Introduction

In the beginning of William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*, twenty-year-old Quentin Compson wonders why the elderly Rosa Coldfield selected him as her partner in the excavation of the Sutpen and Coldfield family histories. There were other family members whom she could have chosen as her confidant and others for whom the names Thomas Sutpen and Ellen Coldfield would have had immediate resonance. "Why tell me about it?" the puzzled Quentin asks his father. "Ah," Mr. Compson replies, "Years ago we in the South made our women into ladies. Then the war came and made the ladies into ghosts. So what else can we do, being gentlemen, but listen to them being ghosts?"[1]

Since the 1980s, an explosion of interest in southern women's history has helped to turn Mr. Compson's "ghosts" into real, flesh-and-blood historical actors. Scores of biographies and monographs as well as edited volumes of women's writings have shed considerable light on the intellectual lives of women, particularly the wealthy mistresses of the plantation.[2] Through such

[1] William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (Vintage International ed., New York, 1990), 7–8.

[2] Building on earlier works such as Julia Cherry Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, 1938) and Anne Firor Scott's *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics* (Chicago, 1970), historians in the last two decades, and especially within the last few years, have produced numerous valuable studies of southern women. See Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York, 1982); Suzanne Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York, 1984); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1988); Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle* (New York, 1994); Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, 1997); Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1998); Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 2002); Giselle Roberts, *The Confederate Belle* (Columbia, 2003); Christine Jacobson Carter, *Southern Single Blessedness: Unmarried Women in the Urban South, 1800–1865* (Urbana, 2006); Anya Jabour, *Scarlet's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 2007); Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 2007); and Victoria E. Ott, *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age During the Civil War* (Carbondale, 2008). Recent collected letters

analyses, historians have found a lively literary culture in the region, a culture to which women contributed significantly.

The full story of women and the mind of the South, however, has yet to be told, for much of the work on southern women and literature has focused on novel writing and novel reading. Understandably, scholars have turned to novels as the key to understanding women's intellectual life; after all, southerners constantly debated the merits of and problems with reading book-length fiction. Many southern men and women appreciated novel reading as an innocuous pursuit of pleasure and relaxation; others treated the fantasy world of fiction as a dangerous diversion from the sobriety of real life and accused novelists of corrupting young (particularly female) minds. Recent work on southern intellectual history more broadly has reinforced the focus on the roles that novels played in the life of the mind for women. Beginning with Nina Baym's landmark study *Woman's Fiction* (1978), scholars have turned to novels to gain insight into contemporary thinking about gender roles.[3] More recently, scholars such as Drew Faust and Elizabeth Moss have illuminated the careers of important female southern novelists such as Caroline Lee Hentz and Augusta Jane Evans.[4]

This book seeks to shift the scholarly focus away from novels and novelists and toward the incredibly rich, diverse, and fascinating world of white and black women's work in journalism. Historian Catherine Kerrison has recently called for an intellectual history of southern women that is broad enough to encompass the diversity of women's reading and interests.[5] A relatively unexplored source of information on southern culture, magazines and newspapers published in the southern states provide a fuller, more comprehensive perspective on women and southern literary culture. Because novels were often

and reprinted works by southern women include Giselle Roberts, ed., *The Correspondence of Sarah Morgan and Francis Warrington Dawson* (Athens, 2004); Terrell Armistead Crow and Mary Moulton Barden, eds., *Live Your Own Life: The Family Papers of Mary Bayard Clarke, 1854–1886* (Columbia, 2003); Augusta Jane Evans, *Beulah*, edited by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (Baton Rouge, 1992) and *Macaria, or, Altars of Sacrifice*, edited by Drew Gilpin Faust (Baton Rouge, 1992); Joan E. Cashion, ed., *Our Common Affairs: Texts from Women in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1996); Richard Lounsbury, ed., *Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters* (Charlottesville, 1996) and *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (Charlottesville, 1995).

[3] Nina Baym, *Woman's Fiction: Popular Novels by and about Women, 1820–1870* (Ithaca, 1978). Michael O'Brien's *Conjectures of Order* (Chapel Hill, 2004), the most important work on the mind of the South written in more than half a century, is a remarkably wide-ranging work that addresses important southern female thinkers such as Louisa McCord, the arch defender of the South and slavery whose essays appeared in regional magazines, and Mary Boykin Chesnut, the insightful observer of southern society. On McCord, see especially pp. 274–84 and 714–18; on O'Brien's superb analysis of Chesnut's importance to understanding southern intellectual culture, see pp. 1185–98.

[4] Elizabeth Moss, *Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture* (Baton Rouge, 1992).

[5] Catherine Kerrison, *Claiming the Pen: Women and Intellectual Life in the Early American South* (Ithaca, 2006), 1–33.

serialized in periodicals first, longer works of fiction are encompassed in the pages of periodicals. An examination of magazines provides a more complete picture of southern intellectual life because journals also included short stories, translations, poems, essays, editorials, advice, and critical reviews. As Mildred Lewis Rutherford, a Georgia native, wrote around the turn of the twentieth century, "When we realize that the press of the day sets the standard for literature more than books, and that we are influenced more by its opinion than by any one power, it behooves us to inquire into the character of the papers and magazines we read and have in our homes."[6] As Rutherford knew well, the numbers of magazines specifically designed for women increased dramatically after 1820 and expanded throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Despite contemporaries' recognition of their importance, remarkably most of the hundreds of magazines published in the nineteenth-century South remain largely unexamined by modern historians and literary scholars.

That such neglect should be the rule is surprising given the richness of the content of southern literary periodicals. Compared to novels, the content that made up most of the pages of southern literary magazines was on the whole more freewheeling, more open to questioning received traditions, and broader in the range of topics discussed. This is not to say that southern periodicals were bastions of radicalism. On the contrary, periodical contents – especially those magazines aimed at white readers – reflected the values and customs of the southern society in which they were published. However, more commonly than in longer works of fiction, women felt at liberty in magazines to espouse their thoughts on a wide variety of issues. Such periodicals were by their nature more democratic than novels. Rather than the work of one author, magazines were usually a compilation of many different authors, some famous and others obscure. Southern magazines show just how widespread periodical writing and reading was in the nineteenth century; literally thousands of names of subscribers and contributors, some of them appearing just once, are recorded in print, testimony to a rich and diverse literary culture.

Magazines were of central importance to the literary culture of the South because the region lacked the publishing centers that could produce large numbers of books.[7] Published weekly, monthly, or quarterly, periodicals gained popularity in the opening decades of the nineteenth century because of their accessibility. Easily portable, newspapers and magazines could be sent through the increasingly sophisticated postal system for relatively low subscription rates. Modeled after prominent northern and European journals like *Graham's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*, southern periodicals

[6] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *The South in History and Literature* (Athens, 1906), 817.

[7] For an overview of the history of periodicals in the South to 1935, see Jay B. Hubbell's "Southern Magazines" in *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1935) edited by William T. Couch. See also Frank Luther Mott's seminal multi-volume work, *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1850*, especially volume 2 (Cambridge, 1966). See also Michael Winship, *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Business of Ticknor and Fields* (Cambridge, UK, 1995).

combined poetry, short stories, and book reviews with essays on various topics. In addition, many southern periodicals provided religious news and were often affiliated with a particular faith. As Amy Beth Aronson has argued, by the antebellum period many magazines for women "had achieved the first form of best-seller status, reaching audiences across state lines, reaping consistent profits for their owners, making names for their writers and editors, and gaining substantial notice from the press and the general public."[8] Relatively affordable, with subscription rates ranging from one dollar to five dollars per year, periodicals were within the reach of the emerging middle class in both the North and South and thus spread quickly throughout the young nation. In addition, the compact size, which varied between a few pages and one hundred pages or more, rendered journals easily sent to large towns and rural areas alike. Indeed, as the postal records left behind indicate, magazines published in New York found their way into the smallest southern and western towns, and editors and authors could obtain national reputations shaped almost exclusively by their contributions to the popular and widely read magazines of the day.[9] Although it is true that some women shunned celebrity and used pen names to hide their identity, it is often mistakenly assumed that southern female authors universally veered from the public eye or wrote primarily for private consumption. As Mary Kelley argues in *Learning to Stand and Speak*, young white women had ample opportunity to demonstrate intellectual vigor in the public eye.[10] Research on women journalists bolsters this claim, proving that female authors harbored ambitions that drove them to seek lasting careers and even fame. They understood clearly that the short fiction and novels they penned, and the periodicals they edited, would endure far beyond their own lifetimes.[11]

One should not exaggerate the openness of southern literary culture; magazines and newspapers were limited to those who were educated, literate, and to those who had the disposable income to devote to subscriptions. Women from African American or laboring white families were less likely to obtain an education, less likely to be literate, and so less likely to become literary consumers. However, a broadening of southern literary culture can be attributed

[8] Amy Beth Aronson, *Taking Liberties: Early American Women's Magazines and their Readers* (Westport, 2002), 2. See also Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana, 2008) and Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (London, 1989).

[9] Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA, 1995). Numerous studies have underscored the great extent to which periodicals were sent to subscribers through the postal system, particularly after 1820. See Jonathan Daniel Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800–1861* (Chapel Hill, 2004), 42–57, and Amy M. Thomas, "Who Makes the Text? The Production and Use of Literature in Antebellum America," (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1992).

[10] Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill, 2006).

[11] Anne E. Boyd, *Writing for Immortality: Women and the Emergence of High Literary Culture in America* (Baltimore, 2004).

to the emergence of a middle class in the early nineteenth-century South. Recently scholars have come to appreciate the importance of the professional and commercial middle class in the region. Considerable scholarly attention has been and continues to be directed at the planter class, but researchers are also beginning to examine the culture of middle-class doctors, merchants, teachers, lawyers, and editors. The emerging middle class in the nineteenth century provided a new and important readership for magazines, and the increase in the number of publications after 1820 coincides with the similarly rapid expansion of this new literate and enterprising southern middle class.[12] Middle-class women were central to the expansion of southern intellectual and literary culture as editors, contributors, and subscribers.

Whereas readership was largely limited to the upper and middle classes, whiteness also circumscribed southern periodical culture, at least in the antebellum era. Early nineteenth-century southern periodicals were almost exclusively limited to a white readership; and throughout the pre-Civil War South and in the immediate postbellum era, white women were in a much better position to make literary contributions as writers and editors. If, as Faulkner suggests, white women remain mere apparitions, then black women writers in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century South are even more phantom-like. We have learned a great deal from important studies by scholars such as Valerie Smith, Frances Smith Foster, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Dickson Bruce, and others; and Oxford University Press' series reprinting many key works by African American women authors of the late 1800s and early 1900s represents a seminal contribution to our understanding of southern writers of color.[13] Aside from the important work of Ida B. Wells, however, we still know little about the contributions of black women editors and journalists in the late nineteenth-century South. The antebellum period was much more open to the participation of white rather than black women in the literary and intellectual culture of the region, and thus these women dominate the first part of the book. But even in the pre-Civil War years, one can point to important contributions made by African American women such as Hannah Crafts (which may have been a pen name for Jane Johnson) and Harriet Jacobs.

There were a few African American journals published in the antebellum North but none that we know of in the South until the Civil War. In the Old South, African Americans usually appeared in the pages of magazines only as the subjects of political discussions over slavery. There are rare exceptions to this rule, such as the publication of two poems by the North Carolina slave

[12] On the southern middle class, see Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, Jennifer R. Green, *Military Education and the Emerging Middle Class in the Old South* (Cambridge, 2008), and Frank J. Byrne, *Becoming Bourgeois: Merchant Culture in the South, 1820–1865* (Lexington, KY, 2006).

[13] See, for example, Valerie Smith, *Self-Discovery and Authority in Afro-American Narrative* (Cambridge, 1987); Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *The Origins of African American Literature, 1680–1865* (Charlottesville, 2001); Frances Smith Foster, *Written by Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1746–1892* (Bloomington, 1993).

George Moses Horton in the pages of Richmond's *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1841. As literary subjects, slave women are almost totally absent in such journals. Emancipation, however, gradually opened an entirely new world of journalism to former slaves. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, journalism became for black women a path to self-expression, expanded rights, and public prominence, just as it had for white southern women. Aided by a new phalanx of black women editors and writers, a wide range of periodicals for African American readers persisted in the late nineteenth-century South. Penelope Bullock found that nearly a hundred African American journals were launched between 1838 and 1909, many of which originated in the South.[14] Magazines and newspapers associated with religious denominations, literary clubs, temperance reform, and other groups were vital forums for the black community. As Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has argued, for women periodicals "affirmed their bond with one another, informed readers of their goals and periodic meetings, and featured news of general interest to their sex."[15]

Historians have enhanced our understanding of emancipation by analyzing the South's transition to free labor after the war. According to Tera Hunter, African American women in the decades after slavery's end moved to cities like Atlanta in pursuit of work that allowed them to enjoy freedom. Unfortunately, racism funneled these women into domestic service. Despite limited occupational opportunities, and the continued subjugation of rural blacks in the form of sharecropping and tenant farming, there were also victories as Hunter highlights women's quest for independence.[16] Such quests were to pay dividends. In the late 1800s, black readers, writers, and editors began to create a flourishing periodical culture that grew in size and importance by the turn of the twentieth century. After the first periodicals aimed at a black readership were published sporadically in the 1860s, magazines and newspapers became a vital part of African American life in the 1870s and 1880s. In fact, the growth of the black periodical press in the late 1800s and early 1900s should be seen as part of an emerging black middle-class culture, just as periodicals were vital to the rise of the white southern middle class in the early period. African American teachers, clergy, businessmen, and professionals subscribed to the new magazines, and black women pioneers helped to shape this black middle class as editors and writers. Thus, the expansion of the region's literary culture was a gradual process, beginning first with the journalistic efforts of white women in the antebellum years and culminating in the early twentieth century with the vigorous work of southern black women.

Early white feminists failed to see the crucial importance of joining their African American sisters in the fight for gender equality. Because of rigid

[14] Penelope L. Bullock, *The Afro-American Periodical Press, 1838–1909* (Baton Rouge, 1981), 2.
[15] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, 1993), 76.
[16] Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1997).

segregation, white and black women journalists and writers seemingly inhabited two separate worlds, rarely communicating or even acknowledging one another. The historian of southern journalism searches largely in vain for evidence of cross-racial collaboration or even cross-racial dialogue. As historians of the southern women's movement have shown, segregation posed substantial barriers to racial and gender justice. Black women writers and editors contributed much that was powerful, heartfelt, and potentially quite useful in the push for gender equality. White women generally refused to acknowledge these contributions. Using the hindsight of the historian, however, the writings of black and white women reveal a common purpose: to prove, through literary endeavors, that women could compete intellectually with men. It was this goal, this effort to convince readers of their talents, that drove women authors, journalists, and editors to make the case for the intellectual equality that would become the basis for calls for greater political equality.

Even in the colonial period, a few women could be found serving as newspaper or magazine editors. Perhaps the first southern woman to head a newspaper was Charleston's Elizabeth Timothy. Born in Holland, Timothy moved to Philadelphia in 1731 and then to Charleston in 1734 where Elizabeth and her newspaperman husband, Louis, founded the *South Carolina Gazette*. Louis was killed tragically at the end of 1738, and Elizabeth elected to continue the biweekly paper until 1746. Soon after she took control of the paper, Timothy stated that she "hoped to make the paper as entertaining and correct as may be reasonably expected.... I flatter myself that persons who assisted my Husband will be kindly pleased to continue their favours to his poor afflicted widow and six small children."[17] In 1746, she passed on the editorial duties to her son Peter, and later her daughter-in-law edited the paper as well.[18] Timothy was not alone; other colonial women in the South edited papers as well, though their numbers never grew beyond a handful.[19]

Although women editors existed before 1800, the antebellum era witnessed unprecedented numbers of white women who actively participated in the

[17] Timothy quoted in Marjorie Barlow, ed., *Notes on Woman Printers in Colonial American and the United States, 1639–1975* (Charlottesville, 1976), 66.

[18] Barlow, *Notes on Woman Printers*, 66–7; John Clyde Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (New York, 1937), 182–3; Elizabeth Williams Anthony Dexter, *Career Women of America, 1776–1840* (Francetown, NH, 1950), 102; Edward T. James, *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (Cambridge, 1971), 465–6; Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639–1820* (Metuchen, NJ, 1978), 131–63. Elizabeth Timothy also ran a store in Charleston that sold books and stationery.

[19] Mary Wilkenson Crouch edited the *Charleston Gazette* between 1778 and 1780. Barlow, *Notes on Woman Printers*, 65–6. Anne Catherine Green edited the *Maryland Gazette* from 1767 to 1772, Mary Katherine Goddard of Maryland edited the *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser* during the Revolution, and Phoebe Herbert ran the *Washington Spy* from 1795 to 1797. Barlow, *Notes on Woman Printers*, 30–2; Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, 184–5; Dexter, *Career Women of America*, 102–4; Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers*, 602–8.

South's literary culture as writers and readers. The importance of women as a market of literary consumers rose with the proliferation of female educational institutions. As the antebellum cause of female education became the battle cry of the southern orator and author alike, and southerners backed up the rhetoric with greater numbers of women's schools, the market for women's periodicals grew in proportion. The development of educational opportunities for women before the Civil War, motivated initially by conservative attachments to women's domestic duties, opened up the literary culture of the Old South to which women contributed significantly as students, authors, and editors.[20]

Southerners established literary magazines for women for many different reasons. Some began in conjunction with a female college or to spread the word of a particular religion. Others were inaugurated to promote the cause of an independent southern literature, while still others became a forum for women's creative talents. In addition to the open nature of periodicals that encouraged women contributors, women also filled roles as editors. About a dozen southern women edited their own periodicals before the Civil War, and many more did so in the late nineteenth century. Although few women would have called themselves "journalists" before the war, the late nineteenth century witnessed the evolution of the title until by the 1870s and 1880s women not only referred to themselves with the professional appellation of "journalist," but they also formed professional press associations. Thus, by examining female writers and editors over the course of the 1800s, we see the growing acceptance of women first as literary consumers, then as contributors, followed by roles as associate or assistant editors to male publishers, then as chief editors of newspapers and magazines themselves. Of course, this evolution was hardly a linear one; in some ways white women editors like Mary Chase Barney, Anne Newport Royall, and Rebecca Hicks, all of whom edited magazines in the early nineteenth-century South, were the boldest editors of the entire century. Slavery and racism prevented black women from becoming journalists and editors in the South until after the war, but they quickly became active in writing for and editing periodicals beginning in the 1870s. So despite the different paths black and white women took to journalism over the course of the nineteenth century, and despite the uneven and nonlinear progression of white women in becoming members of the press, the broader advance of women from literary consumers to literary producers is clear.

In embarking on careers in journalism, southern women were pushing against traditional boundaries. Whatever the impetus, these periodicals became important avenues for female self-expression. As Amy Beth Aronson points out, "The early women's magazines made available to all women theoretically – but to some influential women realistically – the opportunity to break through a gender-imposed silence in the public sphere."[21] As

[20] Mary Kelley, "Reading Women/Women Reading: The Making of Learned Women in Antebellum America," *Journal of American History* 83 (September 1996), 401–24.
[21] Aronson, *Taking Liberties*, 12.

editors, contributors, correspondents, and reporters in the nineteenth century, women were entering traditionally male bastions. Particularly in the late 1700s and early 1800s, the periodical business was characterized often by rough political maneuvering, with newspapers and magazines publishing wildly partisan accusations against political opponents even as they also offered readers news, poems, and short stories. Joseph Dennie's *Portfolio*, for example, leveled a constant barrage of attacks against Republicans in support of the Federalist cause in the early 1800s.[22] Thus, when women engaged in the world of periodical publishing, they were stepping into an arena that had been almost the exclusive province of men since the first magazines and newspapers were printed.

At the same time, however, journalism for women was often an outgrowth of their careers as authors, and here women were apt to encounter less resistance. From the earliest days of the colonial period, but especially in the early republic, women were recognized for their talents in poetry and prose. Women writers were widely accepted, praised, and promoted in the early nineteenth century, and writers such as Connecticut's Lydia Huntley Sigourney were universally welcomed in the pages of both northern and southern magazines. Women, in fact, were believed to be well-suited to careers as authors because they were thought to be more attuned to their emotions, and the ability to convey feelings through literature was an asset in the Romantic Age. As historian Joan E. Cashin has argued, white women's "culture fostered high expectations about expressing feelings in private relationships."[23] According to prevailing gender ideology, emotional effusiveness facilitated the writing of poetry. Many of the late nineteenth-century black and white women journalists began their careers earlier in the century as poets and authors of short fiction. The acceptance of women writers in the Old South was an important foundation for their later acceptance as members of the press.

Still, the process was a gradual one. Not until the late nineteenth century did women begin to form press associations and to think of themselves as professional journalists.[24] What may be most surprising to the modern observer is the significant level of acceptance, encouragement, and even admiration that southern women journalists experienced. Although the odd curmudgeon opposed to career women could be found in both the North and South, there were remarkably few complaints against women contributors or editors before or after the Civil War in the South. "There should not be any essential functional disparity between the journalist male and the journalist female," maintained

[22] William C. Dowling, *Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and The Portfolio, 1801–1812* (Columbia, 1999).

[23] Joan E. Cashin, ed., *Our Common Affairs: Texts from Women in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1996), 18.

[24] For a useful discussion of journalism and women in the British context, see Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge, 2003), ch. 3.

E. A. Bennett at the end of the 1800s.[25] Bennett added that "women journalists as a body have faults.... But I deny that these faults are natural.... They are due not to sex, but to the subtle, far-reaching effects of early training."[26] One should not proclaim that the nineteenth-century South was more open to transcending traditional boundaries than it in fact was. But neither should its differences with the North in the same time period be exaggerated. Southern women, like their northern counterparts, expressed in public and private their desires to venture beyond traditional roles in every decade from the 1820s through the 1890s. Particularly after the women's exposition at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, southern women considered themselves as members of the press on a par with men.

Women became journalists, editors, and authors through careful planning or by happenstance, and the wide-ranging characteristics of female members of the press is one of the findings of this study. As we shall see, many southern women, particularly in the antebellum era, found themselves heading up a newspaper or magazine after the death of their journalist husbands. Widows had children to support and felt pressed, often against their own judgment and despite significant feelings of inadequacy, to take over for their husbands. For other women editors and journalists, careers were the result of careful planning and working their way up from contributors to periodicals to perhaps heading up a literary department to the uppermost step of taking on a role as editor. This latter path was more common in the later nineteenth century, for by the 1880s educated women were beginning to see journalism as a respected professional pursuit in which learning, reading, and literary talents could combine to make a woman suited to a career.

"Editorship as a Profession for Women," a late nineteenth-century essay by Margaret Sangster, a newspaper journalist known on both sides of the Atlantic, provides some insight into how women prepared themselves for careers in journalism. In encouraging young women to consider journalism as a profession, Sangster grouped journalism together with other middle-class pursuits open to "the woman of good family and liberal education."[27] "A wife," Sangster noted, "often supplements the family purse by her own exertions, and is honored in doing so. Women are doctors, ministers, lawyers, college presidents, and journalists." In addition to female members of the press who served as reporters, literary contributors, and correspondents, women editors were growing in number and prominence in the late 1800s, and Sangster focused on encouraging more young women to enter the field. She was careful to warn her readers that a career in editing was not to be taken lightly but instead entailed numerous hardships: "Editorship presents a most inviting opportunity to the woman who dares to undertake its duties and fulfill its arduous

[25] E. A. Bennett, *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (London, 1898), 9.
[26] *Ibid.*, 11.
[27] Margaret Elizabeth Sangster, "Editorship as a Profession for Women," *Forum* (December 1895), 446.