican, 3 June 1928, p. 35.

"Defense Hangs In The Balance." Trenton (NJ) Evening Times, 16 July 1925, p. 1.

"DeForest Assails 'Ballyhoo' On Radio." New York Times, 8 January 1931, p. 25.

DeForest, Lee. "Opera Audiences Of Tomorrow." Radio World, 5 August 1922, p. 13.

Deibert, Ronald J. "Harold Innis And The Empire Of Speed." Review of International Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 273-289.

Dellinger, Dr. J.H. "Too Many Stations Is Principal Difficult[y] Of Radio Broadcasting." Springfield (MA) Sunday Union & Republican, 23 August 1925, p. R7.

"Demands on Announcer Are Many." Los Angeles Times, 27 April 1924, p. A9.

DeMille, A.B. "Suggested Reading List for Boys." English Journal, Vol. 12, #9 (November 1923), pp. 625-629.

Denison, Merrill. "Editorial Policies of Broadcasting Companies." Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 1, #1 (January 1937), pp. 64-82.

Denison, Merrill. "Why Isn't Radio Better?" Harper's Magazine, Vol. 168, (April 1934), pp. 576-86.

"Details Of Radio Chain Told; Seattle In National Hook-Up." Seattle Times, 31 January 1927, p. 10.

"Devotees of Radio Forgetting Books." (Portland) The Oregonian, 10 May 1922, p. 4.

Dineen, Joseph F. "Boston Radio Announcers Have to Keep On Their Toes All the Time." Boston Globe, 2 March 1924, p. E1.

"Display Advertisement." New York Times, 7 June 1927, p. 32.

Dix, Dorothy. "Dorothy Dix's Letter Box." Hartford Courant, 21 August 1928, p. 10.

"Directs Cliquot Eskimos." Radiolog, 1 November 1931, p. 17.

"Distance Still Lures Real Fan." Los Angeles Times, 20 September 1925, p. B6.

Douglas, Doug. "Records' Use In Radio Roles Told By Expert." Los Angeles Times, 27 November 1932, p. A3.

Douglas, Elmer. "Echoes Of The Headphones." Chicago Tribune, 20 April 1924, p. E15.

Dowd Jr., George Lee. "How Broadcasting Is Improving." Popular Science Monthly, April 1927, pp. 43-44.

Dowling, Eddie. "Radio Needs a Revolution." Forum and Century, Vol. 91, #2, (February 1934), pp. 67-70.

"Down With Jazz." Cleveland Plain Dealer, 22 October 1922, p. 6B.

"Drive Is Opened For A Woman President." New York Times, 12 February 1935, p. 23.

Dudley, Bide. "'New York Gossip.'" San Francisco Chronicle, 12 March 1922, p. D4.

Dudley, Bide. "Radiophone 8th Wonder Of This Day." San Francisco Chronicle, 19 March 1922, p. F1.

Dudley, Bide. "Song Writers Busy." San Francisco Chronicle, 12 March 1922, p. D4.

Dudley, Leonard M. "Space, Time, Number: Harold A. Innis As Evolutionary Theorist." Canadian Journal of Economics, Vol. 28, # 4a (Nov., 1995), pp. 754-769.

Duffus, R(ober) L. "Our Radio Battle For The Presidency." New York Times, 28 October 1928, p. XX1.

Dunaway, David K. "Radio and the Public Use of History." The Public Historian, Vol. 6, #2 (Spring 1984), pp. 77-90.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "In the Beginning KDKA Kindled a Spark That Electrified a New Industry..." New York Times, 28 October 1934, p. X11.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "Listening In: Amos 'n' Andy Write The Sketch." New York Times, 1 November 1931, p. XX10.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "Listening In: Looking For A Queen." New York Times, 31 August 1930, p. X8.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "Listening In: The 'Nemo' Broadcasts." New York Times, 22 February 1931, p. XX 17.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "New Mystery Serial Has A Noted Cast." New York Times, 12 February 1933, p. X10.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "Showmen Scan Their Acts." New York Times, 21 April 1935, p. X11.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "The Birth of An Industry: The Radio Craze Was Sweeping the Country Just Eight Years Ago." New York Times, 25 May 1930, p. X8.

Dunlap Jr., Orrin E. "The Listener And His Radio." New York Times, 27 November 1932, p. XX6.

Durant, Harrison. "Radio Popularity Grows." Ft. Wayne (Indiana) Sentinel, 23 July 1922, p. 24.

Durant, Harrison. "Radio Review." Indianapolis Star, 20 April 1922, p. 14.

Durant, Harrison. "Wireless Phone Fan Says Concerts Make Life Real." Indianapolis Star, 16 April 1922, p. B11.

Durstine, Roy S. "The Future Of Radio Advertising In The United States." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 177, Radio: The Fifth Estate (Jan., 1935), pp. 147-153.

"East Coast Stations Balk At Federal Banishment Plan." Cleveland Plain Dealer, 24 June 1928, Radio Section, p. 1.

Edgerton, Gary R. "Updating the Standard for the Next Generation of Media Historians." Review of Communication, Vol. 3, #3 (July 2003), pp. 227-235.

"Edison Calls Radio A Failure For Music." New York Times, 23 September 1926, p. 27.

Editorial Points," Boston Globe, 17 January 1922, p. 12.

"Education By Air Next Step." New York Times, 25 February 1923, p. E6.

"Education Plucked Out of the Air." New York Times, 14 January 1934, p. BR 9.

"Educational Radio's Bedtime." Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 11, #7 (30 March 1932), pp. 183-184.

"Educational Side Expected To Improve Radio Programs." Christian Science Monitor, 24 April 1935, p. 15.

“Effort Is Now Being Made To Amend The Radio Law.” New York Times, 5 February 1928, p. XX16.

Egoff, Sheila. “Which One’s the Mockingbird? Children’s Literature from the 1920s to the Present.” Theory into Practice, Vol. 21, #4 (Autumn 1982), pp. 239-246.

Ehrlich, Matthew C. “Review of The Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio.” Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, Vol. 59, #1 (Spring 2004), pp. 85-88.

“Elder And Haldeman Saved As Storm Delays Flight And Flames Destroy Plane.” Atlanta Constitution, 14 October 1927, p. 1.

“Electioneering on the Air.” The New Republic, Vol. 40, #509 (3 September 1924), pp. 8-9.

Endicott, Robert Rantoul. “Big Prize Contest: You Too Can Win \$50,000.” North American Review, Vol. 234, #5 (November 1932), pp. 402-411.

Endicott, R(obert) R(antoul). “Ted Husing Picks The Ten Best.” Radio Fan-Fare, Summer (July-August) 1933, pp. 14-15, 44.

Engles, George. “Air Personality Is The Key To Success.” New York Times, 22 September 1929, p. R15.

“Enrichment of Our Speech.” New York Times, 30 March 1923, p. 16.

Erb, J. Lawrence. “Musical Appreciation.” The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 11, #1 (January 1925), pp. 1-7.

Ernst, Morris L. “Who Shall Control The Air?” The Nation, 21 August 1926, pp. 443-444.

Eskew, Garnett L. “Former Boss of Amos and Andy; Judith Waller of WMAQ.” Radio Digest, August 1930, pp. 57, 90.

“Events of the Convention As Heard Here By Radio.” Washington Post, 1 July 1924, p. 3.

Everhart, Karen. “News Cycle Attracts Record Listening.” Current.org, 30 March 2009, online at <http://www.current.org/audience/aud0906npr.shtml>

“Every Voice Not Suited To Radio.” Hartford Courant, 24 October 1922, p. 16.

Ewbank, H(enry) L. "Trends in Research in Radio Speech." Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 26, #2 (April 1940), pp. 282-87.

"Expert Predicts Use of Radio Television," Hartford Courant, 30 March 1926,
p. 10.

"Father Coughlin Explains His Attitude On Jews." (Boston) Jewish Advocate, 2 November 1934, p. 2.

"Father Coughlin's Reply." Hartford Courant, 13 March 1935, p. 10.

"Farmers and Radio." Indiana Farmers' Guide, 18 March 1922, p. 278.

"Feminists Hail Dixie Aviatrix." Los Angeles Times, 14 November 1927,
p. 2.

"Few Radio Talks Are Impromptu." New York Times, 26 June 1927, p.
X19.

Finch, William G.H. "Massachusetts Girl Becomes Famous As Designer Of Radios." Naugatuck (CT) Daily News, 24 June 1922, p. 4.

"First Broadcasting Radiophone Run by College Students." New York Tribune, 26 March 1922, p. A6.

"First Lady Favors Men As Presidents." New York Times, 5 September 1934, p. 23.

"First Radiophone In Women's College." Augusta (GA) Chronicle, 28 March 1922, p. 9.

"First Woman Radio Broadcaster." Lowell (MA) Sun, 2 October 1922, p. 14.

Fisher, Cyrus. "Clear the Air! A Listener's Guide to a Radio Revolution." Forum and Century, Vol. 91, #6 (June 1934), pp. 323-27.

Fisher, Cyrus. Midsummer Radio Fare. Forum and Century, Vol. 88, #1 (July 1932), pp. 62-63.

Fisher, Cyrus. "Political Static." Forum and Century, Vol. 88, #3 (September 1932), pp. 189-191.

Fisher, Cyrus. "Radio And The 'American System.'" Forum and Century, Vol. 88, #2 (August 1932), pp. 125-127.

Fisher, Marc. "The Songs You Want to Hear: Has Audience Research Sucked All the Life Out of Commercial Radio?" Washington Post, 21 January 2007, p. W18.

Fisher, William Arms. "The Radio and Music." Music Supervisors' Journal, Vol. 12, #3 (February 1926), pp. 8-16, 67-72.

Fishman, Donald A. "Rethinking Marshall McLuhan: Reflections on a Media Theorist." Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Vol. 50, #3 (September 2006), pp. 567-574.

Fitzgibbon, Steve. "Edward Gisburne Hoed His Own Row And It Was Rough." Boston Daily Record, 5 September 1932, p. 13.

Fitzgibbon, Steve. "Harry Horlick As Fiddler Was Child Prodigy." Boston Daily Record, 10 August 1932, p. 23.

Fitzpatrick, Howard. "Among The Studios, 29." Boston Post, 23 March 1929, p. 14.

Fitzpatrick, Howard. "Among The Studios, 32." Boston Post, 23 July 1932, p. 9.

"Floyd Gibbons Gets Bigger Salary Than Hoover." Springfield (MA) Sunday Union & Republican, 31 August 1930, pp. 6-7C.

"Footwarmers' Orchestra Receives Hearty Welcome." Atlanta Constitution, 12 June 1923, p. 18.

"For Better Broadcasting." New Republic, 3 October 1934, pp. 201-202.

"Fore River Must Defeat Black Boys." Quincy (MA) Patriot-Ledger, 15 July 1925, p. 5.

"Forty Pick-Ups At Command." Springfield (MA) Sunday Republican, 8 November 1925, p. R4.

Fox, Margalit. "Tony Schwartz, Father of 'Daisy Ad' for the Johnson Campaign, Dies at 84." New York Times, 17 June 2008, p. B6.

"Free Radio Time Given Communist Arouses Protest." Christian Science Monitor, 6 March 1936, p. 3.

“French Exponent of Auto-Suggestion Prepares for Coming Visit to America.” (Reno) Nevada State Journal, 24 December 1922, p. 6.

Friedel, Robert. “Review of Inventing American Broadcasting 1899-1922.” Technology and Culture, Vol. 30, #2 (April 1989), pp. 484-486.

Frith, Simon. “The Good, The Bad, And The Indifferent: Defending Popular Culture From The Populists.” Diacritics, Vol. 21, #4 (Winter 1991), pp. 101-115.

Fry, Macon. “Ham Lingo.” American Speech, Vol. 5, #1 (October 1929), pp. 45-49.

Garland, Hamlin. “The Radio Medal of the American Academy.” Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 19, #2 (April 1933), pp. 211-219.

Gelders, Stewart F. “Radio Brings Back Immortal Artists.” Atlanta Constitution, 27 April 1922, p. 16.

“General Electric Co. to Broadcast Programme Several Nights.” Philadelphia Inquirer, 3 April 1922, p. 4.

“General Johnson ‘Pitiful,’ Says Father Coughlin.” Hartford Courant, 12 March 1935, p. 1.

Genn, Lillian G. “Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt: ‘My Home Comes First.’” Radio Digest, March 1931, pp. 26-27.

“Gerard Praises Women Lawyers.” New York Times, 28 March 1926, p. 22.

Gertner, Jon. “Our Ratings, Ourselves.” New York Times, 10 April 2005, pp. E34-45.

Gibson George H. “Review of The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States.” Journal of Southern History, Vol. 35, #2 (May 1969), pp. 285-286.

Gilchrist, Stephen. “Silent Night May Turn Into ‘Bloopers Eve’.” Chicago Tribune, 26 October 1924, p. E10.

Gilchrist, Stephen. “Sparks Add To Nightly Misery of Radio Tuners.” Chicago Tribune, 28 December 1924, p. D7.

“Girl Deaf From Birth Hears Music By Radio.” Baltimore Sun, 27 May 1923, p. 2.

- “Girl Teaches Coué by Radio.” Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 2 January 1923, p. 3.
- “Girls, Have You A Radio Garter?” Twin Falls (ID) News, 8 March 1922, p.2.
- Goldman, Golda M. “The Women’s Hour.” Wireless Age, March 1925, pp. 34-35, 73.
- “Gold Medal Winner.” New York Times, 15 June 1930, p. X9.
- Goldsmith, Dr. Alfred N. “A Book Of Radio For All.” New York Times, 13 July 1924, p. BR2.
- Gordon, Joye C. “Review of The Soft Edge. Journalism and Mass Communication Educator, Vol. 53, #1 (Spring 1998), p. 109.
- Green, Jeff. “Public Radio Today: How America Listens to Public Radio.” New York: Arbitron Research, 2007. Online at <http://www.arbitron.com/downloads/PublicRadioToday07.pdf>
- Greene, Lloyd. “Term ‘Kilocycles’ Instead of ‘Meters’ ” Boston Globe, 13 May 1923, p. 69.
- Griffin, Larry J. “Give Me That Old-Time Music. . . or Not.” Southern Cultures, Vol. 12, #4, (Winter 2006), pp. 98-107.
- “Guglielmo Marconi to Speak Through Radio Station,” Baltimore Sun, 25 June 1922, section 6, p. 4.
- “Guest Night on the Radio,” Hartford Courant, 26 April 1924, p. 17.
- “Gus Sonnenberg, On the Air, Summons Grid Stars into Wrestling Business.” Hartford Courant, 3 February 1929, p. C8.
- “Had Your ‘Ethercise?’” Radio World, 30 September 1922, p. 25.
- Hale, Beatrice Forbes-Robertson. “Opposes Companionate Marriage.” Washington Post, 7 March 1928, p. 6.
- Hall, Frederick. “Bryan, Radio And Religion.” The Outlook, 30 July 1924, pp. 510-512.
- Hallgren, Mauritz A. “The Radio Trust Rolls On.” The Nation, 11 January 1928, pp. 41-43.

Halper, Donna L. and Christopher Sterling. "Fessenden's Christmas Eve Broadcast: Reconsidering an Historic Event." Antique Wireless Association Review, Vol. 19 (2006), pp. 119-137.

Halper, Donna L. "Review of Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting (3rd edition)." Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Vol. 79, #4 (Winter 2002), pp. 1024-1025.

Hammargren, Russell J. "The Origin Of The Press-Radio Conflict." Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 13, # 1 (March 1936), pp. 91-93.

Harbord, James G. "The Commercial Uses of Radio." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 142 (March 1929), pp. 57-63.

Harbord, James G. "The War Against War." North American Review, Vol. 228, #4 (October 1929), pp. 399-404.

Hard, William. "Radio and Public Opinion." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 177 (January 1935), pp. 105-13.

Harding, Allan. "First Woman To Sit On A Supreme Court Bench." American Magazine, April 1923, pp. 18-19.

"Harding Has Radio Telephone In Study." Washington Post, 9 February 1922, p. 2.

"Harshes Critics Of Ruth Women." Atlanta Constitution, 15 October 1927, p. 11.

Harwood, Agnes. "No Age Limits on Radio." Los Angeles Times, 9 April 1922, section 2, p. 5.

Haskins, Frederic J. Haskin. "Millions Know Coolidge's Voice." Los Angeles Times, 22 September 1927, p. 6.

"Have Library Readers Quit for the Radio?" Boston Globe, 17 February 1924, p. 21.

Havig, Alan. "Review of Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life from 1920 to 1960." Reviews in American History, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Sep., 1980), pp. 403-407.

Hawkins, Lieutenant J.E. "Radio Chats." Chicago Defender, 28 October 1922, p. 8.

Hayes, Joy Elizabeth. "Did Herbert Hoover Broadcast The First Fireside Chat-- Rethinking The Origins Of Roosevelt's Radio Genius." Journal of Radio Studies, Vol. 7, #1 (Spring 2000), pp. 76-92.

Haynes, George Edmund. "Changing Racial Attitudes and Customs." Phylon, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1st Qtr., 1941), pp. 28-43.

"Health by Radio." Public Health Reports, Vol. 39, #22 (30 May 1924), pp.1266-1271.

"Health Hints Via Air Line." Boston Globe, 24 December 1921, pp. 1, 3.

"Hear It in the Air is the Slogan of Radiophone." San Francisco Chronicle, 19 March 1922, p. F1.

"Hear Opera By Wireless." Kansas City Star, 2 December 1921, p. 17.

"Heard Scores by Radio." Kansas City Star, 5 October 1922, p. 43.

"Hears KHJ Perfectly At Boston." Los Angeles Times, 30 December 1923, section II, p. 6.

Heck, Henry J. "Pronunciation for Broadcasters," American Speech, Vol. 5, #2 (December 1929), pp. 132-3.

Heffner, Richard D. "Review of A Tower in Babel: A History of Broadcasting in the United States." American Historical Review, Vol. 73, #1 (October 1967), pp. 246-247.

Heinl, Robert D. "Will Rogers Shy of Talking Before Radio Microphone." Washington Post, 4 September 1927, p. A7.

Hendershot, Heather. "God's Angriest Man: Carl McIntire, Cold War Fundamentalism, and Right-Wing Broadcasting." American Quarterly, Vol. 59, #2 (June 2007), pp. 373-96.

Henderson, Billie. "Jack Cooper And His Gang Blazing A Trail In The Broadcasting Field." Pittsburgh Courier, 10 January 1931, p. A8.

"Herd Of Braying Jackasses." Chicago Defender, 6 September 1930, p. 2.

Herrick, Ed. "Dress Shop Manager By Day, Songbird By Night." Quincy Patriot-Ledger, 14 July 1934, pp. 1, 11.

Hertzberg, Hendrik. "Lies." New Yorker, 21 September 2009, pp. 33-36.

Herzberg, Max J. and Vida Sutton. "The Magic of Speech." English Journal, Vol. 24, #4 (April 1935), pp. 291-97.

Hettinger, Herman S. "Broadcasting in the United States." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 177 (January 1935), pp. 1-14.

Hettinger, Herman S., editor. "Radio: The Fifth Estate." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 177 (January 1935), pp. 1-219.

"Hetty Green's Son Becomes a Real Radio Samaritan." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 17 August 1922, p. 2.

"High Class Aggregation Make Up Show." Pittsburgh Courier, 8 September 1923, p. 9.

Hilderbrant, Edith L. "The Music Memory Contest." The School Review, Vol. 30, #4 (April 1922), pp. 300-306.

Hinckley, David. "Martin Block Makes Believe." New York Daily News, 17 March 2004, p. 31.

"Hints for Motorists Via Radio," Los Angeles Times, 5 December 1922, section 2, p. 9.

"Hit on Radio." Chicago Defender, 6 October 1923, p. 8.

Hofer, Stephen F. "Review of Don't Touch That Dial! Radio Programming in American Life 1920 to 1960." Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 24, #1 (Winter 1980), pp. 101-102.

Hogan, John V.L. "Why Kilocycles?" Boston Globe, 20 October 1923, p. 5.

Holbert, R. Lance. "Political Talk Radio, Perceived Fairness, and the Establishment of President George W. Bush's Political Legitimacy." Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, Vol. 9, #3 (Summer, 2004), pp. 12-27.

Holland, Mildred. "If You Ever Broadcast." Washington Post, 19 May 1924, p. 4.

"Hooking Up with the Radio Editor." Cleveland Plain Dealer, 25 May 1924, Features Section, p. 1.

“Hoover Is Silent On Radio Matters.” New York Times, 3 February 1929, p. XX19.

“Hoover Proposes Radio Cooperation.” New York Times, 7 October 1924, p. 25.

“How Big Is The Radio Audience?” Wireless Age, September 1923, pp. 23-25.

“How De Forest Put Radiophony On the Map.” Current Opinion, July 1922, p. 113.

“How Radio Won Galli-Curci.” New York Times, 5 February 1928, p. XX 16.

“How To Identify Each Station.” New York Times, 4 March 1923, p. E5.

Howe, J. Olin. “Amazing Rise and Spread of Radio.” Hartford Courant, 2 July 1922, p. SM1.

Howe, J. Olin. “A Plaything That Has Become a \$100,000,000 Business.” Colorado Springs Gazette, 16 July 1922, p. 39.

“HPSH To Have New Radio Outfit.” Hartford Courant, 31 March 1922, p. 5.

Hutchinson, Merrill. “Daylight And Drama-- Salesmen For Flour.” Broadcasting, 1 March 1935, p. 12.

Hyde, Agnes Rogers. “Women Walking On Their Hind Legs.” Harper's, May 1931, pp. 680-690.

“Indirect Censorship of Radio Programs.” Yale Law Review, Vol. 40, #6 (April 1931), pp. 967-73.

“Inexpensive Radio Sets.” Baltimore Sun, 14 December 1924, part II, sect. 3, p. 16.

Innis, Harold. “The Bias of Communication.” Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 15, #4 (November 1949), pp. 457-476.

Innis, Harold. “The Newspaper in Economic Development.” Journal of Economic History, Vol. 2, supplement (December 1942), pp. 1-33.

“Is the Ether Mythical?” Literary Digest, 1 July 1922, pp. 31-32.

“Is Jungle Music Debasing Society?” Baltimore Sun, 10 August 1924, p. 80.

“Is The Telephone Habit Changing American Voice?” Atlanta Constitution, 19 February 1905, p. E1.

“Jack Cooper Is Announcer Over WSBC.” Chicago Defender, 25 January 1930, p. 6.

Janssen, Mike. “Arbitron Study Looks at Classical Formats.” Current.org, 14 August 2009, online at <http://www.insidethearts.com/scanningthedial/2009/08/14/mike-janssen/1172/>

Jeffreys, Ruth. “Radio: Interesting Field For Dramatic Writing.” The Author & Journalist. September 1930, pp. 3-4.

Jenkins, Philip. “‘It Can’t Happen Here’: Fascism And Right-Wing Extremism In Pennsylvania.” Pennsylvania History, Vol. 62, #1 (Winter 1995), pp. 31-58.

Jersey Candidate Uses Radio to Reach Voters.” New York Tribune, 29 January 1922, p. 6.

Jerving, Ryan. “Early Jazz Literature And Why You Didn’t Know.” American Literary History, Vol. 16, #4 (Winter 2004), pp. 648-674.

“Jesse B. Blayton, Sr.” Atlanta Daily World, 18 September 1977, p.4.

“Jewish Song Program To Be Broadcasted Today For First Time In United States.” San Francisco Chronicle, 26 March 1922, p. 11.

“John Henry Going Over Big.” (New York) Amsterdam News, 15 November 1933, p. 7.

“Johnson Assails Coughlin, Long.” Washington Post, 5 March 1935, 1.

Johnson, Guion Griffis. “Feminism And The Economic Independence of Women.” Journal of Social Forces, Vol. 3, #4 (May 1925), pp. 612-616.

Jolliffe, C.B. “Radio and Safety.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 142 (March 1929), pp. 67-70.

Jome, Hiram L. “Public Policy toward Radio Broadcasting.” Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics, Vol. 1, #2 (April 1925), pp. 198-214.

Jones, Donald C. "Thinking Critically About Digital Literacy." Pedagogy, Vol. 7, #2, (Spring 2007), pp. 207-21.

"Judge Lindsey Denies Advocating Free Love." New York Times, 31 January 1927, p. 11.

Jungmeyer, Jack. "Radio's First Prodigy, At 8, Is Licensed Operator And Teacher." Wilkes-Barre (PA) Times, 21 July 1922, p. 18.

Kaempffert, Waldemar. "The Social Destiny Of Radio." Forum, June 1924, pp. 764-769.

Kaempffert, Waldemar. "Who Will Pay For Broadcasting?" Popular Radio, December 1922, pp. 236-245.

Kaiser, Florence. "White House Ladies Elude Microphone." Washington Post, 24 February 1929, p. A5.

Kakutani, Michiko. "Looking Backward Toward the Future." New York Times, 5 November 1999, p. E51.

Kaltenborn, H.V. "On Being 'On The Air.'" The Independent, 23 May 1925, pp. 583-585.

Kaltenborn, H.V. "Radio And The Newspapers." Los Angeles Times, 20 March 1927, p. B9.

Katz, Elihu; Blumler, Jay G; and Michael Gurewitch. "Uses And Gratification Research." Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 37, #4 (Winter 1973-1974), pp. 509-523.

Kay, Jack; Ziegelmueller, George W.; and Kevin M. Minch. "From Coughlin To Contemporary Talk Radio: Fallacies And Propaganda in American Populist Radio." Journal Of Radio Studies, Vol. 5, #1 (February 1998), pp. 9-21.
"KDZR." Bellingham (WA) Herald, 2 June 1922, p. 1.

Keeter, Scott; Christian, Leah; and Michael Dimock. "The Growing Gap between Landline and Dual Frame Election Polls." 22 November 2010. Online at Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.
<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1806/growing-gap-between-landline-and-dual-frame-election-polls>

Keith, Alice. "Radio Programs: Their Educational Value." Music Supervisors Journal, Vol. 17, #4 (March 1931), p. 60.

Kelly, Fred C. "Salesmanship as a Menace." Harper's Monthly, December 1924, pp. 118-124.

Kennedy, John B. "Ladies Of The Airwaves." Collier's, 9 July 1932, pp. 14, 44-45.

Kent, Joseph. "He Barks For A Living." Radio Stars, June 1933, pp. 11, 45.

"KHJ Keeping Thousands Fit." Los Angeles Times, 11 August 1925, p. A3.

"Kidnapping Arouses Sympathy Of Nation." New York Times, 3 March 1932, p. 1.

"King Of Jazz." Chicago Defender, 20 September 1927, p. A8.

Kirby, R. Kenneth. "Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History." Oral History Review, Vol. 35, #1, (Winter/Spring 2008), pp. 22-38.

Kirkley, Donald H. "Fighting Mike Fright First Time." Baltimore Sun, 9 January 1927, p. SM1.

"Klan Radio Station Seeks 50,000 Watts." New York Times, 9 October 1927, p. 6.

Kolarik, F.J. "From An Admirer Of Father Coughlin." Baltimore Sun, 22 March 1935, p. 12.

LaFount, Harold. "The Radio Problem." Forum and Century, Vol. 91, #3 (March 1934), p. IX.

Landry, Robert J. "Review of Radio Censorship by H.B. Summers. Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol 4, #2 (June 1940), pp. 369-370.

Landry, Robert J. "Wanted: Radio Critics." Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 4, #4 (December 1940), pp. 620-29.

Landsittel, F.C. "Educational Progress During The Academic Year 1923-1924." Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 3, #9 (30 April 1924), pp. 189-197.

Larkin, Samuel. "Hallelujah-- A Quartette." Radio Doings, April 1931, pp. 20-23, 42.

Larrabee, Carlton H. "Ten Radio Lessons." English Journal, Vol. 22, #10 (December 1933), pp. 824-829.

Larson, Bruce L. "Lindbergh's Return To Minnesota, 1927." Minnesota History, Vol. 42, #4 (Winter 1970), pp. 141-152.

Larson, Charles U. "Radio, Secondary Orality, The Search for Community, and 'A Prairie Home Companion.'" Journal of Radio Studies, Vol. 3, #1 (1995), pp. 89-105.

"Last Radio Concert Best Yet, Say Fans." (Portland) The Morning Oregonian, 22 April 1922, p. 1.

"Launch CBS School Series February 4." Hartford Courant, 19 January 1930, p. E10.

Lauter, Vita and Joseph H. Friend. "Radio and the Censors." Forum and Century, Vol. 86, #6 (December 1931), pp. 359-66.

Lawton, Sherman P. "The Principles of Effective Radio Speaking." Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 16, #3 (June 1930), pp. 255-77.

"Leaders In Radio Mourn M'Namee." New York Times, 13 May 1942, p. 19.

"League of Nations to Broadcast." Science Newsletter, Vol. 15, #412 (2 March 1929), p. 131.

"Lee DeForest Claims Radio Benefits Stage." Christian Science Monitor, 14 February 1925, p. 6.

Lee, Frederic P. "Federal Radio Legislation." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 142, Supplement: Radio (Mar., 1929), pp. 36-44

Lee, Judith Yaross. "Review of Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio." Journal of American History, Vol. 90, # 1 (Jun., 2003), pp. 272-273.

Leff, Laurel. "A Tragic 'Fight In The Family': The New York Times, Reform Judaism And The Holocaust." American Jewish History, Vol. 88, #1 (March 2000), pp. 3-51.

Leffler, W.L. "Radiophones for Farmers." Indiana Farmer's Guide, 4 February 1922, p. 109.

Lenhart, Maria. "Whodunit, Nancy Drew?" Chicago Daily Herald, 27 May 1979, p. 68.

Levinson, Martin H. "Crazy Talk, Stupid Talk Redux." ETC-- A Review of General Semantics, Vol. 63, #1 (January 2006), pp. 67-76.

Levy, Sandy. "Digitizing Microfilm: An Overview." News Library News, Vol. 26, #1 (Fall 2003), pp. 1, 8-9.

Lewis, Grace. "Extemporaneous Speaking In The High School." English Journal, Vol. 13, #10 (December 1924), pp. 720-723.

Lewis, Tom. "'A Godlike Presence' : The Impact of Radio On The 1920s And 1930s." OAH Magazine of History, Vol. 6, #4 (Spring 1992), pp. 26-33.

Lichty, Lawrence W. "Who's Who On Firsts: A Search for Challenges." Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 10, #1 (Winter 1965-1966), pp. 73-82.

"Lindsey Urges Marriage For Companionship." Chicago Tribune, 12 January 1927, p. 3.

Lippmann, Stephen. "The Institutional Context Of Industry Consolidation: Radio Broadcasting in the United States, 1920-1934." Social Forces, Vol. 86, #2 (December 2007), pp. 467-495.

Lipstadt, Deborah. "A Road Paved With Good Intentions: The Christian Science Monitor's Reaction To The First Phase Of Nazi Persecution Of The Jews." Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 45, #2 (Spring 1983), pp. 95-112.

"Listening In At The Globe." Boston Globe, 24 June 1924, p. 1.

Littlefield, Constance Palmer. "Marjorie Daw Is Crazy About Radio." Radio In The Home, October 1923, pp. 3, 26, 28.

"Local Broadcaster In Doubt On Revocation." Quincy (MA) Patriot-Ledger, 7 June 1928, p. 7.

Logan, Rayford W. "Negro Youth and the Influence of the Press, Radio and Cinema." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 9, #3 (July 1940), pp. 425-34.

"Lone Ranger Author Finds His Radio Hero Had Real Life Double." Chicago Tribune, 14 October 1934, p. N6.

“Looking Forward into the Tomorrow of Announcing.” Springfield (MA) Republican, 2 October 1927, p. 4H.

“Louisiana Broadcaster Condemned.” Chicago Defender, 22 March 1930, p. 6.

“Love, Everetta. “Mrs. Roosevelt Discusses Radio.” Radioland, April 1934, pp. 12-13, 56.

“Lum and Abner Move To Earlier Hour On Chain.” Chicago Tribune, 23 December 1934, p. NW4.

Lumley, F.(rederick) H. “Audiences and Educational Radio Talks.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 12, #1 (11 January 1933), pp. 14-16.

Lumley, F.(rederick) H. “Does Radio Broadcasting Help Pupils Pronounce a Foreign Language?” Modern Language Journal, Vol. 18, No. 6 (Mar., 1934), pp. 383-388.

Lumley, F(rederick) H. “Le Radio Parle Français.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 11, #3 (3 February 1932), pp. 66-69.

Lumley, F.(rederick) H. “The English Teacher and Radio Broadcasts.” English Journal, Vol. 23, #6 (June 1934), pp. 478-85.

Lumley, Frederick H. “Educational Radio’s Bedtime.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 11, #7 (Mar., 1932), pp. 183-84.

Lumley, Frederick H. “Radio’s Rate of Speech.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 12, #9 (Nov., 1933), pp. 244-246.

Lundberg, George A. “The Content of Radio Programs,” Social Forces, Vol. 7, #1 (September 1928), pp. 58-60.

“Lure of Radio Mike Growing.” Los Angeles Times, 15 April 1930, p. A7.

MacDonald, J. Fred, Michael T. Marsden, and Christopher D. Geist. “Radio and Television Studies and American Culture.” American Quarterly, Vol. 32, #3 (1980), pp. 301-317.

“Magic of Radiophone Fills Night With Music.” Toronto Star, 13 April 1922, pp. 1-2.

“Makes His Initial Political Address Since Retirement.” Springfield (MA) Republican, 31 October 1930, p.1.

Maltby, Frances. "Telling Everybody About Nursing." American Journal of Nursing, Vol. 24, #1 (October 1923), pp. 14-18.

"Many Farmers Take Daily Dozen by Radio." Washington Post, 17 May 1925, p. A3.

"March Of Time Back On The Air." Cleveland Plain Dealer, 11 September 1931, p. 25.

Marconi, Guglielmo. "Soon We'll Be 'Reading' Novels By Radiophone, Predicts Marconi." Baltimore Sun, 16 July 1922, p. MS3.

Markson, Ben A. "Radio Fad Sweeps World, Turning Sorrow To Joy." Los Angeles Times, 7 October 1923, Sect. 2, pp. 1, 10.

Marquis, Alice Goldfarb. "Written On The Wind: The Impact of Radio During the 1930s." Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 19, #3 (July 1984), pp. 385-415.

Martin, J.T.W. "There Are No Geographical Limits to the Network Broadcasting Stage." Hartford Courant, 19 June 1927, p. D8.

Martin, J.T.W. "How WJZ 'Samples' Its Broadcasts." Boston Globe, 23 January 1927, p. 43.

"Mary Garden Is Radio 'Bug' And Will Have Set In Apartment Here." San Francisco Chronicle, 27 March 1922, p. 1.

Masson, Thomas L. "Books For Radio Sharps." New York Times, 11 June 1922, Section 3, p. 27.

"Mayor Curley Heard In Ireland." Springfield (MA) Sunday Republican, 27 April 1924, Radio Section, p. 6.

McAdams, Clark. "Just A Minute." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 22 February 1922, p. 20.

McCain, Thomas A., Editor. "Editor's Note: Author And Topic Index." Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 1, #25 (Spring 1982), p. iii.

McChesney, Robert W. "Media And Democracy: The Emergence of Commercial Broadcasting in the United States. 1927-1935." OAH Magazine of History, Vol. 6, #4 (Spring 1992), pp. 34-40.

McMullen, Frances Drewry. "Little Stories Of Real People: Bertha Brainard, Radio Producer." The Women's Journal, November 1928, pp. 18-19.

- McLaughlin, Kathleen. "Woman Builds High Place In Organizing Air Programs." New York Times, 22 January 1939, part II, p. 6.
- McCloskey, Rose. "A Guide To Discourse Analysis." Nurse Researcher, Vol. 16, #1, (September 2008), pp. 24-45.
- M'Cray, James H. "Tribune's Radio Column: Radio And Race Music." Philadelphia Tribune, 21 March 1925, p. 15.
- McGee, Betty. "Opened Doors." Radio Digest, September 1930, pp. 90-91, 125.
- McMillan, M. Helena. "Recent Developments in Hospital Service (Continued)." American Journal of Nursing, Vol. 24, #2 (November 1923), pp. 89-93.
- McNamee, Graham. "Graham McNamee Speaking: Women And Radio Orchestras." Hartford Courant, 21 July 1929, p. E10.
- "Mechanical Music Labelled On Radio." New York Times, 9 August 1927, p. 26.
- "Meharry Professor And Boston Post Editor Congratulate Calvin." Pittsburgh Courier, 29 October 1927, p. 4.
- Meier, Norman C. "Motives In Voting: A Study In Public Opinion." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 31, #2 (September 1925), pp. 199-212.
- Melnick, Ross. "Station R-O-X-Y: Roxy And The Radio." Film History: An International Journal, Volume 17, issue 2/3 (2005), pp. 217-33.
- "Members Of Radio Club Are Anxious For Next Meeting." Oakland Tribune, 4 April 1922, p. 11.
- "Memorial Service By Radio Today." Hartford Courant, 10 August 1923, p. 17.
- "Merchants Hold A Radio Luncheon." New York Times, 18 March 1927, p. 27.
- Meredith, L. Douglas. "On The Air With The Banks." Bankers' Magazine, December 1932, pp.579-585.

Meyer, Donald C. "Review of Radio Voices." Journal of Musicological Research, Vol. 18, #4 September 1999), pp. 371-373.

"Microphone At Murder Trial Stirs Criticism." Los Angeles Times, 16 October 1931, p. A1.

"Microphone Presentations." Hartford Courant, 8 July 1928, p. E8.

"Million Watt Broadcaster Seen as Next Step in Radio." Science News-Letter, Vol. 18, #503 (29 November 1930), p. 340.

"Millions Hear Radio Stars Tonight." Boston American, 15 November 1926, p. 12.

"Millions 'Saw' Inauguration In Their Homes." Baltimore Sun, 5 March 1929, p. 5.

"Millions To Hear Convention Doings: Twenty Radio Stations To Broadcast Proceedings Over Country." New York Times, 24 June 1924, p. 35.

Mills, William. "Radio Station Bans Epithets." Baltimore Afro-American, 7 March 1925, p. A6.

"Miss Bertha Brainard Now Manager of Station WJZ." Hartford Courant, 4 December 1927, p. E15.

Mix, Jennie Irene. "Are Women Undesirable Over The Radio?" Radio Broadcast, Vol. 5, #4 (August 1924), pp. 332-338.

Mix, Jennie Irene. "For And Against The Woman Radio Speaker." Radio Broadcast, Vol. 5, #5, (September 1924), pp. 391-396.

Mix, Jennie Irene. "Score One For Women Announcers." Radio Broadcast, Vol. 6, #2 (December 1924), pp. 239-240.

Mix, Jennie Irene. "How Shall We Get Great Artists To Broadcast?" Radio Broadcast, May 1924, pp. 11-14.

Monaghan, Peter. "Exploring Radio's Sociocultural Legacy." Chronicle of Higher Education, Vol. 45, #4 (18 February 1999), pp. A17-20.

Moore, Randy. "Creationism In The United States." American Biology Teacher, Vol. 60, #7 (September 1988), pp. 486-498.

“More Calisthenics to Go Upon the Air.” New York Times, 9 March 1925, p. 23.

Morgan, Joy Elmer. “Education by Radio Begins a New Epoch” The School Review, Vol. 39, No. 7 (Sep., 1931), pp. 547-548.

“Mount Holyoke Girl Rivals Men In Field Of Radio.” Springfield (MA) Sunday Republican, 21 September 1924, Radio Section, p. 6.

“Mr. Tumulty, Father Coughlin, And Catholic Sentiment.” Baltimore Sun, 16 March 1935, p. 10.

“Mrs. Hoover’s Radio Talk Big Triumph.” Washington Post, 29 June 1929, p. 10.

“Music By Radio Pleases High School.” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 18 February 1922, p. 3.

“Music By Wireless In Your Own Home.” Baltimore American, 22 May 1921, section 6, p. 5.

“Music Sent by the Wireless,” Boston Globe, 27 March 1916, p. 9.

Nagel, Theresa Rose. “Shall We Have Women Announcers?” Christian Science Monitor, 10 March 1931, p. 5.

Neely, Henry M. “Radio In The Home.” Washington Post, 8 May 1922, p. 5.

“Negro History Week -- The Tenth Year.” Journal of Negro History, Vol. 20, #2 (April 1935), pp. 123-30.

“Negro Radio Artists Advised To Decline Rides On Freight Elevator In New York Hotel.” Pittsburgh Courier, 17 September 1932, p. 5.

Nelson, Frederic. “Symptoms Of Fascism.” Baltimore Sun, 5 May 1935, p. 8.

“New Bedford, Mass.” Baltimore Afro-American, 31 January 1925, p. 13.

“New Element In American Life.” The (London UK) Observer, 3 February 1935, p. 20.

“New England Stations Balk.” New York Times, 6 March 1936, p. 9.

“New KGO Will Open Tomorrow.” Oakland (CA) Tribune, 8 January 1924, p. 15.

Newlin, Jay. “Broadcasting.” English Journal, Vol. 22, #8 (October 1933), pp. 643-647.

“New Music of the Spheres, Wisdom Of The Ages, Free To All By Air.” Radio Digest, 22 April 1922, p. 5.

“New Radio Marvels Mystify Thousands.” New York Times, 9 March 1922, p. 23.

Newsreel Make-Up Editors Discuss Persons They See.” Baltimore Sun, 17 May 1931, p. MR1.

“Newton Boy Recovered Stolen Auto by the Use of Wireless.” Boston Herald, 5 June 1921, p. C5.

“New Words Due to Radio Busy Lexicographers.” Chicago Tribune, 13 July 1924, p. E5.

“New Year’s Greeting is Given by Radio.” Dallas Morning News, 24 September 1922, p. 13.

“New York Girls Who Do Much Of Their Gossiping By Wireless.” New York Tribune, 16 May 1920, p. F4.

“Night Filled With Music for Wireless Operators.” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1 December 1921, p. 7.

Noggle, Burl. “Review of A Tower in Babel: A History of Broadcasting in the United States.” Journal of American History, Vol. 54, #1 (June 1967) pp. 186-187.

“No 19th Hole in Radio Golf.” Springfield (MA) Republican, 21 January 1923, p. 33.

“Noted Doctors Will Give Health Talks from WGY.” New York Tribune, 26 November 1922, p. A5.

Nye Carroll. “Does Radio Hold Any Future For Women?” Los Angeles Times, 21 January 1934, p. A7.

Nye, Carroll. "Glossary Of Radio's New Terms Compiled." Los Angeles Times, 7 July 1935, p. A6.

Oberndorfer, Mary E. "The Influence of the Visual on Music Appreciation." Music Supervisors' Journal, Vol. 12, #2 (December 1925), pp. 8-16.

"Objects To Changing Broadcast To Radiocast." New York Times, 16 November 1924, p. XX15.

O'Brien, Richard B. "The Spoken Word Finds A Champion." New York Times, 1 June 1930, p. XX11.

"Obscenity By Radio." Washington Post, 11 February 1928, p. 6.

O'Meara, Carroll. "Not On The Air!" Forum and Century, Vol. 103, #6 (June 1940), pp. 301-9.

O'Neill, Brian. "Review of The Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio." Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media, Vol. 2, #1 (2004), pp. 62-64.

Ong, Walter J. "Is Literacy Passé?" Saturday Review, 28 October 1959, p. 28.

"Opera Carries 1,500 Miles By Radio Phones." Chicago Tribune, 12 November 1921, p. 13.

"'Opera In An Easy Chair,' Modern Miracle Of Radio." Springfield (MA) Sunday Republican, 29 April 1923, p. 11A.

"Opposes Closing WEVD." New York Times, 27 June 1928, p. 28.

"Orchestras In Six Cities For Feature." Baltimore Sun, 5 February 1928, p. M11.

"Organs of Sound That Do and Do Not Broadcast." Current Opinion, Vol. 73, #1 (July 1922), pp. 68-69.

Ormiston, Kenneth G. "Radio Program Aids Sick Folk." Los Angeles Times, 16 November 1923, section II, p. 3.

Palmer, James L. "Radio Advertising." Journal of Business of the University of Chicago, Vol. 1, #4 (October 1928), pp. 495-496.

Parr, John. "The Enemies of Sleep At WDAF." Wireless Age, June 1923, pp. 43-44.

"Passengers On Train Going 60 Miles An Hour Dance To Music By Radio." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6 April 1922, p. 1.

Patnode, Randall. "'What These People Need Is Radio': New Technology, the Press, and Otherness in 1920s America." Technology and Culture, Vol. 44, Number 2 (April 2003), pp. 285-305.

Perpich, Diane. "Figurative Language and the 'Face' in Levinas's Philosophy." Philosophy and Rhetoric, Vol. 38, #2 (Spring 2005), pp. 103-121.

Perse, Elizabeth and Jessica S. Butler. "Call-In Talk Radio: Compensation or Enrichment?" Journal Of Radio Studies, Vol. 12 Issue 2 (November 2005), pp 204-222.

"Personal Notes." Broadcasting, 1 August 1933, p. 19.

"Personality On The Air." New York Times, 20 March 1932, p. X14.

Phipps, Steven. "'Order Out Of Chaos': A Reexamination Of The Historical Basis For The Scarcity Of Channels." Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Vol 45, #1 (Winter 2001), pp. 57-74.

Pickens, William. "The Colorless Radio Wave." Norfolk (VA) New Journal and Guide, 20 March 1926, p. 9.

"Pick Men As Best Announcers." New York Times, 29 July 1926, p. 16.

Pickford, Henry W. "Critical Models: Adorno's Theory and Practice of Cultural Criticism." Yale Journal of Criticism, Vol. 10, #2 (Fall 1997), pp. 247-270.

"Plan Improvement At Radio Station." Hartford Courant, 29 May 1922, p. 15.

"Plea for Fort McHenry Sent Broadcast by Radio by Senator J. I France." Baltimore Sun, 7 April 1922, p. 4.

"Poems By Wireless." Kalamazoo (MI) Gazette, 10 September 1922, p. 10.

"Political Voice Personalities." Radiolog, 20 November 1932, p. 3.

“Politicians Call Radio Important Campaign Factor.” New York Times, 25 march 1928, p. XX16.

“Pope Excoriates Birth Control And Companionate Marriage.” Atlanta Constitution, 9 January 1931, p. 1.

“Popular South End Boy Plays Uke For Radio.” Boston Globe, 22 October 1925, p. A27.

Postman, Neil. “The Day Our Children Disappear: Predictions Of A Media Ecologist.” The Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 62, #5 (January 1981), pp. 382-386.

Postman, Neil. “The Humanism of Media Ecology.” Keynote address given at the Inaugural Media Ecology Association Convention, 16-17 June 2000. Online at http://www.media-ecology.org/publications/MEA_proceedings/v1/humanism_of_media_ecology.html

“Post’s Radio Hour Will Tell About Voting Of Women.” Washington Post, 31 October 1926, p. E6.

Power, Frank L. “Distance By Radio Lends Enchantment.” Radio Age, September 1925, p. 28.

Power, Ralph L. “Broadcast Anniversary To Come Next Week.” Los Angeles Times, 21 October 1928, p. A5.

Power, Ralph L. “Announcing in Radio Changed.” Los Angeles Times, 9 June 1927, p. A11.

Power, Ralph L. “Labels Needed on Canned Airs.” Los Angeles Times, 20 September 1928, p. A11.

Power, Ralph L. “Radio Try-Out Work No Snap.” Los Angeles Times, 27 January 1927, p. A7.

“Preaches to 500,000 Over Radio Phone.” New York Times, 16 January 1922, p. 4.

“Preaching by Wireless.” Current Opinion, Vol. 72, #5 (May 1922), pp. 649-650.

“Predicts Marvels in Radio’s Future.” New York Times, 16 June 1936, p. 23.

“President Coolidge Expected to Open Campaign by Radio on Tuesday.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 10 February 1924, p. 72.

“Priest Cudgeled By Eddie Cantor.” Portland Oregonian, 2 July 1935, p. 7.

“Professor Bell’s Telephone.” Scientific American, 9 June 1877, p. 359.

“Program On Ireland Goes On Tonight.” Washington Post, 13 March 1927, p. F7.

“Prominent Artists To Feature ‘Achievement Hour’ Anniversary.” Pittsburgh Courier, 5 January 1929, p. 2.

“Protest Use of ‘Nigger’ On Radio,” Chicago Defender, 5 April 1924, p. 13.

“Protest Will Rogers’ Radio Speech.” Pittsburgh Courier, 27 January 1934, p. 1.

“Public Accepts Electrical Transcriptions.” Springfield (MA) Sunday Union and Republican, 2 November 1930, p. 8C.

“Radario Contest Open To Writers.” Trenton (NJ) Evening Times, 14 October 1923, part. 4, p. 9.

“Public Accepts Electrical Transcription.” Springfield (MA) Union and Republican, 2 November 1930, p. 8C.

“Pupils Prefer Radio Dramas To Long Talks.” Hartford Courant, 16 November 1930, p. E12.

“Public Criticism and Programs.” New York Times, 1 July 1923, p. X7.

“Public Radio Today: How Americans Listen to Public Radio.” 2009 edition. Arbitron Marketing Communications Inc.
http://www.arbitron.com/downloads/public_radio_today_2009.pdf

“Pupils Prefer Radio Drama To Long Talks.” Hartford Courant, 16 November 1930, p. E12.

“Qualifications Necessary To Be A Radio Announcer.” New York Times, 16 November 1924, p. X17.

“QRM: Events of Interest to Amateur Radio Fans,” Washington Post, 8 May 1924, p. 18.

“Rabbi Levi Says Radio ‘Blessing.’” Boston Traveler, 13 March 1925, Radio section, p. 12.

“Rabbi Wise Scores Father Coughlin.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 25 March 1935, p. 7.

“Radarios Make Fans Turn Off Lights, Enforce Etiquette, Speak Clearly.” Radio Digest, 6 September 1924, p. 5.

“Radio Adding New Words to Language.” Indianapolis Star, 3 December 1922, p. B8.

“Radio Advertising Advice.” Los Angeles Times, 17 February 1924, p. A9.

“Radio Advertising Becoming Nuisance.” Hartford Courant, 10 November 1922, p. 14.

“Radio Aids Hospital Sick.” Washington Post, 2 April 1922, p. 9.

“Radio Aids Millions To Join Welcome.” New York Times, 19 July 1927, p. 4.

“Radio Aids Religion, Rabbi Levi Asserts.” Boston Globe, 17 May 1926, p. 20.

“Radio Among The Headhunters.” Popular Radio, May 1924, p. 496.

“Radio And Elections.” (Boise) Idaho Daily Statesman, 26 November 1921, p. 4.

“Radio And The Dictionary.” Literary Digest, 30 December 1922, p. 22.

“Radio And The Home.” Indianapolis Star, 25 March 1922, p. 6.

“Radio Announcers Replace Film Idols.” Washington Post, 15 May 1926, p. 1.

“Radio Appeal Aids Near East.” Detroit Free Press, 23 May 1922, p. 13.

“Radio Audience Decides Programs Are Almost 100% Perfect.” Wireless Age, August 1923, pp. 28-31.

“Radio Becomes Home Necessity; Big Demand for Receiving Sets.” Seattle Times, 26 February 1922, p. 8.

“Radio Bells to Welcome the New Year.” New York Times, 30 December 1923, p. X8.

“Radio Brightens Farm Wife’s Life.” Atlanta Constitution, 29 June 1922, p.5.

“Radio Broadcasted or Only Broadcast?” Toronto Star, 11 July 1922, p. 7.

“Radio Broadcasting License Requested.” (NY) Amsterdam News, 5 February 1930, p. 1.

“Radio Christmas Arrangement.” Boston Globe, 16 December 1923, p. 59.

“Radio: Christmas Giving Solved.” New York Times, 10 December 1922, p. X10.

“Radio Clubs Are Organized In Each Of The High Schools.” Washington Post, 26 March 1922, p. 40.

“Radio Concert Brings Joy To Helen Keller.” Los Angeles Times, 2 March 1924, p. A9.

“Radio Concert By Shepard Stores.” Boston Globe, 1 August 1922, p. 17.

“Radio Congress.” Time, 20 October 1924, p. 20.

“Radio Control In America.” Manchester (UK) Guardian, 25 August 1926, p. 10.

“Radio Covers Lindbergh Kidnapping.” Broadcasting, 15 March 1932, pp. 6, 24.

“Radio Debate On Evolution At WLW.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 8 July 1925, p. 26.

“Radio Development Is One Of World’s Wonders,” Wall Street Journal, 28 February 1922, p. 10.

“Radio Dinner and Concert at Park.” Boston Globe, 27 May 1922, p. 4.

“Radio Editors See New Wave Lengths Bettering Results.” Washington Post, 3 July 1927, p. A6.

- “Radio Fans Become Confirmed Addicts.” Atlanta Constitution, 13 August 1922, p. B8.
- “Radio Fans: Cut This Out For Quick Check On Election.” Chicago Tribune, 4 November 1924, p. 2.
- “Radio Fans Expect to Get Fight News.” Dallas Morning News, 26 June 1921, p. 3.
- “Radio Fans Laud WFAA Programs.” Dallas Morning News, 15 January 1923, p. 7.
- “Radio Fans Will Have Trip Down the Mississippi.” Hartford Courant, 29 May 1925, p. D9.
- “Radio Fever Has Invaded Lindsay.” San Francisco Chronicle, 30 April 1922, p. F9.
- “Radio Flashes Health Hints Over Country from Washington.” New York Tribune, 24 December 1921, p. 7.
- “Radio For The Blind.” Radio Age, September 1923, p. 27.
- “Radio For Women.” Literary Digest, 28 November 1925, p. 20.
- “Radio God-Send To Blind.” Los Angeles Times, 28 May 1922, Section 2, p. 7.
- “Radio Golf, The Latest Sport, Attracts Millions of Players,” New York Times, 12 October 1924, p.X16
- “Radio Growing Too Large for Country, Says Official..” Atlanta Constitution, 16 April 1922, p. A2.
- “Radio Health School.” Boston Herald, 3 September 1922, p. 8D.
- “Radio Hearing Ends With No Solution.” New York Times, 2 April 1927, p. 20.
- “Radio Increases Calls for Books.” Atlanta Constitution, 7 June 1922, p. 7.
- “Radio In Politics: ‘Controversial’ Questions.” (Manchester UK) The Guardian, 18 December 1923, p. 8.

“Radio In Transition.” New York Times, 13 April 1923, p. 16.

“Radio Is Expected To Play Prominent Role In Campaign.” Washington Post, 25 March 1928, p. F6.

“Radio Is Installed By The Oregonian.” Portland Oregonian, 19 March 1922, p. 1.

“Radio Is Seen As Contributor to World Peace.” Atlanta Constitution, 11 October 1924, p. 4.

“Radio Is The Real Revolution In Politics.” Boston Globe, 3 August 1924, p. A4.

“ ‘Radioitis’ Conquers Public After Seven Year Attack.” Springfield (MA) Republican, 18 November 1928, p. E1.

“Radio KSD Makes New Summer Record.” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 13 August 1922, p. A12.

“Radioland Invited To Health.” Los Angeles Times, 28 June 1925, p. B1.

“Radiomania Starts New Wave Of Petty Theft In Maryland.” Baltimore Sun, 20 July 1922, p. 6.

“Radio Music Travels Best At Night.” New York Times, 25 March 1923, Sect. 2, p. 4.

“Radio Phone Creates A Community Spirit All Over Country.” Baltimore Sun, 19 March 1922, p. 7.

“Radiophone Concerts Latest Fad; Eastern Operators Listen In.” Duluth (MN) News-Tribune, 17 April 1922, p. 8.

“Radiophone Is Farmer’s Link To Busy World.” San Francisco Chronicle, 22 March 1922, p. 13.

“Radio Program Is Miraculous.” Los Angeles Times, 18 August 1923, p. 7.

“Radio Programs Win Four Prizes.” New York Times, 11 April 1935, p. 25.

“Radio Records Prove ‘Silent Cal’ A Myth.” New York Times, 3 March 1929, p. XX18.

“Radio Reviews of Broadway Newest Idea.” Duluth (MN) News-Tribune, 13 August 1922, p. 2.

“Radio Saves City.” Middlesboro (KY) Daily News, 6 October 1922, p. 8.

“Radio Service For Hub Hotel.” Boston Post, 6 April 1922, p. 10.

“Radio Set Will Cheer Sing Sing’s Condemned.” Hartford Courant, 24 July 1923, p. 9.

“Radio Setting-Up Exercises Lauded by 39,000 Letters.” New York Times, 17 May 1925, p. X15.

“Radio Show Opening Turns Away 2,000.” New York Times, 8 March 1922, p. 14.

“Radio Silent; Meets Mishap,” Detroit Free Press, 14 June 1922, p.13.

“Radio Station Bans Epithets.” Baltimore Afro-American, 7 March 1925, p. A6.

“Radio Station Is Now In Operation.” Helena (MT) Independent, 25 September 1924, p. 10.

“Radio Stations Now Total 235.” Detroit Free Press, 7 May 1922, p. 3.

“Radio Supplants Wife.” San Francisco Chronicle, 26 December 1922, p. 18.

“Radio Sweeping the Country.” Variety, 10 March 1922, pp. 1, 7.

“Radio Talks from the Harvard College Observatory.” Science, Vol. 62, #1611 (13 November 1925), p. 431.

“Radio Telephone Is Making Over The Modern World.” Miami Herald, 16 April 1922, p. 2.

“Radio Testimonials.” Detroit Free Press, 7 May 1922, p. 3.

“Radio-- The New Social Force.” The Outlook, Vol. 136, #12, (19 March 1924), pp. 465-66.

“Radio To Carry Harding’s Voice To Thousands Here.” Baltimore American, 14 June 1922, p. 20.

“Radio Users Thank Post For Coué Talk.” Washington Post, 21 January 1923, p. 17.

“Radio Voice Has Critics Baffled.” Boston Post, 4 May 1925, p. 23.

“Radio Will Hasten World Peace, Predicts White, Famous Announcer.” Quincy (MA) Patriot Ledger, 26 October 1927, p.7.

“Radio’s Children Today, Broadway’s Stars Tomorrow.” Boston Globe, 8 December 1935, p. B6.

“Radio’s Dark Town Harmonizers.” Radio Digest, Vol. 29, #4 (November 1932), pp. 22-23.

“Radio’s Facilities Seek Kidnappers.” New York Times, 3 March 1932, p. 9.

“Radio’s Greatest Program Will Be Broadcast Tonight.” Trenton (NJ) Evening Times, 15 November 1926, p.3.

“Radio’s Magic Wand.” The Outlook, Vol. 131, #5 (31 May 1922), pp. 218, 220-222, 224-226.

“Radio’s Outlook.” New York Times, 21 June 1936, p. X10.

“Radiovision in Homes This Fall,” Science News-Letter, Vol. 14, #385 (25 August 1928), 113.

Radner, Sanford. “The Communication Concepts of Harold Innis.” College Composition and Communication, Vol. 10, #2 (May 1959), pp. 77-80.

“Rallying Around Radio.” The Outlook, Vol. 137, #8, (25 June 1924), p. 293.

Raven-Hart, R. “Composing for Radio.” Musical Quarterly, Vol. 16, #1 (January 1930), pp. 133-139.

Rawlins, J.W. “Run Out Of Town.” Pittsburgh Courier, 9 May 1931, p. A1.

Rayford, Logan W. “Negro Youth and the Press, Radio and Cinema.” Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 9, #3 (July 1940), pp. 425-34.

Raymond, Allen. “Eager Crowds Imperil Miss Earhart As They Welcome Fliers At Burry Port.” New York Times, 19 June 1928, p. 1.

Razlogova, Elena. "True Crime Radio and Listener Disenchantment With Network Broadcasting, 1935-1946." American Quarterly, Vol. 58, #1 (March 2006), pp. 137-158.

"Red Apple Club Plans Reunion." Detroit Free Press, 2 November 1930, p. 12.

Reddick, Lawrence D. "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks of the South." Journal of Negro History, Vol. 19, #3 (July 1934), pp. 225-65.

"Red Leader's Talk Brings Protests To WEA." New York Times, 27 May 1928, p. 24.

"Referee Admits Disputed Blow Was Low, But Not Damaging To Sharkey." Trenton (NJ) Evening Times, 23 July 1927, p. 9.

Reinitz, Bertram. "Radio Announcer Has Trials." New York Times, 5 May 1929, p. X2.

"Religion by Radio Brings a Flood of Messages." Boston Globe, 10 August 1922, p. 5.

"Rena Jane Frew Chosen Miss Radio For Radio World's Fair." Trenton (NJ) Sunday Times, 12 September 1925, p. 11.

"Republican Convention To Be Radiated By Fifteen Stations." New York Times, 8 June 1924, p. X19.

"Research in Radio." Science News-Letter, Vol. 15, #419 (20 April 1929), p. 244.

"Reviewing The Current Programs." Radio Fan-Fare, June 1933, pp. 26-27.

Ringel, Abraham. "The Receiver Radiation Problem And Some Solutions." Wireless Age, November 1922, pp. 67-70.

"Rise Of The Goldbergs Called 'Abie's Irish Rose' Of The Air." New York Times, 21 February 1932, p. X17.

"Rob Roy Price Will Give Radio Talks." Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 8 October 1922, p. 10.

Roland, Charles. "Radio's Guardian Angel of Words." Hartford Courant, 17 April 1927, p. D7.

Rothafel, Samuel L. "Roxy's Hello Everybody." Washington Post, 13 April 1925, p. 7.

Roscigno, Vincent J. and William F. Danaher. "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929-34." American Sociological Review, Vol. 66, No. 1 (Feb., 2001), pp. 21-48.

Russo, Alexander. "Defensive Transcriptions: Radio Networks, Sound-on-Disc Recording, and the Meaning of Live Broadcasting." The Velvet Light Trap, Number 54 (Fall 2004), pp. 4-17.

Ryan, Quin A. "Inside the Loud Speaker." Chicago Tribune, 25 October 1925, p. E6.

Salas, Alexandra. "Media Ecology Comes Into Its Own." The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education, Vol. 17 (18 December 2006), pp. 62-66.

Salmark, Joseph. "The Facts Vs. Father Coughlin." Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion, 22 March 1935, p. 3.

Sammis, Edward R. "The Greatest Thrills Of Radio." Radioland, September 1933, pp. 59-62, 91.

Sammis, Edward R. "What Chance Would You Have In Radio?" Radioland, October 1933, pp. 16-18, 78, 91-92.

Sarnoff, David. "The Freedom Of The Air." The Nation, 23 July 1924, p. 90.

"Says Development Of Radio Will Aid District Schools." Hartford Courant, 5 April 1923, p. 5.

"Says World Curbs Women's Careers." New York Times, 28 August 1934, p. 23.

Schultz, Sigrid. "Einstein Hails Radio As Means to Avert War Breeding Hates." Chicago Tribune, 23 August 1930, p. 9.

Schultze, Quentin J. "Evangelical Radio and the Rise of the Electronic Church, 1921-1948." Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Vol. 32, #3 (Summer 1988), pp. 289-306.

"Science in 1922." Science, vol. 57, #1463 (12 January 1923), pp. x, xii.

“Science of Radio Adds 5,000 New Words to English Language.” New York Times, 6 July 1924, p. X13.

“Score Dead, Victims Of Extreme Cold.” Boston Globe, 20 December 1924, p. 1A.

Scully, Michael F. “The Girl Boss of WJZ.” McClure’s, August 1927, pp. 39, 122.

“Sees Birth Control As National Danger.” New York Times, 14 October 1930, p. 29.

“Sees Fewer Stations As A Boon To Radio.” New York Times, 21 June 1928, p. 28.

“Senate Radio Debate To Be Held Thursday.” Grand Rapids (MI) Press, 30 March 1922, p.2.

“Sending Out The News.” Detroit Free Press, 22 June, 1892, p. 6.

“Sermons By Radio Becoming General.” Hartford Courant, 4 December 1922, p. 12.

“Service in Synagogue by Wireless Tomorrow,” Baltimore Sun, 19 November 1921, p.10.

“Shepard Stores In Providence Burn.” Boston Globe, 9 March 1923, p. 1.
“Shorter Words Needed.” Radio World, 29 April 1922, p. 28.

“Short Names.” Scientific Monthly, Vol. 15, #3 (September 1922), p. 285.

“Should Wives Take Jobs?” Literary Digest, 24 January 1925, p. 23.

“Showmen Warned Women Will ‘Do Something About Radio.’” New York Times, 12 May 1935, p. X11.

“Sidelights On Amos and Andy Contest.” Radio Digest, Vol. 25, #4 (August 1930), p. 13.

“Sidelights On Broadcasting The Political Conventions,” New York Times, 6 July 1924, section XX, p.13.

“Silence On Radio During President’s Address On Monday.” Hartford Courant, 8 December 1923, p. 10.

- Simon, Robert A. "Giving Music The Air." The Bookman, Vol. 64, #5 (January 1927), pp. 596-598.
- Sims, Tom. "The Art Of Radio Heckling." Life, 22 August 1930, p. 4.
- Skene, Don. "Radio Dedicated By Opera Star." (Portland) The Morning Oregonian, 26 March 1922, p 1.
- Skinner, John. "Seeing What You Hear." Brooklyn (NY) Eagle, 5 November 1930, p. 23.
- Sklaroff, Lauren Rebecca. "Variety For The Servicemen: The Jubilee Show And The Paradox Of Racializing Radio During World War II." American Quarterly, Vol. 56, #4 (December 2004), pp. 945-973.
- "Slipping And Gripping." Radio Fan-Fare, Summer (July-August) 1933, p. 3.
- Sloan, Charles. "\$5,000,000 Is Spent Weekly By Radio Fans." Chicago Tribune, 17 April 1922, p. 15.
- Sloan, Charles. "High Schools May Give Radio As New Course." Chicago Tribune, 24 April 1922, p. 7.
- Sloan, Charles. "Summer Brings Slump In Radio, Dealers Report." Chicago Tribune, 4 June 1922, p.23.
- Slotten, Hugh Richard. "Radio's Hidden Voice: Noncommercial Broadcasting, Extension Education, And State Universities During The 1920s." Technology and Culture, Vol. 49, #1 (January 2008), pp. 1-20.
- Smith, Agnes. "Announcers." Life, 9 August 1928, p. 13.
- Smith, Agnes. "Dinner Music." Life, 26 April 1928, p. 22.
- Smith, Agnes. "Ladies On The Air." Life, 23 November 1928, p. 30.
- Smith, Agnes. "Non-Partisan." Life, 30 August 1928, p. 20.
- Smith, Agnes. "This is Graham McNamee." Life, 14 June 1928, p. 15.
- Smith, Jonathan A. "Time-Binding Communication: Transmission and Decadence of Tradition." Ethics, Place and Environment, Vol. 10, #1 (March 2007), pp. 107-119.

Smith, A. Leonard Jr. "Broadcasting to Millions: Radio Telephony's Extraordinary Growth." New York Times, 19 February 1922, p. XX6.

Smith, A. Leonard Jr. "Wireless Butt-In: Radio-Telephony's Annoying Invasion Of Private Conversations." New York Times, 5 March 1922, p. XX2.

Smith, Erle H. " 'Meet' The Radio Voices From Kansas City." Radio Broadcast, November 1924, pp. 88-90.

Smith, F. Leslie. "Review of Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting." Journalism History, Vol. 21, #2 (Summer 1995), pp. 88-89.

Smith, Katherine. "On The Air Today." Washington Post, 1 January 1935, p. C3.

Smith, Leonard Stewart. "They're Not So Dumb." Radio Digest, Vol. 29, #2 (Summer 1932), pp. 16-17.

Smith, Roscoe. "The Chicago Radio Show." Radio News, September 1922, p. 428.

Smits, Lee J. "The Fighting Crusader Of The Air." Radioland, October 1933, pp. 13-15, 86.

Smulyan, Susan. "Review of Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio." Technology and Culture, Vol. 34, #3 (July 1993), pp. 701-702.

Smulyan, Susan. "Radio Advertising to Women in Twenties America: 'A Latchkey to Every Home.'" Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television, Vol. 13, #3 (August 1993), pp. 299-315.

Smulyan, Susan. "Review of The Early Days of Broadcasting." Technology and Culture, Vol. 31, #2 (April 1990), pp. 342-343.

Smythe, Ted Curtis. "The Birth Of Twin Cities' Commercial Radio." Minnesota History, Vol. 41, #7 (Fall, 1969), pp. 327-334.

"Songs Of South Given By WGM" Atlanta Constitution, 5 May 1922, p. 14.

"Sousa's Protest Against 'Canned Music.'" Current Literature, Volume 12, #4, pp. 426-428.

- “South’s Voice.” Baltimore Afro-American, 18 July 1925, p. 9.
- Sorenson, R(oyal).W. “World Is Now In Radio Age.” Los Angeles Times, 2 April 1922, section 2, p. 7.
- “Sparks From Texas Aerials.” Fort Worth Telegram, 27 August 1922, p. 8.
- “Spotlight Focused On Radio In 1928.” New York Times, 1 January 1928, p. XX12.
- “Springfield Man’s Name Known the World Over.” Springfield (MA) Sunday Union & Republican, 30 June 1929, p. 4C.
- “Standards Bureau Has Young Woman As Radio Engineer.” Washington Post, 17 May 1925, p. E9.
- “Stanton Songs to Be Broadcast,” Atlanta Constitution, 3 May 1922, p. 14.
- “Stars Go On Air In 21-Station Hook-Up.” Seattle Times, 16 November 1926, p. 18.
- “Star-Telegram Radio Will Broadcast News For Benefit of Texas Press Convention.” Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 10 May 1922, p. 2.
- Steadman Jr., J.M. “The Language Consciousness Of College Students.” American Speech, vol. 2, #3 (December 1926), pp. 115-132.
- Stephan, Robert S. “Broadcast Women’s Derby Finish.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 23 August 1929, p. 17.
- Stephan, Robert S. “WEAR Broadcasts Flight Result.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 6 July 1929, p. 16.
- Steward, Ann. “Amos ‘n’ Andy Join The Show.” Radio Digest, July 1930, pp. 10-13, 95.
- “St. Louis And Iowa Towns Report WGM.” Atlanta Constitution, 12 August 1922, p. 4.
- “Store Tonight To Give First Radio Program.” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 18 April 1922, p. 3.
- “Story Of Tunney-Dempsey Bout As Broadcast From Ringside.” New York Times, 23 September 1927, p. 21.

Strate, Lance. "The Ecology Of Association." Address Delivered on 16 June 2000 at Fordham University, New York NY.
http://www.media-ecology.org/publications/MEA_proceedings/v1/ecology_of_association.html

Strate, Lance. "The Judaic Roots Of Neil Postman's Cultural Commentary." Journal of Media and Religion, Vol. 5, #3 (August 2006), pp. 189-208.

Strate, Lance. "Neil Postman: Defender of the Word." ETC: A Review of General Semantics, (Winter 2003/4), pp. 341-50.

Stuart, Reginald. "Death Of Black Opry Pioneer Leads To Disharmony In Nashville." New York Times, 22 August 1982, p. 22.

"Students Make Radio Sets." New York Times, 9 July 1922, section 8, p. 8.

"Study Of Voice Technique To Aid Radio Announcers." New York Times, 15 February 1925, p. X14.

Sullivan, Mark. "Will Radio Make The People The Government?" Radio Broadcast, Volume 6, #1 (November 1924), pp. 19-25.

"Supreme Court Gets WMBB-WOK Case." Broadcasting, 1 February 1932, p. 22.

Sutton, Vida Ravenscroft. "Radio And Speech." American Speech, Vol. 8, #1 (February 1933), pp. 10-12.

Swain, Reba. "The Legal Status Of Women." Women Lawyers' Journal, Vol. 11, #2 (January 1922), pp. 9-11.

Swing, Raymond Gram. "Father Coughlin: The Wonder Of Self-Discovery." The Nation, 26 December 1934, pp. 731-733.

Tanner, Virginia. "Broadcasting Shakespeare." English Journal, Vol. 23, #8 (October 1934), pp. 677-679.

"Tax On Radio Sets And Parts Not Favored By The Trade." New York Times, 8 March 1925, p. XX18.

Taylor, Davidson. "Tomorrow's Broadcast." North American Review, vol. 241, #1, (March 1936), pp. 49-56.

- Taylor, Harold M. "1XE Claims Broadcasting Record," Radio World, 29 April 1922, p. 18.
- "Teachers Instruct Classes By Radio." Boston Globe, 25 March 1925, p. A6.
- "Teachers Of English Balk At Aspersions on Loyalty." Christian Science Monitor, 2 December 1935, pp. 1, 4.
- "Teaching By Air Stressed." Los Angeles Times, 14 March 1926, p. B14.
- Teilhet, Darwin L. "What America Listens To." Forum and Century, Vol. 87, #5 (May 1932), pp. 275-279.
- "Telegraph Operator And His Fatiguing Work." Baltimore Sun, 1 September 1907, p. 12.
- "Tells Of Fighting Smith By Radio." New York Times, 23 June 1927, p. 22.
- "Text Of Father Coughlin's Radio Address In Answer To The Attack Of General Johnson." New York Times, 12 March 1935, p. 13.
- "Text Of General Johnson's Denouncement Of Father Coughlin And Huey Long." New York Times, 12 March 1935, p. 10.
- Thaler, Paul. "The Legacy of Neil Postman , and the Coming of Age of Media Ecology." The Review of Communication, Vol. 6, #4, (October 2006), pp. 369-373.
- "The Enemies of Sleep At WDAF." Wireless Age, June 1923, pp. 43-44.
- "The Gossip Shop." The Bookman, Vol. 55, #6 (August 1922), pp. 662-672.
- "The Inaugural And The Telephone." New York Times, 5 March 1861, p. 8.
- "The Inquiring Reporter: The Question." Chicago Tribune, 28 September 1928, p. 27.
- "The Long Arm of Radio Is Reaching Everywhere." Current Opinion, Vol. 72, #5, (May 1922), pp. 684-685.
- "The Marvel of Radio." The Outlook, Vol. 130, #11 (15 March 1922), p. 410.

- “The Microphone Will Present.” New York Times, 5 October 1930, p. XX10.
- “The Mossback Danger.” Salt Lake City Telegram, 26 January 1922, p. 4.
- “The New Radio Stamp Fad,” Radio News, February 1925, pp. 1401, 1550.
- “The News Radiophone To Give Vote Results,” Detroit News, 31 August 1920, p.1.
- “The Radio and Education.” The New Republic, Vol. 63, #819 (13 August 1930), pp. 357-358.
- “The Radio Service Of The University Of Wisconsin.” Science, vol. 55, #1432 (9 June 1922), p. 613.
- “The Radiotelephone.” The Youth’s Companion, 25 May 1922, pp. 296-297.
- “The Star’s New Radio Set.” Kansas City Star, 7 May 1922, p. 1.
- “The Times To Pioneer Radio Easter Service.” Los Angeles Times, 16 April 1922, section 2, p. 1.
- “The Voter and Radio.” The New Republic, Vol. 55, #703 (23 May 1928), pp. 6-7.
- “This Business Of Being Funny On Radio Is No Joke.” New York Times, 29 May 1932, p. X10.
- “This Courier Reader Won’t Sign His Name, But He Comes To The Defense Of Amos ‘n’ Andy.” Pittsburgh Courier, 23 May 1931, p. A2.
- “Thousands In Boston Crowd Frenzied As Dempsey Wins.” Boston Globe, 22 July 1927, p. 13.
- “Three Million Guests At World’s Largest Birthday Party.” Charlotte (NC) Observer, 26 April 1922, p. 12.
- “Throngs Attend Fine Radio Show.” Boston Globe, 4 May 1922, p.6.
- Tigert, J.J. “Radio In The American School System.” Annals Of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 142 (March 1929), pp. 71-77.

“To Broadcast Series.” New York Times, 3 October 1922, p. 27.

“To Campaign By Radio Phone.” Kansas City Star, 30 January 1922, p. 5.

“Today’s Radio Program.” Seattle Times, 19 October 1923, p. 23.

“To Give Election Results By Radio.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 28 October 1920, p. 10.

“Top Ten Best Sellers.” New York Tribune, 4 June 1922, p. D8.

“Totem Club Members To Help New Wireless Fans Assured.” Seattle Times, 25 February 1922, p. 4.

“Travel And Communication.” Current Opinion, 1 September 1924, p. 380.

“Tribune First To Promote Wireless, Now Leads Field.” Oakland (CA) Tribune, 22 March 1922, p. 28.

“Tufts College Has First Radio Faculty.” Radio World, 8 April 1922, p. 7.

“Two More Expensive Fires.” Bridgewater (MA) Independent, 20 February 1925, pp. 1, 5.

“Two Women In Congress Give Views Over Air.” Chicago Tribune, 28 March 1926, p. 5.

“Ty Broadcasts Thanks To Fans.” Detroit Free Press, 27 May 1922, p. 11.

Tyler, I. Keith. “Radio In The High School.” Educational Research Bulletin, Vol. 14, #8 (13 November 1935), pp. 208-212.

“Uncle Sam Writes It Mrs.” Kansas City Star, 19 January 1922, p. 13.

“Universal Language.” Radio Digest, 8 December 1923, p. 16.

“Unseen Audience Attends Concert by Frieda Hempel.” Colorado Springs Gazette, 30 April 1921, p. 3.

“Urge Wide Reforms in Broadcasting.” New York Times, 25 March 1923, p. S5.

“U.S. C. of C. On Western Tour Has Radio Entertainment.” Hartford Courant, 27 January 1924, p. 8Z.

“U.S. Lags In Radio Use In Schools.” Hartford Courant, 10 July 1927, p. D9.

Vaillant, Derek. “Sounds Of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, And Public Culture In Chicago, 1921-1935.” American Quarterly, Vol. 54, Number 1 (March 2002), pp. 25-66.

Vallée, Rudy. “Tuneful Topics.” Radio Digest, Vol. 29, #1 (June 1932), pp. 28-29.

Van der Laan, J.M. “Neil Postman and the Critique of Technology (In Memory of Neil Postman, Who Died on October 5, 2003).” Bulletin of Science, Technology and Society, Vol. 24, #2 (April 2004), pp. 145-150.

Vanmeenen, Karen. “Technological Transformation.” Afterimage, Vol. 35 #4, (January/February 2008), p. 4.

“Vaudeville And Musicians Declare Against Radiophone.” Variety, 3 March 1922, pp. 1, 9.

“Voice Of The Listener.” Radio Digest, November 1932, pp. 32-33.

“Voice Of The Listener.” Radio Digest, January 1933, pp. 36-37.

“Voice Personality Will Count in Race to the White House,” New York Times, 17 April 1927, p. XX18.

“Voices You Have Heard.” Wireless Age, September 1923, p. 22.

Von Lackum, Karl. “Vinton Boasts Only Broadcasting Station In U.S. Owned By Woman.” Waterloo (IA) Evening Courier, 14 October 1922, p. 7.

Vorpe, W.G. “Subscriptions By Air Pour In To Harry Snodgrass, As His Hour Of Freedom Nears.” Cleveland Plain Dealer, 21 December 1924, Features section, p. 10.

Wagner, Gwen. “Radio In Days Of Yore.” Radio Age, September 1925, pp. 30-31, 65.

Waples, Douglas. “Press, Radio, and Film In The National Emergency: Some Papers on Current Research.” The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 5, #3 (Autumn 1941), pp. 463-469.

Walker, James R. "Review of Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting." Journal of Communication, Vol. 54, #3 (September 2004), pp. 570-571.

Wallace, John. "The Curious Jargon Of The Broadcasting Industry." Radio Broadcast, September 1926, pp. 390-391.

"Watch For Nigger In The Woodpile." Quincy (MA) Patriot and Daily Ledger, 20 October 1920, p.4.

Wayne, Anthony. "Roxy, Who Caused Recent Radio Controversy, Began As A \$2-A-Week Cash-Boy." Boston Post, 8 February 1925, p. B6.

"WCX Women's Club Invites All To Enlist." Detroit Free Press, 19 November 1922, p. D7.

"WDAF Will Talk Tonight." Kansas City Star, 5 June 1922, p.1.

"WEEI Announces Change In Wave." Boston Globe, 22 August 1925, p. A11.

"Well-Entertained is the Fall Camper Who Takes His Radio Set Along." Springfield (MA) Republican, 30 August 1925, p. 3.

"We Pay Our Respects To Anne Schumacher Ashenhurst." Broadcasting, 1 April 1935, p. 31.

"We Pay Our Respects To Margaret Elisabeth Jessup." Broadcasting, 15 February 1934, p. 21.

"Wesley Music Student Sings for Radio Fans." Grand Forks (ND) Herald, 26 April 1922, p. 7.

West, Mark I. Children's Radio Programs and Their Impact on the Economics of Children's Popular Culture. The Lion and the Unicorn, Vol. 11, #2 (December 1987), pp. 102-107.

"WGI Experiment, Hour of Quiet, Fact in Atlanta." Atlanta Constitution, 5 November 1922, p. 11.

"What Are Spuds Worth? 'Listen In' On The Radio." (Boise) Idaho Statesman, 6 April 1922, p. 7.

"What College Graduates Find In Radio As A Life-Work." New York Times, 31 May 1925, p. X14.

"What Few Of Them Said." Canton (OH) Daily News, 16 July 1922, p. 1.

“What Radio Fans Welcome As Useful Christmas Gifts,” New York Times, 14 December 1924, p. XX13.

“What’s On The Air?” Boston Globe, 8 January 1928, p. B13.

“When ‘Professor’ Coolidge Lectured.” Peabody Journal of Education, vol.1, #5 (March 1924), p. 288.

“When Radio’s Gold Rush Began.” New York Times, 14 February 1932, p. X14.

Whitcomb, Lewis. “Who’s Who In Radio Broadcasting.” Boston Post, 21 January 1923, p. A3.

“White Dailies Recognize Courier’s Fight Against Amos ‘n’ Andy.” Pittsburgh Courier, 15 August 1931, pp. 1, 4.

Whittemore, Laurens E. “The Development of Radio.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 142 (March 1929), pp. 1-7.

“Why Radio Broadcasting Should Be Continued: An Interview With H.P. Davis.” Hardware Dealers Magazine, 1 December 1922, pp. 1029-1030.

“Wife Seeking Divorce, Charges Husband Is Radio Fanatic.” New York Times, 9 July 1922, p. 1.

Wilbur, Ray Lyman. “The Radio In Our Republic.” School and Society, Vol. 33, #857 (30 May 1931), pp. 709-13.

Wile, Frederic William. “Big Radio Growth Made In 1923.” Christian Science Monitor, 31 December 1923, p.6.

“Will Campaign by Radio: Senator New, in Capital, to Address Indiana Meeting.” Lexington (KY) Herald, 30 March 1922, p. 1.

“Will Rogers Hurls Back A Second Insult.” Baltimore Afro-American, 3 February 1934, p.1.

Wilson, Brian. “The Spirit Of The Motor City: Three Hundred Years Of Religious History in Detroit.” Michigan Historical Review, Vol. 27, #1 (Spring 2001), pp. 21-56.

Wilson, Sarah. “Gertrude Stein and the Radio.” Modernism/modernity, Vol. 11, #2 (April 2004), pp. 261-278.

“Wireless Communication Making Rapid Strides,” Washington Post, 26 March 1922, p. 40.

“Wireless Phone to Send Church Music Broadcast,” New York Tribune, 2 January 1921, p. 12.

“Wireless Stations Praise News Radiophone Service,” Detroit News, 2 September 1920, pp. 1, 2.

“Wireless Telephone Proves Successful.” San José Evening News, 22 July 1912, p. 3.

Wise, George. “Review of Inventing American Broadcasting.” Science, Vol. 239, #4846 (18 March 1988), pp. 1436-1437.

Wise, Dr. Stephen S. “The Coughlin-Johnson Controversy: Some Aspects.” (Boston) Jewish Advocate, 12 April 1935, p. 7.

Wiseman, Clara Sidney. “Mrs Hale’s Talk On Companionate Marriage Is Defended.” Washington Post, 19 February 1928, p. E9.

“WOH Radio Station To Offer Quartet of Jewish Temple.” Indianapolis Star, 17 May 1922, p. 1.

Wolfe, G. Joseph. “Norman Baker and KTNT.” Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 12, #4 (Winter 1968), pp. 389-399.

Wolters, Larry. “Air Stars Often Embarrassed By Studio Guests.” Chicago Tribune, 26 May 1935, p. S8.

Wolters, Larry. “First Lady to Give First Talk At White House.” Chicago Tribune, 22 March 1931, p. G9.

Wolters, Larry. “Radio Illusions Are Dispelled By Dr. De Forest.” Chicago Tribune, 13 September 1936, p. SW7.

Wolters, Larry. “Why Men Rule Radio, If It’s True They Do.” Chicago Tribune, 28 July 1931, p. C8.

“Woman President ‘Soon’ Is Predicted.” New York Times, 29 August 1934, p. 19.

“Women Need Vocal Art To Speak To Mr. Mike.” Radio World, 21 May 1927, p. 16.

- Woodford, Jack. "Radio-- A Blessing or a Curse?" Forum, vol. 81, #3 (March 1929), pp. 169-171.
- Woodward, Julian L. "Quantitative Newspaper Analysis As A Technique Of Opinion Research." Social Forces, vol. 12, #4 (May 1934), pp. 526-537.
- "World Series Broadcast To Start At 11.05." Seattle Times, 4 October 1927, p. 20.
- "World's Series Reports by Wireless Telephone." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 4 October 1921, p. 12.
- "World-Wide Radio Concerts Predicted By Mme. Lipkowska," Fort Wayne Sentinel, 2 September 1922, p. 9.
- "Write In Your Views." Pittsburgh Courier, 2 May 1931, p. 12.
- "Written Versus Air Reporting." Christian Science Monitor, 1 February 1929, p. 4.
- "Wrong Verdict Sent Over Radio." New York Times, 14 February 1935, p. 11.
- Yates, Raymond Francis. "What Will Happen to Broadcasting." The Outlook, 9 April 1924, pp. 604-606.
- Young, Jeffrey R. "Economic Downturn Limits Conference Travel." Chronicle of Higher Education, 27 March 2009, online at: <http://chronicle.com/article/Economic-Downturn-Limits-Co/47139/>
- Young, J.W. "Fighting Radio's Bugaboos." Science Newsletter, vol. 21, #575 (16 April 1932), pp. 246-47.