

“TRY TO LIFT SOMEONE ELSE AS WE CLIMB”
120 YEARS OF THE WOMEN’S PRESS CLUB OF PITTSBURGH
AND THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

By

Candi S. Carter Olson

BA, Linfield College, 1999

MS, Boston College, 2002

MA, Carnegie Mellon University, 2007

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
The Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2013

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

KENNETH P. DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Candi S. Carter Olson

It was defended on

April 12, 2013

and approved by

Dr. Lester Olson, Professor, Communication

Dr. Brenton Malin, Associate Professor, Communication

Dr. Jean Ferguson Carr, Associate Professor, English, Chair, Women's Studies

Dissertation Director: Dr. Ronald Zboray, Professor, Communication

“TRY TO LIFT SOMEONE ELSE AS WE CLIMB”
120 YEARS OF THE WOMEN’S PRESS CLUB OF PITTSBURGH
AND THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

Candi S. Carter Olson, Ph.D.

University of Pittsburgh, 2013

In 1891, the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh met in the offices of the old *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* for the first time. Over the next 120 years, the women comprising this club found places for women in the public sphere by opening doors for newswomen. The clubwomen thus actively challenged widely held conventions about feminine limitations, and, as Hazel Garland, one of the club’s few African American members and the first woman managing editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier*, said, they reached behind and pulled up those women who came after them. WPCP members flew in hot air balloons, covered both WWI and WWII, funded scholarships for younger women, stood up to racism within their own ranks, and were some of the first women to enter post-game locker rooms with male sports reporters. Some activists in the women’s movement have called newswomen traitors for adhering to masculine frames of news coverage that dictate covering “both sides” of an issue, which sometimes means highlighting and publicizing an anti-women’s rights viewpoint in a story. However, this dissertation argues that mainstream female reporters should be considered in the stream of the broader women’s movement. Conventional presswomen, even those who worked on the widely excoriated

woman's pages, often were the voice of the women's movement for a mainstream audience. While alternative presses preached to the converted, mass-audience presses persuaded the everyday person of the acceptability of previously unconventional ideas. By actively presenting themselves as the harbingers of change, seeking out and reporting issues of importance to the women's movement, and creating opportunities for women's professional advancement within the journalism profession, women's press clubs like the WPCP made themselves an important resource for spreading activist ideology far and wide. Through the use of archival and oral history evidence, this dissertation shows how one of the United States' longest-lived women's press clubs, the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, challenged conventions and gave voice to the nascent women's movement, even as its members were apparently observing the dictates of the male-dominated news establishment.

Acknowledgments

The process of writing this expansive of a research project takes the mentorship and support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my committee chair Dr. Ronald J. Zboray and his research partner and wife Mary Saracino Zboray for their guidance and conversations. My other committee members, Dr. Lester Olson, Dr. Brenton Malin, and Dr. Jean Ferguson Carr, are also due many thanks for their time and input on this project. All of these senior scholars' insightful, thoughtful, and caring commentary has helped to make this project better at every step of the process, and I appreciate the opportunity I've had to develop into a media scholar under their tutelage. Every academic should be blessed with such devoted, informed mentors who are genuinely excited to help develop new work.

Second, I owe much appreciation to the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, and most particularly their longtime president Kellie Gormly. The members of the WPCP welcomed me into their sisterhood and gave me many hours of their time and support throughout the four years that I researched and wrote this dissertation.

Next, I would like to acknowledge the entire library and archives staff at the Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center. The Heinz History Center staff were unstinting with their time in helping me think about new resources within their collection, and there were a few times that I walked in and Art Louderback, chief librarian, told me that he had found another piece of ephemera that was not with the rest of the collection for one reason or another. Unless otherwise specified, all illustrations and photographs are courtesy of the Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh, PA. The library and archive has granted full permission to reprint any information gathered from its archive.

This project would not have been possible without the organizations that provided financial support throughout the years. Thank you to the American Association of University Women for believing in this project and me enough to award me an American Fellowship, which allowed me to devote my final year to this work. I would also like to acknowledge the University of Pittsburgh Women's Studies Department, which supported me with both a summer research fellowship and a full-year teaching fellowship as well.

Parts of this dissertation have been presented at various conferences, including the National Communication Association and the Association for Educators in Journalism and

Mass Communication summer gathering. Thank you to the audience members who provided questions and feedback on this work, and thank you particularly to Dr. Frank Durham, associate professor at the University of Iowa, for his insightful feedback on my poster session during the 2012 AEJMC conference. Thank you also to Sheila Gibbons from *Media Report to Women*, who pushed me to improve my research on broadcast newswomen for a research paper that was published in November 2012. That work can be found throughout the sixth chapter and epilogue of this dissertation.

Finally, many kudos are due to my family. I can't say that having twins during the first term of a Ph.D. program is a decision I would recommend for many people, but my husband, Tim, made the process doable by giving me his unflinching support even as I spent every Saturday at the archives and took numerous evenings and holidays to read, write, and edit. He also provided many hours of enthusiastic help in reading and editing painfully terrible first-draft prose when I was too tired to read another line. To my boys, Christopher and Gabriel, I hope you continue to believe that history museums are just one big playground and that researching, reading, and writing are fun because they're what mommy does for work.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
Foreword	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	
“Twas Simply Great”: The WPCP Flows Into the Women’s Movement	1
Chapter 2:	
Stunt Girls and Scribbling Women: 1891 to the turn of the Twentieth Century.....	43
Chapter 3:	
Sob Sisters Recreate the Public Sphere: The Turn of the Twentieth Century to 1940	93
Chapter 4:	
Those Who Dare and Do in the Women’s Press Club: WWII and the 1950s	139
Chapter 5:	
The Survivors and the Beneficiaries: the 1960s and 1970s	182
Chapter 6:	
Survival of the Fittest: 1980-the Present Day	237
Chapter 7:	
Epilogue: Some Reflections on Spaces for Women Journalists and Equality	291
Appendix A:	
Deed of Gift	303
Appendix B:	
Figures	305
Bibliography	317

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Photograph of Cara Reese	306
Figure 1.2: Women’s Press Club Cartoon	307
Figure 3.1: Cartoon from <i>The Waste Basket</i>	308
Figure 3.2: Anniversary cover of <i>The Waste Basket</i>	309
Figure 3.3: Cover of <i>Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph</i> with recall of Lt. Bernice Shine	310
Figure 3.4: Cartoon celebrating Gertrude Gordon’s birthday	311
Figure 3.5: Gertrude Kelley’s (Gordon) grave site	311
Figure 3.6: Rock Hudson being interviewed by Gertrude Gordon Scholarship hopefuls	312
Figure 4.1: Toki Schalk Johnson with a WPCP member and a Gertrude Gordon scholarship winner	313
Figure 4.2: Hazel Garland at the <i>Pittsburgh Courier</i>	314
Figure 4.3: Pohla Smith with Willie Stargell	315
Figure 4.4: Pohla Smith in the <i>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</i> office	315
Figure 5.1: Members of the WPCP after the 2012 Annual Banquet	316

Foreword

The title of this dissertation is a reference specifically to the writings of Hazel Garland, one of the club's pioneering black women journalists and the first woman managing editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*; however, the phrase "lift as we climb" has a much longer history, particularly within the American black women's community. The National Association of Colored Women adopted "lifting as we climb" as its motto to, as Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin said, represent that black women were presenting a positive image of their race to the world. See "Jim Crow Stories: National Association of Colored Women," PBS.org, 2002, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_org_nacw.html, accessed Apr. 16, 2013. In a February 18, 1898 speech before The National American Women's Suffrage Association, Mary Church Terrell, first president of the National Association of Colored Women said, "And so, *lifting as we climb*, onward and upward we go, struggling and striving, and hoping that the buds and blossoms of our desires will burst into glorious fruition ere long." See Mary Church Terrell, "The Progress of Colored Women," *Gifts of Speech*, Feb. 18, 1898, <http://gos.sbc.edu/t/terrellmary.html>, accessed Apr. 16, 2013. Hazel Garland's use of the phrase can be found in the fifth chapter.

Chapter 1: Introduction
“Twas Simply Great”
The WPCP Flows Into the Women’s Movement

“Balade of Salutation”

Friends, if when care hath dimmed your eye,
And burdened you with things of weight;
You seek some way where smiles may lie,
To loose the wearying bonds of fate,
Behold, they on your pleasure wait
Within this cover’s dainty hue;
Amusement new and up-to-date
The Women’s Press club offers you.

Here may the jaded spirit come and find diversion adequate;
A Passing Show that’s “going some”
Will hold you tho’ the hour be late
And duty on your pleasure wait;
Music and song and beauty, too,
Acts that astound and captivate,
The Women’s Press Club offers you.

Most welcome, then, are you who try
The laggard time to dissipate,
As by deft wit and fantasy
An hour to Joy you dedicate;
Here may you find in lavish state
The “Great Ones” pass in gay review—
Only the best, we beg to state,
The Women’s Press club offers you.

L’Envoi

Friends, with this hope are we elate,
That, as with smiles you pass from view,
You may exclaim, “ ‘Twas simply great!”
The Women’s Press Club “Welcomes you.”¹

1. Jean O. Potter, “She Walked within the Garden Close,” see http://archive.org/stream/catalogofcopyrigl13libr/catalogofcopyrigl13libr_djvu.txt “Balade (sic) of Salutation,” “Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh,” Alvin Theatre, Jan. 11, 1917, 7, Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh Archive (hereafter “WPCP”), MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA (hereafter “DLAHHHC”).

On 11 January 1917, Jean O. Potter welcomed guests of the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh (WPCP) to the Alvin Theatre with the above poem. The night's entertainment gathered more than \$2,000 into the club's coffers for an emergency fund that would support individual members through the financial crises caused by surviving on a woman's writing salary. Throughout its more than 120-history, the WPCP hosted members whose work caused readers and fellow club members to exclaim "Twas simply great!" The club itself welcomed hundreds of the city's—and some of the nation's—most well-known woman writers of the twentieth century, including Nelly Bly, Bessie Bramble, and Mary Roberts Rinehart. In their initial decade, the club cajoled male news editors to hire more women reporters by enrolling publisher's wives, who passed along insider information to the women and learned to write themselves from their fellow clubwomen. In 1917, the WPCP hosted a gala concert that earned enough money for an emergency fund to support members from then on through the Great Depression. The club hosted women who covered both WWI and WWII. They established a scholarship to foster young women journalists into the profession, and they continue to award that scholarship every year. But can a professional organization like the WPCP ever be considered a part of the broader women's movement? Or are these two streams of history flowing side-by-side with no confluence? This history of the WPCP attempts to answer that question and find some meeting of the waters where the WPCP's work met the on-going United States women's rights movement's activism to create a strong current of feminine professional advancement.

To explore the question of whether women's press clubs improved the lives of women journalists, I turned to the history of Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, which, while not the first women's press club ever founded, is one of the longest-running women's press clubs in the

United States. It has also maintained its single-gender status, although several members indicated to me that they would be willing to consider men as members. As will be discussed later, the women did admit an honorary male member on a lark in the 1950s, 60s, 70s, and 80s. The Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh was founded in 1891 and incorporated as a national press club in 1893. Since the 1950s, the club has overcome many possible breaking points with members voting to either integrate with the other press clubs in the area or to dissolve altogether. Explanations of what has kept these women together vary according to which woman is speaking at any one time; however, I would argue that one of the reasons the women remain together is their ability both to support contemporary members while keeping the memory of their predecessors alive. Lacking these two aspects, the club members today are uncertain why their group exists or whether it should even continue to exist.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the Press Club became a visible force for some of the city's leading women. They held lavish annual events, which were covered heavily by their own publications, and gave awards to their own members to help build the profile of women journalists. Those awards praised both women's pages journalists and women throughout the rest of the paper as well. They also brought in well-known speakers for all of their meetings and worked on giving women journalists solid educational and professional opportunities. Those opportunities ranged from standard news talks on issues of the day to lectures on more seemingly frivolous topics, like women's health and ESP, which long-time member and past-president Georgianne Williams said was actually an important issue for women at the time.² During World War II, they even became outspoken proponents of the Women's Auxiliary Corps when one of their own members, Bernice Shine, left her job in 1943 at the *Star*

2. Georgianne Williams, Aug. 5, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

Telegram to become a WAC Captain. They worked together as a group to raise money, and they regularly published notes about the Women's Auxiliary Corps in their columns and articles.

In 1956, the club launched a scholarship for the advancement of women journalism students, which the members saw as a way to allow the club to “mature.” To the club, “maturing” meant that it was helping more women journalists to complete education, which would gain them respect in the male-dominated news world, and to enter the newsroom as full-fledged journalists, not “women” journalists.³ However, even as the club was maturing, its membership began falling. As they continued to trumpet themselves as the oldest women's press club in the United States, the women found themselves being overshadowed by other press organizations. The Pittsburgh Press Club, which the women called the “men's” press club, invited the women to meet at their new home, and then to combine awards ceremonies. Finally, the organizers of the “Golden Quill” awards, which are still awarded by the Pittsburgh Press Club today, dropped all categories specifically labeled for women's pages and women writers. In defending its decision, Golden Quill Chairman Milnor Roberts wrote, “As you know, there is a very strong movement running in the Country today which seeks to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. Possibly this philosophy had something to do with the elimination of a category which seemed to restrict itself to women's activities. The newspapers, in particular, have been targets of attack by activists for feminine organizations which seek to eliminate even the separation of the sexes in the help wanted advertisements.”⁴ The Golden Quill awards categories were in flux as the Pittsburgh Press Club expanded quickly and tried to change its awards system to reflect its changing membership. In 1968, the categories focused almost exclusively on a

3. Special Meeting of the Board of Directors, William Penn Hotel, Jan. 29, 1953, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 1, Women's Press Club-Minutes 1943-1954, DLAHHC.

4. Milnor Roberts to Alice H. Seneff, Apr. 8, 1970, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 3, 1968-1982, Women's Press Club-Correspondence, DLAHHC.

gendered audience: men or women. The 1970 categories dropped the mention of gender altogether.

In some ways, this lack of a gendered audience and a gendered writer was obviously beneficial for women. If the awards were a reflection of a broader cultural shift in newsrooms, then this shift in categories meant that women were occupying jobs across the newspaper, which would enable them to compete in all of the Quill categories. Women began getting jobs in all of the news categories, from sports to economics to politics to features, so breaking down awards by gender no longer made sense. The gender designation “women” disappeared from pages and awards; however, some women journalists found themselves struggling to keep their positions and their rank at their newspapers. “When editors responded by changing women’s sections to general interest feature sections, women’s editors paid the price,” says Paxson, who lost her job as a women’s section editor not once, but twice, as newspapers moved to general interest features sections. Paxson argued that the new features section was seen as more of a “man’s” job, so many women lost their jobs to men.⁵ This loss of jobs is not mentioned in the WPC archives. Rather, the clubwomen felt “slighted” by the Golden Quill awards decision to drop the women’s designation because they saw it as preventing women from competing equally with men. Many women journalists were still working for sections of the paper that were not covered by the Golden Quill awards once the women’s awards were dropped. They were integrating slowly throughout the papers, but their numbers were still far lower than men’s in such sections as hard news and investigative reporting. This meant that men had an advantage in winning awards simply because they were represented more fairly across the awards categories.

5. Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 44.

The act of historicizing women's work is, in and of itself, a feminist act, as the voices and work of women have been written back into the canonical historical record only since the 1960s women's liberation movement. Many feminist historians argue that women's history has to be rebuilt by each new generation of women lest it be lost. Maria Grever says, "knowledge of the feminist past is generally not self-evident. It must be explained and acquired again and again."⁶ This constant necessity to acquire and reacquire knowledge of women's history means that past accomplishments are sometimes forgotten—whether by deliberate suppression or benign neglect—in favor of the ever-new women's movements goals and "her-story."⁷ As the movement evolves, new generations of women have become major parts of political parties, trade unions, and non-profit groups, but they have also sought to distance themselves from previous women's struggles, according to Luisa Passerini. Passerini argues that feminism has "at best... an episodic memory, subordinate to action and unable to survive the ephemeral organizations of the movement." Because of the transient nature of feminist organizations and feminist memory, feminism as a movement is undermining its own sustainability, Passerini says. "In the absence of a strategy for remembering..., feminism's continual obliteration of its history leads to its own fragility." By forgetting, feminism is erasing itself from history, which leads to a continual need for innovations and new foundations in each succeeding generation of women's

6. Maria Grever, "The Pantheon of Feminist Culture: Women's Movements and the Organization of Memory," *Gender & History* 9, no. 2 (August 1997): 364.

7. "Her-story" is a contemporary feminist word choice that specifically refers to feminist and women's histories. The term "history" has often referred to masculine interpretations of historical events and time periods, so "her-story" seeks to rewrite history through feminine eyes and voices. For an early use of the term, see Robin Morgan, *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Random House, 1970), xxxvi and 551; for a rejoinder, see Christina Hoff Sommers, *Who Stole Feminism?: How Women Have Betrayed Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 50. The label has been taken up by range of organizations preserving different aspects of women's past, for example, the Lesbian Herstory Archives in Brooklyn, New York, or the *Herstory* microfilm project under the auspices of the Women's History Library at the University of California at Berkeley.

organizations, according to Passerini.⁸ History creates foundations. Without a strong “her-story,” women’s movements are creating themselves to be just momentary waves in the political mainstream without long-term impact.

The WPCP’s connection with its own history has been tenuous. It was not until the club celebrated its fiftieth anniversary that members started collecting their works and deliberately writing their own history. Through this process, the club created scrapbooks and held events where the history of Pittsburgh’s women journalists was reiterated through plays and poetry, much like history in oral societies was based down through storytelling. This constant reiteration of her-story, however, started to fall apart during the 1960s, right as second-wave feminism was rushing into the tumultuous political milieu. At the same time as this reiteration and recording of history began to falter, the club itself was disintegrating. It fought for new members as women chose to join the larger, more politically involved gender-integrated journalism clubs, and it began to undermine its own continuity by turning over its own awards to the “men’s” press club and neglecting to collect and format the memorabilia that had previously formed scrapbooks for the generations of Women’s Press Club memories that could not be reiterated each year at a banquet. In 1990, twelve of the remaining members worked together to produce a book-length history of the club, which was published in time for the WPCP’s one hundredth anniversary by Ann Zurosky, the group’s longtime historian. Georgianne Williams, one of the organization’s longest-surviving members, was one of the twelve who researched the anniversary publication. She said,

We wanted it to be an account of the accomplishments of the early members of the club. We wanted to show people how difficult it was to be a woman in a certain period of time. How women really needed mentors. How they really needed people to help them along

8. Luisa Passerini, “A Memory for Women’s History: Problems of Method and Interpretation.” *Social Science History* 16, no. 4 (1992): 671-72.

and encourage them. Because public sentiment was definitely against anybody joining a club like this or working outside the home.⁹

The book itself stands as an epoch for the group. It marks the end of the organized historical archive of the press club, leaving more than twenty years of the group's work with no organized memory. Just as much of the first fifty years was only recoverable through ephemera, so the last twenty years is also scattered across ephemera gathered by individuals and contained in the memories of individual members.

The Women's Press Club survives and it is beginning to rediscover its own history. At an annual banquet during the first decade of the new millennium, the winner of the club's first scholarship arrived and recounted what it was like to win that first award in 1956. More recently, the club held a 2010 lunch meeting to look through the old scrapbooks, which are currently held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's Heinz History Center. The women did not know these scrapbooks existed, and as my way of saying "thank you" to these women who had given much of their time and knowledge to assist me, I introduced the group to the scrapbooks and my own findings from many months of reading the club's archives. After this meeting, many of the women expressed their amazement at the richness of their club's history, and they also exchanged ideas about a possible exhibit that would focus just on the history of their club.

Working women advocating for their own rights were central to the overall women's rights movement goal of giving women more freedom and options in both their personal and public lives. Second-wave feminists¹⁰, like the women who had come before them, "focused on

9. Georgianne Williams, personal interview.

10. Scholars have generally grouped the women's movement into three phases. The time periods are amorphous, but the first wave generally encompasses the women's suffrage movement from the late nineteenth century until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The second wave refers to the Women's Liberation Movement, which spanned the 1960s and 70s, but was most evident from 1968-1975. The third wave is perhaps the most amorphous of the three

altering both the public and private spheres,” meaning that women were trying to alter all parts of their public sphere roles, from their marriages to their working relationships.¹¹ If we accept that professional working relationships were a primary aim for second-wave feminists, then it would make sense that an organization like the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh could be seen as feminist even though its members never took an outright activist stance in their work or their relationships with their male co-workers. Second-wave women journalists attacked professional inequity in two ways: first, they were proactive about overturning the norm of a “male standard of comparison,” that is often the primary viewpoint of news pages even today.¹² Second, they attacked standards that kept them and other women in either substandard or segregated positions within the newsroom, preventing them from advancing beyond a certain prescribed set of “women’s” roles.

While many histories of women in journalism have discussed what women overcame to succeed in male-dominated newsrooms,¹³ very few have addressed how women journalists fit

since it’s our contemporary wave; historians vary on whether it begins in the 1980s or 1990s, with most seeming to agree that the 1990s are the most logical time period for them.

11. Wendy Atkins-Sayre, “Naming Women: The Emergence of ‘Ms.’ as a Libertiary Title,” *Women and Language* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 8.

12. Carrie Crenshaw, “The Normality of Man and Female Otherness: (Re)producing Patriarchal Lines of Argument in the Law and the News,” *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 32, no. 4 (1996): 173.

13. For information on women editors in the nineteenth century, see *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910*, ed. Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004). This canonical work of women journalist uncovers the names of many of the women who published in nineteenth-century periodicals but were not recognized because they worked behind the scenes or they took on a man’s name to be respected in this “man’s” world. Deborah Chambers, Linda Steiner and Carol Fleming’s book *Women and Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2004) compares the history of women journalists in the United States with those women who succeeded in Great Britain’s newspaper publishing industry. Marion Marzolf’s *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), covers women who succeeded in the early days of all mediums, including radio and television, and it also discusses the feminist press movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and women who have taught journalists. For a more in-depth

within the women's movement.¹⁴ Even fewer histories have addressed the role of women's press clubs in advancing women in newsrooms, much less within any women's movement, from the suffragists to the second wave. There are also many histories¹⁵ of Washington newswomen and

discussion of the feminist press movement, including a discussion of the lesbian press and alternative publications, including flyers, and informational pamphlets, Kathryn Thoms Flannery's *Feminist Literacies: 1968-1975* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010) provides the most comprehensive account I have read. Finally, for further insight into Black women in the newsroom, two volumes were illuminating for this study: Jacqueline Jones Royster's *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000) and Rodger Streitmatter's *Raising Her Voice: African American Women Journalists Who Changed History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994).

14. It should be noted that many women's studies scholars reject the notion that the women's movement has happened in three separate waves. They argue that even during the times when the women's movement was not visibly active, it was still present. For more on this argument, see Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin, 2006) provides a chronology of the women's movement from 1848 to 2006, which visually reinforces Rosen's idea that while "waves" might be a useful term, it does not accurately represent the women's movement. Others, like Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1987), and Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place 1630-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), see the rise of the women's movement as a long series of incremental steps that stretches back centuries, not just decades. Because the vernacular of "second wave" designates a certain period of activity within the women's rights movement, and it's a well-known touchstone for both women's studies and non-women's studies scholars, I will use it to designate the activities of the women's movement from approximately 1960 to 1975.

15. While there haven't been many book-length histories of women's press clubs, there are some resources available to journalism scholars. Most recently, Marine H. Beasley released *Women of the Washington Press: Politics, Prejudice, and Persistence* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2012). In addition, the Washington Press Club Foundation supports an award-winning oral history project on women in journalism that features more than 60 interviews in its archives. These interviews are deposited in a number of libraries across the United States, including Columbia University's Oral History Research Office, the National Press Club Library in Washington, D.C., and California State University at Sacramento's library archives. Other universities have either all or parts of the transcripts, and a handful of the interviews are available online from www.wpcf.org. *Memories of Jane Cunningham Croly, "Jenny June"* (New York: Women's Press Club of New York City, 1904) details the launch of the Women's Press Club of New York City. There are mentions of press clubs in other collections, such as ch. 5, "Down from the Balcony," in the edited volume *Reliable Sources: The National Press Club in the American Century* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1997). In humorous projects,

some of the profession's well-known women, such as Ida Tarbell, Nellie Bly, and Bessie Bramble (all of whom started their careers in Pennsylvania). However, there are no sustained histories linking a non-Washington D.C.-based woman's press organization to the work of the women's movement.¹⁶ This leaves several gaps in the history of women journalists for historians to fill: How did women's press clubs, whose members were steeped in the dual beliefs in women's rights and the importance of journalistic objectivity, fit into the women's movement? Can they be placed within the lineage of the women's movement? Were women journalists outsiders within both within journalism history and women's movement history? How did African American women use their status as outsiders within academia and the women's movement to create a position of strength where they could garner a sense of objectivity about the movements to which they both belonged and did not belong, and the ability to see patterns that were not apparent to those in power positions?¹⁷ How does the activity of a professional

the Women's National Press Club released its own cookbook in 1955 entitled *Women's National Press Club: Who Says We Can't Cook!* (Washington D.C.: Mciver Art and Publications, Inc., 1955).

16. For historians, reading about women journalists and the women's movement often means scouring sources for meaningful connections. Some oral histories, such as my interview with Woodene Merriman, refer to the connections on an individual level. I also found several sources useful for connecting literary production and mass media to women's activism. These sources included Jan Whitt *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Marion Marzolf *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977); Alice Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Sherilyn Cox Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990); and Marine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington D.C.: The American University Press, 1993). While many of these sources refer to a suffrage press, Kathryn Thoms Flannery's *Feminist Literacies, 1968-1975* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005) offers a sustained exploration of how the women's movement used print sources, both mainstream and underground, to educate followers and the broader public.

17. For more on the "outsider within" argument, see Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Social Significance of Black Thought," *Social Problems* 33, no. 6 (Oct-Dec. 1986): S14-S32.

organization like a press club fit within the range of activist activities that the women's movement embraced, which included both traditional protest work and newer work, such as consciousness raising, education, and publication? For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use Craig Calhoun's definition of social movement "as including all attempts to influence patterns of culture, social action, and relationships in ways that depend on the participation of large numbers of people in concerned and self-organized (as distinct from state-directed or institutionally mandated) collective action."¹⁸ While this definition is problematic in that it could include any organization that includes people working toward a common goal to influence culture, it's also useful for that same broad-based desire for inclusion. This definition would mean that a professional organization's work could still be considered within the oeuvre of social movement activism if its goals were independently developed and collectively executed in a way that influenced "culture, social action and relationships." Women's press clubs were initiated to alter the culture of mass media, both with in the production of mediated products and in the audience reception of stories by and about women, and change the relationship between newswomen and newsmen from a space of inferiority to one of equality.

I will argue that even though the Press Club was primarily a professional organization, it was an important part of the sustained women's rights movement because its work, and the work of other women's press clubs across the United States, made it possible for women to become a major force within newsrooms today. In the introduction to her book *Feminists Who Changed America: 1963-1975*, Barbara Love writes, "In all cases, feminists active on the local level were hard to find. Yet we all know the enormous role that grass-roots organizers played in

18. Craig Calhoun, "New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Social Science History* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 388.

women's history."¹⁹ While they cannot be considered grassroots organizers in the same sense that the 1960's underground used the term, the women in the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh were just a few of the local women across America whose names deserve to be remembered as those who made a change in the course of women's history. The members of the Women's Press Club were just one part of the tide of the women's movement that inexorably moved the future toward greater acceptance of women across all industries. Here, what Jean Potter called, in her 1917 verses above, the "jaded spirit" of the female journalist was welcomed, and together the group produced works that both "astound[ed] and captivate[d]" their reading audiences and changed public sentiment about women writers, bringing a current of gendered change through American newsrooms.

Primary Sources and Literature Review

To situate the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh as one part of the massive tidal wave of women working to create change across the United States, I draw on several areas of study. First, I use two key primary sources: archives and oral histories. Next, I summon sources on the history of the women's club movement and the few histories that focus specifically on women's press clubs to help situate the WPCP. Third, I consult histories of the women's movement, to help contextualize the work that the local women were doing within the larger story of what women were doing throughout the United States. Fourth, I use sources that survey the history of women in journalism to place the women's press club within the longer trajectory of women making inroads into newsrooms. Finally, I call upon statistical sources about the journalism industry today to gather information on salaries, gender ratios within the newsroom, and gender

19. Barbara Love, *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), xii.

ratios in journalism schools to answer the question of whether or not the women's work was successful.

My argument rests upon Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh archives, which are held at the Senator John Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh, PA. These archives span one hundred years of the club's history, from 1893 to 1993. While there is a small deposit of materials after 1993, it is primarily composed of flyers for speakers and ancillary materials, and there is no particular organization or logic to the collection. Therefore, I did not use the post-1993 materials because it has not added to the oral history interviews conducted with members, nor does it offer any original insight into the club's activities during this period. The archives also include clipbooks from 1891 through the 1970s, each arranged by decade, and these clipbooks hold pictures, announcements, copies of the women's annual awards ceremony programs and the Press Club's mock newspaper, *The Wastebasket*, and some correspondence. The bulk of the archive is financial records, meeting minutes, and correspondence. The archive itself varies in comprehensiveness based on the involvement of club members and the diligence of the secretary during any particular year. For example, the archive contains several membership applications, which makes it possible for historians to trace a particular member's history within the club, if the secretary for that member's particular year kept that year's applications. Depending on the recording secretary for any particular year, a member's application could include a resume, a declaration of why a woman wanted to join the club, her sponsors. In the case of Toki Schalk Johnson, the club's first African American member, her actual application was lost, but the secretary did manage to save a hand-written autobiography that Johnson had written in response to the club's request for qualifications. However, not all of the applications have been retained, and there are some notable applications missing, like Johnson's. It is unclear why some

applications were kept and others were thrown away. The decisions were made by the current secretary, and her whim meant that the application was either kept or lost. Although Johnson applied to the club in 1949, she was not admitted until 1963. During this time, the Press Club changed its by-laws to dismiss the so-called “blackball” rule, which allowed three women to reject any membership application, even if the majority of club members voted in favor of a new member. Johnson’s application was blackballed in 1949, with six women voting against her application. The club minutes indicate that there was a fight about Johnson’s rejection, and that there was an ensuing heated debate about the club by-laws. However, the minutes do not record the content of that debate, so I can only conjecture, based on subsequent changes in the by-laws, that the members were debating the blackballing rule.²⁰ Johnson’s story is recorded in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

As previously mentioned, the Women’s Press Club also wrote its own 100-year retrospective in 1991. This book, which is primarily a recitation of the names of women who were important to the club’s history and their accomplishments, records the history in hopes that future club members and women’s activists will remember the foundational work provided by early Women’s Press Club members. This book was only printed in a limited run and is only available at a few Pittsburgh local libraries, including the Heinz History Center and the Carnegie Library System, or through one of the club members. It is useful for my dissertation because it is one version of how the Women’s Press Club told its own history. This helps me to access time periods for which I have no other information to inform my own development of the women’s

20. Business meeting minutes, Apr. 18, 1949, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 1, Women’s Press Club-Minutes, DLAHHC. None of my interviewees remember this debate, and since the archives do not record the actual debate, the actual content of the debate can only be inferred from the bylaw changes. The records do note that members were arguing about the bylaws and potential changes to those bylaws, and the matter was then remanded to a committee, which was tasked with changing the bylaws to fit current member viewpoints.

work. Zurosky and the other members who worked on the book recorded some personal reflections and incidental conversations with women who have already passed, so the book fills some holes in the record. For example, it briefly discusses why the club itself did not involve itself in the suffrage debate, even as individual members were enthusiastically advocating the cause.

The archive contains a wide range of information in its four boxes and additional shelved material that is catalogued under box four but not physically contained in it. I will concentrate my comments on the contents of boxes 1, 3 and 4, with the most focus on boxes three and four. Box three contains meeting minutes, and these gave me much insight into the workings of Women's Press Club, how the women interacted with one another, and what issues they may have deemed important. Some years, the recording secretary noted not just the contents of any particularly meeting, but also personal details, such as who may have tripped in front of the annual speaker after having a few too many drinks or how the women responded to a meeting speaker. Other secretaries took either no notes or cursory notes, just detailing the main meeting agenda with no personal details. As a researcher, I often found the secretaries who used a personal voice and approached their meeting minutes as a story of the clubs' work most useful. These women gave me the best impression of how the club members viewed their interactions with the rest of the Pittsburgh news environment, and they also gave me some personal insights into why, for example, the club chose to start the Gertrude Gordon Scholarship and the troubles that stemmed from that decision. They also showed some behind-the-scenes reasoning for the club's choices of speakers and its relationship with the so-called "men's" press club, i.e., the now-defunct Pittsburgh Press Club. All of this personal commentary from the women will assist me in making the case that the members of this professional organization often considered

themselves feminists. Of the women I have interviewed, all of whom were members during the 1960s and 1970s, said that they would have considered the club feminist at that time. However, not one member said that today's club could be considered feminist. It is unclear why this contrast exists, although the older members noted that today's club does not do nearly as much for women as it did during the 1960s and 70s, and younger members had a variety of reasons for not claiming this title, including saying that they are not "man haters," which is a common misconception of feminists, and that they are not activists. Current President Kellie Gormly noted, though, that if feminist means that the club supports women, she thinks the club could be considered feminist by some people.²¹

I primarily used box four's ancillary materials, which have been shelved next to the box but still catalogued as part of box four. These resources include the clubs' scrapbooks. The scrapbooks, which are roughly organized by decade, detail news coverage of the women's activities. That coverage includes whimsical memories, such as news photos of scholarship contestants interviewing movie star Rock Hudson and press club members showing off their hand-addressed invitations to their annual awards dinner. The scrapbooks also feature notices of club meetings, interviews with members and their guests, and member obituaries, which are rich with information about the women's activist work and their involvement in the press club. The scrapbooks also contain a few rare copies of the women's mock newspaper, *The Wastebasket*, which features mock articles on the women's jobs and their bosses, plus bogus write-ups of some of the big stories of the day. This is, occasionally, difficult to identify because it was published by their colleagues at the *Sun Telegram*, under the banner of the *Sun-Telegram* rather than under

21. Kellie Gormly, July 13, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

the name *The Wastebasket*. There are also several retellings of the clubs' history, which were published in various local newspapers.

To supplement the archives, I have also conducted a series of oral history interviews with both current members of the club, many of whom were not familiar with their club's history, and with as many women who belonged to the club in the 50s, 60s and 70s, as I could find. To find these women, I first contacted the existing club members and asked them to get me in contact with other members. When this so-called "snowball"²² technique ran into a dead end, I would turn to older copies of the club's annual address books. Many of the women I tried to contact, though, were either dead or had moved. I asked each woman different questions based on the length of her membership in the club, but my primary questions focused on their involvement with club activities, their feelings about feminism and/or their involvement in the second-wave feminist movement, and how they have seen the club acting to advance the cause of women in the journalism profession. The interviews ran from approximately one hour to three hours depending on the amount of information each woman was willing to share and their time constraints based on their job and family commitments.

I chose to use oral history because I wanted to upend the "subject" position and allow the women of the Press Club to become knowledge creators in their own right. They were sharing their story with me, and at the same time, I was often sharing my archival research with them to help them remember incidents. While I know that one of the problems with oral history is that narrators often have episodic or incorrect memories, my archival research and the Press

22. "Snowball" refers to a common technique that human-subject researchers use to find sources. The researcher will start with one person, and then ask that one person to refer him or her to other sources. This process will continue until the information being given in interviews is redundant or a critical mass of people has been reached. Renita Coleman, "Oral and Life Histories: Giving Voice to the Voiceless," *Qualitative Research in Journalism: Taking it to the Streets*, ed. Sharon Hartin Iorio (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), 92.

Club's book were both invaluable sources for helping me to understand what information would stand historical scrutiny and which information was based on the author's perception of events. In this way, the narrators included in my research and I became "shared authorities," in the terminology of Valerie Raleigh Yow.²³ My narrators, particularly the women over the age of 60 who had many more memories of the club and its history, often noted that many of the issues we were discussing were things that they had not discussed in years. At least two of the women started out hesitantly discussing the racism that surrounded the nomination of Johnson to the Press Club, but as we spoke, both began to remember things surrounding the event and the person of Johnson that revealed the ways that society constrained the Press Club's membership just as much as the Press Club's votes constrained membership. In this way, these women and I were entering into a form of scholarship that has been well recognized for its special importance to women. While some women rose as public figures in history, "the majority of women did not lead public lives."²⁴ Oral history gives those women who were not recorded in official records a voice and it brings the private lives of women into the public sphere. Oral history is a tradition brought from Africa that affirms "we are part of the tradition in which the life and experiences of 'everywoman/man' was considered worthy of remember and passing on to others—because it was history."²⁵ Storytelling is history, and oral history allows women to tell their own stories.

While oral history interviews are subjective, inescapably so, their strength, Yow argues, is that they allow us to fill in holes in the official records and reveal how people's habitual thinking affects their behavior and actions. "In the recounting of events," she says, "the

23. Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History, Second Edition: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, (New York: AltaMira Press, 2005), 2.

24. Sherna Berger Gluck, "What's so Special about Women? Women's Oral History," in *The Frontiers Reader: Women's Oral History*," ed. by Susan H. Armitage (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 3-4.

25. Ibid.

deeper layers of our thinking may be revealed, indicating the centuries-long development of the culture in which we have our beings.”²⁶ This use of oral history is particularly effective for working with second-wave feminists. As Julie Stephens argues, many of the contemporary recountings of second-wave feminism are simply “tally sheets” that erase the actual roles of individual women in the creation of history. Oral history allows the emotional involvement of second wavers to become part of the record.

Different forms of subjectivity emerge in oral narratives to those expressed in feminist memoir and autobiography. While the written record tends to skirt around the emotional dimensions of feminist activism, oral accounts frequently focus on feelings and emotions and provide a significant alternative, affective history of the women’s movement. Interpretive frameworks from oral history and memory also highlight some of the ways these oral narratives resist dominant representational frameworks and do not follow accepted cultural scripts. This is particularly evident when these interviews depart from culturally prevailing assumptions about work-centered feminism. The interviews can be interpreted as unearthing a forgotten maternalist ethos in early feminist activism and questioning popular representations that naturalize an opposition between feminism and motherhood.²⁷

Most of the second-wave press club members that I interviewed mentioned integrating motherhood and work and how the club had been a major part of their family. The archives show the women celebrating engagements, weddings and births together.

I tried to gather a wide range of narrators’ experiences in my oral history interviews; this meant that I interviewed women who had been highly involved in the leadership of the club

26. Ibid., 23.

27. Julie Stephens, “Our Remembered Selves: Oral History and Feminist Memory,” *Oral History* 38.1 (Spring 2010), 81-90. The use of oral history to recover historical experiences of women is longstanding: see, for example, Susan H. Armitage, with Patricia Hart and Karen Weathermon, eds., *Women’s Oral History: The Frontiers Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds., *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991). Oral history also figures into the only analogous work to my own, Donald Ritchie’s chapter, “Off the Women’s Page,” in his *Reporting from Washington: The History of the Washington Press Corps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 159-82. He relied, however, on oral histories previously collected by others; I will be conducting my own in interaction with archival sources that allow for a more dialogic and dynamic interviews.

and those who had just joined for more professional connections and had not considered themselves central to the running of the club. One of the things I heard over and over from women was “but I was never a President”; however, these same women often had a wealth of memories that helped me to understand the relationships of the women to one another or the relationship of the group to the larger journalistic community. This statement about place within the club may speak to the club’s own systems of power and privilege and reveal the women’s own belief that those in power position are the only ones who have the power to speak on behalf of the group itself. However, all of the women were journalists and created the ethos of the club at the time they participated.

This problem of who is empowered to speak and who is not also reflects on the silences from the women themselves. While the women were vocal about many issues throughout their history, there were several spaces where the group’s records and the oral history narrators were notably silent. The club’s records and the group’s book about itself briefly mention suffrage, which I discuss in chapter two, and celebrate the club’s few black members, who are mentioned at length in chapter four; however, there are not sustained reflections on why the women did not speak broadly about suffrage and the Women’s Liberation Movement, race and the Civil Rights Movement, and the class privilege that marked many of the women’s backgrounds. Silence is a powerful way that oppressions are supported and proliferated by people who may not even realize that they are complicit in the subjugation of themselves or others. Stephanie M. Wildman and Adrienne Davis write that silence itself can have many uses but can also be a way to continue hegemonic control:

Silence is the lack of sound or voice. Silence may result from appreciation of quiet or may signify the operation of intense mental processes. Silence may also arise from oppression or fear. Whatever the reason for silence, *its presence means the absence of verbal criticism*. What we do not say, what we do not talk about, maintains the status quo.

But to describe or to talk about these unspoken systems means we need to use language. But even when we talk about privilege, the language that we use inhibits our ability to perceive the systems of privilege that maintain the status quo.²⁸

With the knowledge that even addressing the silences in this group's records is itself problematic because "language contributes to the invisibility and regeneration of privilege,"²⁹ I would still like to point out a few of the more notable silences that made analyzing patriarchal systems of privilege difficult for me as an author. First, while I have treated racial issues extensively within the fourth chapter of this dissertation, the lack of an archive of reflections from the groups' leading black women, Toki Schalk Johnson and Hazel Garland, meant that, in some ways, I am speaking for them through the scrim of both my own whiteness and the whiteness of those members who remembered Johnson and Garland. I have tried to mitigate this replication of historic white dominance by reading the women's own work and using their printed writing. I still have used the remembrance of their fellow club members to access their own reflections on the meaning and difficulties of integrating a historically white, upper-middle class group, though.

This commentary about class is the next silence that is important to the group's history. While today's newswomen may not consider themselves a part of an elite class and journalists traditionally are considered a blue-color, working class group, the group itself was organized by women who had to have some privilege to access the education necessary to mingle with their powerful interview subjects and access the expensive education that was often denied to women of the time. The women themselves even called the group "elite" at times in their archive, as will

28. Stephanie M. Wildman and Adrienne D. Davis, "Language and Silence: Making Systems of Privilege Visible," *Santa Clara Law: Santa Clara Law Digital Commons*, Jan. 1, 1994, http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1456&context=facpubs&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.com%2Fscholar%3Fhl%3Den%26as_sdt%3D0%2C39%26q%3Dsilence%2Band%2Bprivilege#search=%22silence%20privilege%22, accessed April 16, 2013.

29. Ibid.

be highlighted in some of the chapters of this dissertation. The women also fought to hold their annual banquet at the prestigious Duquesne Club in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. The Duquesne Club was an elite men's-only club catering the upper-crust of Pittsburgh society; by holding their banquet at the club, the group acquiesced to entering the building through the back "women's-only" entrance and forced the black women in their group to fight racial discrimination in yet another area of society. Yet the association with the Duquesne Club enforced the women's own association with upper-class society and mores, which was important for their reporting on society issues, but also meant that they were divorced further in some ways from the concerns of lower, working-class people.

Finally, the club's many sources of information are fully silent on issues of sexuality, meaning that I have few ways of reflecting on the issues of the LGBTQ community within the elite, seemingly heteronormative group. While I do discuss the concerns of childcare and the necessity of having a supportive spouse for many of the women in the club, this discussion ignores the many single women in the club's past whose singleness was enforced for many reasons, some of which are not mentioned because they may have to do with sexuality, which, again, is not discussed in the archives or by the women themselves. Kellie Gormly, club president, mentioned to me in passing that she thinks sexuality seems irrelevant to the group's past unless the women themselves spoke of their orientation and its impact on the group; I think this silence is relevant since the group itself is deliberately a homosocial group for political and business reasons. Many of the women described the group as a sorority or sisterhood, and many women even mentioned the necessity of staying single both historically and even today because the demands of a Western heteronormative marriage and child-rearing norms that traditionally fall most heavily upon women would impede their own career advancement. This would be an

interesting silence to probe through the use of the women's published writings at some point in the future, although that conversation is, admittedly, too complex for this historical overview of the club and the women's movement as a whole.

Oral history interviewing was my attempt to fill as many of these silences as I could, and I tried to use a group of women with a variety of involvement in the organization and women's journalism history in the Pittsburgh area. One of the oral histories was with Rosemarie Weaver, who won the first Gertrude Gordon scholarship from the Women's Press Club in 1950s. Weaver was a public relations professional who chose to give up her professional career to raise her four children. Other interviews included Woodene Merriman, who joined in the early to mid-60s when she returned to journalism after a thirteen-year hiatus to raise her four children, and Dr. Nancy C. Jones, the first woman journalism professor at Penn State University. Jones was a member of the club for four years in the 1950s and then rejoined again in the late 60s after completing a Master's Degree at Northwest University. Merriman created the women's page for the *McKeesport Daily News* in the early 1960s before taking over as food editor for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, where she eventually became managing editor in the 1980s. Jones, Merriman and Weaver were joined by: Georgianne Williams, who became a member of the club in the late 60s and was instrumental in organizing club activities through the 1980s and 90s; Helen Fallon, professor of journalism at Point Park University and press club member since the mid-1980s; and Kellie Gormly, who is a relative newcomer with only seven years in the press club. However, she is the current press club president and has held that position for six years.³⁰ Williams was a public relations professional, and she still works as a volunteer organizer for St. Clair Hospital in Pittsburgh. In addition to her work as a professor at Point Park, Fallon also

30. I gathered my interviews over a period of two years. During that time, I also attended club meetings and events. I still attend club events when possible.

works part time as a copy desk editor for the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*. Gormly, who used to work the night shift for the Associated Press, currently writes features for the *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*. Finally, I interviewed Marylynne Pitz, who joined the club in the early 1990s to help a friend. Pitz has thirty years of journalism experience and is a features writer for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.

All of the women with whom I spoke signed full copyright of their story over to me in accordance with standard oral history practice.³¹ While none requested anonymity, I was careful to inform them that they had the right to review what they said and change it if they felt it was inaccurate in any way. While oral histories can be required to undergo Institutional Review Board oversight, which is one of the protections that universities employ to ensure that human subjects of institutional research and treated ethically, there are several issues with requiring oral history adherence to IRB standards, according to Yow. First, oral historians conduct in-depth, face-to-face interviews and would, therefore, be unable to adhere to standards of anonymity. Personal knowledge of oral history subjects is inevitable. Second, the Oral History Association, the American Historical Association, and the United States' Office for Human Research Protection all recognize that "oral historians' research methods do not fit the type of research covered by federal regulations."³² The type of research covered by Internal Review Board often includes scientific and psychological studies that are quantitative and involve human subjects in testing or surveys. My questions instead have been open-ended, allowing the narrators ample room to tell their unique stories. The focus is on the unique character and nature of past events. The University of Pittsburgh has granted the Department of Communication an exclusion from IRB oversight for oral history research done under the supervision of Dr. Ronald Zboray,

31. Ibid., 122-123.

32. Ibid., 129.

Professor of Communication and Affiliate Faculty in Cultural Studies and Women's Studies, who is the chair of this dissertation committee.³³

Several archives, including Proquest's National Newspapers online database and Google News Archives, have full text copies of historical newspapers. While many of the papers are not archived and it is problematic finding women's work since bylines using a person's real name rather than a *nom de plume* were not standardized until the second or third decade of the twentieth century, I did find many women's work through data searches. Many of the newspapers that the women worked for, including the *Pittsburgh Sun*, the *Pittsburgh Leader*, the *Pittsburgh Press*, are held on microfiche at various libraries in the Pittsburgh area. However, that format is difficult to search, particularly for women who were unbylined or used pen names. Therefore, it was more time-efficient to use online databases because keyword searches on the women's names and pen names would find articles on particular topics and by specific women writers much more quickly and effectively than scanning microfilms. The articles that I found revealed the women's activism and their own reflections on issues ranging from suffrage to civil rights. The Women's Press Club archives and the collections of the club's surviving members filled in holes with scattered articles that were not archived in a full newspaper database. In fact, the women's published writing about themselves comprises a good portion of the Women's Press Club archive. The women's published work was the most useful in piecing together the story of the club's African American members, as there is little information surviving about these women. Some members were able to recollect vague memories of these women; however, I was not able to find any family members or co-workers who were willing to be interviewed. *The*

33. On the exclusion of oral history research from human subjects protection review, see Christopher M. Ryan, Vice Chair of the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board, e-mail to Ronald J. Zboray, Director of Graduate Studies in Communication, March 5, 2004, on file in the Department of Communication, University of Pittsburgh.

New Pittsburgh Courier and its predecessor, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, are archived in full through the Proquest National Newspaper database, which means that the women's work is searchable and accessible.

This primary source research is supplemented with secondary works on women's press clubs and the club movement in general, information on women in Western journalism, and women's organizing movements. Perhaps most notable among these sources is Elizabeth V. Burt's *Women's Press Organizations, 1881-1999*, which is the only book-length exploration of women's press clubs I found in my research. Her book contains essays on press clubs from cities throughout the United States, including New York City, which had the first press club. However, there is no essay on the Pittsburgh Women's Press Club in Burt's work.³⁴

Jan Whitt's alternative exploration of women journalists, *Women in American Journalism: A New History*, was particularly formative for my thinking. In her book, she argues that news has primarily been seen as a "masculine" profession, with an emphasis on politics. Whitt argues that the news profession has primarily been studied through the lens of male producers; she, however, argues for expanding a definition of women journalists "to include women who contributed to women's pages; have identified themselves as, or are identified as, literary journalists; left journalism to gain reputations in writing fiction; and championed the feminist press and alternative media. The women of the lesbian press must also be included."³⁵

34. Elizabeth V. Burt, *Women's Press Organizations, 1881-1999* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000).

35. Whitt, *Women in American Journalism*, 3. Literary journalism is an established discipline that has been growing in popularity recently. *Literary Journalism Studies*, which was established in 2009, began with an essay noting the marginalization of literary journalism within the academy. Norman Sims wrote, "Traditionally, English and American scholarship rarely included literary journalism. It didn't matter how carefully structured, how complex the characters, how realistic or revelatory of human truths, literary journalism was an invisible arrangement of stars" (8). Sim goes on to write an apologetic for literary journalism and outline

In other words, “all women who have made use of journalistic techniques,” should be studied as journalists, Whitt argues.³⁶

Whitt’s studies of women journalists finds women at all levels of the news business, as press owners, publishers, editors, and writers. This argument clarifies my point that while women’s press clubs have historically been tied to “professional” standards—i.e., members had to be paid by a news organization—a broader view of the term “journalist” allows women’s press clubs and feminist press organizations to break down the wall between “analytical,” or professional, and “activist,” or non-professional, journalists. Her book, which serves as a substantive work in the recovery of women journalist’s public memory, also shows how women journalists have served as opinion leaders in several areas of society. While scholars who have theorized publics, including John Dewey, Harold Lasswell, and Walter Lippmann, disagree on how public opinion is formed and shepherded, they do agree that social networks and media networks are instrumental in changing public perception. Some women’s historians, like Glenna Matthews, note that while women have struggled to gain influence in the public sphere, they have always found ways to insert themselves into the public conversation.³⁷ My dissertation, like

some of the more salient academic frames for its study, both in the U.S. and internationally. He argues, “In the United States we finally understand that literary journalism has a long history. Moreover, it now has a foundation in scholarly studies because of the efforts of many dedicated scholars over the last couple decades” (10). Indeed, the field itself has been given its own gravitas through the publication of books studying the ethical boundaries of literary journalism and its epistemological and artistic traditions. For more information on literary journalism’s academic tradition in the United States, see Norman Sims, “The Problem and the Promise of Literary Journalism Studies,” *Literary Journalism Studies* 1.1 (2009): 7-16; John C. Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Norman Sims, *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2008); and Robert Boynton, *The New New Journalism: Conversations With America’s Best Nonfiction Writers on Their Craft* (New York: Vintage, 2005).

36. Ibid.

37. Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman’s Power and Woman’s Place in the United States, 1630-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Whitt's book, will demonstrate how social networks, like those formed by a women's press club, can work to change the status of women in the newsroom or in broader society.

To supplement these explorations of women's work in the public sphere, I have turned directly to the recordings of women journalists. Jane Cunningham Croly (a.k.a., Jennie June Croly), who is most well-known as the founder of Sorosis, the group that started the nineteenth century's women's club movement, wrote an extensive examination of the women's club movement and its uses in expanding the women's sphere of influence and women's work. This 1898 book, *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America*, is Croly's most well-known work and detailed the nineteenth century woman's search for education and public work. Ishbel Ross's 1936 book *Ladies of the Press* has been a foundational book for many historians interested in the lives of newswomen. This chronicle of women writer's influence gives an insider's look into the many characters who populated newsrooms up to the 1930s, from stunt girl journalists to sob sisters to war reporters and front-page girls.

My next body of secondary sources deals specifically with the women's movement. While it is several decades old, Nancy F. Cott's *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* provides a strong framework for defining the difference between feminists and the women's movement and the intersections between the two. It also give insights into ways that second wave of feminism influenced the women of the 70s and 80s who directly benefited from the activism of the 1960s and early 70s.³⁸ Cott's insights into historical feminism and the women's movement is supplemented by Matthews' work, which provides a historical overview of women entering the public sphere and finding ways to speak on public issues. This book is particularly salient to my

38. Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).

topic because woman journalists needed to build authority to speak to a public, and Matthews discusses how women built that authority in several spheres.

A second group of women's studies texts look specifically at the 1940s, 50s, 60s and 70s and why that period was epochal for women. This group of resources includes Flora Davis's narrative of the resurgence of liberal feminism, *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America since 1960*. This source is particularly trenchant because it features many women who were important in terms of their impact on the status of women in the United States but whose names remained largely forgotten before Davis' work. *Moving the Mountain* gives me strong frameworks for figuring out how to place grassroots and local organizations within the broader women's movement.³⁹

The third group of women's studies texts examines the women's movement through the voices of the women who worked in it. These books range from biographies to a study of the letters and writings of second-wavers. Barbara Love's *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975* features 2,220 biographies of women who worked in the women's movement.⁴⁰ *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*, by Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall and Linda Gordon takes a different approach to discovering women's voices. For their book, Baxandall and Gordon searched archives across the United States for letters, diaries, and other writings from women who were at the front lines of women's liberation in the late sixties and

39. Flora Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America since 1960* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).

40. Barbara Love, *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

early seventies.⁴¹ They then used those writings to weave together a personal narrative of the women who were the movement.

Finally, I will bring in several studies on the state of journalism today, particularly contemporary women in journalism, through interviews with members of the Women's Press Club, an analysis of the numbers of women graduating from university programs and staying in the journalism field, and an examination of the rise of women TV news anchors to point toward some possibilities for women's press clubs to continue their work, if they are to survive. This group of sources will help me to analyze whether the women's press club is even still necessary in American society. If it is, what possibilities, if any, does it hold for women's movement leaders today? What can club leaders do to make their organization relevant to today's women journalists?

Edge of Change: Women in the Twenty-First Century Press, edited by June O.

Nicholson, Pamela J. Creedon, Wanda S. Lloyd and Pamela J. Johnson, compiles the voices of women from across the spectrum of journalists, from photographers to editors to international correspondents. The essays in this volume first identify the problems that are still facing women journalists, which include different news agendas than men, less knowledge about politics than men,⁴² and a lack of the same social networks that help men advance.⁴³ In addition, Nicholson, et al. note that many women have little or no mentoring and feel their judgments are not valued by

41. Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

42. June O. Nicholson, Pamela J. Creedon, Wanda S. Lloyd, and Pamela J. Johnson (eds.), *The Edge of Change: Women in the Twenty First Century Press* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 7.

43. *Ibid.*, 17.

newspaper management.⁴⁴ Finally, the authors also observe that family matters are more pressing for women and several women have to choose between their career and their family.⁴⁵

These observations were mentioned by several of the Women's Press Club members, although many of those same members did not think these to be pressing issues. Gormly noted that she sees many women choosing to work in features because they can balance home and family.⁴⁶ Fallon argued that while there were a range of reasons that women were not choosing journalism as a lifelong career, several, including her, chose public relations or other communication-based careers because they were not as demanding on personal obligations as those centered in the newsroom or on the beat.⁴⁷ While this may seem to negate the argument that gender discrimination leads to women choosing careers other than journalism by mid-life, others argue that journalism needs to make some key changes to make its newsrooms friendlier to women's needs. This idea of creating woman-friendly atmospheres has been heavily theorized in the canon of feminist literature. In 1990, Kathleen B. Jones coined the term "woman-friendly polity" to describe a nation state that has changed its discourse to be fully inclusive of both the male and female body. She remarks, "And even if women's duties to the state are broadened to include military service, women's membership in the political community will still be less full than men's. Women cannot be seen in public space as woman citizens who act politically on their own ground because the discourse of citizenship itself is gendered."⁴⁸ As a kind of response to this criticism, Anette Borchorst and Birte Siim examine the effects of state-instituted equality

44. Ibid.

45. See Part 6: "Women Making Choices," in Nicholson, *Edge of Change*, 191-209.

46. Gormly, personal interview.

47. Helen D. Fallon, July 12, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

48. Kathleen B. Jones, "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity," *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 782.

measures in Scandinavia in order to develop an idea of what Western countries might do to develop more woman-friendly discourses. However, they argue that even though Scandinavia has implemented many gender-equality structures, inequalities still remain across a spectrum of public debates, including old-age pensions and job accessibility.⁴⁹ Most of the woman journalists who spoke with me would agree that newsrooms have come a long way in implementing structures that are more woman-friendly. However, there are still significant drawbacks. They argue that the necessity for women to leave the profession for their families still reflects the bias that women should give up their chosen profession in favor of family concerns, while men should be able to make a living in the profession of their choosing.⁵⁰ Iraqi war correspondent Kirsten Scharnberg Hampton writes:

Yet there are harsh—and often little realized—realities that come with our [women’s] increased presence in the realm of international news reporting: Women correspondents face physical dangers that men do not in the world’s most dangerous places. Women correspondents struggle with unique challenges when it comes to interacting with the militaries found in conflict zones as well as the local staffs they must hire wherever they work. And women—unlike men—often tend to view international reporting as a zero-sum career, one that can be successful only if they give up any hope of family or personal life.⁵¹

In contrast, Hampton writes, women reporters also bring much strength to news coverage that men cannot: they “blend into the background of some of the most hostile regions of the world,”

49. Anette Borchorst and Birte Siim, “Woman-Friendly Policies and State Feminism: Theorizing Scandinavian Gender Equality,” *Feminist Theory* 9 (August 2008): 207-224.

50. Borchorst and Siim note the fallacy of this statement when they point out that no matter a person’s gender, many people struggle to find even a job in a profession of choice “In an era where the United States is facing an unemployment rate of more than 9.5 percent, it is questionable that anyone, man or woman, can make a living in the profession of his or her choosing today” (782).

51. Kristen Scharnberg Hampton, “Covering War through a Woman’s Eyes,” in Nicholson and others, *Edge of Change*, 144.

sources perceive them differently than men and some readers and sources find them more approachable.⁵²

Seeing journalism as a zero-sum career is not a problem that is restricted to international reporters. Margaret Sullivan bucked the trend and balanced a marriage, two children and a successful editorial career at the *Buffalo (N.Y.) News*, although her marriage fell apart after twenty years, which she acknowledges that the strain of her career had “at least some role in [the marriage’s] outcome.” Trying to be a perfect mom, a perfect wife, a perfect housekeeper and a perfect journalist who was always breaking new barriers took its toll. Sullivan says she would still recommend the journalism career to young women today, but with one caveat:

Take care of yourself. Some of that is attitude, a gentleness toward the self that recognizes accomplishments and realizes that trade-offs come with every life choice. And I would tell young women, too, that it’s not necessary to try to do everything at the same time. There is such a thing as burnout, and it’s no great surprise to me that so many women journalists—especially those with heavy family responsibilities—are looking for something slower-paced and saner to do with their lives.⁵³

It is questionable whether the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh could simply serve as a support network for those women balancing family and career because the meetings would be just one more thing on an already packed agenda.

To underscore the personal essays in *Edge of Change* and the testimonials provided by press club members, I use the statistical evidence gathered by Romy Fröhlich and Sue Lafky in their edited volume *Women Journalists in the Western World: What Surveys Tell Us*. This book studies women journalists across the West, including Germany, Austria, the US, the UK, Finland, Canada, France, and Israel, and it takes a much more optimistic stance than the editors

52. Ibid.

53. Margaret Sullivan, “The Choice to Stay,” in Nicholson and others, *Edge of Change*, 193-94.

of *Edge of Change*. Fröhlich and Lafky trumpet that within the next decade, the United States will see their mass media dominated by women rather than men. However, the paragraph that follows notes that, as argued by Nicholson et al., while more women want to enter journalism fields, they still choose to either not enter at all or to leave within the first few years of their career for various reasons, including poor wages, lack of promotion opportunities, family pressures and time constraints. In spite of much progress for women journalists, the authors argue, women communication professionals need to be prepared for a future that is rife with discrimination rather than the “pink-collared ghetto” identified by some scholars. “Finally,” they write, “we hope the book might prepare women students for the fact that the communications sector is still a refuge for gender-based differentiation and discrimination. The international data show that this is not a specific *national* problem.”⁵⁴ The issues faced by the United States women journalists are not unique to the United States, particularly not the problem of declining newspaper readership or the problem of retention for women journalists.⁵⁵ If women’s press clubs seek to influence today’s women journalists, which, as has been noted, is not a certain conclusion, press club members need to understand global perspectives on gender and how those influence their own work both locally and further abroad.

\

54. Fröhlich and Lafky, *Women Journalists*, 2-3.

55. Many of these industry problems are due to a shift from legacy news products, such as newspapers, to mobile, multi-platform news products that employ a range of media modes, including print, internet, video and audio and from professional journalists to a mix of professional and citizens journalists. With the accessibility of blogs and social media in the western world, everyone can report and detail real-time news happenings as quickly as the legacy media. This has put increasing pressure on traditional news products to turn out their stories and events more quickly than ever before or lose their readers.

Definitions and Foundations

“Women’s movement,” in the context of this text, will be used in the terms that Leila J. Rupp and Verta A. Taylor employ in their chronicle of the women’s movement during the 1950s, *Survival in the Doldrums*. Rupp and Taylor define the women’s movement as including any woman who was working to advance a woman’s cause.⁵⁶ This all-encompassing definition is useful because it does not exclude women based on their political ideologies. Also, this definition is broad enough to embrace the constantly changing nature of the women’s movement. As Flora Davis notes in her introduction to *Moving the Mountain*, the women’s movement is a “dynamic social movement,” which is difficult to keep track of because “its small groups wink in and out of existence, disappearing because they accomplish what they set out to do or because they burn out.”⁵⁷

While part of the women’s movement, “women’s liberation groups” will refer specifically to those groups of women who came out of the 1960’s gender-integrated (but still patriarchally-organized) anti-war groups the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and formed groups that concentrated on looking “‘to your own oppression’—that is [starting] close to home in order to create a more just world.”⁵⁸ The women’s liberation groups set the stage for the today’s so-called third-wave of feminism, which emphasizes that all oppression, including those based on race, class, gender,

56. Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women’s Rights Movement 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 8.

57. Flora Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women’s Movement in America Since 1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 10.

58. Nancy F. Cott, “Foreword,” in Love, *Feminists Who Changed America*, vii. Karlyn Khors Campbell, “The Rhetoric of Women’s Liberation: An Oxymoron,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59, no. 1 (1973): 74-86.

sexual orientation, geographic location, and educational opportunities, should be part of the movement's project.⁵⁹

"Women's liberation" then leads to my final term, which is "feminist" or "feminism." This is quite possibly the most difficult term to define because the definition for feminists has shifted throughout time and through each new generation of women since the suffragists. The term itself has faded in and out of vogue as each new generation of women has either embraced or rejected it according to their needs. In trying to define the term, Nancy F. Cott notes "the term resists boundaries." She posits three criteria for feminism. First, feminists believe in sex equality. Second, feminists believe that women's condition is socially constructed. This second condition, leads to the third, which is "that women perceive themselves not only as a biological sex but (perhaps even more importantly) as a social grouping."⁶⁰ In other words, society has defined both how women can behave in society and where they are placed in society. While Cott's definition is useful, today's feminist are often more inclusive in the issues they tackle. While they are still very much interested in women's issues globally, they also take on a broad range of injustices. Therefore, for my purposes, I will be using Jennifer Baumgardner's definition: "At the end of the day, feminism is expressed in individual women and men unlearning pointless self-sacrifice, artifice, and self-suppression and believing that they, in fact, own feminism, too, and can contribute to social justice."⁶¹ Again, I have chosen the broadest possible definition for this term so as to be as inclusive as possible. However, just by including the term "social justice," this

59. Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, "Introduction," in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism*, ed. Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1-20.

60. Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 4-5.

61. Jennifer Baumgardner, "Foreword," in Deborah Siegel, *Sisterhood, Interrupted: From Radical Women to Grrls Gone Wild* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), xiv.

definition excludes conservative viewpoints and emphasizes that the women and men who consider themselves feminists are interested in working on projects that emphasize a position that states that all people should have equal access to rights and opportunities within a polity regardless of a person's race, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, educational status, or geographic location.

Using the broadest-possible definition of feminist allows me to examine a wide range of women who might be otherwise lost in a history of the women's movement. Individuals, often women who remain nameless in the annals of 1960's history, comprised the second-wave women's movement, claims Flora Davis in *Moving the Mountain*. But it was those individuals who slowly chipped away at many issues across the American landscape who eventually brought a tidal wave of change for women's rights. Of Dusty Roads and Nancy Collins, flight attendants in the 1960s who successfully fought the airlines' discriminatory age and marriage policies for women, Davis writes:

Their names weren't likely to be the first to pop into anyone's mind during a discussion of the women's movement, but their victory was typical of the second wave. American women owed the progress they made largely to thousands of unknown activists like Roads and Collins, who tackled a small piece of the overall problem of sex discrimination. Social change advanced like an incoming tide at many different points simultaneously.⁶²

Women's press clubs were just one part of that incoming tide. By providing a networking opportunity for women, visibility for their members, advancement opportunities and story ideas, the clubs slowly changed the perception of newswomen across the spectrum. While this, in some ways, created complications for them, it also, as will be seen, led to an increase in women across the newsroom.

62. Davis, *Moving the Mountain*, 25.

Chapter Organization

My presentation of the material is organized roughly chronologically with a conclusion that tries to give some insight into the future of women's professional organizations, and gender-specific organizations in general. The first chapter and second chapters have some time overlap and are separated more by theme than they are by time period. This overlap is partially due to a lack of primary source information from the first fifty years of the club's existence. The women were lax about keeping records and minutes until their fiftieth anniversary when they began a structured effort to create a history of their organization. The first chapter, then, covers, approximately, the first decade of the club's history and examines how the women's organizing efforts fit with the era's corresponding push for new formal and informal educational institutions. This chapter also has a section on stunt-girl journalism and its benefits and drawbacks for newswomen. The second chapter picks up this discussion around the turn of the century until the club's fiftieth anniversary in 1941. This era saw the rise of the sob sister, who, like the stunt girl journalist, concentrated on emotion-provoking stories; however, the sob sisters covered legal and human interest stories for papers.

The third chapter begins with World War II and carries the story through to the early 1960s. This chapter highlights the club's war efforts and the individual women who chose to join the United State's first organized official military corps. It then details the club's efforts to "mature" itself by taking on a project that would inspire younger women journalists. The project they chose, the Gertrude Gordon Memorial Scholarship, would become the backbone of the club's activities for the next fifty years and beyond.

The fourth chapter, which covers the 1960s and 1970s, is my longest chapter because it has the most archival evidence and it also tackles several issues that have defined the club's

existence. First, the chapter tackles the civil rights movement and profiles two of the club's most active and dynamic African American members, including the woman who spent thirteen years patiently wearing down the club before it allowed her, the group's first African American woman, to join. The paper then examines emergence of the second-wave feminism literary activism and its links with mainstream women journalists. This section leads to a discussion of some of the areas where mainstream women journalists were making huge strides for the women's movement: in sports reporting and as journalism instructors on college campuses.

The final chapter recounts the club's work since 1980 and reflects on the state of newswomen today. This chapter looks at trends in journalism education, which show a huge increase in women graduating from university programs, only to find that those women are still not making it to the upper echelons of the news business. It also examines women broadcasters, who both print and multimedia/broadcast professionals point to as examples of women's success and emerging dominance in the profession. I examine some of the reasons why these successes might be encouraging while also pointing out that the emergence of a few high-profile women does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that women are experiencing the same problems as male journalists.

Potter's verses, which start this chapter, speak to an audience about both a night's activities and about the women journalists themselves. She says: "Friends, with this hope are we elate / That, as with smiles you pass from view / You may exclaim, "'Twas simply great!'" However, the history of the WPCP and the current milieu in which journalists find themselves are more than simply great. In the 120-years since the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh's founding, newswomen have grown from anomalies to some of the faces leading newsrooms around the United States. If they didn't (or still don't even today) find a welcome, the women

created their own openings by creatively working within the established norms and changing them just enough each decade that the next decade's women would find more doors cracked open for them to slip through. As the print industry evolves into a more multimedia environment where journalists need to know video editing, online publishing, and print reporting strategies, the issues specific to women journalists are getting lost in the shuffle. Many of the women I interviewed seemed to say that the battles of their predecessors were great, but their zeitgeist is different and perhaps a women's-only club. The lesson that I gather from this 120-year history, however, is that even though these women did make me smile and exclaim "twas great!" today's newswomen still have to astound and captivate if they're going to be prevented from passing from view.

Women's welcome has expanded in newsrooms, but there are still places that seem off-limits. Remembering the efforts of past newswomen and women's movement reporters reveals the relationship between the two streams of female workers. As western society becomes increasingly invested in its mediated representations, this relationship will become ever more important. Just as second-wave feminists turned toward literary publications to spread their vision, today's feminists need to know an array of media. Their representatives, whether they acknowledge the relationship or not, are often women journalists leading websites, broadcast news, print newsrooms, documentaries, and other media sources. Citizen journalism may be tearing at the foundations of the everyday newsroom, but it's also making news the common parlance. Newswomen have been and remain important voices for the advancement of women's causes. Linking the stream of a professional newswoman's organization to the river that constitutes the history of the broader women's movement clearly demonstrates that together, the

two flows of advocacy for women's professional and personal advancement can bring a groundswell of change to the course of society's public sphere.

Chapter 2
Stunt Girls and Scribbling Women:
1891 to the Turn of the Twentieth Century

In 1875, Jennie June Croly (a.k.a. Jane Cunningham Croly) was recorded as saying:

Certainly, their [women's] successes so far have been mainly won as correspondents¹, and undoubtedly their vivacious style fits them for this kind of writing; but is not this evidence of their fitness due to the fact that correspondence is the department in which they have been principally employed? But this may not be so in the future. At present there are sixty papers in the United States² edited by women, and as editors, editorial writers, and the like, they are fully as successful as the average of men. I think the periodical representative of social and domestic life will naturally, in the future, fall into the hands of women, and that they will also find a large place in the field of regular journalism.³

Croly, who was widely recognized as one of the nineteenth century's most prominent women journalists, was a great journalist and the mother of the women's club movement and its seed organization, Sororsis. She also was prescient about women's place in journalist organizations. Soon after this statement was published, the 1880s and 1890s saw women journalists organizing women's press clubs across the U.S. The clubs, which were largely disconnected at first and situated from New York to the Pacific Coast, showed women's presence in newsrooms and their determination to increase that presence from tokenism to full integration.

The women's press club members in particular recognized their organizations as a way to educate members, grow numbers of women journalists, and enter areas of the newsroom that were dominated by men. Not only were women journalists breaking barriers in the newsroom, but they were also working as a part of the municipal housekeeping movement to expand

1. A writer that would have been called a correspondent in 1875 would be known as a columnist today.

2. This statistic cannot be confirmed.

3. Charles F. Wingate, ed., *Views and Interviews on Journalism* (New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875), 149-150.

women's influence within the broader urbanized public sphere.⁴ "Collectively, [women journalists] were part of the great groundswell that widened women's sphere near the turn of the century. These women writers promoted the goals of the *municipal housekeeping* [emphasis original] movement by re-affirming in print the belief that a woman's place was, indeed the home, but that the home was a "community" and it was women's duty to clean up their communities to ensure the safety of their homes."⁵ In other words, women journalists used their influence to show that the private sphere, which was considered women's proper place, was actually the public sphere; without proper moral authority in the public sphere, the home could not be safe from untoward influences. Therefore, women's jobs as the moral arbiters in the home necessarily made them fit for a number of jobs in the public sphere. Journalism was one of those jobs, according to Croly, and as women writers, journalists could be in the unique position of acting as the lights in society's darkest corners, revealing those influences that created strongholds for moral corruption. Organizing into women's press club was a natural extension of

4. This term was coined by Agnes Hooper Gottlieb in her study, *Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement 1868-1914* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001). Karen Blair uses the term "domestic feminism" for the same movement of late nineteenth-century women expanding their moral authority within the home to outside the home; I prefer the term "municipal housekeeping," because it is more in keeping with how the period's women would have seen themselves. The term "feminist" would have been anachronistic for much of the period that I am covering in this chapter. The online etymology dictionary traces the term "feminism" back to 1851, when it would have been used in terms of having feminine qualities. In the sense of women advocating for their rights, the term was not used until 1895, according to the etymology dictionary. Ultimately, it can be traced to France in 1837, but, again, the term would have been used in the sense of feminine attributes rather than advocacy. For more information, see "feminism," *Online Etymology Dictionary*, 2001-2010, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=feminism&allowed_in_frame=0, accessed Sept. 8 2011.

5. Gottlieb, *Women Journalists*, 3. Susan Strasser's *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982) gives a thorough examination of nineteenth-century women's work and how the coming industrial revolution changed both women's work and women's roles. Strasser makes the connection between urbanization and the evolution of women's housework from in the house to a community-based role.

Croly's women's club movement, in that it gave women journalists access to education and a range of information on municipal issues that they couldn't necessarily access outside of the woman's clubrooms.

In Pittsburgh⁶, seven so-called newshens⁷ organized in 1891 ostensibly for “friendly intercourse and the advancement of women's interests in journalism.”⁸ But fifty years later, still, the “hardest nut for women with a yen for newspapering to crack is newspaperdom's crusty aversion to skirts flapping around city desks, nowhere harder to crack than in crusty Pittsburgh,” noted an article in the city's *Bulletin*, which continued to say, “It was this problem which brought the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh into being in 1891, oldest of its kind in the U.S.”⁹ Flapping skirt and clucking newshen images aside, the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh (hereafter “WPCP”) quickly achieved its goal of sending women into newsrooms throughout the city, and those women covered both standard “women's” beats, such as food and fashion, and issues that the city desk used to consider solely the realm of male scribblers: politics, police, and societal pandemonium, like floods and fires.

From this midwestern steel city came the seeds for an entire decade of women's prominence in journalism. Prior to 1891, Pittsburgh produced the likes of noted abolitionist

6. Pittsburgh was spelled without the “h” until the early 1900s. I will use the “h” throughout this dissertation for the sake of clarity.

7. Newshens is a term that was commonly used to refer to women journalists. It is considered derogatory today as the primary image labels women as chickens.

8. “Women's Press Club wants to be incorporated,” n.d., pasted inside the cover of *Constitution and by-laws of the Woman's Press Club of Pittsburgh, PA*, Pittsburgh: Press of Percy F. Smith, 1891, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 1, Women's Press Club-Charter And By-Laws, December 1893-October 14, 1988, DLAHHC.

9. *The Bulletin Index*, “Newshens: Press Club Gives 1st ‘Pulitzer’ Award,” *The Bulletin Index*, June 9, 1938, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrap book 1930-1940, DLAHHC. It should be noted that the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh was *not* the first of its kind nor is it the longest-lived, according to Elizabeth V. Burt's *Women's Press Organizations: 1881-1999* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000). That volume lists several clubs that started in the 1880s, and one, the Illinois Woman's Press Association, launched in 1885 and still exists today.

writer and editor Jane Grey Swisshelm and Nellie Bly. Swisshelm first wrote for Pittsburgh's abolitionist sheet *The Spirit of Liberty*, and then she launched her own Pittsburgh paper, the *Saturday Visitor*, a St. Cloud, Minnesota, sheet called *The St. Cloud Visitor*, and, much later, after serving as an Army nurse during the Civil War and taking a clerkship in the United States government, she started her least-successful paper, the *Reconstructionist*. Bly's name is perhaps the first name that most people will come up with when they think of women journalists. Noted as the leading stunt girl journalist, Bly remade the face of women in journalism with her intrepid investigative reporting that ranged from trips to Mexico to observe the ghetto-conditions there to being incarcerated in a mental institution to report on treatment of the insane to her most famous stunt: taking a trip around the world with "modern" transportation techniques to defeat Jules Verne's famous 80-day time limit. Bly, whose birth name was Elizabeth Jane Cochran, worked for the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and established her stunt girl style on a series about the conditions that Pittsburgh working girls endured.¹⁰

The seven women of the Pittsburgh Women's Press Club were not necessarily stunt girl journalists or crusaders in the same way that Swisshelm and Bly made their marks as crusader and exposé journalists. However, the women who started the Club and who followed were true women journalists of the 1890s. Janey Coard Smith, who at fifteen years of age was the youngest of the club's founding members, wrote, "We newspaper women loved to scoop one another in our daily work. Not to have a scoop once or twice a week was not playing the game."¹¹ The "game," the journalistic joy of "beating" competitors to the best story, was one way that the women proved their worth to the newspaper editors and the reading public. The clubwomen also

10. Cochran later added an "e" on to the end of her name, so some historical sources refer to her as Cochran.

11. Janey Coard Smith to Mrs. Bregg, n.d., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, 1895-1928, DLAHHC.

took particular pride in engaging in arguments about topics that were supposed to be taboo for the 1890's girl: politics, crimes, and economic issues, to name just a few. They were stunt girl journalists in the sense that they fought to show up at scenes that only men were supposed to cover, like when Club founder Cara Reese (see figure 1.1) showed up at the Johnstown Floods, making her the only woman to cover the central catastrophe of 1889. Reese was also well-known for her investigative work uncovering unsafe conditions in schools across the United States. The women used their club to educate members on the journalism profession, to educate newspaper editors and publishers on the benefits of women journalists, and to educate the wider public on "womanly" behavior and working women in general. In this way, the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh was both part of the 1800's major women's rights movement, the club movement, and the primary focus of 1880s and 1890s women journalists, stunt girl journalism, and breaking women's work onto the front page.

The Woman's Club Movement

While America gave women the "priceless boon" of "freedom and opportunity," wrote Croly in the preface to her comprehensive 1898 volume *The History of the Women's Movement in America*, clubs really gave women the ability to educate themselves and engage in the social and intellectual spheres of public life.

The club, from the beginning, accomplished two purposes. It provided a means for the acquisition of knowledge, the training of power; and the working of a spirit of human solidarity, a comprehension of the continuity of life: its universal character and interdependence. It is not too much to say that this aspect changed the whole point of view of the woman who came under its influence. Her ideals were elevated, her trust in eternal goodness and its purpose strengthened, and her own possibilities as a social and intellectual force, brought out and gradually moulded into form.¹²

12. Mrs. J.C. Cunningham (Jennie June or Jane Cunningham) Croly, preface to *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898), N.P.

Croly continued to note that the club movement seemed to begin in several simultaneous formations throughout the United States. Mary Wooley called women's clubs, "common ground" for women, which showed "the spirit of national unity."¹³ They were formed with the intent of improving both women's station and their communities at the same time. Women across the United States banded together in clubs that gave women a chance to extend their moral authority in the home into the public sphere.

That moral authority is what made the women's club movement possible, according to Karen J. Blair, Carroll Smith Rosenberg, and Jane Cunningham Croly. Club members were crusaders who were out to right the wrongs of their societies, Blair says. "Instead of exposing shocking or critical new views, optimistic members propagated their belief that late nineteenth-century America was the culmination of civilization. Such problems as immigration, poverty, or immorality only awaited firm guidance to be righted."¹⁴ Blair and Rosenberg point to church women who were "enraged about moral decay" as the first women's organizers. These women organized the Moral Reform Societies in New York and the rest of New England, and the women targeted prostitution. Rosenberg said the first society originated at New York City's Third Presbyterian Church in 1834, and after failing to rescue what those whom Blair terms "fallen women," the club members turned their attention to the "Johns," or the male customers, and published the name of men who frequented brothels in their newspaper, *The Advocate of Moral Reform*.¹⁵ This strategy, Rosenberg writes, was aimed more at controlling men than at controlling prostitutes. These self-assertive women hoped as well to confront that larger and

13. Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in Women's Clubs: 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 1.

14. Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), 58.

15. *Ibid.*, 8.

more fundamental abuse, the double standard, and the male sexual license it condoned. Too many men, the Society defiantly asserted in its statement of goals, were aggressive destroyers of female innocence and happiness. No man was above suspicion. Women's only safety lay in a militant effort to reform American sexual mores—and, as we shall see, to reform sexual mores meant in practice to control man's sexual values and autonomy. The rhetoric of the Society's spokesmen consistently betrayed an unmistakable and deeply felt resentment toward a male-dominated society.¹⁶ Moral authority served as a tool that women could use to curtail male privilege, even as they were expanding their own influence on the broader public sphere. By attacking moral failings, the women could make oblique attacks on masculine dominance, thereby increasing their own safety, autonomy, and power.

Croly points even further into history for the beginnings of the women's club movement, although she, like Blair, would agree that the movement has its roots in religion. Croly states that convents were, "a simple protest against the use and abuse of power on the part of men, wrought up by fear or loathing to the point of desperation." These women, "fled into the desert with one or two companions, and encountered unheard-of hardships rather than submit to the fate to which they had been condemned by father, brother, or some other man who could exercise authority over them."¹⁷ This isolation necessarily lent itself to labor because the women, in their segregation, were engaged in learning, that often took the form of memorization, and the women then applied their learning to the foundations of hospitals and schools in order to serve others. This service-based labor gave women educated vocations, although unpaid, that were sanctioned for perhaps the first time. While convents provided laywomen with some education, Croly points

16. Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," *American Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Oct. 1971): 562.

17. Mrs. J.C. Cunningham, *History of the Woman's Club Movement*, 2.

to women organizing to raise funds for their churches and mission work in the first decade of the 1800s as the first real women's clubs, but they were "nearly extinct" by 1860. Women's auxiliaries, Bible societies, and charitable societies followed soon after the "cent" societies.¹⁸ However, it was not until Croly, who was a well-known New York woman journalist, was denied a ticket to hear Charles Dickens speak at the New York Press Club in February 1868 that the fire was really lit under the women's club movement. This denial pushed Croly into organizing her fellow women journalists and other working women into their own club where they could host their own speakers and events. Even though the men's press club eventually relented and allowed women journalists to attend the Dickens' event, Sorosis was already on its way toward becoming the club that would spark a movement of women's literary societies, working girls clubs, and friendly associations throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. The entire lineage of women's organizing, Croly says, made the nineteenth century an epoch in humankind's records. "When the history of the nineteenth century comes to be written," she writes, "women will appear as organizers, and leaders of great organized movements among their own sex for the first time in the history of the world." The world to be conquered in the nineteenth century, states the Sorosis founder, is composed of social mores, the air, and the economy. Of these, women rule the social sphere; however, "it is one of the paradoxes in human nature that women, while being made responsible for social conditions, have been condemned to individual isolation."¹⁹ Clubs provided women with an entry into the public sphere and one of their primary avenues for education.

The nineteenth century was marked by a tidal swell in both formal and informal education in the United States. Informal education societies, perhaps the most famous being

18. Ibid., 8-9.

19. Ibid., 1.

Chautauqua, sprung up across the United States so that people could gather and discuss culture, literature, art, and other subjects and increase their own learning without being forced to attend the country's formal education system. This increase in education was necessitated by a swell in the ranks of unmarried—and unmarriageable since men were not available—women. By 1860, many urban areas were facing an overwhelming imbalance between men and women, with women out-pacing men by more than 74,000, reports Thomas Woody. This left these “superfluous” women needing an education that prepared them for work outside of the home rather than marriage and home life.²⁰ Woody quotes Harriett Martineau saying that in 1836, women had only seven occupations open to them: “teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in the cotton mills, book-binding, type-setting, and housework.”²¹ Woody continues to note that this certainly wasn't true since he could find evidence of women employed in more than one hundred industrial occupations; however, they were not given the necessary training to break into new employments.²² Early women's vocational education introduced them to “cooking, sewing, budget making, care of children, nursing, commercial training, house planning, home decoration, and so on,” all endeavors to improve their confidence as housewives and mothers. Mary Kelley argues that the blending of the public and private spheres also created new areas where women could exert influence. She discusses Sarah Josepha Hale's coinage of the term “Civil Society,” which was “a national public in which citizens were secured in basic freedoms before law,” as a place where women were able to stretch the functions of the private and public spheres to create a space where they could write, speak, and assemble as freely as men. This was beneficial for informal educational structures as it allowed women to gather and

20. Thomas Woody, *History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 2, (New York: The Science Press, 1929), 1-2.

21. *Ibid.*, 8.

22. *Ibid.*

listen to lectures. “If post-Revolutionary compromise denied women access to participation in public sphere of organized politics, it left civil society fully open as a public sphere in which first white and then black women were able to flourish as never before. Instead of restricting them to the household, the Republic’s establishment facilitated the entry of women into its rapidly expanding social space.”²³ By redefining their role as mothers and wives to expand beyond their home, women were creating a space within the public sphere where they could stretch their intellectual, moral, and physical boundaries.

The informal education system was one of the first places where women could enter into public discourses on non-domestic issues. Public lectures provided a space for people to come together to hear and discuss new information, and the lectures were public spaces that were open to women.²⁴ Angela Ray discusses this “lyceum” as a place for members to engage in public debate and public lecturing, and in the 1840s and 50s, these same lyceum groups—which grew out of the white Protestant tradition—turned toward sponsoring public lectures for the education of members.²⁵ Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray documented that these public lectures were then disseminated through scrapbooks and diaries created and maintained by women. These scrapbooks and diaries were created for public consumption and circulated among friends and family so that others could see what a woman (or man) thought of a particular

23. Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 7.

24. Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, “Women Thinking: The International Popular Lecture in Antebellum New England and Its Audience,” in *The Cosmopolitan Lyceum: Globalism and Lecture Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Tom F. Wright (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming 2014).

25. See Angela Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Education in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2005).

speaker or topic. In this way, the lecture system constituted a space where women could be both students and teachers without threatening the established gendered hierarchy.²⁶

The lecture circuit grew into informal institutions called the “Chautauqua,” which were “a sort of latter-day version of the lyceum that sought to bring culture to a people who had generally been too busy or too poor to acquire it in college.”²⁷ Chautauqua was designed for both rich and poor, educated and uneducated people, and, as Bishop John H. Vincent says, the movement had a “message and a mission for the times. It exalts education,—the mental, social, moral, and religious culture of all who have mental, social, moral and religious faculties; of all, everywhere, without exception. It aims to promote a combination of the old domestic, religious, educational, and industrial agencies; to take people on all sides of their natures, and cultivate them symmetrically, making men, women, and children everywhere more affectionate and sympathetic as members of a family.” While Vincent goes on to note that this education is important because it helps people to see the sacred in everyday life and to bring God into all parts of their workday, what is important is that Walters emphasizes that education is for everyone—including women. He even goes on to note that education can make all forms of work divine, including women’s employment, like “kitchen work.”

College facilities are not the only opportunities for securing an education. A college is possible in everyday life if one choose to use it; a college in *house* [emphasis mine], shop, street, farm, market, for rich and poor, the curriculum of which runs through the whole of life; a college that trains men *and women* [emphasis mine] everywhere to read

26. Zboray and Zboray have done an in-depth exploration of Antebellum New England reading practices. This exploration, which can be found in *Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience Among Antebellum New Englanders* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), shows how lectures and personal writing, like journals and scrapbooks, worked together to form a community conversation that allowed people of all formal education levels to be both a teacher and a student.

27. Bishop John H. Vincent, “The Chautauqua Movement, 1886,” in *American Writings on Popular Education: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Rush Welter (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 369.

and think and talk and do; and to read, think, talk, and do, with a purpose; and that purpose, that they may *be* [emphasis original].²⁸

Vincent includes women in his analysis because all education, even men's education, should "increase the refining and ennobling influence of home life."²⁹ Education increases the power of the pulpit and enriches all aspects of human existence, Vincent argues, and women as well as men could benefit from the enrichment of their internal life. He even images a woman extolling the virtues of making her entire life and all her world "my college." This image of the university as a whole-life endeavor made education a democratic enterprise that had importance for all people in all stages of life. As women were defining spaces in the public sphere where they could stretch their influence and their influence, informal educational institutions like Chautauqua allowed them to access education in a way that was not only acceptable, but encouraged by leading male figures, like pastors and bishops. In the spirit of Chautauqua, women were also turning their own culturally specified jobs into their own scientific study. This form of "domestic feminism," as Blair calls it, also led to further higher education for women, though. "Although the admission that one needed to learn to be a lady seemed to go against notions that the role was natural to women, schools arose without fanfare to instruct young females in domestic and ladylike skills."³⁰ The formalization of education for so-called "women's work" gave it a sense of vocational respectability. Just like men needed to attend school to learn their careers, women took classes in their trades. This allowed women to begin branching their education into other areas as they proved their abilities in one area of education.

While informal institutions were opening public conversations to women, formal educational institutions were finding places for women as well. While there was much opposition

28. *Ibid.*, 375.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*, 8.

to women receiving a college education—Woody says that some feared “women might forsake their infants for quadratic equations”—women’s seminaries proliferated at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, giving women access to a previously-unheard-of level of liberal education.³¹ This rise of women’s education facilitated what Mary Kelley calls “one of the most profound changes in gender relations in the course of the nation’s history—the movement of women into public life.”³² The United States’ first women’s college, the Georgia Female College in Macon, Georgia, was launched in 1836. Of this institution, the university’s first president, George F. Pierce said, “The project is novel; it stands out on the map of the world’s history alone—isolated—a magnificent example of public spirit and Catholic feeling—of devotion to literature, and of zeal for Female Education.” Women’s have been neglected in favor of their male counterparts’ improvement, he stated elsewhere: “Universities are endowed for the education of sons, while daughters are overlooked or forgotten.”³³ The institution’s leaders advertised that “the object of the founders of the College was to give our daughters as a good a disciplinary education as was offered by the best colleges for our sons.”³⁴ Formal institutions for women soon grew throughout the United States, and various peoples started their own educational initiatives for women. Wayne notes that the Cherokee people used their Cherokee Female Seminary as part of their “strategy of assimilation,” meaning that many families had integrated into white society and “had achieved a certain economic and education level.”³⁵ The school, which was opened in 1851, “prided itself on offering a ‘white’ education

31. Woody, *History of Women’s Education*, 138.

32. Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1.

33. Woody, *History of Women’s Education*, 140.

34. Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women’s Roles in Nineteen Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007), 74.

35. *Ibid.*

well into the twentieth century and students compared their school with white seminaries in the Northeast. As a student named Edith explained in the student newspaper the *Cherokee Rose Buds* in 1854, “the taste, refinement, and progress of civilization” now shown by the Cherokee people was because of such educational advancements.”³⁶ While this dissertation does not have the space to examine the raced implications of this use of education to assimilate and, in some ways, destroy native culture, it would be an interesting topic to examine how Nineteen Century education increased the oppression of Native American people while also providing them with new opportunities. As Wayne notes, the strategy of assimilation of which the Cherokee Female Seminary was a part “did not shield them from involuntary removal from the Southeast by the U.S. government in the 1830s.”³⁷

The American Women’s Education Association was established in 1852 to advance the development of women’s colleges that were, in the words of Catherine Beecher, gifted with permanence in the form of solid libraries and endowments and a permanent group of teachers, a strong course of academic study, and division of labor so that no one person has more power than any other in the institution.³⁸ Several states across the eastern coast, Midwest and south established new women’s colleges throughout the last half of the 1800s.

Yet setbacks always accompanied the progress, for skepticism lingered about the worth of educating women. Opponents still saw in female education a direct challenge to the traditional place of women in American society. To the participants—educators, supports, and students—uncertainty and insecurity plagued each step and the way seemed long.³⁹

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Woody, *History of Women’s Education*, 144-145.

39. Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 44.

In the face of objections to their mental and physical fitness for university-level work, though, women continued proving their own abilities through completing the work and earning degrees at schools that were comparable to men's.

Publications, like newspapers and women's magazines, were another part in the multi-faceted education system that allowed women to increasingly take part in nineteenth century public affairs. Even as women's magazines dominated the publishing market, women were increasingly subscribing to a much wider range of reading as well including newspapers. Frank L. Mott notes that, "The new woman found the more scientific, more realistic, more newspaperish new magazine fitted to her needs. ... The emancipated woman wanted to read about the world she now lived and worked in."⁴⁰ However, Barbara Sicherman argues that books were also a major facet of women's educational reading that allowed them to break out of their private sphere and achieve positions in jobs that expanded the women's sphere, like education and social work, and in work that was still firmly in the male realm, like science and medicine.⁴¹ Books allowed women to expand knowledge of realms beyond their own circle. While men could travel to universities or tour public places unattended, women were restricted in their movements, which restricted their ability to acquire new experiences. Vicarious living through reading allowed them to dream and achieve.

Because of their subordinate position in society and their traditional consignment to the home, women more than men have had to learn about life from books. Given the restrictive norms of Victorian culture, this was never more true than in the late nineteenth century, when the cultural contradictions surrounding gender were considerable. On the one hand, girls were encouraged to develop their minds and even applauded for intellectual precocity. On the other, virtually everything they read and heard, whether

40. Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 352.

41. Barbara Sicherman, *Well-Read Lives: How Books Inspired a Generation of Women* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 1.

emanating from the press, pulpit, or academy, equated true womanhood with domesticity.⁴²

The nineteenth century, or the golden age, was a “high-water mark” for literacy in America, Sicherman argues, because reading was approved for education and entertainment. Reading was advanced as a means to improve “morals and faculties” and as the basis for a well-rounded education for both men and women.⁴³ While reading could not give women a full view of public life, it could give young women who were discontented with their prescribed roles a beginning idea of how they might change their lives. “In such circumstances, reading helped nurture and sustain private dreams that could later be transmuted into public acts. Ostensibly a private activity, reading was thus intimately connected with the public sphere.”⁴⁴ Again, by using an approved private-sphere practice, women were able to expand their roles in the public sphere.

Women’s clubs served as another way for women to branch out their domestic influence and education. “These were women who tried to be ladies but created, in the process, a new and broader role for women.”⁴⁵ Anne Ruggles Gere demonstrated that women’s clubs’ cultural work stretched not just to the founding of libraries and the public socialization of women. Gere notes that women’s clubs interacted in all aspects of public life. To produce her book *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women’s Clubs, 1880-1920*, Gere sifted through boxes worth of ephemera to find the women’s voices and try to recover the main contribution of clubwomen to their societies. Gere concludes that clubwomen were influential because they were not afraid to participate in all areas of public life.

42. Ibid., 2.

43. Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 110.

44. Ibid., 3-4.

45. Ibid., 13.

Such records show clubwomen marking their own history and defining their own cultural identity. Papers written by members about the assimilation of immigrants, the status of women, the conditions of factory work, the importance of “race literature,” or approaches to Emerson’s essays; petitions drafted in support of a new library or the establishment of a tuberculosis ward; annual programs listing topics for discussion and suggestions for reading, along with club constitutions and bylaws; record books containing minutes of meetings and financial transactions; newspaper and magazines produced by clubwomen; memorial resolutions for deceased members; poems, plays and humorous sketches that celebrate club achievements; club histories members wrote to mark anniversaries—all of these texts reconstruct, however partially, the ways clubwomen’s literacies intersected with other cultural practices at the turn of the century.⁴⁶

Politics (immigration and women’s rights), economic life (factory working conditions), and race (“race literature”), were all topics that were on the table for meeting discussions, meaning that these women were particularly involved in their communities and unafraid of inserting the feminine perspective into public discussions.

Women, then, found many reasons to join literary clubs. Whether married or single, they discovered that such factors as freedom from domestic duties, discontent with their lives under the influence for the growing Woman Movement, and the sense of isolation from husband and from other women engaged in the same household routine made associations for the study of culture attractive to them.⁴⁷

Clubs brought women into culture. Clubs made women a part of society that could drive its opinions and its behavior because the clubs allowed women to extend their moral authority over the home into other realms across the municipality.

This growth of woman’s public sphere influence was evident throughout Pittsburgh’s municipal projects as women, both individually and in groups, created both literary and charitable interventions in the public sphere. John Newton Boucher wrote,

No one who has not thoroughly investigated it can comprehend the work, particularly in the line of charity and educational work, that is now being done in Pittsburg by the women. To say that a noble woman of the city headed a movement which but a few months ago raised three hundred thousand dollars in a few days for the benefit of a religious institution, is but a line of the many pages which record the story of woman’s

46. Gere, *Intimate Practices*, 2.

47. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*, 61.

work in Pittsburg. The men of Pittsburg have founded industries, constructed buildings and projected improvements, which have redeemed their names from the oblivion, but the equally arduous and equally well performed work of women is less material in its nature and is consequently more readily forgotten.⁴⁸

In spite of Boucher's claim that women's work was "readily forgotten," the impact of Pittsburgh's women's projects was immeasurable. The Pittsburgh Playground Association, which scheduled all of the public lectures and music and rallied for increased playground services across the municipality, was led by women from across the area, and in fact, drew representatives from many of the other women's clubs, including The Daughters of the American Revolution, the Crafton Women's Club, the Wimodausis Club, and the Dolly Madison Chapter, Daughters 1812.⁴⁹ Boucher himself listed dozens of women and their accomplishments, including Emma Sherwood Cote, who translated medical books from French to English and spent time at the well-known literary commune Brook Farm, and the founder of the Pittsburg and Allegheny Orphan Asylum, Mrs. Harmar Denny. Among those women who spearheaded charity work, Jane B. Holmes is perhaps the most notable. During her lifetime, she started the Home for Aged Protestant Women, and later the Home for Aged Protestants, and she gave more than two hundred thousand dollars to found The Home for Incurables. Upon her death, she bequeathed almost one million dollars to various charitable organizations, including the Home for Aged Colored Women, the Home for Colored Children, the Protestant Home for Boys, the Homeopathic Hospital and the Pittsburg Free Dispensary. Boucher notes in closing his section on

48. John Newton Boucher and John W. Jordon, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburg and her People*, vol. 2 (Pittsburgh: Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), 431.

49. Pittsburgh Playground Association, *Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Playgrounds and Recreation Parks, 1908*, <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/pageviewer-idx?ALLSELECTED=1;xc=1;g=pitttextall;type=simple;q1=woman%20s%20clubs;c=pitttext;sort=occur;cc=pitttext;rgn=full%20text;view=image;seq=7;idno=13ajl2379s;didno=13ajl2379s;page=root;size=s;frm=frameset>, accessed Mar. 9, 2013.

Holmes' work, "We have no record of her many gifts to other charitable organizations, but they were large."⁵⁰

Boucher also included several women who were specifically involved in literary production, in addition to Cote. Jane Grey Swisshelm, who has already been mentioned as the only woman to cover Pittsburgh's great flood, was called "certainly the greatest literary figure of Western Pennsylvania among women. A record of Pittsburgh's gifted women that did not include her name would be woefully incomplete." Not all of those women were writers, per se; however, their work was important in building a legacy of intellectual endeavors that future women could enjoy. For example, Mrs. Judge Samuel Jones was well known for developing the Pittsburgh Library Loan Exhibition, which "disclosed [to old Pittsburghers] the wealth of the city in rare books and manuscripts, rare and beautiful articles of all description."⁵¹ Frances Elizabeth Willard was a teacher at the Methodist College of Pittsburgh in 1861-1862, a temperance worker and a writer. She was so well-known that she was the only woman at the time whose statue was placed by the state of Illinois in Washington, D.C.'s Statue Hall.⁵²

This extension of power from the home to the city was a natural expansion of the feminine domain, argued clubwomen. If women were to have moral authority over the home, then they must have moral authority over those areas which could impact the home, including education, as already mentioned above, health care, and political issues that affected the moral welfare of the city, such as immigration and crime. Agnes Hooper Gottlieb terms this augmentation of the women's domain "municipal housekeeping." While clubwomen, their leader Croly, in particular, firmly believed that women were different from men, this meant that they

50. Boucher, *Century and a Half*, 433-434.

51. *Ibid.*, 434.

52. *Ibid.*, 437.

were “especially called to right societal wrongs.”⁵³ Journalism and journalists were a necessary part of this process because the women needed to create publicity for their reform efforts.

Club women recognized the importance of journalism because a goal of their reform work was to create publicity for it. As one writer stated: ‘Women’s clubs necessarily, then, find their chief scope of altruistic work in creating public opinion.’ To further this goal, women believed they needed to write for newspapers and recruit daily newspapers as allies to the cause. When a cause was identified, one facet of the reform campaign was the writing of columns about it in local newspapers.⁵⁴

Women as journalists were a natural extension of this clubwoman drive for publicity. Not only could the women journalists use their positions as journalists to publicize club activities, but they could also extend the reform efforts by doing some muckraking journalism of their own.

Stunt Girls and Womanly Decorum

Women’s Press Clubs gathered together women who held a precarious position. Women journalists walked an uneasy line between the morality function of municipal housekeeping and their own roles as not only publicists for reform efforts, but women who drew publicity to themselves because of the work they did. Nineteenth-century women reporters often took their own muckraking roles as stunt girls reporting in areas that were not acceptable for “proper” women and creating “sensation” for a public that needed no encouragement in its already sensational reading inclinations. Stunt girl journalists were effective at publicizing social problems, but they did so by putting themselves in the middle of the story and drawing attention to it by their own actions and appearance. This directly contradicted nineteenth century sensibilities regarding “appropriate” behavior for women.

53. Gottlieb, *Woman Journalists*, 65.

54. *Ibid.*, 16.

The scandal caused by nineteenth-century women journalists doing their job is best summarized by WPCP member Cara Reese's, experience with the Pittsburgh Women's Club. Reese, who is widely acknowledged as the primary driving force behind the organizing of the WPCP, caused debate among Pittsburgh's upper-crust of women when she applied to the "other" women's club in town. A small slip of paper stapled to a 1940 speech by Mrs. Charles M. Bregg laughingly notes Reese's trials with her womanly reputation: "Off the record, I must tell you that Miss Reese also belonged to the only other woman's club then in existence in Pittsburgh, a group of very staid (and I imagined s-t-a-y-e-d, too), very staid, very, very respectable LADIES who felt called upon to discuss in executive session the question of whether Miss Reese's morals were all they should be—BECAUSE OF THE PLACES SHE HAD TO GO TO COVER HER STORIES (emphasis original)."⁵⁵ Reese's journalism would have seemed to fit well with the municipal housekeeping work of the Pittsburgh Women's Club. She covered a range of social ills in her career. Her articles included one series of articles for *Good Housekeeping* that detailed inspections of school buildings across the United States to show parents that they needed to inspect school buildings themselves before entrusting their children to the care of school district. Her writing showed that many districts had safety standards that could charitably be described as lackadaisical and less-charitably described as criminally negligent. Reese's articles described a Pittsburgh school where "she found gas jets burning under stairways that were filled with dust rags, ammonia bottles and other flammable materials," a four-story Cincinnati, Ohio, school heated by fire stoves with no emergency provisions for escape, and a Spokane, Washington, school where "kindergartners in the basement had to be 'tossed up' out of windows during fire

55. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg, "For the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh," Feb. 15, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

drills in order to escape.”⁵⁶ To a woman in the 1940s, the fact that Miss Reese’s morality was in question because of her work may have seemed ridiculous, but as the nineteenth century’s bastions of morality, women were held to a much higher standard of behavior than their male counterparts. A woman who broke those mores were thought to challenge the moral underpinnings of an entire society. To this end, women journalists had to walk a fine line to produce the era’s new journalism and yet still maintain that their womanly attributes were finely held and in-tact throughout all of their traipsing unaccompanied around the world and journeys into highly immoral and suspect situations, like mental hospitals and among manufacturing women of the era.

Before Croly’s entrance into the print world in the 1860s, women were practically unheard of in newsrooms. Because this profession was supposedly a singular bastion of maleness with a “no frills environment” where practitioners worked on the “rough and tumble streets”⁵⁷ and then returned to a place where “the pace was like lightening (sic), and men smoked, drank and swore,”⁵⁸ even those women who wrote for newspapers often wrote from home, writes Karen Rogencamp. She traces a rise in interest in “women’s journalism” to the 1880s; however, this groundswell undeniably began much earlier, with the popular *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in the early nineteenth century, and other knowledgeable women starting publications on political topics of interest to them, from factory unionization on *The Lowell Offering* (1840), to Fanny Wright’s *Sentinel* (1848) and *Man*, and of course, Margaret Fuller, who worked as a writer for the New York *Tribune* and was most famously the editor of the literary powerhouse little

56. Gottlieb, *Woman Journalists*, 112.

57. Jean Marie Lutes, “Into the Madhouse with Nellie Bly: Girl Stunt Reporting in Late Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2002): 219.

58. Karen Roggenkamp, “Sympathy and Sensation: Elizabeth Jordan, Lizzie Borden, and the Female Reporter in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *American Literary Realism* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 34.

magazine, *The Dial*. Patricia Okker claims that these magazines “serve[d] explosive functions. Whatever the ideologies they propounded, these periodicals insisted on the right of women to speak in a public forum. In doing so, they challenged a popular nineteenth-century rhetoric—the so-called ideology of separate spheres—that was often interpreted as associating men with the public worlds of politics and commerce and women in private domestic space.”⁵⁹ Even fashion magazines like *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, which had become associated with the fashion plate and its founder, Louis Godey’s, arm chair chats on the final pages, were important for changing the perception of women in the public sphere. Sherbrooke Rogers writes

True, the *Ladies’ Magazine* was far superior to the *Book* before the merger; however, the combined endeavor of the lady editor and the shrewd publisher resulted in a quality magazine which broke all records for popularity and wide circulation; a magazine of great interest to Victorian readers and equally important for those today who are interested in viewing the progress of women during the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Pittsburgh’s women journalists were also using their publications to make incursions into the public sphere. Swisshelm was most notably in the mix with her abolitionist papers. Marion Marzolf, though, notes that the 1860s seemed to be a turning point for women journalists:

In the late 1860’s [sic] a few women had taken jobs as reporters on city papers in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia. The woman who did turn up at a newspaper office to write copy was such a novelty in the 1860’s that she often became a celebrity herself for braving the dangers of city life. Since women often worked on morning newspapers, they were out late at night and the obligation to escort lady journalists home was considered a nuisance by editors.⁶¹

59. Patricia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth Century American Women Editors* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 6.

60. Sherbrooke Rogers, *Sarah Josepha Hale: A New England Pioneer 1788-1879* (Grantham, NH: Tompson & Rutter, 1985), 64. For more information on Sarah Josepha Hale and the more famous literary women of the Nineteenth Century, see Nicole Tonkovich, *Domesticity With a Difference: The Nonfiction of Catharine Beecher, Sarah J. Hale, Fanny Fern, and Margaret Fuller* (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 1997); Ruth Elbright Finley, *The Lady of Godey’s* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1931); and Norma R. Fryatt, *Sarah Josepha Hale: The Life and Times of a Nineteenth-Century Woman* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1975).

61. Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 19.

Those few women, though, began multiplying enough that by the 1880s, women's press clubs started sprouting up throughout the United States.

Even as women were conquering new spaces within newsrooms, journalism of the time was being defined (and has been defined by historians today) as a strictly masculine affair. News writing conventions, such as “unbiased” coverage, reporting “both sides” of an issue, and reportorial neutrality, were attributed to men, while emotional fiction of the time was reported as belonging to women. Jean Marie Lutes notes that this characterization has some large “shortcomings” in the face of an incontrovertible evidence of popular women writers across the newsroom genres:

It has encouraged literary historians to misread newswriting as a masculine antidote for women's influence on fiction. Moreover, it has obscured a national public venue for women's voices, created by female journalists who imagined themselves as vehicles of publicity, a dual role in which women acted simultaneously as both objects and agents.⁶²

Relegating women to the place of the “anti-male” writers removes their agency and creates a duality for nineteenth century women journalists that seems almost impossible for them to win. They exist and boldly take a wide variety of roles within the newsroom, taking on stories and creating publicity for papers that sold out issues from San Francisco to New York. However, they also only exist as a counterpart to men and can only be seen in the shadow of their male newsrooms. They were seen as the feminine body. The female body drew attention for its presence in a newsroom instead of in its “natural” sphere—the home. The novelty of this embodied femininity was a double-edged sword for women journalists. While they were still seen as Also, because of this, they had to use the novelty of their own bodies in a newsroom (rather than in the home) to generate publicity for their stories and the causes they exposed.

62. Lutes, “Nellie Bly,” 219.

Roggenkamp attributes this rise in women journalists to a rise in “new, female-oriented journalism” in the 1880s and 1890s. This journalism included society issues, fashion, and cooking, along with a new form of crime reporting that focused on emotions as much as it did factual evidence. “Additionally, such publishers as Joseph Pulitzer realized that the novelty of having women on the newsroom staff could lead to greater publicity and circulation.”⁶³ That greater publicity, though, meant that there were more places available for women. Roggenkamp estimates that major newspapers employed upwards of six women, plus a rotating staff of freelance women writers, in the 1880s. Elizabeth V. Burt estimated that women comprised less than three percent of fulltime journalists when women’s press clubs first began forming in the early 1880s.⁶⁴ By 1900, however, the U.S. Census reported 2,193 women who declared their fulltime profession as journalism, or 7.3 percent of the working journalists in the entire United States.⁶⁵ Outside of the census and the bylines of famous women writers, it is difficult to gauge how many women actually worked at newspapers because most newspapers of the late nineteenth century did not byline their stories. This was particularly a problem for me as I sought works by Pittsburgh-centered women writers. Unless the article was deposited in the WPCP archive or specifically mentioned by one of the women, it was impossible to tell the gender of different article writers. This fact alone belies the common assumption that men and women are fundamentally different in terms of their writing styles and subjects. On the *Pittsburgh Post*, even stereotypically “woman” beats, such as society gossip, were written using the male pronoun in reference to the writer in the early 1890s.

63. Roggenkamp, “Sympathy and Sensation,” 34.

64. Burt, *Women’s Press Clubs*, xvii.

65. Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, 26.

Women journalists, then, gained notice and new place in the profession in two ways: first by adopting the era's penchant for stunts and sensation and employing themselves as the center of the story and second by organizing into press clubs to promote their own interests. Even when noticed, though, women journalists continued to receive the derogatory rhetoric that marked their entrance into journalism in the early 1880s, when Jane Grey Swisshelm was reviled as that "horrible, awful woman [woman], who neglected her housework and wrote pieces for the press."⁶⁶ Even their promoters damned them with the faint praise that accompanied former New York *Herald Tribune* city editor Stanley Walker's foreword to Ishbel Ross' 1936 volume, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider*. Calling Ross his "pet newspaper woman," Walker noted that Ross was one of those women of whom, common newspaper men could say, "Yes, I know it's true that, in general, women can be a good deal of a nuisance around a newspaper office, but this one was different." Of the woman journalist, in general, Walker launches his foreword with these double-edged words of tribute:

From the first, the woman who sought to make a place for herself in newspaper work has found editors prejudiced against her. Now, this prejudice is not so great as it was, but it still exists, and there are several reasons for it. Men are afraid of women, afraid and suspicious, for their dealings with this curious sex have taught them caution and skepticism. Another reason (there is no sense at this late day of putting on a bogus show of gallantry): A great many of the girls who have managed to get on newspaper payrolls have been slovenly, incompetent vixens, adepts at office politics, showoffs of the worst sort, and inclined to take advantage of their male colleagues. They have protested that they wanted to do a man's work, to be treated as men, but soon or later some situation would arise in which all these high-minded declarations of purpose were revealed as so much nonsense. These inferior members of an often admirable sex have done a great disservice to their sensible, straight-forward sisters—the women who would be ornaments to journalism if they had only had a chance. By and large, it seems to me that the men in newspaper work have been uniformly friendly, sometimes extremely helpful,

66. "The World of Society: Women's Press Club Banquet," N.P., 1895, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, 1892-1928, DLAHHC.

to their women co-workers, even to the point of changing typewriters ribbons for them—a simple task at which the female ingenuity appears invariably to bog down.⁶⁷

According to Walker's commendation here, many women journalists have been “showoffs of the worst sort,” although women from the 1880s through the 1920s were, in some ways, expected to be showoffs in that they put themselves into the story, and, in the case of the so-called sob sisters, were instructed to give their stories an emotional edge that went beyond Walker's “lovely art of getting facts and writing about them.”⁶⁸ Women journalists were more than simply “ornaments” to the profession or “showoffs.” They changed journalism in a way that attracted readers to newspapers and magazines across the United States by searching beyond the facts to find the emotion and draw out the story under the surface. These women journalists “must be free to leap nimbly through fire lines, dodge missiles at a strike, board a liner from a swaying ladder, write copy calmly in the heat of a Senate debate, or count the dead in a catastrophe. She never takes time to wonder why someone does not find her a chair, change the ribbon of her typewriter or hold smelling salts to her nose as she views a scene of horror,” retorted Ross on the first page of her recounting of the lives of women journalists.⁶⁹ In other words, successful women journalists were in their positions because they were independent and were part of the background, even as they were also part of the story because of they were such novelties.

The famous woman journalists of the era, however, quickly adopted the sensationalistic style of the era's new journalism and employed stunts that made them famous from coast to coast. Nellie Bly's work was the beginning of girl stunt journalism. Bly, whose real name was Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman, started her career at the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, where she got her job

67. Stanley Walker, “Foreword,” in Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), xi.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 1.

by writing a well-reasoned but still fiery response to an editorial consigning women to the home. Her first eight-part series on “Our Workshop Girls,” was so popular that it sold out the *Dispatch*, earning Bly double wages and a “promotion” to the society pages, which was, to her, “the dreaded ghetto of flower shows, home and beauty.”⁷⁰ In Pittsburgh, she soon branched out with exposés of prison and factory conditions, and then a trip through Mexico to report on corruption there. She was soon run out of the country with the threats following her.⁷¹ The threat of another turn on the *Dispatch* society page ran her out of Pittsburgh soon after she returned, and she fled to New York without even a “goodbye” to her friends at the *Dispatch*. “When she didn’t show up for work, nobody knew why for three days, until the Quiet Observer [her editor Erasmus Wilson] happened to find a note she had left on his littered desk. It said: ‘Dear Q.O., I’m off for New

70. David Randall, *The Great Reporters* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005), 97

71. Because it was improper for single women to travel without an escort, Cochrane had to convince her mother to come on the trip with her. Her mom became ill and had to leave early, but Cochrane stayed on. As Patricia Cline Cohen shows in her essay, “Safety and Danger: Women on America Public Transport, 1750-1850,” the growth of American public transportation from 1790-1850 “provided a new arena for social interaction between the sexes” (110). The development of public transportation tested the bounds of acceptable interactions between men and women as the normal social conventions of strangers meeting one another were tested and, in many cases, simply untenable. As Cohen wrote, “Americans who traveled were engaged constantly in expressing, defining, confirming, and, indeed, creating gender” (111). Travel gave women an opportunity for freedom and another arena where their behavior was scrutinized and judged. There were very real dangers for women traveling on public transport, however. Cohen relates the tale of Margaret Dwight, who traversed from New Haven to Ohio in 1810. Dwight was first assaulted by a drunken man who put his arm around her neck and said “something which I was too frighten’d to hear” while she was waiting for a candle (114). Just a few nights later, Dwight was sharing a bed with a married woman she had met on her travels when another waggoner came in and lay beside her on the outside of the bed, essentially blocking her escape. She “lay for a quarter of an hour crying, & scolding & trembling, begging of him to leave me,” which he finally did. However, soon after he left her, a mother and daughter from the next room over came to join her group in their room after undergoing a similar assault (114-115). For more on the importance of public transportation in the remaking of a gendered public sphere, see Patricia Cline Cohen’s, “Safety and Danger: Women on America Public Transport, 1750-1850,” in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women’s History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 109-122.

York. Look out for your Naughty Kid, Nellie Bly’.”⁷² In New York, after weeks of searching, she talked her way into a job at Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World*.⁷³

There, she deliberately engaged in behavior that so directly contradicted social norms for women at the time that she had to defend her own womanliness in both her dress and her writing. For her first *World* assignment, she got herself sent to the infamous Blackwell’s Island women’s insane asylum. To do the story, Bly dressed herself like a woman from a well-to-do family who

72. George Swetnam, “The Lost Letters of Nellie Bly: Correspondence with Local Columnist Offers Many Surprises,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, Jan. 8, 1967, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrap book 1960-1969, DLAHHC.

73. Nellie Bly’s decision to leave Pittsburgh and her ability to talk her way into the *World* has been well-documented throughout several sources, which shall be listed presently. In her *Ladies of the Press*, Ishbel Ross, however, gives this more unique and detailed account of the story: Bly struggled to gain attention when she arrived in New York even though she knocked on several metropolitan publisher doors; “”Then as now, they were singularly incredulous of the merits of a woman reporter.” She “reached her lowest ebb” when one day she lost her purse containing all of the money she owned, which amounted to about \$100. Desperate, “she made another assault on the gold-domed *World* building.” While she had already written Joseph Pulitzer, she had not been formally introduced to the man himself. Now, though, she was determined to meet him face to face, and to that end, “She badgered the custodian of the gate for three hours until she got to John A. Cockerill and finally to Mr. Pulitzer himself. She was not particularly good-looking, nor was she smart. But she was a human dynamo and almost at once she enlisted the interest of her shrewd and experienced audience. She laid before the two editors a list of suggestions for stories—all of the stunt order. They looked them over and were favorably impressed.” Once Bly caught the editors’ attention, she told them of the tragedy of her lost purse. Pulitzer himself gave her \$25 to tide her over until the editors could come to a decision on her work. She returned to her apartment, but soon after she was launched onto her first *World* assignment, wherein she was committed to Blackwell’s Island. This story, and more amusing details of Bly’s life, can be found in Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), 48-59. Several other authors have included Bly in their reviews of great reporters, including David Randall, *The Great Reporters* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005), and Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983). Bly’s exploits have also been widely examined in full book-length expositions, including Brooke Kroeger, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist, 1864-1922* (New York: Times Books, 1994) and Mignon Rittenhouse, *The Amazing Nellie Bly* (New York: Dutton, 1956); Bly also published a memoir of her time in Blackwell’s Island, and that book can be found in used copies through several book sellers or as a free e-book: Nellie Bly (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane Seaman), *Ten Days in a Mad-House*, 1887, http://www.manybooks.net/titles/blynother06ten_days_in_a_madhouse.html.

was down on her luck (i.e., poorly, but not too poorly), and then checked herself into a boarding house for women, where she commenced acting as if she were insane. She mumbled to herself, and blurted out incoherent thoughts. She could not say where she was from and kept asking the other residents for her trunk. The law was called in, and she was hauled before a sympathetic Judge Patrick Duffy's Essex Market Police Court, where she was still just obviously "womanly" enough to draw out Duffy's sympathies. The Judge declared that she must be "somebody's darling," and he called in the press to publicize her case.⁷⁴

This publicizing of Bly's case demonstrates how women reporters came to stand for public at large. They were "inevitably caught up in cultural attitudes toward women's bodies," and because they represented both cultural whiteness⁷⁵ and the attendant respectability that accompanied that white female body, their behavior, and the way they represented themselves—even as they ostensibly were going mad—came to stand for the characteristics of "respectable" womanhood. They were the image of the woman writer, and they used their bodies both in the service of the story and in the service of publicizing the story.⁷⁶ So they put themselves at the

74. Randall, *Great Reporters*, 93.

75. "Cultural whiteness" refers to the idea that the racial characteristics of whiteness have been used as a hegemonic ideal. Whiteness has been used in contrast to other races to show that other races are inferior or lacking in humanity. In this case, whiteness was used to give Bly a concealing cover of purity and humanity that would have been denied a woman from another race. George Lipsitz describes this as a "possessive investment in whiteness" and begins his explanation of whiteness by noting, "I argue that white Americans are encouraged to invest in whiteness, to remain true to an identity that provides them with resources, power, and opportunity. ... Whiteness, is however, a social fact, an identity created and continued with all-too-real consequences for the distribution of wealth, prestige and opportunity" (vii). See George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

76. The woman writer at this time earned a variety of epithets, including Nathaniel Hawthorne's famous epistle to his publisher where he called his female counterparts a "damned mob of scribbling women." This letter has been widely circulated and the term "scribbling women" embraced by today's women writers for several purposes, including as the title of a web site and as a touchstone for titles of books, journal articles and newspaper articles. The image of

center of the story, and their physical presence was often advertising enough to draw considerable attention to an article or issue, according to Jean Marie Lutes.

Thus newspaperwomen acted as both standard-bearers and scapegoats as the national literary imagination adapted to a new era of mass-market publicity. ...Female reporters also modeled a new kind of authorship for their readers, synthesizing sentimental tropes of female authorship within a self-consciously professional woman writer as unapologetically, even triumphantly embodied, a writer whose physical presence at an event became an integral part of the news, a writer who was on display first when she was gathering the news and again in the text of her reports.⁷⁷

The reporting of an event became a performance for women journalists. Bly, for example, had to practice her madness, and yet she had to walk a fine line between dressing too respectably and not respectably enough. She noted that she chose to portray herself as the daughter of an upper-class immigrant family who was down on her luck, and so she mumbled in Spanish sometimes and dressed as “poorly as pride would allow.”⁷⁸ This line between being poor, but not too poor, “protected her more privileged readers from the dangers of over-identification with the less fortunate segments of the urban population, by carefully preserving the respectability of her physical self, by reiterating her ‘modesty and ‘comeliness’—characteristics that marked her as part of a class whose members were *not* crazy, *not* poor, and *not* ethnically different.”⁷⁹ While her performance was intimidating enough to other women to cause some of the boarding house guests to demand that she be thrown out into the street, before the judge, her baffled expression, shabby-chic clothing and mannered way of speaking evoked male sympathy for her feminine vulnerability, a trait associated primarily with the untouchable, asexualized image of nineteenth

the woman writers was also one of insanity, with women of letters being portrayed as unwomanly and as oddities because of their choice of profession. This image of the crazy writing lady was first explored in depth in Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 1979).

77. Lutes, *Front-Page Girls*, 7.

78. Randall, *Great Reporters*, 99.

79. Lutes, *Front-Page Girls*, 17.

century white femininity. As immigrants threatened the country's vision of the "inviolable, native-born white female body," newspaperwomen represented "whiteness and respectability, repeatedly displayed through her physical interventions in the life of the city." Her very presence "promised to absorb and even neutralize cultural tensions."⁸⁰ The woman reporter was expected to write the story, become the story, and then use the story to uphold a vision of a monolithic racial and moral norm even as that monument to puritanical whiteness was quickly being undermined.

That sense of "whiteness and respectability" allowed women reporters to get information hidden from their male counterparts. For her first story about women factory workers in Pittsburgh, Bly asked a factory girl who went to bars and drank with strangers "Why do you risk your reputation in such a way?" To which, the girl responded: "Risk my reputation! I don't think I've had one to risk. I work hard all day, week after week for a mere pittance. ...I have no pleasure, no books to read. I cannot go to places of amusement for want of clothes and money and no one cares what becomes of me."⁸¹ This kind of frankness marked Bly's work and her own reporting of the feminine condition in the nineteenth century. Her name "became a synonym for adventurous newswomen from the Atlantic seaboard to the West Coast."⁸² That adventurousness became a way for women to not only defy the male dominance in the newsroom by proving that not only could they change they take care of themselves, they could, in fact, use those qualities of womanhood "that were being used as an excuse to bar women from city newsrooms: her femaleness, her emotional expressiveness, her physical—even her explicitly sexual—vulnerability," to prove her own fitness for the newsroom, and, in fact, to transform the

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., 97.

82. Ibid., 13.

newsroom and popular newswriting as a whole. “By adopting the hysteric’s hyper-female, hyper-expressive body, she created her own story and claimed the right to tell it in her own way,” notes Jean Marie Lutes. She later adds, “In ‘Ten Days in a Madhouse,’ Bly’s sensationalism wields considerable power; endowing the female experimental subject with an agency of her own, Bly undermines the foundation of expert knowledge itself.” The expert, which was ostensibly male in the nineteenth century, was variously thwarted and challenged by women journalists as they performed their jobs. Women stunt reporters were a direct affront to the very norms that excluded them, even as they were upholding those very same norms. They seemed to challenge the idea that men alone should be the economic breadwinners for the family, particularly women like Bly who started working for a mere five dollars a week; however, as her career gained steam, she was to eventually earn up to \$25,000 a year for her later work at the *New York World*.⁸³ Women journalists walked a fine line between the well-endowed and the deficient, the dominant and the subdominant, the high and the lowly. They had to perform womanhood in their stories at the same time that they had to perform a form of masculine knowledge gather their stories and have them published in masculine papers. Their obvious respectability gained attention while their performance of recklessness kept readers’ attention across the United States.

The Pittsburgh Women’s Press Club

Nineteenth-century women’s press clubs walked this same tightrope, although they added the dual problem of providing women both a private space away from the male gaze for their interactions and publicity for their performance of respectable womanhood and their defiance of the norms that defined that same respectability. Women’s press clubs taught members about

83. Ross, *Ladies of The Press*, 49.

journalism professionalism, and they also engaged in public policy debates on a range of issues. The WPCP archives reveals early talks about slums, local political campaigns, efforts to regulate food and drug advertising, trends toward brevity in magazine writing. The club members valued both formal and informal education. Reese was the only woman to graduate in the University of Pittsburgh's first class of journalism majors.⁸⁴ In 1941, Nannette Bregg [a.k.a., Mrs. Charles M. Bregg] said her club really did nothing. They "just" talked. Indeed, though, she quickly noted, club conversations really did teach its members a valuable lesson:

The Press Club is no place for a sensitive soul. In a group of that kind, where everyone is an individualist, and has an opinion of her own on every subject and a voice on every opinion, it is a real test of friendship to sit quietly by (quietly for the moment at least) while your opinion is being taken to pieces or batter about as quite frequently happens. So I think I can say in all safety that the greatest advantage in belonging to the Press Club is several advantages rolled into one: It demonstrates the art of friendship, it develops tolerance and broadens one's own viewpoint at the same time that it teaches respect for the other person's.⁸⁵

Through their discussion, the Press Club forced its members and the broader public to see several viewpoints on many issues. This, in turn, was brought to their work as editors and reporters.

The beginnings of the WPCP are not well documented, and in fact, seem to have been lost to what Janey Coard Smith, the club's youngest founding member and one-time president, called "cultivated forgetfulness," in reference to her own spotty memory of the events at the beginning of the club's life. In a letter to Mrs. Nan Bregg, one of the club's early twentieth century presidents, Smith wrote:

If I remember rightly it was when Helen Gardener essayist and lecturer came as the latter to Pittsburgh that these women decided to give a dinner to her and afterward through her inspiration organized the Press club. You may recall that Helen Gardener before her death last year willed her brain to Columbia University, and after due examination it was

84. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg [a.k.a., Nan Bregg, I use the formal title here because it was her usage on air.], WWSW, Jan. 29, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

85. Ibid.

agreed by the learned men of that institution that her brain equaled at least that of the average man, or something like that. At any rate she was a loveable, dynamic woman that always stirred people into action.⁸⁶

A 1960 article entitled “Nellie’s Nieces,” claims that Emily Kellogg, a reporter at the temperance paper the *Union Signal*, inspired the group to form when she came for the national Press Convention, which was held in Pittsburgh in the winter of 1891. Most agree, though, that it was Reese who proposed the women meet, and so they gathered in the offices of the *Commercial Gazette*, a now-defunct paper that was nicknamed “The Old Lady.”⁸⁷ In 1896, the club was heralded as the only women’s press club extant in the state of Pennsylvania.⁸⁸ The club was accepted into the International League of Press Clubs on December 2, 1893, and five years later, it became a member of the General Federation of Women’s Club on June 8. That same year, the club received its legal articles of incorporation.

As listed in the original by-laws, the original seven WPCP members were Janey Mulhern Coard, Verginie D. Hyde, Bell McElhenny, Cara Reese, Kathleen Hussey Watson, Clara M. Walmer, and Carrie L. Wetherell. Coard, who later became Janey Coard Smith, recalled, “Oh, yes, I forgot to say that they needed me to round out the proper number of signers for the charter. Did I hesitate to affix my unillustrious name? Jamais de le vie! That was a big day in my life—probably none so big since.”⁸⁹ Throughout the years, various reports have muddled the names of those seven, sometimes including women who would not have been members, such as Elizabeth Wilkinson Wade, a.k.a., the sharp-tongued columnist Bessie Bramble, whose *non de plume* came

86. Janey Coard Smith to Ms. Nan Bregg, N.D. WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

87. George Swetnam, “Nellies Nieces,” *Pittsburgh Press*, Mar. 27, 1960, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

88. Mary Temple Bayard, “Contributions from the Members of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh,” in “The American Youth,” WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

89. Janey Coard Smith to Mrs. Nan Bregg, N.D.

to be associated with witty, pointed diatribes against school policies and leaders and divorce legislation.⁹⁰ Wade, incidentally, recommended Smith to the club, which, says Smith, is “an example of the benefit of influential connections,” which women could gain in the WPCP. Bessie Bramble began her career in Pittsburgh writing music reviews for the now-defunct *Pittsburgh Leader*. As was common at the time, she took on an alias for her columns; however, this alias also allowed her to continue her day job as a teacher, and later as first an assistant principal and then the principal of the Ralston School. While Jane Swisshelm holds the distinction of being Pittsburgh’s first woman journalist, Bramble took the prize for being the first woman to earn a paycheck for her work. She also joined the “men’s” Pittsburgh Press Club in 1892. In addition to the *Leader*, she also frequently wrote for the *Dispatch* and the *Chronicle*, and her oldest child, Charles Wilkinson was later employed at the *Dispatch*.⁹¹ She firmly believed that women could and, more importantly, *should* do more than housework and home improvements. She advocated for women to run for their local school boards, and she said of the public woman: “The more [women] can and do know, the more attractive they become to men, and the more they dominate their affections.”⁹² While she appears to have been a member of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, and one of the founders of the Women’s Club of Pittsburgh (the one that so scornfully eyed Reese for her work as a journalist but accepted her nonetheless), Bramble is not listed as one of the founders.

90. Patricia Lowry, “Bessie Bramble: A Force for Change,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 4, 2007, <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07063/766082-51.stm>.

91. Thomas Cushing, “A Genealogical and Biographical History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania,” excerpt from *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*, by Dr. Thomas Cushing, Chicago, 1889, retitled by (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, Co., 1975), 343.

92. “Sampler of Bessie Bramble’s Writing,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 4 March 2007, <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07063/766137-51.stm>.

Throughout the latter half of the 1880s and the 1890s, women's press clubs sprang up in areas as diverse as the Pacific Northwest, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and New York.⁹³ As previously noted, the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh claims status as the oldest women's press club, but in the only book-length exploration of press clubs extant, Burt discovered a history that is traceable to 1881. While most of those clubs were short-lived, some, like the WPCP still survive. The Illinois Women's Press Association, which first met in 1885 and was the seed organization for the National Federation of Women's Press Clubs, holds the distinction of being the longest-lived, according to Burt's work and the club's Web site, which shows that the club is still actively giving student and professional awards and coupling with other women's press organizations to support women journalists in Illinois.⁹⁴ The WPCP's longevity and its adherence to a gender-segregation are notable, however. Several of the remaining women's press clubs have voted either to fold or to become a gender-integrated organization. For example, the Women's National Press Club in Washington, D.C., voted to accept men in 1971, the same year the National Press Club began accepting women, and many other "women's" press clubs,⁹⁵ such as the Women's Press Club of New York State, Inc.,⁹⁶ and the Women's Press Club of Indiana,⁹⁷ accept both men and women today even though their names seem exclusive to women.

Nineteenth-century women's press clubs were important places for female journalists to perform the femininity that marked them as respectable while at the same time subverting

93. Elizabeth V. Burt, ed., *Women's Press Organizations 1881-1999* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), table of contents.

94. For more on the Illinois Women's Press Association, see their web site at www.iwpa.org.

95. The National Press Club, "History," 2001, <http://press.org/about/history>, accessed June 2, 2011.

96. The Women's Press Club of New York State, Inc., "About us," 2009, http://www.womenspressclubnys.com/about_us, accessed June 2, 2011.

97. Women's Press Club of Indiana, "About WPCI," May 2011, http://www.womenspressclubnys.com/about_us, accessed June 2, 2011.

dominant opinions of women in a way that created new places for future newshens to break into the newsroom. Outside of Reese, who was the only woman to graduate in the University of Pittsburgh's Journalism program, most women were not educated as journalists, and they had to convince editors that they did not need babysitting. Helen S. Collins, who was president when Alexander Woollcott, a well-known writer for the *New York Times*, came to speak in 1934, said, "When I got out of school I wasn't equipped to earn my living. I thought I'd like to work on a newspaper so I went to see a man on the Pittsburgh Press. He explained to me that they didn't hire girl reporters as they could not be out on the street at night reporting fires, murders and police raids."⁹⁸ However, she did get a job at the *Gazette-Times* as a society reporter, and her work on covering balls often kept her out at night traversing the streets by herself, which, she says, she did without fear.

There were many times in the [social] season when we were out at balls and had to come back to the office to write them up for the morning edition. I then walked down the boulevard to 6th Ave., down sixth to Liberty and from there to Duquesne Way back of Hornes to get the 2 a.m. to Ingomar, where I lived. I didn't run but I wasn't afraid because people didn't hold up people in those days.⁹⁹

While a simple search of any newspaper's police blotter will belie Collins' claim that people were not mugged in the late nineteenth century, her words show the tireless energy that newswomen put into their work. They gathered information until the early hours of the morning, and then had to race back to the office to type up the report. By the time they had typed the report, it was 2 a.m., and they still had to take public transportation home.

In terms of the respectable, domestic woman, the woman journalists were conscientious hostesses who threw a wide range of events proving their fitness at keeping proper formal

98. Helen S. Collins, response on the occasion of being presented an honorary lifetime membership to the Women's Press Club by President Mary Ellen McBride, N.D. WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

99. Ibid.

etiquette. Their annual anniversary banquet was notable for both mixing formal hostessing etiquette and for including skits, readings, and songs that were satirical and often poked fun of male/female relations, particularly the relationship between male journalists and female journalists. The 1895 event was hailed by one local paper as, “the most charming sociality ever tendered by a woman’s club in this city.” The article then goes on to describe the “blue parlors of the hotel,” which were decorated with “palms and ferns and fragile sprays of green,” and “bright, sweet-scented jonquils, peering through the green” bedecking the tables. The fanciful writer even adds of those same flowers that they “nodded their pretty heads with the rest of the company, when something unusually bright was said by the guests about the long table.” The women were praised for distributing “exquisite bits of water color,” which had been given to the club by local artist Conrad Altenberger, and then gave a box of Reymer’s Chocolates (a local chocolatier) to each guest at the end of the event. The meal consisted of several courses, which were all accompanied by the Tuxedo Mandolin quartet. The banquet featured only women guests, and those women were certain to praise their housebound sisters before the working women who were to later hold the floor.

Miss Janey Mulhern Coard, following her address of welcome, that carried greetings to the women whose labor in life lies in that *dearest field*, [emphasis mine] the home, and whose encouragement to those without the home has saved many from falling by the wayside through weariness; to the professional women, who are unlocking opportunities for those less strong to tread therein more easily; to the press women, whose hearts are made of courage, and whose eyes are brave.¹⁰⁰

Even though the home is the “dearest” place, professional women are deemed stronger because they are blazing paths for those “less strong,” and the press woman is the penultimate worker of them all, with her heart “made of courage” and “brave” eyes. With this speech, Coard managed

100. “The Banquet of the Woman’s Press Club...” 1895, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

to nod briefly at the “respectable” women’s life, but quickly dismissed it as the path of women without the nerve to do anything else with their lives. Those homebound sisters encouraged women in the working world, but they were not trailblazers or visionaries like their working friends.

The dance between etiquette and defiance of protocol continued throughout the evening’s speeches. Bramble gave a response to Coard’s speech, which, was “interrupted many times by applause.” Among the many toasts given by women during the evening, Mrs. J.K. Wallace is of particular note because her discussion placed women journalists as almost the penultimate form of womanhood. If a woman’s primary place was as the keeper and shaper of morality within a community and as the inspiration of morality for the next generation, then the woman journalist’s job fulfilled that task perfectly, Wallace said. Her speech “stated that newspapers largely formed the minds of the little children who, when those who had written had passed from life, would bear the teachings to the future.” In other words, women journalists were taking on the more “acceptable” womanly roles of both mother and teacher through their works. A mythical toast by Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm (written by club member Caroline Wetherell), echoes these same themes in its verses:

“Your mission? Your sister help and uplift.
Turn her eyes to the stars; teach to steer; not to drift;
Till at last, by the might of your heaven-lent gift,
Safe she reaches the bay, through the rocks’ narrow rift.”¹⁰¹

The poem could be speaking on many levels, in that it could be extolling the club members to guide other women into the profession of journalism or it could be encouraging women journalists to inspire other women with their writing to be “uplifted.” However, these verses also

101. Untitled article under “The Event a Brilliant Success—Many Well-Known Writers Present—Womans Enlarged Sphere,” 1895, N.P., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

encourage women to take the helm, steering the ship with their “heaven-lent gift,” meaning that even though women journalists were taking on a traditional teaching role, they were still leading and guiding the paper-strewn ships through the “rocks’ narrow rift,” rather than just sitting in the passenger’s seat. Swisshelm’s ghost notes that women journalists were more than teachers and mentors. They were leaders.¹⁰²

The women, however, were not the only ones declaring their own success at this affair. Even though his sex was excluded from the event, *Times* Managing Editor Morgan E. Gable sent a missive congratulating the women on their success and their ability to lead other women into newsrooms.

Though you have not sent me an invitation to your banquet, you will find that the *Times* will tomorrow say editorially that the time is not long past when a woman in a newspaper office was a curiosity. She was an individual whose presence was sometimes welcome, sometimes only tolerated, and often considered a nuisance for various reasons ungallant. Now every English daily in Pittsburgh has one or more women on its pay rolls employed on the reportorial force, with still others as contributors along special lines. They endure the same amount of toil and tribulation as the men, discharge their duties with energy, intelligence, tact and fidelity, and they have come to be not only welcome members of the staff, but necessary. There is this difference, too, with regard to newspaper women. They crowded out no man. They have made a distinct field of usefulness for themselves, which grows steadily as time rolls on. That is to say, they have come to stay.¹⁰³

In his letter, Gable also walks the careful line between the need to approach women journalists as respectable women and as independent, professional women whose presence once, and still did, buck gender protocol. The women had come to be “not only welcome,” but “necessary,” because they had “made a distinct field of usefulness for themselves.” Gable is careful to note that women journalists were not over-stepping their gendered role by coming into newsrooms. The

102. Untitled article under “The Event a Brilliant Success—Many Well-Known Writers Present—Womans Enlarged Sphere,” 1895, N.P., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

103. Morgan E. Gable to the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, N.D., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

women were not there to overtake men and leave men without a place or a voice. Instead, women were creating their own field, and it was just as useful within the newsroom as the men's, Gable notes. His careful inclusion of the statement, "They have crowded out no man," was a defense of the women's intentions. They were not in newsrooms to become men or to dominate men in the workplace. They were able to both journalists and women while maintaining their womanly attributes and respectability.

The 1896 affair featured speeches that showed the women journalists' political bent and their own work for the municipal housekeeping movement. The club invited Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, then secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, to give a speech on "Equal Suffrage, the promoter of Happy Marriages." This "bright" speech was followed by musical entertainment interspersed with speeches on a variety of topics, including "The Boy Reporter—What We Think of Him," "The Blue Pencil-in Life" (The "blue pencil" refers to the editor's sharp pencil, which was colored blue in the nineteenth century), "Our Sleeves—May They Always Have Space Rates," "The Newspaper—as a Successor of the Sewing Circle, a Success," "The Woes of an Infant Editor," and "The Type of Womanhood—the Girl Reporter."¹⁰⁴ While the text of these speeches has been lost to history, the titles give a good indication of the club women's political stances. They saw their work on newspapers as a successor to sewing circles, previously a place where women could gather and discuss community affairs. The newspaper had become a place for women to discuss and influence public affairs. They reconciled the "girl reporter" with nineteenth-century womanhood, showing their own opinion that the two were not incompatible. In addition, the title of the keynote speech by Avery, shows the club member's own belief in the suffrage movement and in the idea that the best homemakers were those whose

104. "The Clubs," *Pittsburgh Bulletin*, Feb. 15, 1896, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

influence expanded beyond the home. Only with a wider range of influence could a wife be happy, and thus men who wished happy marriages should allow the vote. With these speeches, the club also advertised its connections to famous women reporters with letters from Margherita Hamm and Eliza Archard Conner, who was an editor of the American Press Association, and a toast to the club's own Bessie Bramble, who was hailed as "the woman reporter's friend."¹⁰⁵ Even while haling their own sex as leaders and conquerors of the newsroom, they were careful to present the perfect hostess face to their audience. Prior to the banquet, they present a tea for both men and woman newspaper reporters, and the affair was "brightened with flowers and plants," and the guests were entertained with both music and literary readings. The group invited members of the Pittsburgh [men's] Press Club and the Pittsburgh Women's Club. During the banquet itself, women were presented with "dainty glass boutonniere holders containing a rose," as favors, the tables were decorated with primroses and candelabras in old rose, the club's color, and the entertainment was designed to feature a mix of musical entertainment and the previously mentioned toasts. Coverage of the 1900 banquet was scantier than the 1895 or 1896 affair (although this could be more a deficiency of the archive than of the papers' coverage of the event), but previews praised it as "giv[ing] promise of being one of the handsomest and most successful entertainments ever given by the enterprising little club."¹⁰⁶ Throughout its nine seasons, the club marked itself as one of the best hostesses in the city by gathering kudos for its annual banquet and other events. At the same time, it also used these perfectly appointed occasions to give speeches on women's issues, which the women knew would be covered in the next day's paper, thus bringing attention to the expansion of the woman's sphere of influence.

105. Ibid.

106. First line: "The annual dinner of the Women's Press club..." 1900, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

The annual banquet was not the only area where the women pulled out their homemaking skills and trumpeted their journalistic talents at the same time. The women also hosted a highly successful series of speakers, most literary, to come and entertain their club. The WPCP was also aggressive about using as many avenues as it could to increase new opportunities for women in newsrooms across the city of Pittsburgh. At the club's 50th anniversary, Smith recalled both the club's aggressive fight to draw in the best speakers and a wide range of women who were affiliated with writing and publishing in the city. The former allowed the city at large to participate in conversations with the women. By hosting popular speakers and topics at their club throughout the season, the women showed they were more than able to engage in conversations with the day's biggest names.

But it was certainly a grand old Club. Nary a literary celebrity came within hailing distance that we did not capture him or, preferably, her. And did we give a simple dinner or luncheon at a dollar and a half a plate? No, my dear. It was always a banquet at the leading hotel, with usually the Mayor of the city sitting beside the guest of honor, with outstanding editors and literati bidding for tickets at five and six dollars a plate.¹⁰⁷

The detail they gave to their events created a quandary for people trying to label the women. Though they were "pugnacious," they were also consummate hostesses whose public events drew top-name speakers and the biggest local celebrities. Through their first fifty years, the women hosted names ranging from Woollcott (who was, perhaps, the biggest coup for the club) to Winston Churchill's niece, Claire Sheridan, and they accepted women from all walks of life, perhaps most notably stage star and renowned beauty Lillian Russell and novelist Mary Roberts Rinehart. The women proved their respectability by showing off that the mayor, the town's leader of both law and morality, enjoyed their events enough to sit with each guest of honor. From their editors they demanded the acknowledgment of a high-priced ticket, showing that their

107. Janey Coard Smith to Nanette Bregg, N.D. WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

events were grand enough to draw both money and pillars of society. The events were also so popular that they often overflowed the rooms in which they were held.¹⁰⁸

At the same time as the clubs' affairs allowed them to display their housekeeping skills, the club meetings and events showed that women were not only fit to speak about public affairs, but they were also eager and knowledgeable enough to do so. Early talk about the women's press club declared that it would die a quick death due to the presswoman's contentious (i.e., non-feminine) nature. However, the women used this prediction of their downfall to show the strength of their nature. In 1897, Mary Temple Bayard noted,

It was confidently expected that there would be bickering, squabblings [sic], dissensions and tears; and rather than disappoint anyone, the organization has fulfilled its (the) prophecy, and takes some measure of pride in it. Made up of real newspaper women, true to their training, a fight is at any time preferable to stagnation and so when the rest of you leave off furnishing sensations it is a club boast that it has the talent within itself to get up something in that line.¹⁰⁹

The WPCP founders were so assured that their members would be outspoken about public affairs that their original 1891 bylaws list the restriction that, "no member shall hold the floor beyond three minutes, except such privilege be accorded by motion, duly seconded and passed by the Club."¹¹⁰ To the press clubwomen, the ability to engage in learned argumentation about the day's issue was a sign of talent and good journalistic training. According to Bayard, the newswomen were showing their journalism credentials with their ability to engage in public debates and educate themselves about the issues of the day. However, Bayard argued, the women's ability to engage in debate should be a point of pride rather than shame. "If women journalists were not

108. Ruby Eiseman, "Woman's Club of the Air," WCAE, broadcast Jan. 28, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

109. Bayard, "Contributions."

110. *Constitution and by-laws of the Woman's Press Club of Pittsburgh, PA*, Pittsburgh: Press of Percy F. Smith, 1891, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 1 Women's Press Club-Charter and By-Laws, December 1893-October 14, 1988, DLAHHC.

credited with being a little less than angelic than women in general and if any one had ever heard of an organization of consequence without friction, our shortcomings would be cause for greater shame (among the surviving members) than we now feel it to be, and point fingers intended to index the pugnacious proclivities of newspaper women could with better reason point at us.”¹¹¹

The argumentation, according to Bayard, not only made the women journalists people of “consequence,” but it kept them from “stagnation.” They were alive and constantly growing as journalists and people because of one another. Of Cara Reese, honorary clubmember Grayce D. Latus wrote, “She had a great sense of humor and did not take life too seriously. She often expressed advanced opinions just to see this reaction.”¹¹² Evidently this form of “education” was the one constant at the WPCP throughout its early years. A cartoon from February 1933 shows a privacy screen with a sign stating “Women’s Press Club-1891-1933: members only.” (See figure 1.2) Behind that screen, women are ostensibly debating everything from Politics and movies to debt, war, travel, nudes, inhibitions, Japan, Technocracy, children, diets and symphonies.¹¹³ This wide range of debate topics spoke to the women’s knowledge of the world and the necessity to see debate as entertainment and education if one were a clubwoman. In 1941, member Ruby Eiseman declared, “You sure do get a training in how to take it from the Press Club. Until you finally learn the trick of handing it back you have some rough going. But it is worth it. The girls

111. Mary Temple Bayard, “Contributions from the members of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh,” *The American Youth*, n.p., n.d., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

112. Ann Zurosky, *1891-1991: The First 100 Years* (Pittsburgh, PA: The Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, 1991).

113. Drawing by Ed Rafferty, February 1933, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

nearly all have a keen sense of humor—not always gentle at that—but it is mostly FUN” (emphasis Eiseman’s).¹¹⁴

Even among the clubwomen, however, there was a sense of decorum that had to followed, however. One of the club’s most famous members, Gertrude Gordon, was rumored to have been blackballed “because of her flamboyant and sensational style of writing. She had a reputation of do-anything, go-anywhere for a story.”¹¹⁵ In her history of the club, Ann Zurosky, herself a longtime club member and past president, wrote that Gordon was the first woman to earn a byline in the local newspapers.¹¹⁶

The formation of the Women’s Press Club roughly coincided with the publication of Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s *The Woman’s Bible*, which signaled the in-roads that women had made throughout the public sphere. Women were marching into the workplace as typists and shop girls, and they were taking on a moral voice in the temperance battle. Women were seeking to find their own voice in all issues on the public sphere, and Glenna Matthews, author of *The Rise of Public Womanhood: Woman’s Power and Woman’s Place in the United States*, notes that the late 1800s and early 1900s were the decades where women made some of the greatest gains in their ability to speak in the public sphere. She writes, “But on balance, the fact that a few public women of the period, most notably Emma Goldman and Ida B. Wells, began to speak publically

114. Ruby Eiseman, “Woman’s Club of the Air,” WCAE, transcript, Jan. 28, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

115. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 21.

116. Nineteenth-century newspapers did not use bylines, and they were not common in Pittsburgh papers until the early twentieth Century. This makes it difficult to trace the career of any one member of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, for, even though the women make oblique references to articles they may have written, and there are some places where it can be assumed they wrote, such as the club and society columns, it is not clearly stated what the women actually wrote. Gertrude Gordon was the first woman to earn a byline in Pittsburgh papers. In her history of the club, Zurosky notes some of the more salacious titles from after bylines became more popular, including “Why Flirts Don’t Marry,” written by Ruby Eiseman under her pen name Beatrice Fairfax (19).

about sex, without losing the ability to command an audience, represented an extraordinarily significant breakthrough for all women, the first indication that women might someday speak on the same range of public issues as men.”¹¹⁷ The WPCP gave professional women journalists a place where they could speak on a range of public issues in a semi-public space. As women who worked for publications across the city, the seven founding women uncompromisingly battled their male counterparts for the “big” stories, proudly took on the role of “sob sisters”—those women who “covered sensational crimes with an emotional intensity that brought a tear to the eye”¹¹⁸—and joyfully battled one another for the biggest “scoop” in the city.

The club members drew attention and more women by creating notably lax membership rules in the 1890s. The primary requirement for active membership was that a woman had to be paid for her work, even if it was just a dollar per year of her age, as 15-year-old Smith was paid for her first two articles for the *Chronicle Telegraph*.¹¹⁹ However, for associate membership, women who were affiliated with men whose work was journalism (i.e., wives of editors and publishers) were recruited to join the club’s ranks. These women then used their influence upon their husbands to influence hiring decisions in the newsrooms, leading to an influx of women in Pittsburgh newsrooms.

Several of the papers did not at that time approve of women writers on the staff, so we cunningly conceived of inviting into the fold, as associate members, wives of outstanding editors. Many of these were marvelous women in more ways than one, and ere long every

117. Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman’s Power and Woman’s Place in the United States, 1630-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 148.

118. Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 32. Marzolf relates that the term “sob sisters” was coined by a male reporter to describe four women—Dorothy Dix, Winfred Black Bonfils, Ada Patterson, and Nixola Greeley-Smith. These four women were given front-row seats at the 1907 Harry K. Thaw murder trial and they were told to “give a sympathetic and emotional report of this sensational trial with its beautiful young heroine, Evelyn Nesbit Thaw, ‘the girl in the red velvet swing.’” This term soon came to describe a group of women reporters whose journalism was meant to tug on the reader’s emotional strings rather than his or her analytical strings.

119. *Ibid.*

paper had two or three women in editorial rooms. Those associate members were very helpful, inspiring, several of them later developing into writers.¹²⁰

As Smith noted, the club association had positive reciprocal effects on both active and associate members. Active membership grew because associate members were rallying newsrooms to open spaces for new women journalists. Associate members learned the craft of writing from the active members, which, in turn, led to some of them becoming wage-earning writers themselves. This shows the clubs' work as an informal education structure for more than just the women journalists. The journalists taught writing to women whose husbands were involved in the news business; those wives then, in turn, kept their husbands educated about the work of women journalists. The wives also became writers themselves, making themselves the next generation of women journalists to need the WPCP's support system. The club organically grew in this way.

Just as the organization of Sorosis forced the male press club to extend tickets to women journalists for the Dickens' event, the organization of the Pittsburgh Women's Press Club pushed male editors and journalists to begin accepting their female counterparts into their ranks. The simple show of solidarity gave the women strength to speak in the newsroom and gave them new ways to reach out to the local journalism community. Where the municipal housekeeping movement was encouraging women to become journalists, women journalists were organizing in their own ways but with similar goals to the municipal housekeeping movement. The women of the early WCPC demonstrated that women could still maintain their "womanly dignity," even as they were venturing further into the public sphere. By organizing, the women created a united front that showed they were the rule for womanhood, not the exception. The women used the image of woman as homemaker to expand their role in newsrooms. They were uniquely suited to covering their beats, they argued, and even as the club itself faltered throughout the uncertainty

120. Ibid.

of World Wars I and II, the women continued using the tools of womanhood to undermine the very image of womanhood that would keep them out various newspaper offices.

Chapter 3:
Sob Sisters Recreate the Public Sphere
The Turn of the Twentieth Century to 1940

“To Gertrude Gordon”

They call you brave and make a great furor
Because you sailed above the crowded streets
Because your courage all the merit bore
Of one who likes most reckless, daring feats

Because you witnessed nature on high;
Enjoyed the thrills that some will never know.
And felt the hush, the splendor of the sky
Where oft you longed incessantly to go.

And brave you were as women dare to be
But there are few who recognize your aim
Or know that you, such beauty went to see
For other honors than the gifts of fame.

The quest of fame is but a fond desire
To make the world take notice and applaud;
But you have cast that self into the fire
And have gone forth to do the will of God.

Tho’ not your love of flitting through the calm
Has brought to you this seal of best intent,
‘Tis nature’s lore you kindly share with man
For man’s advance on not on pleasure bent.

Real bravery dwells with women such as you,
Who through this world and not in depths of air
Start out to write, what high and lowly do,
To tell of life, its phases, false and fair.¹

1. G. Lisle Trent, “Gertrude Gordon Gets Letters of Congratulation: Beautiful Poem Written to Girl Reporter Who Sailed with Knabenshue in Balloon,” *Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 8, 1908, 1,
http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19081008&id=_gobAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=zkgEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=3686,1438805.

On 5 October 1908, famed WPCP member Gertrude Gordon took to the skies with aviator Roy Knabenshue in the first balloon flight across Allegheny County. The flight itself may seem to be in the vein of the 19th century's stunt girl journalism; however, this flight and Gordon's subsequent reporting of it served to change Pittsburgh reader's perceptions of both the capabilities of women and the abilities of newswomen to turn out a non-sentimental, well-reported, yet still exciting tale. As this poem from Oct. 8, 1908 notes, Gordon's flight made her female reader's imaginations explore new heights that they too could conquer, and the flight itself also evoked honor for the woman reporter's work. This poet and other authors who wrote in to congratulate Gordon on her flight remarked on her bravery, but they also extended it to other newswomen, those who "start out to write, what high and lowly do/To tell of life, it's phases, false and fair." True bravery, according to this writer, was the image of the woman reporter, she who engaged the people and reported their joys and sorrows on a daily basis. The female documentarian of daily doings did not need to take to the air to prove her courage. She proved it over and over through her regular reports to the public. This continual slog through the dredges of society and flight through the heights of human achievement altered the gendered public sphere and opened spaces in the twentieth century newsroom that women could claim even as the news business itself struggled with the rest of the country through World War I and the Great Depression.

While the WPCP's first decade saw a marked increase in women taking new positions at newspapers and conquering the front page, the first forty years of the century saw the club increasing in membership, certainly. However, women began to find themselves shunted toward the woman's pages and the society pages, and finding fewer opportunities for reporting outside

of the ladies corner. Suffrage was gaining ground throughout the United States, but members of the press club were not visibly active in the fight for the vote. According to Ann Zurosky:

For some reason, the Women's Press club never made a strong issue of women's suffrage. Old letters and articles did not dismiss the issue, the women worked behind the scenes, but according to one letter, unsigned, "we did not want to appear as radicals." The women were well aware of the Equal Rights movement, but whether they were not given opportunity to express their opinions openly as reporters because their rights were not a popular subject, or frowned on by editors who did not approve, is never made clear.²

However, women's journalists were making waves in the suffrage movement, and they were doing it within the proscribed boundaries of "acceptable" women's journalism. The "stepchild" of the profession, the women's page, which "once merited the scorn it received," wrote Ishbel Ross, was remade in the twentieth century as a place "cerebral as well as decorative."³ As Zurosky noted of the Women's Press Club members: Women journalists were working in the background of the suffrage movement, giving it a voice in the mainstream press.

As will be shown in later eras of the women's movement, the value of a having a mainstream voice was often underestimated by movement leaders; however, a presence on the women's pages brought publicity to new readers, sharing issues, topics, and ideas central to the forward progress of the feminine presence in the public sphere. Alice Fahs argues:

We do not ordinarily think of female journalists in connection with the fight for suffrage—but this is a mistake. *Publicity*, after all, became a central strategy of the suffrage movement by the turn of the century; and the chief vehicle for publicity in this era was the newspaper. Though rarely acknowledged, newspaper women's role in providing that publicity was crucial—as we can see by looking at almost any turn-of-the-century metropolitan newspaper. . . . The woman's page was one of the public spaces of the suffrage movement, where female reporters were able to provide regular, continuing news of suffrage activism.⁴

2. Ann Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 28.

3. Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), 427.

4. Alice Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper women and the Making of Modern Public Space* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 273.

For the equal rights movement to succeed, it needed to find places in the public sphere. Newspaper women worked—not behind the scenes, but at the front of the established presses—to create those spaces and bring attention to the voting fight. Publicity worked to change mainstream public opinion by exposing suffrage to public scrutiny and revealing the arguments for the issue. In addition, by expanding their coverage to political issues and turning so-called “women’s” work into stories that were full of solid, well-reported interviews and information, newswomen served as strong examples that women could engage in the public conversation on an equal footing with men.

This chapter considers the first forty years of the twentieth century, not so much as its own development in the history of the WPCP and the women’s movement, but as the culmination of all of the ideas that were fomented by the nascent nineteenth century women’s movement. This period saw the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women in the United States the right to vote and newswomen changing from stunt girls into household scientists and sob sisters. Women became fixtures in newsrooms throughout the United States, and then had to fight for every job as newspapers pared their staffs and freelancer budgets during the Great Depression and even during the decade preceding the 29 October 1929 stock market crash. The women’s press club adjusted to the realities of slim-pickings for positions and even slimmer incomes by raising money for a members-only emergency fund. Women journalists were celebrated and reviled, and all the while they were redefining the gendered public sphere. Without this work, newswomen would not have been able to create the revolution in women’s work that they saw during the 1940s, 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s.

This chapter begins with a discussion of women’s and society pages. This examination shows the ways that newswomen used their designated sections to highlight issues important to

the women's movement and to change public perception of women's abilities. The women's and society pages were the areas where feminine news writing was allowed to grow the most during the early twentieth century, and they provide a good study in the ways that mainstream news creators could use their positions to direct public conversation. This conversation will particularly highlight reportage on women's suffrage. Next, this chapter will examine the successes of the WPCP and how the club adjusted to a challenging economic climate. This will include conversation about the Great Depression's effect on news journalists and the WPCP's efforts to keep their members financially independent, and it will also look at several of the ways that members earned the spotlight by hosting some of the era's biggest names in literature.

There is a dearth of archival information for the first forty years of the twentieth century, which makes this chapter the most difficult to write in this dissertation. The group was haphazard about its own record keeping, so there is only a smattering of clippings. WPCP members didn't start keeping meeting minutes until 1920, in part because the group itself met infrequently and their meetings had no permanent home. They were a drifting group. In addition, there are no members still alive to help fill in the historical record. Therefore, this chapter relies on the scant historical record that is available: correspondence, the few programs and other memorabilia that the women thought to keep, the women's own history written in 1991, and, where it can be found, any newspaper archives that reveal insights into the women's work.⁵ Club historian Ann Zurosky made this acerbic observation of the era:

Old-time members say they were too busy writing of other events to preserve records of their own. The club had no formal program, no set purpose and no procedure. Well, what did you do? They are asked. Their reply: We got together, we talked the same language. We had fun!

5. Google News recently created archives for the *Pittsburgh Press* and the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. These archives are still being developed and implemented with new papers and issues, so more information is become available almost weekly.

It is surprising the club survived.⁶

In spite of the scattershot programming and inconsistent record-keeping, the club survived and grew. The early twentieth century was a period of development and survival for the WPCP. From 1900 through the passage of the 19th amendment and the 1920s, women journalists were making great strides in newsrooms and the public sphere. After 1920, newswomen, like the rest of the United States, were survivalists, scrapping for jobs and maintaining the status quo. Toward the end of the 1930s, though, the group recovered, and by 1941, 50 years from its founding, the group celebrated its anniversary with 58 members.⁷ The early twentieth century allowed newswomen, who, like the pages designed as “theirs,” were the stepchildren of the press, to become fully adopted members of the American press establishment. Gertrude Gordon’s epic flight was almost a metaphor for the work that newswomen were doing to elevate women’s work and remake the public sphere into their space. Without the women’s pages that anchored newspapers at the turn of the century and the so-called sob-sisters who filled their columns, newswomen would not have been able to soar above the private-sphere designated for them to create a place within the heady skies of the male-dominated public sphere.

6. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 38.

7. There is a discrepancy between this number and the one reported by Ann Zurosky in the club’s official history. However, according to an undated (although the year is presumably 1941 since the note is sandwiched in the 1941 meeting minutes) correction in the club notes, an unnamed club member noted that even though she had told the membership that they were 55 women strong at the fiftieth anniversary, the true number was, in fact, 58. She was uncertain as to how she had come up with the original number. I will use 58 as the definitive number since that is the number noted in the archive. “Correction,” WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

Women's Work: Newswomen reporting in the Twentieth Century

As the century turned, Pittsburgh's women journalists were becoming more prominent in their roles across the newspaper. Stunt girl journalism gave way to the title "sob sister," and women journalists found themselves being shepherded into a new stereotype of the "sentimental" or "pathos"-laden woman, which was just one of the ways that women's reporting was disparaged and sidelined. However, while women journalists, like all journalists of the period, indulged in emotional rhetoric, they were actually more aggressive and informed in their reporting and interviewing than they're given credit for. Alice Fahs says,

If we do pay attention to newspaper women's work, we discover a world surprisingly different from that of either the "New Woman" or the working girl of many histories of the turn of the century. Newspaper women of that era emphasized new forms of selfhood centered around freedom and independence (even if that freedom was often a fantasy). They rejected much of earlier sentimental culture, with its emphasis on the importance of a domain of privacy for women.⁸

Stunt-girl journalists pushed women into the public sphere. The increasing importance of the woman's pages and the staff "sob sisters" to a newspaper's sales figures broadened women's civic incursions as well. As Fahs notes, women journalists were remaking gendered identities, and in this way, they "helped to define a modern gendered selfhood."⁹ In other words, newswomen used their positions to change public perceptions of women's spaces and abilities.

Women's pages were the primary place where this work of gendered-place creation took place, although there were definitely women who worked on other forms of journalism. For example, one of the muckraking era's most famous journalists was Pennsylvania's Ida Minerva Tarbell, whose 1902 "searing expose" on the Rockefeller oil trust show that "her pen could be so

8. Fahs, *Out on Assignment*, 13-14.

9. *Ibid.*

mighty a sword.”¹⁰ Most women, though, found their way into journalism through the women’s and society pages. Women’s pages are often rejected out-of-hand as unimportant to historical study because they were a precursor to what would today be called a “pink ghetto,” or a place where women were shunned so that they would not have an influence on broader public opinion. Even newswomen, Fahs says, “were embarrassed by its ‘fluff’ and ‘gush’ and seemingly endless features about society women or its silly decorating projects that involved making furniture out of boxes.”¹¹ However, Fahs notes, newswomen did not create their pages; they were “the creation of male editors seeking an expanded female readership.”¹² In fact, Katherine H. Adams, Michael L. Keene, and Melanie McKay show that increasing female readership (and the subsequent increase in women’s pages in the newspapers), quadrupled the circulation of American newspapers that published between 1880 and 1945. This increase in the subscription base was “much larger than the percentage increase of population,” and, in fact, can be correlated with a large increase in features provided for female readers, including “home-product advertising, evening home delivery, women’s pages, and Sunday supplements that provided news and advice while marketing new products and entertainment options.”¹³ Newspapers inscribed ritual and regulation onto women’s lives, teaching them what it meant to be feminine in the early twentieth century. Adams et al. write,

From 1900-1950, the ritual of reading the news created a powerful channel for the inscription of cultural codes for women, one that presented a regularized organization of the time and space of daily life. The frequency and repetition with which daily news reporting engaged its readers ensured the vigorous operation of what Foucault describes

10. Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 103.

11. *Ibid.*, 13.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Katherine H. Adams, Michael L. Keene, and Melanie McKay, *Controlling Representations: Depictions of Women in a Mainstream Newspaper, 1900-1950* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2009), 3.

as ‘micro-physics of power’—daily, in text and photograph, for an audience of men as well as women, a position of what women should look like and how they should behave.¹⁴

The authors trace the changes of the model of idealized womanhood from turn of the century’s middle-class housewife, who was shown “exercising piety, purity, submission and domesticity as she creates the beckoning middle-class home.”¹⁵ This paragon of true womanhood soon used her image to spread her influence into the public sphere—defined as the man’s world—through political movements like suffrage and prohibition. By the 1920s, this housewife was soon turned from a positive image of true womanhood into a new deleterious stereotype. These new types, “whether [portrayed] as the pathetic woman trying to hold onto a youthful surface or the enlarging, nagging shrew (whom men suddenly have a right to divorce),” was contrasted with the free-wheeling flapper. Finally, in the 1940s, the “guilt-ridden neurotic wife, tied to a scientific mode of domestication and facing ongoing evaluation” emerged on the pages of the daily newspaper. “Thus, throughout this entire period, beyond the middle-class woman herself, the newspaper created external Others whose representation provided discipline for the main target group.”¹⁶ In this way, the newspaper with its women’s and society pages, its “women’s features,” and sob-sisterhood served to discipline the middle-class woman, to keep her in the roles that mainstream ideology wanted her to fulfill.

Women’s pages also served a containment purpose. Simply by placing the name “women’s pages” on certain parts of the paper, the editors and publishers were stating that the rest of the paper, by default, was for men, and, in fact, women’s news was not “masculine” (i.e., serious) at all. “The fact that there is a ‘women’s’ section may be the most powerful message of

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

all that the news is for and about men: how odd to think of one separate section for half the population, while the rest of the paper is for the other half,” write Pingree and Hawkins. “To make this point plainer, imagine labeling the parts of the paper directed stereotypically at men (sports, business, politics) as ‘men’s’ sections.”¹⁷ Pingree and Hawkins claim that this segregation enacts George Gerbner’s symbolic annihilation in that women’s underrepresentation and lack of hard-news coverage removes them from social significance; while I find this claim problematic, I am going to explore some of the reasons that a women’s page could be considered detrimental to the women’s movement before exploring how the women’s pages were useful to both women journalists and the nascent women’s movement.

Critics argue that women’s pages have historically been used to isolate and minimize news about women. In their study of women’s representations in newspapers from 1900-1950, Katherine H. Adams, Michael L. Keene, and Melanie McKay found that the *New York Tribune* included several articles on suffrage; however, they were relegated to the women’s page or the local news pages. They were “rarely on the front page.” The front page was reserved for “occurrences deemed more crucial: a fireman’s funeral, North Carolina bank robbers, flooding in Pittsburgh, the status of American navy ships, and a visit from a Japanese ambassador.”¹⁸ A 1970’s study on news definitions and their effects on women found that women’s pages contained most of the hard news about women, not other sections of the paper that might be more appropriate. Pingree and Hawkins note that “nearly all of the writers of news were males (even 75% of the stories on the front page of the ‘style’ section were written by males.)” Even in death, women couldn’t find parity. Pingree and Hawkins note that eighty-three percent of

17. Suzanne Pingree and Robert P. Hawkins, “News Definitions and Their Effects on Women,” in *Women and the News*, ed. Laurily Keir Epstein (New York: Hastings House, 1978), 126.

18. Adams, Keene, and McKay, *Controlling Representations*, 84.

obituaries were about men. “While we wouldn’t want to devote a lot of time to this last curious fact,” Pingree and Hawkins write, “it does cause one to wonder if more men than women are dying out there! Perhaps women never die, they just fade away.”¹⁹ This designation of “women’s” pages also indicates that there is a kind of news that is uniquely feminine, and that women will not be interested in any other kind of story. If this segregated coverage is to be believed, then, women want to read stories about the home, people, and economics, and they do not care about politics or international issues. Women are mythologized as “political primitives,” according to Doris A. Graber. However, Graber’s study of women and men’s agendas, media recall, and media diaries shows that there are no political differences between men and women:

Nonetheless, the stereotype of women as political primitives who avoid political information continues to live. It gains some support from women’s behavior in assimilating precise information and from their neglect of important sex-linked issues. It thrives on the fact that women talk less about current political affairs and express less interest in them. It manifests itself strongest of all in women’s voiced self-appraisals.²⁰

This myth of women as political primitives was both built and undermined by women’s pages. While women’s pages and society pages were filled with human-interest stories, they were also the surest place to find information on the women’s movement, and as already noted, they were

19. Pingree and Hawkins, “News Definitions,” 117.

20. Doris A. Graber, “Agenda Setting: Are there Women’s Perspectives?” in *Women and the News*, ed. Laurily Keir Epstein (New York: Hastings House, 1978), 34. While this section seems to claim that women had no interest in politics before the 1970s, it’s worth noting that women were actively participating in political dates before the Civil War, as can be seen through the Antebellum lecture circuits and Antebellum women’s scrapbooking, and even the women’s suffrage movement, which began in the early-to-mid nineteenth century. This political literary production and involvement is detailed in Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Voices Without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England* (Lebanon, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2010); Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, “Political News and Female Readership in Antebellum Boston and its Region,” *Journalism History* 22.1 (1996): 2-14; and Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

also the surest place to find hard news stories about women. This, then, was the success of the women's page.

While the gender-niche sections were problematic for many reasons, so-called women's journalism was important precisely because it gave a women place and a voice in the public sphere. Rather than annihilating them, women's pages expanded feminine influence; while the women's pages did perpetuate limiting stereotypes about middle-class white womanhood, they also gave a broader view of the types of conversations that women were already participating in. While newswomen of the early twentieth century celebrated their successes on the front page of the newspaper—a worthy feat, indeed, Fahs says—women's pages were important in their own right:

Yet we neglect the 'woman's page' at our peril. For it is precisely because most newspaper women were hired to write 'woman's features' that we find there a rich collection of these ambitious and intelligent women's writings about women's changing lives—on topics *not* limited to 'jam and cookery.' Likewise, we need to pay attention to women's special features—their pictures of urban life and personalities, their sketches and profiles, their interviews and 'human interest' columns. All of these stories offer compelling insight into a lost world of women's writings that placed women at the heart of a new public life.²¹

Even though some of the journalists themselves failed to recognize it, the work of woman's pages chronicled female lives in a way that was unprecedented. If women were to find a new gendered paradigm that allowed them to enter public conversations on an equal footing with their male counterparts, then their lives needed to find a place in the public conversation. Woman's pages with all of their "fluff" and "gush" provided that entry.

Women's and Society sections gave women an automatic place at newspaper, and later, it became the place where they could find guaranteed jobs even as the rest of the industry was grappling with shrinking incomes. In 1880, approximately one decade after ladies pages began

21. Fahs, *Out on Assignment*, 13.

popping up in papers around the country, the US census recorded 288 women in print jobs, and one decade later, that number had quadrupled; by 1910, more than 4,000 women were working in writing and editing.²² Women in the world of journalism were often college educated and were given the latitude to travel and garner national and international fame. “Journalism offered the opportunity to meet a vast number of the brightest minds around, an absorbing life and an escape from ‘the tea cup world’ of most women.”²³ Even Ishbel Ross, that formidable chronicler of early newswomen, noted that the evolution of ladies pages created a strong space for displaying the strength of women’s voices, particularly in the area of clubs:

In the beginning the press was not welcomed at a club meeting. The members knew they were violating convention in meeting at all and they feared ridicule. ... Today publicity pours in a constant stream from clubs all over the country. Their leaders would feel aggrieved if their resolution/ns were ignored. The sage editor sees that club news is soundly and accurately handled. In 1935 the *New York Times* [italics sic] succumbed to the national custom and inaugurated a club page for women, proving that the branch of reporting that first gave women a foothold in the profession is still one of their mainstays.²⁴

Just as the women’s press club itself violated convention by existing in the beginning, but was instrumental in providing a space for women reporters to learn and support one another, so club reporting provided this same safe space for newswomen. They proved they could accurately cover a meeting and garner trust. Their seemingly chatty reports on club work became newspaper mainstays, so much so that no paper, not even the *New York Times*, wanted to be without this section. The Woman’s Page and the Society Pages were both “the opportunity and the bugaboo of newspaper women.”²⁵

22. Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 21, 32.

23. *Ibid.*, 33.

24. Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 440.

25. *Ibid.*, 441.

The opportunity of these pages is obvious from looking at the swelling ranks of female writers and editors from 1880-1910. However, the true double-edged sword of these pages was in the sensational writing that earned them the terms “stunt girl” in the late nineteenth century and “sob sister” in the early twentieth. As mentioned earlier, the sob sister appellation was coined in 1907 to describe the four newswomen who had been sent to “give a sympathetic and emotional report” of the trial of Harry Thaw, who was accused of murdering New York architect Stanford White, for, he believed, having an affair with his wife, Evelyn Nesbit Thaw. The four ladies, Dorothy Dix, Winifred Black Bonfils, Ada Patterson, and Nixola Greeley-Smith, sat in the front-row of the press box, and a male reporter dubbed them “sob sisters” in his own report on the trial. While Dix, who was already a well-known columnist before the trial, “felt that her columns did some good, really helping people who needed it,” she was less flattering of her own sob sister work. These stories on legal cases “only boosted circulation,” she said.²⁶ Nevertheless, the stories did boost circulation, which meant that women reporters were in demand more than they were mocked because their turn of phrase attracted new readers. Newswoman Helen Rogers Reid stated, “There are still a lot of prejudices against newspaper women and the future is not a rosy one, but newspaper are an all around institution and need the woman’s point of view.... Ability is still rated as a natural masculine characteristic and is considered the exception among women. A woman should work harder to establish the idea that a good piece of work is only a normal piece of work.”²⁷ While sensational “sob sister” stories, women’s pages, and society pages were a newswoman’s “bugaboo” because they meant that women were stereotyped into a certain kind of story, which made it difficult to break into new areas of the paper, these same assignments gave women a firm place in the hearts of readers, which meant that the era’s biggest

26. Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, 37.

27. Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 137-138.

newsmen hired women in droves, an act which trickled down even to papers in smaller towns and cities across the United States. Sensation writing allowed women to “[develop] personalities whose columns attracted and held readers by the tens of thousands.”²⁸

Pittsburgh’s newswomen recognized the importance of their work to their reading public, and, in some ways, reveled in the “sob sister” appellation even as they reviled it. The 1917 program for the club’s emergency-fund fundraiser concert featured several pieces defending and celebrating the woman journalist. Gertrude Gordon’s, in particular, speaks to the public perception that the newswoman’s lot is an “easy” one. She notes, “There is not a newspaper woman in the world who does not love her work—if she did not, she speedily would get out of it, for only a deep, tremendous love for this work can carry one over the hard places in it.”²⁹ Gordon goes on to detail the types of stories that the “sob sister” must undertake, including would-be divorcees, politicians, “weeping boys” who have been hauled in front of the judge for their first offense (“One’s heart aches for them, and one always appeals to the magistrate,” Gordon says.), and her scoop as the first woman to interview National League shortstop star Johannes Peter “Honus” Wagner:

But how we love it—our work, and hold to it; and fight our city editor if he attempts to give these assignments to any of the men; and plume ourselves when we are praised; and weep, even we weep, when we are blamed, and feel humbly grateful for the little good we are able to do, and angry with ourselves for not doing more; we “sob-sisters,” “pathos experts,” as we sometimes are called. And how lonesome the newspaper reading public would be without us!³⁰

Gordon’s piece serves a defense of the newswoman, noting that even with their limited ability to be published in all sections of the paper women were able to cover a range of stories, from the

28. Ibid., 33.

29. Gertrude Gordon, “From an Interviewer’s Standpoint,” *Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh*, Jan. 11, 1917, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, DLAHHC.

30. Ibid.

sentimental to the hard-hitting political feature. These “pathos experts” were tenacious workers. Gordon’s Honus Wagner scoop necessitated her receiving a tip from a friend who was staking out the player’s house, venturing to the house, and refusing to take no repeatedly, until finally she got him to talk with the ruse of asking about his cars. When the piece was eventually published in her paper, *The Pittsburgh Press*, “no person was more surprised than he”; however, even Wagner admitted that Gordon’s report was accurate. From human interest to sports to political maneuverings, nothing was off-limits to the woman reporter. In this way, they showed that the women’s sphere was no more “private” than a man’s. Gordon’s Wagner story was one of the many places that newswomen took a traditionally “men’s” story and turned it into a story that all readers, regardless of gender, wanted to read.

Gordon was known as an intrepid woman whose work was so well-known that she earned a mention in Ishbel Ross’ definitive account of early twentieth century newswomen, *Ladies of the Press*. Ross wrote, “Our Gertie’s” list of stunts in quest for a good story makes good reading in and of itself: “Miss Gordon went up in a balloon for a story; walked into a cage with seven lions; helped the police to raid a Chinese gambling den; covered the Billy Whirla kidnapping and a mine disaster; was kissed by Sarah Bernhardt and interviewed all kinds of celebrities.”³¹ Gordon’s report of the balloon flight and the subsequent praise it received showed how the work of sob sisters and stunt girl journalists was also an encouragement to other newswomen. Gordon’s account of her balloon ride across Allegheny County was widely admired by readers and fellow women journalists alike.

On 6 October 1908 Gertrude Gordon took the skies with famed aeronaut Roy Knabenshue, and the next day published a sensational, yet accurate and highly detailed account

31. Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 561.

drawing readers into the air with her. It was, according to the *Press*, “the first unprofessional ascension ever made by a woman in the Pittsburg district, and the first balloon ascension ever made in the United States by a woman newspaper reporter.”³² The report itself is a good example of her writing style, which emphasized narrative, personal reflection, and descriptive details. The story starts with her reflections prior to the ascent, which included a deep desire to back out after she’d seen the “foot-high receptacle, whose only guard was a latticework for frail ropes.”³³ Gordon originally had been slated to take to the skies in an “airship”; however, Knabenshue had promised his wife that he would never take a woman to the skies in his flying machine. Therefore, he adamantly refused to take Gordon up when she first posed the query; a few days later, though, he offered to take her on a flight in the less-protected balloon, but only on one condition, she wrote:

“The president of the Aero Club here in Pittsburgh has said he would go up with me this afternoon. If he does not show up you can take his place; and I am frank in saying I almost hope he comes,” and he laughed.
“Well, I am just as strong in the hope that he does not,” I replied.
So, when at 4 o’clock the Aero Club man had not arrived, Mr. Knabenshue said I could go.³⁴

Gordon concentrated on describing the landscape and the feel of flying in the balloon, with rich imagery that brought the reader along on the flight. The reader heard “faintly, the clang of a trolley car bell occasionally, and the whistles of the tug-boats on the river,” and saw the long expanses of ground and hill, which caused Gordon to comment, “I never appreciated before the

32. “Tabloid Account of Girl’s Balloon Trip,” *Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 7, 1908, 1, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=djft3U1LymYC&dat=19081006&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

33. Gertrude Gordon, “Gertrude Gordon, Staff Writer of The Press, Takes Voyage Through the Air, With Roy Knabenshue, Aeronaut: She Tells Her Own Story,” *The Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 7, 1908, 1, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=djft3U1LymYC&dat=19081006&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

34. Ibid.

extent of this immense plot of ground given over altogether to the cause of beauty.”³⁵ She commented to Knabenshue that she wished the average Pittsburgher could see the same scenery, which resulted in this conversation:

When I spoke the thought, Mr. Knabenshue said: “I think that not only would people get a better idea of their own work if they could go up in balloons, but don’t you think they would have a better idea of the magnitude of the Creator?” and his voice was very reverent as he spoke.

“I think,” he said after a long pause, “that if there were more balloonists there would be fewer atheists. You cannot help but feel when you are up here such a short distance above the earth, what a stupendous thing the universe is, that extends for incalculable millions of miles around you. Ah!” at my quick exclamation, “that makes you think, does it not?” And I confess it did.³⁶

Gordon continued to note that the crowds below looked like brightly-covered handkerchiefs, and as they drifted across the rivers, the temperature dropped and evening began to fall as the flight crew drifted toward the farm where they eventually landed. Gordon wrote, “The hour I spent so very near the clouds always will be one of my most treasured memories.”³⁷ This event turned out to be one of the stories that cemented her reputation as one of Pittsburgh’s foremost female reporters. The story created such a furor among the reading public, that the letters of praise were published for days, and it was remembered even in her obituaries almost fifty years later.

The poem transcribed at the beginning of this chapter was just one of the letters of praise her report received. The letter writers showed how Gordon’s descriptive style was important for creating feelings among readers, and the event served as encouragement to her fellow women across the Pittsburgh reading. This letter from a fellow woman journalist shows how Gordon’s stunt work was inspiring to her peers:

Your story was great. I congratulate you. When I heard you had gone up in the balloon I felt that you had done a most enterprising thing, but I trembled when I realized the

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 2.

enormous task you had before you in writing an article in keeping with the interest of your ascension. But when I read the story my fears were all turned into admiration. It's the finest special story I ever read in any newspaper. The absolute naturalness of the narrative, coupled with the clear-headed, business-like manner in which you covered all phases of the trip, even to the dog fight, makes it great. Again, I congratulate you.³⁸

Pittsburgh's women reporters were a tight-knit group who competed with one another, read each other's work, and supported one another, even as they saw their fellow newswomen landing stories that garnered an enviable amount of praise and attention.

Another area that women reporters shone was in suffrage reporting. Suffragists were often denigrated in mainstream news coverage, stated Adams, Keene, and McKay: "From 1908 to 1915, many articles portrayed suffrage campaigners as violators of the true-woman code: hysterical, petty, selfish, overly aggressive, and inappropriately aligned with the lower class. Although other mainstream newspapers gave suffrage less coverage, they echoed this critical tone."³⁹ This framing was necessary for fitting the issues that the women were discussing into the mainstream news frames that were used by many newsmen. The typical journalistic framing of news, argues Kimberly Voss, is inherently masculine and can be looked at through three frames: the Conflict Frame, the Craft-Related Habits Frame, and the Objectivity Frame. Because these frames are inherently gendered for a male readership and keep reporters focused on immediate concerns rather than delving into the substantive issues in a comprehensive way, Voss argues that women's pages in the 1940s, 50s and 60s should be viewed as a different type of writing altogether. While Voss is only arguing for reframing women's pages' importance from 1940-1970, I extend her frames to understand how her ideas reveal the way that women's and society

38. "More Praise for Gertrude Gordon: Another Pittsburg Newspaper Woman Lauds Balloon Story Written by Press Writer," *Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 9, 1908, 1, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19081009&id=wobAAAIBAJ&sjid=zkgEAAAIBAJ&pg=2145,1826350>.

39. Adams, Keene, and McKay, *Controlling Representations*, 84.

pages during the early twentieth century reshaped ideas of the female sex as a whole. Using the masculine news frames outlined by Voss were both a boon and a bane for women. Adopting the traditionally masculine frames of news allowed women to make gains throughout the profession; however, they were also wielded to pigeonhole women into certain kinds of reporting, and they kept women from being more vocal about advocating for issues they thought were important, which meant that women's issues, like suffrage, were not necessarily covered as astringently as "men's" issues.

Voss' first concept, "the conflict frame," basically states that news reporters run stories that have a high amount of opposition, which many journalists would see as a signal that people are interested in a story. Voss says, "By using this frame, journalists focused only on the conflict itself rather than the issues that women's movement leaders were trying to draw attention to. It also showed that women who took a stand on an issue were to be shown as deviant."⁴⁰ The conflict frame was often used to denigrate women protesters, and this can be seen in some coverage of the woman suffrage movement. Women who protested were seen by media watchers as outsiders who were unhappy with contemporary women's place as homemaker and caretaker. The women placed themselves in the public eye, and therefore, they were visible to everyone as so-called rabble rousers; however, the visible women represented thousands of women who did not take their complaints to the media. The conflict frame causes reporters to focus only on what they can see and that which draws attention and protests from people outside the movement. Therefore, even if the majority of women were dissatisfied with their place, they were not perceived as being a part of the women's movement because they were not causing conflicts;

40. Kimberly Wilmot Voss, "Redefining Women's News: A Case Study of Three Women's Page Editors and their Framing of the Women's Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2004), 59-61.

movement protesters could be dismissed as a group of “angry women” with “gripes” because the majority of their movement was pushed by issues that were not conflict-based.⁴¹ The *Pittsburgh Press*’ coverage of suffragists concentrated on those conflict-based events, and often went out of its way to portray the activists as unladylike. A May 4, 1913 article on a parade of more than 30,000 women halted to highlight the six “beautiful young women” who were there to represent the anti-suffrage movement. Rather than the details of the women’s argument, the article only presents them as the attractive-looking opposition to the hoard on the street:

A policeman soon ordered the antis off the street, saying they were violating the anti-peddling ordinance. The girls were very indignant. They were beautifully gowned in red and black, the antis’ colors, and attracted widespread attention and admiration. The policemen, however, was firm and compelled them to retire inside their doorway.⁴²

The anti’s serve to highlight the conflict and to show the attractiveness of the women who believed that the feminine sex belonged in the home in contrast to the women’s vote advocates. Conversely, though, the focus on the women’s dress and beauty belittles their actual positions, even while it makes the suffragists seem like the combative, unfeminine group. Suffragists made the paper when they followed around every male Chicago politician trying to get planks in the 1916 national conventions,⁴³ when they marched in the streets, and when a male politician spoke out in favor of their cause. This kind of events-based coverage built an image of suffragists as militant, although at least one article noted that American women’s vote advocates would not

41. Ibid.

42. United Press, “Thousands in Great Parade of Suffragists: Despite Sweltering Heat Votes for Women Advocates Make Showing,” *Pittsburgh Press*, May 4, 1913, classified section 11, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=1EYbAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=JEkEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=6765,1035845&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

43. United Press, “Suffragist Shadow Attached to Every Male Politician,” *Pittsburgh Press*, May 31, 1916, 6, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=7RsbAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=P0kEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=3486,4519066&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

tolerate militancy like their British counterparts.⁴⁴ This contrast with the British suffragists was often used to portray the “unnatural” roles that suffragettes took, since the women’s vote activists across the ocean were seen as more militant and “manly.” For example, an August 1908 article in the *New York Tribune* details an African safari taken by two sisters (who are never defined as suffragists, per se) to “[separate] English suffrage aggression from American common sense.” These scandalous sisters took their trip “alone, wore khakis, men’s clothes, shot one rhinoceros, many lions, leopards, hyenas and jackals and numbers of deer and antelope of various species.” The article then noted that this kind of behavior would be unthinkable for the “American girl.” “American women might take on new values and causes, this piece implies, but they should never begin shooting antelopes, sleeping in tents with black men, or taking to the streets to secure the vote.”⁴⁵ As Keene, McKay, and Adams note, the British suffragists were often used as a conflict-frame foil for American votes marchers. If the women’s votes activists wished to retain their ladylike façade, then they needed to avoid public and unfeminine behavior, like that undertaken by the English sisters on safari. The votes for women activists were alternately portrayed as combative, tenacious, militant, smart, unladylike, and as representing every woman. However, as the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* observed in a tenth-anniversary editorial celebrating women’s suffrage, women have been just productive—or unproductive—as men with their vote: “It is due the suffragists, however, to say that when critics ask in a doubtful tone, ‘What have women done with the vote?’ the question might be turned back on them with the

44. “Militancy Finds No Favor with American Women; Cool Receptions for Mrs. Pankhurst Predicted,” *Pittsburgh Press*, Oct. 26, 1913, 6, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=7RsbAAAIAIAJ&sjid=P0kEAAAIAIAJ&pg=3486,4519066&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

45. Adams, Keene, and McKay, *Controlling Representations*, 84-85.

demand, ‘What have men done with it?’ Indeed, the most cutting remark that has been made on the women voters is that ‘they vote just like a man.’”⁴⁶

Voss’ next frame, “the craft-related habits frame,” states that journalism is events-based, and reporters naturally gravitate toward stories that are timely and prominent (perhaps because of a conflict). If the story features prominent people or involves a large amount of people, or if it happens at a time when a reporter is more able to hit his or her deadline with a current story, then it is more likely to get covered.⁴⁷

Voss’ final frame, “the objectivity frame,” posed the most difficulties for women professional journalists. Objectivity is the journalistic creed that a reporter should leave his or her bias behind in his or her reportage. Steven Maras, whose new book *Objectivity in Journalism* specifically tries to overcome “the lack of an overarching sense of scholarship, and a deficit in relating theory to practice” as it pertains to journalistic objectivity, traces today’s most formative debates about objectivity, interpretation, and interpretive reporting to the 1950s and McCarthyism. He writes, “The 1950s in the US was a time when the positive connections between journalistic objectivity and the processes of democratic deliberation began to be strained: objectivity became, for many, part of the problem not part of the solution.”⁴⁸ Voss contends that the objectivity mandate often resulted in reductionist reporting that results in reporters simply getting quotes from what Voss calls, “both sides,” although most stories have more than two sides. However, those other viewpoints are more difficult to find because their proponents are not as vocal. Voss notes that many women reporters found themselves conflicted

46. “Ten Years of Women’s Suffrage,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1930, 8, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=57VhAAAAIABJ&sjid=v2gDAAAAIABJ&pg=2967,2961582&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

47. Voss, “Redefining Women’s News,” 62-63.

48. Steven Maras, *Objectivity in Journalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 3.

because of the journalistic insistence on objectivity. Many of the issues prized by the women's movement—equality in pay and promotion, childcare and women's reproductive rights—directly affected women journalists, and yet they had to remain “balanced” in their reporting. Voss argued that opposition voices were sometimes over-reported, like Phyllis Schlafly, a staunch conservative voice who unsuccessfully ran for the United States House of Representatives in 1970s and soon after began a highly successful and visible campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which succeeded suffrage as the cause for women's activists. Even though Schlafly was in a minority when she began her campaign in 1972 (30 states of the 38 necessary to pass the amendment had already ratified the ERA), she was widely quoted in the media because she represented an opposition, Voss writes.⁴⁹

The pitfalls of the objectivity frame were evident particularly for supporters of women's suffrage. Zurosky wrote, “The women were well aware of the Equal Rights movement, but whether they were not given opportunity to express their opinions openly as reporters because their rights were not a popular subject, or frowned on by editors who did not approve, is never made clear.”⁵⁰ Zurosky illustrated the conflict that women faced through headlines about the vote. As has already been shown, many of the WPCP members were staunch supporters of the women's vote. However, newspaper coverage of the issue, particularly by women, was more conflicted. Zurosky found mentions of “equality” as early as 1884, “but there is a pious smugness in the reports.” Gertrude Gordon's coverage often swung from supporting women's equality and advocating for female issues to writing issues like the 1910 one referenced by Zurosky, “Can Women Be Trusted with the Ballot?” that featured opinions from women that

49. Ibid., 64-66.

50. Zurosky, *The First 100 years*, 28.

“were as varied as the women themselves.”⁵¹ As much as the women tried to fit their reportage into the objectivity frame, they still faced a clear bias against them from their male colleagues.

Zurosky wrote:

For all the coverage at various periods, it was hard for women to combat the prevalent bias against them from the male population (and this included some editors and reporters), who deemed it a divine right to dictate the women’s mode of dress as well as their assignments. In 1893, *The Press* carried this questionable endorsement: “*The Press* would like to see women enjoy the privilege of the ballot, if only to observe what they would do with it. The probability is that after the novelty had worn off they would not take the trouble to go to the polls, but would regard their suffrage with the apathy felt by many men who have become disgusted with politics.”⁵²

Even though Zurosky holds this quote up as an example of the bias against women, it is important to note that the author was just as derisive of male voters, who were apathetic and misused their own vote because they were “disgusted with politics.” In some ways, then, women were not just battling bias; they were fighting the reality of many men already misusing the very vote they were seeking, and this negative stereotype was extended to them by proxy. Michael E. McGerr traces a long trend of declining voter turnout around the turn of the century, when women’s suffrage was inconsistent and often nonexistent in most places throughout the United States. He writes, “The election of 1904 set the pattern for the next sixteen years. Each presidential election brought reports of apathy and low turnout. . . . By the ’twenties, a massive political withdrawal had occurred across the country. Much of it took place in the South, where disenfranchisement between 1890 and 1910 had torn the vote from blacks and many poor

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 29.

whites.”⁵³ McGerr notes that the 1920 presidential campaign only drew 49 percent of the eligible voting population.⁵⁴

The suffrage movement may have seemed like a typical “woman’s” story since it was on a movement run by and for women. However, the story itself delved into political conversations and public spaces usually gendered for men. The women’s reportage shows that they did not approach the story with “sentiment” or “fluff.” Instead, they used traditional new styles to give the suffrage story as much play as possible in their papers. A 10 October 1915 story by Gertrude Gordon starts with a straight news lead that is packed with information and reminds readers that the suffragettes have experienced several successes of late:

Sparing no time in thought over the events of last week, fruitful though that period was in accomplishment for the cause, local suffragists are taking a long breath today in anticipation of the struggle into which they will throw themselves tomorrow. The indorsement [sic] of President Wilson, members of his cabinet, his private secretary and the former present governor of Pennsylvania have thrown into the suffragists a feeling of coming victory. The fight for equal franchise is being waged this fall in four states, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, but nowhere is it better than right in Pittsburg.⁵⁵

This lead, while not a ringing statement that Gordon is a suffragist and all people should support the women’s vote, served to remind readers that this fight is important and that it is one that readers should heed. Gordon assumes that readers know that suffrage had received endorsement

53. Michael E. McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 185-186.

54. Ibid.

55. As previously noted, all uses of the term “Pittsburg” without the h are correct for the era; however, the adoption of the “h” on the end of Pittsburgh came in the early twentieth century, so while I will keep the original spelling in quote and in publication titles of the time, I will use the “h” in all other references to Pittsburgh. Gertrude Gordon, “Real Suffrage Fight Starts Here Tomorrow,” *Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 10, 1915, 4, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19151010&id=AIsfAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=OkkEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=4367,2648316>.

by President Woodrow Wilson the previous week, and it portrays the activists themselves as forward-thinking, untiring women who are almost assured of a victory.

Other WPCP members were more outspoken in their support of suffrage, even if they weren't announcing their support in their news stories. Lillian Russell, the noted, turn-of-the-century stage beauty, wrote a long-running beauty column for her husband's paper, the Pittsburgh *Leader*, and became a club member on the basis of that work. In 1915, it was rumored that if suffrage became law, she would run for mayor of New York, to which the *Milwaukee Sentinel* responded: "Her honor, the mayor of New York, Lillian Russell! Who knows but we'll have a chance to vote for her. (It seems quite too obvious and unnecessary to say that we all will vote for her if the chance is ours.)"⁵⁶ The article goes on to note that the possibility of Russell's reign had been adopted for several political posters in favor of the vote, and at least one man was heard to say, "That's the best suffrage argument I've heard yet. Guess I'll vote 'yes' for the amendment next fall."⁵⁷ The article's frothy feel carries throughout most of the discussion, although the article ends with an extended discussion of Russell's potential agenda while in office, which includes several conventionally feminine talking points, such as reducing child labor and feeding poor children. However, her final comment on the issue shows her as a thoughtful, strong woman who was a savvy businesswoman and politician as well as successful actress:

"If I were mayor I would do my best to give the city a businesslike administration conducted on lines of strict economy," she declared. "As a business woman myself, I know what that means. The chief reason why I want to vote is because I pay three kinds

56. "Lillian Russell Would be Gotham's First Mayor," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 18 March 1915, 3, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=Xh5QAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=VAoEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=7278,2941381&dq=lillian+russell&hl=en>.

57. *Ibid.*

of taxes—on my property, my income and my business—and I think I ought to have something to say about what is done with my money.”⁵⁸

In her presentation of herself, Russell is careful to first establish herself as a true lady who is interested in “women’s work” issues. In this way, she disarms her readers by showing that she is not deviating from appropriate women’s public behavior in any way. Then she uses this established image to change her rhetoric to one that was common even in the masculine political milieu. She notes that women are, essentially, being taxed without representation, and that giving them the vote would give them say about what would done with their own money. Russell deliberately notes that she is not “owned” by a man and a man does not manage her finances, except when it comes to taxes. Suffrage would not only give her a platform for controlling her own finances, it would give her a way to ensure that city finances were also managed with “strict economy.”

While suffrage was a common ladies story, most women reporters did not work on political stories. Even the more traditional women’s-angle stories, though, required an intrepid writer who was willing to work until all hours and sacrifice a lot to get the scoop on her competitors. On being presented with a lifetime membership, Helen S. Collins remembered the early twentieth century as a time designed for scrappy reporters who had patience and public relations skills. Even as they were reporting news, the women who covered society news played an important role as intercessors between their papers and society’s upper-crust.

A job I didn’t like was shutting myself up in a phone booth and staying there till I got a lead for the next morning’s edition. Occasionally I’d get two or three leads which could be used on succeeding days. The debutants were good sources and hostesses who would tell about parties they were going to as a prelude to the ones they were giving. We kept books of course to refer to for the regular yearly charity balls. Saturday afternoon weddings were kept out of the Sunday paper till we called up and verified that they had taken place—those that we didn’t have to attend ourselves. Even now, I imagine, society

58. Ibid.

editors have been told of the bride who fell down a flight of stairs breaking her leg and thus postponing the wedding. The account of the wedding appeared in the Sunday paper, however. Probably an apochryphal [sic] story.

This is a freer age, of course, and probably people who like publicity now admit it. We protected society people and before putting their pictures in the paper we painted out cocktail glasses, cigarettes, and put longer skirts on the women, particularly if they were seated in boxes at horse shows and other sports events. Our paper was locally owned and many of the people we wrote about were friends of the publisher. We knew they read the paper with their breakfast trays because if we made mistakes we heard about it, sometimes that very day.⁵⁹

Today's reporters might recoil at the thought of reporters deliberately changing pictures and stories to cater to the needs of the paying public; however, is painting out a cocktail glass or cigarette any different than the Photoshop-slimming of celebrities that we do today? In many ways, society reporters of the early twentieth century were as careful to keep their reporting accurate and unbiased—even as they had to cater to the monetary needs of their paper. They camped in the phone booth looking for the perfect story and ensured that even that mainstay of the newspaper—the wedding story—was as well-reported as possible.

Women's reporting was a good way for newswomen both to support themselves and to feel like they were making a difference in other people's lives. Dix, who so reviled her sob sister work, thought her work as a nationally known syndicated columnist was truly important work. At the end of her life, she wrote of her own writing, "My job has made me mother confessor to millions. I have given all that is in me trying to help them."⁶⁰ Her role as "mother confessor" was said to have earned her more than sixty million readers around the world, and she died a millionaire at the age of ninety. Lillian Russell's beauty column is a good example of this "mother confessor" role. Russell's column was run in newspapers across the United States,

59. Response of Helen S. Collins on the occasion of her being presented Honorary Life Membership of Women's Press Club by the President Mary Ellen McBride, N.D., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, "Women's Press Club History, 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

60. Schilpp and Murphy, *Great Women*, 120.

which is a benefit for this dissertation since I only found a microfiche archive of the *Pittsburgh Leader*, where it originally ran.⁶¹ As a WPCP member, Russell was controversial. Marion Brunot Haymaker was quoted in the club's history as saying, "I fought like a Trojan to get her in. One of the membership committee didn't want her. She said, 'she had four husbands, and a woman with four husbands is uncanny.' The member was unmarried herself."⁶² One of the WPCP's acerbic older members noted to Ann Zurosky that Russell's column "was probably ghost-written"; ghost-written or not, it was undeniably popular and serves a good example of the kind advice that women were writing and receiving in the early twentieth century. A 1912 column responded to the legions of women and girls asking her how reduce "thick lips." After several pieces of advice, ranging from telling girls to stop biting their lips to advice to avoid smoking, she ends with this pithy piece: "Remember: An uplifting thought relaxes all the facial muscles and makes the hardest mouth sweet."⁶³ This advice plays into ideas of the ideal woman as one who was always happy with a sweet, friendly disposition. A column the next year found Russell discussing the benefits of ear massage, which apparently "makes the ears set more closely to the head and at the same time it strengthens the muscles of the neck." She continued to write that most women's necks were not strong enough, resulting in head sagging forward, which caused

61. Many of the original Pittsburgh papers, include the *Leader*, are held on microfiche at various libraries in the Pittsburgh area, including the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh and the Hillman Library at the University of Pittsburgh. However, because they're on microfiche, they're difficult to search and find specific information, such as Russell's columns or individual articles. As a researcher, I found that digital archives, although not complete, were often more useful because keyword searches could identify specific women authors, articles, or topics. Microfiche newspaper archives are increasingly being turned into digital archives, which should create many new opportunities for researchers as individual writers, columns, and topics can be more easily isolated and explored.

62. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 23.

63. Lillian Russell, "Lillian Russell's Secrets of Beauty: Beautiful Lips," *Spokesman-Review*, July 19, 1912, p. 7, retrieved from <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=va9XAAAIBAJ&sjid=pfMDAAAIBAJ&pg=7114,5970760&dq=lillian+russell+in+spokesman-review&hl=en>.

the cursed “double chin.” She continues to advise women on how to best avoid the double chin, including avoiding high necklines because, “Women who live in lands where the neck is never worn high are never afflicted with the double chin.”⁶⁴ While this type of writing was undeniably limiting for women of the era, it was also, in some ways, freeing because it did bring women’s conversation and ideas into the public consciousness. Women’s sections were an important way for women to redefine their roles into viable ways to operate and succeed in the public sphere. This conflict caused females to succeed at the turn of the century, but it also made them more vulnerable as the United States faced economic and international instability from the end of World War I to the beginning of World War II.

Perseverance and Progress

In many ways, the time between World War I and World War II was both a time of growth and a time of destabilization for the Women’s Press Club. Ann Zurosky wrote of the era, “Post-war years and the Depression were not the times to launch a newspaper career. The women could only cling to what they had achieved, but some lost their jobs.”⁶⁵ It is true that many women struggled to find jobs that paid a living wage, and the club itself garnered only a few women at each of its meetings as the newswomen struggled to pay their dues. Nevertheless, the women made many gains during this period as well. To shore up members’ ailing finances, they established an emergency fund. They hosted one of their most famous guests, Alexander Woollcott, ran the first issues of their satirical publication, *The Waste Basket*, and grew their

64. Lillian Russell, “Lillian Russell’s Secrets of Beauty: Ear Massage,” *Spokesman-Review*, Apr. 22, 1913, p. 12, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=va9XAAAIBAJ&sjid=pfMDAAAIBAJ&pg=7114,5970760&dq=lillian+russell+in+spokesman-review&hl=en>.

65. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 28.

membership ledger to fifty-eight members by 1941. The club itself was also actively bringing new women into its ranks and building a strong base for women journalists in the Pittsburgh area. The club featured stage beauty Lillian Russell and noted novelist Mary Roberts Rinehart. Charter member Marie Coyle Able recalled that the club was aggressive about inviting women journalists, but even they occasionally missed an important woman:

I loved the club and its purpose and we worked so well together. It was an exclusive little club if you recall and it was as hard to gain admission as the proverbial camel going through the proverbial needle. We made one mistake in not invited Willa Cather to join. She was telegraph editor on the "Leader" and I cannot understand why Adelaide [Nevince? Name obscured] did not propose her name.⁶⁶

Cather went on to become one of America's most famous novelists, and the club records mention her for several decades following their failure to recognize her as a member.

One important woman the club did not overlook was Rinehart, who was made an honorary member. Rinehart, who hailed from Pittsburgh's Allegheny West neighborhood, made herself a leader for women journalists throughout the United States when she prevailed upon her editors at *The Saturday Evening Post* to send her to the WWI battlefield before the U.S. had even joined the battle. She was the first woman to cover the Belgian front, and while touring, she was granted interviews with King Albert I of Belgium and Queen Mary of England, a rare accomplishment for any journalist of the time.⁶⁷ Her WWI notebooks, which are available online from the University of Pittsburgh Special Collections, offer an interesting variety of reflections on being a woman on the warfront, where she struggled to get automobile accident insurance because of her gender, on her travels with military officers, and poignant thoughts on the war and

66. From Marie Coyle Able to "Dear Mrs. Bregg," Jan. 29, 1928, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, folder 2, "Women's Press Club-Correspondence, January 24, 1900-1967, DLAHHC.

67. Alice Doolittle, Elvia Arroyo-Ramirez, Kelly McMasters, and Margaret Huang, comps., *Guide to the Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Special Collections Department, 2013).

the boys fighting it. While her handwriting is difficult to decipher, much of her own sorrow about the war comes through in observations and vignettes. As she steamed toward England on her first trip to the warfront in 1915, she found herself confronted with many young soldiers, and many of her personal writings confront her own discomfort at seeing boys sent to war. She slips in references to the soldiers' ages several times in the several-day trip from the United States to Europe. On January 11, she wrote, "M picked up a few officers there and one, young and eager faced in [indecipherable word] and red has a seat at our table. He rises and bows beautifully when anyone comes in [indecipherable]. He is such a nice lad, with such ardent eyes—so eager to be off to the business of war. It rather hurts to see him. He is so tidy and so young. He smiled at my Red Cross Button."⁶⁸ Her own position as a mother of three young boys seems to infuse her thoughts about the uniformed young men she sees parading toward the front. Very soon after the preceding Jan. 11 description, she reflects that many of the soldiers who claim they are fifteen look like they're "about ten" in their uniforms. She writes, "Why are they always so small? What are their mothers about to let them come?"⁶⁹ As she arrived in England, the perilousness of her own situation as a single woman who was "alone" and going to war made her nervous. After her passport had finally been cleared for her to enter England on January 18, 1915, she wrote, "I am a little frightened. Everyone is very kind, but I am alone after all. Will I justify the expense of the trip? Will I be able to send any message to the people of America that they have not yet had? Can I picture this horror of war as I shall feel it?" Even her own nerves about her work could not drown out her fear for the soldiers she has and will meet: "The

68. Mary Roberts Rinehart, "Monday, January 11," *World War I Notebook-The Business Year Book 1915*, Box 9, Folder 1, Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers, 1831-1970, SC. 1958.03, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA.

69. Mary Roberts Rinehart, "Tuesday, January 12," *World War I Notebook-The Business Year Book 1915*, Box 9, Folder 1, Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers, 1831-1970, SC. 1958.03, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA.

newspaper casualty list is horrifying. And so many of the dead officers are boys. Such nice clean cut boys with clear, ardent eyes and squared shoulders, photographed carefully in new uniforms, and then sent off to God knows what misery and black death... Boys who a little while ago were spinning tops or getting their first [indecipherable] in football.”⁷⁰ Rinehart quickly acclimated to the war environment, however.

Within her first week in England, she had to learn to navigate the misinformation campaigns being run by the English, steel her nerves through black outs and air raid sirens, fight to get a release to travel to Calais, and join the soldiers. On Jan. 27, 1915, she wrote, “Two weeks and four days since I left New York and here I am, laying out my cold cream and my toothbrush as calmly as though German guns were not banging away, destroying [indecipherable] four miles away. I can even see them flash now and then.”⁷¹ Perhaps more inspiring to other newswomen, however, was Rinehart’s ability to quickly network with the primary newsmakers on the warfront and to capture some of the biggest stories of the war, such as the interview with Queen Mary of England. Her entry for Feb. 18, 1915 conveys a sense of breathless excitement at her own victory: “I have seen the Queen of England. I have done much more. I have talked to her for almost an hour. She is charming—the most surprising person, considering what I expected. Full of fun, leaving milk kindness, and so much handsomer than her photographs that she should never publish one.”⁷² The person who presented her to the queen

70. Mary Roberts Rinehart, “Tuesday, January 18,” *World War I Notebook-The Business Year Book 1915*, Box 9, Folder 1, Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers, 1831-1970, SC. 1958.03, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh.

71. Mary Roberts Rinehart, “Jan. 27, 1915,” *World War I Notebook-note pad with cover missing*, Box 9, Folder 2, Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers, 1831-1970, SC. 1958.03, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh.

72. Mary Roberts Rinehart, “Feb. 18 (continued),” *World I Notebook-Reporters Note Book*, Box 9, Folder 3, Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers, 1831-1970, SC. 1958.03, Special Collections Department, University of Pittsburgh.

was one of the royal ladies in waiting; Rinehart spoke to the queen about prisoners of war, clothing for orphans, and her meeting with King Albert. Even though Rinehart faced trials as a woman covering the war, she found that her reporting more than justified the expense of getting her to the front and she did find stories that American had not heard of otherwise.

While women journalists were working during World War I and immediately after, the women of the WPCP found its members struggling to make enough to pay their rent and food. In 1917, the club started the initiative that would be both reviled and lauded for the next several decades: an emergency fund from which any member could borrow funds. The post-war recession that marked the end of World War I didn't occur until 1918, so it's unclear what particular financial hardships faced the women during the war. However, it's clear that the fundraiser in 1917 was a social coup and important for several women in the organization. Then-president Marion Brunot Haymaker wrote in her welcoming letter in the night's program, "The financial success of our undertaking is assured; and we are confident that our friends who are with us today will enjoy the entertainment provided by what is probably the most notable gathering of celebrities ever brought together before a Pittsburgh audience."⁷³ A notable gathering it was too, as Russell had gathered her friend show business friends to assure the evening's triumph. The program featured Russell, "Dance Divertissements" with Clifton Webb and Gloria Goodwin, a monologue by "Jack" Thompson, a song cycle by Mme. Caroline Hudson Alexander, a reading by Eddie Foy and "Seven Younger Foys," a group of songs with Al Mamaux, a reading by "Phil Dwyer & Co." "Little Pal" Leo, "A Dancing Interlude" with

73. Marion Brunot Haymaker, *Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh*, p. 3. Jan. 11, 1917, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women's Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, DLAHHC.

Quentin Todd and Helen Clark, and The prologue from “Johnny Get Your Gun” featuring the Sheridan Square Theatre, and a musical interlude directed by Paul K. Herrmann.

The program itself featured many amusing essays by club members and friends about the woman writer. “The Featherless of the Species,” by Louise Landis created a zoological classification for the “reporter,” which, “must not be confused with the English specimen, journalist.” Landis went on to give insight into the woman reporter’s working style, which included wearing a pair of gloves, which could be conveniently forgotten so that the owner could slyly return and surprise some politician or another at a compromising time.⁷⁴ Haymaker characterized the woman writer as a creature both domestic and public whose work gave the inspiration she needed to continue for the next day's work:

The modern writing woman admits here is considerable satisfaction experienced in the energy given in the struggle toward the final reward. She knows that, as she goes along, with head high, eyes clear and foot sure, she is very liable to get more than her share of the world’s blue sky. But along with all this must there be intermingled the grime of the irksome duty, the soot of yesterday’s blunder, the cigar smoke of the editor who said such a curt “No.” ...

This woman has taste her own cooking. It has been as honey to her palate. And though the time may come when the greater part of the public has forgotten, she at least can reach to a table, or a cook shelf, and lo, the tale is told again. In other words, she has proven the fallacy of not being able to both eat and have your cake.⁷⁵

According to Haymaker, the newswoman had found true fulfillment. She could face the “irksome duty” because her “final reward” was being able to read her stories years after the public had forgotten the tales she’d told.

74. Louise Landis, “The Featherless of the Species,” *Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh*, p. 13, Jan. 11, 1917, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, DLAHHC.

75. Marion Brunot Haymaker, “Window of Wisdom for Women,” *Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh*, p. 17, Jan. 11, 1917, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, DLAHHC.

By the end of the night, the women had earned an extra \$2,700 for their coffers; it was put into the emergency fund, which Zurosky said, “not all members approved of this emergency fund, afraid their small salaries would be made public.”⁷⁶ However, for many women, the fund was life-saving. Catherine Patterson, who had moved to Provincetown, Massachusetts, but was still privy to the fund as an ex-member, wrote to club in 1933 to thank them for their assistance. She said, “Thank you ever so much for the check. You certainly got it here in record time and the taxes were paid the very next day—Thank God! So perhaps I can manage to have a roof over my head for another year—unless things get more hectic as time goes on.” Patterson, who had recently been to New York and had seen several friends of the club, went onto note that most writers were struggling at the time, which was about four years from the stock market crash that started the Great Depression. Of the people she had seen, she wrote, “They are hanging on too! And who isn’t—whether blessed with a job or not? These be perilous days, and I do hope they are about over.”⁷⁷ The perilous days were not even close to over, however. The club’s treasurer’s ledger for 1920-1955 shows loan disbursements being made into 1945.⁷⁸ The fund was not always well-used, though. Zurosky wrote that several members remember a woman who applied for a grant, “However, her ‘need’ turned out to be a fur coat. Several older members recall the incident but loyalty, even today, keeps them from revealing her name.”⁷⁹ Most members, though, needed the funds for survival, including paying the bills that followed a sudden illness and, like

76. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 26.

77. From “Catherine” (presumably Catherine Patterson) to “Dear Bernice,” 8 Cudworth Street, Provincetown, Mass, N.D. April 24, 1933, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 5, Women’s Press Club Records-Funds, 1922-1955, DLAHHC.

78. The records are unclear on disbursements after 1945, so it is not certain when the emergency fund was discontinued. However, later records indicate that the fund was forgotten by some members as early as the 1950s. Treasurer’s Records, Dues 1920-1955, WPCP, MSS 131, No Box, DLAHHC.

79. Zurosky, *The First 100 years*, 26.

Patterson, taxes, housing, and food. The club itself struggled to bring in enough dues to pay its bills as its members strained to find enough resources themselves. Zurosky notes that even though dues were raised to \$4 in 1922, only 27 members could afford to attend their \$1.75 a head anniversary dinner at Hotel Schenley. In 1932, only 12 members paid dues, and in 1934, dues were dropped from \$4 to \$2 to encourage more women to remit their payments. “In some instances,” Zurosky writes, “when a tea was held, members who could, quietly paid more than their share to cover costs of those who could not. Nothing was ever made public of this thoughtfulness.”⁸⁰ The club was a way for women to support one another as they all faced both sexism and a deflating job market that meant lower wages and fewer jobs for everyone. Even small gestures, like covering another member’s tea, allowed the members to encourage others to stay in the journalism game and to continue fighting for their literary lives.

Even as the women were struggling to maintain their positions and their income, the club itself still featured some of the finest intellectual entertainment in the Pittsburgh area. Speakers were the club’s mainstay, although as the Depression deepened across the United State, the women found that many speakers were reluctant to donate their time. Mary L. Hay, who was entertainment committee chairmen in 1930, wrote, “The chairman of the entertainment committee can look back on the good old days when the great and near-great were privileged to be honored guests of the Women’s Press Club—but during the past year, the darlings of the gods accept invitations on a strictly commercial way. It has been almost a cash-and-carry basis.”⁸¹

Zurosky recorded that the club also featured Fanny Hurst, Rebecca West and Richard

80. *Ibid.*, 33.

81. “Annual report of the entertainment committee 1929-1930,” WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

Haliburton, among others. When they could not bring in a speaker, they created their own skits and poetry and a satirical publication, *The Waste Basket*, to entertain and enliven conversations.

In 1934, the club brought in the epochal speaker for the first half of the twentieth century: Alexander Woollcott. The cantankerous author whose weekly radio show, “The Town Crier,” offered reviews of books and bon mots about Hollywood stars, first declined the club’s invitation to speak because he had to be in Cleveland for an engagement the next day, and there were no trains to take him. However, club member Mary Drayne and her husband intervened and offered to drive the celebrity to his Cleveland engagement if he would agree to speak to the club. He assented, and the event, which was held at the Hofbrau on Market Street, became the season’s high point. The club sold tickets for one dollar a piece, but “what started out to be a more or less small and intimate affair of about 100 covers grew nearly to the 300 mark when the women’s Press Club.”⁸² The speech was so popular, in fact, that the women had to “forcibly close” their doors against a crowd of people who were still trying to get into the event.⁸³ The meeting minutes said of the event, “The Women’s Press club entertained what was probably one of the greatest collections of literary people and literature-loving people ever assembled in Pittsburgh,” with everyone from local playwrights and players to newspaper owners and publishers turning out to fill the seats.⁸⁴ While Woollcott was not the only speaker on the night’s ticket, his fellow orators—Cortland Fitzsimmons and Gordon Grant—were overshadowed by the furor of

82. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg, “Woollcott Press Club Guest,” Oct. 23, 1934, N.P., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbooks, 1930-1940, Women’s Press Club-Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, DLAHHC.

83. Ruby Eiseman, “Woman’s Club of the Air,” speech broadcast on WCAE, Jan. 28, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, History 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

84. Meeting Minutes, Oct. 22, 1934, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

excitement surrounding the writer whose acerbic reviews were broadcast over the radio weekly and whose writing regularly appeared in the august *New Yorker*.

Woollcott himself was met with mixed reactions. Helen S. Collins remembered him as “a difficult dinner partner, replying to all efforts at conversation in monosyllables,”⁸⁵ and it was widely reported that he showed up with “barber’s itch” on his chin. A scathing column by Charles F. Danvers was just one of the stories that portrayed Woollcott as condescending. Danvers wrote, “He was exceedingly brilliant at the expense of lesser intellects,” and then went on to indicate that not only was Woollcott haughty beyond his position, he was also uninformed about issues that dominated the headlines across the rest of the country:

It happened that they [Woollcott and the Draynes] arrived in East Liverpool, Ohio, about the same time that the body of America’s Public Enemy No. 1, Charles “Pretty Boy” Floyd, shot down a few hours earlier near Wellsville, was being taken to a mortuary there. Naturally there was great excitement in the town as the result of the death, in the vicinity, of a banditry whose name had been on Page 1 of almost every newspaper in the country, off and on, for several years.

“Well, Mr. Woollcott,” observed Drayne, as they were passing through East Liverpool, “I guess you’re glad they got ‘Pretty Boy’ Floyd.”

“Who,” Mr. Woollcott wanted to know, “is ‘Pretty Boy’ Floyd?”⁸⁶

However, others found Woollcott to be both charming and funny. His first line, “Hello you ink-stained wretches,” was purported to have “brought the house down.”⁸⁷ In fact, the Draynes jumped to Woollcott’s defense in a rebuttal published directly below Danver’s withering review of the man. Vincent Drayne wrote:

I was sorry to hear that any one thought him patronizing. I found him exactly the opposite. In the four or five hours we were with him, he was entirely natural and unassuming. His talk at the Women’s Press Club was screamingly funny. He evidently

85. Response of Helen S. Collins on the occasion of her being presented Honorary Life Membership of Women’s Press Club by the President Mary Ellen McBride, N.D., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 2, Women’s Press Club History, 1896-1954, DLAHHC.

86. Charles F. Danver, “Pittsburghesque: What did he ever write, huh?” N.P., Oct. 31, 1934, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1930-1940, DLAHHC.

87. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 35.

went to a lot of trouble to figure out the things which might interest Pittsburghers. In private conversation he was pleasant, agreeable person, very easy to talk with, very interesting and with a healthy, normal curiosity about people and places in Pittsburgh—something you'd hardly find in a fellow who thought the world ended at the Holland tubes.⁸⁸

For their part, the club members approached their auspicious guest with their usual sly sense of humor:

It seems that you like Woollcott or you don't. If you like him, you probably go around driving people mad by repeating his witticisms. If you don't like him, all we can do is to repeat what Nora Waln's little girls said after he criticized her mother's book: "My conclusion is that he is not a bad man, but a too hasty one."⁸⁹

All of the controversy over Woollcott's appearance simply served to cement the WPCP's position as one of the city's elite intellectual groups. Woollcott appeared with the WPCP even though other place that might have been considered more prestigious simply because Mary Drayne stepped forward and offered to drive him to Cleveland if he'd speak with the club. This kind of hustle and motivation reflected throughout the women's work as journalists and as members.

While many of the group's events were literary, they also brought in speakers whose sole purpose was to inform them on current events and issues that they thought were important to their community. The women seem to have been particularly interested in housing issues. They hosted various housing authorities at their meetings and learned about issues such as slum housing and its cost to municipalities and early efforts at recycling (replanting) Christmas trees. They also heard about a range of off-beat topics from various experts, including: astrologist Marguerite Carter, who spoke about "planetary knowledge" and told the women what the stars

88. Danver, "Pittsburghesque."

89. Nora Waln wrote *House of Exile* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1933) about the twelve years she lived in China around the 1920s, and *Reaching for the Stars* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1939) a best-selling account of the four years she and her husband spent in pre-war Germany. Meeting Minutes, Oct. 22, 1934, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women's Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

said about them⁹⁰; Dr. Solomon B. Freehov, who spoke on a topic that still sounds relevant today: “The Search for Sanity in the Modern World”⁹¹; Miss Margaret Ingels, the nation’s only air-conditioning engineer, who visited the club in February 1931⁹²; Miss Birget Nissen, a former Norwegian newswoman, who spoke about her work in Norway⁹³; and Graham Netting, Herpetologist, who entertained the club with a talk entitled “Superstitions about snakes.” The meeting minutes note that Netting brought “living specimens of the snake family” to illustrate his talk.⁹⁴ While their club topics clearly show that the women had eclectic interests, they still emphasized speakers who could either educate them about an issue of importance to their work or to women’s advancement. The member’s skits and self-made games were given much freer reign to express the women’s bent toward the social and political advancement of their sex. Maggie Rehm argued that suffrage literature served several purposes, most of which can be seen in the literary production that will be examined later in this section. It served to educate both the broader culture and the suffragists, and it made the political case for women as full-fledged citizens of an empire. “Suffrage literature...both participates in and intervenes against the ideological work of culture. It questions, it enacts, it reifies, it challenges; it is neither able to refute cultural norms entirely, nor to function without them, yet it encourages critique and

90. Meeting Minutes, November 1934, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

91. Meeting Minutes, November 1936, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

92. Meeting Minutes, February 1931, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

93. Meeting Minutes, Feb. 4, 1929, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

94. Meeting Minutes, May 3, 1926, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 8, Women’s Press Club Minutes, June 1, 1925-1942, DLAHHC.

participates in social change.”⁹⁵ The skits, poems, songs, and even newspaper work of the WPCP membership shows the same investment in social change.

One example of this kind of public-art-come-argumentation happened at the 1940 anniversary dinner at The Ruskin. There, the women posed the question, “If we were to send a woman to the White House, who would we send?” For the game, which was introduced by Marie McSwigan, Helen Ryman, Helen Donnelly, Marion Leslie, and Frances Walker’s skit “Women’s Press Club Sends First Woman President to the White House,” the women came up with campaign slogans and then voted on their favorite candidate. The sometimes risqué slogans ranged from “Put me in the White House and I’ll put Hitler in the dog house” to “True love, speech and beer.” The clear winner at the end of voting was the *Sun-Telegraph’s* Bernice Shine.⁹⁶

The women’s skit was not as far-fetched as it may sound. The era was a big one for women journalists interested in White House politics. Eleanor Roosevelt had come into the White House and insisted that only women could cover her activities as First Lady. The former journalist and syndicated columnist “thought that by allowing only women at the press conferences, she could discuss women’s issues more openly as well as provide jobs for women reporters.”⁹⁷ Roosevelt used her position as first lady as a bully pulpit for women reporters as women politicians, with whom she often held joint press conferences. Her weekly press conferences drew a regular group of 30 to 40 women, and several of the women who covered her owed their jobs directly to her advocacy. “Among those earning by-lines and writing lead stories because of their access to news via Eleanor Roosevelt were Lenora Hickok of the Associated

95. Maggie Rehm, *The Art of Citizenship: Suffrage Literature as Social Pedagogy*, (Ph.D. Diss: University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 12.

96. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 29.

97. Adams, Keene, and Mckay, *Controlling Representations*, 160.

Press, Genevieve Forbes Herrik of the *Chicago Tribune*, Marjorie Driscoll of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, Grace Robinson of the *New York Daily News*, Bess Furman of the Associated Press, Eleanore Kellogg of the *New York World*, and Emma Bugbee of the *New York Herald Tribune*.⁹⁸ While Roosevelt herself was alternately portrayed as an aging ornamental wife or a savior figure, according to Adams, Keene, and McKay, she lived her life so openly that news reports were often unable to contain her to traditional female stereotypes. In these ways, she acted as a role model to other women who would leave the private sphere, and she provided new gendered public spaces that allowed women to break out of their female newspaper pages and into the main pages of the rest of the paper. Blanche Wiesen Cook says of the former First Lady, “[Lorena Hickock] was responsible for ER’s decision to hold affirmative-action press conferences, for women journalists only, and encouraged ER to write what became one of the most popular syndicated columns in the country, ‘My Day.’... Sustained and emboldened by her intimate friends and the wide-ranging feminist network of activist women and political men who accompanied her throughout the White House years and beyond, ER became nonconformist and followed the impulses of her own vision, and the needs of her own heart.”⁹⁹ That relationship with Hickock, one of the foremost newswomen of the era defined Roosevelt’s relationship with the female press, and it also helped Roosevelt herself to redefine her own role as a feminist and author in her own right.¹⁰⁰

While Eleanor Roosevelt was supporting women journalists by awarding them a space in the venerable ranks of the White House Press Corps, the Women’s Press Club was beginning to think about new strategies for highlighting the accomplishments of their own members. In 1938,

98. Ibid.

99. Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume One 1884-1933*, (New York: Viking, 1992), 7.

100. Ibid, 489.

the club organized itself to give its first internal award to a member whose writing was the best of the year. The award for best newspaper feature article was announced at a meeting on 6 June 1938, and it was given to Jeanette Jena, with Florence Fisher Parry and Anna Jane Phillips receiving honorable mentions. That first award was twenty-five dollars. This venture into highlighting member accomplishments foreshadowed a concentrated shift within the club toward boosting female journalists through a variety of awards, which included both honors for members and scholarships for aspiring female journalists. Internal accolades focused newspaper coverage of the WPCP on the successes of women journalists, creating a strong argument for women journalists rising through the ranks of newspaper and taking on responsibilities. The growth of prize-giving in the WPCP and its concurrent support of newswomen will be discussed in further depth in the next chapter, as the women's awards program grew and prospered throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

The first forty years of the twentieth century created a strong foundation for the WPCP to become a mature, vocal advocate for Pittsburgh's newswomen over the next forty years. While the names may have changed from "stunt-girl journalist" to "sob sister," newswomen's work helped redefine women's public sphere roles by expanding the public perception of what was acceptable women's work or even the importance of traditional women's work, such as house cleaning. Housework was redefined as domestic science, and women were shown working on municipal improvement projects ranging from education to prostitution. While women's pages were a ladies ghetto, they were also the place where women could publically discuss issues important to their political futures. Suffrage received positive coverage in the women's sections, whereas the equal vote activists were sometimes characterized and sidelined on the main news pages. The importance of stereotypical women's topics, like beauty, cannot be discounted either,

for they gave ladies a way to discuss issues important to the home life, and through those discussions, they could expand the definitions of acceptable private sphere behavior. The WPCP also created inroads for women's voices by highlighting gendered pay inequity with their emergency fund. That emergency fund gave newswomen independence and strength in an era rife with economic and social uncertainty. The women also hosted a variety of creative people, and they received national attention from their guests for their abilities hosting viable and rich literary evenings. Real bravery did dwell in women such as these, for even if they weren't soaring through the skies, they were telling "of life, its phases, false and fair."¹⁰¹ This telling drew women together, lifted them up, and allowed them to succeed in the public arena in ways that would make their coming incursions into World War II, women's education, the civil rights movement, and the women's liberation movement possible.

101. G. Lisle Trent, "Gertrude Gordon Gets Letters of Congratulation: Beautiful Poem Written to Girl Reporter Who Sailed with Knabenshue in Balloon," *Pittsburg Press*, Oct. 8, 1908, p.1, retrieved from http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19081008&id=_gobAAAIBAJ&sjid=zkgEAAAIBAJ&pg=3686,1438805.

Chapter 4
Those Who Dare and Do in the Women's Press Club
WWII and the 1950s

'Thanks for the Memory'
(Apologies to Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger)
For the 50th Anniversary Dinner of the Press Club of Pittsburgh

Thanks for the memory
Of fifty years now past,
Mem'ries that will last
Of seven dauntless pioneers with heads bared to the blast-
What smart gals they were!
Thanks for the memory
Of Bessie Bramble too,
Cara Reese, she who
Reported on the Johnstown Flood where women were taboo-
What brav'ry that took!
Many's the time there've been headlines,
And many's the time there've been deadlines-
But we have kept out of the breadlines
Tho we've been dunned
For that Emergency Fund:
And thanks for the memory
Of founder Janie Smith,
The girl who joined with
The nineteen Charter members of the Press Club, that's no myth-
so thank you so much!

Thanks for the memory
Of years of friendship true,
Skies both gray and blue,
And printer's ink, and don't you think our troubles have been few-
How lovely it was.
Thanks for the memory
Of those who dare and do-¹

1. Carolyn Hunt Mahaffey, "Thanks For the Memory," 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC. Ralph Rainger and Leo Robin, *Thanks for the Memory* (New York: Paramount Music Corporation, 1937), featured in *The Big Broadcast of 1938*, directed by Mitchell Leisen (Universal City, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1937). "Bessie Bramble" was the pen name of Elizabeth Wilkinson Wade, the first woman member of the Pittsburgh Press Club

The above poem by Carolyn Hunt Mahaffey, based on song lyrics from a contemporaneous movie musical, was written for the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh's fiftieth anniversary in 1941. The club's golden anniversary marked a turning point for its creation of its own public memory. Up until this anniversary, the group's efforts to capture its history were sporadic. Nan Bregg, one of the club's leading members, noted in a column on the event:

The fact that the club was founded on February 7, 1891 in the office of the old Commercial Gazette is established in a copy of the first by-laws and constitution published shortly after organization. The names of the founders are also in the 50-year-old book.

However, there is little besides this booklet and some yellowed newspaper clippings to tell what went on in the early years of this decidedly unusual club. Possibly the members have been too busy writing of other clubs' affairs to preserve any records of their own club, which, without formal programs, without a set purpose and without any of the procedure customary to other organized groups has survived for half a century and is stronger today than it has ever been before.²

The poem, which was delivered at the club's annual banquet, was just one of the many ways that the club members reiterated their own history at their meetings. Sometimes women dressed up as "newshens" from previous decades and acted out skits that showed some of their important moments, such as Cara Reese, the only woman reporter to get a scoop on the 1889 Johnstown Flood, and the formation of the club's "emergency fund," which helped women reporters, whose salaries were notoriously slim, to survive through the even slimmer years of the Depression. Other retellings of history, like the one above, were delivered in comedic form as take offs on the time's popular songs (such as, "Thanks for the Memory"), and while making the banquet

(1892), who was a music critic, social reformer, and newspaper contributor; see Patricia Lowry, "Bessie Bramble: A Force for Change," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Mar. 4, 2007.

2. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg [Nan Bregg], "Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh to Celebrate Fiftieth Anniversary: Booklet and Letters only 'records' of early years," *Sun-Telegraph*, Jan. 26, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

attendees laugh and celebrating the daring-do of past generations of news women, these same songs, skits, and poems served an important function of both creating and cementing the women's history.

At the same time as they were celebrating their own history, the women were deeply embroiled in World War II and the nationalism that accompanied America's participation. WWII opened opportunities for women both on the home front and abroad.

Good things emerge from bad situations, and a lot of positive changes for women came out of World War II. For one thing, they found they could do things they never imagined doing. In the Stateside (sic) job market women were courted; they took jobs and learned skills and gained a self confidence they may never have acquired otherwise. They worked in munitions factories and on farms; they went up into the skies as pilots, and deep underground as miners. Women who served in the military, particularly those sent to the combat zones, expanded their world as they never could have done on their own; an ex-WAC and dear friend of mine, now over ninety, speaks of their tour of duty in the Pacific theater as the happiest time of her life.³

As men marched off to war, nearly 100,000 women paraded with them in the Women's Army Corps (WAC), according to the United States' Department of Defense's official history of the WAC.⁴ In addition to the WAC, women enlisted in the Navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES), the United States Marine Corps Women's Reserve (USMCWR), the Air Force's air WACs, who were technically a part of the full WAC, and the Army Nurse Corps. Two of the WPCP's largest personalities and women who helped to shape the club both

3. Nancy Caldwell Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War: The Riveting Saga of World War II's Daredevil Women Correspondents* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1999), 397-98.

4. Mattie E. Treadwell, "United States Army in World War II: Special Studies in The Women's Army Corps" (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1991), xi, available from <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/Wac/index.htm>. The official histories of the WAC disagree as to the actual size of the WACs during WWII. According to Bettie J. Morden, the original legislation authorizing the formation of a Women's auxiliary provided 150,000 spots for women. Once the WAAC—The Women's Army Auxiliary Corp, which was the original, pre-military name for the group—was turned into its official military version, the WAC (the Women's Army Corp), Morden says the enrollment limit was removed. For more information, see Bettie J. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps: 1945-1978* (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1990).

before and after the war, Bernice Shine and Veronica Volpe, also enlisted. Shine's enlistment in the WAC moved the club toward more active involvement in learning about the war effort and gathering money for the Corps, and her name and her quick ascent through the WAC ranks riveted the attention of the entire city as both the club and her home newspaper, the *Sun-Telegraph*, frequently relayed updates for the public to read. Volpe, who enrolled in the WAVES, was not a member of the WPCP before the war and neither did she write for a city paper before she left, so her work was not as well documented during WWII. However, she used her WWII experiences as a WAVES chef and cookbook author to become the city's most prominent food writer upon her return, and that wartime experience was used as an advertising tool by her paper, the *Post-Gazette*.

Upon returning home, many women found that they were expected to give their newly found places back to men and act out the Cold War tableau of the perfect American family of "the white and well-fed variety—[which] radiated wholesomeness, cleanliness, fecundity, and fidelity. Liberated by shiny new appliances, apron-clad mothers played with their boisterous broods. Rosy-cheeked fathers jauntily swung their briefcases as they strolled off to work."⁵ The reality of women's life was much more complex than this white-washed family portrayed on the pages of *Life*. Ruth Rosen, author of *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*, argues that "While the media painted a roseate portrait of suburban motherhood and the happy nuclear family, growing numbers of women actually entered the labor force..." In addition to entering the workforce, women joined leftist organizations and causes, including gays and lesbians and progressive political groups, irrevocably altering the country's

5. Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 8.

domestic and political landscapes.⁶ While the WPCP was not and is not a progressive group, it used the momentum that its women had gained in WWII newsrooms to continue opening new doors for women journalists. During the 1950s, the group fostered young women journalists by first bringing promising college journalists to their annual awards ceremony for networking, and second, by later extending their work with college women to a scholarship in honor of the city's most famous sob sister, Gertrude Gordon. The scholarship, which continues today, raised the prominence of women journalists not just by supporting young journalists, but also by raising the profile of women journalists, as the club drew in judges from across the United States and used high-profile names, such as United States Ambassador to Luxembourg Perla Mesta and actor Rock Hudson, as interviewees for their competitors.

In the 1950s, the WPC clearly guided coverage toward women's issues, including women in the military and women leading political issues. As will be shown below, archival evidence shows the Women's Press Club focusing on raising money for the Women's Auxiliary Corps and actively stumping for women's presence across the newsroom during the late 1940s. There were several articles written by members of the club about Capt. Bernice Shine and the WAC, and they also had no qualms about reporting the club's numerous activities, including meetings and speakers, in their society columns. They also showcased women in politics and journalism as speakers both in their meetings and their awards ceremonies. Perla Mesta, a former Pittsburgher and ambassador to Luxembourg, was featured at the first awards ceremony for the Gertrude Gordon Awards Ceremony.

The women were not alone in choosing subjectivity. A move toward "new" journalism, where the reporter put his or her judgment at the center of the story was gathering steam

6. Ibid.

throughout the journalism profession. In the 1920s, a *New York Post* reporter joined a heated debate at a meeting, at which behavior his fellow reporter exclaimed: “If this sort of thing is allowed, it bodes no good for journalism.”⁷ However, as political controversies as wide-ranging as McCarthyism, which fueled the Cold War in the 1950s, and Civil Rights marches continued sweeping across America, “Many members of the press corps concluded that strict objectivity favored conventional wisdom and blurred the truth.”⁸ For women, adhering to a strict definition of objectivity also blurred the line between what they knew to be the truth in their own lives and the party line that had been reported in the media. However, varying from the objective did not mean that the WPC was immune from the period’s prejudices.

This chapter will examine the war years of World War II and the decade immediately following. In addition to creating a strong memory for itself, the club used this period to immerse itself into the war effort, which opened up many new opportunities for women. During the 1950s, when many women were expected to return to the home, the WPCP demonstrated that the women’s movement was not in the “doldrums,” as Leila Rupp and Verna Taylor describe the time period. The WPCP showed that women were still working for expansion of work and education opportunities that would continue to move women forward. As the country was enjoying a post-war boom, the WPCP was turning that boom into a boon for women journalists through scholarships and increasing support, as well as the establishment of a long memory of the club’s already numerous accomplishments.

7. Donald Ritchie, *Reporting from Washington: The History of the Washington Press Corps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), xi.

8. *Ibid.*, xii.

Women at War

World War II opened several new opportunities for women, both at home and abroad. Here in the United States, women found new work and educational opportunities because men were conscripted into the war. WPCP member Woodene Merriman remembered the war as a time when she could stretch her own ambitions to become a journalist. She said, “More [women worked on the newspapers and went to college] than you would think because this was WWII and all the boys had gone to war. So I was the editor of the school newspaper.... I was very involved with journalism at school. It’s the only thing I ever wanted to do. From the time I was kid, I never had any doubt.”⁹ Women joined the newly formed Women’s Army Corp (WAC) and the navy’s parallel group, the WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service). Judith A. Bellfaire’s official military history of the WACs states that the 150,000 women who signed up for WAC service “were the first women other than nurses to serve within the ranks of the United States Army.” The transition was a rocky one because “both the Army and the American public initially had difficulty accepting the concept of women in uniform.”¹⁰ In fact, in congressional arguments about the founding of the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps, “Legislators proclaimed that including women in the military would destroy the very foundations of American society. They envisioned an intolerable situation in which ‘women generals would rush about the country dictating orders to male personnel and telling the commanding officers of posts how to run their business.’ Other members roundly objected to giving women disability

9. Woodene Merriman, Aug. 27, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

10. Judith A. Bellfaire, *The Women’s Army Corps: A Commemoration of World War II Service*, US Army Center of Military History, 17 February 2005, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/WAC/WAC.HTM>, accessed 22 March 2013.

pensions, retirements, and veterans benefits.”¹¹ Rather than undermining the foundations of American society, however, women both in the military and outside of it became the backbone of the country’s military and economic engine during World War II, as they took over jobs vacated by men at home and fulfilled military roles that men eschewed. The women eventually become a major part of the war effort because political and military leaders, “faced with fighting a two-front war and supplying men and materiel for that war while continuing to send lend-lease material to the Allies, realized that women could supply the additional resources so desperately needed in the military and industrial sectors.”¹² Women filled a hole in the workforce and strengthened the war efforts on all fronts.

The Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) and its later incarnation the Women’s Army Corps (WAC),¹³ were a major step for women toward proving that they were equal to men on any field, whether it was a battlefield or a news desk. The WAC was not the only women’s

11. Bettie J. Morden, *The Women’s Army Corps: 1945-1978* (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1990), 3-4.

12. Bellfaire, *The Women’s Army Corps*.

13. Bettie J. Morden’s history of the WAC, which primarily covers the end of WWII through the disbanding of the WACs thirty-six years later in 1978, notes that while many people could accept women as auxiliary workers to the military, the real struggle for women surrounded their ability to achieve full military standing, with all of the benefits therein, including military rank and status and benefits. In 1943, congress finally voted to grant women full military status, which turned the WAAC into a full-fledged part of the Army, the WACs. Of the WAAC, Morden wrote, “The auxiliary system had proved complex and unwieldy, requiring a separate set of WAAC regulations and policies. For example, among those who might have had legal problems under the auxiliary system were the two hundred officers and enlisted women stationed in Algeria at General Dwight D. Eisenhower’s North African Theater headquarters. Unlike servicemen, the auxiliaries could not receive overseas pay or government life insurance. If they became sick or were wounded, they would not receive veterans’ hospitalization. If they were killed, their parents would receive no death gratuity. And, if they were captured, they would have no protection under existing international agreements covering prisoners of war” (Morden, *Women’s Army Corps*, 10-11). Still, more than 350,000 women served in the various women’s military branches during WWII, including the WAC, the WAVES, the United States women’s Coast Guard reserves (nicknamed the SPARS), the Women’s Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs), and the women marines, according to Hermann J. Trojanowski, “Women Step Up to Serve,” *Tar Heel Junior Historian* 47, no. 2 (2008): 15-17.

military branch: The Navy had the WAVES; the United States women's Coast Guard reserves had the SPARS, and the U.S. Air Force had the Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs). There was also a branch for the women marines. However, the WAC was by far the largest women's military branch with a legislated enrollment cap of 150,000. The WAC's first Director, Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby, "pushed her belief that the women in the Army should be governed by the same regulations as men. She wanted it clear that the women received no special or favored treatment. Thus, she opposed any proposal that 'tends to give the impression that the WAC is something apart from the Army.'"¹⁴ Military women battled many stereotypes to achieve parity in the ranks.

Perhaps the biggest images that service women had to overcome was the sexualized image of female "camp followers," who were there as prostitutes, and the image of women as cross dressers who dressed as men to enter the service.

The challenge before women and men who wanted to promote 'women' as 'soldiers' during World War II was how to create a new category which proclaimed female soldiers as both sexually respectable and feminine. The response of Oveta Culp Hobby, the Women's Army Corp director, to this challenge as to characterize female soldiers as chaste and asexual; such a presentation would not threaten conventional sexual norms. Clashing public perceptions of servicewomen and internal struggles within the U.S. Army over the proper portrayal and treatment of military women were the crucibles in which this new category was created. Such struggles profoundly shaped the daily lives of women in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps [WAAC] and the Women's Army Corps [WAC] and framed the notorious lesbian witch hunts of the mid- to late-forties.¹⁵

Leisa D. Meyer wrote that while women and minorities were entering the workforce in new capacities throughout the U.S., a feminine presence in the military was particularly problematic for the institution, which had been associated exclusively with masculinity. The female force in

14. Ibid., 12.

15. Leisa D. Meyer, "Creating G.I. Jane: The Regulation of Sexuality and Sexual Behavior in the Women's Army Corps During World War II," *Feminist Studies*, 18, no. 3 (1992): 581.

that traditional bastion of masculinity raised fears of deteriorating gender, race, and class barriers, Meyer wrote.¹⁶ Regulating and surveillance of women's sexuality was the result of these fears. "Accusations of promiscuity among WACs in connection with the segregated nature of the Women's Corps even led to the accusation that the WAC was a prostitution cadre designed to fulfill the sexual needs of male soldiers. Thus, during this slander campaign, the furnishing of birth control information and contraceptives was taken as 'proof' by some columnists that the Army indeed encouraged and enticed heterosexual promiscuity, perhaps even specifically with servicemen."¹⁷ However, even in a place where women's sexuality was generally censured, minority groups struggled with public perceptions of their position even more than white women.

If women were excluded in general, lesbians as a group "were doubly othered" and African-American women were subjected to the same segregation that African-American men faced.¹⁸ "Although only 12 percent of all male soldiers saw combat during World War II, the status as 'warrior' and 'protector' was reserved for white men, reinforcing white women's role as the 'protected,' and, in turn, African American women's role as 'unprotected.'"¹⁹ African American women were tasked with not only combatting racial segregation and discrimination, but also with the resentment of African American men, who saw the women's work as "competition and patronage."²⁰ Hampf wrote that the struggles faced by African American women in WWII foreshadowed the coming Civil Rights movement.²¹ While complete equality

16. Ibid., 582-583.

17. M. Michaela Hampf, " 'Dykes' or 'Whores': Sexuality and the Women's Army Corps in the United States During World War II, *Women's Studies International Forum* 27 (2004): 16.

18. Ibid., 14.

19. Ibid., 15

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

for servicewomen in general was impossible because women were still restricted in several ways, including how far they could be promoted as an officer and their status as noncombatants, they still participated fully in a variety of positions, from combat support such as mechanic, radio operator, control tower operator, and flight clerks, to administrative positions, such as stenographers, military intelligence, supplies and logistics, and communications.²²

Soon after the WACs were approved, WPCP member Bernice Shine joined and became one of its key players in the military's media campaign. In May of 1943, the press club wrapped up its season with a palm-reading session by member Matilda Trotter, and while many dismissed it as just a fun bunch of hooey, at least one of Trotter's predictions proved true: "Few attached much importance to her predictions, least of all level-headed Bernice Shine, society editor of the *Sun-Telegraph*, whose future supposedly held in store for her, 'many gentlemen, much travel in foreign lands.'" Nevertheless, that fortune proved fortuitous and prescient: five months later "what was 'written in the stars,' suddenly came to Earth, burst into print, with the announcement that tall, blonde Bernice Shine had joined the WACs, hoped to be inducted by Mid-September."²³ Shine's acceptance into the Women's Army Corps became a rallying point for patriotism both within the Women's Press Club and throughout the broader Pittsburgh area. Shine departed for training in Daytona Beach, Florida on Sept. 14, 1943, just three weeks after her acceptance into Corps, leaving her society pages to her sister Mary Shine Saffer. She had

22. The original WAC legislation restricted women to Lieutenant Colonel as the highest rank they could achieve.

23. "Society: Notes," *The Bulletin Index*, Sept. 2, 1943, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

held the Society pages position since 1928, when she had begun writing under the pen name Patricia Pitt.²⁴

Upon her deployment, she was quoted as saying that it had been a dream of hers to join the WAC when she had heard of its formation. She believed that staying home was a privilege, one that women who were fighting for equality should shirk in favor of military service. “Women have always wanted equal rights,” she said. “I believe we should not enjoy both equal rights and special privileges. This is the first time women have had an opportunity to join anything like the army. I believe that every woman who can do so—who has no husband or children—should want to join some service. I believe we should do our part just as the men do theirs.”²⁵ This comment seems to contradict Nancy Caldwell Sorrel when she argues that the women she interviewed for *The Women Who Wrote the War* did not see themselves as part of the feminist movement or even the forerunners of the 1960’s women’s liberation movement. “From what they accomplished in a male world, these correspondents would appear to have been on the cusp of the feminist movement, but in fact no women I interviewed claimed affiliation or even affinity with it. Most saw its value for women a generation or two down the line.”²⁶ While Shine does not outright say that she joined the WAC to gain equal rights for women, she is arguing that joining the military is one way of gaining equality. Because the WACs eschewed stability and comfort of home life in favor of military service, sometimes as front-line support staff, they were proving their claim that they were equal to any man. If men had to serve, then women should too, Shine argued, because they were just as capable. More than 100,000 women joined the Women’s Army Corps, alone. Another 170,000 joined the other military branches. However, of

24. Marion Leslie, “Society Editor in WAC,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Sept. 5, 1943, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

25. Ibid.

26. Sorrel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 390.

these women, only around 10,000 realized the promise of seeing the world, with the majority of WAC, WAVEs and other women's corps remaining stateside.²⁷

Shine was one of the 10,000 women who traveled the world with the WACs, and she rose quickly through the ranks. By May 1944, she was already a Lieutenant, and she had been deployed to Japan, where she worked for two years on a unit that was “in charge of democratizing Japanese publications.”²⁸ In actuality, she worked in Japan as the liaison officer between Gen. Douglas and news media outlets in Tokyo, Japan. This position moved her to a swift promotion, and an Oct. 16, 1944 news brief celebrated her ascension to second lieutenant. She eventually gained the position of Captain, and by the mid-1950s, she served as publicity officer and WAC recruiting officer for the Pittsburgh United States Army main recruiting center.

These promotions, though, do not show the extent of her success and the pride the city took in celebrating her accomplishments. Even after WWII was officially over, Shine's name was well-known in the military. She left the service in May 1948, but was soon recalled. The Dec. 15, 1948 *Sun-Telegraph* front page was plastered with an attention-getting headline across the top of the page screaming, “U.S. Urgent Need of Lt. Shine,” and a second headline declared, “Truman Declares Recall of Sun Mata-Hari.” (See figure 3.3) The cutline under picture added, “Have you seen her?” The entire tone of the page is humorous and shows great affection for Shine as both a public figure and as sister and co-worker. The WPCP seems to have taken a broad hand in advertising Shine and giving her a good ribbing at the same time. The *Sun-Telegraph's* cutline continues to reveal the contents of the hunt for Shine while throwing out nicknames that Shine's circle of friends and family used for the famous WAC officer: “Army

27. Harriet Davis Kram, “Review: *One Woman's War: Letters Home from the Women's Army Corps, 1944-1946*,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 84, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 198.

28. “Lt. Shine to Address Press Club,” *Sun-Telegraph*, May 14, 1944, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

authorities are asking the aid of the Women's Press Club in locating the woman pictured above. She is necessary to the welfare of secret negotiations being waged in Europe, FBI agents have disclosed. Five feet, nine inches tall, she has light brown hair and is known under the various aliases of Sob Sister Shine, So-Social Shine, Lt. she-Sho-shine...and plain "Hey There" while working on the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph."²⁹ This cutline set up a series of stories on Shine about the public memo from Truman to the WPCP asking them to release Shine to continue her service in the WAC. The cutline and story worked together to show Shine's importance and the city's pride in her, while at the same time making all readers feel as if she were their friend and someone they could know as well. Her nicknames reveal both her past history as Sob Sister Shine and So-Social Shine, roles that many of her readers would remember and they draw together her new friends with those old friends by revealing her current WAC nickname, "Lt. She-Sho Shine." (There is no indication as to how she earned this nickname.)

The main story begins in the same informal tone, which is so out-of-character for news writing that the entire story seems like a prank. "In a special message to the Women's Press club of Pittsburgh, President Truman has asked the members to release Reporter Bernice Shine from its rolls for immediate service in Europe. He wired: "America in urgent need of the light that SHINEs. The fate of Europe depends on her. Please make her your Christmas gift to the U.S." (signed) Harry Truman."³⁰ Because this message sounded like a prank with its overblown rhetoric ("The fate of Europe depends on her.") and the pun on Shine's name, I thought this newspaper may have been a cover of the club's humor publication, *The Wastebasket*. (See figures 3.1 and 3.2) However, the rest of the stories on this cover were definitely played straight,

29. "Have you seen her?" *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* 43.135 (Dec. 15,1948),1, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

30. "Secret Mission Takes WAC to Europe" *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* 43.135 (Dec. 15, 1948),1, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

and the club's *Wastebasket* for the year was dated February 14, 1948 to coincide with the women's annual anniversary banquet. The article continues on to declare that "Secret Agent 1949," or Lt. Shine's code name, has a legacy of keeping secrets that dates back to age 10, when she joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union and pledged, "to never 'let liquor or cigarets [sic] or tobacco in any form profane her lips'." The story follows in the personal tone to give the results of this pledge, "stirred by the solemnity of the occasion, Crusader Bernice hastened home where by silent sleuthing she unearthed a bottle of the wicked Four Star Hennessey whiskey. Her dear father would no longer be imperiled by it, she vowed. With pure, honest water, she diluted the contents. And that is why, to this day, Bernice Shine always takes her whisky with water!"³¹ The author continues to note that Shine's brother was blamed for the deed and that she had not confessed until 20 years later. After all of the ribbing that the paper doled out for their ex-Society editor, the writer ended the piece celebrating her accomplishments and informing the readership of her next move: "Today, in the same spirit of clean living and intense interest in the well-being of the world, she prepares to leave the Press Club once more. Resuming her title of WAC Lt. Shine, she will sail soon for Bremerhaven and an unknown post in Europe, where she will carry on the work that will make her name SHINE in the annals of American history!" Ending with the same SHINE pun refers the readers back to the message from Truman and emphasizes her importance to the writers, the readers, and the WAC.

These articles show the conflicted space that women occupy during wartime. In *The World Wars Through the Female Gaze*, Jean Gallagher posits a female gaze that complicates the way that battles are discussed and seen by the average citizens. The ways that women see war—

31. "U.S. Urgent Need of Lt. Shine: Truman demands recall of Sun-Tele Mata Hari," *Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph* 43.135 (Dec. 15, 1948), WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

and the ways that women are, in turn, gazed upon as objects of wartime vision—disrupts the monolithic masculinity of conflict narratives. Gallagher argues that much of the rhetoric surrounding women’s representation in combat situations structures them as “sites of political manipulation and subsequent conquest via the eyes.”³² However, women’s actual act of seeing—and their refusal to see—disrupted the prevailing wartime narrative, forcing viewers to see battles in their totality rather than as part of a prevailing victory narrative that created gods of soldiers. “The liminal figure of the female observer on the scene of military engagement; who struggles with the attractions, promises, limitations, difficulties, contradictions, and trauma of wartime visibility; whose gaze is subject to manipulation and control by soldiers; and who is the object of surprised, puzzled, menacing, desiring, or derisive military gaze—this is the figure that emerges in my study, a lightning rod for wartime visual anxieties, inscribing resistances to and gaps in the unifying militarized gaze of a belligerent culture.”³³ The World Wars marked a new era for media in that they allowed everyone to “see” the wars in a new way. Prior to the World Wars, there had been a distinct gendered dichotomy where in “men ‘see battle’; women, as non-combatants *par excellence* do not.”³⁴ This rendering of women as “blind” to battle, even though they were, paradoxically also shown as passive spectators, robbed the female author of authenticity. “Vision has functioned, then, not only as a mark of and basis for authenticity and authority in writing about war but has played an important role in the development and, gender of cultural discourses about war.”³⁵ While the World Wars saw the removal of the “theatre of war” as troops moved underground and military technology developed long-range weapons that

32. Jean Gallagher, *The World Wars Through the Female Gaze* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 152.

33. *Ibid.*, 156.

34. *Ibid.*, 3.

35. *Ibid.*

did not need physical eye contact to operate, it also saw the differentiation of women from spectators of war into observers of war. Spectators, according to Gallagher, are passive viewers. Observers, however, are active in that their vision is unmediated by social constructs. Observers can create their own meanings.

While I was unable to obtain copies of Shine's wartime writing,³⁶ coverage of her as a WAC soldier and reporter shows that she rested in an uncomfortable dichotomy between having established authority as a viewer of war and yet still existing in the space where women were supposed to be passive, and therefore, easily manipulated by the male gaze. Her authority is established by the memo from President Truman requesting her return to service. The rhetoric of the story, though, seems to actively undermine that same authority by noting that Truman applied to the Women's Press Club for Shine's release, as if she did not have the independence to make her own decision. This phrasing recalls the passing of a woman from father to husband, as a potential suitor had to request the transfer of a woman's hand from her father's protection to his own. In this case, though, the WPCP's place as a father figure is complicated by the request giving women authority to make decision for one of their own. There is no need for the male intercessor, and the WPCP is, in no way, acting as Shine's protector. If anything, they promoted her by asking her to speak with them and by raising funds for WAC work. This, in some ways, also makes Shine's position more authoritative. She acts as one of the "gaps in the unifying

36. I attempted to find copies of Shine's writing and an archive of the *Munich-American*, which Shine edited in the early 1950s, that would be accessible for research. However, WorldCat resources note that the paper only ran from 1949 until 1954, and the only library that appears to have an archival copy is located in Munich, Germany. I've submitted both online and phone queries to the United States Department of Defense Department of Public Communication to see if I can access copies anywhere here in the United States; I have not received a response yet in spite of sending two different online queries and leaving a voice message.

militarized gaze of a belligerent culture”³⁷ simply because she has not been conquered by a male subject. She remains a female viewer independent of male control, and men, particularly military men, must apply to her female coworkers for her to return to her role as an independent viewer of wartime chaos.

Shine used her time in the WAC to advance her newspaper career and to explore career options that were not available to her as a society editor at the *Sun-Telegraph*. Early in her career, she worked in Japan as the liaison officer between Gen. Douglas MacArthur and news media outlets in Tokyo, Japan. In 1950, she was appointed the Officer in Charge of the *Munich-American*, which was the unit paper for the nation’s largest military post at the time, from 1949-1954. In less than a year, she lead the newspaper to capture 11 of 12 first place commendations from the military, which lead to her paper “being judged the leading unit newspaper among 25 in the European Command, for 1950-’51” and she received high commendation from General Truman C. Thorson, Commanding General of Munich. This former society editor had produced a military publication that beat out twenty-four other publications by achieving “the best in format and news reporting.”³⁸ In her WAC role, Shine proved that women’s newspaper work was indistinguishable from men’s, and in fact, women could write and produce publications about traditionally masculine issues (i.e., the military, war, and international relations) that were not only good, but they were award-winning. Newspapers are highly competitive, with reporters scrapping for the best “scoop” and editors angling for awards at both local and national levels. Winning eleven of twelve awards available in one season would have established Shine’s publication as the paper to emulate.

37. *Ibid.*, 156.

38. “Army News Honors Won by Shine,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Oct. 22, 1951, p. 8, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

While Shine's WAC work took her around the world and allowed her to expand her work as a newspaper woman, Veronica Volpe's work with the WAVES kept her stateside but also gave her the experience she needed to take a job as food writer and food editor for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* when she returned. WAVE Ensign Volpe,³⁹ who served from 1942 to 1945, "stood guard duty at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and packed a sidearm that she knew how to shoot." However, this was not her regular job. On a daily basis, Volpe dished up "chow" to enlisted men as the mess officer for the receiving barracks. For her efforts, "she admits candidly that many of them grumbled." In addition to serving the food, Volpe was on a team of writers that compiled two editions of the U.S. Navy Cook Book. Since she did not do the editions single-handedly, her editors later joked that "she shouldn't have to take all the blame for what the mess crew did to those good recipes."⁴⁰

While Volpe's WAVE duty kept her in traditional women's roles—outside of the guard duty with a firearm that she knew how to shoot—it was a jumping ground to allow her ways to expand definitions of women's work. She came to the *Post-Gazette* in 1949 as the food editor, and in that position, she ran the only food column published in a daily Pittsburgh newspaper.⁴¹ While the *Post-Gazette* advertorial that trumpeted her as the only fulltime food columnist in Pittsburgh established her authority by giving a homey scene of her cooking twelve to fifteen loaves of bread every weekend for the four siblings with whom she lived, it also noted that she "has traveled extensively and often writes about the cuisines of other countries." Volpe, in other words, was no homebody with parochial tastes about food, nor was she an exotic cook, either.

39. Volpe eventually reached the rank of Lieutenant Senior Grade.

40. "One of the Personalities who give the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette its Personality," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 24, 1957, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

41. Ibid.

She still cooked all of the meals for her family on the weekend, and “tested” all of the recipes she ran in her column, just as a scientist might run an experiment.

In addition to members who directly participated in WWII, the WPCP was actively involved in the wave of nationalism that swept the country after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The club itself donated money to both the Red Cross and the WAC. Treasurer’s ledgers from 1942 also note a five-dollar donation to a “Build a Bomber” fund; while I could not find any definitive answers to what exactly this donation was supposed to do, at least one web site noted that build a bomber campaigns were popular, but at least one was a scam. The WPCP members also participated in the war through their reportage. According to former member Edith Rosenblatt Wasserman (who died 1990), all three Pittsburgh papers hired “girl reporters” to cover all stories on the paper, “Nearly every story related to the war in those days. Nothing else mattered. I wrote about food rationing, victory gardens, war bond sales, and Red Cross blood drives. We interviewed scores of servicemen home on leave and talked with families of local men whose names came over the wire on casualty lists—dead, wounded, missing.”⁴² While the home-front women war reporters were not direct observers to the battle, like Bernice Shine, they were not “blind” observers. They disrupted the victory narrative with interviews with families of the dead, wounded and missing. They were providing an eye to the totality of war, including the impact of those who were invisible (the dead and missing).

The women also received an education in wartime politics from their speakers, one of whom led the FBI to investigate the WPCP and confiscate all of its minutes from that meeting. On April 13, 1945, the women heard from the University of Pittsburgh’s sociology professor Dr. Vern Wright on the subject of “Russian in World Affairs.” The women were stunned by his

42. Zurosky, *First 100 Years*, 42.

presentation, which Florence Fisher Parry noted was such “a paeon of praise for the communistic form of government that Mr. Stalin himself could not have asked for a better missionary.”⁴³

Parry found the entire talk upsetting, and noted that this professor seemed to be indicative of all that was wrong with the contemporary higher education system.

Call me an alarmist, Frankly, I am alarmed. For it is my belief that this young professor is NOT the exception in our American university class rooms, especially in our State-endowed universities. For of them it is demanded that they draw their faculty from all popular schools of thought, thereby offering to the student body a fair cross-section of social philosophies as they function in America today.

...

Is this young professor typical? If so, Communism does not sit on our doorstep; it has already entered the threshold and sits yonder at the table with our children busy with their home-work.⁴⁴

While the women were obviously opening to hearing a wide range of opinions, the club members seemed solidly in the nationalist camp as writers and club members. Communism was schools, where young people have been taught “proper respect” for their elders, was the real danger of the talk, Parry says.

Articles with reflections like Parry’s were just one of the ways that WPCP women actively participated in building memories of WWII that celebrated the war and the allied victory. Marie McSwigan, who worked for the *Pittsburgh Press* and the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* before working for the University of Pittsburgh press service, wrote several successful children’s books, including *The Weather House People*, *Sky Hooks*, *The News is Good*, *Binnie Latches On*, *Juan of Manila*, *Five on a Merry-Go-Round*, *Snow Treasure*, *All Aboard for Freedom*, and *Our Town has a Circus*.⁴⁵ Two of those books, *Snow Treasure* and *All Aboard for*

43. Florence Fisher Parry, “I dare say—Classroom to the Left,” N.P., May 1, 1945, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

44. Ibid.

45. Marie McSwigan, *The Weather House People* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1940). Marie McSwigan, *Sky Hooks: The Autobiography of John Kane* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott,

Freedom, celebrated the courage of European allies against the Nazi invasion. *Snow Treasure* told the story of “Norwegian children who helped their country during the Nazi invasion.”⁴⁶ *All Aboard for Freedom* was based on newspaper accounts of “a band of courageous Czechs [who] commandeered a train and escaped from the communists into the American zone of Germany.”⁴⁷ Upon the publication of the second book, McSwigan donated 500 dollars to the American Fund for Czechoslovakian Refugees. McSwigan’s books, the WPCP member’s reflections on the communist professor’s commentary, and their consistent hosting of WAC officers at their meetings helped to reinforce public memory of dichotomy between the vanquished Nazi foes and the beleaguered allied victors, who, according to these accounts, were worthy of lionization by dint of their great courage.

The WPCP’s acts of remembering worked with other concurrent narratives to build a consistent American narrative surrounding WWII. In *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, Michael Kammen argues that there are three forms of remembering. First, memories that are old enough to be “truly venerable” are “time-sanctioned myths” that a society “tolerate[s] as socially or spiritually useful.” Second, if a memory is recent enough that it can be more accurately documented by “iconoclast historians,” then it is seen with more suspicion as “self-serving rationalizations that sustain the political or

1938). Marie McSwigan, *The News is Good* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1952). Marie McSwigan, *Binnie Latches On* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1950). Marie McSwigan, *Juan of Manila* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1947). Marie McSwigan, *Five on a Merry-Go-Round* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1943). Marie McSwigan, *Snow Treasure* (New York: Scholastic, 1942). Marie McSwigan, *All Aboard for Freedom* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1954). Marie McSwigan, *Our Town has a Circus* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1949).

46. “Woman Author Completes Eighth Book for Children,” *Pittsburgh Press*, Aug. 12, 1952, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

47. “Author Shares Book Profits With Refugees: \$500 Given for Czech Exiles by Miss McSwigan,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1954, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

economic superiority of one group or the value system of another.” Finally, the third form of recollection comes from recent history and is quickly dismissed “as mere nostalgia, as the exploitation of heritage, or as the utilization of utterly contrived myths.”⁴⁸ In any of these cases, memory can be used by those in power to create an “illusion of social consensus.” “Such people invoke the legitimacy of an artificially constructed past in order to buttress presentist assumptions and the authority of the regime.”⁴⁹ In the case of the WPCP’s construction of WWII, the women were using their power as public arbiters of information to reinforce the sharp differences between the victors and vanquished, the good and the evil. At the same time, they also were creating a David-and-Goliath vision of the war. In each of McSwigan’s books, she highlighted how a seemingly powerless person—a child or a prisoner on a train—overcame the powerful Nazis to win freedom by rooting her novels in an actual historic event, thus erasing the event’s history and turning it into a memorial of the protagonist’s work.⁵⁰ The story had resonance for an American audience that was deeply rooted in its own historical narrative of

48. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Random House, 1991), 3.

49. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

50. The word “freedom” in itself carries rhetorical weight, which has changed over time. In his *Keywords*, Raymond Williams notes that certain words are fundamental to our shared vocabulary, and yet their shifting meanings make communicators feel as if they’re speaking different languages. Williams defines a “keyword” as “significant binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought” (15). For more information on keywords, see Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). I argue that the word “freedom” is a keyword for the United States, and its invocation in the context of WWII and the United States of America would create feelings of nationalism for the hearers. As Eric Foner notes in the first line of his book *The Story of American Freedom*, “No idea is more fundamental to American’s sense of themselves than freedom.” For more information on the use of “freedom” as a rhetorical construct, see Gary S. Selby, *Martin Luther King and the Rhetoric of Freedom: The Exodus Narrative in America’s Struggle for Civil Rights* (Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2008), Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998), and Rachel M. Gans, “The Newseum and Collective Memory: Narrowed Choices Limited Voices and Rhetoric of Freedom,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 370-90.

freedom fighting, and at the same time, the books and the speeches by Shine and her fellow WACs created a sense of communalism for the audience. The myths became the collective past, one where not just the Czech children or the prisoners of war won freedom, but all Americans vanquished the Nazi foe and rose to world power as benevolent world leaders. This use of myth and memorialization to create public memory was powerful for the WPCP in the 1950s as it worked to strengthen its foundations and move the organization forward with a new scholarship memorializing Gertrude Gordon, or as the WPCP called her, “our Gertie.”

Public Memory

The WPCP lost much of the first fifty years of its memory to waste bins as members neglected to record anything but their most basic facts, such as the club’s founding and its charter. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg (Nan Bregg) wrote that this “unusual” club was filled with members who just were not concerned with their own history because they were caught up in other affairs: “Possibly the members have been too busy writing of other clubs’ affairs to preserve any records of their own club, which, without formal programs, without a set purpose and without any of the procedure customary to other organized groups has survived for half a century and is stronger today than it has ever been before.”⁵¹ The fiftieth anniversary awoke the women’s desire to document themselves and they began to do so with gusto, creating scrapbooks of material spanning from 1930 to the present, and repeating their own history in several formats, including their various columns and in repetition of their own narrative each year at their meetings. They justified their history reportage with reflections on the legacy of their fellow

51. Mrs. Charles M. Bregg, “Women’s Press club of Pittsburgh to Celebrate Fiftieth Anniversary: Booklet and Letters Only ‘Records’ of Early Years,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* Jan. 26, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

press organizations: “Their achievement is the more outstanding when compared with the history of the Pittsburgh Press Club—the local newspaper men’s organization—which has been moribund for years, though one meeting a year is still held to preserve the charter.”⁵² This brief comment seems to be a dig at the “men’s” organization. Even “without a set purpose” or customary procedure, the women’s group was still alive and well, with forty-nine members, a feat that the men could not achieve.⁵³

At its fiftieth anniversary, the club began to develop its own strategy of remembering, which seemed to strengthen the membership for at least a short time. As previously noted, the club had 49 members in 1941. Just nine years later, the club had grown to 60 members. Presumably this was partially because WWII boosted women journalists, thus expanding the pool of eligible members, but the women also used the time to learn a little bit about developing a consistent story of their own. The 1941 anniversary featured Carolyn Hunt Mahaffey’s parody featured at the beginning of this chapter building the club’s memories of various epochs in its history. Nan Bregg read a history of the club, and Mahaffey and Beulah Taylor Marston entertained the club with music from the “nineties” when the club was founded.⁵⁴ The club’s fiftieth received many printed notices, but the most poignant reflections were from the women themselves. Parry noted that the club was composed of “grandmothers, mothers, wives, maidens; many employed much of their time with the routine of household and children; successful there,

52. “The Womens’ Press Club of Pitts-[rest of headline cut off],” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Jan. 25, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

53. Treasurer’s Records, Dues 1920-1955, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, no folder, DLAHHC.

54. “Reporter to Describe Happenings Abroad,” *Pittsburgh Press*, Jan. 27, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

too—why not? She who writes a clean report keeps a clean larder and an orderly home.”⁵⁵ She went on to say that the women themselves were but “worthless alloy” when apart, but together, they were a vision of strength.⁵⁶ One of the night’s speakers, Helen Essary, president of the Women’s National Press Club, reflected that the WPCP was not what she had expected from the steel town, and in fact, the president, Mrs. Vincent Drayne was “not haggard and hectic, but young, serene and lovely.” Essary wrote, “Undoubtedly, Pittsburgh takes the state of the world more calmly than we do.”⁵⁷

A major part of the club’s her-story was tied to individual women’s accomplishments, and many reports memorialized and recalled individual women. Nan Bregg remembered Sarah H. Killikelly “whose two volumes of *Curious Questions*” may still be found in many Pittsburgh homes” and who was the first woman to “take up lecturing” in the Pittsburgh area; Bregg also remembered Mrs. AW Smith, the only woman who was both a founding member and a charter member.⁵⁸ In 1944, Bregg herself was honored by the Women’s City Club and the WPCP as the longest-working newspaperwoman in Pittsburgh. She joined the *Pittsburgh Gazette* 1903 at the age of 19, and even after she married she stayed in the business by typing her husband’s reviews. When he died in 1921, she returned to fulltime newsroom work at the *Chronicle-Telegraph*. Her reflections on the writing life show a slice of a newswoman’s life in the early 1900s:

Some of her assignments, she recalled, demanded that she “acquire a sense of humor in her writing.

She interviewed shoe men to learn what customers said when they discovered holes in their stockings. She asked photographers whether men or women are “fussier about their pictures.”

55. Florence Fisher Parry, “I Dare Say—Invitation to a Party,” Feb. 13, 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

56. Ibid.

57. Helen Essary, N.T. N.P. Feb. 1941, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

58. Bregg, “Women’s Press club of Pittsburgh to Celebrate.”

This was the era when women started bobbing their hair and smoking cigarettes. (sic) Mrs. Bregg was assigned to interview tobacconists and hairdressers on these disturbing changes.

One tobacconist, said Mrs. Bregg, declared he “would not allow his wife to smoke.” And the hairdressers called bobbed hair a “fad that might last until winter.”⁵⁹

These were the kinds of stories that the WPCP allowed its members to share, and they were the stories that the women remembered. However, they also remembered the relationships, good or bad, that they gained from being in the club. Florence Fisher Parry used Bregg’s award to remember their history together as young newspaperwomen. Recognizing each other, and the history they had forged together, made both women stronger, Parry wrote. “So long as you and I, when we meet—never mind the crowds—so long as you and I can catch each other’s eye, and in that quick exchange recognize each other as we were once upon a time, all’s right with the world and we can go our way.”⁶⁰ Building history, remember the past, brings recognition. Recognition reveals the struggles and laughter that made today and ensures that achievements will remain visible.

Here Parry was speaking to a personal history, but the reflection responds also to the need for the WPCP to build a strong her-story. Through their development of scrapbooks and the repetition of their own founding, growth and epochs, the women were ensuring that they would recognize each other as they passed on a street. More importantly, though, they were ensuring that others would recognize and acknowledge them as well. In 1952, the Allegheny County Conference of Community Development published a guide to cultural organizations in the area. The WPCP was omitted, resulting in Helen Donnelly, then club secretary, sending this

59. Marion Leslie, “City Club to Pay Honor to Mrs. Bregg, Dean of Newspaperwomen,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Mar. 13, 1944, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

60. Florence Fisher Parry, “I dare say—Green Mangions,” *Pittsburgh Press*, Mar. 17, 1944, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

remonstrance to the author, Mr. Park Martin: “The Newshens of Pittsburgh are curious. Are we less cultural or were we harder to find than the Goose Lookers, for example. We note in your Introduction that omissions were unintentional. Granting that, we would appreciate mention in any future listings.”⁶¹ Martin responded with an abject apology that ended with, “Far be it from me to overlook a Newshen.”⁶² Reiterating her-story was a way to avoid being overlooked by a society that seemed to relegate the women’s activities to their society pages. The club members developed a strategy for remembering that included building historical archives of their work, constantly telling their own work, and taking advantage of their position in the media to broadcast their accomplishments. In 1949, they took the opportunity literally to broadcast their work via a television recording of one of their speakers. The president of the WPCP wrote to, Morris Fierst, who recorded the program, to say,

As you can well imagine, it was a thrill for all of us to make our television debuts at such a time. Storm Jameson, the English novelist, who was our honor guest and speaker, and Johanna Wolf (the Dutch librarian who was another of our special guests) were especially excited over the event. Not only was it their first time on television, but the next night when they saw themselves in your news broadcast was both the first time either of them had ever seen a television broadcast--or been in an American bar!⁶³

The recording gave the women a chance to participate in the new medium, television, and to bring public attention to themselves, which created public awareness of their event. Because they remembered, they would not be required to start again if they wished to take action. This building of Her-story was important for the club’s postwar years as the membership started

61. Helen Donnelly to Mr. Park H. Martin, Oct. 11, 1952, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, folder 1, Women’s Press Club--Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

62. Park H. Martin to Helen Donnelly, Oct. 15, 1952, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, folder 1, Women’s Press Club--Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

63. President, Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, to Mr. Morris E. Fierst, Mar. 8, 1949, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, folder 1, Women’s Press Club--Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

reflecting on the club's maturity and decided that it was time to take action to promote women journalists even further.

The 1950s: Memorial, Public Memory and Power

The early 1950s found the WPCP membership looking for direction, and they found it in the form of a memorial for women journalists. In 1953, WPCP treasurer Anna Belle Craig died suddenly, necessitating the group to hold an emergency meeting to elect a new treasurer. That meeting resulted in the election of Ruth MacGregor as Craig's successor, the approval of the Anna Belle Craig memorial award at the Associated Artists Exhibit of 1953, and, most importantly, in a suggestion that would soon come to dominate the club's both immediate and long-term future: someone suggested the group take on "a project—such as contributing a stated sum each year toward the education of a student studying writing."⁶⁴ The group decided that since it had no income other than dues and initiation fees, though, the board tabled the idea to bring it before the larger club so that the women could decide on the best ways to raise money. Within two years, the death of Gertrude Gordon and a gift from a local businessman led the club to establish the annual Gertrude Gordon Memorial Scholarship. (See figure 3.4) This scholarship solidified the club's already long legacy of using public memorials, named awards in this case, to challenge established power structures within the local journalism world and to solidify their own identity as a group of women who made--and, by transference, were making--history.

Memorials, like named prizes, are used to form public memory. By establishing a way for people to recall and be educated about the past, memorials teach people how to behave in

64. Special Meeting of the Board of Directors, Jan 29, 1953, Park H. Martin to Helen Donnelly, Oct. 15, 1952, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, folder 1, Women's Press Club--Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

both the present and the future. As John Bodnar writes, memorialization is not about the past so much as it is invested in either reinforcing or undermining existing power structures.

Public memory speaks primarily about the structure of power in society because that power is always in question in a world of polarities and contradictions and because cultural understanding is always grounded in the material structure of society itself. Memory adds perspective and authenticity to the views articulated in this exchange; defenders of official and vernacular interests are selectively retrieved and from the past to perform similar functions in the present.⁶⁵

Memorials are used by political entities to reinforce their authority by calming public unrest, moving groups to action, and demonstrating appropriate civic behavior and duties, Bodnar says. Individuals and non-political entities, however, can use memorial for many reasons, including mourning and economic endeavors. Those alternate uses undermine the hegemonic group's development of a memorial's symbolic importance by either changing the symbol's imbued meaning or by negating the action, whether a pledge of loyalty or something more substantive, demanded by the meaning attached to the memorial.

Memorial serves to educate and strengthen a society. The past can be used to "explain current social conditions, to comfort [the public], to build self esteem, and to create cultural pride."⁶⁶ Collective memory is built through a group "molding, shaping and agreeing upon what to remember," and what a group chooses to remember, whether the choice is conscious or not, is important because it gives the consortium with the power and money to promote its past the right to essentially write history. "These histories mask or naturalize inequalities through material culture, such as memorials, museums, and the built landscape. Inequalities can be also promoted

65. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.

66. Paul A. Schakel, "Public Memory and the Search for Power in American Historical Archaeology," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 655.

or challenged through commemoration ceremonies.”⁶⁷ By using material culture, including the economic transactions implied in a named educational scholarship, the federations that have money and influence create our shared vision of what is “normal” in society. Memorial normalizes prejudice at the same time as it can also be used to undermine prejudice.

In this section, I will argue that the Gertrude Gordon Memorial Scholarship and the other named awards developed by the WPCP throughout its history have been used to challenge the dominant ideology that men were the “best” journalists. By remembering women who challenged conventions and did things that even men were afraid to do, such as Gordon’s balloon flight across the Allegheny region, the WPCP showed (and still shows today) contemporary women and men that female journalists are adventurous, courageous, and successful. The memorials also remind people that while women’s journalism was steeped in a history of sob sisters and society pages, the newswomen also defied convention and could compete on a solid foundation with male journalists. The scholarships build the women’s self-esteem by creating an institutional memory of not just success. This success was then passed onto current and future newswomen by showing young women producing journalism worthy of awards and publication in major papers.

In the 1950s, it was still unusual for women to attend college, particularly as post-war women and men apparently rushed into establishing firm gendered roles. “The evidence overwhelmingly indicates that postwar American society experienced a surge in family life and a reaffirmation of domesticity that rested on distinct roles for men and women.”⁶⁸ This supposed return to dichotomized gender roles was attributed in part to a reaction to Cold War tensions that

67. Ibid.

68. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era, 20th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 6.

saw leaders and pundits worrying that America's internal problems would lead to the demise of the United States much more quickly than the Soviet Union. Creating secure family units and promoting a return to domesticity was America's weapon in the Cold War's propaganda battle, and citizens and politicians alike embraced the nuclear family as a bulwark of the superiority of the U.S. "Like their leaders, most Americans agreed that family stability appeared to be the best bulwark against the dangers of the cold war."⁶⁹ While this embrace of the home life led to prosperity for white, work-class families, that upward-mobility bypassed African American families, reinforcing the racial inequity that fostered the Civil Rights Movement. While this version 1950s life that highlights the deepening domesticity of women's roles was popularized by Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*, which will be discussed in the next chapter, many historians are now questioning the homogeneity of this view of postwar life.

The idea that women left the workforce immediately after WWII and happily returned to the home is particularly fallacious. In her examination of the middle-class ideology that permeates our perception of the 1950s, Joanne Meyerowitz turned to popular culture and found that in a survey of 489 nonfiction magazines, the articles written by women outnumber those written by men.⁷⁰ Those articles highlighted a tension between the domestic ideal and individual achievement, Meyerowitz argued, which was the same conflict at the heart of Friedan's work. Thirty-three percent of the articles Meyerowitz found discussed women's "unusual talents, jobs, or careers."⁷¹ Even before Friedan's elucidation of "the problem with the no name," then, there was already public discussion and consideration of women's public roles and their ability to

69. *Ibid.*, 9.

70. Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. by Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 230.

71. *Ibid.*, 231.

work outside the home. Meyrowitz describes several articles on women's career achievements that highlight both their domestic prowess as cooks and homemakers and their work as mayors, mechanics, and literary stars, blithely ignoring the conflicts that women may have faced in balancing these roles. This image appears to be a forerunner of today's super-woman ideology that claims women can have it all: a perfect house, a perfect relationship (preferably heterosexual), perfect kids, and a perfect career.

The numbers of post-WWII working women remained daunting, as well. Dorothy Sue Cobble found that women comprised 45 percent of the food service workers union, 40 percent the unions that represented telephone workers, department store employees, and bakers, and they were "the majority of union members in such older female-dominated industries as garment and textile."⁷² Manufacturing women's numbers fell from constituting 49 percent of the union labor force during the war to a still considerable 40 percent post-war.⁷³ Working women appear to have been actively supporting the feminist cause throughout the 1950s, and they used their positions as union members to fight for women's rights. Organized women "began to reformulate the agenda of their mixed-sex, class-based organizations, adding a strong feminist component to the legislative and collective bargaining activities of many unions. They led national struggles to close the wage gap between men and women, and they sought legislative and contract provisions that would protect employment rights of women. They also lobbied for family support policies such as day care, maternity leave, and limitations on mandatory

72. Dorothy Sue Cobble, "Recapturing Working-Class Feminism: Union Women in the Postwar Era," in Meyrowitz, *Not June Cleaver*, 59.

73. *Ibid.*

overtime.”⁷⁴ Unionized women used their position to create better working conditions for the women who would come after them, and open new positions for women workers.

In this way, the WPCP’s push to encourage education and professional advancement for young women journalists fits into a broader worker-women’s fight for increased rights and opportunities. The scholarship gave women a way to afford a part of their college education and encouraged them to overcome societal constraints telling them that education wasn’t necessary for young women. Virginia Miller, who joined the WPCP in 1991 after retiring from her journalism career, said that when she graduated from high school in 1950, her family assumed she would not attend college:

At that point, there was no thought of me going to college. We just did not have the funds for it. My brother went, but I did not. So I worked for an insurance company after graduation doing proposals and claims and things like that. And after I got married and had the first baby, and then you quit. [laughs]

Me: When was that?

Virginia Miller: 1955.⁷⁵

Miller, who had begun her journalism career young by printing a neighborhood paper on a toy printing press and selling copies for five cents each, worked for an insurance company right out of high school. She didn’t become a fulltime journalist until 1969 when she returned to work after her children were in school. She started as a columnist for the Sharpsburg *Herald*, and slowly worked her way into a fulltime position.

The two years following the club’s first suggestion of a memorial scholarship show the women struggling to challenge male dominance in journalism while still retaining their identity as a women’s organization. In 1954, Veronica Volpe succeeded in winning the WPCP a place in

74. Ibid., 61.

75. Virginia Miller, Sept. 30, 2011, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

the prestigious men's-only Duquesne Club for their annual banquet.⁷⁶ The next day's *Post-Gazette* featured a picture of the event entitled "hi-jinx," a belittling term that made the women's incursion into this men's domain seem like little more than a prank or a good joke. The cutline goes on to say, "The first newswoman on record was Cassandra, whose bulletins were never cordially received. Last night the local belles of the news world celebrated their 63rd birthday, in a Downtown club generally sacred to the male of the species. The ladies shown here seem to be proud of their victory over the male..."⁷⁷ The note about Cassandra, "whose bulletins were never cordially received," transfers to the women's celebration in the club that is "sacred to the male of the species" by implying that the women's presence was not cordially received either. Conversely, though, their presence in the men's club seemed to indicate a kind of acceptance of newswomen within the man's world. This seeming contradiction carried throughout the night with the featured speaker, columnist Inez Robb, telling the five aspiring college journalists hosted by the WPCP that they should "Never settle for a career if you can get your hands on a husband."⁷⁸ However, Robb herself, who was married, noted that a woman needed to forget her sex and become "one of the boys" once she was in the newsroom. "News has no sex," she said. "I've covered murders, inaugurations, coronations, and I like to think I was given those assignments because I was competent, not because I was a woman."⁷⁹ While Robb roundly abused the "women's view" in news reporting, the WPCP as a whole was enthusiastic about embracing their feminine identity, and this was shown not just in their choice to hold their

76. "63rd Birthday Dinner," Feb. 10, 1954, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, folder 1, Women's Press Club Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

77. "Newshens Hatch 63rd birthday fete," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1954, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

78. "Grab Husband, Girls Advised: Career secondary, Inez Robb asserts," *The Pittsburgh Press*, 29 Apr. 29, 1954, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1941-1954, DLAHHC.

79. Ibid.

distinctly feminine banquet at the masculine Duquesne Club, but also in their group interactions with their fellow male journalists.

In March 1950, Joe Shuman and Alex Zehner approached WPCP members Veronica Volpe and Dorothy Kantner about the women joining them in reviving the old Pittsburgh Press Club, which the club members clearly labeled the “men’s” club, in opposition to their longer-running “women’s” club. While a few women did seem to support the proposal, the majority of the women roundly abused the notion as an attempt by the men to subsume the WPCP. Meeting minutes note, “The matter was discussed at length and the consensus of opinion was that if, by joining, we would lose our identity as a club, we should refuse.”⁸⁰ While Kantner and Volpe returned two months later to report the men’s assurance that the women would not lose their identity if they joined with the revived “men’s” press club, the club tabled the motion, and while there was various chatter over the next decade about the WPCP combining with the Pittsburgh Press Club, the pairing was never officially finalized. The women found their autonomy to be more important than solidarity with their male counterparts, particularly once they established the Gertrude Gordon Memorial Scholarship.

As previously noted, the women began discussing the concept of a scholarship for college women in 1953; however, it was not until Gertrude Gordon died in 1955 that the women received the push they needed to take the initiative and launch the memorial. Gordon died on March 20, 1955 at the age of 72 (see figure 3.5). Even after death, she still had “the name that opened every door,” or in the case of the WPCP, it opened a path for the women to complete the work they had previously thought was impossible for them: funding a college woman journalist. Attorney Ben Paul Brasley, who met Gertie on one of her first assignments, stepped forward to

80. Meeting minutes, Mar. 10, 1955, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 1, Women’s Press Club Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

offer the club 500 dollars to launch a memorial, on the condition that the women could match his donation. The women voted to donate 100 dollars from their club fund, an amount that had been donated by Gordon herself to the club coffers just two years previously, and turned the money over to The Pittsburgh Foundation's stewardship. The group then worked to gather donations from their own members, an endeavor that yielded lukewarm results. As of May 1955, only 90 dollars had been received in addition to the original 600 dollars. By June, the amount had gone up to \$837, a sum that had been gathered from just twenty donors. While the secretary reported, "Mrs. Cooper, secretary of Pittsburgh Foundation assures us that returns for this type of Fund are slow and that we should not be discouraged,"⁸¹ Brasley found the progress untenably slow and threatened to withdraw his original donation. Minutes from the inaugural meeting of the fall 1955-1956 season note that "Mr. Brazeley (sic) is frankly disappointed at the poor response and is in the mood to withdraw his gift."⁸² However, he gave the women another chance, offering that if they managed to raise 2,000 dollars by January 1, 1956 he would add in an additional 500. The women failed, but Brasley showed his commitment to the memorial by simply donating 1,000 dollars to bring the fund up to a viable level for the 1956 contest, setting the stage for the women to award their first scholarship.

That first scholarship drew five women from local universities to write about "What Pittsburgh's Renaissance Means to Me" for an award of seventy-five dollars. Rose Marie Scarpiello, now Rose Marie Weaver, of the University of Pittsburgh, took the honors that year, an event which, almost 50 years later, she still remembers with fondness. "It's very interesting ... that it was for \$75 for the very first award. But that was a lot of money back then! That's when

81. Minutes: Picnic Meeting—Schenley Park Athletic Shelter, June 16, 1955, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 1, Women's Press Club Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

82. Minutes: Board of Directors Meeting, Sept. 21, 1955, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 1, Women's Press Club Minutes-1943-1954, DLAHHC.

credits at Pitt were \$12 a credit. Can you believe it? I still think about that when I think about what my kids were paying at Penn State, in the hundreds. Seventy-five dollars was a very nice scholarship. I did it [the winning essay] on Pearl [Perla] Mesta.”⁸³ Perla Mesta, ambassador to Luxemburg, was speaker at that year’s banquet, giving the students a chance to meet one of the world’s most famous women at the time. By today’s standards, the WPCP’s award seemed paltry, but the sum was enough for Weaver to take several classes. Being recognized by the WPCP was encouraging to her, she said. “It was like being in an honorary sorority...it was where the elite went to meet...They were the elite!... You have to be a pretty good reporter! They don’t just let anyone into the press club.”⁸⁴ When I spoke with Weaver in 2010, she was a still feisty 76-year-old woman who remembered both the WPCP and journalism as professions that she was “honored” to join.

After graduating Summa Cum Laude from the University of Pittsburgh, where she earned a degree in journalism with a minor in English, Weaver beat her sorority sister and dear friend Nancy C. Jones for a job as the public relations director for what was then the university’s newly established school of the health professions (although Weaver was quick to note that Jones had beat her to be the University of Pittsburgh nationality room hostess and travel to Spain while they were in college). It was Jones who encouraged Weaver to become a member of the WPCP herself. Jones moved on from that disappointment to first work at the *Newport News* in Virginia, at the *Miami Herald*, then at the Associated Press. After earning a Master’s Degree and a Doctorate, she became the first woman journalism professor at Pennsylvania State University

83. Rose Marie Weaver, Aug. 12, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued. Weaver’s memory of the event here is slightly inaccurate. She’s remembering the night’s speaker, Perla Mesta, ambassador to Luxemburg, as the subject of her article, when, in fact, the girls were instructed to write on Pittsburgh’s renaissance, according to both news articles from the time and the WPCP’s meeting minutes.

84. Ibid.

and also taught at Point Park University and Duquesne University. Weaver jokingly said that Jones “dragged” her to WPCP meetings in the 1950s; for her part, Jones said that the women’s press clubs that she was involved in were necessary for allowing women journalists to find careers.⁸⁵

Women needed that support. They didn’t have that. It was all a man’s world, and women were supposed to get married and have babies and not have jobs. That wasn’t what was happening because women needed jobs. It’s turned around now, but it’s still not the same. Women still don’t get paid the same as men, still. And if they want to find a cheap editor they’ll get a woman instead of a man. I mean, that’s changing a little bit, but it’s been changing my whole life and it’s not equal. Never has been. I never said anything about it, but then, I never got married and didn’t have any kids to raise. I just have these kids here. [Indicates to her two elderly dogs]⁸⁶

Jones brought her college women to various meetings and mentored chapters of Theta Sigma Phi and Women in Communication, Inc. She said her students were usually eager to join. “I think they understood that they needed the support of other women if they were going to go on and have a career.”⁸⁷ Gender-segregated press clubs like the WPCP allowed her students to become professional journalists, and awards like the Gertrude Gordon award gave them encouragement to strive for better jobs, Jones said.

That same kind of support for women is missing in today’s job market, Weaver said. After two years at Pitt, Weaver followed her employer to Evanston, Illinois, to work as a Public Relations director for the Association of American Medical Colleges, but soon returned home to Pittsburgh because her father died. In Pittsburgh, she received a job at the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, but she only stayed for a brief time before getting married, after which she was expected to quit

85. Jones worked with several women’s press organizations, including the WPCP, Women in Communications, inc. and Theta Sigma Phi.

86. Nancy C. Jones, Aug. 26, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

87. Ibid.

and stay home to raise her three children.⁸⁸ Even though she said, “Journalism brought a wonderful experience in my life. I wouldn’t have traded it for anything,” Weaver sees her granddaughter dreaming of becoming a journalist and concerned she will not be able to reach her dreams.⁸⁹ Weaver’s granddaughter wants to follow in her footsteps and become a journalist, a career choice that made Weaver laugh ruefully because she thinks that the journalism field is much less promising today than it was when she graduated from Pitt. “Now, I told her, it’s very hard, and it’s [sighs].... She’s very good, she makes straight A’s. ...I don’t know. I think she’d try to attain to be like a Katie Couric, and she never would get there. Do you see what I mean? I think that’s what tough—not being a reporter maybe on the Press. I see her going about that, and I think she might be disappointed.”⁹⁰ In the 1950s, it seemed attainable to become a Gertrude Gordon and her name could be remembered as a woman to emulate. Today, though, reaching the upper echelons of journalism with Katie Couric is a struggle, Weaver said, sadly reflecting that the WPCP’s much reduced membership rolls today and a 2010 strike at the *Post-Gazette* seemed to reflect the state of the entire journalism industry as print shifted toward digital presses.⁹¹ “I guess it’s all dying out just like the newspapers are going on strike for this internet thing,” she said, referring to strike at the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* that was happening that week.⁹²

Weaver’s reflections on the state of journalism and the WPCP today show the power that memorials like the Gertrude Gordon award have for creating a sense of power and continuity for groups and societies. Weaver’s impressions of the WPCP today were of a group that was still

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. In 2010, thirty *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* reporters and editors walked out briefly after upper management told them that either thirty of the newsroom’s 200 staff members needed to opt into early retirement or the paper would start laying off people.

92. Jones, personal interview.

thriving. In fact, she even noted that anyone who attended the group's annual banquet would think the WPCP was still as strong as it was when she won the first Gertrude Gordon Memorial award.⁹³ Establishing a memorial scholarship allowed the WPCP to pick and choose its history, to create a history for itself in some ways, by directing public memory toward those ideas that the group most wanted celebrated both about the WPCP as a group and as individual women journalists. Gertrude Gordon became the sacred person to whom the WPCP could point as an example of their victory, their courage, their strength, and their endurance. Gordon herself was erased as a member of history and given to memory as a figure for whom only those facts that were useful for the memorial were remembered. Pierre Nora argues that memory is magical and unifying simply because it is not rooted in history.

Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. . . . Memory is perpetually an actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past. Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic—responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection. History, because it is an intellectual and secular production, calls for analysis and criticism. Memory reinstalls remembrance within the sacred; history, always prosaic, releases it again. . . . Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions, and to relations between things. Memory is absolute, while history can only conceive of the relative.⁹⁴

The Gertrude Gorton Memorial Scholarship in and of itself locks the clubs memory into a time when women were not as numerous in news rooms and their very presence, as discussed in chapter one, drew attention. It celebrates the best of women journalists, and it celebrates success, while forgetting the many women who could not succeed or who did not defy the social norms of the time to fly across the region and conquer courtrooms.

93. Ibid.

94. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *Representations* 29, special issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 8.

By creating the scholarship, the WPCP The memorial and the club's yearly skits chose to remember the best women reporters. In doing so, the remembrances served to encourage contemporary women that they were successful, courageous, and noteworthy, like their predecessors. The memorial also created the belief that women journalists were worthy of being celebrated as hard-working and worthy of attention. Throughout the early years of the Gertrude Gordon award, the club brought in a variety of well-known celebrities to be interviewed by their young protégés or to speak at the awards dinner. Those celebrities ranged from Mesta at the very first awards, to Hollywood heartthrob Rock Hudson (see figure 3.6), to Mrs. Hirosuka Yamashita, an expert on the Japanese historical dress who owned her own design studio, to Lilly Dache, an internationally known designer and beauty expert who showed off several of her own hat designs and gave fashion and business advice to the club members and the award winners.

The 1940s and 1950s were a pivotal time for the WPCP. They realized the importance of their own memories, and they used those remembrances to cement the club's position in the present and to push it into the future. Their actions during this era acted as a well-constructed public relations campaign, even though they were not consciously acting as promoters. They highlighted a history of successful, courageous women journalists who became emblems of the contemporary woman journalists. Particularly in the wake of WWII, the intrepid actions of past newswomen that were venerated by the WPCP created a coherent tale of women conquering all areas of life and succeeding in arenas that had been previously (and still were) dominated by men. The story-telling inherent in the giving of the Gertrude Gordon scholarship every year encourages listeners to connect the young women of tomorrow with the winning women of the past and present. The memorial displayed the privileged status that club members held as the elite women of society who had access to media outlets that would help them tell the story they

chose to craft. However, it also empowered press women by allowing them to reiterate the strength they had consistently shown as an organization in opposition to the halting, stumbling history of men's Press Club, and this, in turn, showed the club as a unique, winning group that was already dominant in the local media. This show of strength carried the women into the 1960s, when changing tides of history began pushing the club onto shakier ground. Where the women seemed triumphant at the end of the 1950s, by the end of the 1960s and 1970s, the club's faltering footsteps were cemented primarily by the foundations that the women had built firmly in 1956 with the Gertrude Gordon Memorial Scholarship. Even today, the club has many reasons to thank the WPCP's 1950's membership for the memories that they set as the women's press club's cornerstone, as the scholarship today continues the group's largest annual event: Its anniversary and awards dinner.

Chapter 5
The Survivors and the Beneficiaries
The 1960s and 1970s

In April 1970, the WPCP held an “Old Nostalgia Night” to celebrate the club’s older members. A younger member complained loudly, saying, “Oh Lord, not one of those, with old biddies and all that stuff.” In response, Dorothy Kantner “exploded” and said, approximately, “Without those ‘old biddies’ all of us would be struggling along. They are the survivors. We’re the beneficiaries of their struggles.”¹ The 1960s and 1970s were decades of upheaval and recovery in the United States, and the external struggles that faced the entire nation were reflected within the WPCP membership. The country’s new focus on youth rather than the wisdom gained through age and experience was reflected in a change in membership. By the seventies, noted Georgianne Williams, many women were choosing to join the integrated “men’s” Pittsburgh Press Club rather than the Women’s Press Club.² The club’s awards shifted so that by the mid-1960s, most of the club’s honors for professional women journalists had been discontinued, forcing the women to compete instead in the Pittsburgh Press Club’s Golden Quill Awards, although the group did keep the Gertrude Gordon and Grayce Druitt Latus college scholarships alive, and, for a briefer period, the Mary Shine Award for women’s page reporting.

The club’s activities also reflected the influence of the civil rights movement. In 1961, the club finally accepted Toki Schalk Johnson (see figure 4.1), the club’s first black member, after having black-balled her application 12 years earlier, but keeping the application alive nonetheless. In 1949, Johnson her fellow *Pittsburgh Courier* reporter Dorothy Anderson applied

1. Zurosky, *The First 100 years*, 69. This vignette is not recorded in notes but was instead recorded in Zurosky’s recollections, and she notes that her recollection is approximate, although accurate to Kantner’s original statement. Also, there is a pagination problem in the book, so this vignette shows up on two different pages because page 69 was mistakenly printed twice.

2. Georgianne Williams, Aug. 5, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

for entry to the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh; however, the club still employed a blackball system wherein a minimum of three members opposing an application could keep a woman out.

Archival letters show that this system had been problematic before Johnson's application.

Marion Brunot Hay wrote to Helen Donnelly in 1953, "I remember a time when one black ball kept just anyone from membership. Never was I more angry than when a name I put up, a woman who afterwards became one of the best known newspaper women in the country, received that one black ball. I was so loud spoke and so vehement that it was voted there had to be three black balls before a woman became an outcast."³ Even three blackballs, though, were not enough to keep Johnson and Anderson from being rejected. Even though the women received sixteen affirmative votes, the seven nay votes kept them out.⁴

This rejection shows that even though the WPC fought for women's rights, their view of women reflected the structures of relations that dominated the rest of society. Men of all colors dominated the women of their same race. White men were dominant to minority men, and since white women maintained the same social strata, they subjugated Black women in the same way as white men subjugated black men. This parallel development then shows that while women of all races made huge inroads into professions and experienced corresponding increases in education and pay, white women's progress was much greater than that of their minority sisters:

These measures reveal that women of Color stay fewer years in school, have fewer dollars to spend, and bear more economic burdens than any other group in this country. White women also suffer economically, but their economic situation is not as dire as that of women of Color. More specifically, white women's relationship to white men (the

3. Marion Brunot Hay to Helen Donnelly, Dec. 4, 1953, Women's Press Club Correspondence, box 2, folder 2, WPCPR.

4. Business meeting minutes, April, 18, 1949.

highest earners in society) as daughters, wives, or sisters gives them an “economic cushion.”⁵

As Hurtado notes, white women gained privilege simply from their skin color, even if they were disadvantaged by their gender. Allowing black women into the WPC in the 1960s meant rejecting the privilege afforded to them by their skin color. Even as they were fighting the subjugation of women, the club’s acceptance of Johnson, Garland and other black women journalists was a statement about the club’s rejection of the entire social structure upon which they had built their employment and family lives.

After the conflict that her original application raised within the membership, Johnson’s final acceptance was passed with surprisingly little notice. It was notated in the very last line of June 27, 1961’s meeting minutes, which states, “Toki Johnson of the Courier, whose application is the oldest on record, was voted in as an associate member.”⁶ Ann Zurosky, who was a member of the club at the time, notes in her written record of the club’s first 100 years that “A few sharp notes were exchanged between some members, but they amounted to nothing in the final vote.”⁷ Johnson’s presence was not just significant to the press club, however. Her presence at the club’s annual dinner forced the integration of the prestigious Duquesne Club, and she brought in many other strong, black women, include Hazel Garland (see figure 4.2), the nation’s first woman editor in chief of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the nation’s largest black publication at the time.

While the club’s black women were trailblazing their way into integrating the WPCP, both they and the rest of the club member were still participating in the broader women’s

5. Aida Hurtado, “Relating to Privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of white women and women of color,” *Signs* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989): 833-55.

6. Meeting minutes, June 27, 1961, Women’s Press Club-Minutes, Box 3, Folder, 2, Oct. 23 1956-1961, WPCPR.

7. Zurosky, *The First 100 Years*, 54.

movement through their choices to work and decisions about what issues to highlight within their articles. Zurosky wrote:

In the late '50s and '60s, readers and reporters began to witness changes in the newspapers. Slowly, there were no longer full pages of brides. The main page of the Sunday society section displayed more than elegant homes and gowns. Stories about Girl Scouts at camp or hospital volunteers sharing precious free time replaced more traditional society news. Garden club notices shrank to four or five lines as did church socials. Women were interested in what was going on in their communities and the world. Whether career women or homemakers, they wanted to be informed.⁸

While Zurosky's assertions that all of the papers were changing the names of their features sections at this time is inaccurate (at least one did not change its name until the 1990s), many women reporters noted that they used their society sections and women's pages for stories that would support and advertise the growing women's movement. Women's pages allowed many women reporters to expand their advocacy for women's issues, noted Woodene Merriman, who pioneered the *McKeesport Daily News*' woman's page and the area's NOW chapter, and later became the assistant managing editor at the *Post-Gazette*.

This chapter studies the 1960s and 1970s as a discrete set of time because, as Katherine J. Lehman writes in her book *Those Girls: Single Women in Sixties and Seventies Popular Culture*, "the cultural gains of the 1960s strongly influenced the 1970s as Americans grappled with the meanings of feminism, civil rights, and gay and lesbian liberation."⁹ This statement may be most true for the women's movement. Even though women saw broad changes in their lives during the early 1960s, ranging from the approval of the first pill for contraceptive use in 1960 to sweeping changes in career and educational opportunities for women that were prompted by the Cold War, the women's movement did not gain an independent voice of its own until the mid-to-late 1960s,

8. Ibid., 53.

9. Katherine J. Lehman, *Those Girls: Single Women in Sixties and Seventies Popular Culture* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 5.

which meant that a large change in public perceptions about women's abilities did not occur until the 1970s. The more widely known "women's liberation" branch reached national prominence sometime between 1965 and 1968—the reasons for the date variation and disagreements between historians will be discussed later in this chapter. Most historians agree, though, that the women's liberation movement petered out around 1975, which Kathryn Flannery marks as the ending of a huge explosion in radical women's literature as well. The changes of the early 1960s prompted the women's liberation movement of the 1960s, which lead to the 1970s, when women saw substantial change enacted in public policies surrounding their personal and professional lives.

Because the 1960s were a tumultuous time politically, this chapter will focus on two primary movements that affected the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh and other professional women's groups. First, I will discuss the civil rights movement and how integration within the professional sphere broadened opportunities for black women reporters here in Pittsburgh and changed white women's perceptions of their black colleagues. Next, this chapter will explore the sexual revolution and how women reporters used the safe space provided by women's pages to spread the ideals of contraception and freer sex to this new generation of women without facing heavy censorship. After exploring the sexual revolution, I look at the women's liberation movement and how its actions and its investment in written culture were related to professional women's work. Finally I bring all of these political arms together to explore the WPCP during the 1960s and 1970s and how its membership both reflected the tumultuous time and seemed to resist it at the same time. Even as women were making massive gains in the public sphere, the WPCP was losing traction in its goals of supporting and promoting women journalists. The 1960s and 1970s were pivotal in the history of the WPCP. The era brought the downfall of the club's internal awards system and its declining membership reflected a growing schism between

young women journalists, who often chose to join the now gender-integrated Pittsburgh Press Club, and older women journalists, who still saw value in the friendships and connections provided by women's-only organizations. The older women had survived the height of sexism, only to be seen as outdated old biddies by a new generation determined to maximize the opportunities now available to them. The 1960s and 70s were an era dominated by the beneficiaries of the survivors' foundational work in newsrooms throughout the city of Pittsburgh.

Diversity and Women's liberation

The Women's Liberation Movement traditionally has been considered a strictly white, middle class movement. However, as researchers have uncovered the rich archives of written memorabilia left by the women who immersed themselves in the cultural shift that marked the mid-1960s and 1970s, several people have found themselves surprised by just how diverse of a group "women's lib" appealed to. Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, who compiled hundreds of pieces of letters, fliers, manifestos and other ephemera in their work *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*, were forced to completely rethink the movement of which they had first-hand experience, by the evidence of diversity they uncovered.

Some of what we found [in their archival research] surprised us and led us to revise our own understandings of the movement, illustrating the uncertainty of memory. For example: We discovered that women of color played a larger part in the early movement than had been previously believed. We found that, although the movement was indeed decentralized and varied, there was substantial accord even among groups that considered themselves at odds at the time.¹⁰

An 1970 article by Hazel Garland indicates that many black women also considered themselves a major part of the women's liberation front. The article covers a conference at Point Park University celebrating the anniversary of the 19th amendment. Garland particularly sought black

10. Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 1.

women attending the conference to see why they thought feminism was important to the black cause. One of the women she interviewed, Gwen Johnson from Project Equality, saw the two movements as symbiotic groups: “While I am not active in any of the Women’s Rights Groups, I think what they are doing does have some relevancy to blacks. I like to see how these women maneuver to accomplish what they seek. I think blacks can learn from them just as they learn from us.”¹¹ Many racial groups were learning from the women’s liberation movement; however, their needs were very different, so while they were a part of the movement, they were also part of their own movements as well. Ruth Rosen writes, “Although the second wave of feminism initially grew out of problems encountered and addressed mainly by white women who had achieved middle-class status, it did not take long for women of different ethnic and racial backgrounds to reinvent feminism for themselves. Nor did it take them long to realize that *their* historical burden and *their* culture had created different problems, obligations, and needs that partly overlapped with those of white women, but mostly did not (emphasis original).”¹² Being a minority in the women’s liberation movement meant facing many different identity issues and trying to maneuver a place within both the feminists and within their own racial or ethnic group.

For many minority women, this meant facing a double bind that did not face white women. While white women were struggling to emphasize that they could have sexual freedom and safety and not be labeled “whore” or “slut,” as will be discussed later, many racially and ethnically minded women had to find a place that meant that they were strong leaders while still not alienating their men who, “already felt emasculated by the economic discrimination they

11. Hazel Garland, “Black Women Question Their Liberation Role Too,” *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Sept. 5, 1970, 18, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

12. Rosen, *World Split Open*, 277.

countered in the white-dominated culture.”¹³ If the women wanted to fight for their men as well as for themselves, they were stuck in a conflicted situation. “Their most common solution,” writes Rosen, “was to work with poor women and children among their people and to publicize what they most needed. In this way, they could combine their loyalty to their movement, directly help other women, and still retain their independence as organizers and leaders.”¹⁴ Minority women, also, had to articulate their own needs, which included wanting to “spend more time, not less, with their families,” Rosen writes, because black women had often been the ones to support the household when their men could not find jobs and training in white America.

For black women, this relationship was particularly defined by the history of slavery that continued to oppress their community, both men and women:

Black women’s extremely negative relationship to the American political system (a system of white male rule) has always been determined by our membership in two oppressed racial and sexual castes.... Black women have always embodied, if only in their physical manifestation, an adversary stance to the white male rule and have actively resisted its inroads upon them and their communities in both dramatic and subtle ways. There have always been black women activists—some known, like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frances E.W. Harper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell, and thousands upon thousands unknown—who had a shared awareness of how their sexual identity combined with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggles unique. Contemporary Black feminism is the outgrowth of countless generations of personal sacrifice, militancy, and work by our mothers and sisters.¹⁵

Black women were charged with creating liberation ideologies that were, antiracist, in contrast to white women’s theorizing, and antisexist, in contrast to both black and white men’s work, according to the Combahee River Collective, a radical 1970’s writers group of black lesbians

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Combahee River Collective, “A Black Feminist Statement,” in Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Ann Arbor, MI: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983), 210-211.

whose publications were instrumental in giving the black feminist movement a voice.¹⁶ This gave their work a more complex aspect than the mainstream women's liberation movement. They had to create coalitions across gender and race while still find their own autonomous voice and building a strong set of goals.

The black women journalists of the WPCP experienced this same difficult multivocality as they built their own work to express the desires of black women, the black people, and their own community's needs and desires as well. As journalists, black women were not struggling with the impartial voice that marked most journalist rhetoric at the time. They were fully immersed in the struggle for equality, and their work reflects this struggle.

Many reporters reject the concept of the journalist as an agent of change. A reporter simply chronicles the events of the day, such purists argue, and should not shape those events. . . . Such an argument would not, however, come from a participant in the African-American press. This history of the black press, grounded in a tradition of advocacy, is closely intertwined with the history of black America. Individuals working in the

16. The Combahee River Collective was important for several reasons; perhaps most important, though, was their conversation-changing interventions into the realms of race, class, sexuality, gender, and privilege. Their Statement changed the conversation surrounding the multiplicity of oppressions by refusing to rank the oppression of race, sex, class, or gender, thus creating conflict among the multiplicity of oppressed groups. Instead, the group revealed the interlocking strands of oppression and revealed how they worked together to keep individual subject groups from speaking, working together, and rising out of their dominated position. The first paragraph of their statement phrases this most clearly:

We are a collective of Black Feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As Black Women we see Black Feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face.

To read the entire statement, see Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Ann Arbor, MI: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983).

African-American press have been some of the most important leaders of African-American History.¹⁷

All of the women's press club's black women worked for the nation's largest circulating black newspaper, *The Pittsburgh Courier* (which changed its name to *The New Pittsburgh Courier* in the late 1960s). This section focuses on two women who were instrumental in the WPCP during the 1960s and 1970s: Toki Schalk Johnson, the club's first African American member, and Hazel Garland, who was the first editor in chief of a nationally circulating black publication. The group also welcomed Willa Mae Rice, who was editor of the *Courier's* religion section and vice president of the WPCP. Rice was well-respected as a religious voice within the Black community, and in the 80s, she was honored nationally for her work within Pittsburgh's black religious community. This chapter cannot consider her as in depth as her life deserves purely because there is a dearth of information on her. However, the respect she drew from the community, which is evident from her 1980's obituary and the few articles gathered in the WPCP scrapbooks that detail her religious honors in the 1980s indicate that she is a figure who deserves further consideration in another work. Because Johnson died in 1977, Rice died in 1981, and Hazel Garland died in 1988, the information I have gathered on the women is from their own writings and the reflections of others. However, by all accounts, Johnson, who had the courage to keep her application alive for 14 years, Garland, who blazed trails for black women journalists, and Rice, who served as a religion writer for the *Pittsburgh Courier* in the 1960s and 1970s, were women with spines of steel who would not let discrimination—either racial or gender—keep them from going where they wished to go.

17. Rodger Streitmatter, *Raising Her Voice: African-American women journalists who changed history* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 3.

As noted earlier, Johnson was blackballed from joining the club for years until finally, in 1961, she was admitted with very little to-do noted in the club's official records. Georgianne Williams, who was WPCP president from 1979-1981, did not join the club until 1965, but she remembered that even then, having black women in the club was controversial among the white membership. She said of the white women, "And you know, it was some of the nicest people in the club who were against it [admitting black women]. It kind of shocked me."¹⁸ Williams, who tutored the Duquesne basketball team while she was an undergraduate there, said her frame of reference was very different than many of the other WPCP members because she had been friends with many black people at Duquesne.

But you have to remember that most of these women [WPCP members] were not exposed to black families. They went to high schools that were all white. They went to colleges that were predominantly white. Their social experiences were without any blacks. They didn't know any educated blacks. So they thought that even if the person was remarkably talented, she wouldn't fit in. And they had the fear, that if we accept black women in the club, we want to have our anniversary dinners at the Duquesne Club. What kind of stir would that cause? That's the reality of the times.¹⁹

The WPCP accepted black women before the Duquesne Club had admitted its first black member (an event that happened in the early 1970s), so every year for its banquet, the Johnson, Garland, and Rice were a visible part of not only challenging the white elitism of the WPCP, but also of the Duquesne Club, which not only did not accept African Americans, but also relegated women to a separate dining room. To reach the women's dining room, the women had to enter by a separate entrance at the back of the club. Williams remembered Johnson fondly and said, "She looked like she walked out of Vogue...she was always gorgeously dressed. She was a beautiful woman, very, very talented."²⁰ Even with all of her talent and the stylish beauty which

18. Williams, personal interview.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

is displayed in all of the pictures of her from the time, Johnson was aware that full acceptance would still be a long time coming for her and other black women, Williams said. “She never said much except she said it would be a long time before black people could be in an all-white women’s organization. She ... people were keenly aware. She and Hazel Garland, who also was very talented, they knew that it would be a long time before a black woman would be accepted in white culture.”²¹ However, after joining the WPCP, Johnson and Garland seemed to be accepted quickly into the hierarchy of the club.

After being admitted to the WPCP, Johnson quickly rose in the ranks. In 1963, she was listed as the club’s corresponding secretary. By 1965, she had been elected to the board. In 1970, she was elected president, a position she held for the customary two years. On her inauguration, then-secretary Ann Zurosky’s notes show the club members were comfortable enough to laugh with and tease her:

Said Mrs. [Toki] Johnson: "Girls--and I say this because I have never known such a group of girls in my life. I don't know how old or how young you are but you're full of fun and talented. To become president of such a group is a great honor for me.... Each one of you has added so much to my life...this is one of the greatest days of my life. I just hope I can live up to this honor."
...The meeting broke up with everyone scattering to visit among each other or tour the house which was a museum of lovely art and interesting antiques.
As Toki said when everyone was drifting away..."I'm losing my audience before I begin".
(sic)
It happens all the time.²²

Kidding aside, Johnson, along with Garland and Rice, were widely regarded by the rest of the WPCP membership as hard-working, admirable women who were people they wished to emulate in many ways. “The black women who belonged, I was sort of in awe of them. ... They really accomplished more than we did. And they were nice,” Woodene “Woody” Merriman said. “They

21. Ibid.

22. Meeting minutes, June 20, 1970, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 4, Women’s Press Club-Minutes, September 11, 1969-1976, DLAHHC.

had to overcome the fact that they were black and they were women, and that's pretty tough, I think."²³ By 1973, Johnson's health was deteriorating badly, and she was forced to move into a nursing home in Detroit. She was still remembered as a pillar of strength by her friends in the WPCP, though, and her own words show that even in illness, she faced adversity with good humor and an eye to a constantly improving future. A brief note addressed to "Dear Maxine," which was then stapled to a letter from Johnson to "Esther dear" (most likely Esther Elias), says of Johnson, "She is truly brave, isn't she, and I admire her deeply." The letter from Johnson reveals that even though Johnson was truly ill—she notes that she was 87 pounds when she was first admitted to the nursing home and had to wear leg braces at the time—she was still thinking of ways to be independent and to work:

My only excuse for not writing earlier to thank the girls for the lovely gift they sent... the Golden Apple of Healthy, I call it... and to tell you how truly marvelous you are... is that I seem to be busier than ever, in a curtailed sort of way. A nursing home is no resort, nor a hotel... no one can come and go as they please, but it is comfortable... the food is good... and those of us who don't have TV's in our room, can go to the Day room and enjoy the TV there (I go down every night). Of course I have to do battle with the men who want to see something else always! But I walked out one night and the nurse got the boys straightened out...hommmmmmm for women's lib or sumpin... The leg braces are cumbersome and heavy, but in spite of them, I'm going to look for an apartment and see what happens. After being my own boss all these years, the toughest thing is the regimentation... worse really than punching the time clock.... I eat in my room which I share with a 90 year old doll...she's sweet and quiet, except for calling for a nurse and bedpan 24 hours a day! They mix everyone up here... all race, all varieties of characters without regard for personalities.... I'm working on a story that points this up. Such characters!²⁴

Johnson died in the Law-Den nursing home, from where she wrote this letter, so she never managed to achieve her goal of an apartment. Her observations about life in the nursing home reveal what she valued, though. She laughed about wresting the TV from the old men who lived

23. Merriman, personal interview.

24. Toki Schalk Johnson to "Esther dear," May 8, 1973, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 4, Women's Press Club-Minutes, Sept. 11, 1969-1976, DLAHHC.

in the home and called it her own part in the Women's Liberation Movement. She highlights the mix of races and "varieties of characters" living in the home, which, in some ways shows how far integration had come within her lifetime. The woman who forced the WPCP into integration lived in a nursing home where race was no longer a consideration for where people were placed. And the woman who had worked her entire life recording the daily lives of Pittsburgh's black community could not just relax and enjoy her retirement. She was thinking up stories to write about her new community.

Johnson's writing is chatty, with a voice that seems more like a person is talking to a best friend than reading a list of distant happenings in some out-of-reach strata of society.²⁵ Her columns were almost always composed of quick vignettes about people and happenings around town, with each comment on an event focusing on a person. She detailed deaths, marriages, visits, college departures and arrivals home by collegiate and town visitors of any consequence. She would also take public events and relate them directly to the community. For example, a January 14, 1961, column commented on Jacquelyn Kennedy's ascent to the White House and the post of "best-dressed woman for 1960" by looking to the Pittsburgh black community for the best-dressed black women, those ladies who had "quiet elegance . . . such that one automatically takes it for granted that they always look good, but never flashy."²⁶ Her column did not always focus directly on the Pittsburgh community, though. The world was Johnson's community. She attended the John F. Kennedy inauguration in January of 1961, and her column reported on the

25. I chose to focus on an archival search of 1961 to get a feel for Johnson's voice as a writer because it was the year she was finally admitted to the WPCP, although she never mentioned the event in her column, "Toki Types." I've chosen to focus on her column "Toki Types" because she had the most discretion about topics compared to any other articles she wrote.

26. Toki Schalk Johnson, "Toki Types," *Pittsburgh Courier* (1955-1965), Jan. 14, 1961, B2, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier*: 1911-2002.

social swirl that surrounded the event, the upset caused by a blizzard right before Kennedy was sworn in, and detailed the many people who attended the colorful social swirl.²⁷ In March 1961, Johnson's column changed from being called simply "Toki Types" to "Toki Types About Women Around the World" to indicate Johnson's increasing shift toward discussing a wide variety of women's issues, from fashions in Paris to the comings and goings of New York socialites, to the pride of a Chicago mother over her son's accomplishments. Many of her columns also wrapped up with "Toki's Sermonette," a brief paragraph meant to uplift readers and focus their eyes on religious and moral issues in everyday life. An April 8, 1961 sermonette encouraged readers to pray every morning rather than to feel moral superiority over the deprivations of the recently passed Lenten season:

A prayer in the morning will establish a firm foundation for the day to come. A word with God when you arise, when your mind is free of ugliness, will give your day a boost and let many irritations slide off your back that otherwise would nick your heart and hurt. During Lent many went on fast days; they denied themselves small luxuries. But now that Easter has come and gone, they are back on the track. How much better to pray each day directly to God that this day be made perfect and serene... than to give up sweets, ice cream, pie and beer and probably never ask God for his blessing. Most of the things people give up as a sacrifice are not good for them anyway. So what do they gain? A sense of superior will power; a feeling of being an extra-special Christian; when all the time they're neglecting the supreme power. There is no way to dodge the responsibility of the spirit. Pray each morning the Forward Movement Prayer, and the day will go easier.²⁸

Johnson's style made her an educator and a best friend all at once. Reading her column is like sitting down to coffee with a best girlfriend, with the conversation ranging through friends and family members we may know—or who we may not know but should—fashion, and the frustrations and struggles of everyday life. Johnson's writing style and choice of topic

27. Toki Schalk Johnson, "Toki Types," *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1965)*, Jan. 28, 1961, 16, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

28. Toki Schalk Johnson, "Toki Types About Women Around the World," *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1965)*, Apr. 8, 1961, 44, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

exemplifies the idea that “education and religion have been central to the lives of African-American women.”²⁹ Where white women were often restricted from speaking on religious issues in a public forum, black women, Rodger Streitmatter argues, were often more accepted as coworkers by their male counterparts.³⁰ Both Johnson’s work and Garland’s quick ascent, which will be discussed later, illustrate the way that black women were able to speak to the black community as boldly as male leaders, but they were leaders who had a strong feminine voice, as well.

In addition to her work as the nationally known features editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier’s* Lifestyles page, Johnson was also a leader in the black community across the United States. She was one of the founding members of the Pittsburgh chapter of The Girl Friends, Inc., which is one of the oldest women’s civic organizations for African-America women in the United States, according to its Web site.³¹ The organization itself was founded in 1927 during the Harlem Renaissance. In 1947, the Philadelphia chapter sponsored the Pittsburgh Chapter, and Johnson was one of the 17 charter members. Four years later, Johnson’s *Courier* co-worker and friend, Hazel Garland joined the prestigious civic organization as well.³²

When Garland joined the *Courier* in 1943, she took the post as woman and society editor for the Pittsburgh region, which, *Courier* managing editor Ulish Carter wrote, allowed Johnson to focus on more national social events. However, Garland’s scope of coverage soon ranged far beyond women and society, with the paper allowing her to cover a wide range of city stories. By

29. Streitmatter, *Raising Their Voices*, 10.

30. Ibid.

31. “The History of The Girl Friends, Inc.,” *The Girl Friends, Inc.* 2007, <http://thegfinc.org/history.html>, accessed Mar. 4, 2012.

32. “The Pittsburgh Chapter,” *The Girl Friends, Inc.*, 2007, http://thegfinc.org/pittsburgh_pg.html, accessed Mar. 4, 2012.

the 1960s, she was the heart and soul of the newspaper, according to a 2011 retrospective of the *Courier's* lynchpin women:

In notable 'Black American Women,' the late Frank Bolden said without Hazel Garland, the New Pittsburgh Courier would have folded, in that period after (John) Sengstake came in (1966). Under her, it became a better prepared product. She didn't appreciate making mediocrity respectable. Garland was one of the top two women in journalism the other being Ethel Payne of the Chicago Defender. When asked to advise, the young Garland would say, we must always have the 3 D's, desire, determination and dedication. We must not let anything turn us aside. And to be truly successful we must always reach back and try to lift someone else as we climb.³³

Garland was promoted from the society pages to the position of city editor in September 1972. She was the first woman to take a general management position at the *Courier*. Her notes in her column echo the idea that she saw herself as someone who served the black community, but she was also a woman and was proud to bring a "feminine" viewpoint to her new role.

While I am relinquishing the title of Women's Editor of the paper, I'll nevertheless continue to handle some of the news with a feminine point of view. ... The *Courier* has always been a crusading publication, fighting for the rights of the so-called "little people." It will continue in that role. We want you to know... especially the Black people, that this is your newspaper and it can only flourish as long as it receives your support. So if the people of this area are really sincere about being "Black and Proud," they will increase their support of the only Black newspaper in Western Pennsylvania. I am at your service and that means to every segment of our society.³⁴

This brief reflection on her new position reflected the voice that she adopted in much of her writing throughout her time at the *Courier*. She was personal, calling the community to unite around a cause, this time the *Courier*. At the same time, her writing exuded pride and confidence in her identity as a black woman, one who could enlighten people to the feminine point of view

33. Debbie Norrell, "Socially Correct: On the shoulders of giants," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, Jan. 27, 2011, http://www.newpittsburghcourieronline.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3614:socially-correct-on-the-shoulders-of-giants&catid=38:metro&Itemid=27, accessed Mar. 4, 2012.

34. Hazel Garland, "Things to Talk About," *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Sept. 16, 1972, 9, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

and the black point of view. In 1975, two years before she was forced to retired because of her health, Garland was again elevated by Sengstake, this time to editor-in-chief, the highest editorial position at the paper. She thought of herself as a mentor and leader, as much as she thought of herself as an editor.

I just wanted to do the best job I could. ...I just wanted to follow in the giant footsteps laid down before me by some of the greatest newspapermen in the history of journalism. I've always felt that Negroes deserve the best effort we can give them and this I've always done. Just like others motivated, helped and assisted me, I've tried to do the same with other, especially all the young people coming through the doors at the Courier. I want to give back all the vast knowledge shared with me, by some very, very great people.³⁵

This desire to mentor and to motivate was communicated in her writing as much as it was communicated through her work with other writers at the *Courier*.

As a writer, Garland was always aware of politics and the broader world scene.³⁶ This came through in many of her articles, from her column on the women's pages, to her work as the editor in chief. This awareness was apparent even in the seeming small parts of her writing. To kick off 1970, she greeted her readers with, "As we greet this arrival of 1970, I would like to take this opportunity to wish everyone a Happy New Year and hope that it brings not only good health, happiness and prosperity, but most of all peace. The latter is needed so much in this land just as it is needed throughout the world. So let's hope that the war in Vietnam and the unrest

35. Ulish Carter, "Hazel Garland: Female trailblazer," *The New Pittsburgh Courier online*, Jan. 27, 2011, http://www.newpittsburghcourieronline.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3612:hazel-garland-female-trailblazer&catid=38:metro&Itemid=27, accessed Mar. 9, 2012.

36. I chose to peruse 1970 to get an idea of Garland's work because the *Courier* web site indicated that she became city editor in the early 1970s. (The author of the article could not pinpoint the date, although I identified it as September 1972 with a quick survey of the archives.) This period marks the moment immediately prior to her assuming a broader leadership role in the newspaper and her writings at this time show her leadership on community, race, and gender issues. I have primarily focused on her column "Things to Talk About" because this column gave her the broadest latitude for choosing conversation topics.

that is dividing the people of the nation will end with [it].”³⁷ The rest of the column continues on to discuss the weather and to recap holiday parties that she would not have covered over the holiday break. Her voice was chatty and friendly, but, part of her writing constantly came back to comment on national affairs, perhaps most prominently on racial inequity. A February 7, 1970, column recalls her own 1968 conversation on the “progressive” views of a group of black people in Orangeburg, South Carolina who were working together to build a country club, something she says would not be possible in Pittsburgh at the time. The 1970 column discusses the group’s progress and work on building their club, and the rates that it would cost for black people to join.³⁸ She briefly reported on the increasing black enrollment at Shippensburg State University in 1970, particularly in a six-week summer program where 40 to 50 black people had been admitted.³⁹ A March 14, 1970 column is particularly poignant in both passion that Garland packed into her complex reflections on several topics, including honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., while advertising the screening of a movie on his life, expressing frustration with Pittsburgh for not supporting “worthy causes” like the NAACP Legal Defense fund, and excoriating rising black on black crime committed the “heartless punks” who were victimizing Pittsburgh’s “old, poor, or [those] living on fixed incomes.”⁴⁰ The next week followed with an insightful reflection on the parallels between the women’s movement and the civil rights movement. Garland had been prompted to write by listening to a radio call-in show on women.

37. The scan of this article cuts off the last word. Hazel Garland, “Things to Talk About,” *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Jan. 3, 1970, 17, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

38. Hazel Garland, “Things to Talk About,” *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Feb. 7, 1970, 25, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

39. Hazel Garland, “Things to Talk About,” *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Feb. 14, 1970, 15, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

40. Hazel Garland, “Things to Talk About,” *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Mar. 14, 1970, 16, from Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

Even though the women's movement was like the civil rights movement, Garland wrote, white women still had many more entitlements than their black sisters:

But what amazed me was the way they expressed themselves. Some of the female callers reminded me of some of our middle-class blacks who want no part of the civil rights movement. I have heard many blacks "down" militants of our race much worse than some Birchers. One white woman caller felt that those in the feminist movement were out to 'stir up trouble.' Doesn't that sound familiar?

Whether one agrees with what the women's rights groups are trying to do, or not, one must admit that women are the low "men" on the totem pole. ...

If white women have it bad, you can bet things are 10 times worse for black women. In that category of female workers are those doing housework, hospital attendants or serving as hotel maids, waitresses and cleaning women. Statistics report black women as being in the lowest paid service occupations. NOW and other feminist groups are at least trying to do something about this unfair policy. So black people especially, shouldn't knock these organizations.⁴¹

Garland's comments are extraordinary in that they both critique and create a coalition with the white women's movement. She found common cause with the white feminist cause and encouraged her readers to do the same, even as she noted that there were still large disparities between black and white women that needed to be fixed. In just a few lines, Garland could uplift, encourage, and chastise the community. Her more politicized comments were always interspersed with other notes on activities and events in the black community, ranging from an outbreak of the flu, to the *Courier's* own awards, to the crowning of local beauty queens, to the travels and visits of notable people.

Johnson and Garland were notable for their strength in integrating the WPCP, but they were historic voices for the black journalism community. Interspersed with seemingly gossipy commentary on community doings, the women provided commentary on politics, faith and morality that educated and uplifted their communities. They were a part of what the broader women's movement in that they always brought a distinctly feminine voice and vision to their

41. Hazel Garland, "Things to Talk About," *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Mar. 21, 1970, 23, Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

work as they were boldly breaking into positions that had never been held before by women. They were a part of the racial equality movement in that they also spoke to and for the many streams of black political thought that were evident throughout the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. And by joining the WPCP, they were also forcing white women to hear their voices in new ways by showing their own successes and trials, while still being fully aware that the white women who had never before been exposed to an educated black woman would be prejudiced against their work both as a journalist and a club member.

The Women's Liberation Movement and the Woman Reporter

The Women's Liberation movement grew out of two separate but related strands of 1960s protest. Both threads were united by their roots within the university students that were leading much of the unrest that marked the 1960s and 1970s. While the 1950s were marked by disaffected youth outside the university in the face of the Beats, the 1960s and 1970s were gathered around a youth revolt that was situated solidly within the university. The first protest movement was the Civil Rights movement, and the second was the anti-Vietnam War uprising. While each group had its own individual identity and goal, both of these aspects were gathered under the broader umbrella known as the student protest movement. The student protest movement in all of its various aspects was a male-dominated crusade, and while women were allowed to join, they were often relegated to secondary positions, as Todd Gitlin relates in his canonical memoir of the student protests, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*. Women were allowed to run the mimeograph machine and type up memos, but they were not allowed on the front lines. Women were also used as sexual tokens, taken as prizes—objects not of affection but of sexual release. Gitlin says:

Women were expected (and expected themselves: no conspiracies here) to step off their pedestals, take off their bras, put on long dresses, and bake bread. In 1968, the druggy White Panther Party manifesto declared “Fuck your woman so hard till she can’t stand up.” Liberation News Service excised the offending line, but the word and the text got around. Women were revolted, along with most movement men; five years earlier, the violence of the fantasy would have been unthinkable anywhere in the movement’s orbit.⁴²

Women’s actions to break away from the men’s crusade belies Gitlin’s statement that women were complicit in their own sexual objectification. As noted previously, the sexual revolution created a double bind for women: They wanted sexual experience, but to gain it, they were required to sacrifice their own happiness.

Gitlin traces his own awareness of the beginnings of the women’s movement, and in turn, the dissolution of the men’s movement, to a 1965 rally where women stood up to encourage the men to consider women’s liberation as a major aspect of their own program of freedom from war and racism. The women were roundly booed, hissed and met with derisive remarks that contradicted the deep-seated acceptance of sexually violent talk that marked the men in the movement. The women met that evening and agreed on their own desire to split from the men and start their own crusade for women’s freedom, and from there, the movement gathered strength until, by the late 1960s, the women were presenting a much more united and vocal front than the men. “One of the bizarre features of 1969, 1970, and 1971 was this deep divide in experience: the time was agonizing for movement men, exhilarating for tens of thousands of women. ... Women had been the cement of the male-run movement; their “desertion” into their own circles completed the dissolution of the old boys’ clan.”⁴³ Gitlin seems to blame the women for the loss of the student movement. Even though, he notes “Sisterhood was powerful partly

42. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 372.

43. *Ibid.*, 374.

because movement brotherhood was not,⁴⁴ he also goes onto to speculate about how the loss of the women who ran the mimeographs and did much of the planning and legwork of the movement sent the patriarchal student movement into a tailspin. “By 1969, the male-run movement was in convulsions, of which the women’s movement was as much a products as a cause. Might women have salvaged the self-destroying Left had they stayed inside it, not organized autonomously? Would they have injected sanity and clarity into a movement by this time sorely lacking in a sense of the real? Possibly in the short run, probably not for long.”⁴⁵

Even though the men had driven the women away with their own divisions and their use of women as objects, Gitlin says that in the short run, women still could have injected sanity and clarity into the movement. However, how were women to instill sanity into a group of men that blatantly sexualized them and laughed about violent sexual fantasies, such as the White Panther Party’s, “fuck your woman so hard till she can’t stand up”? Even though many men did not feel this way, the conflict between the men was still one that women should not have had to adjudicate in order to get their own voices heard. As Audre Lorde noted in her 1984 speech, “the Master’s Tools will Never Dismantle the Master’s House,” an oppressor often employs the oppressed in educating the masses about their oppression. This, in turn, renders the dominated classes unable to act on their own behalf because they are constantly occupied with educating their masters rather than trying to find a way to way to liberation on their own.⁴⁶ Lorde argues that sisterhood, which does not mean that women necessarily *like* one another, but that women instead work to understand one another in a way that they can then create coalitions across

44. Ibid., 373.

45. Ibid., 375.

46. Audre Lorde, “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House,” *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 1984), 113.

difference. In other words, women needed to educate themselves on the varieties of oppression within their group, and this would make them a stronger voice for their own freedom.

Women turned to educating themselves through literacy, produce a groundswell of new, radical publications from 1968 to 1975. Dr. Kathryn Flannery, who was active in the women's liberation movement and documented the literary revolution, argued that the university, where the student-movement was based, had been admitting women not as a way to help advance the cause of women but instead as a way "to justify the status quo and thus blunt the possibilities for change."⁴⁷ To create an effective basis for change, women needed to form their own educational structures, and they did this through writing and publishing. Even though the movement was not as monolithic ideologically and racially as has been portrayed in many places, Flannery says the women did have one point upon which they agreed: "Although the women's movement did not constitute a unified ideology and women did not agree about how best to go about effecting change, they did agree, in remarkable numbers, that change was needed."⁴⁸ To this end, women began producing newspapers, newsletters, fliers, and other publications beginning in 1968, which Flannery marks as the launch of the "first identifiably separate feminist newspapers."⁴⁹ Flannery calls this a "university without walls." The publications served as the professors, and even women who had never written before were welcomed and taught all parts of the publishing process, from writing to layout to reproduction. Women educated each other in workable skills at the same time as they were educating each other about the many ideologies that moved the women's liberation movement forward.

47. Kathryn Thoms Flannery, *Feminist Literacies, 1968-1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 6.

48. *Ibid.*, 7.

49. *Ibid.*

Women who wrote for periodicals had to teach themselves not only about feminism but also about writing, and as they taught themselves, they made their learning visible for readers, who could in turn teach themselves. Ideally the reader would become a writer and contribute work to the periodical by sending in a poem, an essay, a letter, a testimonial, a news item, or an announcement and thereby not only extend the domain of feminist knowledge but also increase women's access to the means of literate production. The proliferation of print—and the editorial collectives' frequent expressions of surprise at the quantity of submissions—suggests something about this success of this mass process of lay pedagogy.⁵⁰

The process of moving from an outsider to an insider through the process of teaching was empowering, uniting women of diverse backgrounds. Gitlin noted that as a man viewing this from inside the crumbling student movement, he was stunned by the effectiveness of the women's organizing:

With amazing speed they spawned not only theory but practice—a web of women's health collectives, clinics, legal centers, newspapers, therapeutic groups, communes, publishing houses, bands, abortion counseling services, battered women's shelters, rape counseling centers, legislative campaigns, professional caucuses. There were a myriad of ways to be in 'in the movement,' from sexual experimentation as 'political lesbians' (to avoid collaborating with the enemy) to journal-keeping à la Anais Nin, yet all vying for the mantle of correctness.⁵¹

Women's communication structures allowed them to create institutions for change quickly and effectively. At a time when their male colleagues were struggling to conquer the divisions that were eventually to lead to their downfall, women were finding sisterhood through literacy and assisting women of diverse backgrounds and experience in finding common ground in sisterhood.

While many of the publications that created Flannery's university without walls were informal, non-corporate newspapers and newsletters, those women reporters in the mainstream were still a major part of the feminist liberation movement. Jill Daly, health and science editor for the *Post-Gazette*, participated in consciousness-raising groups, which she said was a good

50. Ibid., 25.

51. Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 375.

way to learn the assertiveness that she would need as a fulltime reporter. Daly went to university at Northwestern in Chicago, Illinois, and she graduated with a Bachelor's of Science in Journalism in 1976.

There was a lot of opportunity on campus. We had a daily newspaper...we also had a radio station that I tried out. And at that time in Chicago there were about 10 daily newspapers. It was a huge newspaper town. They were starting to have trouble keeping up all the papers. They started to merge. The Sun Times, there was the Chicago Daily News, the Tribune, um, and there was always the ...now I can't remember all the names, but there was a whole lot of daily newspapers, including the foreign language dailies...but it was really a great place to be. And I never worked as an intern at any of the papers, but I had friends who were doing that. Everybody was pretty excited.I was more interested in the writing and not necessarily in prestigious positions.⁵²

Daly worked in a print shop with the old-style linotype print type, and she was not certain whether she wanted to go into fiction or journalism. However, she did participate in a monthly campus women's magazine, which she described as a lot of feminist writing, as the fiction editor and considered herself a member of the women's movement. When asked if she would have considered herself a feminist and a member of the women's liberation movement, Daly answered perhaps the most enthusiastically of any of the women I interviewed outside of Merriman. Rather than splitting from her mother, as Siegel describes many of the Women's Liberation Movement members doing, Daly was inspired by her mother to join the cause.

Oh yes! I was just telling some of the younger women about that the other day. It was something that I was brought up to feel was important ...[My Mother] didn't call it feminism, but she went back to work when she was middle age and I was 13 or something...politically, she...whenever the Equal Rights amendment movement was going on, she had a bumper sticker on her car and was very politically oriented, even more politically oriented than me even.⁵³

Daly was so well known by her friends as a women's activist, even in high school, when she did not consider herself much a member of the women's liberation movement. When she went to

52. Jill Daly, Sept. 29, 2011, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

53. Ibid.

college, she joined the women's movement, and she participated in many of the ground-breaking actions of the cause, including consciousness-raising groups and assertiveness training. She called the movement's organizing activities, "those cool things. It was nothing... angry. It was just how to assert yourself, which helped a lot as a journalist."⁵⁴ Daly later noted that assertiveness training is necessary for all journalists, and conversely, journalism experience helps people with their assertiveness.

Well, being able to overcome the feeling that—which journalists run into and I think women journalists have to deal with—is, uh, knowing that you represent the public when you're interviewing and that you have a certain responsibility that when your subject might not want to go along with you, you can--it's not personal. You can say—You're not apologizing, you're just saying, "I'm asking you this. You have the right to answer me or not answer me, but I'm not being nosy for no reason. I'm being nosy because I'm trying to get to the truth." It gives you some confidence. You have to be aggressive. You can be professional. But in your personal life, it's important to be that way too. I think everyone, especially young women would benefit from some journalism experience, because you kind of feel like you can get on the inside you can find out what's going on and it makes you feel aware of the world. You feel more confident.⁵⁵

After college, Daly returned home to work at the *Jeannette News Dispatch*, her hometown daily newspaper. After a few months, she was laid off and transferred to the *Greensburg Tribune-Review*, where she worked in the library doing the tedious work of clipping and filing the day's articles, which she said, "really was not a good job for me at all." Daly soon got to put assertiveness training experience to work as an investigative reporter on several stories, including one that she particularly remembered about a company that said it was training people with special needs for jobs, when in fact, they were free labor for stuffing fundraising envelopes.⁵⁶ One of the major areas where women journalists were helping the Women's Liberation Movement's education agenda was in stories about contraception. In 1957, the FDA

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

approved a birth control pill for severe menstrual disorders, but not for use as a contraceptive. However, “An unusually large number of women report[ed] severe menstrual disorders,” and in 1960s, the FDA finally made the pill available for contraceptive use.⁵⁷ Within two years after the pill received approval, 1.2 million women were on the pill. By 1965, 6.5 million women had a prescription for the pill, easily making it the most popular form of contraception in the United States.⁵⁸

The Pill’s approval was part of the wider social unrest that marked the 1960s. In fact, its approval caused a sharp divide among the factions for and against oral contraception.

While some observers and commentators feared that the pill would wreak havoc on morals and sexual behavior, others claimed that it would cure the social, sexual, and political ills of the day. In keeping with the military metaphors of that permeated life in the cold war era, many saw the pill as a ‘magic bullet’ that would avert the explosion of the ‘population bomb.’ By reducing the population, it would alleviate the conditions of poverty and unrest that might lead to developing nations to embrace communism, and instead promote the growth of markets for consumer goods and the embrace of capitalism.⁵⁹

With the weight of a destructive population “bomb” and the very economic and political prosperity of the United States resting on its miniature medical shoulders, the pill still had more expectations greeting it from the very women who would be using it. Those women expected it to give them nothing less than their liberation.⁶⁰

In 1962, Helen Gurley Brown published *Sex and the Single Girl*, proposing the then-radical concept that women over the age of twenty could be single and have a fulfilling career and sex life. Brown is a controversial figure in feminist circles because of the brand of feminism

57. American Experience, “Timeline: The Pill,” PBS online/WGBH, 1999-2002, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/pill/timeline/timeline2.html>, accessed Feb. 18, 2012.

58. Ibid.

59. Elaine Tyler May, *America and the Pill: A History of Promise, Peril, and Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 3.

60. Ibid., 4.

she espoused in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, the well-known single-girl's guide to all things sex and health that Brown edited for 32 years. However, Brown herself saw her work as blatantly feminist, but in a way that made feminism accessible to popular, consumer culture. Jennifer Scanlon wrote,

[Gloria] Steinem and others defined Brown as naïve or antifeminist, yet her writings and her relationships with readers reveal a practice easily as complicated as theirs. Brown's particular approach linked her not only to other members of her generation but also to successive generations of women, through a philosophy of feminism compatible with both capitalism and popular culture. Brown's version of the actual and potential equality of women and men also differed from that promoted in other feminist circles. She believed women were equal to men in sexual desire and in their right to be sexual inside and outside of marriage. She promoted equality both of economic access and of sexual freedom, avidly supporting the Equal rights Amendment and featuring the ERA, along with abortion rights, in the pages of *Cosmopolitan*.⁶¹

Sex and the Single Girl itself was a radical challenge to conventional wisdom that women should be married and sexually chaste within the confines of marital bliss by age 20, but its movie counterpart, released in 1964, did what much of 1960s and 70s cinema did for single women: It "comedically cut Brown's strength down to size and quelled censor's stated fears that the film would 'advocate sexual freedom for unmarried girls.'"⁶² The film version expressed society's general unease with a liberated sexualized woman made possible by the pill.

The film adaptation of *Sex and the Single Girl* was one of many attempts by Hollywood to capitalize on and contain the figure of the single woman in the late 1950s and 1960s. In these films, the unmarried woman assumed an air of sexual knowledge and experience, mirroring the perceived trend toward sexual liberalism among young women, and she often prioritized her career above romantic prospects. Yet conservative plotlines undermined her knowledge, revealed her inexperience, and ultimately contained her desire and independence within marriage. By humbling the single woman and restoring her to a proper feminine role, these often-comedic narratives served serious purposes: They countered the threat that the single woman posed to traditional gender roles and

61. Jennifer Scanlon, *Bad Girls Go Everywhere: The Life of Helen Gurley Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), xi.

62. Lehman, *Those Girls*, 15.

sexual mores, and they warned impressionable viewers about the dangers of promiscuity and unbridled ambition.⁶³

Many women and the media seemed to be focused on sex, women's sexuality, and the power it represented. Betty Friedan, author of the seminal book *The Feminine Mystique*—which alerted many women to the feeling that they were not alone in the “problem that had no name,” which was that white middle-class women were unsatisfied being strictly housewives and moms—decried the move toward bedroom talk rather than a focus on political liberation. She critiqued the rhetorical turn toward sex in the radical women's movement with harsh words for media makers:

In 1970 Friedan was asked why she thought the new “trend”—the new bedroom politics—was catching fire. “Because it's sexy; it suits the communications media, the TV,” she quipped. “It's more glamorous than talking about jobs and discrimination and women in politics and made for kickier headlines indeed than child care centers or abortion reform. But as Friedan also noted, sensational headlines were also a way for the media to dismiss the entire movement as a dirty, silly joke.⁶⁴

Siegel goes on to note disparagingly that Friedan's biggest fear was probably lesbian, highlighting the deep hostility between the generations of feminist rhetoric and ideology that Siegel herself is trying to reveal and critique. While much of mainstream media was aimed

63. *Ibid.*, 16.

64. Deborah Siegel, *Sisterhood Interrupted: From Radical Women to Grrls Gone Wild*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 87. There are few books that are as controversial as Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*. The book itself created an entirely different mystique around Friedan's history and the sexual and social awakening of women in the 1950s and 1960s. In a history disputed by Friedan herself, Daniel Horowitz claims that Friedan's *Mystique* arose not from her own experience as a suburban housewife, but was instead an extension of her work in the male-dominated labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s. For this history, see Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998). To discover Friedan's real impact and challenge the myths surrounding the book, the women who read it, and the author herself, Stephanie Coontz turned to the reading women who first internalized its message. Her interviews are synthesized with other research on the rising of the women's liberation movement in Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and the American Woman at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York: Basic Books, 2011).

toward containing the sexualized woman, many women journalists were using their positions at newspapers and other publications to focus attention on issues, such as jobs, discrimination, politics, and yes, sexuality, that were important to the broader women's liberation movement.

Woodene Merriman, who joined the WPCP in the 1960s and served in several positions throughout her tenure, said she saw her work as a journalist as feminist because she used her stories to educate the public about the many issues she was also working on as an organizer of the McKeesport chapter of NOW. Merriman gained much of her training as a journalist as a college student and as a reporter for the *McKeesport Daily News* during WWII. She quit in 1950 when she became pregnant with the first of four children, but went back to work immediately when her fourth turned in six in 1962 or 1963.⁶⁵ She had been considering going back to the University of Pittsburgh to become a teacher but the *Daily News* editor asked her to return to start a women's page, which was "unbelievable," she said. "Well, already women's pages were out of style." However, the positions had many advantages for the women's-lib minded mother: "Whatever I wanted to do, they let me do it."⁶⁶ This meant that she could choose to design the pages around an activist agenda, even if she chose to follow the bias-free dictum that ruled much of white journalism at the time, she said. "The features story that I would write about would be for women's lib as we called it then."⁶⁷ One of her favorite articles involved her going to various banks and stores and trying to get credit without a man's signature, an issue that was particularly problematic for women of the time. "They want your husband's name, good grief! Sears turned

65. Merriman noted that she thought she'd returned to work in 1962, but was uncertain of the exact date. She said she took 13 years off from the news business to raise her children, which would put the date at 1963. However, her youngest was born in 1956 and she returned to work when he turned six, which could put her back in the newsroom in 1962. She could not confirm the exact year.

66. Merriman, personal interview.

67. Ibid.

me down, all these stores, and that made a great story.”⁶⁸ She also ran a column on the front page of the section that frankly discussed sex and relationships and tried to slant even traditional women’s issues, like fashion, toward a feminist agenda. On the home front, Merriman said that her children were proud of her for working, and her husband was supportive, although he received a lot of talk back from the men with whom he worked.

It was kind of hard. . . . People in my social set didn’t do that, the women with kids. And it was kind of hard on my husband, because he was in management at the mill, and the other guys would make comments, like, “you can’t support your wife, eh?” and that kind of stuff. That’s hard to believe today.⁶⁹

In spite of the dismissive talk from her social circle, Merriman said her position as a journalist allowed her to set an example for other women who might want to escape the tedium of housework and the “the problem that has no name,” identified by Friedan.

Look, have you ever just spent your life scrubbing floors and changing diapers all day long? . . . Well, you sure get tired of that. And play bridge. Oh, I played so much bridge. And you get tired of that. When you know you’re able to do something else, and it’s there waiting for you, why not do it? I just didn’t think twice about it. It’s what I wanted to do.⁷⁰

She used her position as a journalist to push for other recognition for women, as well. For example, every year, US Steel used to invite male journalists for a night out with a steak dinner, a baseball game, and cards. She pushed for an invitation because she figured that if men were attending, then she needed to have that opportunity for networking as well. “After the dinner,” she said, remembering the incident with a laugh. “I’m sitting around. One of the men called me cookie. I thought, I didn’t accomplish a thing, they’re not getting the point. I never went again.” The Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh allowed Merriman a place to discuss incidents like the US Steel dinner. It was a safe space for women reporters to gather strength and network, said

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Merriman, personal interview.

Merriman. Its biggest strength for her, she said, was in its ability to provide women with a sense of unity and strength against the overwhelmingly masculine face of the time's media. "I just think it was encouragement because other women were going through the same thing. You knew you weren't alone."⁷¹

Into the locker room

At the same time as reporters and editors like Merriman were plastering their pages with stories about issues important to the women's movement, other women reporters were providing an example of what liberated woman could do with her empowered position as a journalist. Pohla Smith (see figures 4.3 and 4.4), a WPCP member who now serves as a consumer health writer for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, was a sports reporter for the now-defunct United Press International wire service in the 1970s. As a baseball writer, she found herself at a disadvantage compared to her male colleagues because she could not access the locker rooms after games. In 1979, the Pittsburgh Pirates baseball team voted to allow her access to the team's space and soon became the first woman sports reporter to enter the post-game clubhouse.⁷²

Smith chose to be a writer in high school because, she said, she was in love, and her first choice had been music but there were not many opportunities for women saxophone players at the time. She said she needed a profession that would allow her to work even if she did not manage to finish college because she got married. So she chose journalism, and went to the University of Pittsburgh, where she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts after three years. While she was at the university, she applied for internships at the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, but she was

71. Ibid.

72. Pohla Smith, Sept. 29, 2011, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

told that the only way should get an internship there was if she worked in the bridal department: “By the time I was hired at the UPI [within five years from when she had been rejected as a news intern], they [the *Post-Gazette*] were hiring women to work news. So this was a time of great change.”⁷³ Smith attributed the change to the feminist movement: “We were becoming more aware of our need to be treated equally, and we were demanding it. It wasn’t just a matter of putting “Ms.” In front of our names. We were going out and doing something about it.”⁷⁴ Women were not settling for jobs in the bridal department, Smith said, and they were “harassing” news bosses to allow them to wear pants suits or other attire that would allow them to cover more active stories.⁷⁵

She worked for the *Pitt News* during her three years of undergraduate education at the University of Pittsburgh, and after graduation, she wanted to either go to Columbia University’s Master’s Program or get a job. When Columbia rejected her, she got a job with the *Newark Advocate* in Newark, Ohio in 1972. She was supposed to be the consumer writer, but she “knocked heads” with the advertising department because she reported things (she could not remember exactly what) that could have ruptured advertising relationships with the newspapers. Instead, she found herself covering city hall. At first glance, the paper may have seemed fairly equitable for women, with female reporters holding five or six of the twelve staff positions. However, there were restrictions, Smith said. “When I first started there, women had to wear dresses to work,” she said, although a few months into her tenure, women were allowed to wear pants suits as well as dresses.⁷⁶ Clothing problems were minor compared with the disparities in advancement opportunities, however. Smith recalled that the paper had a seniority system for

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

sending to editor jobs, and in early 1973, a news editor job opened up. Because of seniority—even though she had only been at the paper a short time, she was one of the longest-tenured reporters—it looked like she would get the job. However, the editor told her, “No woman will ever be the news editor. And I said, ‘Well, in that case, I’ll have to leave.’ And he said, ‘You haven’t been here long enough to get another offer’.”⁷⁷ She put together her resumes and sent them out. Within six weeks, she had two offers, one from United Press International in Pittsburgh and the other from the *Cincinnati Post*. She took the job at UPI because she thought “it would offer more variety.” Her boyfriend was working for the Associated Press news wire in Charleston, and he was “getting to do all kinds of fun things,” she thought the UPI would offer the same kind of variety. It took only a brief amount of time to prove her right, too.⁷⁸

She began working a general beat where she did news, sports, features, day shift, night shift, and radio stories. She got married in 1974, but she kept her job. One year later, the man who covered the sports desk, Rudy Crnkovich, died. The news editor asked her to take the job, even though she had never covered a live sporting event in her life. “I was very stunned, and I responded, ‘No, because I will set back the cause of women another 20 years’.”⁷⁹ Her bosses tried some of the other men in the office, but they did not want the position. They asked Smith again, and this time, she said, OK, but only if her husband could come to the games with her and teach her the details she would need to know to become proficient in each sport’s lingo. She began by covering the home Steelers games. Smith laughed as she recalled the reception she first received from the team’s management: “The day that my bureau manager called the Steelers PR guy, Joe Gordon, to tell him that I was going to cover the Steelers, I could hear him over the

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

phone saying, “What the hell are you trying to do to me?”” At the time, she just laughed, she said, calling Gordon, “an outspoken kind of guy. But we grew to become great friends over the years. He was fun. He was gruff. But he was fine, eventually, when he saw that I wasn’t going to cause trouble.”⁸⁰ Other cities were not as open to Smith as a sports reporter, she added.

Smith noted that women in New York, including Robin Herman⁸¹ of the *New York Times* and Lawrie Mifflin of the *New York Daily News*,⁸² were beginning to cover hockey at the same time as she started covering sports for the UPI. The three women met at the 1976 NHL all-star game. The players were supposed to be brought out to interview with the three women, but Herman went into the locker rooms, anyway, Smith said, and got thrown out for her trouble. “When we got on the bus afterwards to go back to the hotel, I was toward the back of the bus, and she was in the front of the bus, and she stood up, got on her knees on the seat, and looked

80. Ibid.

81. In 1975, Robin Herman was the first woman to gain access to the National Hockey Leagues’ post-game locker rooms. Herman and the *New York Times*, her home newspaper, petitioned the NHL for a year before the two coaches for the 1975 NHL All-Star Game relented and allowed Herman and another woman, Marcel St. Cyr, a broadcast reporter from Montreal, into the rooms. Herman and St. Cyr became the focus of the cameras and reporters. “I kept saying, ‘I’m not the story; the game is the story,’ ” Herman said, reflecting on the night. “But of course that wasn’t the case. The game was boring. A girl in the locker room was a story.” As of 2010, Herman was assistant dean for research communication at Harvard University’s School of Public Health. All information from Lynn Zinser, “In 1975, 2 Women Crossed a Barrier,” *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 2010, retrieved Mar. 4, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/24/sports/hockey/24reporter.html>.

82. Lawrie Mifflin was the *New York Daily News*’ first sports editor. She worked there from 1974 to 1981, at which time she transferred to ABC Sports for one year before finally landing at the *New York Times* as a sports reporter in 1982. Mifflin had a history of blazing trails for women before her work as a sports reporter. She was a member of the first women admitted to Yale’s undergraduate program, where she organized a varsity field hockey team, one of the first three varsity sports for women at Yale. She graduated with a degree in history in 1973. Since starting at the *Times*, has held many positions, including launching a short-lived digital cable channel that was jointly held between Discovery Communication, Inc., and The New York Times Company producing television documentaries with the *Times*. She is currently a Senior Editor and works on integrating the internet and print sides of the newsrooms All information from “Times Topics: Lawrie Mifflin,” *New York Times* online, N.D., retrieved Mar. 4, 2012, http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/m/lawrie_mifflin/index.html.

back at me, in effect, that I was a traitor to women because I had not gone into the locker room too.” Smith says that she thinks she did not bother to respond to Herman, but she did not like Herman for being hurtful and rude to her. She thought that interviewing the men outside the room was the terms that the women had agreed upon, and she needed the quotes fast. “As long as I got them, I was going to be satisfied.” It was not a time to be trying to overturn the gendered norms, she said. For her part, Herman, who was one of the first two women to be allowed into the NHL locker rooms in 1975, said in 2010, “It was at the height of the women’s movement. It was important to be bold. It was a matter of equity.”⁸³ In some ways, this split in tactics highlights the many challenges that faced the broader women’s movement as well: some women said it was best for them to stay with the men and tackle the issues of war and racial inequality before gender inequality. Others argued for a broad-based women’s movement that worked just on gender inequality issues. However, in terms of women reporters gaining ground for equity in sports, both Herman’s bold approach and Smith’s approach of playing by the men’s rules worked to gain them respect, as Smith’s stories of her time covering the 1979 Pirates season illustrates.

At the beginning of her time as a sports reporter, Smith devised a system with her husband so that she could get all of the information she needed. Smith wrote the stories with her gametime play-by-play notes, and then her husband would go down to the locker rooms and get quotes from the players because, as woman, she was not allowed inside that bastion of male comfort. However, this system soon became cumbersome, and she worked out a new system with the team. “I insisted that even though I couldn’t go in the locker room, I had to have equal access,” she said, adding that she went to Steelers headquarters to get quotes on days when there

83. Smith, personal interview.

was not a game, and “On game days, they brought the players out to me, so we compromised.”⁸⁴ After games, she went down to the rooms, stood outside, and grabbed players as they left their sacred chamber. This situation led to some awkward misunderstandings, she said with a smile: “As I recall, Terry Bradshaw⁸⁵ once took my notebook and gave me an autograph.”⁸⁶ She did not remember what she said to the four-time Super Bowl champion quarterback, but the remembrance, which she recalled by looking through some of her old stories, made her laugh. At the beginning of 1976, she successfully covered a National Hockey League All-Star Game and a National Basketball Association Championship, and her editors were impressed enough to offer her a promotion: “As it got closer to baseball season, I was offered a chance to go fulltime with sports, and I took it.... I had done OK, and I was having a good time. I wasn’t chained to a desk in the office. I could write features when I wasn’t covering an event. It was just fun and I liked sports. I still like sports.”⁸⁷ Her career developed so well that she eventually ran a column for the UPI called “Outside the Locker Room,” a reference to her outsider/insider status as a woman sports reporter. She was good enough to earn a column, but not acceptable enough to make it into the inner sanctum of sport.

Her status as an outside sports insider changed in 1979, when the Pittsburgh Pirates voted to allow her into their clubhouse. Here’s her remembrance of how it happened and that first day, as complete as she could form it:

It’s weird that it [the status of women reporters in locker rooms] hasn’t changed [today]. I mean, in 1979, I believe it was, the commissioner of baseball, and I believe it would have

84. Ibid.

85. Terry Braxton Bradshaw was the first quarterback to win three and four Super Bowl titles, and he led the Steelers to eight AFC championships. He played for the Steelers from 1970 to 1983.

86. Smith, Personal Interview.

87. Ibid.

been Louis Kuhn⁸⁸, um, ruled that baseball teams had to make equal opportunities for women and men reporters. They could do it in whatever fashion they chose, but it had to be equal. The Pirate Players voted to open the locker room up to me, which I took as a compliment. It meant that after three years of covering them, they trusted me. I don't know how close the vote was. I imagine it was not unanimous. And I knew it was going to be stressful and difficult. It was a good year to do it because the Pirates went on to win the World Series. And so there were more good days for them after the games than bad days. But I remember when we were heading into the first day of the season. A sports writer called and asked me if he could follow me around for the first day of the season. And I said, "No, I'm not the story." He was disappointed. And it wasn't his fault. He'd been told to do the story. But I was offended that I was asked to be in further spotlight than I was already going to be. As it turned out there was plenty to write about because just about every news agency in the area sent a woman to be part of this new era that day of the first game.⁸⁹

Even though Smith knew she would be in the spotlight for being one of the first women allowed into a MLB clubhouse, she experienced a lot of stage fright at that first game. "It was nerve wracking. My husband gave me some very good advice that first day. I don't know if it was before I had been in there for a while, but he said, "Remember that it's their clubhouse, and you need to play by their rules."⁹⁰ Even when she did play by the rules, though, life as the only woman in the locker room was often awkward and challenging. Smith had to overcome a lot of sexual harassment to do her job, and she did it with aplomb.

I was tormented a lot by some of the players and some of the coaches. For instance, there was a middle-aged coach with a big beer belly who loved walking around—strutting around—strutting is the only word for it—in his black bikini underwear with his big hairy belly, and it was for my benefit. Now I suppose I should be grateful that he had his bikini underwear on rather than walking around nude. [One of the players]⁹¹ loved to walk around nude. And one time he grabbed my hand and tried to put it on his penis. Well, I practiced for a while, and then I came up with a line that I used a couple of days later. They had an area of the locker room that they called "The Ghetto." It was mostly the

88. Smith is referring here to Bowie Kuhn, who was Major League Baseball's commissioner from 1969 to 1984.

89. Smith, Personal interview.

90. Ibid.

91. I have redacted this player's name because the story is potentially injurious to his reputation, and I could not reach him to confirm the details. This player is still alive, owns several businesses, and is still well-known.

black stars, and then Phil Garner⁹² who was like the honorary member of The Ghetto. And, um, I went over to The Ghetto, and I said, “[His name]!” as loud as I could, and everyone looked to see what I would do because I was standing there. And I said, “There’s only one reason you need me to touch that thing and that’s because you’ve gotten so fat, you don’t know if it’s there anymore.” And then I ran away! And a day or two later, and he said, “Pohla, you have the best sense of humor in the press corps!”⁹³

Smith said her “knees were knocking together to get that line out!” but that she earned respect from the players by playing by their rules, which to her, meant that she put them in their place when they were rude, as this player was, but also understood that in their clubhouse, they were allowed to walk around in whatever state of dress—or undress—as they pleased. Playing by the rules also meant respecting those few men who would not do interviews in the locker room. She noted that Timothy John Foli, a shortstop who played with Pirates from 1979 to 1981, would not talk to her in the locker rooms because of his religion. However, he would do an interview if they were in the hallway, so that’s where she spoke with him. “And again, it was a matter of respect. It was a pain in the rear end that I had to leave the locker room to go interview Tim and come back in. But he was a pain in the ass, anyway, to everybody....so I did it. Those were his rules, and I played by them.”⁹⁴ Smith traveled with the team for the 1979 playoffs. At one of the stops, a stadium guard tried to stop her and another female reporter from the *Valley Dispatch* from entering with the team. Harding William “Pete” Peterson (also commonly known as “Hardy”), who was the Pirates General Manager, stepped forward and said, “Sir, our ladies go everywhere with us.”⁹⁵ That moment, Smith said, is when she knew she truly was no longer outside the locker room.⁹⁶ Over the 19 years she spent with United Press International, Inc., Smith covered three Olympic Games, and she became well known on the horse-racing circuit, covering derbies

92. Philip Mason Garner was an infielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates from 1977-1981.

93. Smith, personal interview.

94. Ibid.

95. Before becoming the Pirates General Manager, Peterson was an MLB catcher.

96. Smith, personal interview.

around the Eastern region for several years. UPI laid her off in 1991 when it closed the majority of its wire services. Smith, who said she had not had time to join the Women's Press Club before because she traveled so often, was drawn into the WPCP for the socializing, and she ended up spending two years as president and has served in several other positions throughout the club since.⁹⁷

Before Pohla Smith was blazing trails into Pittsburgh baseball clubhouses, WPCP grand dame Nancy C. Jones, who was discussed in the last chapter because she joined the press club right out of college in the 1950s, was covering sports for the Associated Press in Louisville, Kentucky and experiencing discrimination that kept her from doing her job properly—although she still won her bets on the horses. Jones, who was a pioneer at Penn State University as the first woman journalism professor there, worked for the Associated Press in Louisville, Kentucky from 1961 to 1965.⁹⁸ Even though she was one of the few women there, she spent her Friday and Saturday nights gathering game scores for the wire, a task which was fairly typical for AP workers at the time. “You didn't really have a chance to write much yourself,” she said, noting that most people were doing clerical work and only editors had the opportunity to write regularly, “And that's what kind of turned me off.”⁹⁹ However, she was sent on assignment to write stories about the Kentucky Derby, an event that Smith covered regularly during her career at the UPI. When the feisty 4-foot-7-inch reporter arrived, she found that even if she had an opportunity to write a story, the men who ran the event were not going to let her document the race itself: “They gave me the press pass, but they told me you can't go into the press box. And I

97. Ibid.

98. Louisville was one of the AP's information hubs at the time. Therefore, major stories, like the assassination of John F. Kennedy, would have been cleared through the Louisville center.

99. Jones, personal interview.

said, well, what do you want me to do? And they said, “Well, cover the women’s hats and the flowers in the gardens.” And so, that’s what I covered.”¹⁰⁰ She laughed heartily as she recalled that she still managed to win a lot of money on the race, though: “I didn’t cover the horse race, and I had the winner!”¹⁰¹ At the AP, Jones also covered the Kennedy assassination, which she remembered clearly because she was charged with recovering the time stamp on their wire copy, which showed the United Press International, Inc. had filed their story before the AP and “made history,” she said. Previous to her time at the AP, she briefly worked at the *Miami Herald*, where she covered the Hollywood bureau and soon was transferred back to Melbourne, Florida, where she covered the NASA space program.¹⁰²

Even though she found industry work difficult, she struggled just as much with discrimination in the university journalism programs. She arrived at Penn State in 1967 and taught there until 1971, when she transferred to Duquesne University. Soon after she arrived at Penn State, the man who hired her retired and was replaced by a male dean who did not support women, whether they were in journalism or in academia. “He was an old dean,” she said. “He wasn’t old, but he was the old-school dean. He just didn’t think it was our place and he didn’t think we should be... just teaching, let alone teaching women.”¹⁰³ This was particularly evident as the end of the 1960s rolled across the Penn State Campus and the growing Women’s Liberation Movement held several marches on campus.

He called me into his office one day and he said, “Did you have your students out carrying—out going to the president’s office?” And I said, “I sent them out to get a story, but I didn’t send them into the president’s office. If they went in, it wasn’t my fault!” He

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

was really mad at me for assigning them to cover—it was, it was, you know, a protest, and they were covering it. And that’s what they were supposed to be doing.¹⁰⁴

Jones said the dean need not have worried about her leading her students to protests since, as a journalist, she adhered to the strict dictum that reporters should never let their opinions be known, even when she may have agreed with the cause, such as feminism.

This stance highlights one of the difficulties of clearly mapping professional women journalists onto the more radical women’s liberation movement. Journalists are indoctrinated to report news in as unbiased a manner as possible, and this often means that reporters are not allowed to join political parties—even to vote—and they are also required to report the problematic “both” sides of an issue.¹⁰⁵ This created a conflict between women journalists—particularly women’s page reporter and editors—and women’s activists. Former Women’s Page editor for the *St. Peter’s Times* and the *Philadelphia Bulletin* Marjorie Paxson said that her work

104. Ibid.

105. As a journalism student myself, I was often trained to report “both” sides of the story, although now journalism programs, recognizing the complexities of issues, are training students that bias may be inherent in their stories, but they need to report as many viewpoints as possible so that readers can get as broad of a view of an issue as possible. This may be as close to unbiased as a reporter can get. I do not have the space to document this issue in this dissertation; however, there seems to be a contemporary shift in news coverage more toward media institutions blatantly showing their viewpoint, much as they did during the yellow journalism era and before. Readers now overwhelmingly find the separation between reporting information and challenging that information specious, particularly in an era where readers themselves “flock” to the Internet to do fact checking themselves, writes Steven Maras. The historic debates surrounding whether journalists should “report the truth as they *see* it” rather than “as they *find* it by application of scientific method” and in either case how the reporter is supposed to capture the complexity of social relationships is enhanced by the “collaborative nature” of many new mobile media sources, Maras argues. “On-line collaboration opens up a way, furthermore, of reconciling the two perspectives above, of mediating in a way that affirms social reality in its lively contradictions. In other words, it forces journalism ethics to confront questions of pluralism, dialogue, collaboration and transparency. It also forces media studies to consider seriously questions of media use, by both readers and producers” (175). For a consideration of the rise of objectivity as a preeminent American news value, its uses and misuses, and the challenges facing its implementation in an era of increased mobile and web-based media use, see Steven Maras, *Objectivity in Journalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

was denigrated by the women's movement, even as she saw her pages as spreading the goals of the women's movement. She said, "I still have not quite forgiven women's movement activists for turning against women's editors. In the early days of the movement in the sixties, most substantive newspaper coverage of the movement was on the women's pages. ...But the activists wanted the movement news off our pages. In their eyes, we women's editors were traitors."¹⁰⁶ They were outsiders of the women's movement because they would not become activists. Women's page journalists lost both their role as women's advocates, as they saw it, and their jobs. However, women's page editors like Paxson and Pittsburgh Women's Press Club member Woodene Merriman saw their work as advocacy in many ways. While she "always tried so hard to be impartial,"¹⁰⁷ Merriman, like many women's page editors, loaded her pages with features on women's issues and the movement.¹⁰⁸ And she learned from her fellow Women's Press Club members to celebrate seemingly small victories, like the *Post-Gazette* running an article on longtime club president and board Member Zora Unkovich without using "ms.," "miss," or "mrs." in the title.¹⁰⁹ In other words, change for women, according to Merriman, would not be sweeping but, instead, small and incremental.

Jones saw herself participating in the advancement of women through mentorship. She associated with professional women's journalism groups and started groups on campus. At Penn State, she was affiliated with Theta Sigma Phi. At Duquesne, and later at Point Park,¹¹⁰ she ran

106. Qtd. in Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 44.

107. Merriman said that one of her proudest moments was having a reader call to yell at her for being anti-women's movement activists because "at least one person didn't know where I stood."

108. Ibid.

109. Merriman, personal interview.

110. Jones moved to Point Park in 1989.

groups of Women In Communication, Inc., which grew out of Theta Sigma Phi,¹¹¹ and she joined the Pittsburgh Women's Press Club. "I was instrumental with the young women in the colleges being members of this and I think they understood that they needed this support of other women if they were going to go onto have a career." Jones noted that she took women to the professional meetings to make contacts, which would turn into future careers. She laughed as she said ruefully that it seemed like today's meetings seem to be more students than actual professionals anymore. While this is not as useful to the students, she lauds the journalism professors who are still doing the important work of bringing young women to professional meetings and helping them launch their careers, such as Helen Fallon, who has been highly involved in the club since the early 1980s, including running the scholarship competition for at least three decades.

The Times They Were A-Changing

The WPCP began to struggle with its identity in the 1960s, with some members wanting to join forces with the men's press club, which was moving toward a gender-integrated club, and others who were holding the line at a women's-only organization. On March 27, 1961, Ed Beachler of the Pittsburgh Press Club attended a board meeting of the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh to propose a combining of forces. The "men's" club wanted the women to join their ranks because, "If we can get together, work this thing out, we would be a powerful press organization in the city."¹¹² In other words, Beachler seems to be saying that neither the

111. Women in Communication, Inc. is now called the Association for Women in Communications, Inc. AWC was the second organization of its kind of university women journalists. It was formed at the University of Washington in 1909. "About Us: AWC is One of the Originals," 2012, http://www.womcom.org/about_us/history.asp, accessed Mar. 13, 2012.

112. Meeting minutes, Mar. 27, 1961, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

Pittsburgh Press Club nor the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh were particularly effective at this point in time. By combining awards ceremonies the two clubs could have a "bang up" celebration, Beachler said, and he proposed that the dues the women already paid to the WPCP would count toward their membership in the PPC. Beachler's argument seems to be that there is only enough press power in the city for one press club, an undertone that caused bristling among his female audience. WPC member Maxine Schoyer snapped that the WPC was much older than the PPC, implying that if only one press club were to survive, then the WPC had more right to survival than its male counterpart. The unnamed note taker for the meeting wrote this conciliatory ending to the conversation: "It was just a suggestion on Eddie's part and no definite answer was given before he left."¹¹³ However, that suggestion seemed to take root in the club, and over the next decade, the WPCP's membership and awards structure were to change drastically.

In 1960, the WPCP's awards program for women journalists seemed to be thriving. Member Mary Shine's husband established a memorial award for her, which the club turned into an award specifically for articles written by women for the women's pages of their newspapers. This allowed the club to restructure the rest of their awards to represent the changing place of women in the newsroom. Women increasingly were finding jobs throughout the news side of the paper, not just in the woman's pages section, and the club's previous categories that focused specifically on the work that women had been allowed to do for their sections no longer sufficed to honor the member's efforts. New awards categories announced on December 5, 1960 included the following for news reporting that happened both "city side" (i.e., in the "hard news" section of the paper) and in the society side of the paper: news stories, columns, series, and features.

113. Meeting minutes, Mar. 27, 1961, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

Three other categories—Magazine, the Mary Shine Memorial Award, and Public Relations—rounded out the newly revised awards.¹¹⁴ In 1961, though, the board held a special meeting to discuss discontinuing their own awards and combining with the Golden Quills. The club voted to combine with the Golden Quill awards, and PPC's awards were altered to include three women's categories.¹¹⁵ The club continued to award the Mary Shine Award and the Gertrude Gordon award, however.

Over the next decade, the awards categories continued to change to reflect the changing membership. At the same time, the Golden Quill Awards, which were given by the Pittsburgh Press Club¹¹⁶, grew and expanded, changing so quickly that a humorous note in the WPCP's 1962 meeting minutes states that the PPC agreed to allow the women's awards to stay the same that year because they were the only category that was not changing.¹¹⁷ In 1964, the WPCP announced in its minutes that it was celebrating a woman of the year; however, that year's awards ceremony does not include this award.¹¹⁸ The next month's minutes mention this as a proposed award again but it was shelved because some women felt it was too cliché. The proposal was brought up several times throughout the remaining decades covered by the club's archive.¹¹⁹ However, this idea never seems to have come to fruition.

114. Meeting minutes, Dec. 5, 1960, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

115. Meeting minutes, Aug. 15, 1961, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

116. Since the demise of the Pittsburgh Press Club in 1993, the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania has given the Golden Quill Awards annually.

117. Meeting minutes, May 31, 1962, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

118. Meeting minutes, Dec. 14, 1964, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

119. Meeting minutes, Jan. 14, 1965, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 2, Women's Press Club-Minutes Oct. 23 1956-1961, DLAHHC.

Finally, the organizers of the “Golden Quill” awards, which are still awarded by the Pittsburgh Press Club today, dropped all categories specifically labeled for women’s pages and women writers. In defending its decision, Golden Quill Chairman Milnor Roberts wrote, “As you know, there is a very strong movement running in the Country today which seeks to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. Possibly this philosophy had something to do with the elimination of a category which seemed to restrict itself to women's activities. The newspapers, in particular, have been targets of attack by activists for feminine organizations which seek to eliminate even the separation of the sexes in the help wanted advertisements.”¹²⁰ The Golden Quill awards categories were in flux as the Pittsburgh Press Club expanded quickly and tried to change its awards system to reflect its changing membership. In 1968, the categories focused almost exclusively on a gendered audience: men or women. The 1970 categories dropped the mention of gender altogether.

In some ways, this lack of a gendered audience and a gendered writer was obviously beneficial for women. If the awards were a reflection of a broader cultural shift in newsrooms, then this shift in categories meant that women were occupying jobs across the newspaper, which would enable them to compete in all of the Quill categories. Women began getting jobs in all of the news categories, from sports to economics to politics to features, so breaking down awards by gender no longer made sense. The gender designation “women” disappeared from pages and awards; however, some women journalists found themselves struggling to keep their positions and their rank at their newspapers. “When editors responded by changing women’s sections to general interest feature sections, women’s editors paid the price,” says Paxson, who lost her job as a women’s section editor not once, but twice, as newspapers moved to general interest

120. Milnor Roberts to Alice H. Seneff, Apr. 8, 1970, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Correspondence 1968-1982, DLAHHC.

features sections. Paxson argued that the new features section was seen as more of a “man’s” job, so many women lost their jobs to men.¹²¹ This loss of job is not mentioned in the WPC archives. Rather, the clubwomen felt “slighted” by the Golden Quill awards decision to drop the women’s designation because they saw it as preventing women from competing in an equal field with men. In an official letter to Milnor, WPC President Alice H. Seneff wrote:

The various women in the Women's Departments of the newspaper... and most of the women working on the newspapers are in the Women's Department... asked me to write to you as chairman of the Golden Quill contest. I am President of the Women's Press club. They [The Women's Press Club membership] can't understand your dropping the classification for women this year and hope that it will be resumed next year so that women can participate. I feel sure that the Golden Quill committee did not intentionally slight the local newspaper women.¹²²

The awards handed out by the Women’s Press Club allowed women to receive more notice than they received from the Golden Quill awards. When the Women’s Press Club awarded its prizes, the winners were always featured in pictures in all of the newspapers. Golden Quill award winners also received the same honor. However, Golden Quill pictures show a distinct minority of women. One picture from 1972 features nine people, only two of whom are women.

In spite of the awards changes and the younger women’s perception of the club members as old biddies, the minutes and scrapbooks from the 1960s and 1970s show a feisty and fun group of women that sponsored a wide array of speakers and events to enrich the Pittsburgh community and their own work as journalists. One of the more amusing themes documented in the meeting minutes is a series of social faux pas at social events, often which lead to chaos of one kind or another. An October 9, 1962, meeting featuring Carnegie Tech’s John R. Coleman as a speaker started with Coleman exclaiming, “this has started out as one of the most fascinating

121. Whitt, *Women in American Journalism*, 44.

122. Alice H. Seneff to Milnor Roberts, Apr. 6, 1970, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 2, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Correspondence 1968-1982, DLAHHC.

evenings in my life. I do not know what will happen next!” to which the evenings recorder Zora Unkovich commented in her notes, “And it’s just as well he didn’t.”¹²³ One drunken lady attacked WPCP member Betsy Bramer exclaiming, “Are you Betsy Bramer, the owner of the Playhouse?” and eventually had to be removed by the Maitre D. The President and the Treasurer had forgotten the club checkbook that evening and neither was carrying cash either; this led to a frantic sotto voice confab behind Mr. Coleman’s back as the two tried to figure out how to pay for his meal that evening. Quickly after this side conversation, which had evidently been overheard by Coleman, the group retired to another room for a more informal dinner, where there was no seating assigned except for those who would sit with Mr. Coleman. Clubmember Alibee Seneff, however, accidentally sat down beside the guest of honor, and on realizing her mistake, she “raced off across the room, explaining, ‘I can’t sit beside you!’” Once Mr. Coleman had been told that Seneff’s mistaken seat choice had been reserved for club president Barbara Cloud, Coleman said that “he was glad to hear that; he’d wondered what made him so obnoxious.” The group gathered leftover chicken for Bramer’s Siamese cats, and there was an, evidently expected, kerfuffle over how to pay for the pre-dinner drinks. Coleman’s speech was on the country’s economic status and posed questions about why economic issues were primarily covered by men even though, Coleman stated, women would be the first to notice an economic shift. To cap off the evening, Coleman said, “I’ve gathered enough material tonight for at least four speeches.”¹²⁴

Fire livened up at least two other meetings in this time period. April 22, 1963’s regular meeting was derailed just before dessert when the Reizenstein building next to the Pittsburgh

123. Meeting Minutes, Oct. 9, 1962, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Minutes 1962-1969, DLAHHC.

124. Ibid.

Press Club caught fire. The waiter whispered in everyone's ear (why he whispered to everyone individually rather than making a full announcement is not recorded.), "There is a fire. Get your coats and leave quietly." The women did, and Margie Carlin, that night's note-taker said, "There was no business meeting that night—and no dessert."¹²⁵ The February 12, 1970, anniversary dinner featured Jean Mooney, director of women's services for Newspaper Enterprise Association, speaking about "Women and the World" and a nice blaze to heat up the evening. During the dinner, one of centerpieces, which consisted of a "ruff of lacy paper doilies" around a potted azalea, was lit on fire by either a candle or a cigarette. Recording Secretary Ann Zurosky wrote of the small blaze, "Things got lively at that table as everyone tossed the contents of their water glasses at the sudden blaze."¹²⁶ While the blazes and other shenanigans reported in the club minutes add humor and character to the women's history, they also highlight some of the ways that the women's press club members were behaving in defiance of traditional femininity. They smoked; they drank (sometimes to excess). And perhaps more importantly for their continued success and advancement, their speakers attacked a range of topics that were supposedly non-feminine, such as Coleman's speech about the economy in which he even notes that women should be more interested in the economy than men since they will be affected first if there is an economic downturn.

As they had done since their founding, The WPCP continued to enrich Pittsburgh's social and intellectual scene with their speakers in the 1960s and 1970s. In many ways, the club's speaker series was one way that the group participated in the feminist uprising's university without walls. The speakers gave the women news stories and background information news

125. Meeting Minutes, Apr. 22, 1963, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 3, Women's Press Club-Minutes 1962-1969, DLAHHC.

126. Anniversary Minutes, Feb. 12, 1970, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 4, Women's Press Club-Minutes 1970-1976, DLAHHC.

stories, and in some cases, they were just there to provide information on a topic of interest to the ladies of the group. Merriman said, “Every meeting had a very good speaker, or I thought they were. Sometimes it would be a newsmaker, someone you could write about and sometimes someone in the group.” She said the speakers produced conversation among the attendees, allowing them to share problems and support one another. It was a “very honest, open atmosphere I think. They would gripe a lot about how they were treated by men.”¹²⁷ At one speaker brainstorming session in 1969, the group tossed around names like John Updike and David Johnson, author of “The Johnstown Flood” (The event that made one of the club’s founders famous as the only woman who showed up to cover it), along with several women. Veronica Volpe opposed a man speaker, and member Rachel Bobo agreed, arguing, “Since we are a woman's organization, it may be that we have a responsibility to search out a good woman speaker.”¹²⁸ As has been shown in previous chapters, this has not always been the WPCP's stance. While the club has said that its primary goal is to advance the status of women writers, it has been proactive about bring women and men as speakers for most of its history. In the 1960s and 1970s, though, most of the club’s speakers, particularly for the annual dinner, were women. Mrs. Hibberd V.B. Kline, Jr., assistant to the Chancellor for Women’s Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh spoke with the group on April 28, 1964, and an expert on Africa who was chosen by President John F. Kennedy to represent the U.S. on Liberation Day in Sierra Leone, Africa in May 1963, spoke with the group about a new education program for women at the University of Pittsburgh. Miss Genevieve Blatt, state secretary of Internal Affairs, kicked off the 1964 season with a discussion about women in politics. A 1965 joint meeting with Theta Sigma Phi and

127. Merriman, personal interview.

128. Board meeting minutes, Sept. 11, 1969, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 3, Women’s Press Club-Minutes 1962-1969, DLAHHC.

American Women in Radio & Television featured funny woman Phyllis Diller. The March 9, 1970, dinner meeting featured Liz Carpenter, Lady Bird Johnson's former press secretary and staff director speaking about her book on her "hectic, hilarious" days in the White House. The 1973 anniversary dinner featured Mrs. Wauhillau La Hay, White House Correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, upon whom the club bestowed a miniature pork barrel made of human hair. There is no explanation as to why La Hay was the beneficiary of this unique gift.¹²⁹ The club also held lighter events, such as the meeting held at Duquesne Brewery to celebrate Oktoberfest; of the male speakers, Edward Waldman, director of education at Mercy Hospital addressed the group on May 8, 1969, about the seemingly fluffy topic, "The Extra Sensory Sex--Women and ESP." Williams said, though, that this was of interest to many women at the time, and the club records show many nights wrapping up with a session of palm reading.

Just as the club had done throughout its several decades of existence, remembering history and building an institutional memory of women journalists was an important part of the club's activities. As evidenced by the "old biddies" outburst that opened this chapter, historical remembrances began to fall out of favor with the club as the women's liberation movement advanced and the club had a broader range of women journalists and leaders to choose from as speakers. However, Merriman said she remembered bringing in a play about Nellie Bly, and the promotion was an important part of the club's events. She said the club was important because

It promoted women... just by making them more prominent for one thing. Giving them awards and scholarships and all of that.... Just being there promotes women, just the fact that there is a women's press club. ...I think that making people aware that there are women in journalism, news, and that they're doing things.¹³⁰

129. Anniversary Meeting Minutes, Feb. 9, 1973, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 3, Folder 3, Women's Press Club-Minutes 1962-1969, DLAHHC.

130. Merriman, personal interview.

As much as the WPCP was promoting women in journalism, it was also helping women in related professions, as well.

Williams was part of what Merriman called the “other” part of the women’s press club: the public relations professionals. The WPCP has always welcomed a variety of people related to journalism, including public relations and journalism instructors. Williams joined when she was 22, and was immediately welcome by Zora Unkovich, one of the most active members of the time, and a woman who helped to shape food journalism at the time. It was her example and influence that made Unkovich want to join: “She had access to all kinds of society. She was very brilliant. And she was very good to me. ... Actually, that made me want to join the club and I joined, and I got in, and these women were very instrumental in making me successful in my field.”¹³¹ Williams was a well-known person in the public relations world. She began her career as the associate editor of publications for the HJ Heinz Company in Pittsburgh, and then moved onto the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh and Pittsburgh’s Vocational Rehabilitation Center. Without the WPCP, Williams said she would not have been able to organize a highly successful campaign for a new building for the rehabilitation center, nor would she have been able to project her message as clearly to the public.¹³²

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of change for the country at large and for the WPCP. While the Women’s Liberation Movement was gathering steam at the end of the 1960s into the 1970s, women journalists were also breaking barriers by entering classrooms to teach and walking into the locker room to do their reporting. Rather than standing on the outside waiting for the story to come to them, female reporters were able to grab stories aggressively and compete with their male counterparts in all areas. For some, this meant playing by the men’s

131. Williams, personal interview.

132. Ibid.

rules, which caused conflicts both among women journalists and between the reporters and the activists. However, the writer's progress was also advancement for women. Without female newsmakers, the university without walls that built and sustained the liberation cause would have been relegated to underground, subculture publications. The underground publications were fantastic at speeding information, but they were ephemeral and could not reach a broader, mainstream audience. They were already preaching to the converted. Conventional media practitioners reached both audiences. The survivors of the early 1900s saw their progress moved forward at a much quicker pace in the 1960s and 1970s, and pioneering journalists could see their work to integrate newsrooms and create new spaces women finally blossom into sweeping newsroom changes. Just as the liberation movement could not discount the work of mainstream female journalists, young newswomen in the 1960s and 1970s could not forget that their victories were only possible because they were the beneficiaries of the fights those "old biddies" had already won.

Chapter 6
Survival of the Fittest
1980-the Present Day

While the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh advertised its 1991 one hundredth anniversary celebration as the start of a new century of success, the celebration was tinged with uncertainty as the club itself struggled to find its footing and place in the Pittsburgh news landscape. In 1989, the club began considering 501(c)3 status, which would make it an official non-profit that people could donate to while earning tax credit for doing so. This move, which was approved by the federal government in 1990, would, the club hoped, boost the annual scholarship competitions. The 1990 determination of status letter that was sent to members noted, “We can now go to foundations and individuals for funds as a charitable organization. In this past, foundations have usually required that we have this IRS qualification—in fact we have had difficulty in receiving our own Gertrude Gordon funds from the Pittsburgh Foundation. The ruling will enable us to raise more money for our Anniversary activities as well as for future scholarships.”¹ While the new tax status allowed the WPCP to continue the scholarship that they had launched to support young women journalists—one of the club’s missions—by changing status, the club was also signaling that it no longer saw itself as a professional group. In fact, president Virginia Philips wrote to the club in 1992 that the change in status meant that they would be moving away from professional work toward charitable work. “We are now 501C, a nonprofit, charitable and educational institution. As such, we will be playing more emphasis on our charitable activities as time goes on.” This, Philips said, would allow the club to continue on

1. Nancy Hammer, Memo to the Membership of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, “IRS Ruling of our Tax Exempt Status,” June 15, 1990, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

firmer financial footing than they had in the past.² The club and the competitions were both faltering in more ways than a simple change in tax status could help.

Prior to the new tax status determination in June of 1990, the group had to extend the scholarship to men in order to meet the Pittsburgh Foundations' requirements and, according to the club's records, "revitalize" the competition.³ This was done, and in the year of the club's centennial, a young man, Matthew Nelko of the University of Pittsburgh, took home the Gertrude Gordon award. The next year, the group had to step back from the competition and consider their priorities, although it should be noted that while the archive documents the suspension of the award in 1992, Helen Fallon, who has been working on the award competition since she joined in the 1980s, could not remember a year that the club did not award the Gertrude Gordon, and the archive itself seems to list guidelines and winners for that year. However the archive notes state that in 1992,⁴ the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh did not give a Gertrude Gordon writing award for the first time since 1956, nor did it hand out a Grayce Druitt Latus award, which had been around since 1971. In the meantime, the club considered giving the Gertrude Gordon to a professional writer rather than a student. In response to this, an unnamed historian (most likely Ann Zurosky, the club's historian until she was forced to step down in 1993 because her husband was ill) noted that "Interest had begun to lag [in the awards] and Board members agreed to reassess the entire procedure." However, the lack of interest was not

2. Virginia Philips to members of the WPCP, "Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh: Memo to Members," Mar. 10, 1992, 2, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

3. N.A., N.D. WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

4. There is some confusion about the exact year in which the scholarship was temporarily discontinued. The notes that I originally got this information from were dated 1992; however, later information included information for an awards committee for both 1991 and 1992, plus work that both groups performed. None of the members I interviewed for this work could confirm a date. Helen Fallon, who has worked on the scholarship for more than thirty years since the 1980s, making her the expert on the scholarship, could not recall a year when it was not awarded.

just in the awards; she continued on to write, “The decision: The awards have not been discontinued, just delayed while club members evaluate the need for a change both in the awards categories and the club aim itself.”⁵ The state of the club’s scholarship reflected the state of the club itself and the broader Pittsburgh newspaper environment.

The club’s temporary discontinuation of the award preceded the biggest upheaval in Pittsburgh’s newspaper scene for decades: the 1992 teamster strike against the Scripps-Howard corporation that lasted for well over six months and eventually lead to the closure of the city’s largest paper at the time, *The Pittsburgh Press*. The strike lead the group to discontinue two large fundraising and celebratory events. The first event, the “Gridiron,” was meant to be a humorous mix of skits and remembrance similar to the events described in previous chapters where club members took on the personas of past women journalists and celebrated the state of women journalists at the time. With members struggling to make ends meet, that fundraiser was cancelled early in the year, and a dance was substituted. But in October, Scripps-Howard announced that they would sell the *Press* rather than continue negotiating with the teamsters union. Virginia Phillips, then club president, wrote the group in October 1992, to cancel the second event, and in her letter, she reflects the general depression throughout the contemporary Pittsburgh newspaper industry:

Last year at this time, we looked forward to our century anniversary Gridiron with great anticipation. A committee had been formed to plan the event, which we all expected to be a memorable fund-raiser for our club and a good time. As you probably recall, with members’ spirits sagging and “funny” material scarce due to the newspaper strike, the committee decided to postpone the Gridiron show indefinitely. Hoping still to be able to make our writing competition awards with a splash and to swell our scholarship coffers, we substituted a different sort of event –the November 7 “Mon Gumb” Cajun hoedown with Post-Gazette cartoonist Tim Menees’ band at Rosebud.

5. “Note,” 1992, in an envelope from Ann Zurosky to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania attention Chris Terrif, archival assistant, with scrapbooks, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, loose in the scrapbooks box, DLAHHC.

Sadly, the strike has taken turns that everyone hoped it would not. Recognizing that this is clearly not the right time to ask our members to support a fund-raiser, the committee—this past Wednesday, two days before the announcement that the Press was to be put on sale—regretfully decided to cancel the November 7 event as well. Instead in November we will join with the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania to see C-Span’s Brian Lamb (information to follow).⁶

Rather than continue their own event, the group chose to join with the coed Press Club of Western Pennsylvania for an event that was not related to fundraising. This strategy of combining powers with other press clubs in the area for survival seems to be the direction that some of today’s club members prefer for the WPCP.

Today, the WPCP still survives, as has been previously noted. (See figure 5.1) The current president, Kellie Gormly, has been at the helm almost ten years, which completely uproots the century’s-old tradition of having one woman leading the group for no longer than two years. However, as many members noted, Gormly has energy and enthusiasm for the group that many members are lacking. Even Gormly, who has been president since 2005, says that as long as she is in Pittsburgh, the club will not die. The club members are not always in agreement about whether the club should survive though. Some, like longtime member and scholarship organizer Helen Fallon say the club’s struggles are reflecting a general malaise in the United States today, but the club still has positive contributions, including socialization for professional women and a scholarship and recognition for young college journalists:

I think it is uncertain [the future of the club] because of the pressures. . . .the whole nation just seems so depressed, you know, and I think that is happening here too. In fact, I just had this conversation. Why is it that just 25 people are holding an organization together? I said, “you know, that’s a pretty large membership.” . . .If you’ve got people who are interested in getting together and doing things, then let it be. We do good things.⁷

6. Virginia Phillips to “Dear Members,” Oct. 5, 1992, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, loose in the scrapbooks box, DLAHHC.

7. Helen Fallon, July 12, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

Others, like Marylynne Pitz, a 30-year career journalist and past-president who stopped attending WPCP events soon after I interviewed her in October of 2010, and Woodene “Woody” Merriman, who has been mentioned in previous chapters, said the club has reached the end of its life and would better serve its membership by giving out a larger scholarship until the scholarship fund has been fully depleted, and then folding. “I think this organization, in a way, has outlived its usefulness,” Pitz said, after explaining her plan for depleting the fund and folding the club. “What we ought to do is give out one scholarship a year and it ought to be substantial, you know, five, eight or ten thousand. And when all the money is gone from that pot, we ought to say, hm, it is over. That is it. ...that money would really mean something to someone.”⁸ Going further, Pitz argues that the club may be more effective if it simply combined its operations with the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania, although it could retain its separate gendered status within the overall press club. By combining, Pitz argued, the women could find like-minded journalists, both men and women, to join in their cause. This would make them more successful, she argued, because more supporters means more people able to carry out the club’s work of providing professional advancement and a support network for women.⁹ Others, like Gormly, argue that “there is just something different about women,” and that the Women’s Press Club is a valuable organization that Pittsburgh’s journalists need to support in any way possible.¹⁰

The club’s internal controversy in some ways reflects the world-weary women’s discomfort with American feminism today. Susan Faludi, who published the controversial

8. Marylynne Pitz, Oct. 3, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

9. Ibid.

10. Kellie Gormly, July 13, 2010, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Feminism in 1991, was forced to reconsider the forces of feminism fifteen years later as she was preparing to publish an anniversary edition. In her January 2006 preface, she recalled an undergrad at Washington and Lee University who said, “Feminism has been nothing but a burden for my generation. You have to be this big achiever. You have to get the highest grades. You have to get the best LSAT scores. You have to get into the most prestigious law firm. It’s *too much*.” To which Faludi responds:

Too much, yet not enough. For the young woman was right, if that is what we mean by feminism. What is missing is the deeper promise of a woman’s revolution, a revolution that was never intended to champion cut-throat competition or winner-take-all ethics, a revolution that was abandoned on the road to economic opportunity. Women’s disillusionment comes from the half-gleaned truth that, while we *have* achieved economic gains, we have yet to find a way to turn those gains toward the larger and more meaningful goals of social change, responsible citizenship, the advancement of human creativity, the building of a mature and vital public world.¹¹

This same disillusionment about whether the club is really doing enough for women to continue existing seems to lie at the heart about the argument surrounding its continued existence.

Members like Pitz say that the membership is too small and overstretched to make a meaningful impact on young women journalists. Packing in the membership and choosing to combine would be a way to make meaningful social change and advance newswomen’s abilities to advance their own creativity and position within the journalism profession. However, others, like Gormly and Fallon, argue that the club serves a purpose of supporting and advancing newswomen, and therefore, it should exist.

This final chapter will explore the WPCP’s survival. As the women’s movement seems to have claimed some significant victories, leading many to declare our current moment a “post-feminism,” and the entire newspaper industry struggles, not just women, it might appear that a

11. Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), xvi.

gender-segregated organization like the WPCP has outlived its usefulness. Newspaper men and women are both working longer hours, earning less pay and receiving fewer benefits as the industry struggles to survive in the face of an onslaught of new media news outlets, like blogs and web sites that do not pay their journalists, such as the Huffington Post. Pohla Smith and Jill Daly both noted in 2011 that even with union protection, they were earning around \$5,000 less each year than they did just two years ago because of increases in their personal contributions to health insurance. Smith stated that the *Post-Gazette* journalists had not seen a pay raise for two successive contracts, but for each of those contracts, the union agreed to make every person pay in \$50 more each week for health care, which amounts to \$100 each paycheck that every reporter has lost in pay in just the last two contracts, or \$5,200 per year.¹² The Newspaper Guild of America, which represents the *Post-Gazette* writing staff, reports that a journalist (reporter or photographer) with five years of experience earned a weekly income of approximately \$1,100.83, pre-tax and other deductions, like benefits, in 2010.¹³ This works out to an annual pre-tax and deduction income of \$57,243.16, which is comparatively generous for a newspaper salary, particularly compared to non-union papers, like the *Tribune-Review*. Because the *Tribune-Review* is not a union paper, there are no public salary charts available for comparison.

This chapter will begin by exploring the state of women in journalism since the early 1980s, when women began dominating journalism schools throughout the United States, to today. It will then continue on to explore whether the gains that women undeniably have made across several industries are an unequivocal success or if there are still areas where women in journalism still need to continue working to improve their status. Finally, this chapter will wrap

12. Smith, personal interview.

13. The Newspaper Guild-CWA, "Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Top Minimum in 2010," N.D., retrieved Dec. 30, 2011, <http://www.newsguild.org/scales/view4.inc.php>.

up with some reflections on the WPCP and what the women say the club needs to do to survive. In an era when newspaper workers are searching their souls for the worth of their profession, and women seem to be dominating many new areas of life, the story of the WPCP seems to encapsulate the zeitgeist of today's journalists, both men and women, as they eke out an existence that is both rich and much slimmer than previous generations may ever have imagined.

Survival: The 1980s and 1990s

In 1981, a postcard was sent to all members of the WPCP about an “urgent” meeting. Reorganization and a new vision for the future—the key words that have defined the club since then—were the priorities for the agenda: “We need you to take part in our club’s reorganization plans! Nomination of officers and Board, intense discussion concerning the need for new members and program ideas and complete financial report will be presented on Thursday, April 16 at the Pittsburgh Press Club.”¹⁴ While the 1981-1991 scrapbook still documents the annual banquet and contains some occasional articles on club member achievements, the pages are dominated by death notices, with every year bringing at least two more deaths. In 1981, Willa Mae Rice, one of the club’s first black women, and Ben Paul Brasley, the philanthropist who first funded the Gertrude Gordon award, died. The club lost Anne Weiss Duffy, a former society editor for the *Press*, in 1982. Cy Hungerford, the club’s only male member, died in 1983 at age 94, passing just four days after his wife Dorothy. Hungerford, who served as Santa Claus for the club’s annual Christmas event for decades, was remembered with an outpouring of grief and love from both his readership and the club members. Marjorie Michaux, then WPCP president, wrote, “To Cy’s fans in the club, his passing seems to bring to a close a special warm and human era in

14. “Urgent Business Meeting,” 1981, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

the newspaper world.”¹⁵ Hungerford, though, was just one of the many formative members who died in the 1980s. In 1984, Bernice Shine, the WWII WAC Lieutenant whose work inspired the club’s philanthropy and conversation during the 1940s, died, as did former club president and food writer Zora Unkovich. Ruth B. Jones, who retired as PR director for John J. Kane Hospital, and Grace Proven, former *Post-Gazette* fashion writer, also passed in 84.

After 1984’s losses, 1985 seemed like a minor year for the club with just the death of Beatrice “Betsy” Bramer, former travel and food writer for the *Post-Gazette*. In terms of victories for women journalists, however, the WPCP did have an event that marked it as a banner year: *Post-Gazette* reporter Marcia Bennett was elected president of the now-defunct Pittsburgh Press Club.¹⁶ It was a post that her brother had held just two years previously. In its report on the event, the *Post-Gazette* only mentioned Bennett’s “first” in passing, allowing her to speak to the club itself rather than to her gender: “‘It’s not enough to be oldest; we have to be the best,’ says Bennett, who was elected Thursday. ‘The Press club is more than a Downtown restaurant or business. It’s an institution, and I’m eager to see that it is perpetuated and flourishes.’”¹⁷ In 1986, the club lost Esther Elias, former *Armco Steel* magazine editor. Another rough year for deaths greeted the club in 1987. The club lost former *Oakland News* editor and publisher Margaret “Peggy” Kutz, Mattie L. Trent, former religion and lifestyle editor for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and Mary H. Drayne, who was a consumer advice columnist for the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* in the 1920s. Drayne’s family was burying her son, CBS news executive and former press secretary to US Senator Edward Kennedy, Richard Drayne in Washington, D.C. The club lost former

15. “Letter to the Editor: Cy’s Club,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 6 June 1982, N.P. WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

16. The Pittsburgh Press Club went bankrupt in 1990 after a federal judge denied its petition bankruptcy protection to reorganize.

17. N.A., N.T., *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1985, N.P., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

active member Agnes Lynch Starett in 1988, and 1989 was free of deaths. Edith R. Wasserman passed in 1990, and the scrapbooks end in 1991 with no more deaths.

Recounting the club's 1980's deaths may seem morbid, but it is also a strong indicator of state of the club itself. The club was losing the women (and men) who had been the spirit and driving force behind its creation and momentum throughout the 1920s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, and 70s. Daly, who has been a member of the club since the early 1990s, noted that she resisted joining the club in the 80s because it projected the image of being an old club of women who clung to the outdated women's pages.

The women's press club, though, I gotta tell you has always been on the teetering edge of folding, and it still is...the women got to be...they were a lot of the food writers and the PR people became the backbone and the freelance writers, because they needed the networking more, I think. ...[pause, thinking about when she became an active member which she fixed as 1992 or 1993].” She added later, “It was sort of the social writers, the social reporters, and the traditional women's page topics, those reporters, which I know news reporters, very few of those were joining because there might have been a little bit of the feminist in those reporters—not a little bit. We were all feminist. The women of my generation who were news reporters were all feminist. You had to be.”¹⁸

The archive supports Daly's assertion that the club was consistently on the brink of shuttering its doors, although it does not confirm that women were not joining the club because they were feminist. In fact, the club's archive shows the club continuing to feature strong, successful women at every year's banquet. Madelyn Ross, who became second assistant manager of the *Pittsburgh Press* at age 28 and ascended in 1983 to become the first woman managing editor of one of the city's big daily papers, was featured at the 1986 banquet. An untitled and undated speech by Ross that's kept in the club's archive records her praising Pittsburgh as a city that “spends more time blasting stereotypes than blasting steel.” She said,

18. Jill Daly, Sept. 29, 2011, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

Sometimes when I speak to groups, I yearn for one good sexist horror story; one formidable obstacle of the male ilk to show how we can overcome. In truth my experience has been the opposite. Part of that has been raw luck. Part has been a happy accident of personalities at The Pittsburgh Press. Part has been past generations of women who struggled for fair treatment. Part has been the wisdom passed to me along the way.¹⁹

Many of the women I spoke with echoed this sense of respect for women journalists. Perhaps this sense that women had finally arrived and come into full partnership led to the club feeling unstable throughout the 1980s and 1990s as well.

From the 1981 postcard asking the club members to contribute to reorganization to 1991 when the scrapbooks end outside of a few unorganized envelopes of material from 1992 and 1993, the club seems to be seeking its purpose as the place of women in journalism changed drastically. Even as they were struggling, though, the club was still working hard on its outreach and programming. In 1992, the year the club did not award a Gertrude Gordon award, the club still managed to extend the Gertrude Gordon awards (for the next season) to include a professional writer and two student writers, and include several programs, including a Donna Karan fashion fund-raiser that raised 500 dollars and speakers on topics from TV reporting to a joint program with the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania that hosted then CNN White House correspondent, Charles Bierbauer. The club also expanded its mentorship program with Duquesne University, hosted a speakers' bureau for area high schools, which allowed club members to go into local high and speak about their work, and advised the Schenley High School newspaper.²⁰

19. Madelyn Ross, N.T., N.D., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 8, Women's Press Club—100th Anniversary, DLAHHC.

20. Virginia Philips to Members of the WPCP, "Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh: Memo to Members," Mar. 10, 1992, 2, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

Many of the women mentioned that the banquet speakers from the 1980s and 1990s have been some of their favorite parts of belonging to the club. Woody Merriman said the speakers were always entertaining, and sometimes they even provided important information: “I’ll never forget the one [speaker] from when Bill Clinton was running for president. He was very popular. I think he’d already been elected. And this woman was from Little Rock or someplace and she knew him pretty well. And she said she’d give us some inside dope on him. And she said, “He has bad breath. [laughter]”²¹ Smith said that she brought in former White House Press Corps member Helen Thomas during her reign as president. Georgianne Williams remembered bringing former First Lady Nancy Reagan’s press secretary Sheila Tate, a former Pittsburgher and personal friend. At the time, Williams recalled, the entire nation was in a furor over Nancy Reagan buying new China for the White House and Tate had to field several questions about the issues. However, the First Lady was nothing but gracious and supportive of her presswoman when she came to Pittsburgh. Reagan provided the club with a copy of her favorite recipe, at Williams’ request, and wrote a letter of support for Tate. “She was very eager to do anything to make this successful,” said Williams. “I thought this was very sweet. I thought this showed a different side of Nancy Reagan than was shown by the media. And I know that my friend liked working for her.”²² The 2010 banquet featured Sarah Kaufman, who won a Pulitzer Prize for her dance criticism, and the 2011 banquet was headlined by Pulitzer-Prize-winning investigative reporter Paige St. John, then of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*.

Throughout the journalism profession, women were leaving the women’s pages to take on assignments throughout the newsroom, and in fact, Helen Fallon noted that the 1980s was the first time that Pittsburgh papers started seeing women in managerial positions outside the society

21. Merriman, personal interview.

22. Williams, personal interview.

pages.²³ In 1983, Madeline Ross took a position as the managing editor of the *Press*, which was heralded as the first time a woman had taken the helm of one of Pittsburgh's major dailies, although, as previously noted, Hazel Garland had lead the *Pittsburgh Courier* for many years. Although the *Courier* was one of the nation's largest Black newspapers and it had a national circulation, it was, and remains, a weekly, making Ross' ascent the next leadership victory after Garland's. The move toward women in leadership positions led newspapers throughout the United States to continue dropping all reference to their features sections as women's-only places, a trend that started in the 1970s but accelerated during the 80s. On April 1, 1990, the *Pittsburgh Press* changed the names of two of its sections to fit with this trend. Then-editor Barbara Griffin wrote that this change reflected the changed content in the sections:

We've made a change in two sections of your Sunday paper today. If you've come this far, and are on your second cup of coffee, you may have noticed that both Style and Entertainment have new names.

Big deal, you say. Changing Style to Lifestyle and Entertainment to Arts & Entertainment isn't like you've dropped my favorite comic strip of "Dear Abby." True enough. But for the 30-some of us who write and edit The Pittsburgh Press features sections, both new names are symbolic.²⁴

Griffin does not say what the names symbolize outside of their reflecting a broader view of Pittsburgh lives and city culture, but the change marks a large shift from "style," a traditionally woman's field, to "lifestyle," a word that, for many newspapers, indicated more either gender-neutral or male-oriented material, the paper was indicating an end to the era of woman-dominated news being segregated to a single section. At the same time, it was also discontinuing those sections that used to allow women to report on issues of importance to them without censure. Marjorie Paxson, who lost two jobs when women's pages were changed or

23. Fallon, personal interview.

24. Barbara Griffin, "We've changed names of 2 sections to reflect content," *Pittsburgh Press*, Apr. 1, 1990, N.P., WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

discontinued, noted that the changed names for women's sections often came with a change in the gender of the editor as well: "In 1973, again on the Tuesday after Labor Day, the [Philadelphia] Bulletin abolished its women's section for a Focus section with a male editor and I was exiled to the Sunday magazine as associate editor."²⁵ However, discontinuing the women's section seemed to be a logical move as the numbers of women rose in both journalism schools and in newsrooms. Griffin said, "In the 1970s, newspapers rechristened their women's sections to reflect new content appealing to both sexes—calling them Accent, Focus, Panorama, Tempo, Chic or Style. As the 1990s begin, we're now Lifestyle because it better explains what we are—a section with useful, timely, entertaining stories about the way Pittsburghers live."²⁶ The *New York Times*, which runs a regular series of articles on women and girls, published an article at the end of 2011 trumpeted the "reverse gender gap," where, "The emergence of this cohort of high-earning young women and the increasing number of female breadwinners are transforming gender relationships, upending patterns of matchmaking, marriage and motherhood, creating a new conflict between the sexes, redefining the word "breadwinner" and inspiring tracts on the leveling of men's roles."²⁷ If women are the dominant gender in the newsroom as they are outside of the newsroom, then perhaps their voice would be everywhere in the newspaper, not just in the women's section.

Even as the club struggled to find its identity, its members were still actively advocating for women's rights in the newsroom and out. In 1987, member Dr. Paula Bern published *How to*

25. Qtd. in Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 44.

26. Griffin, "We've changed."

27. Luisita Lopez Torregrosa, "The Female Factor: They Call It the Reverse Gender Gap," *New York Times* online, Dec. 13, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/14/us/14iht-letter14.html?_r=1&ref=women.

Work for a Woman Boss: Even If You'd Rather Not, which answered the problem highlighted by article author Susan Fleming Stroyd:

More than half of the women bosses surveyed for a 1984 Gallup poll reported that the men they supervised resisted taking orders from them. And a 1986 Virginia Slims American Women's Poll by the Roper Center revealed that 32 percent of the men surveyed preferred not to work for women, an increase of 6 percent since 1980. At this time, only 7.9 percent of employed women are serving in managerial capacities, but the number of women managers—and the resulting conflicts—clearly will escalate over the next decade.²⁸

Even as women were increasingly taking managerial positions in the 1980s, they were receiving more opposition, according to both personal reports and both the Gallup and Virginia Slims polls reported by Stroyd.

This contradiction between women's increasing presence in high-level jobs—and in newsrooms in general—and their treatment by male colleagues is reinforced by WPCP member Jill Daly's experiences at both the *Greensburg Tribune-Review* and at the *Post-Gazette*. At both papers, Daly was eventually respected by her male colleagues, but she had to fight for that respect. Even when she had proven she was as strong and capable as the men in the newsroom, her editor still asked her to do care-taking chores, or what has historically been known as “women's work”:

One time the night city editor hurt his shoulder—oh we had so much fun. We had a lot touch football games. I was the only girl playing. My husband will tell stories...—at the time I was playing center for the touch football team...at the time the editor had broken his collarbone, and he had a sling on. And one day he said to me, “Jill, will you tie my shoe?”

And I said, “Why don't you ask someone else to tie your shoe?” [laughter] “I don't like the idea of bowing down and tying your shoe.”

I said, “Why would you ask me?”

“Well, you're a woman.”

I said, “Well, why a woman?”

28. Susan Fleming Stroyd, “A Resident's New Book Tells: “How to Work for a Woman Boss* *Even if You'd Rather Not,” *Mt. Lebanon Magazine*, January/February 1987, WPCP, MSS 131, Box 4, Scrapbook, 1981-1991, DLAHHC.

“Oh, women have more dexterity with their hands to tie my shoe.”
“They do not. You’ll have to find someone else to tie your shoe.”²⁹

She laughed at this story, and went on to describe how she won respect from the composing room men, who she described as “really sexist.” Even as she managed to sway the men toward respecting her with a strong work ethic and knowledge of all parts of the printing and layout process, they would push her, to the point where she pushed back. One evening the crew was running late on a deadline, and the manager was calling her names, including “bitch,” and she, “was just annoyed that he was wasting my time,” when suddenly he called her another name and she snapped:

Since I had worked in a print shop, I had a lot credibility with them. So when I was doing copy editing and page layout, I would go to the composing room and look over their shoulder and tell them where to put stuff. ... They would tell jokes. When you first meet them, they would give you a hard time. Here at the *Post-Gazette*, I got a job as a copy editor because that’s where there was the opening, and over the years, I got a lot of credibility. But I would always have to explain my—I know what I’m doing, as much as you know what you’re doing, if not more. So, we’re working together, but I had a big run-in here at the *Post-Gazette* with the old manager in the composing room. At one point he was calling me names and I gave him the big F-bomb, you know [laughter], which apparently became a story that people told. As a matter of fact I came up to a retirement party in the composing room, and I came up just as that guy, a nice guy that I got along with, is telling that story about me. I was like, oh, I have got to clean up my language.³⁰

Even as she asserted herself, Daly still felt the need to apologize for “unfeminine” behavior (swearing). She said later, “I said it in a big loud voice because he had a big loud voice. I don’t usually yell at people.”³¹ When I noted that she seemed to be apologizing for herself, she replied, “Well, I wouldn’t want to be known for yelling and swearing at people.” She added later, though, “a well-placed strong word, whether it’s profanity or just a really—shutting some people

29. Daly, personal interview.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

down—it really does—it’s so much more powerful when it’s not [done] often.”³² She said that a good reporter often needs to be that assertive with people who are blocking information or giving them a hard time, which was a skill that she learned in the training she gained in the 1970’s feminist movement. Newswomen were and still are stuck in a double bind: To be respected, they needed to take on many historically masculine traits, such as assertiveness and an occasionally confrontational personality; however, when they took on these traits, they were embarrassed because they were liable to be made the butt of a joke. They either can be a good woman or a good journalist, but not both.

Women Experiencing Double Binds in Today’s Newsrooms

Coverage of women journalists clearly shows the double bind that Daly faced is common to many newswomen, even for women journalists in the new millennium. Many of the women I interviewed for this dissertation pointed to Katie Couric and the pantheon of broadcast newswomen as proof that they had overcome sexism in their profession; therefore, to examine the double binds faced by today’s women journalists across a pantheon of mediums, I examined newspaper reportage of broadcast newswomen. This study was revealing in two ways. First, it allowed me to see how newspapers address their own female journalists, even if they’re in a different medium. Second, it allowed me to examine a breadth of reportage about various women broadcasters across time to see if the types of verbiage and interview questions asked of women, their co-workers, and their viewers evolved. Since Katie Couric was the woman most named as an example of news women’s success, I used reportage of her ascent to become the first female

32. Ibid.

solo evening news anchor as a bellwether for comparison of both the women who preceded her and those who came after.

In early 2006, rumors began flying that Katie Couric, the popular, often-called “perky” morning co-hostess of NBC’s dominant coffee-hour *Today* show, was leaving when her contract was up to take a position with the more gravitas-inspired evening news, industry insiders started doling out this advice: “Don’t do it.” This brief sentence opined by Stephen Winzenburg of *Broadcast & Cable* magazine was quickly followed by a paragraph telling Couric that she should look at the “failures” of her predecessors, and take note. Women cannot survive in evening news, he says.

Katie should instead recall the failures of those who have gone before her, the women who thought they could make an easy transition from morning talk host to evening news anchor.

Barbara Walters, the first to attempt the leap from morning to early evenings, admits herself that her co-anchoring what was then the ABC Evening News was a dismal failure. Connie Chung, the second full-time network weeknight female news anchor, caused the CBS Evening News to drop in the ratings and fit uncomfortably with Dan Rather.³³

Winzenburg goes on to note a long list of women who have “failed” in their roles as evening news anchors, and notes that only those women who have been successfully paired with a man have really “made it” in the male-dominated world of evening news. Besides, Winzenburg says, viewers do not want to watch Katie “sternly delivering” the news, like the men of the evening news. Instead, viewers want “playful, humble” Katie, he pronounces. To wrap up his unasked advice, Winzenburg notes that Katie makes a better cheerleader than quarterback: “She’s the perky and intelligent morning cheerleader who dreams of being a news quarterback. But her skills, and television history, reveal that she may be happier staying on television’s sidelines

33. Stephen Winzenburg, “Stay Where You Are Katie,” *Broadcast & Cable*, Feb. 20, 2006, 30.

instead of trying to take over calling the plays in the big game.”³⁴ In other words, women have a track record of failure in the evening news, Winzenburg is saying, and Couric should take note of this testimony and realize that her chances of success as an evening quarterback are slim. She should stay on the sidelines and continue giving out “rah, rahs” for the men because that is the role to which she is best suited. Couric did not announce her job change until April 5, 2006, and she didn’t start the job until September 5, 2006, so such pronouncements were premature at best; however, they were indicative of the backlash she faced for even considering taking over the masculine news desk.

However, Couric’s reign as the first woman solo evening news anchor, which lasted from September 5, 2006 until May 19, 2011, has been an inspiration to many women journalists. The women I have interviewed from the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh noted that Couric’s existence in a traditionally male-occupied position shows that discrimination against women in the journalism profession is over. Women have made it, and men should take note. Marylynne Pitz, a past WPCP president, said, “When Barbara Walters became an anchorwoman—that was a huge deal when she was anchoring the evening news. And now we have Katie Couric anchoring the evening news, and no one thinks twice about Katie Couric anchoring the evening news. Back in the 1960s, that was unthinkable. We got the evening news from white males, like Walter [Cronkite], and Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, ...and yeah, there were female reporters on those programs, but there weren’t female anchors.... Women have advanced greatly in media.”³⁵ Pitz continued by pointing to Christiane Amanpour, CNN’s Chief International Correspondent and Global Affairs Anchor for ABC, as another example of how women have conquered the

34. Ibid.

35. Pitz, personal interview.

male stronghold of broadcast news. The visibility of women broadcasters makes them an inspiration for both print and broadcast women journalists.

Women have, undoubtedly, been making large inroads throughout the journalism profession, both print and broadcast portions, although in many areas, the progress has been tortoise-style slow and the usefulness of some of that progress is debatable. Throughout my interviewing process with Pittsburgh Women's Press Club members, I repeatedly heard variations on the statement that men and women journalists today have the exact same issues: dying papers, a lack of jobs, and a decrease in pay. Pohla Smith, whose experiences with gender discrimination as a sports reporter made her sensitive to sexual discrimination, said, "Gender isn't an issue. I mean, we're an equitable staff now. Men and women do everything. So, at least, that part of the 70s, when women were relegated to the society pages is behind us."³⁶ However, statistics show that women journalists are still facing more adversity than men in the newsroom. By some accounts, women comprise around 60 percent of the students in journalism programs throughout the United States, and since the 1990s, women have made up around two-thirds of all communication majors.³⁷ Maureen H. Beasley and Kathryn T. Theus note that so many women have enrolled in journalism programs that many were concerned about journalism becoming "woman's" work, much like nursing or teaching: "Over the years so many have flocked to colleges offering journalism training that by 1977 the percentage of women students enrolled in journalism nationally had surpassed that of men students. Since then the percentage of women has continued to increase, giving rise to concern that the field is becoming 'feminized,' and may

36. Smith, personal interview.

37. Romy Fröhlich and Sue A. Lafky, eds., *Women Journalists in the Western World: What Surveys Tell Us* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2008), 2.

become a ‘pink-collar’ ghetto comparable to nursing.”³⁸ Beasley and Theus go on to state that even though women have made large inroads in journalism schools, they “traditionally have had more difficulty than their male counterparts in moving into the job market.”³⁹ This statement continues to hold true today. Virginia Miller, who retired in 1991, noted that her biggest problem throughout her career was advancement. She was twice passed over for promotions to positions that her career trajectory logically placed her in favor of younger, male reporters. She said,

I wouldn’t say that I had trouble getting into the business, but as far as advancement, I did. I don’t think not having a degree had anything to do with it. I think it was just because I was older and they wanted somebody newer and fresher.

Me: But it was always a man, too, right?

VM: Yes.

....

Me: How did that make you feel?

Virginia Miller: I was very angry at the time that I missed out on the news editor position and I almost took one [an editorial job] at the Kittanning paper...and the very next day they [the *Herald*] offered me the job of Lifestyle Editor.⁴⁰

Numbers and current research show that Miller’s experiences from the 1970s and 1980s still hold true today for women reporters.

Without a doubt, the woman’s profile has risen in newsrooms throughout the United States, with women like Maureen Dowd conquering the male-dominated terrain of the editorial page and women like Katharine Meyer Graham ruling papers like the *Washington Post* during politically earth-shattering stories like Watergate. However, a 2007 study by David Weaver of Indiana University found that a third of all fulltime daily newspaper journalists are women, which is the same percentage as could be found in 1982, almost 30 years ago.⁴¹ Entry-level

38. Marine H. Beasley and Kathryn T. Theus, *The New Majority: A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions* (Lanham, MD: University Press of American, 1988), 5.

39. Ibid.

40. Miller, personal interview.

41. June O. Nicholson, “Introduction,” in Nicholson and others, *The Edge of Change*, 10.

newspaper positions are predominantly filled by women. This, however, does not lead to the assumption that women are the dominant voice in newsrooms, Fallon argues. In fact, the WPCP is still necessary, she says, because women still have stresses that are different than men's. "Women have different needs, let's just say, and face very different problems than men do. And also I think that just because we dominate doesn't mean we're not taking advantage of. I like the historical part of this group too...the scholarship is a great program, the chance for women to network, and to have that chance to...chance to have that chance to discuss. I think there's still a need for it [the WPCP]...At the very least [it is a] support group."⁴² Fallon's commentary on women's different needs is echoed by women throughout the news industry; while men are increasingly taking more roles in the home, even today, women are still taking primary responsibility for children and the home, even when working fulltime, and the work/home balance between a high-pressure journalism job and the demands of children is often difficult, if not impossible, to manage.

Middle-aged women, those women who often have families, are choosing to or being forced to leave journalism for jobs that have more amenable working conditions. For the study on the increasing role of women in journalism and the impact that has on journalism schools that Beasley and Theus report, several people, from leading women in journalism to journalism educators to journalism students were asked to comment on what still deters women journalists from continuing in the field. When asked about what problems women may face that men do not, Beverly Jackson, founder of Jackson, Summers Associates, an advertising and public relations firm, said:

There is that natural inclination to ask even though no one can verbalize it now because it's against the law: What are you going to do if you have a babe? What are your

42. Fallon, personal interview.

intentions if you're 26 years old, married and no children and so forth? No potential employers can ask you that; however, they're thinking it, and it's a real problem. I do think still today that men come and go easier. A man who takes an hour or two to take his child to the doctor for an emergency or dental treatment or whatever is considered just the neatest, trendiest, most wonderful upscale yuppie father in the world, but a mother will tend to lie about it and say that she's on an assignment. She, in fact, would even come closer to saying, "I have a doctor's appointment," than to say, in a highly competitive field, "I'm taking my child to the doctor." I don't even tell my clients when I'm doing something with the children and it's my business. It's just one of those things, play it down, put it in the background and it's just the way it is.⁴³

While the University of Maryland report is dated (This roundtable was conducted in 1984, and the study published in 1988), by many accounts, the sentiment still holds just as true today in second decade of the 2000s. June O. Nicholson notes that the twenty-first century represents a time of "change, challenge, but also promise" for press women. Perhaps the biggest hindrance for women journalists is retention, Nicholson writes.

As many of our authors point out, women bring many assets to leadership and to companies, including innovation and differing and unconventional perspectives. Retention of women in news, however, has been an issue for at least three decades, since statistics have been available. Moreover, the news industry lags behind some other professions and industries in retaining and advancing women. News companies are losing a vast amount of talent in women who could bring those leadership skills. Women are one key to drawing new talent and perspectives and bold ideas to the news industry.⁴⁴

While Nicholson is most interested in women in leadership positions, her volume presents views from women in many areas of the print profession. Those women show themselves struggling to make choices that they were told by second-wave feminists they would never have to make.

Journalist Margaret Sullivan begins her essay, "The Choice to Stay," with this statement:

Mom forgot to tell me *how*. She wanted me to have a great career. And she wanted me to have a marvelous traditional family. But if she knew how to blend those elements

43. Beasley and Theus, *The New Majority*, 89.

44. Nicholson, "Introduction," 10.

together smoothly, she never passed that wisdom along before she died, when I was only thirty, still childless and still a reporter. Most of my choices were still ahead.⁴⁵

Sullivan chose to stay in journalism even after she had children, and even though the combination has been difficult, she says, she would still recommend that other women follow her lead, but “with a sizable asterisk attached.” To young women journalists, she says to keep doing what they enjoy, but “take care of yourself...and I would tell young women, too, that it’s not necessary to try to do everything at the same time. There *is* such a thing as burnout...”⁴⁶

Newsroom jobs, particularly upper-management jobs, are ripe for burnout for women trying to choose between family and a fulltime press career, and for women who are passionate about journalism, the choice can be agonizing. Jan Leach, former editor of the *Akron Beacon Journal*, had three children, a six-year-old daughter and three-year-old twins, when she returned to the helm of her paper. Soon, though, the balance began to take a toll on her: “But as the girls got older and involved in more activities, I started to realize what I was missing as a mom.” For Leach, the being kind to herself meant leaving the profession:

I felt growing dissatisfaction at work. I was not content with what I could accomplish in journalism or for my staff. I was at odds with my role as mother and parent. After six months of personal and professional turmoil, I resigned as editor in 2003. It was agonizing and painful because of all I had hoped to accomplish at the *Beacon Journal*, and it was unfathomable because I had never seen myself as anything other than a newspaper journalist.⁴⁷

45. Margaret Sullivan, “The Choice to Stay,” in *The Edge of Change: Women in the 21st Century Press*, eds. June O. Nicholson, Pamela J. Creedon, Wanda S. Lloyed, & Pamela J. Johnson, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 191.

46. Margaret Sullivan, “The Choice to Stay,” in Nicholson and others, *The Edge of Change: Women in the 21st Century Press*, 191.

47. Jan Leach, “Balancing News and Family,” in Nicholson and others, *The Edge of Change*, 197-199.

Leaving the business can cause an identity crisis for women journalists, but not leaving can cause burnout and stress as women work to balance home and family, a balance that is often not incumbent upon men to figure out if they have children and a career.

To have a fulltime career in journalism, a successful marriage, and children required many sacrifices on the part of WPCP members, many women said. Fallon has a son and a daughter, both of who are now grown and no longer living at home. However, raising children today, she said, is much more difficult for women because so much more is expected of mothers than used to be expected. Fallon said, “We’re too into our kids’ lives; I mean it’s just amazing; people never did these things [referring to the hyper-involved parenting that requires parents to attend every event, play with children constantly while at home, while still volunteering in classrooms and chauffeuring children to several different activities every day] before.”⁴⁸ Fallon said that her life was all about making choices while she had children at home, and she had to fit everything non-child-related into the time that her children were either at school or in an activity.

The other thing that I think hinders women from joining organizations is, if you have a demanding job and work and a lot to do at home, what time is left? Then you have to start to pick. Do I want to be active in my church? Do I want to be active in my profession? I always tried to segment my time. I did things when my kids were in school, and the elementary years were the toughest. You’re running them to every sporting activity. I was so thrilled when my daughter got her license to drive. ... You get over your fear and you say, “Thank god!” That’s about it. And then you find time for yourself.⁴⁹

Fallon related that WPCP had recently sent off a woman with a young child whose husband had taken a job in Philadelphia, and as she left, the club members helped the woman with ideas on places to freelance and how to balance the baby and her career in a new city. This is the kind of service, on the one hand, that the club can still provide to members, Fallon said.

48. Fallon, personal interview.

49. Fallon, personal interview.

Pitz, on the other hand, said that regardless of this service, many women just do not have time for an organization whose entire purpose is a scholarship and socialization:

I think you also have to realize that women today have very little time to devote to this kind of effort. The typical mother today—I don't have to tell you—is doing everything she can to get through the week. So they're running their kids to soccer practice and everything else. And so they really don't have time for this stuff. They don't have a whole Saturday to devote to a whole program, unless they happen to be like me and they don't have kids.⁵⁰

Pitz continued to explain that everyone, not just mothers, feel more pressure in their lives today because of social media, smart phones, e-mail and other instant-messaging technologies.

It's not just the technology. It's the pace of life. We're all moving much faster now because the technology that's omnipresent in our lives forces us to move faster. And people expect instant response from everything. . .Everybody feels that heightened sense of demand placed upon them. I think there is now, more than ever, a resistance to giving away your time to an organization like this one.⁵¹

In other words, the difficulties that people face balancing life and work are strenuous enough without adding in extracurricular activities. This stance may seem cynical, a charge to which Pitz pled guilty in an April 25, 1991, advertorial introducing *Post-Gazette* staff reporters. However, Pitz says her underlying cynicism is driven by a deep need to make a huge change for humanity. She noted that all of her work is driven by a motto that she read on a statue of Horace Mann on Antioch College: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." She wrote, "I thought then that it was a good motto for any reporter who aspires to be a journalist in the league of Upton Sinclair, Dorothy Thompson and Ida Tarbell. I still do. And I am still aspiring."⁵²

Both Jill Daly and Pohla Smith, who support the continuance of the WPCP, noted that being either single or having a supportive husband is almost necessary for women to continue

50. Pitz, personal interview.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

both a fulltime journalism career and have children at the same time. Daly has two children, both of whom are in high school or college now. Her husband is a fulltime freelance journalist, and so they work together to balance deadlines and their children's needs. When her first daughter was born in 1986, there were several hurdles that she had to jump to combine her life as a journalist with her life as a mother, even though the *Post-Gazette* had a relatively liberal maternity policy at the time:

It was always difficult for women to be editors because it requires fulltime-plus devotion, and women have always had families, so women have always had a harder time doing that extra time. When I had my first child, it was still unusual...now, I wasn't the first woman who had a child in the newsroom and came right back to work, but there weren't too many in the *Post-Gazette* newsroom. And you had to find quality daycare, and for infants, that was particularly difficult. ... And also a leave if you wanted to stay home awhile. Now, we had that. We had a good leave situation where you could take—by the time in 1986 when I had my first child, I got good daycare, and I had ten months—but not paid. I got my sick leave paid, and then I could take all of my vacation. I don't know. I somehow stretched it out [end of sentence obscured]. But I think that last part was unpaid. ...so that worked out for me really well. But I did come back fulltime.⁵³

Even today, women have to make more difficult choices than men when they choose to have a family, Daly said. However, because men are progressively taking a broader role in child-rearing, there are increasingly more opportunities for women in the newsroom. This is a fact that Daly has seen reflected in her own life, where her husband has been a dual primary caregiver with her.

I think women feel like they have to make more choices, they have to make harder choices. They need to work even if they don't want to. They have to work for the health care benefits. That kind of makes you a slave to the job, in a way. ...But there's more flexibility as far as the men in our lives. My husband was home, so he could take care of my child when I came back to work. My second child didn't have to be in daycare for as long of a day. He still would put her in because he had to work, but he was much more flexible. ...I think men joining this effort to juggle family and work has really been a major advance. I think other women journalists would agree that they couldn't do it without their partner; they have a partner who really wants to make it work.⁵⁴

53. Daly, personal interview.

54. Ibid.

Smith agreed. She chose to have no children, but her husband was also a fulltime journalist and supported her work throughout her time breaking boundaries for women in sports journalism. She said that having a supportive partner was key to her success. “We have a large household of animals, and he’s always done more than his share of the chores, you know, to take care of things while I’ve been gone, and I appreciate that very much. Now he’s the one freelancing, and it’s a struggle, and it’s my turn [to support the household], and that’s OK. It was great when we were both working full time.”⁵⁵

Statistics on women working in newsrooms reflect this need for more liberal leave policies and supportive partners, because even though women dominate entry-level journalism jobs, their numbers quickly peter out in higher-paying, mid-to-peak career jobs. For journalists ages 45 to 54, the percentage of women in the newsroom falls to around one quarter, the same amount as found in 1971.⁵⁶ While Weaver admits, “It is clear that women have made significant gains in the 30 years of the American Journalism studies,”⁵⁷ he also argues in a later report that newsrooms are “a bastion of white male dominance with few inroads made by women and minorities.”⁵⁸ While the increase in younger women may signal a future gender shift, Nicholson says, the same issues that affect all journalists—“mergers, buyouts, and downsizing”⁵⁹—mean that newspapers will struggle to retain younger reporters, “especially women and people of color,” says Weaver.⁶⁰

55. Smith, personal interview.

56. David Weaver, *The American Journalist in the Twenty-First Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium* (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2007), 8, 10.

57. *Ibid.*, 193.

58. Project for Excellence in Journalism, “The American Newsroom Aging, but Not Diversifying,” Oct. 5, 2006, <http://www.journalism.org/node/2281>, accessed Oct. 27, 2010.

59. Nicholson, “Introduction,” 11.

60. Project for Excellence in Journalism, “The American Newsroom,” 240.

Mediated Representations Influencing Women's Realities

The problem is perhaps more evident when representations of women in the media are considered. While women are increasingly finding places in newsrooms across print and broadcast media, there have only been slight increases in women's voices being heard in those same media. Rosalind Gill reports that a 1995 Media Watch report found that only 17 percent of broadcast news subjects—either reporters/anchors or interviewees—were women. This percentage was highest in North America, at 27 percent. However, by 2000, the worldwide total had only crept forward one percent to 18 percent, and five years later, there was yet another miniscule gain to 21 percent. The 2010 report shows that the slow pace of improvement is holding steady, with women comprising 24 percent of broadcast news subjects.⁶¹ On political, government, business, or the economy, men still comprised 86 percent of spokespeople and 83 percent of experts, while women were left to be portrayed as victims (they were twice as likely to be portrayed as victims) and to comment on traditionally “feminine” topics, such as health and social issues.⁶² However, as Gill notes, “it is not just small numbers of women in news that is cause for concern, but also the ways in which women are portrayed when they do become ‘newsworthy,’” that makes women's position in the newsroom and in society precarious.

Women's representations in the media have become increasingly a focus of the women's movement as society has been saturated in media.

In fact, feminists could argue that the media's influence is even greater now than before, with 24/7 news channels, hundreds of satellite and digital services offering everything from natural history to hard-core pornography, and picture messaging via mobile phones. And popular media such as film, television, newspapers, and magazines continue to

61. The Global Media Monitoring Project, “Who Makes News?” 2010, www.whomakesthenews.org, accessed Oct. 27, 2010.

62. Rosalind Gill, *Gender and the Media* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2007), 115.

frame (in every sense of the word) women within a narrow repertoire of types that bear little or no relation to how real women live their real lives. However, the situation is not entirely gloomy and as feminist campaigns have demanded media reform over the representations of women, and as women and men with feminist consciences have made their way into media professions, there have been important changes almost everywhere in the world.⁶³

It is well-accepted within media studies that the media have an agenda-setting role.⁶⁴ In other words, what the mainstream media reports is what people discuss. My argument takes this a step further to say that how the media frames an issue determines *how* people discuss an issue. The media do not just set the agenda for conversation, which would imply that the media tells us what to talk about, not how to talk about it; rather, the media does determine how we discuss an issue, particularly when it comes to issues regarding gender. When it comes to discussions of women journalists in male-dominated roles, this goes beyond the “symbolic annihilation” that Gay Tuchman theorized in 1978. Symbolic annihilation, Tuchman said, is what happens when women are continually trivialized, ignored, and infantilized within the media. However, women are not necessarily annihilated. The fact that women like Walters, Chung and Couric are continuing to make inroads into journalism history shows that women have resisted their own annihilation and are keeping their fight alive. Women are not being totally erased, but instead they are being silenced, which in its own way is a form of annihilation. As Gallagher says, “What is at stake is not just the number of women who appear in the media, but the weight of their voices.”⁶⁵ Gallagher says that the numbers presented by Media Watch, which again show

63. Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross, *Women & Media: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 18.

64. Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176-187.

65. Meredith Gallagher, *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*, (New York: World Association for Christian Communication, 2001), 7.

than a quarter of media representing women's voices, has determined that those voices are annihilated, not symbolically, but actually:

These findings, and those of countless other studies illustrate clearly that despite the small shifts noted in retrospective analyses, by and large, media content still reflects a masculine vision of the world and of what's important. The very fundamental nature of this vision means that women's representation in the media will not be improved by increasing the number of women journalists, or by getting rid of the worst excesses of sexism in advertising. What it actually requires is a wide-scale social and political transformation, in which women's rights—and women's right to communicate—are truly understood, respected, and implemented both in society and at large.⁶⁶

In other words, if women truly want to make a difference in how they are perceived, it is going to take a revolution in how women talk and are talked about in the media.

Katie L. Gibson argues that the way that media has traditionally framed news has “disciplined” women who have tried to break out of the traditional roles assigned them by the media. Gibson identifies several news frames, including a sexualization frame (which determines women as objects rather than subjects), a personalization frame (which determines that women can only be talked about in relation to their family and personal life), and a demonization frame, which casts women as extremists. For this analysis, I will use the sexualization and personalization frame and add to them a failure frame. The failure frame notes women whom the media determines have not been successful in a traditional sense, and then uses those so-called failures to predict another woman's failure. For example, because Walters and Chung only lasted two years in their anchor chairs and their reigns did not see their respective network news launched to the front of the ratings pack for long periods of time, they are considered “unsuccessful.” They failed at their mission to make their evening news the ratings leader and to become one of the “father” figures—those men like Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather who held their seats for more than a decade—of the evening news. However, this frame fails to recognize

66. Ibid, 7-8.

that the evening news is a moribund enterprise to begin with. The primary watching demographic is over the age of 50, and the viewership for the timeslot has been dwindling for decades, even before Walters took her position. In addition, evening news viewers are notably loyal to their chosen network. Network viewers rarely switch programs. So, even though the women were tasked with raising their network's rating positions, they were working with a dwindling audience that was already stuck in its viewing patterns. The failure frame is an extension of what Gibson calls the discipline function of the media, which belittles women's accomplishments and reinforces women's traditional roles. This can be seen throughout coverage of Walters, Chung and Couric, as the women are continually placed into the "bride" position, in cases where the women are positioned with a co-anchor, belittled for their tone of voice or personality, and sexualized to the point where every clothing choice becomes a major part of a news story.

When Barbara Walters was tapped to co-anchor the evening news with Harry Reasoner, the rhetoric surrounding the announcement and her performance seemingly framed the way that media would discuss women anchors into the future. When ABC News asked Walters to join their team, she had already spent 12 years as a highly successful reporter for NBC news. On the one hand, her personality was one that people recognized and seemingly related to. Reasoner, on the other hand, had seen the numbers on his newscast drop precipitously, leaving the ABC Evening News in last place. Even with this background, though, news media still framed Walters as the interloper, and even when she was profiled, Reasoner's voice was still allowed to determine how the public perceived her.

A *New York Times* profile of Walters, which is the only *Times* article I found that directly quotes Walters on her transition, opens with a characterization of working women in

general as, manic, crazy people. Walters herself is called “shrill”: “One might have expected manic conversation from a hard-working woman who had just struck it rich, but instead she was reflective in a muted tone that seemed out of character for her aggressive, and at times shrill, television persona.”⁶⁷ In the thirty years between Walters ascent, the terminology for women journalists didn’t change much. Her successor Couric received every adjective from perky to grating: “Ms. Couric’s on-air persona has inevitably changed, sometimes gratingly, since her saucy debut in 1991, but no other network morning personality is as vibrant.”⁶⁸

As a single practitioner, though, Couric did not receive the same “marriage” innuendos that Chung and Walters were continually framed by. The same profile that characterized Walters as “shrill” portrayed her partnership with Reasoner as a marriage, a trope that continued through to Connie Chung’s relationship with Dan Rather. This allows the reporter to push the conversation toward her worth, since Walters was being paid a reported \$1 million bride price.

Flowers, some beginning to droop and sere, were banked against the wall like the hangover from a wedding. It was four days after the Big Decision and the front-page press reports that Barbara would be leaving NBC after almost two decades to become co-anchor of the ABC Evening Newscast with Harry Reasoner for \$1 million a year. The obvious questions were how was she taking it and what makes her worth the royal paycheck?”⁶⁹

Walters tried to redirect the conversation by comparing herself to an athlete who earns millions of dollars for his skill on the basketball court. Other articles speculated that Walter’s large paycheck would turn journalism toward Republicanism (a joke) and cause media CEOs to demand larger paychecks.

67. Les Brown, “What Makes Barbara Walters Worth a Million?” *New York Times*, May 26, 1976, D27, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007).

68. Alessandra Stanley, “Amid Banter, Reminder of Shoes to be Filled,” *New York Times* Apr. 6, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C4.

69. Les Brown, “What Makes Barbara Walters Worth a Million?” *New York Times*, May 26, 1976, D27, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007).

The focus on Walters' pay translated into pressure to produce increased ratings, a truism that translated through Chung and Couric. This focused an inordinate amount of attention on the women's ratings, something that does not plague their male counterparts. One article noted that Walters did not even need to boost the ratings much to produce a return on the network's investment in her:

Leonard H. Goldenson, chairman of the broadcasting company, told stockholders at the annual meeting that the signing of Miss Walters to a five-year, \$1 million a year contract was expected to "increase the ratings" of its television network news. 'One rating point more will not only pay her salary but will bring a handsome return to the company as well,' he said.⁷⁰

This scrutiny was particularly intense for Couric whose presence had boosted the *Today* show to morning talk dominance for almost 15 years. Articles in the *New York Times* tracked her ratings over the first three days of her broadcasts, almost gleefully reporting the decline. One brief noted:

On Thursday, her third night as anchor of the "CBS Evening News," Katie Couric ... drew an estimated 9.5 million viewers, a loss of about 600,000 from the night before, according to preliminary figures from Nielson Media Research released yesterday by CBS.Because Ms. Couric's arrival at CBS has been supported by a marketing campaign on a scale akin to that of a blockbuster movie than that of a news program, and because the evening news audience tends to fluctuate from night to night, it will be some time before any conclusions can be drawn about whether her entry has raised CBS from its longtime No. 3 ratings position, behind NBC (the leader under Mr. Williams and Tom Brokaw), and ABC.⁷¹

This brief attributes Couric's draw to the ad campaign, which was undoubtedly broad and saturated the market with Couric's face, and to audience fluctuation, rather than to any particular draw that Couric herself may have had. The writer seems to be arguing that when the novelty of her "blockbuster" advertising campaign wears off, the audience will stop fluctuating and return

70. Leonard Sloane, "Miss Walters to Lift Profit and Ratings, ABC Asserts," *New York Times*, May 19, 1976, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007), 82.

71. Ben Sisario, "Arts Briefly: On Day 3: Couric Has Lead..." *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007), B8.

to leaders Brian Williams and Tom Brokaw. Couric did slide back into third place. However, an analysis of numbers shows that she still succeeded in her goal:

Katie Couric passed the six-week mark on the “CBS Evening News” last night having fallen behind NBC and ABC in the ratings in recent weeks and having lost much of the momentum her program had early on.

Still, the program continues to post significant gains when compared with last year at this time, when it was lead on camera by Bob Schieffer. ...

Also last week, Ms. Couric’s broadcast drew about 400,000 viewers more than Mr. Schieffer’s had during the same period a year ago, an increase of about 6 percent, according to Nielson. Mr. [Brian] Williams’s broadcast, by contrast, was down by more than 300,000, or 4 percent, when compared with a year ago, and Mr. [Charles] Gibson’s broadcast was down by a similar margin.⁷²

While Couric did not maintain first-place in the ratings race, she did manage to poach enough viewers from the other channels to increase CBS’ standings and she drew the advertiser-coveted youth viewers, those 18-45.

The failure framing of the women’s ratings brought consistent reviews that the women were going to be fired almost immediately. A *Times* year-end round-up of the year’s news notes that, like Couric, Walters was also over-advertised, and that is leading to “rumors about her future”:

Miss Walters, on the other hand, is still recovering from coverage overkill. The ABC Evening News, which she co-anchors with Harry Reasoner, has dropped back to its usual last place in the network news race. But the recent “Barbara Walters Special,” featuring interviews with Barbara Streisand and Jimmy Carter, did extremely well in the ratings. While rumors about her future continue in circulation, Miss Walters now enters a period of sustained testing and proving.⁷³

While Reasoner had seen his rating slip for six years, landing ABC solidly in third place, his decline happened quietly without rumors of his firing flying, nor did he have to test or prove

72. Jacques Steinberg and Bill Carter, “As Couric Stays in Third, CBS Stresses the Positive,” Oct. 18, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007), E1.

73. John Consoli, “Couric posits viewer, demo gains on NBC and ABC,” *Mediaweek*, ND.

himself. In fact, he was given a platform to renegotiate his own pay. William Sheehan, then president of ABC News, was quoted as saying,

“We’re coming around to something. Harry’s coming around to the idea [of Barbara Walters co-anchoring with him].” Neither Mr. Sheehan nor Mr. Reasoner would specify what they had discussed. But industry speculation was raised that ABC offer to Miss Walters had automatically placed Mr. Reasoner in an advantageous position from which to renegotiate his contract, or to bargain for concessions related to billing on the news program if Miss Walters is signed.⁷⁴

While Walters was being brought on to help fix the dilemma that Reasoner had brought on in the first place, her hiring, rather than being seen as a coup for the network, was seen as a way for Reasoner to exert more authority. In this way, Walters own work as a successful reporter and her voice as an evening news anchor was silenced by her “marriage” to Reasoner’s overpowering voice.

Connie Chung’s experience as evening news anchor was marked by this same inability to speak for herself. From its first article on Chung to its last, the *New York Times* framed its coverage of Rather and Chung’s relationship through Rather’s viewpoint and through the same failure frame as that of Walters, although this time, Walters was used to reinforce the frame by showing that the Walters “experiment” had been a failure, proving the frame’s strength:

CBS surprised most of the television world last week by naming Connie Chung the co-anchor of its evening newscast with Dan Rather, who has held that job for 12 years.Starting June 1, Chung, 46, will be only the second woman to hold a network anchor job, following ABC’s unsuccessful experiment with Barbara Walters, who teamed with Harry Reasoner in the 1970s. Some ABC news staff members wondered how Mr. Rather, 61, widely described as an emphatically solo act throughout his career, will adapt. But he gladly endorsed the move, saying it will get him out to report big stories more. And most televisions executives had concluded that CBS had made a smart, well-timed decision.⁷⁵

74. Fred Ferretti, “Reasoner to Stay on ABC News Show: Rumor said He Would Quit to Protest Walters Offer,” *New York Times* Apr. 22, 1976, Proquest National Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), 48.

75. Bill Carter, “Connie Chung Signs on with a Solo Practitioner,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1993, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007), E2.

By framing the issue through Walter's "unsuccessful experiment," the *Times* was noting that women news anchors are just transitory hires, not permanent fixtures. They are doomed to failure before they begin because they are just being tested in the first place. They are not expected to succeed the test, since previous experience has shown that Walter was "unsuccessful" (even though she had been the first woman to be an evening news anchor and had continued onto a highly respected career as an interviewer and reporter).

While the networks themselves may have been "trying to change the dynamic" of the all-male evening news position, the newspapers covering the event often reified the good-ole-boys feel by emphasizing Rather's voice over Chung. In announcing Chung's coming to the evening newscast, the *New York Times* reported

Mr. Rather, who is 61 and has been the sole news anchor for 12 years said yesterday that he supported the move as a means of increasing his opportunities to leave CBS News headquarters in New York and report big stories. He mentioned some previous events he has covered, including United States involvement in Somalia and the Chinese crackdown on dissidents in Tiananmen Square in 1989. He said he would remain managing editor of the program and would do more of that now that now that he will have a co-anchor in New York.⁷⁶

The entire emphasis of Rather's speech seems to revolve around Chung's role keeping the home fires burning while Rather is given the freedom to go out and cover the big stories. He emphasizes that he will remain managing editor and would be exercising that power more now that Chung was holding down the fort in New York. To add insult to injury, the *New York Times* goes on to point out that Rather drapes his arm around Chung to deliver this bit of encouragement to his incoming partner: "what you're looking at today is a very happy, very excited Dan Rather...I know when I get out to report on stories, I understand what's happening

76. Bill Carter, "Chung to Join Rather as CBS News Anchor," *New York Times*, May 18, 1993, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C18.

much better. Why wouldn't I be excited at the chance to work with the charismatic, energetic, terrific Connie Chung?"⁷⁷ In the beginning of this pithy praise, Rather sounds like an excitable groom on his wedding day, an idea emphasized by his arm around Chung. By the end, he is back to emphasizing that while Chung is "charismatic, energetic, [and] terrific," he is excited to work with her because she will enable to him to do what he wants to do: get back out in the field while still keeping the prestige of the anchor's desk. As a final note of praise, Rather then likens Chung to a beauty pageant winner: "Connie is a tremendously experienced network correspondent and she is also big-time anchor talent. In addition to that, Connie is Miss Congeniality. She could win a Miss Congeniality contest in any language on any continent."⁷⁸ In other words, if the anchor chair does not work out, Chung could go to working in the Miss Universe pageant, Rather seems to be saying.

For each of Chung and Couric's hirings, the news articles were sure to recount the failures of the previous women news anchors. In Chung's case, Carter's article ends with a full paragraph about the conflict between Reasoner and Walters. "Ms. Walter's experience as a news anchor was not a happy one. She and her co-anchor, Harry Reasoner, were visibly antagonistic on camera. Before the team was broken up in 1978, the president of ABC News Roone Arledge, ordered that they not be seen together in the same camera shot."⁷⁹ As noted in the beginning of this piece, Winzenburg based his entire critique of Couric on Walter's and Chung's experiences, which he considered failed experiments.

In the frenzied reporting on the fan sorrow surrounding Couric's departure from the *Today* show, the *New York Times* was restrained in its use of Couric's predecessors. After her

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

announcement, Chung was quoted to talk about Couric's strengths as a reporter and the individual strengths she would bring to the anchor chair. And the repeated "failure" of Chung and Walter was repeated in an opinion piece by Jill Abramson discussing the rhetoric of "first woman" and how it belittles women's accomplishments while still celebrating their accomplishments. She reports, "In past decades, Ms. [Judy] Woodruff [former host of CNN's *Inside Politics*] notes, there was only "half-room" for a woman anchor, during the unhappy on-air pairings of Barbara Walters and Harry Reasoner and Dan Rather and Connie Chung."⁸⁰ Perhaps Couric's ability to hold a solo anchor position allowed her to escape being placed within a timeline of "failure." However, the reporters instead focused their attention heavily on her sexuality and personal life. While Chung and Walters did receive attention for their dress and appearance, the focus on Couric's appearance far exceeded both.

Couric's fashion choices and legs received repeated commentary across several *Times* articles and her legs were thrown into several pieces. From *Today* to the evening news desk seemed like a drastic shift for many media people, and the rebranding efforts were drastic. *Advertising Age* ran a humor piece on Couric's image featuring several executives discussing how they can remake Couric to boost their evening ratings. One executive notes:

Do you love that headline or what? "Today's sassy Katie Couric. She's messy, she's a pouter, she's star-struck and she likes giving Bryant a hard time. No wonder America loves her!" Now if anyone thinks we can't rebrand Katie, all they need to do is look at this cover and remember that Power Katie used to be Sassy Katie, Perky Katie. I mean, look at her! Suburban-mom bob, bright red lipstick on loan from Ronald McDonald. All a distant memory now. We've done this before, people.⁸¹

80. Jill Abramson, "When Will Stop Saying 'First Woman to--?'" *New York Times*, Apr. 9, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C1.

81. Simon Dumenco, "Rebranding Katie: CBS Secret Strategies Revealed!" *Advertising Age*, N.D.

Later in the piece, the group goes on to discuss how they will make Couric bring the necessary gravitas to her new position. However, the group decides that a full rebranding will not be necessary, particularly because her smile and legs can draw increased ratings.

Exec: And we're bringing in Clooney on the down-low to give Katie some pointers on Edward R. Murrow-isms. The tilted head, the intense eye contact and so on. Oh, and we're restoring the five-second delay we had for Dan Rather in the end, in case he said anything too cracked-out folksy—

L2: But for Katie it's in case she giggles, or if her smile gets too gummy.

Exec: Although on T4 days, we're OK with giggles and smiles. And leg. In fact, Les is probably going to insist on all three. He wants his \$15 million's worth. Anyway, Tom, next slide...⁸²

The *New York Times* reporting staff was no more restrained in its focus on Couric's appearance—particularly those legs.

For her announcement, timed to coincide with the 15th anniversary of her debut as host of "Today," Ms. Couric seemed to be already grooming herself for her new role. She wore an elegant white pantsuit and pastel top, a marked change from her usual florid, flirty outfits. (Unless CBS designs a new anchor desk, Ms. Couric's well-toned legs will no longer be on prominent display.)⁸³

Her announcement outfit was scrutinized, as was the outfit that she chose to wear on her first day as solo news anchor: a black dress with a white, one-button blazer. While one reporter thought it was a "smart" choice, others said it made her butt look big or that she looked pudgy. If the reporters themselves were not commenting on Couric's legs, they were asking Couric's fans about her legs. One reporter redirected a male fan from Couric's personality and smarts to her body in an interview about her departure from the *Today* show:

Jim Mason, of San Antonio, said he believed that Ms. Couric had what it would take to be the evening news anchor and that he would be tuning in to watch her as she assumes the seat.

82. Ibid.

83. Alessandra Stanley, "Amid Banter, Reminder of Shoes to be Filled," *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C4.

“I like her personality, her freshness, her beauty.” Her legs? “Yes,” he said, grinning sheepishly, “She’s got great legs. That I will not deny.”⁸⁴

Throughout her term as anchor for the CBS News Anchor, she won the Edward R. Murrow Award for best news broadcast in both 2008 and 2009 and she was awarded the Emmy Governor’s Award for her broadcasting career in 2009. She also work on *60 Minutes*, broadcast several influential specials, including the Sarah Palin interviews in 2008, for which she received the Walter Cronkite Award for Journalism Excellence, and a series on children of the recession, for which she won Columbia School of Journalism’s Alfred DuPont award for excellence in Journalism. She also launched a series of webcast news interviews on cbsnews.com. She recently moved back to ABC news and landed a \$40 million contract to do a news program for the ABC/Disney network. Even with all of the success and accolades, Couric can’t escape the failure frame. *New York Times* “Times Topics” on Couric (an achievement in and of itself) notes: “The previous month, Ms. Couric ended her five-year run as anchor, one marked by early criticism, later journalistic successes and disappointing ratings over all.”⁸⁵ She may have had journalistic success, but she was still a disappointment.

Even though women are taking higher positions in all news organizations, they are still struggling for respect even from their own male colleagues, as the experience of Walters, Chung and Couric evidences. This is one area where the WPCP might focus; however, many of the members did not recognize this problem. In fact, they said that many of the battles for women’s rights seem to have been fought and won already. Therefore, from their viewpoint, deciding

84. Lola Ogunnaike, “The Viewers: No Surprise but Some Sadness for ‘Today’ Fans on the Plaza,” *The New York Times*, Apr. 6, 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C4.

85. “Times Topics: Katie Couric,” *New York Times online*, June 6, 2011, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/c/katie_couric/index.html?scp=2&sq=Katie%20Couric&st=cse, accessed Nov. 13, 2011.

where the club should go and its purpose for the future seem to be vague, on the one hand, and bleak, on the other.

As shown by newspaper coverage of the broadcast women highlighted by the current members of the WPCP, there are still many battles to be won, both from within the newspapers that cover women in such derogatory ways, and in supporting women entering all sectors of the news profession. Even though newswomen are working in different mediums, they watch one another's work closely and draw inspiration from it. In addition, as mediums continue to converge on the Internet, the distinctions work that newspaper journalists and broadcast newswomen perform will collapse. Women should be watching the and encouraging the development of newswomen across mediums because, as will be discussed in the Epilogue, the inequity and discrimination that newswomen see in one medium carries across the other mediums. A club like the WPCP needs to consider the implications of media convergence on gender roles in the newsroom if they wish to stay pertinent to the new generation of women coming through journalism training programs throughout the world.

The Future

Today's club is primarily seen as a social organization by its members. Pitz laughed as she said that it is as close to a sorority as she has ever come, and Fallon noted that the women who join the Press Club just like to be with each other. At the September 2010 kick-off brunch, Gormly was careful to note that she would keep the business part of the meeting short so that the women could quickly return to their socializing. As noted earlier, sorority is important for women, and it would be underselling the organization to say that the sisterhood that today's members derive from their meetings is not important. From what I have observed, while the

women say that the club is primarily going today because of longtime president Kellie Gormly's enthusiasm, all of the members genuinely look forward to seeing each other at each meeting. The women regularly laugh about how much they have to do in the next few weeks before they see each other again. This is a way of comparing workloads and providing support for each other. In the few meetings I have attended, I have also seen the women become increasingly excited about their own organization, and they have started to funnel much of creativity into finding ways to market themselves. They belong to the organization because they love it and their fellow women journalists, and they seem to be seeking reasons to keep it alive, something that will make them relevant to today's women journalists and women journalism students.

Currently, the WPCP is being led by an active woman whose leadership has kept the club afloat for nearly a decade. In 2002, Gormly moved to Pittsburgh from Texas where she was in another women's press organization that was not as open to younger women in leadership positions. She joined the Women's Press Club soon after moving. Gormly was surprised and flattered when the WPCP asked her to run for president just one year after she joined. She took her post in her thirties, which made her much younger than many of the other WPCP members.

I feel it's important just to be involved in, I guess, the adult version of extracurricular activities and get really involved in your profession on the weekends, outside of going to work, so I was happy there was a women's press club. I joined up with them—I guess I would have done that in 2003 or 4, but I was involved in it no more than a year and a half, and the current president was stepping down, they usually serve two-year terms, and ...and I, I was just stunned when she said, "I would like to nominate you to be the next president." I was like, me?

I was this city cowgirl trying not to fall out of her saddle [laughs] [laugh obscures end of statement]

I was very honored. I was like wow. I mean, I'm a Texas transplant and I don't really feel like I know what I'm doing, but yeah, I would be honored. And ever since then I just have been so into it. It's like my baby. I'm going into my sixth year and I tell people I will pass the torch when you get sick of me or I feel crazy, whichever comes first. [pause] Every year since then, nobody's ever stepped up and wanted to do it. I've been told that before I came along, they were talking about just folding it because membership had been declining and...you know, people just lose enthusiasm, and they say, you know, we need

a fresh perspective, and there was nobody who wanted to do it, so, I feel like it was meant to be, you know, it's like, this is one of the reasons why I came here. I have all this energy to put into something...⁸⁶

That enthusiasm and Gormly's style of leadership are keeping the club alive. Even while some members say that Gormly needs to change the direction of the club to be more professional, others argue that their leader is doing the best she can with what is left of the group. Williams reminisced of a time when women were eager to lead clubs like the Women's Press Club. "Today you have to beg people to do it," she said. "The concept of it has changed. People don't want to take it on...and I really admire Kellie Gormly because she keeps taking it on and trying new things."⁸⁷ In fact, many women mentioned that all clubs are struggling today, and Smith even went so far as to note that professional organizations like the WPCP seem far too expensive for people on a reporter's salary. "This year when I was making out my professional dues checks, I thought, maybe it's time for me to give up professional organizations altogether," she said, after we had noted that the WPCP banquet cost 135 dollars for two people, plus the annual dues, which are 40 dollars for individuals. In addition to those costs, she, like many journalists, also belong to many other professional organizations, each costing different amounts. The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) asks 72 dollars annually; Investigative Reporters and Editors requests 70 annually; and Smith particularly mentioned the National Turf Writers Association, which cost her 60 dollars this year. Belonging to just the two Pittsburgh-local press clubs is relatively cheap, with the WPCP charging 40 dollars, and the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania, which still hands out the annual Golden Quill awards, is asking 35 dollars.

Post-Gazette Copy Editor Karen Carlin, who worked at the *Press* from 1991 until 1993 when it was bought by the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and then folded, was the final president of

86. Gormly, personal interview.

87. Williams, personal interview.

Pittsburgh chapter of the Association for Women In Communications, Inc. organization [WIC], which folded in the mid-1990s. Carlin could not remember when she became involved in the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, although she noted that she only seriously became active in the WPCP around 2007 after the demise of [WIC]. "It just finally went defunct because us five remaining members left just got burnt out. Nobody wanted to be president and we, I believe, we folded—we became inactive we should say, we still haven't officially folded—in probably 1994."⁸⁸ Carlin said WIC collapsed after its 40th Matrix awards—a competition similar to the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania's Golden Quills, except that they were for both journalism and public relations. Carlin, who also sits on the board for the Press Club of Western Pennsylvania, joined the WPCP in 1995, but she really became involved when Gormly became president, she said. We laughed as Carlin noted Gormly's skill at getting others involved in her passionate guidance of the WPCP.

Me: She's very good at getting people involved.

Karen: Oh yeah, she's the fisherman.⁸⁹

She said there are many things that are keeping groups like the WPCP from thriving today, and the problems are universal for all clubs:

I think a lot of problems that organizations such as this have now, like not just women's organizations but all organizations, ...I don't know there just seems to be more demands on people's time. It's just really hard to get people to go to the programs or to tell you what types of programs they want to have. I think that's one of the reasons the Women In Communications club became inactive. People join, we'd have them on the rolls for two years, they wouldn't come to any of the programs. A lot of people would join just to get the discount for the Matrix Awards, the communications awards, but there were some people who didn't even do that. We'd have them on the rolls for two years, and then they'd disappear.⁹⁰

88. Karen Carlin, Oct. 21, 2011, interview by Candi S. Carter Olson, digital voice recording, personal interview, not catalogued.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

Many of the other women mentioned that external demands on people's time have increased over the years, to the point where clubs and other external activities seem like just another source of stress.

Helen Fallon, professor of communication and director of the honors program for Point Park University and a part-time content producer (the official title for online copy editors) for the *Post-Gazette*, has run the WPCP scholarship competition since she joined the club in the early-to-mid 1980s. Fallon, who met with me during Point Park University's summer break, noted that the WPCP is a necessary organization, even if she desires to see it refocus more on professional development, simply because work and home life are bleeding into one another so much in contemporary society that professional and social organizations provide relief to members.

I wish we had more activities and professional development. We've gotten away from that a little bit. People are so busy with their jobs. [laughs and points out that she's in her office regularly during the summer even though she's not teaching] ...I don't have time during the year to do everything I need to do. I mean, we're all being asked to do more in all of our kinds of work. So, the social aspects are as good as the professional aspects.⁹¹

However, Fallon said, the club needs a new focus and more people, even if, as she previously stated, 25 people does constitute a large membership for any organization today. In ruminating on what the club needs to do to survive, she said the WPCP must have, "A larger membership. I mean, you have to. People get tired. There's no question about it, and you need to pass the torch on. And we need to have better recruitment and better programming. That's the big three."⁹² These three items were echoed by many of the women who consented to be interviewed.

If the club could refocus itself on being a professional organization, with mentoring opportunities for young women journalists and educational opportunities for professional journalists, then the club itself could have more of a chance of survival, the women seemed to

91. Fallon, personal interview.

92. Ibid.

agree. This was a refrain that I heard from almost every woman that I interviewed for this dissertation. Virginia Miller summed up the members' desire for more professional activities: "It seems like it's all social," she said. "I guess from my perspective I've liked when we've done the educational things. Now I'm just hoping we get back to that." Miller listed several workshops that the group had done on reporting for different beats as some of the courses she had enjoyed the most.⁹³ Gormly noted that she also wanted to do more events, but other organizations seemed to be covering that ground, and the WPCP offers different things to its members.

I would like to have more practical, nitty-gritty type events that help you to develop skills, but, again, I think that some of these things may be the territory of another group. I've suggested that since we're all small, why don't we put three of us—SPJ (Society of Professional Journalists), the Press Club [of Western Pennsylvania], and my group—why don't we team up some times and offer professional development events and big speaker events outside of my women's one (the club's annual banquet)? And so, there's professional development like that, but I think networking is professional development, I think it can strengthen your identity as a journalist instead of just working somewhere, making friends in the business, learning more about where we come from as women.⁹⁴

At the moment, Gormly said, other press clubs seem to be providing all of the professional development that local journalists need, and the WPCP needs to have another focus to make it unique. However, in more recent years, the club has done more events that have a professional focus to them. In 2011, Pennsylvania State University was involved in a child sexual abuse scandal in which a former football assistant coach, Jerry Sandusky, was accused and convicted of molesting multiple underage boys on the campus. The affair's taint had far-reaching effects on the university and its football program, in particular. In response, the women's press club organized a 2012 event examining how public relations professionals, who comprise a good portion of the WPCP's membership today, can learn from the university's reaction to the long-ranging situation and improve their own crisis communication. In addition to running workshops

93. Miller, personal Interview.

94. Gormly, personal interview.

like this and bringing in Pulitzer-prize winning speakers for their annual banquet to inspire members, Gormly says that the club's particular niche could be in the area of mentoring young women journalists.

I would say anything that's of special interest to women [is the jurisdiction of the WPCP]. And I would say a lot of things that would be perceived as fun as well as educational, and investing in other lives through that mentoring—that hasn't gone to anything concrete yet, but that's a concept that we have in mind that I want to take to the next level. And, you know, investing in women, helping younger journalists.⁹⁵

The mentorship idea is one that many women, even those who said the club had possibly reached the end of its history, said the club should do. Pitz said she could see the club membership reaching out to local universities and sending members to an open hour in the library where young journalists—both men and women—could bring a portfolio and receive feedback on their work.⁹⁶ The WPCP has had mentorship programs with various universities in its recent history, although it is unclear how long any of the programs survived.

Merriman, like Pitz, argued that the club has outlived its usefulness, although its legacy is important. “If it was the same kind of club that it is today, I would not because, who needs a club? But the times were different when I went in, and we needed it. When I went in, I needed the Women's Press Club and it did a lot for me, introducing me to people—supportive people and all that kind of thing”⁹⁷ Gormly, however, responded that even though membership is down, she has seen 80 or more people at all of the banquets she has hosted as president, and that tells her that people still want to come to the events and participate in the WPCP. It is still doing something for people. “I say, you know what, I don't care if there is maybe only half as many of us as there used to be. There still is a need for us, and we still are a dedicated group of women,

95. Ibid.

96. Pitz, personal interview.

97. Merriman, personal interview.

and we serve a purpose. That dinner, people look forward to it every year. And I'm not going to fret about the ones we don't have. I'm going to focus on what we do have."⁹⁸ Focusing on simply maintaining and continuing the club's legacy may be the best way to keep the club going without taxing the already over-stretched and burnt-out membership.

Most women, while not fully content with the direction of the Press Club, thought that it needed to be preserved because of its legacy of supporting women journalists. Smith noted that the club's current status of holding a few meetings a year, primarily for socialization, and the banquet, might be the way that it survives.

I'd hate to see it die since it's so old. It's going to survive, I think for a while yet, but it may survive on the basis of yearly banquets rather than meetings. I know that I for one—well, they have weekend meetings, but the weekends are the only time I get to see my husband. So I'm not interested in going to a potluck on a Sunday afternoon.

She added later:

I don't know that it can be anything but a social group now where we sort of network and swap stories. Not right now, I don't think. I think it would need a bunch of twenty-somethings in there fighting for something, and I think they're too self-absorbed to realize that they could contribute. We do have a few young members now."⁹⁹

This call for younger members was universal across all of the interviews. Many of the older members noted that they were either only interested in socializing or already burnt out because they had devoted so much time to the club already, and when they held their leadership positions, they found themselves left to do most of the work for many years. Many women also noted that they were not willing to take on more responsibility within the organization because they were already so over-scheduled within their own lives, although many of them mentioned that they would be excited to partner with a local university to mentor young journalists. Daly said,

98. Gormly, personal interview.

99. Smith, personal interview.

I think we need [pause] if younger women show an interest in the club, they can make it what they want to make it. I think what happened is that when there are older women in the club, they aren't really interested in anything except a social club. And if you get younger people, they could use some enrichment, and especially if they're not attached to an organization, they need training to stay up-to-date with trends—they could use tips.¹⁰⁰

However, she then laughed as she noted that she could not do any of the enrichment programs herself because “I’m involved in other organizations.”¹⁰¹ In addition to the problems of having an over-stretched membership, press clubs are also faced with a membership that has been inculcated with a gospel of non-participation, which makes recruiting people and getting them to join even more difficult. Journalists are trained not to join organizations—or even register with a political party—to avoid the slightest appearance of bias. Fallon, who found the prohibition on registering for a party particularly problematic because it meant that many journalists—who are often more informed about political affairs than the general public simply because of their jobs—could not vote in primaries, said that many journalists simply did not join anything because of their training. “I really think we’re not as activist because of our nature as journalists. We’re not as used to pushing for things.”¹⁰² Basically, the WPCP and similar organizations could perish because of journalist training, according to this line of argumentation.

As noted by many women earlier in this chapter, the sense of people being overscheduled and under-committed is universal across clubs and organizations today, and, as everyone noted, the pace of life seems to be so hectic today that people do not seem to have much time to devote to programs. Carlin, in ruminating on the death of the local in Communications, of which she was the final president, said,

I think a lot of problems that organizations such as this have now, like not just women’s organizations but all organizations, ...I don’t know there just seems to be more demands

100. Daly, personal interview.

101. Ibid.

102. Fallon, personal interview.

on people's time. It's just really hard to get people to go to the programs or to tell you what types of programs they want to have. I think that's one of the reasons the Women In Communications club became inactive. People join, we'd have them on the rolls for two years, they wouldn't come to any of the programs. A lot of people would join just to get the discount for the Matrix Awards, the communications awards, but there were some people who didn't even do that. We'd have them on the rolls for two years, and then they would disappear.¹⁰³

Ghost memberships look good on resumes, which is great for an individual person. However, these absentee memberships are difficult for organizations. A club cannot run without people's participation, but if people are just looking to put a line on their resume, then a club cannot survive. Carlin said that the final five WIC members were organizing to give out two scholarships a year with their remaining monies. Currently, the group is only giving one scholarship, but they may expand to two scholarships in the future. The Pittsburgh Women in Communications Scholarship Fund is managed by The Pittsburgh Foundation and does not require much involvement from the members; therefore, the club would survive simply as a name on a scholarship fund. This is an option that no one mentioned for the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, but it could be the future if WIC's experience is any indicator of the prospects for gender-segregated professional organizations.

Like many clubs and volunteer organizations today, the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh finds itself in the position of being a bit of an anachronism. It represents a period when club memberships were necessary for networking, and it also represents a time when women felt they were alone in newsrooms and they needed the support to break into new areas of journalism. Today, as previously noted, all genders are struggling to make a living as a professional journalist, and online social networking and information gathering have almost rendered face-to-face professional networking unnecessary. While I may argue and have stated

103. Carlin, personal interview.

several times that newspapers are not dying so much as evolving into a new digital paradigm, there are several challenges facing professional journalists in that new digital paradigm, including how to make a living in a medium that does not value paying trained reporters and how to maintain professional ethics and standards in the new medium. History shows that technology does not necessarily destroy community and a community's relationship to information; in fact, technological advances can and historically have strengthened the bonds between information and community, according to Fred Turner.¹⁰⁴ Turner discusses how the counterculture magazine *Whole Earth Catalogue* transitioned to the online community WELL and created a strong counter-cultural community built of a few people who knew each other in real life but of a much larger group of people who only knew each other through the *Whole Earth* and WELL.

Newspapers have traditionally been invested in speaking to and creating physical communities of people who can interact with one another face-to-face. It has been difficult for newspaper people to imagine communities of people unbounded by the strictures of material spaces; however, as the Internet's influence grows and the ability of journalism to influence broad swaths of peoples grows, the ability of a journalist to appeal to new virtual communities is a reality that cannot be denied. The growth of web-based journalism is problematic for many reasons; however, there are also many opportunities that legacy media professionals need to capitalize upon if they wish to survive and thrive in the new media paradigm.

In addition to struggling to fit their work into an evolving media archetype, many women also feel that the women's movement has done its job and is obsolete, although, as I have shown, this may not be fully the case, even if more women are finding their way into management positions in a variety of professions. What is clear is that even as the WPCP is struggling to find

104. Fred Turner, "Where the Counterculture met the New Economy: the WELL and the Origins of Community," *Technology and Culture* 46 (July 2005): 485-512.

its identity, it already has a role to play as a support group for local journalists and a place where women and men can celebrate publically the legacy of ground-breaking women journalists at least once every year. As an organization that is supportive and preserves a history that could be lost otherwise, the WPCP belongs not as an anachronism, but as a group that should be respected for its continuing contributions to the women's movement and conversations about women in the workplace. The WPCP enriches conversations surrounding gender and women's place in journalism through its on-going work to highlight how far women have come in the newsroom and how much they are still contributing as reporters, editors, and publishers.

This is the work that the WPCP has performed since its 1891 founding. The original seven women organized specifically to start a conversation surrounding women's space in the journalist's workplace. In just a few years, they created a space for a woman reporter in every single newspaper in the Pittsburgh area. Over the next several decades, they engaged in creative work that raised questions about women's political involvement and places, and they sent women to war, again challenging perceptions of women's abilities and spaces. They had to challenge their own racism, speak to their communities in ways that encouraged them to grow, and oppose sexism in all areas of the profession, from academia to sports writing. While many of the firsts that defined the club's existence for so many decades have been won, there is still value in encouraging growth throughout the newsroom. As previously noted, even though women dominate journalism undergraduate programs, they remain just 30 percent of the print newsroom population, a number that has stayed consistent since the 1980s. By continuing to organize and continuing to support young women journalists, the WPCP is saying that women are an important part of the public conversation surrounding news and their voices should become more prominent throughout the news profession. They also show incoming newswomen that there are

places for women and work and can serve as mentors. Even if the women feel like a banquet every year doesn't seem like enough reason to keep going, that banquet shows young journalists some of the best newswomen working today, and this inspires not only current journalists but aspiring ones. The Women's Media Center's tagline is "Amplifying Women's Voices. Changing the Conversation." While the WPCP is not doing the same kinds of sexism-challenging research that the WMC performs, it does amplify newswomen's voices. Their existence raises the question about whether women really have achieved parity, and this changes the conversation in a meaningful way. Newswomen have not achieved equality in the newsroom or in society; therefore, the WPCP and women's news organizations remain just as important as the seven founders who first organized more than 120 years ago.

Chapter 7
Epilogue
Some Reflections on Spaces for Women Journalists and Equality

As I write this conclusion, Barak Obama has just won a second term as President of the United States after a campaign that was particularly dual-edged for women. Women won several victories, including sending twenty women to the United States Senate, at least seventy-seven women to the United States House (some races had not been decided as of this writing), and the state of New Hampshire had elected an entirely female leadership, with a woman governor, two women Senators, and two women House members. Yet, *Bloomberg View* columnist Margaret Carlson was lead to opine “Let’s Not Celebrate More Women in the Senate,” because, she argued, women in the Senate have historically been forced to “shrink” themselves to work with their male counterparts, meaning that they really had no power at all:

Yet there is something about the Senate that crushes women when they arrive. If you think Augusta National is a bastion of green jackets and male-only grill rooms, visit the Senate. There are still spittoons, more men’s than women’s rooms, and unequal gym facilities. Seniority, stentorian oratory and meaningless courtesies abound. All the male senators see themselves as starring in a remake of “Advise and Consent,” with themselves as lions.

Women, by contrast, come in as lambs, anxious to get along, and they do. The women have a bipartisan supper club of sorts where they get together and get to know one another. . . .But while they’ve re-created the feeling of a bygone era, when senators lived in Washington and got to know one another, it hasn’t translated into significant policy making. Think of the signature legislation of the last few decades, referred to in shorthand by its sponsors’ names: Gramm-Rudman, McCain- Feingold, Nunn-Lugar. They are men, all.¹

Carlson argues that when we as a country can celebrate the Year of the Man because men in the Senate have been so reduced to twenty, only then will we know that women have true power.

1. Margaret Carlson, “Let’s Not Celebrate More Women in the Senate,” *Bloomberg View*, Nov. 8, 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-11-09/let-s-not-celebrate-more-women-in-the-senate.html>, accessed Nov. 9, 2012.

This rather dreary commentary is possibly overstating the case; however, Carlson's note that 2012's election was not a full victory for women is spot-on.

The 2012 campaign season featured several pieces of rhetoric designed to insult women and reduce their rights, including former Republican Missouri state Representative Todd Akin's remarks that women who are victims of "legitimate rape" rarely get pregnant because their bodies have a mechanism that can shut down pregnancy. Another Republican Senate candidate, Richard Mourdock said that pregnancy from rape is a gift from God: "I struggled with it myself for a long time, but I came to realize that life is that gift from God. And, I think, even when life begins in that horrible situation of rape, that it is something that God intended to happen."² The Patient Protection and Affordable Health Care Act—also known as the Federal Health Care Law or, colloquially, Obamacare—was upheld by the United States Supreme Court on June 28, 2012. That law mandated free birth control for all women with health insurance. In contrast to this leap in access to birth control, a record number of anti-birth control and anti-abortion measures were either proposed or passed in states across the United States, and even the Federal Health Care Law's birth control provision was rolled back for religious organizations who did not wish to provide birth control coverage to their employees. For women, the 2012 election should have been a wake-up call that there is still much work to be done and that the feminist project is far from over. We are no more post-feminist today than we were in 1920 when women first took the polls to vote.

As a case in point, opinion pages in so-called "legacy media" (i.e., print rather than online) are still largely dominated by male voices, which means that the ideologies that are

2. Fox News, "Republican Senate candidate defends rape comment, expresses regret for phrasing," Oct. 24, 2012, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/10/23/god-at-work-when-rape-leads-to-pregnancy-indiana-republican-senate-candidate/#ixzz2BkBq2ESg>, accessed Nov. 9, 2012.

shaping *how* people read and view the news are still masculine. Erika Fry of the *Columbia Journalism Review* wrote two pieces in May 2012 that outlined the problem clearly. The first, “It’s 2012 already: why is opinion writing still most male?” begins with a conversation that should make most women journalists stop and reconsider their own position in the newsroom:

“Man. Man. Man. Man. Man. Man.” I had Sue Horton, the Op-ed and Sunday opinion editor at the *Los Angeles Times* on the phone one morning in early March. She was flipping through her slush pile of op-eds, calling out the gender of each author—a demonstration of her daily odds. “Man. Woman. Man. Woman. Man.” We got to 32, six of whom were women. “Do you want me to keep going?” Horton receives more than 100 op-ed submissions a day, the overwhelming majority of which are written by men. Her section publishes 21 op-eds per week, many of which she solicits. She has no idea how many of these, on average, are written by women—or minorities. But, she concedes, the calculus rarely strikes the ideal demographic balance.³

The article goes on to recount a byline survey conducted by Taryn Yaeger of The OpEd Project that found that women produced twenty percent of the bylined opinions and editorials in the nation’s leading four legacy papers—*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*—from September 15 to December 7, 2011. Fry goes on to note:

And women were practically absent in the debate of many hard news subjects, with their opinions accounting for 11 percent of commentaries on the economy, 13 percent on international politics, 14 percent on social action and 16 percent on security. Perhaps just as striking, women produced just over half—53 percent—of commentaries on “women’s issues.”⁴

At first glance this disparity would seem to be a problem that lies squarely on women’s shoulders. Horton’s counting of her submissions found only six women writers in a stack of thirty-two. “Why aren’t women submitting?” a bystander might query. Obviously, women have

3. Erika Fry, “It’s 2012 already: why is opinion writing still most male?: Byline counts are better, but not much. How come?” *Columbia Journalism Review*, May 29, 2012, http://www.cjr.org/behind_the_news/its_2012_already_why_is_opinio.php, accessed Dec. 2, 2012.

4. Ibid.

opinions, and as the numbers on women college students shows, there is no shortage of women qualified to write for the opinion pages of the nation's leading papers.

Fry argues that this gap is not so much due to women's failure to produce the work so much as it can be attributed to a lack of access and to decades of conditioning. The first problem is fairly self-explanatory: women simply don't have as many gatekeeper positions at major publications, meaning that other women don't have as much access to editorial eyes that would be favorable to their positions. The second problem—conditioning—is one that affects all of women's critical and cultural production across a wide swath of work, from the hard sciences to journalism. This problem used to be attributed to women replicating gendered norms or to the art of opinion writing being inherently masculine, Fry writes. Today's thinking, though, says that this gap is simply because men have done more editorializing work throughout history. Fry writes, "In vogue now is the notion that we express ourselves according to our individual backgrounds and social conditioning. In other words, white men, with history on their side, may be better conditioned to contributing to professional opinion spaces, though they are not more biologically suited to it."⁵ This statement seems to propose the claim that as women do more editorial work, they will become more conditioned to doing it and the submissions from women will increase. If this supposition is true, then women's press clubs are particularly important as they can provide a safe space for training women to produce and pitch opinion pieces that fit with the contemporary changing media models that ask writers to think about both legacy- and digital-reading audiences. Fry even mentions a Brooklyn-based organization called Her Girl

5. Ibid.

Friday, which was doing this exact work in a program entitled “Throw Like a Girl: Pitching the Hell out of Your Stories.”⁶

Where Fry argues that women journalists work on training themselves to do work traditionally dominated by men, a controversial new book by Facebook Chief Operating Officer Sheryl Sandberg tells women that they are often their own greatest hindrance when it comes to professional advancement. “We hold ourselves back in ways both big and small, by lacking self-confidence, by not raisin our hands, and by pulling back when we should be leaning in. We internalize the negative messages we get throughout our lives—the messages that say it’s wrong to be outspoken, aggressive, more powerful than men. We lower our own expectations of what we can achieve....My argument is that getting rid of these internal barriers is critical to gaining power.”⁷ While most feminists lauded Sandberg’s message, they also note that leaving women to do all the work themselves would be self-defeating. Men are an important part of evening the gender gap that persists throughout societies, not just on Op-Ed pages. Women’s Media Center’s Marie C. Wilson wrote in response to *Lean In*, “Truthfully, I look into the world and I see that women have leaned so far forward that it’s a wonder they can still stand. The message should not just be about our taking responsibility; it should also have a concurrent message about the accountability of organizations and (often) the men who run them as mentors and allies.”⁸ Sandberg does note that tackling external barriers to women’s success is important for women’s success, and so battling both internal and external obstacles is important. However, Wilson’s message that women are not the only ones responsible for their genders’ advancement is well-

6. Ibid.

7. Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 8

8. Marie C. Wilson, “Message to Sandberg: Lean Forward,” *Women’s Media Center*, Feb. 9, 2013, <http://www.womensmediacenter.com/blog/entry/message-to-sandberg-lean-forward1>, accessed Mar. 21, 2013.

taken. No matter how much a woman may convince herself that she is as worthy to lead as any man, without opportunity, she's still left on the sidelines leaning into nothing. The will to lead is useless without a corresponding growth in occasions to lead.

The lack of women editorial and opinion writers is particularly troubling in light of the recent political climate when women's issues were at the forefront of the political election. However, even as women are not speaking on the OpEd pages, they are also still not being quoted in political stories. Fry wrote about what she calls an "anachronistic" report from The Fourth Estate, showing that women are quoted as authoritative in only thirteen percent of print articles and sixteen percent of television stories. Fry notes,

As I pointed out in my story earlier this week, this gap is to some extent a reflection of gender gaps that exist at elite levels of power and government. Lawmakers and high-level politicians are both primarily male and among the most necessary sources for political reporters. This information is both useful for making better sense of these media gender gaps and for realizing the depth of institutional change it will take to shake them.⁹

Women are working to produce institutional change, and in some ways that process is obviously working, as the numbers of women graduating from college journalism programs demonstrates. However, as previously noted, this is not translating into women taking power positions at publications, and this is a trend that's true across American media sources. For example, there are dozens of programs that train young women on how to write, edit and produce television and film; The Center for the Study in of Women in Television and Film's annual Celluloid Ceiling report shows that these programs are not translating into more women working behind the scenes in the television and film industries. Excerpts from the 2011-2012 report state:

Women comprised 26% of all individuals working as creators, directors, writers, producers, executive producers, editors, and directors of photography on broadcast

9. Erika Fry, "Election 2012 coverage: another gender gap," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May 31, 2012, http://www.cjr.org/the_kicker/election_2012_coverage_another.php, accessed Dec. 2, 2012.

television programs during the 2011-12 prime-time season. This represents an increase of one percentage point from last season (2010-2011) and an increase of 5 percentage points since 1997-98. ...

Overall, women fared best as producers (38%), followed by writers (30%), creators (26%), executive producers (25%), editors (13%), directors (11%), and directors of photography (4%).¹⁰

Even at the best numbers show women comprising only slightly over a third of any of the positions that dictate the content broadcast to homes across the United States.

Many women point to the internet as the place where women will truly find editorial parity with men. However, this gender balancing has not materialized for women who are interested in contributing to news and information-gathering web sites. The 2013 Women's Media Center report on gender parity in the media proves this point. The report shows that as legacy newspapers lose ground, so does women's ability to hold key positions at newspapers. In addition, men's bylines outnumbered women's four to six on online-only news sites.¹¹ However, there are some spaces in online media that are providing spaces for women's voices. Social media sites are dominated by women's voices, and women are using social media as spaces to spread news and information about the women's movement and women's issues in ways that legacy media are not. According to a 2012 survey by the Pew Internet and American Life Project, 71 percent of U.S. women and 62 percent of men use some form of social media.¹² Women and feminists have been using social media networks to organize and disseminate information while they're also creating community. For example, the Everyday Sexism project

10. Martha M. Lauzen, "Boxed In: Employment of Behind-the Scenes Women in the 2011-12 Prime-Time Television Season," Center for the Study of Women in Television & Film, 2012, <http://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/research.html>, accessed Dec. 2, 2012.

11. Diana Mitsu Klos, "The Status of Women in the U.S. Media 2013," *Women's Media Center*, 2013, http://wmc.3cdn.net/51113ed5df3e0d0b79_zzzm6go0b.pdf, accessed Mar. 11, 2013.

12. Pew Internet & American Life Project, "The State of Social Media Users," 2013, <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2013/Social-media-users/The-State-of-Social-Media-Users.aspx>, accessed Feb. 21, 2013.

gathers incidents of sexism from world around the world both under the Twitter hashtag #everydaysexism and at their web site www.everydaysexism.com, which operates almost like an encyclopedia of the issues that women still face in their workplaces and relationships.¹³ Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn have turned their book *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunities for Women Worldwide* into an entire social media campaign with a web site, blog, twitter feed, Facebook feed, and social media games. During PBS's broadcasts of the documentary, they and the women who accompanied them on research trips around the world live-tweeted commentary and places to find more information under the hashtag #halfthesky.¹⁴

These numbers of women contributing to knowledge-development web sites and opinion/editorial pages both online and in legacy media are changing, though, even if it seems glacially slow. Male and female reporters who are dedicated to equality for all genders have been actively producing media that has highlighted global gender inequalities and worked to create sweeping change. Journalists Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn turned their best-selling 2009 book *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide* into an online movement for change at their website halftheskymovement.org and into a high-profile PBS documentary, which was first aired on October 1 and 2, 2012. The movement has shown the power of using social media to spread its message, as the two journalists have supplemented the book and movie with a game on Facebook and Kristof live-tweeted the documentary with all of the celebrities with whom he traveled as it was shown on PBS. In 2011, the documentary *Miss Representation* made huge waves across the independent film circuit with its sometimes heavy-handed critique of media representations of women today, including large sections on the

13. The Everyday Sexism Project, www.everydaysexism.com, accessed Mar. 17, 2013.

14. Half The Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide, www.halftheskymovement.org, accessed Mar. 17, 2013.

portrayal of women journalists and politicians. The director of *Miss Representation*, Jennifer Siebel Newsome, has also created a cross-platform media movement using a web site, a blog, Twitter feed, Facebook site, and other social media outlets to encourage women and girls to use the media to change negative portrayals into powerful ones. As Katie Couric is quoted as saying on *MissRepresentation.org*, “The media can be an instrument of change; it can maintain the status quo and it can reflect the views of society or it can, hopefully, awaken people and change minds. I think it depends on who’s piloting the plane.”¹⁵ Perhaps I am an incurably optimistic person, but I think that the history of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh shows that women journalists have historically created that change by stories about women’s issues—yes, on women’s pages, but also in other sections of the mainstream press—to bring those ideas to the everyday reading public. Activists will always be more aware of the issues because they choose to inform themselves; therefore, an underground press works well for them. But feminist journalists—men or women—placing columns, articles, and other media forms firmly in the public eye are placing the seeds of change in the mind of a less-involved audience that is not as aware of the issues still facing women and people of other genders and non-mainstream sexualities around the world.

I remain optimistic about the future of the Women’s Press Club of Pittsburgh, even though it is still struggling to maintain membership and get people involved. As noted throughout much of this dissertation, the club has endured through these problems throughout most of its 120-year history. The club still has a widely attended awards banquet every April and awards the Gertrude Gordon scholarship to a young journalist every year. The 2011 banquet

15. Katie Couric, “About Us,” *MissRepresentation.org*, 2011, <http://www.missrepresentation.org/about-us/>, accessed Nov. 9, 2012.

featured Paige St. John from the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*¹⁶, who won the 2011 Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting. Her winning work delved into the insurance industry fraud and created a rubric for assessing insurer reliability. Her series of articles lead to widespread regulatory change in Florida, and her speech for the WPCP encouraged her audience to resist the urge to shy away from murky, hard-to-understand topics because the tenacious reporter can still create change if she is willing to educate herself and her audience.

In addition, the club is still holding to its history and honoring those women who have gone before them. In 2011, Edith Hughes, who had been the executive editor of the Gateway Publishing chain, based in Monroeville, PA, and was the director of community relations for Trib Total Media, which bought Gateway in 2004, died at age 79. Hughes, who was a stalwart in the business, “was still assigning stories from her hospital bed,” said her daughter Sandee Collins.¹⁷ I asked Hughes to be interviewed for this dissertation several times, and she had finally agreed soon before her death. There was not time to capture her voice. However, the club is planning a memorial fund in her name, and in this way, they are still working to keep the names of women journalists alive and inspirational for future generations of women journalists.

The project of capturing women journalist’s voices through oral history is important in and of itself because they have stories that they have never told in the pages of their respective papers (or, more contemporarily, on the air or on their blogs, web sites, or social media sites). This was driven home to me personally when the Women’s Press Club email list reported in

16. Paige St. John was hired by the *LA Times* in June 2012. Her Pulitzer-prize winning work was performed for the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, and she was still working for that publication at the time she spoke to the WPCP.

17. Mackenzie Carpenter, “Obituary: Edith M. Hughes/Spent 65 years aiding, writing, editing, aiding reporters,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Sept. 15, 2011, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/local/obituaries/obituary-edith-m-hughes-spent-65-years-writing-editing-aiding-reporters-314828/#ixzz2BkThO1YI>, accessed 9 November 2012.

August that Pohla Smith, whose story is told in detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, had been injured. Smith, who is recovering very well and was recently told that she can return to work at the *Post-Gazette* part time and is anticipating eventually returning fulltime, lives for her journalism and is passionate about seeing women conquer new spaces. She has always been generous with her story and her time, and she serves as a mentor to many young people. When I was presenting her story at a conference in August 2012, a woman stopped at my poster and excitedly told me about how Smith had gone out of her way to allow the woman's high-school aged son to interview her about her experiences as one of the pioneering women sports journalists. That generosity and her story continue to inspire and instill a desire to continue innovating into new generations of media practitioners. As a researcher, I am honored that I was able to interview her and record her voice. Because Smith's voice and the voice of all of the women who were generous with their time are important, I will be giving copies of those interviews to the Thomas and Katherine Dietz Library and Archives at the Heinz History Center Library and Archives, where the rest of the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh archive is held. I hope their voices will continue to speak to generations to come, just as Cara Reese, Nellie Bly, and the other women who inspired the founders of the WPCP still speak today.

As argued in the first chapter, women journalists were instrumental in expanding the place of women in the public sphere, not just in the newsroom. Projects like *Half the Sky* and *Miss Representation* show that feminist reporters—men and women—have the possibility of creating social change even today. While most of the WPCP women I spoke with said they would not consider the WPCP a feminist organization, several of the individual women said they considered themselves to be feminists. Some, like Karen Carlin, disclaimed the label for various reasons. Carlin said she “did not feel worthy” to be called a feminist because she saw feminists

as women who were activists. Yet, as I have tried to prove, women journalists are public figures influencing the public conversation about women's roles and rights even today. Does that make all women journalists feminist? Not necessarily, so. I do not think that all women journalists can be called "feminist" out of hand or as a matter of course simply because they're doing public work. If simply moving women into the public sphere is feminist work, then the feminist project has not advanced in the last 120 years, and that is certainly not the case. However, several of these women are influencing the public conversation about equality for men, women, and people of other gendered orientations by doing work that challenges public perceptions of women's abilities.

Groups like the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh still play important roles in this project, in that they foster and support future journalists while also educating and encouraging their own members, who are current producers for the established media. They also preserve the public memory of women who broke boundaries and conquered new spheres of influence, like Gertrude Gordon. Those names would be lost to the "cultivated forgetfulness" that makes researching the first decades of the WPCP so murky if it were not for groups trumpeting the progress. Examining progress shows directions for the future, which means that even as the WPCP is a historic organization that is deeply tied to the story of its founders even today, it is also an organization for the future. The women of the WPCP created today's women journalists, just as today's women journalists will, in the words of Hazel Garland, reach behind them and pull up the journalists of the future. If history teaches us anything, it is that women journalists are resilient and endure, just as the women's movement itself endures.

Appendix A: Deed of Gift

The following Deed of Gift was signed by all of the WPCP women who consented to an oral history interview for this project. This Deed of Gift was written in accordance with the guidelines outlined by the Oral History Association, www.oralhistory.org.

August 12, 2010

Deed of Gift

I, _____, of _____ the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh _____ herein permanently give, convey, and assign to Candi Carter Olson, who is currently in possession of my interview consisting of the recorded interview conducted on _____ by Candi Carter Olson at _____, and any transcripts made from it. In so doing, I understand that my interview will be made available to researchers and may be quoted from, published, or broadcast in any medium that Candi Carter Olson shall deem appropriate.

In making this gift, I fully understand that I am conveying all legal title and literary property rights which I have or may be deemed to have in my interview as well as all my rights, title, and interest in any copyright which may be secured under the laws now or later in force and in effect in the United States of America. My conveyance of copyright encompasses the exclusive rights of: reproduction, distribution, preparation of derivative works, public performance, public display, as well as all renewals and extensions.

Signature of Narrator _____

Signature of Interviewer _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Figures

Unless otherwise specified, all illustrations and photographs are courtesy of the Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh, PA. The library and archive has granted full permission to reprint any information gathered from its archive.



Cara Reese, only woman to
cover the Johnstown Flood, was
founder of Women's Press Club

Figure 1.1



Drawing by Ed Rafferty
February, 1933

Figure 1.2: A 1933 drawing by cartoonist Ed Rafferty shows the range of topics covered inside the safe space of a WPCP meeting, many of which were taboo for women of the time.



Figure 3.1: Cartoon from the 1941 anniversary issue of *The Waste Basket*, the WPCP's satirical publication, which was first published in the 1920s. Pictured from left to right are Marion Martzolf, Ann Zurosky, and Bernice Shine.

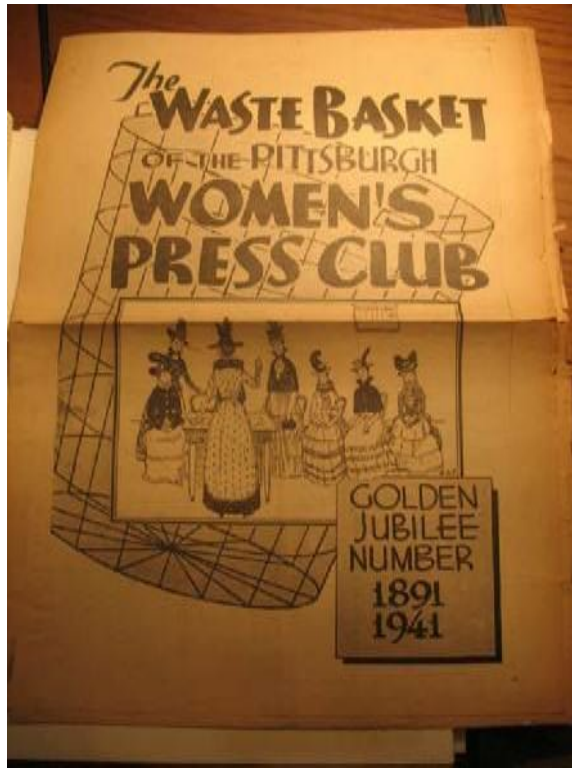


Figure 3.2 Cover of the Anniversary edition of *The Waste Basket*, circa 1941.



Figure 3.3: December 15, 1948 cover the *Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph* requesting the return of Lt. Bernice Shine to active duty in the WACs. The headline says, "U.S. Urgent Need of Lt. Shine: Truman demands recall of Sun-Tele Mata Hari."



Figure 3.4: Cartoon celebrating Gertrude Gordon’s birthday in 1952. Gordon, known as “Our Gertie,” died in 1955.



Figure 3.5: Gertrude Kelley (aka, Gertrude Gordon) was buried in her mother’s grave at Allegheny Cemetery in Pittsburgh, PA. (Photo by Candi S. Carter Olson)



Figure 3.6: Rock Hudson being interviewed by Gertrude Gordon Scholarship hopefuls, circa 1957.



Figure 4.1: Toki Schalk Johnson (center) with WPCP member Veronica Volpe and a Gertrude Gordon scholarship winner.



Figure 4.2: Hazel Garland at her desk at the *Pittsburgh Courier*.



Figure 4.3: Pohla Smith with Pittsburgh Pirates first baseman and left fielder Wilver Dornell “Willie” Stargell. Smith was uncertain when this picture was taken, although it was the late 1970s. (Picture courtesy of Pohla Smith)



Figure 4.4: Pohla Smith in the lobby of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* office, March 2012. (Picture by Candi S. Carter Olson)



Figure 5.1: Members of the Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh after the April 2012 Banquet. Front Row (l to r): Nancy Anderson, Pohla Smith. Back Row (l to r): Kellie Gormly, Nell Gladson, Karen Carlin, Deborah Galle, Virginia Miller, Jill Daly, Helen Fallon. (Picture by Candi S. Carter Olson)

Bibliography

- “About Us: AWC is One of the Originals.” The Association for Women in Communication. 2012.
http://www.womcom.org/about_us/history.asp. (accessed 13 March 2012).
- Abramson, Jill. “When Will Stop Saying ‘First Woman to--?’” *New York Times*, Apr. 9, 2006.
Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007). C1.
- Adams, Katherine H., Michael L. Keene, and Melanie Mckay. *Controlling Representations: Depictions of Women in a Mainstream Newspaper, 1900-1950*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2009.
- American Experience. “Timeline: The Pill.” PBS online/WGBH. 1999-2002.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/pill/timeline/timeline2.html> (accessed 18 Feb. 2012).
- Armitage, Susan H., Patricia Hart and Karen Weathermon, eds. *Women’s Oral History: The Frontiers Reader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
- Atkins-Sayre, Wendy. “Naming Women: The Emergence of ‘Ms.’ as a Liberatory Title.” *Women and Language* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 8-16.
- Baxandall, Rosalyn and Linda Gordon. *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women’s Liberation Movement*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Beasley, Marine H. *Women of the Washington Press: Politics, Prejudice, and Persistence*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2012.
- Beasley, Marine H. and Kathryn T. Theus. *The New Majority: A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions*. Lanham, MD: University Press of American, 1988.
- Beasley, Marine H. and Sheila J. Gibbons. *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. Washington D.C.: The American University Press, 1993.

Bellfare, Judith A. *The Women's Army Corps: A Commemoration of World War II Service*. US Army Center of Military History. 17 February 2005.

<http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/WAC/WAC.HTM> (accessed 21 March 2013).

Bennion, Sherilyn Cox. *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West*. Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990.

Doolittle, Alice, Elvia Arroyo-Ramirez, Kelly McMasters, and Margaret Huang, comps. *Guide to the Mary Roberts Rinehart Papers*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Special Collections Department, 2013.

Blair, Karen J. *The Clubwoman as Feminist*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980.

Bly, Nellie (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane Seaman). *Ten Days in a Mad-House*. 1887.

http://www.manybooks.net/titles/blynother06ten_days_in_a_madhouse.html (accessed 21 March 2013).

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Borchorst, Anette and Birte Siim. "Woman-Friendly Policies and State Feminism: Theorizing Scandinavian Gender Equality." *Feminist Theory* 9 (August 2008): 207-224.

Boucher, John Newton and John W. Jordon. *A Century and a Half of Pittsburg and her People*, vol. 2. Pittsburgh: Lewis Publishing Company, 1908.

Boynton, Robert. *The New New Journalism: Conversations with America's Best Nonfiction Writers on Their Craft*. New York: Vintage, 2005.

Brown, Les. "What Makes Barbara Walters Worth a Million?" *New York Times*, May 26, 1976.

Burt, Elizabeth V. *Women's Press Organizations, 1881-1999*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000.

- Byerly, Carolyn M. and Karen Ross. *Women & Media: A Critical Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59, no. 1 (1973): 74-86.
- Carlin, Karen. Oct. 21, 2011. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.
- Carlson, Margaret. "Let's Not Celebrate More Women in the Senate." *Bloomberg View*, Nov. 8, 2012. Accessed Nov. 9, 2012. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-11-09/let-s-not-celebrate-more-women-in-the-senate.html>.
- Carpenter, Mackenzie. "Obituary: Edith M. Hughes/Spent 65 years aiding, writing, editing, aiding reporters." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Sept. 15, 2011. Accessed Nov. 9, 2012. <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/local/obituaries/obituary-edith-m-hughes-spent-65-years-writing-editing-aiding-reporters-314828/#ixzz2BkThO1YI>.
- Carter, Bill. "Connie Chung Signs on with a Solo Practitioner." *New York Times*, May 23, 1993. _____ . "Chung to Join Rather as CBS News Anchor." *New York Times*, May 18, 1993, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007), C18.
- Carter, Ulish. "Hazel Garland: Female trailblazer." *The New Pittsburgh Courier online*. Jan. 27, 2011. Accessed Mar. 9, 2012. http://www.newpittsburghcourieronline.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3612:hazel-garland-female-trailblazer&catid=38:metro&Itemid=27.
- Chambers, Deborah, Linda Steiner, and Carol Fleming. *Women and Journalism*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Social Significance of Black Thought." *Social Problems* 33.6 (Oct-Dec. 1986): S14-S32.

- Cook, Blanche Wiesen. *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume One 1884-1933*. New York: Viking, 1992.
- Coontz, Stephanie. *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and the American Woman at the Dawn of the 1960s*. New York: Basic Books, 2011.
- Consoli, John. "Couric posits viewer, demo gains on NBC and ABC." *Mediaweek*. ND.
- Couric, Katie. "About Us," *MissRepresentation.org*. 2011.
<http://www.missrepresentation.org/about-us/> (Accessed 9 November 2012).
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Crenshaw, Carrie. "The Normality of Man and Female Otherness: (Re)producing Patriarchal Lines of Argument in the Law and the News." *Argumentation and Advocacy*. 32, no. 4 (1996): 170-184.
- Croly, J.C. Cunningham (Jennie June). *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*. New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898.
- Cushing, Thomas. *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, Co., 1975.
- Daly, Jill. Sept. 29, 2011. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.
- Davis, Flora. *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America since 1960*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.
- Dumenco, Simon. "Rebranding Katie: CBS Secret Strategies Revealed!" *Advertising Age*. N.D.
- Epstein, Laurily Keir, ed. *Women and the News*. New York: Hastings House, 1978.
- Fahs, Alice. *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Fallon, Helen D. July 12, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording.

Personal interview. Not catalogued.

Faludi, Susan. *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006.

“Feminism.” *Online Etymology Dictionary*. 2001-2010.

http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=feminism&allowed_in_frame=0 (accessed 8 September 2011).

Ferretti, Fred. “Reasoner to Stay on ABC News Show: Rumor said He Would Quit to Protest Walters Offer.” *New York Times*, Apr. 22, 1976.

Finley, Ruth Elbright. *The Lady of Godey’s*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1931.

Flannery, Kathryn Thoms. *Feminist Literacies: 1968-1975*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Foner, Eric. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: Norton, 1998.

Fox News. “Republican Senate candidate defends rape comment, expresses regret for phrasing.”

Oct. 24, 2012. <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/10/23/god-at-work-when-rape-leads-to-pregnancy-indiana-republican-senate-candidate/#ixzz2BkBq2ESg> (accessed Nov. 9, 2012).

Fröhlich, Romy and Sue A. Lafky, eds. *Women Journalists in the Western World: What Surveys Tell Us*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2008.

Fry, Erika. “Election 2012 coverage: another gender gap.” *Columbia Journalism Review*, 31 May 2012. http://www.cjr.org/the_kicker/election_2012_coverage_another.php (accessed 2 December 2012).

Fry, Erika. “It’s 2012 already: why is opinion writing still most male?: Byline counts are better, but not much. How come?” *Columbia Journalism Review*, May 29, 2012.

http://www.cjr.org/behind_the_news/its_2012_already_why_is_opinio.php (accessed Dec. 2, 2012).

Fryatt, Norma R. *Sarah Josepha Hale: The Life and Times of a Nineteenth-Century Woman*. New York: Hawthorne Books, 1975.

Gallagher, Jean. *The World Wars Through the Female Gaze*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Gallagher, Meredith. *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*. New York: World Association for Christian Communication, 2001.

Gans, Rachel M. "The Newseum and Collective Memory: Narrowed Choices Limited Voices and Rhetoric of Freedom." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 370-90.

Garland, Hazel. "Black Women Question Their Liberation Role Too," *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Sept. 5, 1970.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Jan. 3, 1970. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Feb. 7, 1970. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Feb. 14, 1970. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Mar. 14, 1970. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Mar. 21, 1970. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Things to Talk About." *New Pittsburgh Courier (1969-1981)*, Sept. 16, 1972. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

- Garvey, Ellen Gruber and Sharon M. Harris, eds. *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004.
- Gere, Anne Ruggles. *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in Women's Clubs: 1880-1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 1979.
- Gill, Rosalind. *Gender and the Media*. Malden, MA: Polity, 2007.
- Gitlin, Todd. *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*. New York: Bantam Books, 1987.
- Gluck, Sherna Berger and Daphne Patai, eds. *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Gordon, Gertrude. "Gertrude Gordon, Staff Writer of The Press, Takes Voyage Through the Air, With Roy Knabenshue, Aeronaut: She Tells Her Own Story." *The Pittsburg Press*, 7 October 1908.
<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=djft3U1LymYC&dat=19081006&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.
- _____. "Real Suffrage Fight Starts Here Tomorrow." *Pittsburg Press*, 10 October 1915.
<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19151010&id=AIsfAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=OkkEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=4367,2648316>.
- Gormly, Kelley. July 13, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.
- Gottlieb, Agnes Hooper. *Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement 1868-1914*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001.
- Grever, Maria. "The Pantheon of Feminist Culture: Women's Movements and the Organization of Memory," *Gender & History* 9, no. 2 (August 1997): 364-374.

Half The Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide.

www.halftheskymovement.org (accessed 17 Mar. 2013).

Hampf, M. Michaela. "‘Dykes’ or ‘Whores’?: Sexuality and the Women’s Army Corps in the United States During World War II." *Women’s Studies International Forum* 27 (2004): 13-30.

Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Helly, Dorothy O. and Susan M. Reverby, eds. *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women’s History*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Heywood, Leslie and Jennifer Drake, eds. *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Horowitz, Daniel. *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

Hurtado, Aida. "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of white women and women of color" *Signs* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989): 833-55.

Iorio, Sharon Hartin. *Qualitative Research in Journalism: Taking it to the Streets*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004.

Illinois Women’s Press Association. 2008. www.iwpa.org (accessed June 2, 2011).

"Jim Crow Stories: National Association of Colored Women." PBS.org. 2002.

http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_org_nacw.html (accessed Apr. 16, 2013).

Johnson, Toki Schalk. "Toki Types." *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1965)*. Jan. 14, 1961. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

_____. "Toki Types." *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1965)*, Jan. 28, 1961. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002*.

- _____. "Toki Types About Women Around the World." *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1965)*, Apr. 8, 1961. Proquest Historical Newspapers *Pittsburgh Courier*: 1911-2002.
- Jones, Kathleen B. "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity." *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 782.
- Jones, Nancy C. Aug. 26, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.
- Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Random House, 1991.
- Kelley, Mary. *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Klos, Diana Mitsu. "The Status of Women in the U.S. Media 2013." *Women's Media Center*, 2013. http://wmc.3cdn.net/51113ed5df3e0d0b79_zzzm6go0b.pdf (accessed Mar. 11, 2013).
- Kram, Harriet Davis. "Review: *One Woman's War: Letters Home from the Women's Army Corps, 1944-1946*." *Illinois Historical Journal* 84, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 197-198.
- Kroeger, Brooke. *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist, 1864-1922*. New York: Times Books, 1994.
- Lauzen, Martha M. "Boxed In: Employment of Behind-the Scenes Women in the 2011-12 Prime-Time Television Season." Center for the Study of Women in Television & Film, 2012. <http://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/research.html> (accessed 2 December 2012).
- Lehman, Katherine J. *Those Girls: Single Women in Sixties and Seventies Popular Culture*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011.
- Lerner, Gerda. *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

“Lillian Russell Would be Gotham’s First Mayor.” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 18 March 1915.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=Xh5QAAAAIABJ&sjid=VAoEAAAAIABJ&pg=7278,2941381&dq=lillian+russell&hl=en>.

Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.

Lorde, Audre. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 1984.

Love, Barbara. *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Lowry, Patricia. “Bessie Bramble: A Force for Change.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 4 March 2007.

<http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07063/766082-51.stm>.

Lutes, Jean Marie Lutes. “Into the Madhouse with Nellie Bly: Girl Stunt Reporting in Late Nineteenth-Century America.” *American Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June 2002): 217-253.

Maras, Steven. *Objectivity in Journalism*. Cambridge: Polity, 2013.

Rinehart, Mary Roberts Papers, 1831-1970. 34 boxes. Special Collections Department. University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, PA.

Marzolf, Marion. *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists*. New York: Hastings House, 1977.

Matthews, Glenna. *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman’s Power and Woman’s Place 1630-1970*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era, 20th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.

May, Elaine Tyler. *America and the Pill: A History of Promise, Peril, and Liberation*. New York: Basic Books, 2011.

McGerr, Michael E. *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North 1865-1928*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

McSwigan, Marie. *All Aboard for Freedom*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1954.

_____. *Binnie Latches On*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1950.

_____. *Five on a Merry-Go-Round*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1943.

_____. *Juan of Manila*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1947.

_____. *Our Town has a Circus*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1949.

_____. *Sky Hooks: The Autobiography of John Kane*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1938.

_____. *Snow Treasure*. New York: Scholastic, 1942.

_____. *The News is Good*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1952.

_____. *The Weather House People*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1940.

Memories of Jane Cunningham Croly, "Jenny June." New York: Women's Press Club of New York City, 1904.

Merriman, Woodene. Aug. 27, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.

Meyer, Leisa D. "Creating G.I. Jane: The Regulation of Sexuality and Sexual Behavior in the Women's Army Corps During World War II." *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 3 (1992): 581-601.

Meyrowitz, Joanne. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald L. Shaw. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176-187.

Miller, Virginia. Sept. 30, 2011. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.

“Militancy Finds No Favor with American Women; Cool Receptions for Mrs. Pankhurst Predicted.” *Pittsburgh Press*, 26 October 1913.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=7RsbAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=P0kEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=3486,4519066&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

Moraga, Cherrie and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Ann Arbor, MI: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983.

Morden, Bettie J. *The Women's Army Corps: 1945-1978*. Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1990.

“More Praise for Gertrude Gordon: Another Pittsburg Newspaper Woman Lauds Balloon Story Written by Press Writer.” *Pittsburg Press*, 9 October 1908.

http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19081009&id=_wobAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=_zkgEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=2145,1826350.

Morgan, Robin. *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*. New York: Random House, 1970.

Mott, Frank L. *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Nora, Pierre. “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*.” *Representations* 29, special issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 7-24.

Nicholson, June O., Pamela J. Creedon, Wanda S. Lloyd, and Pamela J. Johnson, eds. *The Edge of Change: Women in the Twenty First Century Press*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Norrell, Debbie. “Socially Correct: On the shoulders of giants.” *New Pittsburgh Courier*. Jan. 27, 2011.

http://www.newpittsburghcourieronline.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3614:socially-correct-on-the-shoulders-of-giants&catid=38:metro&Itemid=27.

Okker, Patricia. *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth Century American Women Editors*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Ogunnaike, Lola. "The Viewers: No Surprise but Some Sadness for 'Today' Fans on the Plaza." *The New York Times*, Apr. 6, 2006. Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007).

Passerini, Luisa. "A Memory for Women's History: Problems of Method and Interpretation." *Social Science History* 16, no. 4 (1992): 669-692.

Pew Internet & American Life Project. "The State of Social Media Users." 2013, retrieved 21 Feb. 2013 from <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2013/Social-media-users/The-State-of-Social-Media-Users.aspx>.

Pittsburgh Playground Association. *Annual Report of the Pittsburgh Playgrounds and Recreation Parks, 1908*. <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/pageviewer-idx?ALLSELECTED=1;xc=1;g=pitttextall;type=simple;q1=woman%20s%20clubs;c=pitttext;sort=occur;cc=pitttext;rgn=full%20text;view=image;seq=7;idno=13ajl2379s;didno=13ajl2379s;page=root;size=s;frm=frameset> (accessed 9 March 1913).

Pitz, Marylynne. Oct. 3, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.

Project for Excellence in Journalism. "The American Newsroom Aging, but Not Diversifying." Oct. 5, 2006. <http://www.journalism.org/node/2281> (accessed 27 Oct. 2010).

Randall, David. *The Great Reporters*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005.

Ray, Angela. *The Lyceum and Public Education in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2005.

Rehm, Maggie. *The Art of Citizenship: Suffrage Literature as Social Pedagogy*. Ph.D. Diss. University of Pittsburgh, 2011.

Reliable Sources: The National Press Club in the American Century. Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1997.

Ritchie, Donald. *Reporting from Washington: The History of the Washington Press Corps*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Rittenhouse, Mignon. *The Amazing Nellie Bly*. New York: Dutton, 1956.

Rogers, Sherbrooke. *Sarah Josepha Hale: A New England Pioneer 1788-1879*. Grantham, NH: Tompson & Rutter, 1985.

Roggenkamp, Karen. "Sympathy and Sensation: Elizabeth Jordan, Lizzie Borden, and the Female Reporter in the Late Nineteenth Century." *American Literary Realism*. 40, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 32-51.

Rosen, Ruth. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

Rosenberg, Carroll Smith. "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America." *American Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (Oct. 1971).

Ross, Ishbel. *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936.

Royster, Jacqueline Jones. *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000.

Rupp, Leila and Verta Taylor. *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement 1945 to the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Russell, Lillian. "Lillian Russell's Secrets of Beauty: Beautiful Lips." *Spokesman-Review*, 19 July 1912.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=va9XAAAIBAJ&sjid=pfMDAAAIBAJ&pg=714,5970760&dq=lillian+russell+in+spokesman-review&hl=en>.

Russell, Lillian. "Lillian Russell's Secrets of Beauty: Ear Massage," *Spokesman-Review*, 22 April 1913.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=va9XAAAIBAJ&sjid=pfMDAAAIBAJ&pg=714,5970760&dq=lillian+russell+in+spokesman-review&hl=en>.

Ryan, Christopher M., Vice Chair of the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board. E-mail to Ronald J. Zboray, Director of Graduate Studies in Communication. March 5, 2004. On file in the Department of Communication, University of Pittsburgh.

"Sampler of Bessie Bramble's Writing." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 4 March 2007. <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07063/766137-51.stm>.

Sandberg, Sheryl. *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.

Scanlon, Jennifer. *Bad Girls Go Everywhere: The Life of Helen Gurley Brown*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Schackel, Paul A. "Public Memory and the Search for Power in American Historical Archaeology." *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 3 (Sept. 2001): 655-670.

Schilpp, Madelon Golden and Sharon M. Murphy. *Great Women of the Press*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983.

Selby, Gary S. *Martin Luther King and the Rhetoric of Freedom: The Exodus Narrative in America's Struggle for Civil Rights*. Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2008.

Sicherman, Barbara. *Well-Read Lives: How Books Inspired a Generation of Women*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Siegel, Deborah. *Sisterhood, Interrupted: From Radical Women to Grrls Gone Wild*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- Sims, Norman. "The Problem and the Promise of Literary Journalism Studies." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 7-16.
- Sims, Norman. *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2008.
- Sisario, Ben. "Arts Briefly: On Day 3: Couric Has Lead..." *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2006. Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007).
- Sloane, Leonard. "Miss Walters to Lift Profit and Ratings, ABC Asserts." *New York Times*, May 19, 1976. Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007).
- Smith, Pohla. Sept. 29, 2011. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording. Personal interview. Not catalogued.
- Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Sommers, Christina Hoff. *Who Stole Feminism?: How Women Have Betrayed Women*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.
- Sorel, Nancy Caldwell. *The Women Who Wrote the War: The Riveting Saga of World War II's Daredevil Women Correspondents*. New York: Arcade Publishing, 1999.
- Stanley, Alessandra. "Amid Banter, Reminder of Shoes to be Filled." *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 2006. Proquest Historical Newspapers: *New York Times* (1851-2007).
- Steinberg, Jacques and Bill Carter, "As Couric Stays in Third, CBS Stresses the Positive." 18 October 2006, Proquest Historical Newspapers: *The New York Times* (1851-2007), E1.
- Stephens, Julie. "Our Remembered Selves: Oral History and Feminist Memory." *Oral History* 38, no.1 (Spring 2010): 81-90.
- Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1982.

Streitmatter, Rodger. *Raising Her Voice: African American Women Journalists Who Changed History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

“Tabloid Account of Girl’s Balloon Trip.” *Pittsburg Press*, 7 October 1908.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=djft3U1LymYC&dat=19081006&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

“Ten Years of Women’s Suffrage.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Mar. 27, 1930.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=57VhAAAAIBAJ&sjid=v2gDAAAAIBAJ&pg=2967,2961582&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

Terrell, Mary Church. “The Progress of Colored Women.” *Gifts of Speech*. Feb. 18, 1898.

<http://gos.sbc.edu/t/terrellmary.html> (accessed Apr. 16, 2013).

The Everyday Sexism Project. www.everydaysexism.com (accessed Mar. 17, 2013).

The Girl Friends, Inc. 2007. <http://thegfinc.org/history.html> (accessed Mar 4, 2012).

The Global Media Monitoring Project. “Who Makes News?” 2010. www.whomakesthenews.org (accessed Oct. 27, 2010).

The Newspaper Guild-CWA. “Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Top Minimum in 2010.” N.D.

<http://www.newsguild.org/scales/view4.inc.php> (accessed Dec. 30, 2011).

The National Press Club. “History.” 2001. <http://press.org/about/history> (accessed June 2, 2011).

The Women’s Press Club of New York State, Inc. “About us. 2009.

http://www.womenspressclubnys.com/about_us (accessed June 2, 2011).

“Times Topics: Katie Couric.” *New York Times online*, June 6, 2011.

http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/c/katie_couric/index.html?scp=2&sq=Katie%20Couric&st=cse.

“Times Topics: Lawrie Mifflin.” *New York Times online*, N.D.

http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/m/lawrie_mifflin/index.html.

Tonkovich, Nicole. *Domesticity With a Difference: The Nonfiction of Catharine Beecher, Sarah J. Hale, Fanny Fern, and Margaret Fuller*. Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 1997.

Torregrosa, Luisita Lopez. "The Female Factor: They Call It the Reverse Gender Gap." *New York Times*, Dec. 13, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/14/us/14iht-letter14.html?_r=1&ref=women.

Treadwell, Mattie E. "United States Army in World War II: Special Studies in The Women's Army Corps." Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1991. Available from <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/Wac/index.htm>.

Trent, G. Lisle. "Gertrude Gordon Gets Letters of Congratulation: Beautiful Poem Written to Girl Reporter Who Sailed with Knabenshue in Balloon." *Pittsburg Press*, 8 October 1908. http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19081008&id=_gobAAAIBAJ&sjid=_zkgEAAAIBAJ&pg=3686,1438805.

Trojanowski, Hermann J. "Women Step Up to Serve." *Tar Heel Junior Historian* 47, no. 2 (2008): 15-17.

Turner, Fred. "Where the Counterculture met the New Economy: the WELL and the Origins of Community," *Technology and Culture* 46 (July 2005): 485-512.

United Press. "Suffragist Shadow Attached to Every Male Politician." *Pittsburgh Press*, 31 May 1916. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=7RsbAAAIBAJ&sjid=P0kEAAAIBAJ&pg=3486,4519066&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

United Press. "Thousands in Great Parade of Suffragists: Despite Sweltering Heat Votes for Women Advocates Make Showing." *Pittsburgh Press*, 4 May 1913.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=1EYbAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=JEkEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=6765,1035845&dq=suffrage&hl=en>.

Varon, Elizabeth R. *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*.

Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Voss, Kimberly Wilmot. "Redefining Women's News: A Case Study of Three Women's Page

Editors and their Framing of the Women's Movement." Ph.D. diss. University of Maryland,

2004.

Waln, Nora. *House of Exile*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1933.

Waln, Nora. *Reaching for the Stars*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1939.

Washington Press Club Foundation. "Women in Journalism." 2011. Available from

<http://www.wpcf.org/women-in-journalism/> (accessed June 2, 2011).

Wayne, Tiffany K. *Women's Roles in Nineteen Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood

Publishing Group, 2007.

Weaver, David. *The American Journalist in the Twenty-First Century: U.S. News People at the*

Dawn of a New Millennium. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2007.

Weaver, Rose Marie. Aug. 12, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording.

Personal interview. Not catalogued.

Welter, Rush, ed. *American Writings on Popular Education: The Nineteenth Century*. Indianapolis:

Bobbs-Merrill, 1971.

Whitt, Jan. *Women in American Journalism: A New History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

2008.

Wildman, Stephanie M. and Adrienne D. Davis, "Language and Silence: Making Systems of

Privilege Visible." *Santa Clara Law: Santa Clara Law Digital Commons*. Jan. 1, 1994.

<http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1456&context=facpubs&sei>

=

[redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.com%2Fscholar%3Fhl%3Den%26as_sdt%3D0%2C39%26q%3Dsilence%2Band%2Bprivilege#search=%22silence%20privilege%2](http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=3D0%2C39%26q%3Dsilence%2Band%2Bprivilege#search=%22silence%20privilege%2)

[2](#) (accessed April 16, 2013).

Williams, Georgianne. Aug. 5, 2010. Interview by Candi S. Carter Olson. Digital voice recording.

Personal interview. Not catalogued.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford

University Press, 1985.

Wilson, Marie C. "Message to Sandberg: Lean Forward." *Women's Media Center*. Feb. 9, 2013.

<http://www.womensmediacenter.com/blog/entry/message-to-sandberg-lean-forward1>

(accessed 21 Mar. 21, 2013).

Wingate, Charles F. ed. *Views and Interviews on Journalism*. New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875.

Winzenburg, Stephen. "Stay Where You Are Katie." *Broadcast & Cable*, Feb. 20, 2006.

Women's National Press Club. *Women's National Press Club: Who Says We Can't Cook!*

Washington D.C.: Mciver Art and Publications, Inc., 1955.

Women's Press Club of Indiana. "About WPCI." May 2011.

http://www.womenspressclubnys.com/about_us (accessed 2 June 2011).

Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh Archive. MSS 131, Box 1, Folder 3, Women's Press Club-

Anniversary Awards Dinners 1895-1957, Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives at

the Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.

Woody, Thomas. *History of Women's Education in the United States, vol. 2*. New York: The

Science Press, 1929.

Wright, Tom F., ed. *The Cosmopolitan Lyceum: Globalism and Lecture Culture in Nineteenth-*

Century America. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming 2014.

Yow, Valerie. *Recording Oral History, Second Edition: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. New York: AltaMira Press, 2005.

Zboray, Ronald J. and Mary Saracino Zboray. *Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience Among Antebellum New Englanders*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006.

_____. "Political News and Female Readership in Antebellum Boston and its Region."

Journalism History 22, no. 1 (1996): 2-14.

_____. *Voices Without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England*. Lebanon, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2010.

Zinser, Lynn. "In 1975, 2 Women Crossed a Barrier." *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/24/sports/hockey/24reporter.html>.

Zurosky, Ann. *1891-1991: The First 100 Years*. Pittsburgh, PA: The Women's Press Club of Pittsburgh, 1991.