The Newspaper, Neighborhood Perception, and the Steel City: The Historical Impact of Community on Professional Sports as Reflected and Portrayed in the Local Press

A Senior Honor Thesis

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by

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How did it come to this? I thought to myself.

Just weeks ago, the Pennsylvania Gaming Control Board awarded Pittsburgh’s sole casino license to Don Barden, a wealthy Detroit businessman, and PITG Gaming. Excellent news for Barden, bad news for the Pittsburgh Penguins, my favorite hockey team and the city’s single point of pride during a tumultuous sports decade of the 1990s. Majestic Star, the casino chain to be operated by Barden and PITG Gaming, is set to open in 2008 adjacent to the picturesque, state-of-the-art homes of the Pirates and the Steelers, PNC Park and Heinz Field, respectively, both of which opened in 2001. Meanwhile, just across Roberto Clemente Bridge, down Grant Street, and resting at 66 Mario Lemieux Place, is decrepit Mellon Arena, home to the Penguins. The Igloo, as it is affectionately known by Pittsburghers and hockey fans alike, was built in 1961 and is now the National Hockey League’s oldest arena.

For years, Penguins’ majority owner Mario Lemieux lobbied unsuccessfully with the city’s local government for a new arena. In the late 1990s, the team was in dire financial straits, which climaxed when the team filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in 1998. Lemieux—who the team drafted in 1984, captained them during its back-to-back Stanley Cup Championships in 1991 and 1992, and overcame Hodgkin’s disease before retiring in 1997 at the age of thirty-one—bought the team and blocked a potential relocation to another city. After his purchase, he began his campaign for a new multi-purpose arena the Penguins could call home. He maintained Mellon Arena was too small and lacked the luxury suites many of the new arenas had. As a result of their outdated facility, the Penguins struggled to compete in the league, as a low player
payroll and escalating rent fees hindered any attempt to become financially profitable.\textsuperscript{6} Pittsburgh simply could not contend as well as cities with new arenas that were backed by corporate investment. Without a new arena, the Penguins’ financial instability would force them to relocate to a city better equipped to support the team. The lack of an arena comparable to those of other NHL clubs left both the city of Pittsburgh and its hockey team unable to compete with other cities, and also made the Penguins a weak challenger to other Pittsburgh sports with newer facilities. One of the most significant shortcomings in Mellon Arena was the absence of luxury boxes, premium seating rented or purchased at high prices by corporations, that represent a large portion of income.\textsuperscript{7} Unable to increase monetary resources from Mellon Arena, the Penguins did not have the same monetary resources to attract high-priced stars, thus hurting the team’s reputation and ability to compete on the ice.

When Pennsylvanians voted in favor of five slots casino licenses, the opportunity to build a new arena to replace Mellon Arena became realistic. Isle of Capri, a casino chain that began in 1992 in Biloxi, Mississippi, partnered with the Penguins in its campaign for the license, which would be awarded in December 2006 to the candidate best meeting the city’s interest, as judged by the Pennsylvania Gaming Control Board (PGCB).\textsuperscript{8} The PGCB recognized the need for a new arena and insisted that each candidate develop a plan to fund the construction of a new arena, thus ensuring the Penguins’ long-term tenancy.\textsuperscript{9} Isle of Capri, in cooperation with the Penguins, made the most ambitious proposal, including a $290 million commitment of private funds to build Pittsburgh’s newest asset, a year-round, multi-purpose entertainment venue to be built on the footprint of the dilapidated Mellon Arena.\textsuperscript{10} In the months after the initial proposal was made public, the team and its fans began a heavily publicized campaign that included rallies team officials and local leaders attended.\textsuperscript{11}
Days before Christmas 2006, the stage was set. Over 36,000 signatures had been delivered to the PGCB to represent the fans’ support of Isle of Capri.\textsuperscript{12} Back in October, the Pittsburgh Gaming Task Force, a group that included businesspersons, religious leaders, and university officials, rated Isle of Capri “The strongest plan for Pittsburgh.”\textsuperscript{13} In anticipation of the Isle of Capri’s success, Lemieux stated matter-of-factly, “I have never heard of a government turning down 290 million dollars in private money to build a public facility. It’s unheard of.”\textsuperscript{14} So, on December 21, 2006, when the Pennsylvania Gaming Control Board awarded Pittsburgh’s sole slots license to Barden and PITG Gaming, the news had different significance to different people.\textsuperscript{15} National Hockey League (NHL) commissioner Gary Bettman issued the following quote: “The decision by the Gaming Commission was terrible news for the Penguins, their fans and the NHL. The future of this franchise in Pittsburgh is uncertain and the Penguins now will have to explore all other options, including possible relocation. The NHL will support the Penguins in their endeavors.”\textsuperscript{16} Meanwhile, Brenda Tinnen, the general manager of Kansas City’s new 18,000 seat Sprint Center, set to open in fall 2007 without a primary tenant, said, “Let’s just say it’s beginning to look a lot like Christmas.”\textsuperscript{17}

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When Lemieux bought the team and brought them out of bankruptcy, one of his objectives—agreed and promised upon by the local government—was to have a new arena built when the team’s lease expired with Mellon Arena. When PNC Park and Heinz Field were built, I was sure a brand new, state-of-the-art arena complex would soon follow. The Pirates’ last winning season was in 1992, which, coincidentally, was when the Penguins were wrapping up their second consecutive Stanley Cup Championship. The Steelers, while seeing more success in the regular season, hadn’t won a Super Bowl since 1979 (in fact, the same year the Pirates won
their last World Series). PNC Park and Heinz Field replaced Three Rivers Stadium, a dual-purpose stadium that the teams had shared since its opening in 1970. I couldn’t believe the Penguins—my Penguins—could not gather support for a new facility despite having an older venue, coupled with the most successful seasons of the 1990s; that must have been the reason why I so vividly remembered the illustration by sports cartoonist Ted Crow of the “proposed new homes” of the three teams that appeared in the *Post-Gazette* in 1998. In the cartoon, the Steelers and Pirates each had beautiful new palaces; meanwhile, the “proposed new home of the Penguins” featured a penguin holding a hockey stick standing on a street corner, apparently hitchhiking his way out of town (see appendix).

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How did it come to this? I thought to myself. How could a symbol of my childhood, a team led by my boyhood idol, the reason my family fell in love with hockey, the drive behind all of those pick-up games of roller hockey at the parking lot of St. George Catholic church, my motive for playing ice hockey in high school, and one of the most significant influences for my decision to study sport and pursue a career in the field, just pack up and leave town? And even worse, how could the city of Pittsburgh let them? I decided to undertake this project to help me understand just one factor that might contribute to how a city—including its politics, press, citizens, and economical structure—becomes connected to its cultural symbols (in this case, its professional sports teams). In this study, I will examine the historical impact of different sports on their communities, as reflected in the local press. Perhaps in this investigation, I will be able to better understand to what extent the press links a city to its sport. In doing so, I hope to uncover how the city of Pittsburgh’s connection with its hockey team became severed, causing the collapse of my beloved Penguins.
Introduction

A city’s newspaper is a valuable medium through which individuals of different races, neighborhoods, socioeconomic statuses, and educational backgrounds are connected. Studying a newspaper provides individuals outside the city with a better understanding of what makes up the community. A daily paper reflects the overall ideology and collective voice of the individuals who make up the city, including its citizens, work force, and political groups. As Funkhouser concludes after a study comparing the frequency of news articles to popular attitudes, “Media coverage and public opinion are strongly related.”\(^1\)\(^8\) The press is part of the city’s identity; the articles and editorials found in the city newspaper describe the current events, issues, and controversies of the community. As a result, the study of historical newspaper references provides researchers with a better knowledge of a city’s identity—including the collective beliefs and attitudes of its community.\(^1\)\(^9\)

One of the favorite sections of any city paper is its sports page. A newspaper’s coverage of athletic teams and events reflects the community’s attitude toward and passion for local and national sport. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (urban population: 325,337\(^2\)\(^0\)) is a city with a strong commitment to its athletic teams, but unlike other sports towns such as Green Bay, Wisconsin, it maintains a level of economic independence from its sports. The city has one prominent newspaper which has covered its sports happenings throughout the city’s history. With three of the four major professional sports, Pittsburgh is home to the Steelers (football), Pirates (baseball), and Penguins (hockey), as well as the University of Pittsburgh Panthers. Additionally, the city houses the corporate headquarters of such Fortune 500 companies as the H. J. Heinz Company, Mellon Financial, and U.S. Steel.\(^2\)\(^1\) Despite a steady decline in urban
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population since 1950, the surrounding suburbs have grown significantly, and Pittsburgh’s professional sports’ following remains strong.22

The respective expansions of the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Pittsburgh Penguins received distinctive responses in the local press. Despite professional football’s greater popularity than ice hockey’s in the United States today, the Post-Gazette did not fail to accord the Penguins equivalent press space in anticipation of their arrival in the NHL; in fact, the hockey team received more coverage in 1965-6 than the Steelers did in the years leading up to their 1933 debut. As evidenced by the frequency of articles, the language of editorials, and the overall appearance of coverage in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the Pittsburgh Steelers received relatively little fanfare when it was announced they would join the National Football League in 1933; contrarily, the Pittsburgh Penguins’ entrance into the National Hockey League received much notice.

As will be demonstrated below, a number of factors contributed to the variance in newspaper coverage received by the Steelers and the Penguins. First, competition between different sports, teams, and leagues existed for prominent placement on the sports page. Second, the reputation and popularity of each league affected how newsworthy each team was. For one team, the timing of its prospective adoption into the city’s culture was detrimental, as stark competition and the uncertainty of its own league hindered its growth; for the other, the timing was much more ideal. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the successes and failures of the teams influenced both the city and the press’ interest. Despite the popularity of the National Football League and the Pittsburgh Steelers today, the Steelers’ expansion was viewed as insignificant and uneventful. Contrarily, the arrival of the Pittsburgh Penguins received much more coverage, reflecting both the newspaper’s attempt to balance reporting between the city’s
sports as well as a higher level of excitement among Pittsburgh citizens surrounding the new team. Nevertheless, initial excitement—or the lack thereof—does not accurately predict the popularity of each team today. Competition, league reputation, and team success are the three fundamental reasons behind the disparate coverage of the Steelers and Penguins’ expansion seasons in the \textit{Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.}

The \textit{Pittsburgh Post-Gazette}

The \textit{Pittsburgh Post-Gazette} was first published on July 29, 1786 as the \textit{Pittsburgh Gazette}. The paper, established by John Scull and Joseph Hall, was the first paper to be published to the west of the Allegheny Mountains. Over the next two hundred years, Pittsburgh grew from a small outpost to a booming metropolis; meanwhile, the \textit{Post-Gazette} emerged as the city’s definitive daily newspaper. Today, the \textit{Post-Gazette} has a circulation of 243,000 daily and 424,000 Sunday editions. It remains the most popular and most recognized newspaper in the city, and sees itself playing the important role described above: “We are as much a part of life in Pittsburgh as the rivers that run through it. And like them, we reflect the people, places and promise of one of America's great cities.”

\textbf{Pittsburgh Steelers}

The Pittsburgh Steelers joined the National Football League in 1933 under the ownership of eventual Hall of Famer and Pittsburgh native, Arthur Rooney, Sr. Nicknamed “Chief,” Rooney was born in nearby Coulterville and graduated from Duquesne University. In 1933, he paid $2,500 for the team’s entrance into the National Football League. Despite not having a winning season until 1942, Rooney paved the way for what became the city’s most recognizable team. A common practice of the time, the team was originally named the Pirates to match its city’s popular baseball team mascot. In 1933, for example, the Pirates played games against both
the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Cincinnati Reds, both of which used the same team name as their cities’ baseball team. In 1940, the team name was changed to the Steelers, a reflection of the city’s deep ties to the steel-making industry.27

The Steelers played at Forbes Field, a multi-purpose stadium built for baseball, until 1963. Until 1970, they played at Pitt Stadium while the city’s new dual-purpose venue, Three Rivers Stadium, was constructed.28 Today, the Steelers play in the $280 million, 65,075 seat Heinz Field.29 The Steelers have won five Super Bowls, including four in six years during the late 1970s. The most recent was a 21-10 win over the Seattle Seahawks in Super Bowl XL (2006). The team has had a host of Hall of Famers in its history, including Terry Bradshaw, Franco Harris, Jack Lambert, and Chuck Noll. Today, the Steelers are under the management of Art Rooney’s son, Dan, who serves as team chairman, and grandson, Art II, who is the team president.30

Pittsburgh Penguins

The Pittsburgh Penguins joined the National Hockey League as part of the league’s expansion from six teams to twelve in 1967. The team’s successful entrance into the league, priced at $2 million, was initiated by former Pennsylvania senator Jack McGregor. The Penguins began play in Civic Arena, built in 1961 to house the Civic Light Opera with an original capacity of 12,580 for hockey.31 The team had limited success in the first two decades before drafting Mario Lemieux in the 1984 NHL Entry Draft.

The Penguins won back-to-back Stanley Cup championships during the 1990-91 and 1991-92 seasons. In 1997, Lemieux retired and was named to the Hockey Hall of Fame. In the subsequent season, the team filed for bankruptcy and was purchased by a group led by Lemieux. Today, the state of hockey in Pittsburgh is strong. In spite of initial high tensions between team
officials and city politicians, an agreement to fund a new multi-purpose facility was agreed upon on March 13, 2007. Meanwhile, fan support is strong. With a young core of marketable players—including Sidney Crosby, this season’s scoring champion who, at twenty years old, has hailed comparison to Wayne Gretzky—attendance increased 3.9% from last year and Mellon Arena was filled above 98% capacity thirty-one times (of forty-one).

Part One: The Pittsburgh Steelers

The Pittsburgh Steelers joined the National Football League in 1933 as the Pittsburgh Pirates, sharing the nickname of the city’s popular baseball team. Please observe the team will henceforth be referred to as the Pirates, until otherwise noted. The following are the results produced by careful examination of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette’s coverage of the Pirates from January 28, 1932 through December 4, 1934.

Summary of Results

When Pittsburgh was granted entry into the National Professional Football League on July 7, 1933, the Pittsburgh press responded with little fanfare. Though such an event would certainly warrant a front-page headline by today’s standards, the results of the league meeting were instead confined to a small square on page twelve. Titled “Pittsburgh Will Get ‘Pro’ Grid Franchise,” the article made little of Pittsburgh’s entry: “Cincinnati and Pittsburgh are expected to be granted franchises…Art Rooney, who will back the Pittsburgh team, is in Chicago for the annual league meeting” (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 8, 1933). This lack of excitement is surprising to today’s readers; however, in 1933, the Post-Gazette’s sports page was largely a mix of out-of-town baseball scores and analysis of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, Scotland. In the following Monday’s edition of the Post-Gazette, when details of the expansion agreement and more information on the formation of the team would be expected, coverage was
virtually nonexistent. In fact, the only mention of Pittsburgh in “Pro Grid Loop Considers Plan” mentioned the city as a representative in the East division (July 10, 1933). As will be demonstrated later, the Pirates’ initial lack of recognition in the sports page can be explained by one major factor: the popularity of other sports (baseball, college football, golf, local sports), while the NFL had yet to establish a fan base.

A month after the announcement of Pittsburgh’s professional football team, the Pirates’ opening game day arrived. While there was some reporting of the team’s training regimen in the preceding weeks, widespread coverage of the team did not begin until the week of the opener, a Wednesday, September 20 game against the New York Giants. The article “Pro Grid Team Awaits Opener” scouted the Giants and suggested that fans were excited about the new team: an earlier exhibition game “was held before a large and interested crowd” (September 18, 1933). Even though exact attendance numbers were not used, this quote demonstrated that Pittsburghers were both intrigued and energetic about the new football team. As the game continued to approach, the Post-Gazette ramped up its coverage. In the paper’s Tuesday edition, “Pro Gridders are Ready for Opener,” the paper spoke highly of the team’s promising roster: “[The players] have the dash, power and enthusiasm which are expected to help them get away to a good start in the league race for the championship.” The Post-Gazette’s high praises continued in its assessment of the Pirates’ individual players, which described team players respectively as “a power in all departments,” “a versatile…player,” “one of the most accurate passers in the game,” and “the fastest college half back of the past few years” (September 19, 1933).

Game day brought anticipation to the city, as demonstrated in newspaper coverage: “The greatest collection of ex-college football stars to ever appear here will strut their stuff in the opening encounter for the edification of local grid fans…A brilliantly fought battle is anticipated
by the large crowd sure to be on hand.” A large photograph of Angel Brovelli, the “local triple threat performer” who was “a good punter, a good passer and clever ball carrier and [was] expected to be one of the outstanding stars of the Pirates” accented the feature article (September 20, 1933). The following day, in response to the team’s 23-2 defeat, coverage conflicted with these earlier articles. Despite the Post-Gazette’s earlier prediction of high attendance at the game, its tone changed as it described the actual crowd of 25,000 as surprisingly high. On Brovelli, “local hopes were dashed…He was smashed to earth whenever he sought to run the ball, his vaunted passing prowess failed to materialize and his punting was mediocre.” For the first time, the professional game was explicitly compared with its collegiate counterpart. The crowd was not as energetic in their cheering, the direct result of being without “the cheer leaders, bands and other collegiate paraphernalia” (September 21, 1933). Certainly, the fact that the Pirates only put up two points would be a logical explanation as to the fans’ little interest, but the paper elected to instead argue the case for off-field entertainment and its contribution to the overall stadium atmosphere. As evidenced above, the Post-Gazette began its coverage of the Pirates with dramatic overstatement. This is attributed to the paper’s attempts to inspire interest on behalf of the team, which is further explored below with the Penguins.

Despite the disheartening report of the franchise opener, the team—and the Post-Gazette—seemed willing to move on and prepare itself for its next game. On Friday, September 22, the paper wrote on the team’s two-a-day practices and considered “the reaction of the large crowd…very encouraging to the team.” However, the tone quickly changed in the following Wednesday’s pre-game write up. The Post-Gazette highlighted the Pirates’ opponents, the Chicago Cardinals, with pictures of the team’s stars. Little was done to reflect positively the Pirates’ chances against the Cardinals’ “array of talent.” The majority of the article was
dedicated to the Cardinals, while the Pirates’ injury-riddled roster was described as “crippled.” There was, however, one bright spot: the team planned to install a new loud speaker at Forbes Field in accommodation of the outpouring of fans (September 27, 1933). This article is particularly intriguing, as the team had only played one game previously, yet the press seemingly wrote them off as uncompetitive. That attitude changed, however, following the Pirates’ 14-13 win over the Cardinals.

The *Post-Gazette* assigned a featured writer, Jack Sell, to cover the Pirates in its opening season. Sell was known for his poetic descriptions of game play, and his account of Christian Kelsch, the Pirates’ place-kicker, was no exception:

> The man of the hour in Pittsburgh gridiron circles this morning, the fair-haired boy whose name is on everyone’s lips, is a gent who never trod a college campus, never cut a lab period or a quiz. The very latest hero of the pigskin world hereabouts is none other than Christian Kelsch, but to thousands of sandlot football fans throughout the Tri-State district, the burly Northsider is just plain Mose (September 28, 1933).

The article continued in dramatic fashion and described the game as thrilling and an excellent display of the Pirates’ athleticism. Still, Sell used conflicting language and continued the practice of comparing the game to that of the collegiate level. Based on Sell’s account, the Pirates had failed to capture the city’s attention; in his introduction, he interjected to explain who the Pirates even were: “Twice last night as the Pittsburgh Pirates, local National pro league entry, fought their way…” Furthermore, the author’s description of the crowd was confusing: “the crowd [cheering] rivaled the best of the collegiate athletics for thrills.” Furthermore, Sell described the attendance of 5,000 “surprising,” but it was unclear just what he meant. The game was played in a steady rain, which might explain the dramatic decline from the week before; still, Sell did not provide clarification of whether 5,000 should be considered a good or bad crowd.
As the season continued, Sell continued covering the Pirates. Reporting remained steady, except for when the team took the road, when Associated Press reports were used. The paper’s unwillingness to assign a writer to the away games could be explained by a number of possibilities. Most notably, Pittsburghers’ lack of interest in the first several games made it possible for the paper to both reallocate space on its sports page for other events and save money by not sending a writer to the away sites. November 12 was an historic day for Pittsburghers, as the Pirates played on a Sunday afternoon for the first time in recognition of the newly lifted city ordinances. For the first time, Pittsburghers could see the professional team on Sundays, when college football was not in danger of interfering. Still, the Post-Gazette blamed the popularity of college football for the lack of fans in attendance. Sell repeated the same themes—attendance and college football—and even combined them in his description of the game: “Only about 12,000 spectators welcomed the death of the blue laws in the first legalized athletic contest in this city despite a beautiful, sunshiny day. Evidently the big college battle in the nearby Stadium the previous day had partially satisfied the appetites of the local grid customers.” The Pirates were defeated, 32-0, by the Brooklyn Dodgers, who tied the Pirates in Brooklyn in the preceding week (November 13, 1933).

The first season concluded December 3 in New York, where the Pirates lost 27-3, finishing the season 3-6-2. At the season’s conclusion, the Pirates were virtually forgotten in the pages of the Post-Gazette. College football was in full force, and although baseball was still months from opening day, the baseball Pirates enjoyed almost daily coverage. In just six months, the city’s professional football team had been chartered into the league, drafted its players, and competed in a full twelve-week season. As quickly as they appeared, they were forgotten. Pittsburghers had yet to become comfortable with a game that was less popular
and—in the opinions of some—less skilled than its collegiate counterpart. The 1934 season would be incredibly similar: the Pirates began with high praise and anticipation, only to fade early in the season and find themselves unable to recover.

The 1934 season kicked off much like the previous season ended, with little recognition and excitement. In the days prior to the opener, the *Post-Gazette* focused on baseball. With most games being played on Sunday now, the Saturday edition was the day fans could expect a write up previewing the following day’s game. A simple three-paragraph summary, “Pirate Gridders Face Cincinnati” was an unremarkable story of the season premier (September 8, 1934). The following Monday’s account of the game, characterized as a “classy triumph,” again saw Jack Sell as writer (September 10, 1934). While the opening defeat of the Reds was a promising start to the season, the Pirates’ losing ways would continue through the ’34 season and test the patience of the city’s faithful.

Despite the following week’s 7-0 loss against Boston, the status of the professional game began to be noticed. In the next Friday’s paper, sports editorialist Havey J. Boyle wrote of the strength of the Pirates and professional football in general in his column, “Mirrors of Sport.” On the other hand, he also concluded the game would never become as popular as its collegiate counterpart. Boyle began by congratulating Art Rooney and the front office staff for shaping a quality attraction. Additionally, his remarks about the team’s fan following presented the portrait of a highly enthusiastic and loyal fan base: “It was gratifying to Pittsburghers who want to see a steady [providing] of the entertainment held here to note the 20,000 or more fans who turned out…” Boyle, despite his exaggeration of attendance (the first two games saw 14,164 and 17,171 spectators, respectively), appeared to be an advocate for the professional game. He
continued his praises by remarking on the state of professional football, but ended with a subtle prediction college football will always be better:

Unless this early sign is completely wrong the professional game has come here to stay and will improve as time goes on...It will never, however, I believe, rival the college game as a spectacle or as a thriller. Fans will take little less of the expert and a little more of the college spirit. Pitt playing Tech, for example, would be plenty to cause the professionals not to schedule a game as a counter-attraction. Even remembering this, the professional game is very satisfactory (September 22, 1934).

Boyle’s mere mention of the Pirates in his op-ed is evidence of their rising popularity, and the allusion to “20,000 or more fans” is a testament to this elevated status. However, the games to follow—in which the Pirates lost nine of ten and scored a total of 32 points—hindered the Pirates’ rising reputation.

While the Pirates’ losing ways continued on the road, amateur and college football thrived. In October 20’s sports page (Saturday), a preview of the following day’s game against the New York Giants was nowhere to be found. Instead, high school and college football were touted. Two particular articles—“W.P.I.A.L. [Western Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic League] Card Offers Attractive Games Today” and “1,500,000 Fans Will Attend Today’s Games”—demonstrated both the popularity of high school and college football as well as the lack of interest in the 2-5 Pirates (October 22, 1934).

Following a 28-0 home loss to the Chicago Bears on October 10, the Pirates hit the road for a five-week road trip before returning for a November 18 finale against the Brooklyn Dodgers. The road trip, in which the team lost its games 28-0, 39-0, 17-7, 21-3, and 40-7, was covered in the Post-Gazette by Associated Press reports and featured little additional press. Simply put, the Pirates were playing poorly and were on the road. As a result of the Pirates’ poor play, upper management almost certainly preferred a lack of coverage; attendance was not an issue while the team traveled, so keeping the Pirates losing record concealed helped maintain
interest in the final game at Forbes Field. Conversely, a sudden spike in Pirates coverage could have been a marketing nightmare. In this case, one sees that no press is sometimes better than some. The constant repeating of the Pirates’ poor record and continued struggles outside of city would have taken away the Pirates’ remaining appeal in the minds of Pittsburgers—the team’s potential consumers. Based on the poor attendance at the final game, however, the secret was out. The season closer, a Sunday game against the Brooklyn Dodgers, was an appropriate ending to the losing season. As summarized by Sell:

Football, as displayed by the professionals, dragged wearily along to its conclusion in this city yesterday at Forbes Field where the Brooklyn Dodgers placed the tenth National League defeat of the season in the record books against the Pittsburgh Pirates. The final score was 10-0 with only 9,087 cash customers, the smallest turnout of the campaign here, attracted to the battlefield despite a warm, sunshiny afternoon.

The setback in their last appearance gives the Buccos only two victories in a dozen starts for their second year with the paid-to-play brigade, a poorer performance than their inaugural term the previous season (November 19, 1934).

Sell, known for the grand language of his introductions, appeared unmotivated and unwilling to spend another minute covering the Pirates. The season was over, and the city of Pittsburgh’s preference was to forget the scores and statistics of the prior eleven weeks.

If a single positive could be taken from the 1934 season, the Pittsburgh college/professional benefit game was it. A Sunday, December 2 game featuring “the hastily-gathered College All-Stars” and the Pirates expected to see 25,000 at Forbes Field. The College All-Stars featured players from Ohio State, West Virginia, Duquesne, St. Vincent College, Carnegie Tech, and Washington-Jefferson, but oddly, did not include a representative of the University of Pittsburgh. As Sell remarked, critics of the professional game would finally be able to answer their “what ifs,” if only for a few weeks: “The fans who so often argue the merits of college and pro football will have a chance to see the result of a meeting between two representative outfits. Of course, the Pirates finished at the bottom of their league but they were
good enough to extend such great clubs as the New York Giants and Boston Redskins” (December 1, 1934). The College All-Stars were not without their talent; among their stars was Regis Monohan, captain of the Ohio State Buckeyes and future College Hall of Famer. Still, the Pirates were too much for their collegiate opponents, winning the charity game 20-7 in front of 18,531. Nothing was made of the college/professional football quality debate. Instead, author Jack Sell regurgitated statistics, but only after his introduction: “The professional athletes who work only for their weekly pay check and the college boys who march off to the grid wars for the glory of alma mater collaborated at Forbes Field yesterday in the name of sweet charity to say a belated but brilliant farewell to the local football season” (December 3, 1934).

The first two years of the Pittsburgh Pirates professional football team’s existence were full of highs and lows. The 1933 season brought excitement and anticipation. Despite the limited coverage of their expansion announcement, the approaching season quickly inspired interest throughout the city. While no one expected the team to rival the University of Pittsburgh’s Panthers, both the Post-Gazette and Pittsburgh showed an increasing fascination with the team. However, the horrid play in the ’34 season left the city with little to hope for. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette appeared to mirror the public’s interest, covering the Pirates the day before and after their game but writing little more during the remainder of the week. Additionally, frequent comparisons to the college game and conflicting language regarding issues such as attendance did little to contribute to the Pirates’ attempts to raise awareness and popularity. In fairness, however, neither did a combined record of 3-16-2.
Analysis: The Steelers’ Struggles on the Field and in the Press

The Rise of College Football in the Media

The most basic reason for the Pirates’ poor press coverage was the incredible popularity of college football. The game had ruled Pittsburgh’s sporting culture long before the Pirates came to town. The shifting nature of the university from an elitist school to a professional preparatory institution paved the way for an explosion in the spectacle of college sport—particularly, college football. Despite rowing and baseball’s burgeoning popularity, “no sport came to rule the extracurriculum as did football.” As a result, the media spent much of its athletic coverage on the game of football. As the media coverage in the late 1800s “expanded spectacularly,” collegiate football stadiums underwent a correlating increase in seats for spectatorship (most notably, Harvard’s 30,000 seat and Yale’s 50,000 seat venues). Despite college football’s reputation as a violent and dangerous game, and the resulting calls for reform, the debates frequently found in the press encouraged spectatorship of the sport.

The substantial coverage of college football in the press reflected its growing popularity among the people of Pittsburgh. The front-page headlines schools received gave fans the opportunity to read about their favorite team’s players, coaches, and strategies. As a result, college football monopolized any competing league’s attempts to attract fans, as was the case in 1933. However, increasing criticism of the game in the press alarmed university officials, who feared the negative coverage painted their institutions in a negative light. As a result of their uneasiness, reforms to the university and college football as a whole would eventually occur and create an opportunity for professional football to grow.
The Pro Game’s Struggles Continue

As demonstrated above, when the professional ranks came to college-crazy Pittsburgh, support for the Steelers was hard to find.* The modest announcement of the new team represented the city’s initial interest of the team and league. Coverage of the games was hit-and-miss, especially when the team was on the road, and game summaries were often confined to the second or third page of the sports section. Furthermore, the language used in the paper’s reports often countered and conflicted with previous statements. As demonstrated by the weak coverage, the popularity of the Steelers in its expansion season and the several that followed was less than remarkable.

While the team received little acknowledgement when the Steelers announced their joining of the NFL, initial reporting of the first season was relatively strong, though it paled in comparison to the reporting of college football. Jack Sell reported fairly of the results and the team even received praise in Havey J. Boyle’s column. Still, as mentioned above, Steelers coverage was almost always found on the second page of the sports section, while front page headlines were reserved for news about the college game, professional baseball, golf, and even major local high school events.

Even when the Steelers began play on Sundays, they competed with the local college teams for coverage in the Monday paper. Peculiarly, even when the Steelers played their midweek games, coverage did not increase. Unfortunately for the Steelers, college football was not the Steelers’ only problem: Major League Baseball was truly the American pastime of the early 1930s, and the Post-Gazette did not stop talk of the baseball season once the World Series concluded. Much like the continued mention of college football through the week, baseball talk

* Note: I will return to referring to the football team as the Steelers.
was maintained through the coldest of winter months. The Steelers’ struggle to be embraced by their city through the first two seasons cannot be completely attributed to its college rival.

There is a general acceptance of the fact that to successfully manage the business of a team in any professional sport, quality performance of the team is crucial. Today, professional teams are able to create spectacle through their breathtaking facilities, popular promotions, and pleasant appearances. The 1933 Steelers lacked those draws, and so winning games was a necessity to increase awareness and popularity in Pittsburgh. However, the team’s 5-16-2 two-year record did not inspire hope in the eyes of Pittsburghers. Finally, other factors, including the forecasted weather and the presence of high-profile players on the opponent’s team, also influenced city interest.

*The Minor League Baseball Spectacle*

To illustrate the significance of seemingly less important factors such as weather and opponent’s players, I will apply a model I call the *minor league baseball spectacle* to describe how a modern marketing plan applied to the Pirates in the 1930s. Known for their affordable prices and consistent promotion schedules, minor league teams rely on the aforementioned “spectacle” to attract continued interest. In the major leagues, ticket prices are much higher. Additionally, season ticket sales are typically stronger and fans are more likely to travel longer distances to see a game. As a result, major league baseball teams are likelier to spend less on promotional giveaways and ticket discounts. However, in minor league baseball, organizations must rely on strong “walk-up” sales, in which tickets are purchased in the hours prior to the game, to be successful. Because tickets are inexpensive and readily available, a family can decide on the day of the game whether or not they would like to attend without the pressure of losing money on tickets already purchased.
As a result, a number of “non-baseball” factors affect the team’s business. These influences include parking prices, the cost of concession items, the presence of promotional giveaways, and the day in which the game is scheduled. Weather conditions and the opponent’s roster may also become deciding factors in one’s decision to attend. The Post-Gazette’s decision to publish both the weather and the Steelers’ opponent regularly, publicizing the most important factors to potential customers, shows that the early Steelers had to use the minor league baseball spectacle to attract fans.

Conclusion

Professional football in Pittsburgh began quietly. College football was the preferred sport of the city and the country, the NFL had yet to capture a significant fan base, and the Steelers struggled on the field. The team’s lack of popularity was demonstrated by the Post-Gazette’s minimal coverage. Eventually, however, reforms in college football strongly enhanced the attention received by the Steelers, who overtook the collegiate clubs as the city’s number one team.

Part Two: The Pittsburgh Penguins

Thirty-four years after the Pittsburgh Steelers joined the National Football League, Pittsburgh was included in a dramatic expansion of the National Hockey League with the successful establishment of the Pittsburgh Penguins. As demonstrated later, the environment into which the Penguins entered was much different than the one encountered by the 1933 Steelers. The city and its press adopted the Penguins almost immediately. Despite competition with the city’s semi-professional basketball team and the off-season news of the Steelers and baseball Pirates, the Penguins found their place in the pages of the Post-Gazette. In this section I
will present a summary of Penguins coverage in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* from January 1, 1966 through April 1, 1968.

**Summary of Results**

The *Post-Gazette*’s announcement of a new professional hockey team in Pittsburgh was similar to the account of the Steelers’ expansion. Much like the Steelers, there was very little leading up to the actual announcement; warnings, anticipation, and media leaks were all nonexistent. Contrary to the Steelers’ coverage, however, the Penguins received substantial press in reaction to the announcement of the team, which appeared in the Tuesday, June 6, 1967 edition of the *Post-Gazette*. While it was not on the front page, the Penguins received a headline, photograph, and op-ed piece in the subsequent pages. Included with the story “Penguins Now Official Member of NHL” was a feature in sports editor Al Abram’s “Sidelights on Sports” (a modernized version of Boyle’s “Mirrors of Sport”). Abram wrote of the recent six team expansion in the NHL and the “$2 Million Birds,” a story about the check used to pay for the Penguins’ membership into the league.

The week that followed the team’s acceptance into the league was incredibly fast-paced, as the teams’ governing bodies scrambled to obtain information before the expansion draft the following Tuesday. The *Post-Gazette* covered the developments multiple times in the week leading to the draft, and included post-draft analysis. Of the team’s picks, the highest touted was the selection of Andy Bathgate, a former NHL All-Star and Hart Trophy winner (awarded to the league’s Most Valuable Player). In the Thursday following the draft, sportswriter Jimmy Jordan helped break down the Penguins’ picks. In his analysis, he quoted a member of the Montreal Canadiens staff in saying that Pittsburgh (along with California) had the best performance at the draft. Furthermore, on the subject of Bathgate, Jordan noted, “[he] can’t hurt anything around
the Big Igloo next winter, unless it’s other people’s twine-tenders” (June 8, 1967). Clearly, the Penguins were successful in the draft and caused multiple people to take notice.

On the other hand, Al Abrams’ opinionated piece on the sport in Pittsburgh portrayed contrasting feelings among the city’s population:

‘There are some hockey nuts,’ said a man of vast experience in sports, ‘who think the drafting of 20 players each by the six new National Hockey League teams is more newsworthy than the war which erupted in the Mid-East yesterday or what has been going on in Vietnam for years.’

From past experience with the breed of hockey fan I have met in Pittsburgh and in close observation here the past couple of days during the annual meeting of the NHL, a man would have to be nuts to argue the point. Let me say the people who follow a hobby such as hockey, or any other sport for that matter, is far happier than the person who broods over the sorry state of world affairs…

It takes all kinds to make up the world, as some ballpen sage observed years ago. It is no different in hockey. They come both erudite and flamboyant among the officials and club owners. Some are gentlemanly, others crude. The majority are diplomatic, a few argumentative to the point where a punch in the snoot is their only reply…

Hockey people are no different from their baseball, football, horse racing, basketball and boxing brothers in the professional sports world. They may seem different to outsiders. They’re really not. On the whole, they’re fine citizen, excellent businessmen and are involved in an international sport which is daily gaining favor in the United States.

While we were sorry to see the successful Hornets leave, we welcome Pittsburgh’s entry into hockey’s big league. There’s nothing like being in the big leagues no matter what the sport or the enterprise (June 7, 1967).

Based on his editorial, readers got a negative picture of the NHL and hockey in general. First, Abrams remarked upon the city’s loss of the Hornets, which came at the expense of the Penguins’ expansion. The fact that the Hornets, who finished their final season as the American Hockey League’s Calder Cup champions, were disbanded to make room for the Penguins certainly created tension from the Hornets’ faithful.39 Second, Abrams attempted to reassure the city, emphasizing the “gentlemanly” and “diplomatic” qualities of the NHL’s team owners, rather than the criminal and violent nature that was often associated with the game at the time. Additionally, his final sentence — “There’s nothing like being in the big leagues no matter what
the sport or the enterprise”—reflects the unpopularity of professional hockey at this time. “No matter what the sport” projects the opinion that news of the team did not inspire excitement. Abrams’ column tells the historian that the Penguins’ expansion resulted in an uncertain and uneasy collective of Pittsburghers. However, as discussed later (and mentioned in Abrams’ above article), the Penguins were not Pittsburgh’s first foray into professional hockey.

The Penguins opened the first game in team history on Wednesday, October 11, 1967, against the Montreal Canadiens, one of the league’s most storied franchises and “monarchs of the National Hockey League more often than not” (October 11, 1967). In the preceding weeks leading up to the opener, the Post-Gazette enthusiastically covered the team’s training camp and exhibition games. The press’s coverage of the first game increased as the date approached. On the day of the game, the Penguins received the sports page headline, which previewed both the Penguins and their opponent. While the Penguins lost, 2-1, the team was well received by the public, as indicated in Al Abrams editorial, “Penguins Hit in Debut”:

Boston’s incredible Red Sox aren’t the only losers who made a hit. The Pittsburgh Penguins did just that Wednesday night in bowing to the Montreal Canadiens at the Civic Arena. That’s the impression I got from comments of the 9,307 customers who greeted the return of big league hockey here after the absence of 37 years. They were delighted even in defeat…

The 9,307 turnout, complete with horn blowers, was enthusiastic. It seemed there were just as many women present as men, a good sign from a promoter’s standpoint. The females obviously relished the rough action. One mini-skirted doll high up in the Igloo never stopped screaming, ‘Hit ‘em! Body check ‘em! Hit ‘em hard!’ One sitting near me, seeing her first hockey game, cheered for the Canadiens the first two periods before she found out which was the home team. ‘No wonder,’ she observed. ‘Both teams look like Penguins when they come out on the ice!’ (October 13, 1967).

Despite the lack of knowledge observed by Abrams, he appeared very impressed with the turnout and atmosphere surrounding the game. This attitude is reminiscent of similar comments made about the Steelers regarding their early attendance. This is just one example among many
similarities shared by the two clubs despite the forty-five year generation gap separating them. This time gap results in some significant differences as well.

One significant difference between the Steelers and the Penguins in the *Post-Gazette* is presence—or lack thereof—of promotional advertising. True, the Steelers did advertise upcoming games and ticket prices in the sports pages, but they did little additionally to attract fans. However, as observed with the Penguins, promotional events such as “Firefighters’ Night,” “Stick Night” and “Prize Nite” demonstrated the need to provide additional enticement to lure fans to Tuesday and Wednesday night games. Due to increased competition with other sports as well as other distractions not typical in the 1930s—namely, television—promotional nights aided games that would have otherwise seen lackadaisical attendance numbers. While advertising does not necessarily reflect the popular opinion of the city or the press, other features highlighting these promotions do shine some light. Two particular promotions—“Firefighters’ Night” and “Stick Night”—received additional coverage in the *Post-Gazette* through the medium of photographs. One image features Penguins’ stars Andy Bathgate and Ab McDonald, both donning firefighters’ helmets, lining up for a faceoff being conducted by the city fire chief (March 15, 1968). McDonald appears in another photo representing “Stick Night,” in which all children under eighteen received a free regulation-sized hockey stick (December 21, 1967). Each of these pictures represents free advertising for the Penguins, and further exemplifies the *Post-Gazette*’s attempts to cover the hockey team as much (or even more so) than the city’s other sports.

After the Penguins’ 2-1 opening loss, there was little time for the team to sit back and reflect, as the season was in full force. A 3-1 win in St. Louis against a fellow expansion rival was the team’s first victory (October 14, 1967). As the month continued, the Penguins were
inconsistent, but found themselves one point out of first place in the expansion West division with a 3-4-1 record. The Post-Gazette was emphatic about the Penguins’ placement in the league standings, often citing their proximity to first, an undoubtedly early assessment of the team’s success. Still, despite the press’ repeated discussion of the Penguins’ position near the top of the ranks, other statements seemed to belittle the team’s efforts. For example, prior to the Saturday, October 28, game against the Los Angeles Kings, sports writer Jimmy Jordan was dismissive of the Penguins’ chances; beyond the headline, “Penguins Unfit for Healthy Ice Kings,” Jordan remarked, “Right now [Los Angeles is] just one point ahead of the Penguins. They have a good chance to preserve first place, too” (October 28, 1967). Jordan was simply stating the Penguins’ injury-ridden bench was not expected to beat the Kings; however, the game was being played in Los Angeles and a Pittsburgh crowd would not be influenced to attend the game based on the news report the team was shorthanded of stars. As a result, if Jordan and the Post-Gazette had the Penguins’ best interests in mind, it could be argued the Jordan and the Post-Gazette were more likely to expose the team’s weaknesses when the team was on the road.

When the team returned from its three-game road trip, the stage was set for their move to the top. While recounting Pittsburgh’s 4-1 over Minnesota, Jordan remarked, “[The Penguins] are still one point behind Los Angeles, a team they don’t meet again until Nov. 24. But if they play the rest of the string the way they played tonight, they’ll be ahead of the Kings before that meeting out on the west coast” (November 2, 1967). The next game, a Wednesday night game against the cross-state rival Philadelphia Flyers, would either make or break the Penguins’ momentum. The Post-Gazette covered the match-up heavily. Included in the coverage was a call to Pittsburghers to show their team spirit; entitled, “Roar, You Penguin Fans!” Al Abrams called on Pittsburghers to show their support for the team with more tenacity:
With all that horn-blowing, stomping of feet, ear-shattering cheering and wildly waving arms, I was under the impression that hockey fans here were the most enthusiastic of sports flowers. That is, I thought so until Andy Bathgate voted a negative ballot on the matter. While we were having lunch yesterday, the veteran right wing said, 'There's something about the people here I can't understand. They don't cheer on the Penguins as loudly as fans do elsewhere.'

Bathgate went on to say what we've heard athletes in every other sport say—the home town fans' cheering is the sweetest music to their ears. 'It gives you a lift,' Andy added. 'It does something to the players—drives them on to give the best they have in them, sometimes even more.' To all those hockey fans who will be in the Civic Arena tonight to see the Penguins battle the Philly Flyers: Blow your horns a little louder and make your cheers heard all through the game (November 8, 1967).

Examples like this show the Post-Gazette's desire and ability to rally fans behind the Penguins. Both with the Steelers and the Penguins, the Post-Gazette adopted both teams and compelled Pittsburghers to view each as a part of the city's culture. Bathgate's words represented a respectful criticism, as he argued hockey fans in other cities were much more vocal in the support of their teams. No matter what the sport was, an element of civic pride existed that was called into question by Abrams, who invited Pittsburghers to go to the Igloo and cheer as loud as possible. As evidenced above, the Post-Gazette represented the city in all facets, including its sports teams. However, the newspaper's focus on increasing awareness of the team was not just a matter of pride; by enticing Pittsburghers to attend the city's hockey games, their readership increased and, as a result, so did its economic prosperity.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette used its status as the city's top newspaper to promote its own causes, particularly its Dapper Dan Charity events. The Penguins' November 15 game against the Philadelphia Flyers was scheduled as a benefit to the Dapper Dan Club Charity, a civic organization started by Al Abrams as a members-only sports club that sponsored golf and boxing tournaments but eventually evolved into a benefit organization. From the date the event was announced—October 24, 1967—the Post-Gazette was unsubtle in its publicizing of the event, aggressively speaking about it at every opportunity. Advertisements as well as coverage
of the Flyers, complete with subheadings such as “Here for DD Benefit Nov. 15” (October 25, 1967) and “Dapper Dan Tilt” were frequent (October 27, 1967). Later coverage highlighted the event’s cause: the city’s altruistic fraction could donate tickets to various children’s organizations, giving many youngsters the opportunity to see their first professional hockey game (November 1, 1967). Several days prior to the game, Abrams wrote an appeal in his column, pleading for fans to continue their donations (November 10, 1967).

While the Penguins were enjoying extensive coverage by the *Post-Gazette*, others believed the Penguins’ reporting was increasing at the expense of the other city teams. Al Abrams addressed this issue in another of his “Sidelights on Sports” editorials:

Vince Cazzetta [the Pittsburgh Pipers’ head coach], a newcomer to the local sports scene, Tuesday ripped into Pittsburgh area fans and some of the news media for not supporting the Pipers. Coach Cazzetta’s outburst, born out of frustration, is understandable. No one connected with a team—coach, owner or player—wants to perform in ‘a vacuum,’ as Cazzetta described the poorly populated Civic Arena when the Pipers are in action…

The Pipers, in my opinion, have been given excellent support by the news media. Newspapers, television and radio welcomed the new basketball team and the American Basketball Association with open arms. Publicity, as I have put down here often, is just as good as what the customer wants to buy. We could give the Pipers two full pages of stories and features for a game and they will draw just as many people as want to attend of their own free will. This goes for all sports. (December 7, 1967)

In retrospect, perhaps Cazzetta had grounds in his call for support. During the 1967-8 season, the Pipers averaged 3,143 fans at Civic Arena. In comparison, the Penguins averaged 7,407. These attendance figures can be used as evidence for both arguments. To Cazzetta, the fact the Pipers were attracting half as many fans as the Penguins was a result of the press’ refusal to provide similar exposure to the city’s other sports teams—especially the Pipers. However, to Abrams, because the Pipers were only attracting 3,000 fans to its games, citywide interest was not significant enough to warrant increased newspaper appearance. The Pipers represent a contrasting case to above statements that the *Post-Gazette* adopted its sports teams and attempted
to peak the city’s interests; however, an explanation for this abnormality will not be explored in this paper.

The press’ numerous mentions of the Penguins’ position in the standings increased after the All-Star Game, as a berth into the Stanley Cup Playoffs became a real possibility. Despite the team’s injury-depleted bench (February 19, 1968), the Penguins’ streaky play kept them on the doorstep of the fourth and final playoff spot in the division. In Jimmy Jordan’s article, “Playoff Time Near: Time, Schedule Penguins’ Foes,” he summarizes the team’s efforts and sets the stage for the home stretch:

Time’s running out, the schedule isn’t too favorable and the Penguins still are one place out of a Stanley Cup birth. Coach Red Sullivan’s club, picked by some hockey men to win the West Division title in this first season of expanded National Hockey League play, are still points behind fourth-place St. Louis as they away tomorrow night’s return meeting with Oakland in the Civic Arena….

That doesn’t sound like too much of an obstacle, a few points here and there. But unless there’s change here or there, reaching the playoffs could be a monumental task for the Igloo-ites. In the first place, nine of the Penguins’ remaining 14 games are on the road. Three of these are with established teams – Montreal, Chicago and New York, which currently are 1-2-3 in the East Division. Secondly, the club hasn’t played a consistent brand of hockey all season. Actually, it has been really consistent in just one trait – inconsistency. (March 1, 1968)

In review, Jordan creates the paradoxical environment in which the Penguins are in: while they are well within reach of a playoff spot, their current level of play is hurting their chances.

While the Penguins’ playoff journey was being chronicled extensively, another development surrounding the team was reported with less enthusiasm. Hidden beneath game coverage of the Penguins’ 4-2 victory over the Blues was a report entitled, “Money Worries: Penguins To Stay In Pittsburgh,” which reassured the city they were not in danger of losing their professional hockey team after its first year (March 21, 1968). The article came just a day after the NHL announced eighty percent of the team had been sold to a group of investors (March 20, 1968). The Penguins, whose financial situation became even more debilitated in the following
decades, were deeply embattled in a race to the end of the regular season. As a result, the Post-Gazette seemingly glossed over the prospect that the possibility existed that the team could leave the city after one year, a sign of a weakly organized and poorly managed team. Again, the Post-Gazette showed its favoritism to the Penguins; while the paper did not completely ignore the topic, it demonstrated that other issues were more important.

The franchise’s money problems remained unimportant as the Penguins continued their push to the playoffs. The team was down to its final two games of the season—back-to-back games against Philadelphia—and trailed St. Louis for the final playoff spot by three points (a win equaled two points while ties were awarded with one point) (March 30, 1968). Even with winning both games, the team did not advance to the playoffs. Despite the disappointment and in appreciation of the Penguins’ efforts, however, “When it was all over the fans gave the Penguins a standing ovation” (April 1, 1968).

The inaugural year of the Pittsburgh Penguins kept fans on edge for the duration of the season, as the team teetered on the brink of making the playoffs. While the city seemed fixated on a Stanley Cup berth, other issues developed in the city and around the league. The Penguins struggled at the gate, failing to fill to the Civic Arena capacity (although team president, Jack McGregor, stated they were at or above preseason estimates of attendance). Meanwhile, evolving regulations on helmet wear both for goalies and players were debated by teams and sportswriters alike.

When the Steelers joined the professional football ranks in 1933, little was made of what would become the city’s most beloved sports team. While their games were reported on regularly, competition with the city’s college football and professional baseball teams limited the Post-Gazette’s support of the team. In contrast, however, the Penguins of 1967 received massive
interest, aided by the fact the sport was played in the winter when football had just been completed and baseball was still months away. Nevertheless, both teams—especially the Steelers—were relatively unproven and did not enjoy full-scale coverage until they had demonstrated their worth in game action.

Analysis: The Penguins’ Strong Roots in the *Post-Gazette*

The Penguins were well received in both the press and the city. Pittsburgh had strong hockey roots prior to the Penguins, and the National Hockey League had existed for sixty years when the Penguins joined in 1967. Further, its winter season meant the Pirates and the Steelers (who had risen significantly in popularity since the ‘30s) were in their off-seasons. As a result, the Penguins enjoyed almost daily features in the *Post-Gazette*.

Initial reports of the Penguins—including the front-page celebration of the team joining the NHL and Al Abrams’ introduction of “hockey people”—presented the sport to Pittsburgh as if the city had never heard of the game before. However, Pittsburgh had strong ties to hockey, beginning with the Yellow Jackets, members of the United States Amateur Hockey Association from 1915-1925. After the Yellow Jackets disbanded, the team was purchased and named the Pirates for the same reason the Steelers were: to gain interest through association with the city’s big league baseball team. The Pirates played in the NHL until 1930, when the stock market crash forced the owners to sell. Perhaps the most memorable of the Penguins’ predecessors, the Hornets joined the International-American Hockey League in 1936 and played until 1967, when the Penguins began. The fact the Hornets were disbanded because of the Penguins’ entrance into the NHL quickly became a non-issue, aided by the fact several of the team’s players were drafted by and played for the Penguins, closely linking the successful Hornets with the new club. The choice to connect the Penguins and the hugely popular Hornets helped covert the AHL
faithful to Penguins’ fans. Additionally, the National Hockey League had been a long established organization, unlike the NFL when the Steelers entered the league. As a result, these two factors gave promise to the Penguins’ expansion.

As mentioned above, hockey’s winter season meant less competition with the Steelers and Pirates. Instead, the Penguins contended with prep basketball and the Pipers’ semi-professional basketball team. As indicated by the above attendance figures, the Penguins were certainly more attractive to the press. Additionally, despite the Penguins’ seventy-plus game schedule, they received consistent coverage throughout the season. When compared with the Steelers, this disparity is attributed to two key factors. First, the Post-Gazette had expanded significantly since the 1930s, with increased circulation, expanded sections, and more advertising. As a result, even if other sports were covered, the Penguins would still receive space in the papers whereas the Steelers competed for limited space and were not always successful.

Second, unlike the Steelers’ on-field atrocities, the Penguins were much more successful on the ice. They were able to captivate the Post-Gazette readers by becoming embroiled in a fierce race for the playoffs. The Penguins were followed with enthusiasm all the way to the final week of games, when their fate was still unknown. While the Penguins did not make the playoffs and finished the season with a 27-34-13 record, they were able to fully capture the attention of the city during the final push for the second season.

Despite the Penguins’ apparent monopoly over other sports in the press, the off-season trades and developments surrounding the city’s baseball and football teams still garnered much of the Post-Gazette’s attention. And, as argued below, the press cannot be studied as the sole indicator of public opinion. Attendance—perhaps the best reflection of city interest—is not
dictated by news reports and reviews. Rather, the press serves as the medium between the city and its sports teams.

**Conclusion**

The Pittsburgh Steelers and Penguins had very different beginnings, as reflected in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. The Steelers, overlooked by many who were instead attracted to college football, received inconsistent coverage often reserved for the second or third sports page. Contrarily, the Penguins enjoyed almost immediate adoption by the press, demonstrated by steady coverage of the team’s expansion, draft, training camp, and inaugural season. While reading newspaper archives cannot provide the complete picture of popular attitudes in a city, the press is nevertheless an unparalleled resource due to its unique ability to reflect common assumptions and mindsets. In Pittsburgh, each team’s popularity at the respective periods of time (as based on press reports) does not reflect its status in the present era. Today, the Steelers are certainly the city’s most popular team, while the Penguins, like the Pirates, are of secondary esteem. The disparate coverage of these expansion teams in 1933 and 1967 further validates the claim that the press reflects a city’s popular opinion and—depending on political support and bias—may even influence it. Though this could reflect an agenda on the part of the press, my analysis has shown that the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* was unbiased in its reporting, merely reflecting popular sentiment.

Clearly, Depression-era Pittsburgh was a much different place than it is today. With the city’s array of universities, college football was the top sport in the city and the country. The stiff competition in college football, coupled with the relative newness of professional football, made news coverage of the pro gridders minimal by today’s standards. Additionally, the different nature of the game (including the use of the *minor league baseball spectacle*) meant
professional football was looked at differently by the city’s consumers; when placed side-by-side and compared with college football (as it often was in the press), the college game was the popular choice. Finally, the Steelers had the opportunity to gain and enhance the quality of fans and public attention, but failed by beginning with two unpromising seasons. The future, however, held a much different fate than what was anticipated after the Steelers’ first two seasons. At least partially due to the negative reputation of violent college football, many universities began a restructuring of their athletic programs and began focusing on academia. Consequently, college football began a slow decline, giving the professional game the opportunity to see the spotlight.

In contrast, the Penguins received headline exposure, as their expansion season was made more newsworthy due to a combination of Pittsburgh’s hockey roots, a lack of mainstream business competition, and the team’s captivating push for the playoffs in the 1967-8 season. The city had seen its share of professional and semi-professional hockey, highlighted by the Pirates, Pittsburgh’s first NHL team, and the Hornets, a team that saw many of its alumni appear on the Penguins’ roster. Finally, the Penguins found themselves in the thick of a tight playoff race, in which their fate was not decided until the final game. As a result, the city was deeply intrigued and the press wrote frequently of their position in the standings.

The two teams’ dramatically distinctive representations during their respective inaugural seasons are not indicative of a significant difference in their popularity levels today. Today, the Steelers are professional football’s most popular team nationwide. Furthermore, the Penguins remain a hot commodity to the city, as evidenced by Pittburghers’ widespread support of the team during heated negotiations for a new arena this season. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
remains the city’s most popular newspaper and covers the city’s most recognizable sports team—including the Steelers and Penguins as well as the Pirates and Panthers—regularly.

In conclusion, the Steelers and Penguins, both strongly attached to the city of Pittsburgh today, were the subjects of extremely different levels of coverage during their early years. As evidenced by the language used and frequency of coverage, the Steelers had a relatively quiet start while the Penguins were regularly mentioned in the pages of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. In both cases, the times changed dramatically: the Steelers rose to the forefront of the city’s athletic entertainment as college football began dramatic reforms and the NFL continued expanding; meanwhile, the Penguins followed a much simpler route, remaining an important contribution to Pittsburgh’s sports scene but never reaching the level of popularity the city’s other two major sports have. Reviewing the newspapers of the past leads to increased understanding of the popular perceptions of Pittsburgh’s population. While underlying bias and unseen agendas can certainly make fair coverage of city events more challenging, the sheer magnitude of the *Post-Gazette*’s circulation demonstrates Pittsburghers’ reliance on the paper, and, as a result, the paper’s commitment to providing coverage that best reflects the interests of the city that supports it. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*’s reporting of the expansion seasons of the Steelers and Penguins demonstrates that the press is best understood as a reflection of the attitudes of the community that it serves.
NOTES

2. Ibid.
5. According to Ballparks.com, Mellon Arena has 56 suites and a total of 1,696 club seats (premium seating). In comparison, Columbus’ Nationwide Arena has 78 suites and a total of 3,200 club seats.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
19. For more on the influence of the city and its newspaper, see Oriard, Michael, Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993) and Danielson, Michael, Home Team:


22. For a broad overview of Pittsburgh history, see Kidney, Walter, Pittsburgh Then and Now (San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2004).

23. For more on the history of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, see Andrews, J. Cutler, Pittsburgh’s Post-Gazette: The First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies (Boston: Mount Vernon Press, 1936).


25. Ibid.

26. For more on the history of the Pittsburgh Steelers, see Algeo, Matthew, How the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Philadelphia Eagles—the Eagles—Saved Pro Football During World War II (Da Capo Press, 2007).


28. Ibid.


35. Ibid, 66.


44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. For more on Pittsburgh’s hockey ties, see Bouchette, Ed. “Ice Age: Today’s Playoff game with New Jersey might be the Penguins’ last home game ever; but if history tells us anything, there will always be hockey in Pittsburgh, (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 2, 1999), http://www.post-gazette.com/ (accessed May 16, 2007). At the time, the Penguins were facing playoff elimination and the team’s financial situation—which included bankruptcy status—seriously called their future into doubt.
47. Ibid.
Appendix

Selected articles from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. 
Top image (referenced in Author’s Note): Heinz Field, home of the Steelers (last Super Bowl victory at time of cartoon: 1979); PNC Park, home of the Pirates (last winning season: 1992); ???, home of the Penguins.
Hidden under massive coverage of the British Open was the announcement of Pittsburgh’s new professional football team.
Monday, November 13, 1933
The end to the city’s blue laws meant professional football on Sunday afternoons, ending at least some of the Steelers’ competition with college football.
Word of the Penguins' joining of the NHL was big news on the sports page. Included was a picture of Pennsylvania Senator Jack McGregor presenting a $2 million check to the NHL as well as a close-up (and accompanying story) of the check.
Thursday, September 12, 1967
The Penguins took the ice for the very first time in Brantford, Ontario, in preparation of their October 11 opener against the “most famous team in hockey history,” the Montreal Canadiens.
Of the thirty-eight players invited to training camp, eight were former members of the Pittsburgh Hornets, the city’s American Hockey League (minor league) team.
Clash Marks Return Of Big League Hockey

By JIMMY JORDAN

Major league hockey returns to Pittsburgh for the first time in 37 years when the Penguins take on the Montreal Canadiens in their National Hockey League opener tomorrow in the Civic Arena at 8 p.m.

Pittsburgh had an entry in the NHL for five seasons, beginning in 1925. Then the franchise was shifted to Philadelphia.

Those old hockey Pirates didn’t figure too strongly in the NHL, a 10-team, two-division loop in those days.

Penguin Coach Red Sullivan and General Manager Jack Riley have come up with a team well-balanced between youth and experience. While they don’t figure to run away with the six older members of the NHL, the 1967-68 Penguins should be as good, if not better, than any of the other five teams in the Western, or “expansion,” division.

They play 10 games each with the new teams—Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minnesota, Los Angeles and California. They play four each with the Eastern Division teams—Montreal, Toronto, New York, Boston, Detroit and Chicago.

The game with the Canadiens will be the first real test of an established NHL team against an expansion team.

Montreal Coach Joe Blake, who has won eight season championships and seven Stanley Cups in 13 seasons, not only will bring in one of the best defensive clubs in the NHL, but he’ll have a few high-scoring forwards, too.

Jean Beliveau, team captain, has been one of the league’s top scorers since he came up from the amateurs. Yvan Cournoyer (25 goals, 15 assists), Bobby Rousseau (19-44), John Ferguson (20-22) and Claude LaRochelle (19-16) are other high-scoring forwards. Penguin Goalie Hank Bassin will be called upon to stop.

Bassin will have Les Bolvin, Al MacNeil and Noel Price, all with NHL experience, and Dick Mathiasson and Dunc McCallum on the blueline.

Up front, Sullivan’s “big” line will have Earl Ingarfield at center, Val Fonteyne on left wing and Andy Bathgate on his right.

The other trios will consist of Art Straton, Capt. Ab McDonald and Ken Schunkel; Gil Gilbert, Bob Dillabough and Keith McCready, with Billy Dea and Paul Andrea the spare forwards. Les Binkley will be the spare netminder.

Tuesday, October 10, 1967

Pittsburgh’s return to the National Hockey League featured a formidable foe—the Montreal Canadiens—and the city and press alike were eager to see how a new expansion team would match up against an Original Six powerhouse.
Wednesday, October 11, 1967

The Penguins opening day lineup featured future Hall of Famers Andy Bathgate and Leo Boivin.
Thursday, October 12, 1967

The Penguins dropped their first game, 2-1, “but did show the Canadiens, a number of National Hockey League observers, and a crowd of 9,307 fans that they won’t be patsies for anybody this season.” Andy Bathgate scored the first goal in franchise history.
The Penguins' win over the Los Angeles Kings, another ‘67 expansion team, brought them 2 1/2 games out of first place. The game was played in front of 4,002 fans.
Thursday, December 28, 1967

The Penguins' last game at Civic Arena in 1967 was a 0-0 tie, the NHL's first of the season.
Abrams’ exposé on Penguins’ goalie Les Binkley included Binkley’s thoughts on Pittsburgh’s fans as well as his opinions on two recent changes in the league: the allowance of stick blades to be curved and the increasing debate of whether goalies should wear helmets or not. (Image edited, content omitted)
Wednesday, February 28, 1968

Despite the heated effort, the Penguins were unable to beat the Bruins and vault ahead of the Blues for the fourth and final playoff spot in the West division.
Monday, April 1, 1968

The Penguins dropped the Flyers, 5-1, in the final game of the season in front of 6,756. Goaltender Les Binkley was named the team’s Most Valuable Player after the game. Despite a late surge, the Penguins did not make the playoffs; the team ended the season with a 27-34-13 record.
Throughout the season, the Penguins promoted their home games in the Post-Gazette. The most heavily mentioned was the Dapper Dan Charity game against the Flyers (bottom right), which was sponsored by the Post-Gazette.
Miscellaneous 1967-68 Promotions

In the hopes of attracting more fans to the Igloo, the Penguins publicized a host of promotions in the *Post-Gazette*, using both advertisements and photographs. Promotions throughout the season included “Firefighters’ Night” (bottom right), where ticket proceeds went to the Firemen’s Widows’ Pension Fund, Youth Stick Night (top two images), and Prize Nite.
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