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THE IMAGE OF THE WOMAN JOURNALIST
IN AMERICAN POPULAR FICTION
1890 TO THE PRESENT

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INTRODUCTION

Historical research is only beginning to reveal women's extensive participation in the journalism profession since the earliest days of the settlement of America.¹ By 1890, women had begun to enter the profession in increasing numbers, many to write for the newly popular mass magazines. It was at this same time that the woman journalist began to appear in fiction, especially in the short stories of the magazines and in popular novels. This paper analyzes the image of the woman journalist that this fiction portrayed, and traces the development of that image through the fiction to the present day. Because fiction reflects cultural attitudes and shared experiences in society, it is hoped that this analysis will contribute to the cultural history of the woman journalist.²

Early in America's history emerged the feminine ideal that declared that women should not strive to "acquire, achieve, and produce" in the world beyond the home. The passive woman was man's servant, dependent on him for her self-fulfillment and economic support. She was to remain at home, supporting and nurturing her husband and children.³ Women were excluded from most professions, the exceptions being teaching and nursing (extensions of their roles as mothers) and writing. Writing was considered to require no special training and could be practiced within the isolation and propriety of the home; thus the intelligent, active, and ambitious woman could and did turn to writing if she wanted a career.⁴

By the late 19th century, women began to achieve significant participation in society beyond the home, and woman journalist⁵ were persistent and successful challengers of the male-dominated profession. Journalists such as Margaret Fuller, D. G. Croly (Jenny Juno), Elizabeth Cochrane (Nellie Bly) and Winifred Black (Annie Laurie) had already proved that women were determined, courageous, intelligent, and capable of being competent professionals.⁵

The woman as a journalist had also appeared in fiction by this time, for example, in the character of Henrietta Stackpole, Isabella Archer's friend in Henry James' novel, The Portrait of a Lady, first published in 1881. Henrietta's directness, assertiveness, independence, and success as an American journalist accurately reflected her counterparts in the real world.

This study found that later fiction of women journalists reflects the strong women who throughout the 20th century have continued to become journalists and to achieve professional success. For the most part, women journalists in fiction are intelligent, assertive, courageous, curious, competent, compassionate, independent, ambitious, and professional. These characteristics (most of which belong to the cultural stereotype of the male) often cause women loss of happiness because they do not conform to the cultural ideal. To the extent that the women journalists are portrayed as stereotypes, the stereotypes do reflect cultural attitudes but not necessarily women journalists' real experiences or activities. Women journalists are distinctly different from other women in fiction, who more closely reflect the cultural stereotype.

The image of the woman journalist in fiction does change over time, reflecting the changing status of women both in society and in the profession. Although they are still frequently viewed in terms of stereotype, women journalists are also revealed by recent fiction to be individuals, often attempting to resolve apparent conflicts between professional needs, the cultural stereotype, and their inner motivations.

METHODOLOGY

Short stories and novels that could be identified as dealing with the woman journalist as a major character and that could be located were used in this study. Twenty-two short stories and seven novels were identified through a combination of

sources, including Fiction Index, Short Story Index, Book Review Digest, the New York Times Book Review, and bibliographies from various publications. Thirteen short stories and four novels were written by women; nine short stories and three novels were written by men. Half of the authors had worked as journalists at some time during their careers. In each period, at least one novel allowed opportunity to examine any character development of the woman journalist over a period of time.

The fiction is divided into four periods:

--1890-1920, a period of significant achievement by women in their first major movement toward participation in the society beyond the traditional roles of wife and mother--(12 short stories and one novel);

--1920-1940, a period of marked decline in women's achievements and of some return to traditional roles and attitudes--(two short stories and two novels);

--1940-1945, a revolution (at least temporarily) in attitudes and social roles of woman from confinement to mass entry into the work force--(one novel and one short story);

--1945 to the present, a period that began with reaction against the working woman accompanied by a brief return of young women to traditional roles, but gradually developed into the second women's movement for equal participation with men in society--(seven short stories and three novels).

The image of the woman journalist was derived by examining several factors in the stories: her job in the profession, objective descriptions of her character, statements of attitudes about women or women journalists, and the function of the character within the story. A chart that briefly summarizes these findings for each story appears in the Appendix. The portraits that emerged were compared in order to generalize about the image of the woman journalist and to determine patterns and trends over time.

Histories of women and women journalists were used to determine for the different periods of the study cultural attitudes toward women, especially the professional woman; women's attitudes toward themselves, especially in terms of social roles; and women in the professions, especially women in journalism.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Studies have shown that the woman is portrayed in the mass media in terms of stereotype whose role is within the home and not in the so-called working world, that this portrayal does not reflect the woman's real experiences, and that such portrayal does have a harmful effect on society, especially on women and girls. Studies of women professionals in fiction show that women professionals are portrayed as more competent and assertive than the cultural stereotype, that the fiction does reflect the cultural attitude that women cannot successfully combine a career and marriage, and that fiction does show some shift over time in stereotypes of the woman professional that seems to correspond with changes in women's real status. No specific studies of women journalists in fiction have been made.

In 1963, Betty Friedan described the image of the woman projected by women's magazines and the other mass media to be passive, frivolous, young, and content to fulfill herself in the roles of wife and mother.⁶ Franzwa later confirmed Friedan's findings, further stating that women accept male definitions of them as the truth; that magazine fiction define women by their relationship with men and tell women they must be incompetent, passive, and virtuous to attain happiness, which is marriage; that these stereotypes permeate culture and through the mass media socialize children to sex roles.⁷ In Hearth and Home, women are seen to symbolically annihilated by the media; television, for example, says that women are powerless, that women do not count much in society, that workers are likely to be male, and that the few working women are inferior to male workers.⁸

Russ describes the harmful effect that their image in literature has upon women. Literature is about images of women, not about women. It makes no attempt to explain women in terms of inner motivation: they exist only in relation to the male protagonist and then in terms of a social role.⁹ Cornillon says that the failure of fiction to describe women's own reality and experiences causes women to feel guilty and depressed for their failure to be what culture says they are.¹⁰ Fetterley points out that American literature is about the male, most frequently betrayed by woman--to be American is to be not female. American literature gives the woman a feeling of powerlessness because she cannot identify with the protagonist; in fact, she is required to identify against herself.¹¹

Some studies find that the image of the woman professional in fiction conflicts somewhat with the cultural stereotype. In a study of girl fiction, Cadogan and Craig found that the fiction of the 1930s about careers for girls described the girl detective and the girl reporter (in the movies) as displaying "initiative, mental alertness, deductive ability, physical mobility, courage, technical skill and personal ambition--all the qualities which had been denied to exist in women so long."¹²

A study by Fritz and Hevener of detective fiction found that the portrayal of female detectives seemed to shift over time to correspond to actual changes in women's status, such as marketplace participation.¹³ Walsh found in a comparative study of women physicians in fiction of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the fiction showed women to be independent and capable, and seemed to reflect the participation of women in medicine of those two periods. The fiction in the early period also reinforced the cultural attitude that being a woman and being a professional is not compatible, but in recent fiction portrayed at least some women successfully combining medical careers with marriage.¹⁴

DISCUSSION
1890-1920

Nineteenth-century society saw women as mothers of civilization, whose chief roles were to nurture and serve, and not to compete or participate outside the home for economic or personal gain. Not all women had shared this cultural view of themselves, and toward the latter part of the century, growing dissatisfaction with women's traditional role culminated in the woman's movement for greater participation in society. By 1890, removal of legal barriers to woman's property rights, establishment of women's colleges, the organization of women in clubs and unions, growing acceptance of feminist causes, and the needs of a growing industrial society combined to open greater opportunity for women. In 1890, 20 percent of women worked outside the home, mostly as domestics; by 1920, this figure had risen to 23 percent, and 12 percent of women were working in the professions.¹⁵

The professional woman of the period was usually single and of the middle or upper classes. The cultural attitudes, the hardships imposed by the struggle to combine marriage with a profession, and the loss of social status accompanying work outside the home usually caused most women to quit their jobs when they married. The "New Woman," applauded by the feminists but often derided by the press, was educated, worked (until she married although a few women did choose careers rather than marriage), wore tailored clothes modeled after men's clothing, had a greater sense of freedom and independence, sought social reform, and for the most part still sought personal fulfillment within the roles of mother and wife.¹⁶

Most women worked in professions that reflected their traditional roles: nursing, and teaching, but many were writers.¹⁷ The 1900 census recorded 2,193 women in journalism, 7.3 percent of the profession. Few women worked as regular reporters;

most wrote columns of special interest to women. Many were "stunt girls" or "sob sisters," who wrote sentimental or sensational stories of crime or muckraking exposes and pleas for social reform, another extension of their roles as "mothers of civilization." In 1910, 300 women were known to be working in newsrooms.¹⁸

The image of the woman journalist that emerges in the fiction of this period is that of a strong and capable woman, and reflects the "New Woman" of the early feminists' ideal. The woman journalist is single and young, attractive, independent, reliable, courageous, competent, curious, determined, economically self-supporting, professional, and compassionate. She is most often a reporter assigned to write stories about society, human interest, corruption, and crime, but one journalist is the star newsroom reporter, one is an outstanding illustrator, and one is a correspondent in Europe. Reflecting the contemporary cultural attitude, she still seeks her ultimate self-fulfillment and happiness in marriage, despite the pleasure and happiness that she clearly finds in her work as a journalist. Only one of the thirteen journalists in the fiction of this period remains clearly committed to a career at the conclusion of the story. The destiny of four journalists is not clear, but eight choose to leave the profession because of their relationships with the men in their lives.

Although most of the women do give up their careers to marry, their relationships with men are not major themes of these early stories. The stories deal primarily with the problems and concerns of their professions: becoming a journalist, interviewing or investigating and doing the research for a story, making professional decisions, and reconciling the image of a journalist with the traditional image of a woman. The woman's relationship to her profession is a theme peculiar to the fiction of this period, and rare in the fiction of women.

The woman journalist does not escape the traditional stereotype entirely, however, and some of the comments about women do reflect predominant cultural attitudes: "The womanly woman is happiest in the home. . . ."¹⁹ or "Surely there is nothing finer . . . than in marrying a poor human being like me and making him happy,"²⁰ and "After all, you can't depend on a woman in this business."²¹ Finally, "After all, a woman's place is in the home"²² most resoundingly echoes society's assigned role for women.

In an authorial statement, William Allen White expresses his negative opinion about women journalists (an opinion no doubt of some importance for women in journalism at the time because of his prominent career in journalism). In "Society Editor," he says of women in the Women's State Press Club that: ". . . too many of the women wore white stockings and low shoes, read their own unpublished short stories, and regarded her [the protagonist society editor in his story who did not like women journalists any better than he did because they did not work hard] wide-shouldered shirtwaist and melodramatic openwork hosiery with suspicion and alarm."²³ Evidently women's dress revealed a great deal about their abilities as journalists.

In the fiction of this period is first seen the problem that confronts the woman journalist throughout the fiction from 1890 to the present day: how does the woman reconcile the demands of her profession with the demands of the cultural stereotype? In other words, for a woman to succeed professionally, she must possess certain character traits, traits that are assigned to the cultural stereotype of the male, but possession of these traits (or at times possession of them to a greater degree than is acceptable--a subtle and arbitrary degree not always easily understood by the woman) can deny to the woman the happiness that she is supposed to find only in marriage. For example, aggressive reporting earns professional success but destroys the feminine image and sometimes happiness. This dilemma is usually illustrated in two ways in the fiction: (1) the woman's struggle with her compassionate nature (so that it does not

The second problem for women in the profession is the difficult if not impossible balance they must maintain between male expertise and femininity. It is not surprising, for example, that successful women journalists are portrayed as competent, intelligent, curious, independent, and ambitious since these are necessary to a journalist, whether male or female. Because these are culturally assigned male characteristics, the woman journalist in fiction is often compared to men when she performs professional responsibilities. The problem for women is that they are not men, they are women, and male characteristics that allow them success within the male profession often deny them happiness as a woman. Certain male traits, for example, are "too unfeminine," such as, ambition, aggressiveness, persistence, continued independence and self-reliance. Not only must a woman journalist act against the cultural attitude that says a woman must not compete in society beyond the home, but she must assume traits associated with the male to achieve success in her profession. Most women cannot reconcile these seemingly contradictory forces, and in most cases in these early stories, they leave the profession.

This conflict between the male and the female within the woman is illustrated in the career of (or more accurately the "education" of) Eliza Appleton of The Iron Trail. At the beginning of the story, Eliza is a reporter assigned to investigate the Alaska railroad and coal developers to "show up the whole fraudulent affair"²⁶ in order to arouse the public against exploitation of its natural resources. She is a determined environmentalist and dedicated to a career as a reporter. She is also a suffragist with no intentions to marry. Her male appearance is viewed favorably, and she is described as conveying a "boyishness" with her "plain straw sailor," "sensible walking boots," and no "feminine frippery," but the author is careful to explain that she did not give an impression of "deliberate masculinity." Rather, she was "instinctively expressing in her dress her own boyish directness and her businesslike absorption in

her work."²⁷ Once again, dress seems to be evidence of professionalism. Throughout the story, she is portrayed as possessing many admirable qualities "unusual" in a woman. As the story progresses, however, Eliza begins to change her opinion about the businessman she is to expose; in fact, she quits her job with the newspaper to write articles for the magazines about the patriotic work he is doing for the country. As her attitude changes, the reader begins to see more of Eliza: her character begins to exhibit more feminine concerns, and her career ambitions begin to be seen to conflict with her real desires. "Deep in her heart were all the instincts and longings of femininity." She secretly wears frilly lingerie beneath the boyish clothes, secretly reads romances, and in secret writes love stories. She is clearly not what she was at first thought to be. "From all this it may be gathered that Eliza Appleton was by no means the extraordinary person she seemed. Beneath her false exterior she was shamelessly normal."²⁸ She was, after all, just a woman, and apparently happy to exchange her boyish profession for ordinary womenly concerns. Eventually she marries the businessman and quits her job to devote any writing she may do to a book about her husband.

1920-1940

Although women won the right to participate in the political process through suffrage in 1920, women's achievements and actual participation declined throughout the period that followed. The feminists of the women's movement turned their attentions to various concerns, thinking that their cause had been won. People were tired of social reform and were turning instead to the new prosperity and consumerism of the 1920s. Women did not vote either in numbers or ideologically as they had been expected to by the feminists, not surprising since they had been conditioned for many years to take their lead from their husbands.²⁹

Reaction against the feminists and the woman's movement began to occur and was apparent in the popularity of Freudian psychologists, who said that the feminists were neurotics compensating for masculine tendencies.³⁰ The new psychology seemed to confirm the sex role of the woman to be passive and dependent on men for fulfillment; the so-called sexual revolution gave the woman "freedom" to say that she liked men. The "new-style" feminist found her fulfillment in marriage and children as well as in a career, but especially in the former.³¹ The depression of the 1930s, finally, turned public opinion against working women; many men understandably feared the loss of their jobs to women.

The momentum of the earlier period continued to carry women to further achievement in the professions during the 1920s, but some of these gains were lost during the following decade. In 1920, women constituted 11.9 percent of all professionals; that figure rose to 14.2 percent by 1930; but dropped to 13 percent by 1940.³²

Women continued to make significant gains in journalism during the 1920s, doubling their numbers in reporting and editing jobs to a total of nearly 12,000, or 14 percent of the profession. Most women still worked on women's pages in newspapers, in magazines, or in book publishing. On an average big-city staff of 30 to 50 men, there were three women, usually assigned to women's pages. In 1937, there were 300 women publishers among over 12,000. During the 1930s, the number of women in journalism grew by only 1 percent.³³

The fiction of this period reflects these changes in attitudes toward the woman professional as well as the changes in the woman's self-concept. The woman journalist continues to be single (although two are widows), courageous, compassionate, and hard working, but she is not always as competent, as intelligent, nor as committed to her profession as was her precursor. She also more closely resembles the cultural stereotype than did the woman journalist of the earlier period. She now is seen as depending

on intuition for her competence, implying a somewhat accidental relationship rather than rational, deliberate intelligence. Irrationality and emotionalism are related traits that appear in this fiction. Beauty is also more important to the woman. The competent, independent, determined, and "boyish" journalist of the turn of the century has now become more dependent, somewhat irrational, less competent, beautiful--in other words, more "feminine."

Another change in these stories is the greater importance of the woman's relationship to a man. The fiction of the earlier period concentrated for the themes on professional concerns, but in three of the four stories of the period between 1920 and 1940, the themes involve the relationship of the woman with a man. It even takes a man to know woman's inner need: in one story, a young, educated woman who says she dreams of becoming a "real" reporter really wanted a man to subdue her, as explained by another man of the story.

Against this trend, however, is a positive development of the woman journalist as an individual in Katherine Anne Porter's Pale Horse, Pale Rider, when for the first time in the fiction, the reader is given greater insight into the woman's inner character. Like other women journalists of this period, the protagonist of this novel displays compassion and intuitive understanding and is more involved in the story with her relationship with a man than with her profession. But she is profoundly aware of her own relationship with the world and her own inner need to discover the meaning of life apart from any role she may fill. In the story, she comes to understand the essential aloneness--uniqueness--of the individual: "The drifting circle widened, separated, and each figure was alone but not solitary; Miranda, alone too, questioned nothing, desiring nothing, in the quietude of her ecstasy. . . ." ³⁴

Again compassion is seen to be responsible for professional failure. One woman loses her job as reporter in the newsroom and is demoted to "routine female jobs" because she succumbed to the pleas of a mother not to print the scandal attached to her daughter's elopement.³⁵ Another highly successful journalist gives up a brilliant career as a political correspondent to avoid filing a story that would ruin her lover's career, even though he is engaged to another woman.³⁶ Yet another reporter is willing to pass up the "scoop" of her career to protect a young woman's happiness.³⁷ The fourth, a woman publisher, has been longing for thirty years to conduct a newspaper crusade to rid the town of corruption, but when she finally gets the opportunity, almost lets it pass because she cannot bear to see anyone go to jail.³⁸ In each case, the decision is not seen to be a matter of professional ethics, but a personal matter and often foolish. The woman publisher is described as foolish and muddle-headed, and the young woman who didn't write the story about the elopement scandal said she knew the rest of the staff believed her to be a fool for not writing the story.

In these stories, the woman is clearly inferior to the male, as evidenced either by "usual" incompetence or by "unusual" ability for a woman and by the rarity of women in the profession. Frequent reference is made to the "only one": she is the "only" woman reporter on the paper, the "only" woman political correspondent in Europe, the "only woman publisher in town" (if not in the world), and the "one" of two women employees on the paper.

The incompetent female wholly committed to her husband is portrayed in McLeod's Folly, written by Louis Bromfield, one of the original staff members of Time magazine. The story is about Mrs. McLeod but named for her husband who is long dead before the story begins. Although he has been dead for thirty years, Mrs. McLeod's husband

continues to be the focus of her life. She has been publishing and editing her husband's newspaper since his death, not from any interest on her part--she dislikes the work--but because her husband loved the paper, and she worships her husband. Her devotion is complete: for these thirty years, every morning she has risen two hours early to write a novel about him before she must go to the newspaper office. She is described as a kind, honest, simple-minded woman whose "instinct" has carried her as far as she has got with the paper, but "instinct" is obviously not worth much because everything is on the verge of collapse. Because of her extreme incompetence, not only has the paper steadily declined, but the fortune she inherited from her husband has dwindled to nothing. Luckily, a young man from "back East" comes to town and saves her, the newspaper, the town, and her niece, who writes the society news.

The niece expresses the attitude of the "new feminism" of the period: "I'm 23 years old, and I haven't got anywhere. Just working on a broken-down, old-fashioned newspaper where I don't even get a regular salary. No nice clothes, nothing. Not even married yet." What she wanted was "a big house and a couple of cars . . . a lot of money . . . and to be somebody."³⁹ What she needed, according to the young man from the East, was a man. The portrait of the practical, intuitive, inferior woman is completed by him: "I know that women always like everything to be personal but I'm afraid this was a very abstract fight on a lofty idealistic plane."⁴⁰ --one that would not interest a woman.

1940-1945

The need for women workers to replace men at war caused an overnight change in the cultural attitudes against working women, and the cultural stereotype of women as weak and incompetent changed to that of strong women filling "man-sized" jobs. In 1943, 60 percent of all Americans approved of married women working; just five years earlier, 80 percent had disapproved. By the end of the war, sociologist ^V reported

at women could perform most jobs that had been handled by men. The mass media that a few years earlier had discouraged women from working now praised those who joined the labor force.⁴¹

Women, both single and married, welcomed the opportunity to work outside the home. 8 million women entered the work force during World War II, increasing the proportion of working women from 25 to 36 percent of all adult women. The most significant change to occur during this period was in the employment of married and older women: 75 percent of new workers were married, and 60 percent of all new women in the work force were over 35. Married and older women continued to be a large portion of the work force from that time on.⁴²

Women journalists filled many jobs left by men, especially on the staffs of all-town newspapers. A few women served as correspondents; the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press had eleven women on beats; and the number of women on Capitol Hill more than tripled from 30 to 95. For the most part, women remained in subordinate positions even at a time of severe shortage of men in the profession.⁴³

The period of change in cultural attitudes toward working women that occurred during World War II was actually a brief hiatus between two long periods during which the woman's role was seen to be clearly within the home. The stories of this period reflect the ambivalence of the woman's position. On one hand she is the competent professional, capable of performing the most difficult assignment as well as any man, but on the other hand, she is irrational, temperamental, prone to trouble, and dependent on a man either for protection and support or for self-fulfillment. In addition, the women are still of the "only one" type of the preceding period, but are even more extraordinary and thus somewhat less believable as real women. They are isolated by their professional commitment and their perfection from others who surround them. This unreal quality is further reinforced by the adventure and mystery that are part of both stories.

The woman journalist of these stories has become flawlessly beautiful, and beauty is subtly though not explicitly related to her success as a journalist. She is also absolutely competent, intelligent, professional, successful, and professionally ambitious (a trait rarely mentioned in the past but now openly assigned to the woman journalist), and self-consciously aware of her creative opportunities.

Brenda Starr, Girl Reporter, a novel based on the comic strip, belongs to the detective-girl books of this period.⁴⁴ Brenda is curious, courageous, clever, intent upon tracking down a story. "Getting the scoop" is more important to her than a love affair, and she remains unmarried and the star reporter at the end of the story. But there is something unreal about her: she has no living relatives, she travels alone, she lives alone, and the world she lives in seems to have no relation to the real world. Although the story was published in 1943, no mention is made of the war, and there seems to be no shortage of young, strong men to work on the Flash. Brenda is the only woman reporter, although she is temporarily replaced by the boss's "rattlebrain" niece, whose gross incompetence and romantic ideas of newspaper work identify her as the more typical female. Brenda's one human failing seems to be her sex: she has a bad temper, a propensity for getting into trouble, a tendency to look ridiculous when making a point with handsome men, and a feminine weakness in the face of the physical elements. Luckily for Brenda, some male admirer always rescues her from physical danger or personal embarrassment. Nevertheless, Brenda Starr is in many ways a strong portrait of a capable and ambitious professional, not unlike the women portrayed in detective-girl fiction. "Brenda knew in her mind that somehow or other she would 'break' the story, because her interest in it went deeper. . ."⁴⁵

The other woman journalist of the fiction of this period is not only as beautiful, competent, successful, professional, and ambitious as Brenda Starr, but is also self-consciously aware of her creative abilities, professional opportunities, and success. Yet inexplicably, this successful journalist reverts to the stereotype of the irrational woman whose need for a man is greater than any need for professional fulfillment or self-respect. Even the title of the story, "Portrait of a Lady," is ironic.⁴⁶ The author, Martha Gellhorn, was herself a British war correspondent during World War II, the Vietnam War, and the Israel 1967 War. She was married to Ernest Hemingway from 1940 to 1946.

The first married woman journalist in the fiction, Mrs. Maynard is in Finland as a foreign correspondent shortly after the Russian invasion. She is not only good at her work, she is famous; her books and stories have significantly influenced public opinion and government action. She is a careful, thoughtful reporter, who loses herself in her work and is exhilarated and excited about her opportunity as the only correspondent on the front lines in Finland at the time. The reader sees from her point of view as she expresses self-conscious joy in her opportunity: "I am here, she thought, I am here where no one has been. I know them, I have seen it and heard it and I am the only one."⁴⁷ But the author does not explain why she then suddenly, irrationally, and out of character becomes obsessed with the need to be "owned and loved" by a handsome, Finnish aviator. The aviator finds her repulsive and arrogant (because she is not enough like a woman), a "high class whore" in need of a beating to teach her manners. Even so, she vows to throw away her career and her rich husband to take care of him. She humiliates herself by going to him during the night in spite of his insults, and in part causes his death by keeping him from needed sleep. He is shot down the next day. His death devastates her: "And now I will never have anything. . . . I have lost everything I wanted, senselessly, cruelly, uselessly,

without a reason."⁴⁸ The story seems to say that professional success cannot give a woman what she truly wants and needs, that a man--even one who rejects her--is all.

Written early in the period, the story combines the dependent woman of the 1920 to 1940 period and the competent woman of the World War II period. Mrs. Maynard does not understand the precise degree of male qualities needed to be both successful and happy. Her male characteristics (she looked like a boy, although was too fancy for a boy) on one hand identify her as better than female and explain her professional competence, but this mannishness causes her failure to attain happiness with the man she loves. "There was nothing that would make you sure she was a woman": the soft kind of woman that a man would think easily about going to bed with.⁴⁹

1945 to the Present

As abruptly as attitudes against working women changed to secure needed workers for the war effort, public opinion at the end of the war once again turned against working women, especially married women and mothers. The media again pictured the mental and physical inferiority of women for work outside the home. The nuclear family theory so influential during the 1950s again assigned to the man the role of representing the family in society and to the woman the role of caring for the emotional and psychological well-being of the family. Women were to seek fulfillment in marriage. Dr. Spock's book on child raising perpetuated sex-role stereotypes for children.⁵⁰

For a time, women seemed to accept society's demand that they return to the home and have the children they postponed during the war. Family size grew in some cases to five and six children, but many women were again soon growing dissatisfied with this traditional role. In 1963, the response to Friedan's book The Feminine Mystique was enthusiastic. Called by some the catalyst of the modern women's movement,

her book attacked the cultural stereotypes of women, claiming that a fundamental conflict existed between women's real experiences and the image of women as frivolous, passive, and dependent as projected by the media.

Although many women did return to the home at the end of the war, many remained at the job, and many more returned to work within two years after the war ended. In 1945, 37 percent of all women were working. That figure dropped to 32 percent in 1950, but had reached 44 percent by 1970. Married and older women continued to enter the work force. In 1960, 45 percent of all professional women were married. In 1970, 40 percent of all women over 45 were working.⁵¹

Women continued to enter the journalism profession, but they also continued to occupy subordinate positions. By 1970, 59,360 women were employed as editors and writers, but with some exceptions, for example, on the staff of some women's magazines, they held few management positions. Women also held 17,000 jobs of the 69,500 positions in newsrooms.⁵²

The fiction of these more recent years describe a woman journalist who possesses a great variety of characteristics, concerns, and motivations. Most of the stories were written after 1963, and reflect the professional woman's struggle to reconcile her identity and professional ambition with the cultural stereotype; at times she attempts to break down stereotypes. The image that emerges is still of a single woman, competent, courageous, professional, ambitious, but not always compassionate, self-confident, or beautiful. The women are less easily typed, are more individualistic, more real; in several of the stories, this believability and individuality is achieved through the use of the woman journalist as narrator of the story.

As in reality, the women journalists of these stories continue to fill subordinate roles as reporters on newspapers, often feature writers for the women or society

pages. But the central problem of the stories is now not as often the woman's relationship with a man nor the struggle to become a journalist, but the struggle to find identity usually in the face of stereotype, to reconcile professional excellence with success as a woman, to find personal fulfillment both in the profession and in a personal relationship. In two stories women journalist seem to successfully combine their professions with their male relationships. One woman achieves this success only after a prolonged effort that involves psychiatric help.⁵³ Although the woman's relationship with a man continues to be an important aspect of these stories, for the first time a woman decides to reject marriage or the male relationship in favor of a career.⁵⁴

Stereotypes do show signs of weakening, but they continue to persist, and the woman's dilemma regarding compassion and the proper degree of male qualities continues to contribute to both her professional and personal problems.

Compassion still is a stereotype closely associated with women journalists, but in contrast to women of earlier stories whose compassion influenced them to suppress stories that would bring unhappiness or disgrace to the people involved, a young reporter in "From Out of the Garden" refuses a request not to write a story that she has gone to considerable work to uncover. Her lack of compassion is punished more severely than her predecessors' compassion--she loses her job and apparently her career, a "fitting" punishment for one who cared not for love and faithfulness.⁵⁶ She is described as aggressive, bold, unrelenting, ambitious, determined to get the story, and never to marry. Her aggressive self-confidence alienates most people. Lack of compassion as well as a personality too much like the male stereotype bring about her failure.

In the most recent story, Anna Hastings, a Washington "newspaperperson," never allows compassion to influence her professional decisions, including the decision to

print on the front page of her newspaper a scandal about her senator husband, which causes him to kill himself. One of the most unfavorable portraits of a woman journalist, the image of Anna Hastings resembles in some ways the male stereotype--ambitious, ruthless, ice-cold, shrewd, unscrupulous, power hungry, willing to do anything for a story⁵⁶ --but she is also femininely charming, beautiful, manipulative, calculating, and "well-stacked," a combination that got her "everywhere" in Washington, D.C. Anna Hastings is written by Allen Drury who was for many years a Washington journalist.⁵⁷

Anna is described to be a hard worker, a good reporter, and a good writer, and a "constant generator of story ideas and angles," but her success relies to a great extent on her strategic use of her sex and beauty, something equally competent male journalists cannot rely upon for success. Their "tits weren't big enough to secure for [them] the automatic lie-down-and-roll-over response Anna and a few others of her feminine colleagues could produce in their news sources. . . ."⁵⁸

One stereotype, that of the passive, good, incompetent woman for whom sex means children and a home, has been exchanged for another stereotype, that of the competent but bad woman for whom sex is a means to further her ambition. In thirty years in Washington, Anna used every available means to climb from a reporter with the AP to the owner of a publishing conglomerate that included newspapers, radio and television stations, and several magazines. Still, at the end of the story happiness has evaded her because she failed as a wife and mother.

Many of these recent stories do describe women as individuals, making decisions and fulfilling professional responsibilities based on personal motivation rather than sex-role stereotypes. In "Nora" a British correspondent in Washington, highly competent, attractive, and dedicated to her career, decides not to marry a man she loves because such a marriage would destroy both their careers.⁵⁹ Another woman reporter

in a science-fiction story is sent to the planet Mars to find out why a male colleague is not doing his job. She revives his professional commitment and inspires him to work with her to cover corruption of government administrators on Mars.⁶⁰

Several of the stories achieve greater believability through use of the woman journalist as the narrator of the story. The reader thus sees the world through her point of view as she deals with her struggle to understand and express her individual self, a struggle that often involves overcoming cultural stereotypes. In Final Analysis, a young woman describes her efforts to overcome feelings of inadequacy, inferiority, and lack of self-esteem due to her inability to value herself as a woman and her feelings of guilt due to her failure to fulfill the traditional role of housewife. Is her "real" work writing or cleaning the house? "Where does it come from, this firm, guilty belief. . . that my real work is not writing? That I am not . . . doing any work at all unless I succeed in getting the rust stains out of my toilet bowl."⁶¹

The story also deals with her male psychiatrist's struggle to overcome the damage from a cultural stereotype that in his childhood kept his father from showing him affection, hugging him, kissing him. At the end of the story, the woman journalist and the psychiatrist find fulfillment both from their work and from a mutually supportive relationship.

The feature-writer narrator in All Walks of Life describes the subordinate positions that continue to be assigned to women on a big-city newspaper. "All the departments are headed by men, of course, but there are at least four girls on the city staff, six or seven in Society, and 'too damn many' to quote a gentleman of the old school, in Features."⁶² She speaks ironically throughout the novel about the status of the woman reporter: ". . . the perennial debate about what women have lost in putting themselves on an equal footing with men in the business world. . . it is the repetition of the phrase 'on an equal footing with men' that the females on the

aker's staff find hysterically funny."⁶³ Although women continue to be regarded in terms of stereotype by the men on the newspaper, the narrator shows various women on the staff to have individual personalities and a range of capabilities. Josephine Hines, the author of this novel, has been a newspaperwoman on the Newark Evening since 1946.

Written by women, these stories take for granted that women reporters competently fulfill journalistic responsibilities, carry out difficult assignments, make professional decisions, as well as strive for personal understanding. In one story, a man journalist learns in an interview with a famous writer that for any person, man or woman, "Life is a constant performance in the face of all kinds of risk--every day you take chances, you perform, you walk out on the diving board and complete the dive in your life."⁶⁴ In another story, a young woman describes her work to get a difficult story. She persisted in spite of her fear because she believed it was "her duty."⁶⁵

These women journalists in the recent fiction seem to reflect the current efforts of women to break out of stereotypes and participate everywhere in society equally with men. The direction of the image of the woman journalist is toward the diversified and individual, a weakening of the stereotypical portrait. Women's inner self and inner motivations are beginning to be explored, especially in the fiction written by women. A positive sign is also present in the attempt to deal with the problems men face because of their own cultural stereotypes.

CONCLUSION

The image of the woman journalist throughout the fiction tends to be of a competent, independent, courageous, and compassionate professional. In all periods, her compassion causes conflicts in her professional responsibilities and at times the loss of professional respect, but in at least one instance, lack of compassion caused her to

lose her job. A consistent stereotype throughout the fiction portrays the woman to be better than female--or more like the male--thus explaining her professional ability as well as her loss of personal happiness that depends on feminine qualities, when her male traits become too strong. The image of the woman journalist moves from that of a relatively strong, capable woman in the earliest period (1890-1920) to a less competent, more emotional, feminine woman in the middle period (1920-1940) who again becomes highly competent but somewhat unreal and irrational during the World War II period, and finally, evolves into a more individualistic, competent, less stereotypical woman striving for professional identity in the face of stereotype in the most recent period (primarily after 1963).

The themes of the stories also change over time, often reflecting the cultural attitudes. In the earliest stories (1890-1920), the relatively strong woman journalist is seen to be a professional involved with problems related to her work in journalism, although her ultimate fate at the end of the story tends to reflect the feminists of this period, actively seeking achievement beyond the home, but who nevertheless still believed that women were the "mothers of civilization." The themes of the stories between 1920 and 1940 deal with the male relationship of the more feminine, more emotional, less competent woman, who reflects the "new feminist" of that period--still seeking a career but more interested in the traditional role of wife and mother. The themes of the stories written during World War II reflect both the woman deeply committed to her professional responsibilities and the woman dependent on a man for protection and self-fulfillment.

The themes of the recent period (1940 to present) often deal with the woman journalist's struggle to reconcile her career with her personal relationship and to strive for professional identity in the face of sex role stereotypes, reflecting the modern woman's efforts to find self-fulfillment both in a career and a personal

relationship. The subordinate roles in the profession that women continue to occupy in the fiction would seem to reflect their real positions in society. Finally, the efforts of the competent, assertive, ambitious women in the recent fiction to overcome cultural stereotypes and to make decisions based on inner motivation, would seem to conflict with the contemporary cultural attitudes of women as projected in the mass media, which portrays women to be passive, incompetent, frivolous and dependent on men for their self-fulfillment.

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APPENDIX

Summaries of Character Descriptions in Each Story
1890-1920

Author, Story, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job In Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Matthews, "Interview With Miss Marlenpuyk" 1897	Miss Peters- single, lives alone, self- supporting. Writes society news for news- paper and does freelance work	Newspaper work is vulgar, cheap, silly, trivial	Quits job because "modern journalism" is a mean way to make a living
Jordan, "Ruth Herrick's Assignment" 1898	Ruth Herrick- single, young, superior woman, dependable, re- liable, com- passionate ex- hibits "calm- ness of the trained re- porter" Front-page reporter--star reporter	Her editor thought her a very superior woman "with no nerves or nonsense about her" --interviews accused "as a woman speaking to another woman"-- believed in loyalty to her paper--but "After all, you can't depend on a woman in this business."	Remains a reporter at the end of the story, and is committed to her career. Allows her "womanly sympathy" to keep her from writing the story of the woman's confession to poisoning her husband.
Jordan, "Miss VanDyke's Best Story" 1898	Miss VanDyke, 23, single, sympathetic, friendly, hard working, level headed, "usual assortment of journalistic nerves" Newsroom repor- ter	At first male repor- ters thought her too feminine to go into the streets for story; attitudes toward her change when she writes story on vice--she loses respect. "After all, a woman's place is in the home!"	Because she lost the respect of her colleagues (although she did win the approval of her editor), she became depressed. She quit her job to marry.
Jordan, "The Love Affair of Chesterfield, Jr." 1898	Frances Neville, outstanding artist Illustrator		Quits job to marry

1890-1920 (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job In Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Jordan, "At the Close of the Second Day" 1898	Virginia Imboden 25, single, upper class, brave, self-supporting, lives alone. Free-lance magazine writer and newspaper reporter	She is concerned about self-respect, and determined to support herself in a career in journalism, until she marries.	Stays with free-lance work in spite of little success; finally gets job on newspaper.
Jordan, "A Point of Ethics" 1898	Alice Bertram, young, single, competent though not brilliant. Reporter	Women need to be able to support themselves as do men. Women must protect reputations.	She proves to her wealthy father that she is capable as her brothers, but once she proves that, she quits her job.
Jordan, "Mrs. Ogilvie's Local Color" 1898	Mrs. Ogilvie, married, alert, indefatigable, enthusiastic, absolutely reliable, sensitive. Reporter	Her writing lacks "soul" because she fears being "sentimental or mawkish" like other women.	Her husband's accidental death causes her to gain more sensitivity and become a better writer.
London, "Amateur Night" 1906	Edna, 20, single, plucky, courageous, determined to be a reporter and earn her own living, intelligent. Becomes a reporter at the end of story, Feature writer	Need experience to get a job on newspaper, especially if one is a woman, but journalists require certain skills, whether male or female.	She proves ability to be a reporter through ingenuity, perseverance, and skillful writing.

1890-1920 (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job In Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
White, "Society Editor" 1906	single, young industrious & practical, respected by other employ- ees, strong professional pride. Society editor	A somewhat ridiculous figure ("pompadour" is funny to staff). She has contempt for women interests--is admired for her male- like qualities. Story ridicules women repor- ters.	Quits job to search for a husband.
White, "Bolton Girl's Position" 1906	Maybelle Bolton persistent, but wholly incom- petent, single, silly. Works with society	Got her job through influence with right people. Ridicules women.	Portrait of a ridiculous, silly woman. Never wrote a story that could be published. Wrote poetry and romantic literary criticism. Married and quit job.
Beach, "The Iron Trail" 1913	Eliza Appleton single, young, daring, imagina- tive, dedicated to causes, clean- cut, wholesome, boyish, suffra- gist, competent, sense of humor. Writes "domestic" column and fea- tures for news- paper. Muckraker. Also writes for magazines.	Early in story, she is compared to a man to show ability. As story develops she is revealed to be "just a woman"-- feminine desires, and dreams--clearly not compatible with male ambition. Other women in story are "normal" passive, dependent women.	At beginning of story, she is determined to expose corrupt exploi- ters of Alaska frontier, but as story develops, she falls in love with man she was to expose. She marries him at end of story, and quits her reporting work to write a book about her husband.
Noyes, "May Margaret" 1918	Single, en- gaged to a soldier, courageous, sensitive, living alone in London, com- passionate. News reporter	Women reporters not allowed on front line of war. Her sentimen- tal need to visit site of her fiance's death leads to her own death, which proves the wisdom of the War Office's ban against women at the Front.	Story is concerned more with her relationship with her fiance. She dies at end of story. Her boss helps her get to the front--she dresses as a man and uses a phony pass.

1920-1940 (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Sheean, "Violette" 1937	Violette-widow, chic, clever, popular, good at her work, very successful, good looking, not brilliant, but intuitive-involved in career. Political correspondent for French newspaper. Only woman political correspondent in Europe.	Inherited job from husband. Woman's intuition was her key to success. Couldn't go to bars or professional hangouts because of her sex. "Best Woman Correspondent" story praises her high principles-values decency above career. "Your career! It's the only kind of career (journalism) that's sillier than my own (diplomat). We at least try to get something done, all you do is talk about it."	Quits her job to protect her lover's career "that's what they [the newspaper] get for having a woman correspondent."
Bromfield, "McLeod's Folly" 1939	Mrs. McLeod-older widow-sentimental, kind, generous, handsome, honest, shy and foolish, unorganized, unintelligent, over-emotional, muddleheaded, no management ability, compassionate wants to be a crusader. Editor & publisher of newspaper inherited from her husband. She is only woman publisher in town.	She is dedicated to paper because it was her husband's great love. She was "merely a kind of machine intent on carrying on the ideas of J.E." (her husband). She knew she had no power because she was a woman "helpless & feminine". Females are powerless to carry on ideas. Man is needed to rescue paper. Woman needs a man to fulfill her.	Widow tries to continue to publish paper; incompetency causes paper to decline. She is rescued by capable man. Reluctant to expose local politicians. Her niece represents "new feminist" of the time--wants a career, but wants more to be married and "be somebody" with material possessions.

1920-1940 (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within' the Story
Mason, "Diamonds" 1932	Minnie O'Rielly "sob sister" courageous, com- petent, curious dedicated, com- passionate. Front-page reporter.	Women understand one another and are more sensitive to persons' feeling. Women, in general, can't be re- porters, but she proved herself through hard work.	She passes up "scoop of her career"--one she had waited a long time to get--to protect a young woman's happiness. Her editor goes along with her decision because she traded the story for promise of currup politician to leave town.
Porter, <u>Pale House,</u> <u>Pale Rider</u> 1939	Miranda, 24, earns \$18 a week, barely enough to eat on and pay rent, sensitive, contemplative, intelligent, compassionate. Was a news re- porter, but becomes theater critic.	"routine female job" features, society reporter, and theater critics. She is con- sidered to be a fool for passing up a story.	She agreed not to write a scandal that would cause unhappiness to a young woman and is "demoted" to a lesser job. Her re- lationship with young man important to story, but her examination of inner self more important.

1940-1945

Gellhorn,
"Portrait of
a Lady"
1941

Mrs. Maynard,
married, very
beautiful, very
rich, vain, sel-
fish, totally
professional,
ambitious,
competent,
thoughtful,
intelligent,
famous &
successful,
passionate.
Was correspondent
in Finland just
after Russian
invasion on
front lines.

"Mannish" profession-
alism allows her pro-
fessional success but
prevents her personal
happiness. Her joy
in success & opportu-
nity is self-conscious.
Element of fantasy is
her "flawless perfec-
tion" cool profession-
alism, but irrational,
unexplained behavior.

Despite great professional
success, she pursues hand-
some Finnish aviator who
rejects her. His death,
partly caused by her,
devastates her: her loss
is total.

1940-1945 (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Messick, <u>Brenda Starr</u> <u>Girl Reporter</u> 1943	Brenda Starr single, young, beautiful, courageous, curious, has "quick" mind, self-confident, impulsive, ambitious, fearless, alert, energetic, temper. Front-page news- paper reporter.	Fantasy adventure	Believes in her duty to follow orders, get a good story in spite of peril and hardship or denial of her own love interests. Remains a reporter, especially involved in mystery and adventures.

1945 To The Present

Blake, "So I'm Not Lady Chatterly" 1965	Dolly, young, single, lives with parents, sensitive, competent. Reporter for UP Boston, later becomes reporter in New York.	Women (and young men) facing uncertain futures because of war (WWII); concerned with career; family worried she won't ever marry.	Story most concerned with her search for her identity, "Who she is?"
Armstrong, "From Out of the Garden" 1969	Maude Seton, 28, single, aggressive, cynical, ambitious, determined to get story, cold, unrelen- ting, competent. Newsroom reporter.	She is committed to career in journalism and determined never to marry. No man could order her around. Not liked because she is too aggressive and is unconcerned about others' opinions of her. Clearly regarded to be unnatural because she is not enough like a woman: aggressive unfeminine, messy housekeeper, not compassionate, not in search of love, "willful."	Her refusal to cover up story she researched caused a person's death and her own job and career.

1945 To The Present (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Lawrence, <u>Walks of Life</u> 1968	Narrator, married, no children. Competent, professional, careful re- porter. Feature writer	"All departments are headed by men, of course, but there are at least four girls on the City staff, six or seven in Society, and 'too damn many,' to quote a gentleman of the old school, in Features." Men make the decisions because "there are more men, they have a majority, and they get more money." Women are something of an innovation in newspaper world..."	The protagonist is the narrator of the story, who, in an ironic style, describes the employees and the day-to-day events of a newspaper. She discusses and questions prevalent stereotypes and attitudes about and positions assigned to women journalists.
Elish, <u>No Jobs on Mars</u> 1970	Single, compe- tent, principled dedicated to journalism, courageous. News reporter.	Sex is not a factor in profession; men and women are journalists.	She inspires colleague on the "Mars" beat to cooperate with her to report on government corruption.
Just, <u>"Nora"</u> 1973	Nora, single, young, cheerful, competent, impul- sive, intelligent, self-confident, perceptive, attractive, compassionate, inquisitive. English, foreign correspondent in Washington, D.C. Works for London daily.	Career is important to a woman. Sex seems to have no bearing on professional competence.	Nora chooses her career over marriage, after careful consideration. She knows marriage will destroy her career as well as the career of the man who asked her to marry.

1945 To The Present (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
Allingham, "Tis Not Here- after" 1973	Narrator, young, she describes herself to be stolid, un- complaining, ugly, over- energetic, gregarious. Her actions reveal her to be courageous, competent, compassionate, and curious. News reporter.	She learns that jour- nalism is not the "elegant mixture of the diplomatic service and theatrical critic- ism" she had been taught to suppose. Believes it is her duty to go and bring back the story. She gets depressed at the prospect of a false lead. "It's the woman who always feels things most."	Good description of reporter investigating a lead and developing the story. Narrator is the protagonist.
O'Hara, "All I've Tried to Be" 1973	Miss Lapham, single, young, competent, compassionate & sensitive. News reporter.	Reporters--women & men--must be sensitive, intelligent, and compassionate.	Reporter on an interview
Gould, <u>Final Analysis</u> 1974	Narrator, divorced, competent, but lacks self- esteem, feels inadequate, inferior, ugly. Copy editor & writer on woman's magazine, editor.	Considers her real work to be writing, but society considers her work to be cleaning house. "When I'm not making something with my word kit, I am prostrate with guilt and cleaners. Am I atonning for not writing? Or for having tried to be a writer when I was put on this earth to clean?"	Woman in search of iden- tity, attempting to reconcile her career with cultural attitudes and her own need for love and male relationship, combines career with marriage. Narrator is protagonist.

1945 To The Present (cont.)

Author, Original Publishing Date	Character & Description Given - Job in Journalism	Attitudes Expressed	Function of the Character Within the Story
[Illegible] and "Diving" 1975	Single, Editorial assistant on fashion magazine.	For all persons--men or women--"Life is a constant performance in the face of all kinds or risk, every day you take chances, you perform, you walk out on the diving board and complete the dive. That's life".	Woman in search of meaning of life "Whether anything can be known about life. Anything permanent."
[Illegible], <u>Anna Hastings</u> 1977	Anna Hastings, intelligent, determined, ruthless, insatiable drive for power, charm- ing, well stacked, good reporter and facile writer. Begins as repor- ter and becomes owner and publi- sher of media conglomerate.	Women are now capable, but they use their sex and beauty to get what they want--"typical of her type and class... she'll go places...that kind always does." Male reporters can't compete with women who can use their sex for success. "Anna's a better man than both of you (males)...and tougher..."	Portrays the modern, ruth- less "bitch" who moves from AP reporter to publisher. She marries a wealthy senator for his money to buy her a newspaper. She becomes most success- ful woman newspaper publisher in Washington, but is unhappy at end of story because of her failure to be a good mother and wife.

NOTES

² See Marion Marzoff, Up From the Footnote (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1977) and Iahball Ross, Ladies of the Press (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1936).

Milton Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," American Journal of Sociology, 59 (1954), 423-436. An examination of some of the viewpoints and theoretical assumptions of literature, which in most theories imply that literature reflects and influences society, and is a vehicle for social control of society.

³ Mary P. Ryan, Womanhood in America From Colonial Times to the Present (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), 107-109.

⁴ Robert Riegel, American Women--A Story of Social Changes (Cranberry, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, Inc. 1970), pp. 154-174

⁵ Ross, Ladies of the Press, pp. 14-73.

⁶ Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963), p. 30.

⁷ Helen Franzwa, "Female Roles in Woman's Magazine Fiction, 1940-1970" in Woman: Dependent or Independent Variable ed. by R. K. Unger and F. L. Denmark, (New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1975). Helen Franzwa, "Working Women in Fact and Fiction," Journal of Communication, 24 (2): 104-9.

⁸ Gaye Tuchman, et. al., eds., Hearth and Home (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁹ Joanna Russ, "What Can a Heroine Do? or Why Women Can't Write," in Images of Women in Fiction, ed. by Susan Koppelman Cornillon (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972), pp. 3-20.

¹⁰ Susan Cornillon, "The Fiction of Fiction," in Images of Women in Fiction, pp. 113-13

¹¹ Judith Fetterley, The Resisting Reader (Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1978), pp. xii-xiii.

¹² Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, You're a Brick, Angela! (London: Victor Gollanca LTD., 1976) p. 304.

- 13 Kathlyn Fritz and Natalie Hevener, "An Unsuitable job for a Woman: Female Occasionists in the Detective Novel," International Journal of Women's Studies, March to April, 1979): 105-28.
- 14 Mary Roth Walsh, "Images of Women Doctors in Popular Fiction: A Comparison of 19th and 20th Centuries," Journal of American Culture. 1 (Summer, 1978): 276-84.
- 15 Ryan, Womanhood in America, pp. 197, 225-233. Riegel, American Women, pp. 240-267.
- 16 Banner, Women in Modern America--A Brief History (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974), p. 20.
- 17 Riegel, American Women, p. 278.
- 18 Ibid., 21-26. Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, pp. 21-33.
- 19 Elizabeth G. Jordan, "A Romance of the City Room," Tales of the City Room (New York: Scribners Sons, 1898), p. 121.
- 20 Elizabeth G. Jordan, "Miss Van Dyke's Best Story," Tales of the City Room, p. 231.
- 21 Jordan, "Ruth Herrick's Assignment," Tales of the City Room, p. 29.
- 22 Jordan, "Miss Van Dyke's Best Story," p. 231.
- 23 William Allen White, "Society Editor," In Our Town (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1906), p. 38.
- 24 Mary Ellman, Thinking About Women (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc. 1968). Ellman offers a comprehensive discussion of the stereotypes of women. Of particular relevance to the stereotypes revealed in the fiction of women journalists are the qualities consistent in stereotypes that associate woman with nature and man with art and that attempt to move women in two directions away from a premised, though indefinable, human center. Opinions of woman reflect two impulses away from some central premise; that is, every feminine virtue implies a feminine vice, for example chastity and frigidity, intuition and irrationality, or in the case of the woman journalist, better than female--like male--and less than feminine. The directions of the movements involve at least two fixed moral judgements: woman unfortunately are women whose ideal condition is attained by rising above themselves, reaching toward the male; men attain their ideal condition by their becoming and remaining men. See also: Viola Klein, "The Stereotype of Femininity," in Woman: Dependent or Independent Variable, ed., by R. K. Unger and F. L. Denmark (New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1975).

- ²⁵ Jordan, "Ruth Herrick's Assignment," in Tales of the City Room, p. 4.
- ²⁶ Max Ellingwood Beach, The Iron Trail (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1913) p. 100.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 93.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 157.
- ²⁹ William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp. 25-36, 89-111.
- ³⁰ Ryan, Womanhood in America, p. 276.
- ³¹ Banner, Women in Modern America, p. 143.
- ³² Ibid., p. 259.
- ³³ Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, pp. 50-52.
- ³⁴ Katherine Anne Porter, Pale Horse, Pale Rider (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939) p. 254.
- ³⁵ Ibid., pp. 179-264.
- ³⁶ Vincent Sheean, "Violetta," Pieces of a Fan (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1937), pp. 241-268.
- ³⁷ Grace Mason, "Diamonds," Women are Queer, (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 240-266.
- ³⁸ Louis Bromfield, "McLeod's Folly," It Takes All Kinds (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1939) pp. 1-223.
- ³⁹ Ibid., p. 43.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 203.
- ⁴¹ Chafe, The American Woman, pp. 135-150.
- ⁴² Ryan, Womanhood in America, pp. 317-319.
- ⁴³ Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 69.

- 44 Cadogan and Craig, You're a Brick, Angela!, p. 304.
- 45 Dale Messick, Brenda Starr, Girl Reporter (Racine, Wisconsin: Whitman Publishing 1943), p. 55.
- 46 Martha Ellis Gellhorn, "Portrait of a Lady," Heart of Another (New York: Bear's Sons, 1941) pp. 50-122.
- 47 Ibid., p. 70.
- Ibid., p. 121.
- 49 Ibid., p. 56.
- Ryan, Womanhood in America, pp. 333-352.
- 51 Banner, Woman in Modern America, p. 224.
- 52 Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 92.
- 53 Louis Gould, Final Analysis (New York: Random House, 1974)
- 54 Ward S. Just, "Nora," The Congressman Who Loved Flaubert and Other Washington Stories (Boston: Little Brown, 1973).
- 55 Charlotte Armstrong, "From Out of the Garden," in Ellery Queen's Murder Menu (New York: World Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 45-65.
- 56 Thomas Zynda, "The Hollywood Version: Movie Portrayals of the Press," Journalism History. 6:1 (Spring 1979): 17-25, 32. Zynda describes the image of the journalist as it changed from the 1930s through the 1950s. In the '30s, the journalist was street wise, would do anything for a story, including fabricating the news, and sought power; in the '40s he was romantic, serious and a solid middle-class citizen, cared little for the public, was interested primarily in advancing his career; in the '50s the reporter was cynical, obnoxious, egocentric, not concerned with professional ethics, public or truth, and saw the press as the means to personal success. Zynda says the stereotype applies to the woman journalist in these films as well. "Indeed, the films about the press made in the 1930s and 1940s are virtually the only American movies before the late 1960s in which women are shown as capable individuals on equal terms with men." Films of the 1950s and early 1960s tend to depict women in secondary roles.
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