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Outside the Prickly Nest: Revisiting Doris Fleischman

By Margot Opdycke Lamme

Historians have learned much in the past decade about Doris E. Fleischman and her partnership in marriage and in public relations with Edward L. Bernays, and they have tended to agree that despite Bernays's high profile, Fleischman was indispensable to the success of the Bernays firm. This study expands on that research by examining Fleischman's work in the context of public relations ideas and principles. Relying on primary sources that included four speeches that had not been discussed heretofore, it was found that although there was duplication between her and Bernays's work, there were also evident shifts in Fleischman's thinking about public relations, including a sense that she was as much of a public relations pioneer as Bernays was, without, perhaps, his drive for self-promotion.

As Doris Fleischman Bernays sat outside her Cambridge house in the "utopian" weather of what would be her last spring, she thought about David Brinkley, Eddie, Social Security, gender discrepancies in public relations salaries, pain, pain relief, and the American hostages in Iran.[1]

That her thoughts would return to Eddie (Edward L. Bernays) reflected a partnership that had begun more than half a century earlier, first in 1919, when Fleischman went to work for Bernays, and then in 1922, when she married him and became his partner in the firm Edward L. Bernays, Counsel

Margot Lamme is an assistant professor in the Department of Advertising & Public Relations, College of Communication & Information Sciences at the University of Alabama
Box 870172
Tuscaloosa, AL 35487
(205) 348-5628
lamme@apr.ua.edu

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on Public Relations. That her thoughts spanned the media, society, women, public policy, public relations, and personal insights reflected the "broad culture" that Fleischman brought to the work of the firm.[2]

There is still much to know about Fleischman's role in that work. This is due in part to Bernays's self-described determination to make his name synonymous with public relations.[3] But it is also due to Fleischman's emphasis in her own published works on public relations as a good career choice for women. That is, rather than write about how public relations worked—Bernays's domain—she tended to write about public relations as a means to an end.[4] Nevertheless, with help from Bernays himself and from his and Fleischman's daughters, Doris Bernays Held and Anne Bernays Kaplan, historians have sought to learn more about her contributions to the firm and to the field.

In *Unseen Power*, his oft-cited profiles of modern public relations pioneers, the late Scott M. Cutlip credited Fleischman with providing Bernays "breadth of view, sound common sense, clear writing, and stability."[5] Like Cutlip, Bernays biographer Larry Tye observed that Fleischman's "most valuable contribution to the practice [the Bernays firm] was in the brilliant way she compensated for Eddie's shortcomings," imposing organization, sizing up clients, and toning down "his lofty, and often exaggerated, rhetoric."[6] Historian Susan Henry also found Fleischman to have been a constructive albeit complementary force to Bernays and revealed much about the dynamics of Fleischman's partnership with Bernays—both in marriage and in public relations.[7] She found that as the Bernays firm prospered and grew, its mission and what Bernays and Fleischman saw as the role of public relations counsel shifted from publicity to relationships, strategy, and, as Bernays wrote in 1923, "interpreting the public to his client and in helping to interpret his client to the public."[8] Henry's research also revealed projects that were distinctly Fleischman's, but those have not been examined within a public relations framework, such as that provided by the key concepts suggested by the firm's shift: relationships, strategy, and two-way communication. Thus, because historians and Bernays have concluded that Fleischman was indispensable to the success of the firm, her own contributions to modern public relations—her ideas and strategies for effective practice—should be better understood.

Public relations historian Karen Miller Russell argued that understanding women who worked in "mainstream public relations" can help set the bar for other women who sought a career in the

field, thereby "systematically reconstructing the role of women in the history of formal public relations in the United States."[9] To learn more about Fleischman's work, then, not only is to gain additional insight into her contributions to her and Bernays's firm, but to add to the larger picture of contributions of women to public relations history. This is especially important for a field that consists of seventy to eighty percent women.[10]

Although it is more common now to find Fleischman—and others—included in ever expanding views of public relations history, she is often portrayed as a kind of sidebar to Bernays. This is in contrast to, for example, Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, two other public relations pioneers who were partners in marriage and in business and who are often presented as a team. Thus, this study also seeks to show that despite the duplication of ideas found in Fleischman's and Bernays's works, her presentation of those ideas, and her eventual ownership of them make it clear that she saw herself as much a part of the evolution of public relations as Bernays.

Most of the primary sources for this study were found in Fleischman's papers in the Schlesinger library and in the Bernays papers in the Library of Congress, which includes *Contact*, the Bernays firm newsletter published from 1922 through the mid-1930s; publicity campaigns Fleischman managed in the early years as well as a research-based program proposal she designed in 1970 but did not implement; and speeches she gave between 1935 and 1972.[11] The archives of Fleischman's alma mater Barnard College were examined as well.

Broad Culture

Born in 1891 in New York, Fleischman graduated from Barnard College in 1913 with an emphasis in English, philosophy, and psychology, and with thoughts of a career in opera or psychiatry.[12] Indeed, according to her transcript, she had a classical liberal arts education: economics, English, French, German, Latin, history, mathematics, philosophy, physical education, physics, and, in lieu of two more hard science classes, psychology. In addition, Fleischman took eight more than the required four English classes—revealing early on her lifelong love of the written word, three more than the two required German classes, and two more each of the required two history and philosophy classes.[13]

But coursework was just part of Fleischman's college experience. According to the college yearbook, *Mortarboard*, she was a

member of a socialist society freshman year; a member of the German Club freshman and sophomore years; a tennis champion for her class and captain of the baseball team junior year; and a member of the Athletic Association, the Varsity Basketball Team, a champion tennis player again for her class in her senior year—as well as a member of the discus hurling team during the class Greek Games in 1913.[14] She was so athletic, in fact, she had assumed she would marry an athlete, yet Bernays, she wrote, avoided walking whenever possible.[15] For someone who embraced writing as she did, though, she was not listed in the *Barnard Bulletin* college newspaper or *The Barnard Bear* literary supplement.[16]

Nevertheless, what is noteworthy about Fleischman's coursework is that it reflected the very kind of education she and Bernays advocated for public relations:

> [The public relations counsel] must have a broad general culture that will enable him to put his mind quickly to the study of new problems of varied types. He must know something of history, the sciences, the arts, politics, finance, psychology. He must have the taste, the judgment, the flexibility, and the broad-mindedness that come from this broad culture.[17]

In fact, in an article written almost fifty years later, Fleischman wrote that of all her writing classes, from elementary school through college, it was Barnard English professor William Tenney Brewster who "unchained us."[18] And she called for "more and better writing courses for everyone to say clearly and exactly what one means, particularly social scientists who think indigestible words are their bread and butter of communication" because, she wrote, improved clarity on their part "might lure people to read books that might help society run more smoothly."[19] Although she roundly condemned her college experience for its apparent lack of connection to current events and real-world issues, Fleischman nevertheless concluded that Barnard "enriched my life. It gave me a reservoir of facts and general cognition that emerges now and then. Under professors James Harvey Robinson and Algernon Tassin I learned to think more broadly than I would have. I can't imagine a life deprived of those four years. Whatever my education lacked, college has been a positive force."[20]

In contrast to Fleischman's college experience, Bernays's coursework during his three years at Cornell as an agriculture ma-

jor included botany, zoology, physics, chemistry, soils, crops, plant breeding and animal husbandry, along with one English, one political science and two German classes.[21] Despite this discrepancy in their educational backgrounds, both would advocate a liberal arts education combined with work experience in newspapers, corporate promotions, or advertising as a firm foundation for a career in public relations.[22] Indeed, upon graduation, Fleishman became a reporter for the woman's page of the *New York Tribune* before joining the firm in 1919.[23] Bernays, however, had been a press agent on Broadway and, in 1918, joined the Committee on Public Information's foreign press bureau in New York.[24]

Their prescription for a sound public relations foundation came to bear early on in Fleischman's involvement in client projects. The Cardiac Committee was one example of an earlier publicity effort and demonstrates Fleischman's skills while serving as a benchmark for the evolution of her and Bernays's approach to public relations.

Publicity

On July 2, 1920, Fleischman agreed to handle publicity for a fund-raising pageant play to be held at two different locations within the following two weeks.[25] On a moment's notice, she dove straight into a flurry of news releases, creating, as promised, a publicity blitz for "The Dream Lady," put on by the Junior League of the Cardiac Committee of the Public Education Association for the Benefit of the Cardiac Children's Fund.[26]

There are copies of at least eighteen different releases in the Bernays manuscript collection with all but two having Fleischman's name on them and with many being three pages long, listing many of the key women involved. Fleischman's media savvy is evident in the ways she positioned the story to meet the needs and interests of key publications and their respective editors. For example, releases to the music editors focused on who wrote the music for the pageant; art editors, on who designed the costumes; society editors, on society leaders involved in the pageant; and, finally, city editors, the releases for whom were prepared for the day after the pageant to announce the amount of money raised.

As a former journalist, Fleischman would have been sensitive to the importance of providing editors with material appropriate to their sections. But as a public relations counselor in progress, Fleischman was employing a strategic concept now considered fundamental to effective public relations: targeting publics. Three years

after this campaign, Bernays wrote, "The public relations counsel must always subdivide the appeal of his subject and present it through the widest possible variety of avenues to the public."[27] He credited social psychologist Leonard Doob with the term, "the segmental approach," which he used to describe this process.[28]

Resulting newspaper coverage of the pageant was enviable, even by today's standards: copies of three different letters from Fleischman to the pageant chair indicated she was enclosing clips from the *New York Times, Evening Mail, New York World, The Evening Telegram, The New York Morning Telegraph, Evening Post, Evening Sun, The News,* and the *Sun-Herald.*[29] Nevertheless, it was Bernays—not Fleischman—to whom the pageant chair complained about the lack of photos that appeared in the papers.[30] Bernays's response indicated that more than twelve photos were run and that, along with the print coverage, the attention the pageant received was "extraordinary" and "out of all proportion to the news value of the events."[31] Still, when the firm next worked with the Junior League, the releases read much like Fleischman's, although Bernays was listed as the contact.[32]

Avoiding conversational chicken salad

Another project determined to be Fleischman's was the development of *Contact,* a client newsletter designed to educate clients and selected publics about public relations and to promote the work of the Bernays firm.[33] She was responsible for conceiving, writing, and designing *Contact,* and Bernays credited the newsletter for putting the firm on the map.[34]

Launched in the early 1920s and published periodically for a number of years, *Contact* was designed in the words of the first issue "not only to give a better understanding of our work, but also to show the increasing emphasis placed upon public relations by leaders in every important phase of American life."[35] The issues were numbered, but not dated, presumably freeing Fleischman from a rigid production schedule while maintaining a form of continuity.[36] The mailing list of 15,000 (subscribers did not have to pay, only to confirm they wished to continue to receive it) ranged from Louisiana Governor Huey P. Long, to Harold Lloyd Productions in Hollywood, to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, to the University of Montana, Missoula.[37] Additionally, the firm tracked comments from subscribers—even those who declined to receive *Contact*—in five bound collections

of correspondence dating from January 4, 1922, to February 12, 1935.[38]

Contact resembled a digest, with excerpts or reprints of articles related to public relations from sources that would have been considered credible and relevant to its readers, such as *The New York Times, Printers' Ink, Editor & Publisher, Harper's,* and *The Wall Street Journal.* And, in the earlier issues, particularly, the newsletter was peppered with quotes from the likes of Oscar Wilde, Marcus Aurelius, and Alexis De Tocqueville. Susan Henry wrote that Fleischman's reporting and editing experience made her a "logical person to do this work," adding that Fleischman's lack of client contact gave her more time to develop this project.[39] However, in delving further into her work from a public relations perspective, *Contact* revealed Fleischman's savvy in her selection of works for inclusion as well as in the bits of public relations wisdom that she often added.

For example, following a story about a linoleum salesman and a woman seeking lining for her bird cage, Fleishman noted, "Know your market. Know your public. Our job is not mopping our brow. It is going after facts. If the public favors bird cages—our linoleum manufacturer must know it. If the public wants industrial welfare, our linoleum manufacturer must give it."[40] Or, in describing how radio bridged news and advertising, she added "the radio is assuming a great importance as a moulder [*sic*] of public opinion."[41] Following a story titled "Dictionary History" by the *New York Evening World's* Glenn Frank on Mark Sullivan's book, *Our Times*, Fleischman reminded readers that words "are ideas and symbols and represent new trends of thoughts and action. The student of public relations must watch changing ideas, whether they are evidenced by laws or by dictionaries."[42] Her conclusion to a story from *Life* magazine on classes in Europe and the United States stated, "He who would appeal to the American public can reach them through all these smooth-worn channels of communication between individuals."[43] An item concerning a 400,000 word speech delivered by Turkish President Mustapha Kemal Pasha prompted Fleischman to reinforce the value of communication technology, a theme she would return to for the next forty or so years: "The mechanics of duplication, perfected by radio, motion picture and newspaper devices, have revolutionized the methods by which people talk to audiences. The political forum, the industrial forum, as well as the arts, reach millions of people with their message where a few years ago they reached hundreds."[44] As it will be shown, though, these ideas about matching messages

to audiences, shaping public opinion, and understanding the importance of symbols and technology also appeared in Bernays's early work, and he and Fleischman reinforced them over time.

What was especially striking about the content of *Contact,* though, was the stream of self-promotion delivered through the more credible tool of third-party endorsements.[45] For example, rather than having the announcement of Bernays's first book, *Crystallizing Public Opinion,* originate with their own firm, Fleischman wrote that the book's publisher and Bernays client, Boni & Liveright, had announced the publication of the book.[46] Rather than publish a story on Bernays's recognition by the French government for work performed, Fleischman reprinted a story from the *New York Herald Tribune* that, in turn, cited a report from the French Embassy concerning Bernays's award.[47] And, rather than directly telling readers that Bernays had been retained for Light's Golden Jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Edison light bulb, Fleischman ran a New York *Evening Post* piece that announced it.[48] Some of these items appeared as a result of a Bernays firm news release, thereby enabling the firm to benefit twofold: first from the media story resulting from the release and then from the clip of that story.[49]

Although Fleischman also ran articles or excerpts of articles by such luminaries of the day as Heywood Broun, H. L. Mencken, Harry Hollingworth, Walter Lippmann, Peter Odegard, and Harold Lasswell, *Contact* increasingly became a vehicle to highlight Bernays's work, often through a third party, but also through the use of quotes from his own growing body of work.[50]

But Fleischman did not shy away from pieces critical of public relations, either. For example, in a reprint of a *New York World* story by W. P. Beazell in which Beazell argued for the "ancient odium of 'press agent,'" Fleischman added, "we contend that a name in itself is not important save that it should truthfully express what it tends to define. Press agent is really a misnomer. The public relations counsel has a field that is far broader than the term 'press' implies and often serves his clients without touching in any way upon the press."[51]

Just as Fleischman promoted Bernays and the work of the firm through third-party sources, she also promoted the field of public relations in a similar way. Although a number of unattributed columns, presumably written by Fleischman, appeared that defined and discussed the purpose and contributions of public relations to business and society, there were also a great number of excerpted pieces from well-known writers and publications that attempted to do the same.[52] The effect was not only to further educate *Contact* readers

about public relations, but to reinforce the value of the work the Bernays firm provided to its clients.

In sum, Fleischman's editorial decisions reflected her understanding of the power of letting others' words stand on their own, of third-party comment. She often did not add to the positive pieces she ran from outside sources, only to those that were negative. By doing so, she increased the firm's credibility by printing what seemed to be a range of ideas, not just those that supported the firm's positions.

Why did *Contact* stop? By the early 1930s, the Depression was in full swing and perhaps interest waned among subscribers as survival became a daily battle. Additionally, in three short years, from 1927 to 1930, Fleishman had published a book chapter, a book, a three-part series for *Ladies Home Journal*, and she had had two babies—all while continuing in her role as Bernays's wife and business partner.[53] As such, perhaps the newsletter became less of a priority, or perhaps with the success of the firm—even in the face of the Depression—the need for *Contact* as a means by which to establish the firm's reputation had served its purpose.[54] In his memoirs, however, Bernays wrote that *Contact* stopped because, simply, "we were too busy at the time to put the necessary effort into it."[55]

Nevertheless, Bernays apparently found *Contact* to be so successful that he tried to revive it in 1945 by proposing to outsource it as a weekly for a one-year trial.[56] It should be informative enough, he wrote, to make the reader feel as if he were "receiving the same kind of advice he may be paying SX,000 a year for to Bernays" and, although the editor would include abstract ideas and concepts, he would need to "translate them into the how-to-do-it or what-todo [*sic*]." Finally, each reader should have a sense of "belonging to a very elect and select circle; . . . further his ego, his interests, and to prove that he knows the reasons why things are happening; also make him a more entertaining salesman, executive, dinner partner. He will not have to rely on conversational chicken salad."[57]

Molding Public Opinion

Another forum in which Fleischman presented her position about public relations directly to the public, and which has not been examined heretofore, can be found in four speeches she delivered to four distinct audiences between 1935 and 1972, with topics ranging from fashion to world peace.[58] The timing of three of the four speeches roughly coincided with published works on similar topics, often penned by Bernays, and while Fleischman did not rely solely

on those sources for her content, her appearances and discussions could have served to build interest in them.

Fleischman's speech to the Fashion Group in New York on October 30, 1935, titled "Public Relations and the Consumer," came six months after Bernays's 1935 article, "Molding Public Opinion," appeared in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.[59] According to a *New York Times* piece the next day, both Bernays and Fleischman spoke to the luncheon group, but it was Fleischman who was quoted in the story.[60]

Unique to the fashion industry, Fleischman began, was the public's attitude of "obedience."[61] The problem, she said, was that women were overwhelmed with choices. The solution, she proposed, was an industry-wide, centralized effort to "tell the consumer exactly what she should wear, and to be pretty certain that the consumer would do it," an effort that would entail detailed planning, all the way from conception to product delivery.[62] This emphasis on thorough planning reflected the principle behind the four-step process of public relations planning that appeared in Fleischman's 1928 chapter on public relations, Bernays's 1935 *Annals* article, his controversial 1928 book *Propaganda*, his 1927 chapter, "Public Relations," and even, in rougher form, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*.[63]

Fleischman recommended forming a "super-control committee" in which members would "agree upon the relative values to be given to fabrics, colors, silhouettes, usages" and then apply "the tools and techniques of propaganda without loss, with fullest efficiency and ultimately with the wholehearted approval of the public and the individual industries."[64] That is, even in centralizing styles and messages, Fleischman argued first for the understanding of the public and its mindset, which was, she said, the desire to obey fashion dictates. This approach reflected Bernays's idea that it was possible to avoid confusion when "society consents to have its choice narrowed to ideas and objects brought to its attention through propaganda of all kinds."[65] By "propaganda," he meant "the mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale," but he defined a propagandist as "public relations counsel," someone who interpreted the public to the client and vice versa.[66]

Human Relations and Communications

Twelve years and one world war later—and eight months after Bernays's 1947 piece appeared in *Annals*—Fleischman delivered a speech during "The Price of Peace" forum held at Christ Church in

New York in October 1947.[67] Much of Fleischman's points can be traced back to previous initiatives credited to Bernays. For example, taking cues from Walter Lippmann's 1922 book *Public Opinion*, Bernays addressed the role of public relations and democracy in 1923 in *Crystallizing Public Opinion* and in a 1940 booklet, *Speak Up for Democracy*.[68]

Another theme in this speech concerned the social sciences. In 1946, a year before the forum, Fleischman, as vice president, and Bernays, as president, established the Edward L. Bernays Foundation to support social science research concerning human relations, often in the form of "seed money" to further "liberal social causes."[69] A 1950 gift to Barnard, for example, was to grow to one million dollars (through other funding sources) so that the College could employ "four full professorships in history, government, economics, and sociology."[70]

Fleischman also called for a governmental public relations effort abroad, a topic that arose in *Contact* and was probably rooted in her and Bernays's experiences abroad.[71]

The two-day forum consisted of twenty-six speakers and was sponsored by a committee of leading women, such as Mrs. J. C. Penney and Mrs. Oswald Garrison Villard, and organizations such as the Federation of Jewish Women's Organization, The Young Women's Christian Association of the City of New York, and the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs. The thirty-two member Forum Committee counted Bernays as one of its members. Fleischman presented her topic, "Human Relations," during the afternoon session of October 2, titled "World Organization."[72]

Fleischman declared that she saw promise in the cultivation of human relations but also recognized the challenges across cultures and nations.[73] She stated early on that the communications industry should take the lead in cultivating human relations in the postwar world and, by doing so, raise the importance of symbols in such communication—ideas that Bernays conveyed in 1923 and in his 1935 and 1947 *Annals* articles.[74] She explained that communication "is the art, or the science, of getting our ideas understood by other people," emphasizing, as Bernays did in 1928, the possibilities that transportation, radio, telephones, and motion pictures created for "carrying[ing] our ideas everywhere."[75]

As such, Fleischman said, communication technology should focus on "the propagation of constructive ideas, words and pictures that create good-will and understanding. What we say is not nearly as good as the machines that tap out our messages. Ignorant, unskill-

ful or vicious expressions shatter human relationships. Intelligent communications can guide us to peace."[76]

Additionally, echoing the mission of the recently established Bernays Foundation, she called for more integration of the work of social scientists in the field of communications to inform the content for these messages so "we can appeal to the common denominators of self-preservation, moral standards and human feelings to bring peoples closer together."[77]

She credited the U.S. Bureau of Cultural Affairs for the work it had done, but noted its limitations due to budget constraints. As such, Americans should support UNESCO, because, she said, if public opinion were driving the "intelligent handling of human relations problems," then "business and professions of communications will take over the duty of furthering world accord. They can get tangible results."[78] Starting with the United States, she said, such a system must have "high professional standards," and "bar those who use the great media to distort facts and thus disrupt human relations."[79] As a result, Fleischman said, America could "help Unesco [*sic*] show the rest of the world how to use communications for good will."[80]

Fourteen years later, when Fleischman spoke to The Radcliffe Club of Boston about public relations on May 9, 1961, she had changed her name to Doris F. Bernays, and her perspectives on public relations reflected some forty-two years of work in the field.[81] Most interesting are her comments on relationships, which are a cornerstone of public relations today.[82] Much of the other material in her address recycled points from other works: the emphasis on social sciences raised in the "The Price of Peace" forum; the "engineering" approach to practicing public relations raised in the Fashion Group and, by this point, also in Bernays's 1947 *Annals* article and his 1955 book, *Engineering of Consent*; and the discussion of public relations as a good career choice for women, reflecting a number of her works in the 1930s and 1940s.[83] Additionally, her brief history of her and Bernays's partnership and her rather abrupt transition late in the speech to a discussion concerning issues surrounding domestic science was a subject she had spent quite a lot of time on in her 1955 book, *A Wife is Many Women*.[84]

It is important to note, too, that the field of public relations had gained a great deal of momentum by this time. In 1956, ninety-two colleges and universities were offering public relations classes; in 1957, there were 3,500 academic journal articles about public relations and 16 countries with professional public relations groups; and in 1958, PRSA had thirty-nine chapters and 2,600 members.[85]

Additionally, Scott Cutlip and Allen Center had already published their second edition of *Effective Public Relations*, a classic text now in its ninth edition. Irwin Ross had recently published *The Image Merchants*, a contemporary examination of public relations that included a chapter on Bernays, and Bernays himself would soon start writing his memoirs.[86] All of this led to more input concerning the language of the field and labels for the public relations process. Indeed, Fleischman informed her audience that public relations was developing "interesting literature on both the theoretical and practical aspects" of the field, and then presented an "eight-point curriculum vita"—an elaboration of the four-step process described earlier in this study and that Cutlip and Center laid out in 1952—that she and Bernays found applicable to "most PR problems."[87]

"Public relations as we see it includes all relationships of an individual or organization with the public it depends on," Fleischman explained.[88] As such, she said, "there is no such thing as private interest," because institutions such as colleges, government, welfare groups, and businesses all have "many publics" and "depend on public approval."[89] Whereas publicity is concerned with telling "the public what it would like the public to know," she said, a public relations counsel does not even provide information to the public until he or she understands the "public's attitude towards the client."[90]

Explaining to the audience that "I shall use the designation 'we' whenever I mean Edward and I," Fleischman said she "had the opportunity of watching him build a new profession, for which we invented the name 'counsel on public relations,' and laid down its principles and practices."[91] Six years earlier, she had given Bernays sole credit for the name "public relations counsel" and for laying "the groundwork for the profession in practice."[92]

In 1970, though, it was Fleischman who applied this relationship approach to a 1970 plan for the Women's City Club of Boston. Well beyond a blueprint for publicity, as the Cardiac Campaign was, the Club plan demonstrated how public relations had become a research-based, strategic management function. As publicity chair, Fleischman sought to recruit and retain new members.[93] Although the report credited "Mrs. Edward L. Bernays" as sole author, a draft of the report contained both Bernays's and Fleischman's edits.[94] Additionally, six months after the report was compiled but before it was presented to the membership, Bernays requested cost estimates from a research firm and then wrote a club member (possibly the president) with suggestions for questions to ask of that firm.[95] Nevertheless, it was Fleischman whom the Club credited.

The plan was based on a 13-page questionnaire distributed to all 832 club members with a prepaid return envelope; results were computer-analyzed at Boston University's School of Public Communication.[96] Thirty-five percent of the membership returned the survey and their responses led Fleischman to recommend that the Club seek to reflect the reality of its assets, rather than of its image; to recruit 200 new members in the next six months; to centralize the media contact function by appointing one person who would use facts only in the Club's releases; and to adopt the segmental approach—targeting publics—in her publicity efforts.[97] She also suggested that this same person should be charged not only with maintaining contact with the media (some "forty-odd" outlets), but also with maintaining open lines of communication among Club officers and the "publicity woman."[98] It was important, she said, to foster "interrelationships of members," to focus on younger members and ways to "meet their social, educational, entertainment, cultural, and other values," and, finally, to "rethink and replan [*sic*]" the Club's purposes, policies, and activities to prepare a "dynamic plan" to ensure the Club's future.[99] However, despite all the data and the recommendations, she resigned in 1971 because, she wrote, "sound public relations" required careful, long-term planning, collecting facts, planning newsworthy events, writing stories and releases, preparing mailings, and budgeting carefully, and there "does not appear to be an understanding of the potential usefulness and value of a sound public relations program."[100]

A year later, in contrast to the Club's apparent rejection of Fleischman's work, Women in Communication honored her, along with UPI's Helen Thomas, author Eudora Welty, Betty Claric of the *Cleveland Press*, and Mary Bates of AVCO Broadcasting, with the organization's 1972 national Headliner Award, for "distinguished service in the field of journalism and communications."[101] The title of her acceptance speech, "Human Progress Through Human Understanding," was close to that of her 1947 presentation at the "Price of Peace" forum, "Human Relations," and in it she touched on by now familiar issues of democracy, public opinion, and careers in public relations. Again, Fleischman reviewed her and Bernays's early efforts in public relations, but rather than credit Bernays with building the foundation, as she had done in her 1955 book and as she had done, in part, in the 1961 Radcliffe Club speech, she now included herself as a full partner in that work:

> We realized that the interplay of public and private interest

had great importance. We analyzed our client's relationship with its public, and interpreted one to the other in a feedback effort. We recommended changes of attitudes and conduct to help clients meet their goals. This was an idea whose time had come.[102]

Fleishman ended her speech by returning to domestic science, a topic she had explored in *A Wife is Many Women* and in the Radcliffe Club, and women, "married or unmarried, who work for a living outside the home and for no salary inside the prickly nest."[103]

Conclusion

It is easier to separate Bernays from Fleischman's ideas about domestic science than it is to separate him from her ideas about modern public relations. Nevertheless, the work presented here illustrated shifts in Fleischman's thinking about public relations: from the publicity campaign for the Cardiac Committee, to her strategic advice and promotional work in *Contact*, to the molding of public opinion in fashion based on an understanding of public sentiment, and, finally, to the importance of relationship building at the local and international levels. The latter is particularly significant, given the emphasis on relationships found in today's public relations.[104]

At first glance, it seemed as if Fleischman's and Bernays's individual contributions to public relations might have split between a mass communication orientation (Bernays) and a more interpersonal one (Fleischman). Yet, both advocated technology as a tool to propagate ideas, to broaden the reach of a message, and both advocated the application of social scientific methods to craft those mass mediated messages more effectively. By the same token, although the Woman's City Club plan proposal emphasized the need to build relationships with younger members, Bernays was found to have been involved in this project even though Fleischman received the credit. Future research could investigate whether or not a stronger case might be made for this distinction between the two.

In unpublished notes for *A Wife is Many Women*, Fleischman wrote, "I am not as dedicated to improving the world through public relations as Eddie is."[105] Tellingly, this line did not make it into the published version of that chapter. Indeed, this study has shown that while Fleischman might not have shared Eddie's sentiments about public relations, ultimately, she saw herself as being as much of a public relations pioneer as Bernays was, without, perhaps, his drive for self-promotion.

Endnotes

[1] Undated journal notes [sheets of lined 8 x 10 note paper]. Fleischman called it a "note book" on 31 March; "The weather utopian . . ." from a note on 6 June. In Part III: File 2, Edward L. Bernays Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [Citation follows format required of collection as indicated in the manuscript index.] Although the year is not provided, many of Fleischman's references pertain to events that would have been current in spring 1980, such as her mention of Carter's failed rescue of American hostages at Entebbe (26 April entry) and presidential candidates John Anderson, Ted Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan (6 June entry). Fleischman died July 10, 1980.

[2] Edward L. Bernays, "Public Relations," in *An Outline of Careers* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), 291; Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations," in *An Outline of Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Achievement* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), 391. Fleischman published under three versions of her name over the course of her life: "Doris E. Fleischman," "Doris E. Fleischman (Bernays)," and "Doris Fleischman Bernays." "Doris E. Fleischman," though, was used for almost two-thirds of her life, so that is the version used here (unless the author citation dictates otherwise).

[3] Susan Henry, "Anonymous in Her Own Name, Public Relations Pioneer Doris E. Fleischman," *Journalism History 23*, no. 2 (1997), 55.

[4] Margot Opdycke Lamme, "Furious Desires and Victorious Careers: Doris E. Fleischman, Counsel on Public Relations and Advocate for Working Women," *American Journalism* 18, no. 3 (2001): 13-33.

[5] Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations: A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 169.

[6] Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998), 125.

[7] Henry, "Anonymous"; Susan Henry, "'There Is Nothing in This Profession . . . That a Woman Cannot Do': Doris E. Fleischman and the Beginnings of Public Relations," *American Journalism*, 16, no. 2 (1999): 85-111; and Susan Henry, "Dissonant Notes of a Retiring Feminist: Doris E. Fleischman's Later Years," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 10 (1998): 1-33.

[8] Henry, "Anonymous," 54; Henry, "There Is Nothing," 100; Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1923), 57.

[9] Karen S. Miller, "Woman, Man, Lady, Horse: Jane Stewart, Public Relations Executive," *Public Relations Review* 23 (1997): 249-69. In a nice twist, the title comes from a speech Stewart delivered at Barnard College, Fleischman's alma mater. See Miller, 250, 263.

[10] From PRSA/IABC Salary Survey 2000, based on 8,000 Public Relations Society of America members, p. 30.

[11] The Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers at the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, contain many of her *Tribune* clips and fiction pieces (many went unpublished or were privately published); her papers, letters, and notes relating to her club activities; and drafts of *A Wife is Many Women*. The papers at the Library of Congress also contain some of these artifacts as well as most of the firm's papers.

[12] D. E. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women*, 168-9. Fleischman's Barnard transcript lists her birth year as 1891 as does the overleaf to her chapter, "Public Relations," in her 1928 book *An Outline of Careers for Women*, and the 1981 *Biographical Dictionary of American Women, 1935-1940*; however, her death certificate lists her birth as

1892 as does the 1980 edition of *Who's Who in American Jewry*. Two versions of a June 1976 one-page profile on Fleischman include two different birth years: "1891" is typed on both, but on one version this has been crossed out and "1892" has been written in. It is likely that 1891 was the correct year, given its inclusion in an official school record and in a book Fleischman edited. See Transcript of Doris Elsa Fleischman, September 1909 through May 1913, Barnard College Office of the Registrar, New York. A copy of Fleischman's death certificate as well as the two profiles can be found in Part III: File 2, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[13] Fleischman transcript, Barnard College. It should be noted that while the registrar's office would release the courses and credit hours, it would not release Fleischman's grades.

[14] *Mortarboard*, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, Barnard College Archives, Barnard College, New York. Because the junior class of each year undertook the publication of the yearbook, the books are dated according to the graduating year of each of those classes. Thus, Fleischman, who entered Barnard in September 1909, was featured as a freshman in the 1911 issue and as a senior in the 1914 issue. Information on the Greek Games was found in the *Barnard College Greek Games Programmes, 1910-1925*, Barnard College Archives, New York. In a 1977 article, Fleischman told a story of her daughter finding Fleischman listed in *Mortarboard* as a member of the socialist society in 1913. An examination of the 1913 *Mortarboard* did not reveal her membership. See Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Plus Ca Change, Plus C'Est La Même Chose," *Phantasm* (September-October 1977). A copy of this article can be found in Part II: File 52, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[15] D. F. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women*, 200.

[16] Fleischman said she had "a nose for news and a steady compulsion to write." See D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," Doris Fleischman Bernays papers, Schlesinger Library, carton 2, file 50. Yet, she reported that "It was Eddie who decided after I was graduated that I must become a newspaper reporter, like my brother Leon, who worked on the New York *World*." In D.F. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women*, 169.

[17] E. L. Bernays, *Outline of Careers*, 291; Fleischman *Outline of Careers for Women*, 391. Fleischman quoted and cited the passage from Bernays's chapter titled "Mental Characteristics Required." See E. L. Bernays, 290-2, Fleischman, 390-2. For more details on Fleischman's chapter on public relations, see Henry, "Anonymous," 57, and Lamme, "Furious Desires," 19-20.

[18] D. F. Bernays, "Plus Ca Change."

[19] Other Fleischman references to social science will be presented later in this study.

[20] D. F. Bernays, "Plus Ca Change." Robinson taught European history; Tassin, English.

[21] Transcript of Edward L. Bernays, 1908-1911, Cornell University, Part II: File 53, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. Bernays told Scott Cutlip that he attended the agriculture school because "my father had been influenced by Theodore Roosevelt's 'back to the land movement' and my mother was a lover of nature . . ." See Cutlip, *Unseen Power*, 161. Entrance subjects listed on Bernay's transcript include one course each in English, Latin, history, algebra and geometry, and two courses in German, which was the native language of Austrian-born Bernays and his family. Bernays was, however, an avid reader of social science. See Henry, "Dissonant Notes," 19.

[22] See E. L. Bernays, *Outline of Careers*, 292-3; Fleischman, *Outline of Careers for Women*, 393.

[23] D. F. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women*, 167-9. Fleischman noted working under

Helen Rogers Reid, whom she described as "a leading influence in the Feminist movement and in the fight for Woman's Suffrage." Reid was a Barnard alumna, as well, graduating in 1903 and joining its Board of Trustees in 1914, the year after Fleischman graduated.

[24] Cutlip, *Unseen Power*, 164. Bernays focused on Latin America.

[25] Doris E. Fleischman, New York, to Mrs. Leonard Schofield, Deal Beach, New Jersey, 2 July 1920, Part I: File 127, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. The pageants were held on 10 July in Dobb's Ferry, New York, and on 17 July in Red Bank, New Jersey. Susan Henry found that "unpaid" projects or nonprofit clients tended to be those for which Fleischman would take the lead. See Henry, "Dissonant Notes," 11, and "There Is Nothing," 99-103.

[26] Pageant program, Part I: File 127, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[27] An example he used concerned a campaign to increase awareness of silk: as fashion (women's clubs), as art (museum goers), as a study in nature (schools), as a commodity (newspapers). Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, 137, 145-6.

[28] In his memoirs, Bernays recalled using this approach in at least two publicity efforts predating the Cardiac Committee: the Diaghlieff Russian Ballet and the Committee on Public Information. See E. L. Bernays, *Biography*, 188-9.

[29] Doris E. Fleischman, New York, to Mrs. Leonard E. Scofield, Deal Beach, New Jersey, 7 July 1920, 8 July 1920, 16 July 1920, Part I: File 127, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[30] Mrs. Leonard Scofield to Mr. Bernays, 31 July 1920. This handwritten note did not include addresses of the sender or recipient.

[31] Edward L. Bernays, New York, to Mrs. Leonard Schofield, Deal Beach, New Jersey, 4 August 1920, Part I: File 127, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[32] These are in the Bernays manuscript collection file labeled "1921." Although some of the materials are not dated, they do indicate that a Junior League pageant, a "Vanity Fair" revue, was planned, as was a 21 December event for the "Mineola Home," where "cardiac children" stayed. A copy of a letter from Fleischman in the same file dated 22 December 1921 congratulated the committee chair on the success of "Vanity Fair." Doris E. Fleischman, New York, to Mrs. Fred Greenebaum, New York, 22 December 1921. All are in Part I: File 127, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[33] E. L. Bernays, *Biography*, 289; Henry, "Anonymous," 53.

[34] E. L. Bernays, *Biography*, 289; Cutlip, *Unseen Power*, 182; Henry, "Anonymous," 53.

[35] Henry, "Anonymous," 53; *Contact*, no. 1, Part III: Box 72, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. [Issues of *Contact* included in this study can be found in the same archival file.] The first four editions of *Contact* featured the masthead, "Edward L. Bernays : J. Mitchel Thorsen, Associates, Counsel on Public Relations." Thorsen was an advertising manager of *Metropolitan Magazine*, then a business manager at *Cosmopolitan*, and he worked with Bernays for about three years. See Tye, *The Father of Spin*. Thorsen is briefly mentioned in E. L. Bernays, *Biography*.

[36] This system, however, makes it difficult to date the issues. In *Unseen Power* (p. 182), Cutlip cited Bernays as saying that *Contact* ran for nineteen years, through 1939, but as it will be shown, Bernays stated in his own memoirs that the firm stopped publishing the newsletter in the early 1930s. *Contact* issue no. 46, however, listed the newsletter as starting in 1922 and cited headlines from an unnamed newspaper dated 10 October 1937.

[37] E. L. Bernays, *Biography*, 289; Part III: Box 71, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[9] Part III: Box 70, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.
[10] Henry, "Anonymous," 53. One example of Fleischman's influential, yet silent, role can be found in the coining of the term "public relations counsel." See, Bernays, *Biography*, 288. In 1955, Fleischman implied, though, that she would attend client meetings unless her gender was an issue or if "suggestions had to be disassociated from gender." Additionally, she said that Bernays's inclination to resent criticism aimed at Fleischman was "unfortunate at a conference table." See D. F. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Women*, 171, 174.
[11] *Contact*, no. 5.
[12] *Contact*, no. 18.
[13] *Contact*, no. 20.
[14] *Contact*, no. 22.
[15] *Contact*, no. 23.
[16] A third-party endorsement is a statement from an unpaid expert that lends legitimacy and credibility to a person, organization, event, idea, product, service, and such. This is not to be confused with the "third-party technique," or "front group," in which a source unknown to the public sponsors a group or effort that is then presented as a grass roots initiative, sometimes referred to under these circumstances as "astroturf." See, for example, Dennis L. Wilcox, Glen T. Cameron, Phillip H. Ault, and Warren K. Agee, *Public Relations: Strategies and Tactics*, 7th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 72, 226, 355-7.
[17] *Contact*, no. 4.
[18] *Contact*, no. 10.
[19] *Contact*, no. 39.
[20] This tactic is still used today, as evidenced by copies of clips used in some media kits for promotional purposes. See, for example, Doug Newsom and Jim Haynes, *Public Relations Writing, Form & Style*, 7th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2005), 303.
[21] See *Contact*, nos. 28, 36, 25, 10, 22, 32, and 26, respectively. Mencken's work is featured in an issue titled *Supplement to Contact*, possibly to no. 42, but that is not clear. Hollingworth was a psychology professor at Columbia University and one of Fleischman's professors when she attended Barnard College.
[22] *Supplement to Contact*, (possibly to no. 42, but it is not clear).
[23] See, for example, *Contact*, nos. 9, 10, 14, 21, and 32.
[24] Doris E. Fleischman, "Concerning Women" in *An Outline of Careers*, ed. Edward L. Bernays, 423-431 (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927); Fleischman, *Outline of Careers for Women*; Doris E. Fleischman, "Women in Business," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1930, 16; Doris E. Fleischman, "Women in Business," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1930, 24; Doris E. Fleischman, "Jobs for Women," *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1930, 26. Doris Fleischman Bernays was born on 8 April 1929 and Anne Fleischman Bernays was born on 14 September 1930.
[25] By 1931, Fleischman and Bernays already were making "more than $60,000" a year. Tye, *Father of Spin*, 237.
[26] E. L. Bernays, *Biography*, 290.
[27] Edward L. Bernays to Mr. Vernon Pope, 3 April 1945, no location; Part I: Box 17, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.
[28] Bernays to Pope, 3 April 1945. It is possible that Bernays sought to revive *Contact* to establish it as another expert source to the field. This was the same year when West Coast American Council on Public Relations founder Rex Harlow launched *Public Relations Journal*, which later became the association magazine for the Public

Relations Society of America, formed from the merger of the Council and the East Coast National Association of Public Relations Counsel in 1947. Additionally, a year earlier, another husband-and-wife public relations team, Glenn Griswold and Denny Griswold, founded what would become a long-running and well-respected industry trade, *Public Relations News*. See Rex Harlow, "A Timeline of Public Relations," *Public Relations Review* 6 (Fall 1980), 6.

[58] Bibliographer Keith Larson found that Fleischman had four published speeches. See Keith A. Larson, *Public Relations, the Edward L. Bernayses and the American Scene: A Bibliography* (Westwood, MA: F. W. Faxon Company, 1978), 691-2. Two of them, the Fashion Group (1935) and the Christ Church Forum (1947), were printed by the Bernays firm. See "Reprint of a talk given before The Fashion Group by Doris E. Fleischman" and a letter from Bernays to the Christ Church Forum chairwoman, in which Bernays responded to her request for copies of Fleischman's speech by sending "new reprints" of the speech "which we have just made." Edward L. Bernays, New York, New York, to Octavia [Mrs. Joseph E.] Goodbar, Portland, Maine, 5 November 1947. Both can be found in Part I, Box 476, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. A third, for the Headliner Award in 1972, was published by the Boston chapter of Women in Communication and can be found in Part II, Box 52, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. The fourth, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (1941), was not found, but it concerned the "qualifications, training and salaries of the public relations profession." See Larson, *Bibliography*, 692. See also, Fleischman, *Outline of Careers for Women*; Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations – A New Field for Women," *Independent Woman*, February, 1931, 59; and Doris E. Fleischman, "Keys to a Public Relations Career," *Independent Woman*, November, 1941, 332.

[59] Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations and the Consumer," Part I: Box 476, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress (this is a carbon copy of the typewritten version of the speech); Edward L. Bernays, "Molding Public Opinion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 179 (May 1935): 82-7 [Issue is titled "Pressure Groups and Propaganda"].

[60] "Style Curbs are Urged," *New York Times*, 31 October 1935, 15.

[61] Fleischman, "Public Relations and the Consumer," 1.

[62] Fleischman, "Public Relations and the Consumer," 2.

[63] Fleischman, *Outline of Careers for Women*, 387-9; E. L. Bernays, "Molding Public Opinion," 85-7; Edward L. Bernays, *Propaganda* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1928), 39-44; E. L. Bernays, *Outline of Careers*, 287-8; and E. L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, 53-7. Cutlip contended that by publishing *Propaganda* in the wake of the Samuel Insull utility scandal and the post-war disillusionment with propaganda as a tool of "public deception," Bernays set off "alarm bells among political, academic, and religious observers." Cutlip also cited Bernays's article, "Engineering of Consent" as being published in 1935 (it was published in *Annals* in 1947) and discussed issues surrounding its title and the later book of the same title. See Cutlip, *Unseen Power*, 182-7. Bernays outlined four steps in his 1935 *Annals* article: "formulation of objectives," "analysis of public attitude," "study of analysis," and "use of media." These ideas are similar to the four-step process of effective public relations planning today (research, planning, communication, evaluation). See, for example, John E. Marston, *The Nature of Public Relations* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963); Wilcox, Cameron, Ault, and Agee, *Public Relations*; and Scott M. Cutlip, Allen H. Center, and Glen M. Broom, *Effective Public Relations*, 8th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 2000).

[64] Fleischman, "Public Relations and the Consumer," 6.
[65] E. L. Bernays, *Propaganda,* 11.
[66] E. L. Bernays, *Propaganda,* 20, 37.
[67] Edward L. Bernays, "The Engineering of Consent," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 250 (March 1947): 113-20. [Issue titled "Communication and Social Action."]
[68] Edward L. Bernays, *Speak Up for Democracy; What You Can Do, A Practical Plan of Action for Every American Citizen* (New York: Viking Press, 1940).
[69] Henry, "Dissonant Notes," in which she cited Fleischman's daughter and Foundation director Doris Bernays Held (p. 18) and discussed other initiatives sponsored by the Foundation.
[70] "Endowment for Barnard," *New York Times,* 20 November 1950, 32. Given that Barnard's sister school Columbia University had a journalism program under way, such an endowment reinforced the value Bernays and Fleischman placed on liberal arts education. Daughter Anne Bernays graduated from Barnard in 1952 after some time at Wellesley.
[71] See, for example, *Contact,* no. 13 (which called for a "U.S. Department of Public Relations" to work with foreign governments in promoting one another), no. 33 (which announced that the Paris embassy was to receive a "press agent" at the request of American correspondents there), and no. 34 (which challenged the idea of a publicity position versus "official bureaus of public information in foreign countries"). In addition to Bernays's presence at the Paris Peace Talks, he and Fleischman traveled to Paris, and then Fleischman traveled alone to Paris and Austria (to visit Bernays's uncle, Sigmund Freud) in their early years together.
[72] The other three sessions were titled, "Elements of Fair Play," "Due Regard for Vital Interests," and "Making America a Worthy Example." Bernays reprinted Fleischman's speech and offered to do the same for one of her co-panelists who represented the F.B.I., writing that "as a technique in public opinion I think it would be well for the F.B.I. to have copies of this printed and distributed to those social action groups who could act upon some of your good suggestions," but the agent declined. Edward L. Bernays, New York, New York, to Edward Scheidt, New York, 16 October 1947, Part I: Box 476, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.
[73] Doris E. Fleischman, "Human Relations," 1, Part I: Box 476, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. The speech cited in this study is the typed version found in the archives. Handwritten at the top is the title "Human Relations Aspects," along with the word "Final," although there are three points in the introduction that indicate a name, a number, and one fact-check were still required.
[74] E. L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion,* 173, "Molding Public Opinion," 84, and "Engineering of Consent," 120.
[75] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 2; E. L. Bernays, *Propaganda,* 12.
[76] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 3.
[77] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 4.
[78] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 4. William Benton, co-founder of the Benton & Bowles advertising agency, had just stepped down as assistant secretary of public affairs two days before Fleischman's speech. He was credited with building the Voice of America and served as a U.S. senator (from Connecticut) and as the U.S. ambassador to UNESCO. UNESCO was founded in November 1945 and the first general conference was held a year later, eleven months before the "Price of Peace" forum.
[79] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 6. These arguments were in line with Bernays's call for public relations licensing as early as 1945. Cutlip, *Unseen Power,* 218-9.

[80] Fleischman, "Human Relations," 7-8.

[81] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," Doris Fleischman Bernays papers, Schlesinger Library, carton 2, file 50. This was not listed among Larson's four published speeches, but it is included here because it not only bridges the years between 1947 and 1972, but it occurred at the outset of a significant time in Fleischman's work and home life. The version in the Schlesinger collection appears to be the original, and Fleischman's name ("Doris F. Bernays") and the words, "Speech at Radcliffe College," are handwritten at the top. A carbon copy of this speech, along with the date it was given, can be found in Part I: Box 476, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. She and Bernays would move to Cambridge later the same year.

[82]See, for example, Mary Ann Ferguson, *Building Theory in Public Relations: Interorganizational Relationships as a Public Relations Paradigm* (paper presented to the Public Relations Division, Association for Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention, Gainesville, Fla., August 1984), and John A. Ledingham, and Stephen D. Bruning, ed., *Public Relations as Relationship Management* (Mahwah, N. J.: Erlbaum, 2000).

[83] E. L. Bernays, "Engineering of Consent"; Doris Fleischman Bernays, and Howard Walden Cutler, "Themes and Symbols," in *The Engineering of Consent*, 3d ed., ed. Edward L. Bernays, 138-155 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955).

[84] See also, Doris E. Fleischman, "You Can't Get Good Help...." *McCall's Magazine*, September 1946, 2.

[85] Scott M. Cutlip, and Allen H. Center, *Effective Public Relations*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1958), 427-9.

[86] E. L. Bernays, *Biography*; Cutlip, and Center, *Effective Public Relations*, 2nd ed; Scott M. Cutlip, Allen H. Center, and Glen H. Broom, *Effective Public Relations*, 9th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005); Irwin Ross, *The Image Makers: The Fabulous World of Public Relations* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1959).

[87] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," 22-3; Scott M. Cutlip, and Allen H. Center, *Effective Public Relations: Pathways to Public Favor* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1952).

[88] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," 3.

[89] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," 3.

[90] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," 4.

[91] D. F. Bernays, "Speech at Radcliffe Club," 10.

[92] D. F. Bernays, *A Wife is Many Woman*, 176.

[93] Technically, Fleischman was accepted into the Club's membership. See Dorothy Bartol, Boston, Mass., to Mrs. Edward L. Bernays, Cambridge, 14 March 1966, Part III: File 37, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[94] Report draft, Part III: File 37, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress;

[95] Edward L. Bernays, Cambridge, Mass., to "Patricia" [no location], 23 November 1970; Edward L. Bernays to Mr. C. M. Seidenburg, Boston, 6 November 1970; and Henry, "There Is Nothing," 87.

[96] "The Women's City Club of Boston: A Research Study of Its Members' Attitudes Toward Their Club, June 1970," Part II: File 52, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. There are two versions of the study in this file: one presents an introduction, research objectives, methods, procedures, highlights from the findings, and implications; the other is a statistical breakdown of the responses. Henry reported that Bernays received an honorary doctorate from the school in 1966. See "Dissonant Notes," 12.

[97] In the Club report, Fleischman explained the segmental approach in terms of media: "For example, an Italian evening might go to the Italian newspapers, to business sections if the Consul talks on business affairs and to the travel editor if he talks about tram travel." See "The Chairman of the Public Relations Committee, Mrs. Edward L. Bernays [*sic*] presents the following recommendations for organizing public relations and publicity activities," Box III: File 37, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. (Another copy can be found in Part II: File 52.) This document is undated, but it seems to be the report made to the Club on 20 January 1971, which a Mrs. Brown presented for Fleischman. See "Executive Committee Meeting," 20 January 1971, Part III: File 37, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. Fleischman also refers to the report in her letter of resignation. See Doris F. Bernays, Cambridge, Mass., to Mrs. Aisner, 18 February 1971, Part II: File 52, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress.

[98] "Chairman of the Public Relations Committee" recommendations.

[99] "Women's City Club Research Study," 18-19.

[100] Doris F. Bernays, Cambridge, Mass., to Mrs. Aisner, 18 February 1971, Part II: File 52, Bernays Papers, Library of Congress. In this letter, Fleischman said there had been no response to her report during the prior month's meeting, 20 January, and that she understood discussion would be postponed for another month.

[101] Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Human Progress Through Human Understanding," address at the Theta Sigma Phi, National Organization for Women in Journalism and Communications, Houston, Texas, 7 October 1972. A pre-printed note from Martha Wood, president of the Boston Chapter, accompanies the reprinted copy in Fleischman's files, Box 2, File 52, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library. The pamphlet-sized reprint does not have page numbers, but there are eight panels including the title page.

[102] D. F. Bernays, "Human Progress."

[103] D. F. Bernays, "Human Progress."

[104] See, for example, Lynne M. Sallot, Lisa J. Lyon, Carolina Acosta-Alzuru, and Karyn Ogata Jones, "From Aardvark to Zebra: A New Millennium Analysis of Theory Development in Public Relations Academic Journals," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 15, no. 1 (2003): 27-90.

[105] Unpublished notes on *A Wife is Many Women*, "Double Your Partner" chapter, carton 1, file 32, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.