

CONDITIONS OF ACCEPTANCE:  
THE UNITED STATES MILITARY, THE PRESS,  
AND THE “WOMAN WAR CORRESPONDENT,” 1846-1945

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## **Abstract**

CAROLYN M. EDY: Conditions of Acceptance: The United States Military, the Press,  
and the “Woman War Correspondent,” 1846-1945  
(Under the direction of Jean Folkerts)

This dissertation chronicles the history of American women who worked as war correspondents through the end of World War II, demonstrating the ways the military, the press, and women themselves constructed categories for war reporting that promoted and prevented women’s access to war: the “war correspondent,” who covered war-related news, and the “woman war correspondent,” who covered the woman’s angle of war. As the first study to examine these concepts, from their emergence in the press through their use in military directives, this dissertation relies upon a variety of sources to consider the roles and influences, not only of the women who worked as war correspondents but of the individuals and institutions surrounding their work.

Nineteenth and early 20th century newspapers continually featured the woman war correspondent—often as the first or only of her kind, even as they wrote about more than sixty such women by 1914. Despite the continued presence of women war correspondents in news accounts, if not always in war zones, it was not until 1944 that United States military considered sex among its “conditions of acceptance” for accrediting correspondents. In 1943, to publicize women’s war-related work abroad, the military began accrediting “women war correspondents,” in addition to those women who had gained accreditation on the basis of their military or foreign relations expertise. The

presence and visibility of “women war correspondents” not only meant that newcomers competed for facilities, stories, and access but also threatened the public’s perception of “war correspondent”—as not necessarily a man’s job—and “woman war correspondent”—as not necessarily a war correspondent. The military’s 1944 directives for women war correspondents considered sex the unifying factor, discounting any differences in expertise or experience and revoking the exceptional status some women had long taken for granted. Ultimately, these directives caused more problems for the military than they resolved. By making barriers visible and placing them in the way of all women accredited as war correspondents, they led women who previously worked as exceptions alongside men to fight the directives on behalf of all women, even as they found ways around these directives.

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## **Abbreviations**

AGWAR	Adjutant General, War Department
CBI	China-Burma-India Theater
CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff
JCS	U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PRD	Public Relations Division
PRO	Public Relations Officer
SEAC	Southeast Asia Command
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force
SWPA	Southwest Pacific Area
WAAC	Women's Auxiliary Army Corps
WAC	Women's Army Corps
WD	War Department

## PART I.

### Study Overview

#### Introduction

The chief Berlin correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, beginning in 1926, smoked a pipe, spoke more than five languages, had an uncanny ability to “drink” German officials under the table, and used covert tactics to scoop reporters worldwide on the impending death of Weimar Germany’s first president, Hitler’s plans for world war, and, finally, confirmation of Hitler’s death.<sup>1</sup>

The *New York Times* correspondent who won the 1937 Pulitzer for best interpretation of foreign affairs was among the first to predict for American readers the rise and wrath of a young, vastly underestimated Mussolini and had once procured a six-hour interview with Stalin at a time when he refused access to all other foreign reporters.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Julia Edwards, *Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 62-70; Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper, 1936), 377; and Lilya Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 99, 102. Sigrid Schultz paid bartenders to serve her nonalcoholic drinks “that looked like the real thing,” 63.

<sup>2</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 75, 77-79; Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 56; John Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondence: the Great Reporters and Their Times*, 140; and Ross, *Ladies of the Press*, 367.

Neither of these individuals—both of whom were women—had originally aspired to be a “newspaperman,” yet a strong education, affinity for languages, and knowledge of world affairs, as well as extensive travel experience, earned them recognition and respect among world leaders—and readers. The highest compliment a female reporter could receive from her male colleagues, for much of the 20th century, was to be called a “newspaperman.”<sup>3</sup> Sigrid Schultz, the first woman bureau chief for the *Chicago Tribune*, was honored in 1969 by the Overseas Press Club with a plaque acknowledging her life’s work: “To a tough competitor, staunch friend, honest reporter. She worked like a newspaperman.”<sup>4</sup> Of her sex, her work and her field, Schultz later said, “I insist that the only thing that counts is efficiency, which is a fact that the leading newspapermen believe.”<sup>5</sup>

Both Schultz and Anne O’Hare McCormick, the Pulitzer-prize winning *New York Times* correspondent, were rare individuals as, arguably, were most of the women who wrote about World War II and lived up to their personal ambitions instead of societal expectations. Yet Schultz and McCormick were rare even among the women whom the United States accredited as World War II correspondents, who themselves made up fewer than 10 percent of correspondents accredited by the United States during World War II.<sup>6</sup> Historians, journalists, and members of the general public are far more likely to have

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<sup>3</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 152; and Mark Scott, “*Bravo Amerikanski!*” *And Other Stories From World War II by Ann Stringer as told to Mark Scott* (Bloomington, Indiana: 1st Books Library, 2000), 30.

<sup>4</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 71.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Robert William Desmond, *Tides of War: World News Reporting* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1984), 448-449; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents*, 159-162.

heard about or read about the women war correspondents who were valued as “newspapermen,” such as McCormick and Schultz, than the majority of women war correspondents who were called upon by editors and the United States military to cover the war from a feminine point of view.

Whichever angle they took, though, female war correspondents are easily lost in the larger picture of World War II correspondents, as well as among the vast array of books published by and about World War II correspondents. While stories by women correspondents and anecdotes about their lives and their work exist within larger works about women in wartime and women in journalism, few works have addressed the history of women World War II correspondents as a group. Furthermore, the few works that do explore women World War II correspondents are, primarily, compelling stories about the lives of extraordinary women woven together chronologically and geographically.<sup>7</sup> Missing from these works is a broader picture of the accreditation of women war correspondents and their coverage of war, along with persuasive claims about the significance of their work in terms of the war, the world, their profession, or their audience. Also missing from these works, notably, is a focus on the woman’s angle of the war. Although many authors have reported that the United States military and media agreed to accredit and allow female correspondents to report on the war on condition that women cover the “woman’s angle” of the war, the works about war correspondents in general and female war correspondents in particular largely dismiss or ignore this angle—the coverage itself, its gendered meanings, and even the many writers who

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<sup>7</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*; Sorel, *Women Who Wrote the War*; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*.

covered it.<sup>8</sup> Instead, these works focus on the ways in which women compared to their male colleagues. But few people viewed or treated women the same as their male colleagues in the 1930s and 1940s. Even today, when women are as likely as men to be United States correspondents in war zones, female correspondents have reported being wary of drawing attention to the fact that they are women—for fear of assault on the job or concern that editors might take them off of the job for their own safety.<sup>9</sup> A study that considers the category of “woman war correspondent,” during a time when the media, the government, and the public was constructing new roles for women and the press during wartime, is overdue.

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a history of the women whom the United States accredited as war correspondents, while exploring the construction, by the press, the public, and the military, of the category of “woman war correspondent” and the concept of a woman’s angle of war through the end of World War II. Relying on cultural historical methods, including a content assessment and gender analysis, this dissertation explores government documents, as well as the writings of American men and women within the media, the United States military, and the public. While this dissertation considers the lives and work of all women who were accredited as war correspondents, its primary focus is upon the majority who worked for print media. Most women who worked as war correspondents before the end of World War II were writing for newspapers, magazines, or wire services, and technology available at that time, along with radio standards that favored live news coverage, greatly limited war reporting for

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<sup>8</sup>Sorel, *Women Who Wrote the War*, 211, 242.

<sup>9</sup>Judith Matloff, “Unspoken: Foreign Correspondents and Sexual Abuse,” *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 2007, 22-23.

broadcast.<sup>10</sup> This dissertation considers the ways the concept of a “woman war correspondent” might have influenced or been influenced by the war, military regulations, societal norms, politics, and the media. By providing a history of the woman war correspondent and the woman’s angle of war and by answering other unexplored questions about the military’s acceptance and accreditation of women as war correspondents up through World War II, this historical study informs our understanding of the history of women in journalism, government control of journalists, and gender identities in times of war, while providing further insight into the experiences of women reporting in conflict zones.

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<sup>10</sup>Publicity and Psychological Warfare Section, 12th Army Group, *Report of Operations (Final after Action Report)*, Vol. IVX (1945), 53, 70-75.

## **Chapter One.**

### **Background and Literature Review**

#### **The United States during World War II**

For 70 years, World War II has captured the imaginations of people all over the world, with new works of art, entertainment, and scholarship about the war emerging each year. The six years from 1939 to 1945 saw more death and destruction worldwide than arguably any other time since the battles and bubonic plague in the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Of more than 70 million people who fought in World War II, about 17 million died, along with at least 20 million civilians.<sup>2</sup> Yet these six years were also a time of enormous growth and opportunity, a time unmatched in terms of the development of technology for communications, industry, transportation, and weaponry. As armies destroyed cities, towns, and villages throughout Europe and Asia, countries worked to mobilize their citizens to produce weapons, vehicles, and other materiel, and to develop ever faster and better ways of doing so.

The United States' involvement in all stages of World War II saved Americans from the Depression—just as the Depression steeled Americans and, ultimately, helped

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<sup>1</sup>James Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War II* (New York: Morrow, 1980), 377.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 378.

save them from defeat in World War II.<sup>3</sup> The abundance of dormant factories and unemployed workers during the Depression, along with a growing acceptance of the need for individual restraint and government intervention, had conditioned and prepared the United States for wartime mobilization.<sup>4</sup> Roosevelt's early realization that winning the war would require a great amount of time, men, and materiel, and the ensuing national campaign, led to the prosperity that lifted the nation out of the Depression—and to the productivity that made room for more men and women to enter or move up in the nation's workforce.<sup>5</sup> But the United States' prosperity came at a great cost. While other countries suffered far greater losses than the United States, nonetheless World War II represented the greatest sacrifice Americans had ever made for a war, with three times as many Americans serving the military and a death toll nearly four times higher than in World War I.<sup>6</sup> Between 1941 and 1946, the years of its official involvement in the World War II, more than 16 million Americans served the United States military for an average duration of 33 months; 300,000 died in battle, and more than 100,000 died from causes related to war.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 191-192; Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 1-27; and Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 914.

<sup>4</sup>Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 191-192.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Robert Goralski, *World War II Almanac 1931-1945* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1981); and "Table No. 523. Armed Forces Personnel—Summary of Major Conflicts," *United States Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2003* (National Defense and Veterans Affairs), 348.

<sup>7</sup>"Table No. 523. Armed Forces Personnel," 348.



When Germany invaded Poland in 1939, the American public was unprepared to enter another war. They were already fighting the Depression, and World War I was still fresh in many Americans' minds. The president and Congress were limited not only by public opposition to the war, but also by the United States Neutrality Act of 1937.<sup>8</sup> President Franklin Roosevelt called on Congress and the citizens of the United States to help America to become an "arsenal of democracy,"<sup>9</sup> with the quick and unprecedented production of "more ships, more guns, more planes, more of everything."<sup>10</sup> Roosevelt continually pushed the limits of his short-of-war strategy to shore up the nation's military and the nation's allies. Through the Lend-Lease Act, the United States could "lease or provide goods or services to any nation whose defense he thought vital to the defense of the United States."<sup>11</sup> In September 1940, the United States passed its first peacetime draft, the Selective Training and Service Act.<sup>12</sup> Until the morning of December 7, 1941, when Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor claimed 4,575 casualties, 150 planes and one half dozen battleships, many Americans "still thought it was not their war."<sup>13</sup>

At its essence, every war is based on the entangled notion "us against them"—a group identity and a common cause for action, as well as a shared perception of an enemy

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<sup>8</sup>Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 3-8; and Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War II*, 52-53, 117-122.

<sup>9</sup>Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: The United States Since the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 45.

<sup>10</sup>Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 44.

<sup>11</sup>Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War II*, 119.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 122, 170-171.

as different from the group. The strength of each of these concepts affects the meaning and outcome of any battle—and thus drove the desires and fears behind the government’s control of media throughout World War II.<sup>14</sup> The government needed Americans to feel united and to believe that the Axis powers posed such a danger to the identity of Americans that a war was inevitable, necessary, and achievable. Yet, democracy and freedom were integral to the identity of Americans, just as a lack of democracy and freedom was integral to Americans’ perception of the Axis powers—and to the cause for war.<sup>15</sup> A democratic nation, by nature, fosters opposing, diverse viewpoints that make unity more difficult to achieve. Among these divergent viewpoints were many stereotypes, based on sex, class, race, ethnicity, religion, and region, which had only been made worse by the hard times most Americans had faced during the Depression.<sup>16</sup> The United States was a nation of immigrants, but it was a patriarchal nation that had yet to resolve its many racial and ethnic divisions. Thus the government relied on propaganda and a generally cooperative fourth estate to develop and sustain Americans’ belief in a united (yet culturally diverse, economically stratified, and racially segregated) citizenry, their belief in a just and crucial war, and their belief in an evil, expendable enemy—all while ensuring that no information reach the enemy that might hinder the chance of

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<sup>14</sup>See, for example: Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes To War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); George H. Roeder, *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War Two* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Leila J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); and Barbara Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

<sup>15</sup>Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; and Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*.

<sup>16</sup>Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 59.

winning the war.<sup>17</sup> Throughout the war, the government worked to balance its own interest and authority with the interests and rights of the press and the public, while monitoring, producing, and regulating all kinds of communication relating to all segments of the nation's population—even, and often especially, women.<sup>18</sup>

## **Women and Work during World War II**

Until the early 1980s, most scholars believed that war was “an event of such cataclysmic, existential significance,” that it was somehow “‘above’ questions of gender identity,” Miriam Cooke noted.<sup>19</sup> Since that time, gender analyses of war have not only helped dispel the “age-old story of war as men's business,”<sup>20</sup> they have continued to complicate and illuminate our knowledge and beliefs about war, citizenship, and politics.<sup>21</sup> Scholars have shown citizenship and gender to be inextricably bound together,

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<sup>17</sup>See Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*; Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*; Jeffery Alan Smith, *War & Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Michael S. Sweeney, *The Military and the Press: An Uneasy Truce* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2006); Michael S. Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Patrick Washburn, *The Office of Censorship's Attempt to Control Press Coverage of the Atomic Bomb during World War II* (Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1990).

<sup>18</sup>See Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*; Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*; and Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*.

<sup>19</sup>Miriam Cooke, “Wo-Man, Retelling the War Myth,” in *Gendering War Talk*, ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 178.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, Gisela Bock, “Equality and Difference in National Socialist Racism,” in *Feminism and History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Oxford University Press,

especially during times of war, when governments and individuals depend upon the construction and emphasis of gendered meanings to rationalize violence and oppression and to promote nationalism.<sup>22</sup> Nations at war often emphasize and promote gender differences among their own citizens to boost national morale, while alternately diminishing and exploiting gender differences among their enemies to dehumanize and demonize them.<sup>23</sup>

Though hundreds of thousands of female combatants fought on every front in World War II, and though the United States had determined that “mixed gender units performed better than all-male units” and that “demands of military efficiency called for assigning women to combat,” the United States military never permitted American women to fight.<sup>24</sup> Instead, the United States military employed women in non-combatant roles, such as clerical work, that could free men to fight, which some men resented

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1996); Kathleen Canning, “Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History,” *American Historical Review* 97, no. 3 (June, 1992): 736-768; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Emily S. Rosenberg, “Gender,” *Journal of American History* 77, 1 (1990): 116-124; and Mrinalini Sinha, “Gender and Nation,” in *Feminist History Reader*, ed. Sue Morgan (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>22</sup>Kathleen Canning and Sonya O. Rose, “Gender, Citizenship, and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations,” *Gender and History* 13, no. 3, (November 2001): 427-443.

<sup>23</sup>Cooke, “Wo-Man, Retelling the War Myth,” 178; Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, “Gendered Translations: Claude Lanzmann’s Shoah,” in ed. Cooke and Woollacott, *Gendering War Talk*, 4; Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); and Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*.

<sup>24</sup>D’Ann Campbell, “Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union,” *The Journal of Military History* 57, no. 2 (April 1993): 301.

because they felt it left them as “cannon fodder.”<sup>25</sup> In addition to prohibiting women from the inner circle<sup>26</sup> of war, the United States military also prevented women from sharing the same status or benefits with men. Women who served in the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps, later the Women’s Army Corps, suffered from public resentment and suspicion as well as the resentment of their male colleagues.<sup>27</sup> When, in 1943, the Army was preparing to recognize the WAACs officially as women in service to the Army (eliminating their “auxiliary” status), rumor campaigns about promiscuity and a high rate of pregnancy among the WAACs fueled public scrutiny and suspicion.<sup>28</sup> The Air Force considered its 1,000 WASPs, or Women Airforce Service Pilots, to be indispensable for the nation’s noncombat missions, such as test runs and deliveries.<sup>29</sup> Yet the Air Force also considered these women to be civilians and had little use for their skills and experience after the war ended, when so many experienced male veteran pilots needed the work.<sup>30</sup> Thirty-eight women died while working as WASPs, and the rest who found themselves unemployed after the war received neither military benefits nor veteran status

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<sup>25</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 39. For more about the “release-a-man” campaign and its public response, see D’Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 40.

<sup>26</sup>Elshtain, *Women and War*, 183.

<sup>27</sup>Ann Allen, “The News Media and the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps: Protagonists for a Cause,” *Military Affairs* 50 (April 1986): 77-83; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 35-37; and Leisa Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 33-50.

<sup>28</sup>Allen, “The News Media and the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps”; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 35-37; and Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane*, 33-50.

<sup>29</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 46-47.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

until 1977, when Congress finally recognized the WASPs and their service to the nation.<sup>31</sup>

The actions of government agencies, employers, and individuals during and directly after World War II revealed that most Americans valued the preservation of gendered identities more than prospects of convenience, efficiency, or material gain. Government propaganda and media representations of men, women, and citizenship during World War II conveyed war as necessary for the protection and preservation of women, children, and family life—normalcy—while promoting the binary ideals of male aggression and action versus female peace and passivity.<sup>32</sup> These messages prescribed specific and gendered codes of conduct as essential to the outcome of the war. Loose-talking or loose-behaving women could cause the United States to lose the war, as could women who wasted leftovers, used too much sugar or refused to work for the war effort, according to so many propaganda posters.<sup>33</sup> The United States government called on women, as the nation's caregivers, to help with rationing food and resources, controlling information, supporting and repairing male morale (and morality), selling war bonds,

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<sup>31</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 46-47.

<sup>32</sup>Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Campbell, *Women at War with America*; William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Susan Gubar, "'This is My Rifle, This is My Gun,' World War II and the Blitz on Women," in eds. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 227-259; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*; Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*; and Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*.

<sup>33</sup>Sonya Michel, "American Women and the Discourse of the American Family during World War II," in Higonnet et al., *Behind the Lines*, 154-167; Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*; and Bilge Yesil, "'Who Said This Is a Man's War?': Propaganda, Advertising Discourse and the Representation of War Worker Women during the Second World War," *Media History* 10, 2 (2004): 103-118.

growing victory gardens, sustaining the ideal of home and hearth, looking out for anyone who might be hindering the war effort, and filling new and vacant jobs in men's absence.<sup>34</sup> Of these activities, filling new and vacant jobs represented the most dramatic "paradox" of change and continuity for women during World War II.<sup>35</sup>

Before 1940, women made up less than 25 percent of the workforce. Working women were, for the most part, under 35, single, non-white, and employed in domestic, clerical, sales, or service jobs.<sup>36</sup> Many women who had filled jobs during World War I either chose to return home or were forced to give up their jobs upon the soldiers' return. Even those women who needed or wanted to continue working found it difficult to find jobs during the Depression, when jobs were scarce and public sentiment grew more strongly opposed to women's employment. A 1936 Gallup poll revealed that 82 percent of Americans felt that women should not work if their husbands had jobs.<sup>37</sup> But during World War II, the number of jobs soared and technological advances such as prefabrication meant that much of the work in defense production, even ship-building, was

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<sup>34</sup>Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981); Bentley, *Eating for Victory*; Campbell, *Women at War with America*; Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*; Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

<sup>35</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 233.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 66-69.

<sup>37</sup>Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 28; and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), 103.

suitable for novice workers.<sup>38</sup> As the need for workers quickly outpaced supply, and as more men were conscripted for service, employers increasingly perceived the vast opportunity that so many women workers presented. In January 1942, a government survey reported that employers expected to hire women to fill just 29 percent of available jobs in defense industries; within six months employers expected to hire women to fill 70 percent of available jobs.<sup>39</sup> Women had many incentives to work during the war, including the availability of better jobs, job training, and record-high wages, a desire for financial independence, and a need, for many of them, to supplement low government allowances from their military husbands.<sup>40</sup>

Americans' acceptance of women's employment and women's role in the war effort, as Susan Hartmann has noted, was contingent upon three conditions that preserved the gender status quo: women must only work during the war; women must retain their femininity; and women must retain their primary motivation, caring for home and family.<sup>41</sup> Featured in ads, articles, or broadcast programming, these women displayed the ideals of femininity of their time, with slight frames, styled hair, fair skin, fashionable clothes, and plenty of lipstick. Mass-mediated messages in wartime compared women's work to tasks they had always done—for example, the housewife who can press orange

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<sup>38</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*; Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 49, 60-64; and Rosenberg, *Divided Lives*, 103.

<sup>39</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 122-123; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 54-55.

<sup>40</sup>Anderson, *Wartime Women*; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 191; and Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 128.

<sup>41</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 23.



juice has an easy time with a drill press.<sup>42</sup> Jobs open to women were described as requiring womanly abilities, such as an attention to detail, enthusiasm for the mundane or routine, and an ability to work with small parts.<sup>43</sup>

For all the jobs and opportunities open to women, none came close to those available to men. While the government and industry actively engaged women's services and opinions, trying to sway them and trying to use them to sway others, women were rarely provided with positions of power.<sup>44</sup> For example, though women's union membership climbed to almost 20 percent, women rarely held supervisory roles within unions or the workforce.<sup>45</sup> The ways in which companies organized and managed their workforce to accommodate women conformed to the conditions that Hartmann noted, as well as the "double-helix effect"—the tendency of gender roles to vary by culture or circumstance while retaining the hierarchy that holds women subordinate to men.<sup>46</sup> Wages increased for all men and women, but for women less than men, and still for blacks less than whites.<sup>47</sup> Ruth Milkman, in her study showing the hierarchy of sex-segregated jobs in the electrical and automotive industries during World War II, observed that the types of jobs designated as men-only or women-only varied widely from one

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<sup>42</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 124; and Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 5.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 129, 135-136

<sup>45</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 129; and Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 85, 92, 97-98.

<sup>46</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*; and Higonnet et al., *Behind the Lines*.

<sup>47</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 127-128; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 94, 124-125.

factory to another.<sup>48</sup> Yet managers insisted that such designations were essential and fixed, and companies paid more for the jobs held by men.<sup>49</sup> Milkman concluded that job segregation helped sustain male morale by constructing gendered meanings for jobs and by ensuring that women earned less than men.<sup>50</sup> Companies found it easy to get around government mandates or recommendations to pay women equal wages for equal work by hiring women to do jobs described as “light,” and men to do jobs described as “heavy,” though jobs considered heavy at one company were as likely to be considered light at another.<sup>51</sup> Despite reporting that they were highly satisfied with female workers overall during the war, companies continued to pay more to hire men for jobs that women could do and, after the war, often refused to hire women at all.<sup>52</sup>

When the war ended, employers placed labor relations and gender identities above cost-effectiveness and productivity, casting off their female employees and returning to the nearly all-male workforce that existed prior to the war.<sup>53</sup> Media messages and societal opinions seemed to reflect that no amount of success in women’s work mattered. If working had been the patriotic thing to do “for the duration,” returning to the home and

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<sup>48</sup>Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 19.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, 19-26.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 19-26.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 71, 75.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 118-123.

<sup>53</sup>Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 173; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 20-27; Joan W. Scott, “Re-Writing History,” in eds. Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 23-25.

freeing their jobs for veterans was the only patriotic thing for women to do once peace was restored.<sup>54</sup> A surge in marriage and birth rates, along with a desire for normalcy<sup>55</sup>—which was “encouraged and reinforced by a powerful media appeal”<sup>56</sup>—also contributed to women’s post-war flight from the workforce. This sustained ideology of home and hearth has led scholars to de-emphasize the impact of World War II on women’s status in society or the workforce.<sup>57</sup> Yet within a decade the workforce percentages would begin to climb again, albeit with most women taking lower-paying positions in office work, sales, and service.<sup>58</sup>

Whether a catalyst or a blip in continuous progress, the war had given more women than ever before the opportunity to prove themselves equal to men in the workforce and thus had proven false many common arguments for keeping women at home. And certain milestones could not be taken away—such as the military’s acceptance, for the first time, of women physicians; the piecemeal gains women had made in state rights; the confidence women had gained as wage-earners and skilled employees; and the knowledge of sons and daughters that their mothers were capable of independent decision-making and all manner of “men’s” work.<sup>59</sup> Among black women,

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<sup>54</sup>Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 20-27.

<sup>55</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 24-26, 170.

<sup>56</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 26.

<sup>57</sup>Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 8; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 3-4, 83-84; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 209-216.

<sup>58</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 166-172.

<sup>59</sup>Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 33, 210-211.

who despite the prevailing racial segregation in most industries had found far greater work opportunities during the war, some advances remained.<sup>60</sup> Though they were once again left with the lowest-paying, least-desirable positions, they had benefited from many opportunities to acquire new skills and experiences that had been closed to them before the war. Many professional schools, military units, and employers had finally opened their doors to black women, and those doors remained open.<sup>61</sup>

## **The Press during World War II**

Much of the government's success or failure at balancing its interests and authority with the interests and rights of a democratic nation depended on the "bureaucratization" of censorship and propaganda, as well as on the individuals who were vested with that authority.<sup>62</sup> During World War II, three news agencies, three radio networks, several magazines, and ten daily newspapers in the United States employed international correspondents.<sup>63</sup> Working for these media were an estimated 300 international correspondents in the 1930s and more than 2,600 by the end of World War

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<sup>60</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 127-128; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 61, 94, 124-125; and Maureen Honey, ed., *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 7-10.

<sup>61</sup>Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 128; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 40-41, 105; and Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 344.

<sup>62</sup>Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*; Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; Sweeney, *The Military and the Press*; Washburn, *The Office of Censorship's Attempt to Control Press Coverage*; and Betty Houchin Winfield, "Two Commanders-in-Chief: Free Expression's Most Severe Test" (Joan Shorenstein Barone Center, 1992), 1-22.

<sup>63</sup>Desmond, *Tides of War*, 449.

II.<sup>64</sup> The United States War Department accredited more than 1,500 war correspondents during World War II, less than 10 percent of whom were women.<sup>65</sup> The military provided accredited correspondents with facilities and transportation, and assigned them the rank of captain.<sup>66</sup> As uniformed captains, correspondents were thought to have greater leverage and protection if captured by the enemy and would be less likely to be mistaken for spies. The title and uniform particularly helped female correspondents, providing a professional appearance and status that was similar, if not equal, to that of men.<sup>67</sup>

War correspondents had to submit stories to United States censors before their material could be sent to editors. Censors could strike out words, sentences, paragraphs, and whole stories they deemed objectionable. Reporters had to write carefully, with censors in mind, to avoid having their stories transmitted with large gaps in the text, which could render their work incoherent or insignificant. Thus the censors had a chilling effect on the stories journalists wrote. Author John Steinbeck contended that he and other World War II correspondents had “abetted” the war effort, often glossing over incidents and neglecting to report on anything that reflected badly on the war or the military.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Desmond, *Tides of War*, 449. This number also includes reporters who were not accredited or stationed in war zones, as well as those who wrote for foreign newspapers, who may have written infrequently, and who may not have sought access to the military.

<sup>65</sup>Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 159-162.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 171-172.

<sup>68</sup>Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford, 1989), 285-286.

“The foolish reporter who broke the rules would not be printed at home, and in addition would be put out of the theater by command,” Steinbeck explained.<sup>69</sup>

Reporters on the home front did not have to clear their stories with censors, yet they often provided cautious or incomplete news coverage.<sup>70</sup> The Office of Censorship was headed by Byron Price, a former Associated Press editor whom the press and public respected because they considered his abhorrence for censorship to be rivaled only by his patriotism and desire to win the war.<sup>71</sup> Journalism historians have noted that the respectful and collegial way in which Price approached members of the press, along with his insistence that stateside members of the press could be trusted to follow a wartime practice code with limited oversight, contributed to the media’s successful self-censorship of news coverage during World War II.<sup>72</sup> Rather than prescribing specific rules for the press, Price asked journalists to refrain from publishing information that might be helpful to the enemy, such as news about weather or military research.<sup>73</sup>

Censors sought to control information about strategy, weapons, technology, geographic locations, and weather that could make the United States vulnerable to attack

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 286.

<sup>70</sup>Patrick Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt to Control Press Coverage of the Atomic Bomb During World War II,” *Journalism Monographs* (April 1990).

<sup>71</sup>Patrick Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt to Control Press Coverage,” 1-3, 38-39.

<sup>72</sup>Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; Sweeney, *The Military and the Press*; and Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

<sup>73</sup>Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

or protect Axis forces from attack.<sup>74</sup> Yet the government was equally concerned about information that might prove an even deadlier weapon against Americans—information that could divide Americans, make them question the war, or soften them toward their enemies.<sup>75</sup> A united front and a sustained fight depended upon engaging Americans in support of the war, developing their hatred for Germany and Japan, and sustaining their confidence in the military.<sup>76</sup> The stance that Price took within the Office of Censorship, and the values of journalists themselves, made it difficult if not loathsome for the government to ask journalists not to publish information that reflected badly on Americans or the war.<sup>77</sup> Instead, the government controlled the release of information and photographs, presenting the public and the media with a “sanitized war.”<sup>78</sup> The standards of this sanitization evolved during the war. The military forbid most photos of its own dead soldiers until 1943, when officials believed too many Americans were overconfident about the war’s outcome.<sup>79</sup> Early in the war, the military had avoided releasing photos of slain or injured soldiers to prevent fear and anxiety among Americans. The military also blocked the publication of photographs that depicted accidental or non-

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<sup>74</sup>Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; Sweeney, *The Military and the Press*; and Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

<sup>75</sup>Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*; Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; and Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

<sup>76</sup>Horten, *Radio Goes To War*; Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom*; Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; and Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

<sup>77</sup>Sweeney, *Secrets of Victory*; Sweeney, *The Military and the Press*; and Washburn, “The Office of Censorship’s Attempt.”

<sup>78</sup>Roeder, *The Censored War*.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*

combat deaths, as well as photographs of soldiers who looked glib, drunk, weak, weary, grimy, or scared.<sup>80</sup> The military often blocked the publication of photographs of black American soldiers for fear that photographs portraying black soldiers at ease or dying in combat might stir up racial tensions at home.<sup>81</sup>

World War II was riskier for correspondents than previous wars because military advances, such as submarine and aircraft technologies, increased the threat of sudden attack away from the front.<sup>82</sup> The casualty rate for United States correspondents in Europe during World War II was reported to be 15 to 20 percent between September 1939 and the spring of 1943; dropping to about 5 percent in 1944-1945.<sup>83</sup> Close to fifty United States war correspondents lost their lives in combat during the war, all men.<sup>84</sup> No American women died in combat-related incidents, as war correspondents, although several were injured or confined to internment camps, and at least two who had worked with their husbands, as a reporting team, were widowed during the war.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Roeder, *The Censored War*.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>82</sup>Desmond, *Tides of War*, 451.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, 452-453.

<sup>84</sup>Desmond, *Tides of War*, 451; and Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 171-172.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*



## Women and Journalism

Early historians who considered women in journalism began with compensatory and contributory histories<sup>86</sup>—finding the notable, exceptional woman who could be considered significant even when viewed through the value systems of male-dominated newsrooms.<sup>87</sup> While uncovering the stories of exceptional women in journalism was important to our understanding of journalism history, it did little to inform the experiences of the majority of women journalists. Marion Marzolf's *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* is one example of an early work that sought, essentially, to “add women and stir”<sup>88</sup>—to provide biographical accounts of “women worthies” without providing a theoretical framework or analysis. Marzolf's work, and other valuable biographical and descriptive studies of women journalists,<sup>89</sup> expanded our

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<sup>86</sup>Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 115-116.

<sup>87</sup>See, for example: Maurine Beasley and Sheila Jean Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, (State College, Pennsylvania: Strata Publishing, 2003); Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Kathleen A. Cairns, *Front-Page Women Journalists, 1920-1950* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003); Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983); and Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977).

<sup>88</sup>Barbara Friedman, Carolyn Kitch, Therese Lueck, Amber Roessner, and Betty Winfield, “Stirred, Not Yet Shaken: Integrating Women's History into Media History,” *American Journalism* (Winter 2009): 160-174; and Elaine Tyler May, “Redrawing the Map of History,” *The Women's Review of Books* (February 2000): 26.

<sup>89</sup>Phyllis Abramson, *Sob Sister Journalism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*; and Kay Mills, *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1988).

understanding of women in journalism, but this literature needed deepening even more than it needed widening.

Also similar to early women's historians, early historians of women in journalism relied upon the value systems and measures of significance—visibility, power—established by male-dominated newsrooms to determine their subjects of study. In the past decade, several scholars have called for a more expansive history of women in journalism—one that would consider those women journalists whose work did not always conform or measure up to the male standards of their time, and one that would interpret the experiences of men and women journalists, rather than considering them separately.<sup>90</sup>

Catherine Covert noted that the field of journalism history, like any discipline, can be blind to its own paradigms and assumptions.<sup>91</sup> Just as American journalism has long valued autonomy, winning, and change, journalism historians have chosen and evaluated their subjects on the basis of these three principles. Covert noted the need for journalism historians to see past the traditional values that defined success in male-dominated journalism to consider those values often dismissed as defining “soft news”<sup>92</sup>—stories about the world traditionally dominated by women, such as human-interest stories, stories about social lives, style, entertainment or housekeeping. Hard news includes stories about the world traditionally dominated by men and is characterized by immediacy and

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<sup>90</sup>Maurine Beasley, “Recent Directions for the Study of Women’s History in American Journalism,” *Journalism Studies* 2,2 (2001): 207-220; and Friedman et al., “Stirred, Not Yet Shaken.”

<sup>91</sup>Catherine L. Covert, “Journalism History and Women’s Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change,” *Journalism History* 8,1 (Spring 1981): 2-6.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

potential public impact, such as stories about crime, politics, and business. Women journalists have long been measured (by historians and fellow journalists) according to what has been suggested was a male standard of their work, the standard that involved the three principles Covert described: autonomy, winning, and change—their ability to cover hard news topics and “scoop” the competition with breaking, front-page news stories.<sup>93</sup> Women who aspired to be successful “newspapermen” typically tried to avoid writing soft news or material for the women’s pages, but so, it seems, did many of the historians and biographers who first wrote about the heroines of journalism.<sup>94</sup> The idea of a woman’s page, or even of women’s news, has held conflicting meaning for many women:<sup>95</sup> the woman’s section presented new opportunities to women who were grateful for work of their own, while also representing confinement to women who saw more expansive opportunities outside of women’s news.

Among scholarship about women who worked in print journalism before the 1960s, few works have included a gender analysis, instead considering women separately from men: as sob sisters, stunt reporters, and the like.<sup>96</sup> Three recent history works have shown the value of delving deeper into the work of women journalists, considering the

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<sup>93</sup>Catherine L. Covert, “Journalism History and Women’s Experience.”

<sup>94</sup>Beasley, “Recent Directions”; Patricia Bradley, *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005); Linda J. Lumsden, “The Essentialist Agenda of the ‘Woman’s Angle’ in Cold War Washington: The Case of Associated Press Reporter Ruth Cowan,” *Journalism History* 33,1 (Spring 2007); Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup>Abramson, *Sob Sister Journalism*; Bradley, *Women and the Press*; Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*; Mills, *A Place in the News*.

totality of their experience along with interrelationships and influences among male and female colleagues, employers, readers, and government officials. Lumsden's "The Essentialist Agenda of the 'Woman's Angle' in Cold War Washington," Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization*, and Jean Marie Lutes' *Front Page Girls*, show how the work of women journalists has influenced and has been influenced by society's understanding of gender, and, in the case of Bederman's study, race as well.<sup>97</sup> Lumsden's work on Ruth Cowan Nash explored the "paradoxical nature" of the woman's angle of journalism in World War II.<sup>98</sup> Bederman's work showed how journalist and anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells used the prevailing discourses and anxieties about masculinity, race, and sexuality—those previously used to defend lynching—and "inverted" them, to effect change materially even as she helped to alter these discourses.<sup>99</sup> Finally, Lutes has shown in her study of women journalists up through the 1920s that early women reporters "functioned as both agents and pawns."<sup>100</sup> Editors often hired them for their ability to entertain readers and to provide a female perspective, as much as for their writing and reporting abilities. "By becoming the news, female reporters created fictions of

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<sup>97</sup>Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Lumsden, "The Essentialist Agenda of the 'Woman's Angle' "; and Jean Marie Lutes, *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>98</sup>Lumsden, "The Essentialist Agenda of the 'Woman's Angle.' "

<sup>99</sup>Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 75-76.

<sup>100</sup>Lutes, *Front-Page Girls*, 6.

themselves that far outlasted—in scope, depth, and impact—the fleeting news value of the stories they covered.”<sup>101</sup>

Their ability to provide what editors touted as the female perspective or the woman’s angle helped to expand roles available to women by feminizing those roles—so that society viewed the role of reporter as one that could be fulfilled by women as well as men, even if society was not ready to change its view of women themselves. In fact, by the 1940s, this approach or strategy was nothing new. Throughout the history of women’s struggle for societal rights, recognition, and privilege, women have by turns emphasized that they are similar to men and different from men. For example, during the suffrage movement, women argued at once that they were equal to men, thus deserved equal treatment, and that they were different from men, thus deserved a voice.<sup>102</sup> Early women writers gained access to newspapers by covering domestic subjects eschewed by men, such as childcare, housekeeping, and fashion—covering women’s news was their “Trojan horse into forbidden encampment.”<sup>103</sup> Women who wanted to cover forbidden subjects such as politics, war, or sports soon found that the woman’s angle provided an entry point. Like women’s news, the woman’s angle increased professional opportunities for women journalists, but it also held them back. Women who strove to be taken seriously as journalists equal to men often resented having to cover “women’s news” or the

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<sup>101</sup>Lutes, *Front-Page Girls*, 11.

<sup>102</sup>Chafe, *Paradox of Change*, 22-23.

<sup>103</sup>Bradley, *Women and the Press*, 113.

woman's angle.<sup>104</sup> Yet scholars have largely overlooked coverage of the woman's angle, as well as the work and lives of women who did not resent its limitations, perhaps because those who covered it seemed to reflect and perpetuate stereotypes women sought to overcome. Much remains to be done to more fully explore women's progress in the history of journalism—both as professionals and individuals affected by gender discourse and as the professionals and individuals who are producing mass-mediated messages about gender.

### **Women, Journalism, and World War II**

The first women to report on World War II were those who, like Anne McCormick and Sigrid Schultz, were veterans of foreign news and were already stationed in Europe as official staff correspondents. Most of these women had originally acquired their knowledge of foreign countries and languages for reasons perhaps unrelated to specific career goals. For example, Schultz's family lived in Chicago, Paris, and Germany, and she had graduated from the Sorbonne. The languages she had learned as a child and as a student prepared her to teach English to Jewish children in Germany and eventually led the *Chicago Tribune* to hire her as an interpreter, a role from which she quickly advanced.<sup>105</sup> McCormick had grown up writing poetry, fictional stories, and essays for a Catholic newsletter edited by her mother, before traveling with her husband

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<sup>104</sup>Bradley, *Women and the Press*, 186. See, for further discussion of the woman's angle, Carolyn Edy, "Juggernaut in Kid Gloves: Inez Callaway Robb, 1901-1979," *American Journalism* 27, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 83-103; and Lumsden, "The Essentialist Agenda of the 'Woman's Angle.' "

<sup>105</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 62-65, 70; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 98-99.

and his export business during and after World War I.<sup>106</sup> She queried *New York Times* when she moved with her husband to Italy, and her knowledge of Catholicism and Latin helped her land the assignments that led to her coverage of Mussolini and her eventual hiring as the first woman editorial writer at the *New York Times*.<sup>107</sup>

Though the women who had succeeded at foreign correspondence before World War II did forge a path for other exceptional women to follow, the path was narrow and exceedingly steep. The women who stayed the path were those, such as Martha Gellhorn and Helen Kirkpatrick, who often risked their lives and their jobs as they wrote news stories and earned recognition from their editors and peers as real “newspapermen,” and today their work is included in many published anthologies of war correspondence, as well as in books of their own.<sup>108</sup> However, the path taken by most women war correspondents was the one military officials created for them. In the 1940s, most editors still hired and tolerated women because of their sex, not despite it—valuing their abilities to report news of interest to women or to provide a woman’s perspective on news of interest to men. As newspaper editors better understood their audiences (i.e., that their readership included so many women) and as military officials better appreciated *having*

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<sup>106</sup>Patricia Bradley, *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 194-195; and Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, 56-57.

<sup>107</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 76-81.

<sup>108</sup>See, for example: Desmond, *Tides of War*; Martha Gellhorn, *The View from the Ground* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994); Helen P. Kirkpatrick, *Under the British Umbrella: What the English Are and How They Go to War* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons), 1939; Jon E. Lewis, *The Mammoth Book of War Correspondents* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2001); Sayre P. Sheldon, *Her War Story: Twentieth-Century Women Write About War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); and Frederick Voss, *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II: Volumes 1 & 2* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, 1994).

an audience, women increasingly found work reporting “the woman’s angle”<sup>109</sup> or the woman’s point of view of war, including human interest stories that men considered less appealing, such as the work of the Red Cross and the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps.<sup>110</sup> Thus, newspapers and the military arranged to accredit women whom they otherwise would not have entrusted with matters of war. As the woman’s angle proved successful, and as more husbands and sons were sent to war leaving their desks empty and leaving their families at home to pore over newspapers in search of stories about them or their lives, even those newspapers that previously had refused to hire women, much less send them to a war zone, began sponsoring women correspondents for accreditation. Wire services, too, sought women to cover more areas.<sup>111</sup>

Some women who were assigned to cover the woman’s angle took advantage of this entry point before quickly discarding it.<sup>112</sup> Others obliged and wrote their stories according to editors’ expectations, playing up the irony of a woman traveling in a decidedly masculine world, learning to wash laundry in her helmet or applying makeup at

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<sup>109</sup>The term “woman’s angle” appears in several articles and books about journalism history, as well as newspaper clippings as far back as the late 1800s. See, for example: Bradley, *Women and the Press*, 220; Dave Kaszuba, “Ringside, Hearthside: Sports Scribe Jane Dixon Embodies Struggle of Jazz Age Women Caught Between Two Worlds,” *Journalism History* 35, 3 (2009): 141; Linda J. Lumsden, “The Essentialist Agenda of the ‘Woman’s Angle’ in Cold War Washington: The Case of Associated Press Reporter Ruth Cowan,” *Journalism History* 33,1 (Spring 2007): 2; and “Mrs. Blake Watkins: And How She Proved Herself One of the Boys at Tampa. From *The London Mail*,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1898.

<sup>110</sup>Bradley, *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality*, 185-186; Edwards, *Women of the World*, 5; and Lumsden, “The Essentialist Agenda of the ‘Woman’s Angle.’ ”

<sup>111</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 211.

<sup>112</sup>Maurine Beasley and Sheila Jean Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2003; and Edwards, *Women of the World*, 123.



the front.<sup>113</sup> Linda Lumsden, in her discussion of the work of World War II war correspondent Ruth Cowan Nash, suggested that the female perspective, or woman's angle, was "an essentialist, male-constructed category intended to keep women journalists and their readers in their place: at home and subservient to men."<sup>114</sup> In addition to covering the homemaking aspects of war, the woman's angle included stories about doctors, nurses, and patients—allowing for dramatic stories that could sometimes rival tales from the front.<sup>115</sup>

Officially, the military accredited women to cover the war so they could write the news for and about women. The Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, or SHAEF, created rules that made it all but impossible for women's war reporting to equal men's reporting.<sup>116</sup> Until April of 1945, SHAEF prevented most women from visiting press camps or getting any closer to the front than the nurses or women's services.<sup>117</sup> Women had to secure special permission if they wanted to travel beyond a hospital or WAAC area, and they were supposed to cover woman's angle stories approved by military press officers.<sup>118</sup> But press camps lacked women's latrines, which became reason enough, for many military officials, to limit their accommodations to men. Along with latrines, press camps offered war correspondents the use of teletypes, radios, and the

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<sup>113</sup>Edy, "Juggernaut in Kid Gloves."

<sup>114</sup>Lumsden, "The Essentialist Agenda of the 'Woman's Angle.' "

<sup>115</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, xiv; and Edwards, *Women of the World*, 22-23.

<sup>116</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 246, 316, 330.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, 246.

ability to have stories censored and transmitted on site.<sup>119</sup> Women reported that their exclusion from press camps meant that they could only use field-message service to send their copy, from wherever they were reporting, to censors in London who would then send it on to the United States, a process that delayed their stories and prevented them from revising their work after censors had rendered much of it incoherent.<sup>120</sup>

If official rules denied women equal access to information, locations, equipment, and facilities, official, and unofficial individuals could create even greater barriers. Military personnel, government employees, and even fellow correspondents could, and did, do much to bar women reporters from accreditation and access to information. Helen Shipley, the “passport dragon”<sup>121</sup> who headed United States naturalization and immigration, did not believe women belonged in war zones and often extended home leaves for women correspondents or delayed or denied their passports. Despite the military’s acceptance of female correspondents, certain generals refused to allow women war correspondents to cover their troops or territories in any capacity.<sup>122</sup>

Likewise, despite the success of the woman’s angle, some newspaper editors held fast to policies forbidding the hiring of women, and some male journalists stationed abroad did their best to challenge and deter women from working as correspondents. Wes Gallagher, the “woman-hating”<sup>123</sup> chief of the Associated Press bureau, tried to send back

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<sup>119</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*; Edwards, *Women of the World*, 22-23.

<sup>120</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 246, 316.

<sup>121</sup>Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 146.

<sup>122</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 293.

<sup>123</sup>Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 33.

the first two women ever embedded with a United States military troop as accredited war correspondents, Ruth Cowan Nash for the Associated Press and Inez Callaway Robb for International News Service. The two women remained in North Africa and refused the trip home. Nash, who had worked as an Associated Press reporter for 12 years, called on First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, an ally Cowan had earned in her days covering woman's angle stories in Washington. She notified Roosevelt that men did not want women to cover the WAACs—knowing her message would be read first by Gallagher. His behavior toward Nash improved, but barely.<sup>124</sup> For all of the challenges women faced in covering the war, some of their male colleagues complained that women had an unfair advantage because they could flirt with GIs to get them to talk or they could trade sex for information, the latter of which women claimed rarely happened.<sup>125</sup>

Many of the women who cast aside the woman's angle and sneaked or bargained their way in to witness the action did manage, despite the obstacles, to write stories of significant news value. They did so at great risk, not only to their lives, as many women discovered in repeated close calls, but to their careers. A datelined story indicating that a woman had reported from a place forbidden to women could cost her a court-martial and her accreditation for the duration of the war.<sup>126</sup> Yet the risk often paid off. By December 1944, several women had earned full accreditation to the front, with full access to the

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<sup>124</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 150-151.

<sup>125</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 277, 322.

<sup>126</sup>Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 22; and Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 279.

press camps.<sup>127</sup> Women were never officially accredited to military units; the ban against women at the front was never lifted. Instead the Army made exceptions for the women “who shouted the loudest or who were most adept at breaking the rules”<sup>128</sup> or whose employers could exert enough influence.

By the end of the war, many women who had fought to work alongside men as equals had earned that right. They had won a victory, having proven themselves equal to men in reporting abilities and having widened their path to war correspondence.<sup>129</sup> Victorious or no, when the war ended, women war correspondents returned to safety—but not necessarily to security. Their personal risk had diminished drastically, but so had their professional potential. As Patricia Bradley noted, “the role of women correspondents in World War II did not clear the way for women in journalism,” and the women returned from the war only to face the same situation they had faced before the war.<sup>130</sup> Women journalists faced the shared plight of all working women after the war: post-war propaganda beseeching women to step aside and return home so men could reclaim their jobs.<sup>131</sup> Even women whose work had all but guaranteed them lifelong respect and writing assignments faced challenges returning home, as they readjusted to life that was, as Gellhorn described it, “tiresomely superficial” and tried to find work that

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., 283.

<sup>128</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 160.

<sup>129</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 388-389.

<sup>130</sup>Bradley, *Women and the Press*, 221.

<sup>131</sup>Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 161; Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 20-27.

they felt to be as “necessary” as the work they’d done during the war.<sup>132</sup> While some women continued to work as foreign correspondents, the few remaining posts were generally reserved for men. Most women turned or returned to traditional roles of marriage and motherhood or found jobs with women’s magazines or women’s pages at newspapers.<sup>133</sup> Sorel noted that a number of women war correspondents, upon their return home, “joined the great post-war fraternity of the psychically displaced.”<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 38, 389.

<sup>133</sup>Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, 72; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 5. This renewed focus, post-war, on traditional roles and values was true for women in other professions as well; c.f., Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; and Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 20-27.

<sup>134</sup>Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 390.

## Chapter Two.

### Theory and Approach

#### Theoretical Framework

Many scholars have recorded and interpreted histories of war, citizenship, work, mass communication, and individual wartime experiences without considering gender relationships or, in many cases, without any consideration of women.<sup>1</sup> Yet scholars who do consider gender identities and relationships of men and women continue to reveal new ways of understanding the past. Their research has shown that women—as well as gendered identities, roles, and relationships—are directly and indirectly essential to the topics of war, citizenship, work, and mass communication, as well as to any study of an individual's life.<sup>2</sup> These studies have broadened our understanding of history, not only for

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<sup>1</sup>Many histories, before the 1970s, excluded women entirely. This was especially true of histories of war, which only began considering gender in the 1980s. For further discussion, see Miriam Cooke, “Wo-Man, Retelling the War Myth,” in *Gendering War Talk*, ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Berenice A. Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); and Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Gisela Bock, “Equality and Difference in National Socialist Racism,” in *Feminism and History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Kathleen Canning, “Gender and the

the answers they have provided but for the questions and concerns they continue to provoke. As Joan Wallach Scott concluded in 2008:

Two decades of research has made it abundantly clear that ... “gender constructs politics.” ... But oddly, or perhaps predictably, there are fewer questions posed about the ways in which “politics constructs gender,” about the changing meanings of “women” (and “men”), and about the ways they are articulated by and through other concepts that seemingly have nothing to do with sex (such as war, race, citizen, reason, spirituality, nature, or the universal).<sup>3</sup>

The premise for Scott’s conclusion, as well as the premise for most studies that consider gender, is a belief that fixed gender categories do not exist.<sup>4</sup> Gender as a category is fluid, deriving significance and meaning from context. Traits or tasks that individuals or groups define and value as masculine in one time or place, they might well define and value as feminine in another time or place. Each individual constructs gender through his or her perceptions and experiences, which in turn depend upon and influence structures of power, as well as the needs and desires of individuals in power within any

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Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History,” *American Historical Review* 97, 3 (Jun., 1992): 736-768; Kathleen Canning and Sonya O. Rose, “Gender, Citizenship, and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations,” *Gender and History* 13, no. 3 (November 2001): 427-443; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Leisa Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 33-50; Mrinalini Sinha, “Gender and Nation,” in *Feminist History Reader*, ed. Sue Morgan (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>3</sup>Joan W. Scott, “Unanswered Questions,” *American Historical Review* (December 2008): 1423-1424.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Denise Riley, “Am I That Name?”: *Feminism and the Category of “Women” in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1988); and Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

given society.<sup>5</sup> As Judith Butler has argued: “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ... identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.”<sup>6</sup>

Thus, a look at individual women or women as a group should consider gender, defined by Scott as “an entire system of relationships that may include sex, but is not directly determined by sex nor directly determining of sexuality.”<sup>7</sup> How individuals and groups construct, express, and perceive gender can have grave implications for the lives of individual men and women, as well as for communities and nations.<sup>8</sup> Scott has called for historians to explore these “subjective meanings of women and men as categories of identity,” rather than grouping individuals in binary categories as men or women, assuming they share an identity or common goals, beliefs, and experiences.<sup>9</sup>

Just as historians should consider the gender constructions and interactions of both sexes simultaneously and interactively, this consideration should also include, when

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<sup>5</sup>Countless works have explored this idea, but two in particular that consider the construction of gender and the relationship of power to gender and to sexuality, respectively, are Butler, *Gender Trouble*; and Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume 1* (New York: Random House, 1978).

<sup>6</sup>Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 34.

<sup>7</sup>Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 32.

<sup>8</sup>These consequences have been addressed in many works. See for example: Bock, “Equality and Difference in National Socialist Racism”; and Joan Wallach Scott, “‘L’ouvrière! Mot impie, sordide...’: Women Workers in the Discourse of French Political Economy, 1840-1860,” in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*.

<sup>9</sup>Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 6.



applicable, the overlapping and similarly fluid categories of race and class.<sup>10</sup> Yet categories overlook the uniqueness of individuals while assuming that individuals possess shared attributes and experiences. Therefore, Iris Marion Young has drawn from Jean-Paul Sartre's ideas of serial collectivity to argue that scholars must consider gender in terms of "serial collectives" rather than binary groups.<sup>11</sup> Considering individuals in terms of series of collectives defined by shared conditions, Young argued, allows scholars to compare these conditions and individuals without implying that all members of any group share common attributes, identities, or objectives.<sup>12</sup>

This dissertation looks at a group of women who worked in an official capacity, sanctioned by the United States government, as war correspondents for United States media outlets, under the supervision of male bosses and military officials, in order to communicate their views and observations to American audiences. Thus, this dissertation records and interprets the history of United States accredited women World War II correspondents while considering the formation, perpetuation, and evolution of the woman's angle, and the ways in which gender identities and relationships influenced the actions, writings, and perceptions of journalists, military officials, and American audiences. As a historical analysis, this study cannot provide concrete evidence of such influences. Instead, this study draws from gender theory to inform the history of women

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<sup>10</sup>See, in particular, Evelyn Brooks Higgenbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," in *Feminism and History*, ed. Scott; and Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

<sup>11</sup>Iris Marion Young, *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 33-36.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*; and Riley, "Am I That Name?", 5-7.

war correspondents, while drawing from the history of women war correspondents in an attempt to build on the existing literature of gender theory.

### **Justification and Purpose**

Most historical works about women journalists that consider World War II correspondents provide anecdotes, biographical entries, and general summaries of their experiences and their work.<sup>13</sup> Numerous biographies, autobiographies, and anthologies focus on the experiences and writings of a handful of individual women World War II correspondents,<sup>14</sup> but just three works have addressed the history of women war correspondents as a whole: former war correspondent Julia Edwards published *Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents* in 1988; Lilya Wagner, now a fundraising professional and education researcher, published her master's thesis, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, in 1989; and journalist Nancy Caldwell Sorel published *The Women Who Wrote the War* in 1996. In presenting the story of women who worked as World War II correspondents, each of these works draws from and expands upon the previous one, so that the third, *Women Who Wrote the War*, provides the fullest picture of

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<sup>13</sup>See, for example: Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 15, 18, 141; Bradley, *Women and the Press*, 220-221; Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, 69-70; and Mills, *A Place in the News*, 198.

<sup>14</sup>See, for example: Iris Carpenter, *No Woman's World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946); Dickey Chapelle, *What's a Woman Doing Here?* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1962); Virginia Cowles, *Looking for Trouble* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941); Charlotte Ebener, *No Facilities for Women* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955); Marguerite Higgins, *News Is a Singular Thing* (New York: Doubleday, 1955); Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1988); and Wilda M. Smith and Eleanor A. Bogart, *The Wars of Peggy Hull The Life and Times of a War Correspondent* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1991).

United States women war correspondents and their experiences during World War II.<sup>15</sup> A journalist herself, Sorel spent eight years writing *The Women Who Wrote the War*, drawing from her interviews of women World War II correspondents, as well as archival and manuscript research, published war correspondence, biographies, and autobiographies.<sup>16</sup> Her book, like the two shorter works by Wagner and Edwards, conveys personal stories of accredited women war correspondents, describing their relationships, hopes, and fears to round out the picture of these women to include much about their personal lives.<sup>17</sup> Sorel's book provides a vivid picture of many of the women journalists whom their colleagues and readers deemed the most successful.

Written for general audiences, the existing literature about women World War II correspondents is full of dramatic adventures and rare personalities, and often includes excerpts of exceptional writing. Yet this literature leaves a tremendous amount of ground uncovered. For instance, while books about women war correspondents mention the woman's angle in passing, their focus rests upon the women who most often wrote like "newspapermen," covering the front-page topics, such as battles, military strategy, diplomacy, and political conflict—those who proved themselves capable of doing a man's job and doing it well. Some contextual information regarding women and war-time journalism is scattered throughout each text, but much more must be gleaned from works

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<sup>15</sup>Julia Edwards, *Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988); Nancy Caldwell Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War* (New York: Arcade Pub., 1999); and Lilya Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

<sup>16</sup>Phone interview with Nancy Caldwell Sorel, October 9, 2009.

<sup>17</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*; Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*.

that focus on women's history or that consider war correspondence in general—those same works whose omission of women inspired the few books that focus on female correspondents.

Books about all World War II correspondents—men and women, but mostly men—also consist of varying combinations of survey, biography, and autobiography, as well as compilations of correspondents' original articles and essays.<sup>18</sup> While they often include the names of the most successful women war correspondents, they rarely mention women or the woman's angle. Authors of these books often were journalists who sought to tell a good story or celebrate the profession. While scholars have speculated about the influence of media war coverage on Americans and have analyzed the influence of World War II on women, few scholars have focused on the influence that World War II correspondents, or female correspondents, in particular, might have had on the war, the military, or on individuals' lives, professions, or countries. What remains to be told then about women who worked as World War II correspondents is the broader story, one that includes context, a gender analysis, and a focus on the woman's angle, as well as on the perspectives of the groups, individuals, and factors that influenced or were influenced by their work and their lives.

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<sup>18</sup>Richard Collier, *The Warcos: The War Correspondents of World War Two* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989); Robert William Desmond, *Tides of War: World News Reporting* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1984); Pete Hamill, ed., *A. J. Liebling: World War II Writings* (New York: Penguin, 2008); Nathaniel Lande, *Dispatches From the Front: A History of American War Correspondents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Jon E. Lewis, *The Mammoth Book of War Correspondents* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2001); and Frederick Voss, *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II: Volumes 1 & 2* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, 1994).

Books about women World War II correspondents are laudatory works that leave many questions unanswered about the military's acceptance of women as war correspondents and about the military's recognition of a woman's angle of war. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap in the literature by providing a cultural and social history and gender analysis of the woman's angle of war and military acceptance of women as correspondents during World War II. If an individual's sex is socially and culturally constructed,<sup>19</sup> then a look at female journalists alone could be as inadequate as a consideration of male journalists alone. Likewise, setting two separate works side by side, such as a history of male journalists and a history of female journalists, does not provide the same understanding as a consideration of men and women together. A look at gender could, as Scott has called for more histories to do, explore the subjective meanings of these women's identities in terms of their shifting roles and ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

Scholars continue to debate the extent to which World War II brought about permanent societal change for women or just accelerated changes already underway. Scott argued that scholars of women's history should pay less attention to "watersheds and the impacts of events on women" and instead should be asking subtle and arguably more complex questions "about processes of politics, about interconnections between economic policy and the meanings of social experiences, about cultural representations of sexual difference and their presence in political discourse." These questions, Scott argued, "permit historians to maintain a perspective that at once makes women visible as historical actors, as subjects of the narrative," while offering new readings of subjects in

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<sup>19</sup>Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

<sup>20</sup>Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 6.

which women traditionally were overlooked.<sup>21</sup> Whereas it is useful to understand the subjective meanings of women's progress in any history, the history of women in the profession of journalism seems to hold particular significance because women journalists were so well poised to influence gender discourse. Not only were women journalists seeking professional status in a male world, where they might earn wages for their work and work alongside men as equals, they also gained a voice through journalism and a chance to perform the role of "woman as journalist" for the world.<sup>22</sup> How they used this voice and this performance, in turn, could have broad implications for men and women, as well as society as a whole. As women reported what they saw and did as war correspondents, they contributed to the discourse of citizenship and gender, two concepts that are inextricably bound together to form a "set of social practices,"<sup>23</sup> especially during times of war.

This historical study of the woman's angle and the accreditation of United States women war correspondents should deepen our understanding of gender, war, and journalism. It also should contribute to a greater understanding of women World War II correspondents that can, in turn, help future scholars consider the impact that these correspondents' milestones, setbacks, and writings might have had on the profession of journalism as a whole or on women's perceptions of themselves, or even how these women might have influenced how men perceived themselves, their work, and the

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<sup>21</sup>Joan W. Scott, "Women and War: A Focus for Rewriting History," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 12, 2 (Summer, 1984): 3.

<sup>22</sup>As Butler has stated, "... identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results," in *Gender Trouble*, 34.

<sup>23</sup>Canning and Rose, "Gender, Citizenship, and Subjectivity," 441.

women around them. Understanding the ways that the military controlled or influenced journalism and journalists during World War II therefore also should contribute to our understanding of history. Historians themselves rely upon, and generally trust, the writings of journalists as primary sources, the “raw material” that allows them to secure “a durable, accurate, and reliable recounting of the past.”<sup>24</sup> Scholars have shown that wartime reporting is often unreliable.<sup>25</sup> Thus an understanding of the government’s control and influence of women war correspondents during World War II should also contribute to a more reliable understanding of history.

This study differs from previous works about women World War II correspondents because it considers the woman’s angle and the process of accreditation. Additionally, rather than a focus on individual stories of heroism, this study seeks a broader understanding of the majority of women World War II correspondents.

## **Method**

This dissertation provides a cultural and social history of the United States military’s acceptance of women as official war correspondents up through World War II. It considers the woman’s angle and its influence on the process by which women gained accreditation and access to theaters of war by considering the viewpoints and recollections of the writers, their audiences, and their colleagues, as well as those who had control over their work—such as their superiors within the military and the press.

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<sup>24</sup>Barbie Zelizer, “Why Memory’s Work on Journalism Does Not Reflect Journalism’s Work on Memory,” *Memory Studies* 1 (2008): 79.

<sup>25</sup>Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford, 1989), 285-286; and Zelizer, “Why Memory’s Work on Journalism,” 79.

While the primary focus of my research was on the years in which the United States actively fought in World War II, from Dec. 7, 1941, to Sept. 2, 1945, I also considered the time period from 1846 to 1940 in order to document the emergence of the woman's angle of war and women's early attempts to attain accreditation before World War II. Similarly, while I considered the work and experiences of women who were accredited as war correspondents in all theaters of war during World War II, I paid closest attention to those who were accredited to European and Mediterranean theaters of operation—the theaters of war that far exceeded the others not only in terms of the number of war correspondents the United States military accredited, but also in terms of the number of documents United States military officials left behind.

In addition to government documents, my research considered private papers of government officials and journalists, records of newspaper and magazine publishers and broadcast corporations, as well as newspaper articles, memoirs, and other published works by and about war correspondents. The purpose of this study was not only to develop a history of women who worked as war correspondents, but also to consider the emergence of the woman's angle of war and the category of "woman war correspondent" and the influence these two concepts had on women's work as journalists and war correspondents. Thus, I followed a cultural studies approach, considering the contexts, interrelationships, audiences, and constructed meanings as I considered the history of women as war correspondents.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>David Paul Nord, "The Practice of Historical Research," in *Mass Communication Research and Theory*, eds. Guido H. Stempel III, David H. Weaver, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 70.



I relied upon secondary sources to provide context and to guide me to additional primary sources. The three books about women World War II correspondents, published between 1988 and 1998, continue to be used as a source of information about women war correspondents by journalism history books and articles. Yet each of these three books draws heavily from the prior work, in addition to other secondary sources; they lack citations and were produced for general audiences, without peer review. Thus, I relied upon my own analysis of primary documents—both to ensure accuracy and to explore ideas that they might not have considered.<sup>27</sup>

Relying upon newspaper archives, such as Proquest, Gale, and Lexis-Nexis, and historical archives, such as those housed in the Library of Congress and the National Archives, I searched for news published by and about female war correspondents. In addition to a search using these women's names to locate news created by them and about them, I also conducted searches using the terms "women," "woman," "lady" or "female," and "war" and "correspondent"; the term "war" with the terms "woman's angle," "woman's point of view," "feminine point-of-view," "female point of view," as well as additional variations on these terms. These searches relied not only upon archival databases that allowed for simultaneous searches within many publications, but also searches within the archives of individual publications that employed female war correspondents. Relying upon searches of women's names can be problematic because so many changed their names as they married or divorced, or were widowed. Therefore it

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<sup>27</sup>David Copeland, Frank E. Fee, Jr., Mark Feldstein, and Linda Lumsden, "Debate and Reflection: How to Write Journalism History," *Journalism Studies* 7, 3 (2006): 463; and James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Northport, Alabama: Vision Press, 2003), 49.

was necessary to be flexible and comprehensive with search terms, researching biographical information on each woman to lead to additional names.<sup>28</sup>

Once I had gathered writings relevant to the woman's angle and women who worked as war correspondents, I conducted an assessment of content, considering its meaning and context.<sup>29</sup> In addition to noting explicit references to gender, I also considered evidence of gendered language and the "multiplicity of meanings," as Joanne Meyerowitz noted, that such language conveys.

In different historical contexts, masculinity represented strength, protection, independence, camaraderie, discipline, rivalry, militarism, aggression, savagery, and brutality, and femininity represented weakness, fragility, helplessness, emotionality, passivity, domestication, nurturance, attractiveness, partnership, excess, and temptation. The so-called natural differences between the sexes had no fixed and unchangeable meaning, and in their variety they provided potential meaning for a range of other relationships.<sup>30</sup>

While relying on gender and historical studies to inform my study and provide context, I also made every attempt to avoid presentism. As Kim Golombisky and Derina

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<sup>28</sup>For example, war correspondent Bettye Murphy's full name was Martha Elizabeth Murphy, and articles written about her, as well as articles she wrote, used variations of her first name, middle name, nicknames, and initials, as well as varying combinations of three last names because she had been widowed twice.

<sup>29</sup>For more information about content assessment, as well as examples of studies that have used this technique, see: Dave Kaszuba, "Ringside, Hearthside: Sports Scribe Jane Dixon Embodies Struggle of Jazz Age Women Caught Between Two Worlds," *Journalism History* 35, 3 (2009); Carolyn Kitch, "A Genuine, Vivid Personality," *Journalism History* 31, 3 (Fall 2005): 122-137; Linda Lumsden, "Women's Lib Has No Soul," *Journalism History* 35, 3 (Fall 2009): 118-130; Marion Marzolf, "American Studies — Ideas for Media Historians?" *Journalism History* 5 (Spring 1978): 13-16.

<sup>30</sup>Joanne Meyerowitz, "AHR Forum: A History of 'Gender,'" *American Historical Review* (December 2008): 1346-1356.

Holtzhausen noted, “It is one thing to gain insight on yesterday in light of what we know today. It is quite another to misinterpret, misjudge, or misrepresent yesterday by assuming we knew yesterday what we know today.”<sup>31</sup> How a scholar approaches a study often determines the results of that study. As Carolyn Kitch has shown, scholars have reached very different conclusions about media representations of women, depending on the researchers’ frames of reference—i.e., those who saw mass media images as imposing meanings on audiences versus those who saw audiences as assigning meaning to media images.<sup>32</sup> As I assessed content, I looked for evidence of meaning beyond my own interpretations—such as in written correspondence, diary entries, biographies, or letters to the editor.

In addition to considering context, meaning, and significance in writings by and about female war correspondents, I also reviewed government documents to consider the rulemaking process and how it served to help or hinder women and men in their work as war correspondents, as well as how regulations and policies changed throughout the war.<sup>33</sup> I also considered evidence of how correspondents experienced and reacted to the rulemaking process, and whether such rules reflected their reality, as revealed in articles

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<sup>31</sup>Kim Golombisky and Derina Holtzhausen, “ ‘Pioneering Women’ and ‘Founding Mothers’: Women’s History and Projecting Feminism onto the Past,” *Women and Language* 28, 2 (Fall 2005): 20.

<sup>32</sup> Carolyn Kitch, “Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Women’s Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in a New Area of Historical Scholarship,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, 3 (Autumn 1997): 477-489.

<sup>33</sup>For one example of this type of analysis, see Seeta Pena Gangadharan, “Public Participation and Agency Discretion in Rulemaking at the Federal Communications Commission,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 33 (2009): 337-353.

or correspondence or in government documents that described correspondents' transgressions or appeals to change the rules.

## PART II.

### A Womanly View of War

*A lady war correspondent! We looked at one another in doubt and indignation. After all, we said, there were limits to the sphere of woman's usefulness. What kind of a newspaper proprietor was it, anyhow, who would send a tenderly nurtured lady around amid the hardships and rigors, the bullets, and the yellow fever germs of a Cuban war?*

*"For her own sake," said the experienced war correspondent solemnly, "this thing ought to be stopped right now." "For her own sake,"—the unnecessary use of the phrase rather betrayed us, for at the back of our minds, as we lay back on the cushioned lounges, sipping ice water, there was a feeling which we did not care to recognize, that we had a right to be a little indignant for our own sakes.<sup>1</sup>*

*—New York Times, July 3, 1898*

The term war correspondent describes an individual who travels to the site of a war to report news about that war for a medium that will reach a public audience.

Certainly, individuals around the world have communicated aspects of battle with one

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<sup>1</sup>From *The London (Ontario) Mail*, "Mrs. Blake Watkins: And How She Proved Herself One of the Boys at Tampa," *New York Times*, July 3, 1898.

another since the beginning of time.<sup>2</sup> Yet the role and image of the professional war correspondent, as we understand the term today, was born and raised in the nineteenth century. Among the first of this “luckless tribe” of journalists may well have been the reporter who claimed such a title for himself, William Howard Russell of *The Times of London*.<sup>3</sup> While Russell was by no means the first to report on war, scholars have largely agreed that his critical, independent reports about the British army from the battlefield of the Crimean War represented the start of something new.<sup>4</sup> Russell’s war correspondence in 1854 was “the beginning of an organized effort to report a war to the civilian population at home using services of a civilian reporter,” Phillip Knightley noted, which was “an immense leap in the history of journalism.”<sup>5</sup> The 1850s may have been the dawn of an organized effort, yet these early efforts were highly unorganized, governed more by trial and error than any professional standard. During the Civil War, war correspondence often consisted of entirely biased, exaggerated reports, written by reporters who may not have been anywhere near the action, who sought to prove their loyalty, build the morale of their own side, and outdo competing reporters rather than provide an accurate account

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<sup>2</sup>Joseph Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 33.

<sup>3</sup>Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 2, 44.

<sup>4</sup>Robert W. Desmond, *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), 177-180; Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937), 21; Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 15.

<sup>5</sup>Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 2.

of the war.<sup>6</sup> If the mid-nineteenth century was the infancy of war correspondence, then the time between the Civil War and World War I was its “golden age,” as well as, as Knightley has described it, “an inglorious fifty-year free-for-all.”<sup>7</sup> It was also a time when war correspondents were heroic symbols and even well-paid celebrities.<sup>8</sup> Frederic Hudson, writing a survey of journalism in 1872, noted society’s reverence for war correspondents, calling them the true historians of war and opening a chapter about them with the following exclamations: “The war correspondent! How much would be lost without him! How many noble deeds and gallant actions have disappeared with the smoke of battle for want of a reporter!”<sup>9</sup>

Coinciding with this war reporting free-for-all was a rising interest among newspaper publishers in presenting the woman’s angle to reach more women readers, who in turn could draw more department-store advertising revenue.<sup>10</sup> In 1872, Hudson devoted a chapter of his survey of journalism to women, explaining their rise in the profession as follows:

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 25-27; Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, 81-86.

<sup>7</sup>Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 43; Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, 242.

<sup>8</sup>Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 44; Barbara Korte, *Represented Reporters: Images of War Correspondents in Memoirs and Fiction* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

<sup>9</sup>Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, 1690-1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 715.

<sup>10</sup>Charles F. McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 36; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, Macmillan, 1962), 598-599; and Edwin Llewellyn Shuman, *Steps into Journalism: Helps and Hints for Young Writers* (Evanston, Illinois: Evanston Press Co., 1894), 149-151.

They can frequently do what men can not accomplish. These female journalists, pure and bright, are the growth of the last fifteen years in America. They are now to be seen every where [*sic*]*—*in every large city where influential papers are printed.<sup>11</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, journalism was among the few careers readily available to women that could offer the same intellectual and economic satisfaction available to men. In September of 1894, Margaret Welch, a *New York Times* reporter who spoke at the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association, declared some aspects of newspaper work “almost ideal for women,” because journalism was one of the only professions that allowed women to “command a fair salary while learning the business.”<sup>12</sup> Women who wanted to break into the field could submit their work to editors to be published piecemeal, while persuading editors to offer them future assignments as special correspondents, or “specials.” As Edwin Shuman explained in his 1914 guide for aspiring journalists, one of the best ways for women to enter newspaper work at that time was to become a special correspondent.<sup>13</sup>

The special furnishes a broad but thorny road to newspaperdom that is open to all, because anybody, rich or poor, at home or in a strange land, can at least try it. It is therefore, generally speaking, the best free-for-all

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<sup>11</sup>Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, 1690-1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 504.

<sup>12</sup>Margaret H. Welch. “Is Newspaper Work Healthful for Women?” *Journal of Social Science* 32 (1894), 113. Welch concluded “women are equal, physically, to newspaper work when they rid themselves of some of the handicaps of their own making. Two serious ones are improper dressing and unhygienic eating,” she wrote, explaining that women cannot maintain good health wearing tight corsets, heavy skirts, and “thin kid shoes” as they work long hours without a decent meal. “We women must equip ourselves better, physically, for the opportunities that are before us,” *ibid.*, 114-115.

<sup>13</sup>Shuman, *Steps into Journalism*, 149.



highway that we have. And there seem to be about as many women as men who reach distinction by it.<sup>14</sup>

Shuman noted that women who had reached such distinction included Fannie Brigham Ward, a correspondent who wrote lengthy articles about her travels and war-time experiences in South America and Cuba.<sup>15</sup> Though Shuman does not mention her war reporting, Ward was among the newspaper correspondents who witnessed the sinking of the *Maine* that led to the Spanish-American War in 1898.<sup>16</sup>

This section considers articles by and about women whom United States newspapers and magazines described as war correspondents, through World War I.<sup>17</sup> This exploration reveals how American media wrote about women who worked as war correspondents and how these women wrote about war, thereby informing the central concepts of this dissertation.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 154.

<sup>15</sup>Shuman, *Steps into Journalism*, 154. Fannie Brigham Ward wrote for the *Times Picayune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Philadelphia Record*, and other publications in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See Fannie B. Ward, “The Chilean War: A Correspondent Who Sides With Balmaceda,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1891; Fannie Brigham Ward, “Horrors of War: Past and Present Sufferings in Santiago de Cuba,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1898; and “Mrs. F.B. Ward Dead: Prominent Newspaper Writer, Traveler, and Lecturer,” *Washington Post*, October 6, 1913.

<sup>16</sup>Edwards, *Women of the World*, 23; and Mott, *American Journalism*, 599.

<sup>17</sup>I began with proximity searches for terms such as woman, girl, female, women, and war correspondent. Once I had the names of women whom publications described as war correspondents, I searched for articles written by or about these women. Many of them had changed their names several times, when they married, widowed or divorced, and some also used pseudonyms; thus I used all variations of their names as I searched, as well as “wildcard” characters and “fuzzy searches” to allow for misspellings and errors in text recognition.

## Chapter Three.

### A Lady War Correspondent, 1846 to 1914

*The London Post has sent a woman to Africa as its war correspondent.  
We shall now learn what the women there wear.<sup>1</sup>*

—*Saturday Evening Post*, 1881

Of all the American women whom journalists and historians have described as war correspondents, Jane McManus Storm Cazneau may have been the earliest to have reported on war from behind battle lines, when she covered the Mexican war for the *New York Sun* in 1846.<sup>2</sup> Another, Margaret Fuller, is better known today and has frequently been described as the first woman war correspondent, a label attributed to her reporting on the Roman revolution for the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1849.<sup>3</sup> Yet even as a “first,” neither of these women was alone. Scholars, journalists, biographers, and others, writing

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<sup>1</sup>“Femininities,” *Saturday Evening Post*, April 30, 1881.

<sup>2</sup>Linda S. Hudson, *Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau*, 1807-1878. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2001); and Tom Reilly, “Jane McManus Storms: Letters from the Mexican War, 1846–1848,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85 (July 1981): 21-44.

<sup>3</sup>Maurine Beasley and Sheila Jean Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2003), 9; Joyce Hoffmann, *On Their Own: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2008), 3; and Joseph Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 54.

throughout the past 150 years, have given the title “first woman war correspondent,” with no qualifier, to more than a dozen women whose war reporting began some 40 to 100 years later.<sup>4</sup>

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, American newspaper and magazine articles described more than sixty women as war correspondents (see Table 1), most of whom wrote for American publications. While many of these women might not fit such a billing on closer scrutiny, it does appear that at least one woman reported on every major battle that engaged American military, beginning with the Civil War, as well as several foreign conflicts in which the United States had no role. While a woman writer’s presence at any battle made news, often syndicated nationwide, one report seemed to have little bearing on another; thus newspapers often described each of ten women who reported from Cuba in the summer of 1898 as the only woman war correspondent.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>See, for examples of the many claims of “first in history” women war correspondents who reported on war between 40 and 97 years after Fuller: David A. Copeland, *Greenwood Library of American War Reporting: The Indian Wars & the Spanish-American War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005); Jane Eldridge Miller, *Who’s Who in Contemporary Women’s Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 104; and Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 28. Newspaper articles, especially obituaries, have regularly made such claims, see for example, “Reporter, Writer for Movies,” *The Washington Post*, May 15, 1973.

<sup>5</sup>Newspaper articles and other accounts describe nine American women and one Canadian woman as war correspondents who were in Cuba to cover the Spanish-American War: Anna Northend Benjamin, Clara Colby, Teresa Dean, Marguerite Arlina Hamm, Nora O’Malley, Elsie Reasoner, Fannie Ward, Katherine White, Kit Blake Watkins (Canada), and Josephine Woodard; See, for examples of brief items claiming that individual reporters who covered the Spanish-American War in Cuba were the only women war correspondents, “A Blessing Disguise,” *Los Angeles Times* July 31, 1898; David MacGowan, “Poisoned by Army Ration: Private Gibbons, Fifth Illinois, Eats Corned Beef and Dies,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* May 27, 1898; “Girl Who Went to the Front: Elsie Reasoner,” *St. Paul Globe* September 4, 1898; “Glory of War Correspondents,” *Galveston Daily News* September 18, 1898, which profiled war

At a time when women could not vote, own property or travel alone without drawing suspicion, most of the women described as war correspondents did not work in such a capacity until they were more than 30 years old and either divorced, widowed, or estranged from their husbands, and more than half were childless (see Table 1). More than a dozen women served as war correspondents while accompanying their husbands, fathers or brothers, who were members of the military or war correspondents themselves.<sup>6</sup> Many were ardent supporters of women's suffrage who had attended college, and several had graduate degrees. All but two had grown up in states in the Northeast, Midwest, or West. The only mention of race accompanied a description of the war correspondent named "Bright Eyes," a Native American woman who covered the Sioux Indian war for the *Omaha Herald*.<sup>7</sup> One woman, Laura Redden, drew admiration from reporters who noted that not only had she overcome her sex to work as a war correspondent, but she was deaf and spoke with difficulty.<sup>8</sup>

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correspondents in Cuba and said that only one woman was at the front, Marguerite Arlina Hamm; and "She's at the Front: Mrs. [Clara] Colby the Only Woman War Correspondent In Cuba," *Newark (New Jersey) Daily Advocate*, August 10, 1898.

<sup>6</sup>At least twelve early women war correspondents traveled and wrote with spouses, husbands or fathers who were war correspondents or military officials, including the following women: Clara Colby, Cora Crane, Teresa Deane, Lottie Bengough McCaffrey, Elsie Reasoner, Susette LaFlesche Tibbles, and Katherine White. See for example, Stanley Wertheim, "Stephen Crane Remembered," *Studies in American Fiction* 4:1 (1976: Spring), 45-64; "A Heroine in Petticoats: Remarkable Experiences of a Pittsburg Lady during the War—Adventures in Field and Prison Pen," *Pittsburgh Dispatch* May 4, 1889.

<sup>7</sup>Eliza Archard Conner, "Women's World in Paragraphs," *Arizona Republican* April 17, 1891. Bright Eyes is the American translation of the reporter's Sioux name; her American name was Susette LaFlesche.

<sup>8</sup>"Pen Names: The More Important of Those Which Authors Have Employed," *New York Times*, November 17, 1900; "Deaf-Mutes," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, May 1885.

News accounts used the term “war correspondent” to describe women whose subjects related to war, whether or not they witnessed violence or military operations. Two women, labeled as war correspondents for their coverage of the Civil War, remained in Washington, D.C., and based their work on interviews rather than firsthand accounts of battle.<sup>9</sup> Women often traveled with medical units, assisting nurses while they worked as correspondents, though often they traveled with letters of permission from the War Department or similar military credentials.<sup>10</sup> Several women suffered in some way relating to their work, such as being held prisoner of war, contracting a fatal illness or dying in an accident while traveling.<sup>11</sup> News about individual women war correspondents, especially in the late 19th century, most often ran within the women’s section of a newspaper, often as brief items with no byline, and often accompanied by an illustrated portrait.<sup>12</sup> Most of the writings about women war correspondents were written

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<sup>9</sup>Grace Farrell, “Lillie Devereux Blake (1833-1913),” *Legacy* 14, no. 2 (1997): 148; and “Queries and Answers,” *New York Times*, September 8, 1900, about Laura Redden.

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, Fannie B. Ward, “Red Cross In Cuba,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1898; “A Woman War Correspondent,” *Kansas City Journal*, May 29, 1899, about Kit Blake Watkins; and “The Fifth’s Transfer,” (*Baltimore*) *Sun*, June 1, 1898, about Nora O’Malley.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, “Women’s Auxiliary Ex-Prisoners Of War: A Female War Correspondent [Lottie Bengaugh McCaffrey] Who Was Incarcerated in Castle Thunder,” (*Washington*) *Evening Times*, October 7, 1902; “Death of Miss [Anna] Benjamin: She Was The First Woman War Correspondent To Reach Santiago—Her Travels,” *New York Daily Tribune*, January 22, 1902; “The Wreck of the Elizabeth: Incidents of the Wreck—Thrilling Scenes—Particulars of the Loss of the Count and Countess...,” (*Baltimore*) *Sun*, July 26, 1850, about Margaret Fuller Ossoli; and Bessie Dow Bates, “Plucky Woman War Correspondent: Eliza Archard Connor Who is Carrying a Typewriter Around the World,” *Daily (Wisconsin) Gazette*, June 20, 1899.

<sup>12</sup>See for example, “Off for Cuba: First Salt Lake Girl to Go There,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 27, 1898; “Margherita Arlina Hamm,” *Newark (New Jersey) Daily Advocate*, June 28, 1896; “She’s At The Front: Mrs. Colby the Only Woman War Correspondent In

in a light tone that reflected the surrounding content of the women's pages. The items described the women and their work in favorable, if not promotional, terms. The women war correspondents were most often described as being attractive, bright, and plucky—as being cheerful despite rough conditions and capable of holding their own without special treatment.<sup>13</sup> Articles often noted that these war correspondents were small, slight, or otherwise diminutive in shape or stature, even while being exceptionally active or energetic.<sup>14</sup> They were not what a reader might expect, these articles explained before offering an account of the correspondents' feminine attributes and habits as proof.

A woman's stated purpose for war correspondence, according to articles that mentioned it at all, was to provide a female perspective of war. Yet the official reason for a woman's travel often differed from the actual reason. For example, Elsie Reasoner found it easiest to travel to Cuba as a volunteer with the nurses, so while some articles stated her intention as covering the war (and quoted Reasoner as saying she wanted to learn if war really was hell), other articles reported that her role of reporter was secondary to her nursing work.<sup>15</sup> Few articles described the work women were doing, beyond

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Cuba," *Newark (New Jersey) Daily Advocate*, August 10, 1898; Eliza Archard Conner, "Women's World in Paragraphs," *Arizona Republican*, April 17, 1891; and David MacGowan, "Poisoned by Army Ration," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1898.

<sup>13</sup>See for example, Bessie Dow Bates, "Plucky Woman War Correspondent," *Daily (Wisconsin) Gazette*, June 20, 1899; Robert B Cramer, "Little Stories of the War," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 3, 1898; "Woman War Correspondent," *Kansas City Journal*, March 29, 1899; and "Women Playing Part in War in the Balkans," *The (Baltimore) Sun*, November 17, 1912.

<sup>14</sup>See for example, Bessie Dow Bates, "Plucky Woman War Correspondent," *Daily Gazette*, June 20, 1899; and "The Romance of the Only Woman War Correspondent," *St. Paul Globe*, June 1, 1904.

<sup>15</sup>See, for example, "Girl Who Went to the Front," *St. Paul Globe*, September 4, 1898; and "Miss Elsie Reasoner," *Kansas City Journal*, August 8, 1898.

labeling them as war correspondents. One exception was a half-page feature about Reasoner's marriage to fellow war correspondent Lester Ralph. The article began with a description of Reasoner at work, covering the Spanish-American war in Cuba:

She is a slip of a girl, only five feet tall—just like a china doll—and she seemed entirely out of place on the battlefield. But as the shells shrieked and the Mauser bullets sang, she walked cheerfully around, watching the wounded men fall, and then after she had helped them, asking them questions about it.<sup>16</sup>

Writings by women billed as war correspondents often offered a personal perspective, in a style similar to a foreign correspondent or travel writer.<sup>17</sup> In first-person accounts they described their experiences of people, places, and events, usually as a narrative with their own opinions. Some women wrote extended political analyses that considered historical context and criticized governments, their officials, their actions, and their policies. Others wrote essays that described landscapes and cultures, reading more like travelogues than news of war.<sup>18</sup> Most of the articles billed as war coverage by women correspondents included thoughtful pieces about conditions for soldiers, such as sanitation, the quality of

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<sup>16</sup>“The Romance of the Only Woman War Correspondent,” *St. Paul (Minnesota) Globe*, June 19, 1904.

<sup>17</sup>See, for example, Eliza Archard Conner, “Our Boys in Luzon: Eliza Archard Conner Praises the American Soldier,” *Akron (Ohio) Tribune*, June 19, 1899; and “A War-Correspondent on Crutches,” *Outlook*, January 14, 1899, about Mary Krout.

<sup>18</sup>See, for example, Muriel Bailey, “At Home With Aguinaldo,” *Overland Monthly*, March 1899; and Emma Paddock Telford, “Warships in Suda Bay: The First Sight of Crete to an American Passenger on the Way to Athens,” *New York Times*, May 9, 1897; and Alice Williamson, “My Attempt to Be a War Correspondent: Being the Confessions of a Coward,” *McClure's*, 43, no. 5, (September, 1914): 66-76. *McClure's* introduced Williamson's article as an account of “the hostilities in the Mexican Crisis,” with the explanation, “to send a woman who was at once an experienced writer and a trained observer to report a war seemed to us a novel and interesting plan.”

medical care, rations, clothing, and supplies, as well as conditions for civilians, such as descriptive accounts of the ways a community coped with war.<sup>19</sup>

Many articles noted that a woman had become famous for her war writing or had covered multiple wars. An article about Corra Harris noted that she had traveled through England, France, and Belgium, producing 70,000 words in seventy days for the *Saturday Evening Post*.<sup>20</sup> A few women enjoyed notoriety for having “scooped” or otherwise outdone a man in war correspondence. For example, Teresa Dean, “a bright young widow” woman reporter of the *Chicago Herald* covering the Indian War in 1891 was said to have published “advance news of the operations of the army, which Gen. Mile acknowledged to be correct, though he said he could not understand where she got the information.”<sup>21</sup> The article went on to explain: “This was an experiment in journalism, sending out a woman as war correspondent, but it was a successful one, even though she was ‘only a woman.’”<sup>22</sup>

The few articles that did assess women’s roles as war correspondents only rarely conveyed any negative opinions or predictions. A *London Exchange* article, which ran in American newspapers in 1899, chastised and mocked Lady Mary Howard, a war correspondent for the *London Telegraph*, for “skedaddling at the first hint of real live warfare to a comfortably secure place in the rear, where she was safe from shot and shell

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<sup>19</sup>See, for example, Margherita Arlina Hamm, “Brown and Blue Boys: Soldier Life as Seen by a Woman Inspector. The Lighter Side of the War,” *Washington Post*, July 31, 1898; and “Brussels Has Plenty Of Food,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1914.

<sup>20</sup>Isma Dooly, “Corra Harris, in Her Georgia Valley, Back From Fighting Zone, Tells of Her Experiences in England, Belgium and France,” *Atlanta*, February 7, 1915.

<sup>21</sup>“The Ways of Woman Fair,” (*New York*) *World*, March 12, 1891.

<sup>22</sup>“*Ibid.*”



and all other realisms that might have perturbed her peace of mind.”<sup>23</sup> After forgiving Howard her self-preservation instinct, the article resumed its lecturing tone, arguing that war correspondents must have personal knowledge of war and that “if Lady Mary wasn’t willing to acquire this knowledge, whatever the risk, she should have stayed at home.”<sup>24</sup> Before ending with a disparaging pronouncement of all female war correspondents, the article concluded that Howard may well have been useful after all: “While failing to get any ‘copy’ herself she nevertheless furnished delightful ‘copy’ to her male co-worker. Perhaps this is, after all, the real province of the woman war correspondent.”<sup>25</sup>

Women who worked as war correspondents seemed to furnish delight not only for their critics, colleagues, and readers but for military troops as well. Newspapers and magazines described soldiers’ surprise at seeing female war correspondents and even military units that were unprepared for such visitors—but not always unwelcoming.<sup>26</sup> An article about Eleanor Franklin, who covered the Russo-Japanese war for the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1905, ran in multiple daily papers along with her portrait and a description calling her “the only duly accredited newspaper woman in the Far East, that

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<sup>23</sup>“Skedaddled for Safety: *London Telegraph*’s Woman War Correspondent Couldn’t Stand Fire,” *San Antonio Express*, November 20, 1899.

<sup>24</sup>“Skedaddled for Safety: *London Telegraph*’s Woman War Correspondent Couldn’t Stand Fire,” *San Antonio Express*, November 20, 1899.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>See, for example, Imogene Carter, “Soldiers Amazed to See a Woman on the Battlefield,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1897. Imogene Carter was a pseudonym used by Cora Taylor Crane.

part of the world unsuccessfully besieged by correspondents for so long.”<sup>27</sup> The premise of the article was an anecdote describing how Franklin’s employer had inadvertently simplified her task of gaining access to Japanese government officials—by shocking them with the news that they would be visited by a *woman* war correspondent.

When it was learned that she had been sent to the Far East for the harmless purpose of studying the Japanese methods of relief, charitable and prison work occasioned by the war, as well as those features of the national life that are at all times interesting to the world at large, they [Japanese government officials] were so relieved that her greatest requests seemed reasonable, and she is now, through the personal direction and assistance of Baron Nakashima, confidential Secretary to the Prime Minister, preparing a series of articles that will be of the greatest possible interest.<sup>28</sup>

Yet news that a woman was reporting the Riff war in Morocco generated much alarm at the *Army and Navy Journal*, as well as a call for action—despite the fact that by 1910 more than two dozen American women had reported from war zones over the course of six decades. “We are prepared already to shed tears for the unfortunate Army officers of the future,” the journal stated after announcing the existence of a female war correspondent and explaining that “what one woman does to attract attention is imitated by others of her sex.”<sup>29</sup> The article reminded readers that military officials were at work on a code to control newspaper correspondents and stated that such a code must prevent the otherwise inevitable consequences of having war described “in the emotional

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<sup>27</sup>“Our War Correspondent Creates Consternation,” (*Richmond Times Dispatch*, May 5, 1905.

<sup>28</sup>“Our War Correspondent Creates Consternation,” (*Richmond Times Dispatch*, May 5, 1905.

<sup>29</sup>*Army Navy Journal*, April 2, 1910, 899.

chronicles of a female war correspondent,” which were likely to include “ ‘pitiful’ tales of discontented privates, who suddenly discover that field rations are not like what mother used to cook, and other ‘inhumanities of war.’”<sup>30</sup> Such sentimentalism would weaken “the strong masculine hold on our destiny”—what’s more, “peace societies would spring up in every little town,” and it would become exceedingly difficult for the public to understand the need to sustain an adequate military.<sup>31</sup> The *New York Times* responded with apparent joy to these hysterical claims in an editorial entitled “Women Will Jump at the Chance.” After first mocking the fears expressed by *The Army Navy Journal*, calling it “that usually courageous journal,” the *New York Times* column responded by stating that if women wanted to be war correspondents, “Well, let ’em! Why not?”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>*Army Navy Journal*, April 2, 1910, 899.

<sup>31</sup>*Army Navy Journal*, April 2, 1910, 899.

<sup>32</sup>“Women Will Jump at the Chance,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1910.

## Chapter Four.

### Conditions of Acceptance, 1914 to 1940

*A permit is a permit and while the Italian officers; who had stormed and captured these Austrian trenches only a few hours before, may have been surprised to see a woman appear, they accepted Mrs. Kirtland's credentials and showed her every inch of the battle-field.*

—*Frank Leslie's Weekly*, 1918.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the *Army Navy Journal's* cautionary plea in 1910, the War Department published its field service regulation in 1914 without considering sex as a factor for accrediting or governing war correspondents.<sup>2</sup> In Article VIII, the War Department explained the relationship between the military and the press in times of war before outlining ways in which the military would permit, accommodate, and regulate war correspondents.

**421.** The press has public functions to perform with respect to the collection and dissemination of news concerning the operations of the Army in time of war. The dissemination of falsehoods or distortion of

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<sup>1</sup>Helen Johns Kirtland, "A Woman on the Battle Front," *Leslie's Weekly Newspaper*, August 24, 1918.

<sup>2</sup>War Department Office of the Chief of Staff, *Field Service Regulations United States Army 1914: Text corrections through December 20, 1916: Changes No. 5* (New York: Army and Navy Journal, 1916), 165-169.

facts, no less than the premature disclosure of movements or plans, is so fraught with dangerous consequences that the greatest care should be observed in its prevention. The press occupies a dual and delicate position, being under the necessity of truthfully disclosing to the people the facts concerning the operations of the Army and, at the same time, of refraining from disclosing those things which, though true, would be disastrous if known to the enemy. It is perfectly apparent to everyone who considers the question that these important functions can not be trusted to irresponsible people and can only be properly performed under reasonable rules and regulations with respect thereto.<sup>3</sup>

The 1914 field service regulations provided the government's first official definition of a war correspondent and the first official guidance for military regulation of these individuals.<sup>4</sup> Neither the definitions nor the guidance revealed any basis for preventing women from accreditation or restricting women in their work as war correspondents. Yet, the regulations left considerable room for the discretion of military officials—in their assessment of which individuals could be trusted as “responsible people,” for example. Furthermore, the new accreditation process was so prohibitive it excluded most reporters from gaining access to military officials or troops in action.

**422. Conditions of Acceptance.**—Each applicant shall present to the Secretary of War credentials from the owner or owners, managing editor, or responsible manager of the publication or publications he represents, giving a brief account of his career, stating exactly the nature of the work he is expected to do at the front, certifying to his trustworthiness as working member of his profession, and his personal fitness to accompany the army. His employer or employers shall give a bond for his good conduct in the field, which, in case of the withdrawal of his pass for

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<sup>3</sup>War Department Office of the Chief of Staff, *Field Service Regulations United States Army 1914: Text corrections through December 20, 1916: Changes No. 5* (New York: Army and Navy Journal, 1916), 165.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 165-169.

infraction of any of the regulations shall be forfeited to any charity which the Secretary of War may name. He shall take an oath of loyalty of the usual military form and shall agree to abide in letter and spirit by all the regulations laid down for his guidance. If at any time the number of correspondents becomes so large as to be an encumbrance, the Secretary of War will refuse other passes until such time as he deems expedient; when other applicants who fulfill the conditions will be received in the order of their application.

... Men who have evidently secured credentials with a view to adventure rather than serious work as correspondents will not be received. Their employers must show that they have been working members of their profession. In addition to the requirements for home correspondents, a foreign correspondent must have served in other campaigns, present credentials as to his character from high officers of the army to which he was attached and accompanying the letter from his employers must present a letter from his ambassador in Washington, personally vouching for him.<sup>5</sup>

The War Department required correspondents seeking accreditation to handwrite an autobiographical essay about their integrity and qualifications, as well as their specific plans for covering the war; they also had to pay \$1,000 upfront for military travel and accommodations.<sup>6</sup> As means of ensuring, as well as insuring their loyalty, correspondents had to swear their intentions in person to the Secretary of War or his representative and back up their promises with a \$10,000 bond.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the War Department would only accept one correspondent to represent each newspaper or syndicate and required that

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<sup>5</sup>War Department Office of the Chief of Staff, *Field Service Regulations United States Army 1914: Text corrections through December 20, 1916: Changes No. 5* (New York: Army and Navy Journal, 1916), 166-169.

<sup>6</sup>Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 133. Knightley noted these requirements were so extreme they would “have to be read to be believed.”

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

correspondent to present proof of previous experience as a war correspondent—in the form of a letter from a military official who could vouch for the correspondent.<sup>8</sup> While these requirements were extreme, they reflected the prevailing attitude of military officials at that time. The military's priorities did not include communicating with the public or accommodating the press, and it was not until the United States entered World War II that the military developed a public relations division. "Prior to 1939 the Army had been content to carry on quietly at its posts, a rather clannish society to which few people paid attention," noted Colonel Barney Oldfield. "In almost any emergency the policy was to play dead or dumb, or both."<sup>9</sup>

Military policy aside, American women and men wrote war news from wherever they lived or traveled long before, and long after, the United States began regulating war correspondents.<sup>10</sup> Anyone could call himself or herself "a war correspondent," yet, as the 1914 *Field Service Regulations* specified, no member of the press could travel with the

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<sup>8</sup>United States War Department Office of the Chief of Staff, *Field Service Regulations United States Army 1914: Text corrections through December 20, 1916: Changes No. 5* (New York: Army and Navy Journal, 1916), 166-169.

<sup>9</sup>Barney Oldfield, *Never A Shot In Anger* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1956), 5.

<sup>10</sup>In addition to the preceding chapter in this dissertation, see, for examples of the many reporters and foreign correspondents who wrote about war for American publications without being officially accredited, John Maxwell Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2009); Knightley, *The First Casualty*; Stephen R. and Oris Friesen Mackinnon, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1940s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Joseph J. Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); and M. L. Stein, *Under Fire: The Story of American War Correspondents* (New York: J. Messner, 1968).

United States military as a correspondent without official permission or credentials.<sup>11</sup>

Foreign correspondents, whose stories touched upon surrounding wars, were often freelance writers whose publications billed them as war correspondents to promote their war-related essays or articles. Such a wide variety of writing has been deemed “war correspondence” that even the work by women who wrote in the two decades leading up to World War II still represents more diversity than can be sufficiently generalized.

Women brought many perspectives to their reporting beyond the scope of weaponry, troops, and military strategy—and only rarely did they step inside the traditionally masculine realm of war.<sup>12</sup> Thus this “woman’s angle” often meant a look beyond the battle for the effects of war and within the battle for supporting elements of war. These effects and supporting elements were consistent with the aspects of war that women had written about in previous decades: war’s toll on women and children, the work of the Red Cross, the care and feeding of soldiers, or the personal experience of a woman surrounded by men.<sup>13</sup>

The purpose of the woman’s angle, for newspaper publishers if not the writers themselves, continued to be largely commercial. Newspapers sought to attract women readers, who would, in turn, attract advertisers. Most newspaper editors continued to rely

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<sup>11</sup>United States War Department, *Field Service Regulations United States Army 1914*, 168.

<sup>12</sup>Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, “Does the Red Cross Prolong War?” *Outlook*, March 7, 1914; “Peggy Hull, War Correspondent, Drops Into City,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 22, 1917; Inez Milholland Boissevain, “France Shorn of Men to Work by Great War: Women and Boys Forced to Toil in the Fields,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1915; Rheta Childe Dorr, “A Soldier’s Mother In France,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1918; and Ruth Wright Kauffman, “Back In an Empty,” *Outlook*, July 3, 1918.



upon woman's angle stories, written by women, as the best means—if not the only means—of attracting women readers. At a journalism symposium in 1914, journalist Elizabeth Gilmer, known then as Dorothy Dix, stressed that the woman's point of view had gained editors' respect not only because so many women chose which newspaper to buy, but because a newspaper that reached every woman "could name his own price for his advertising."<sup>14</sup> Dix also stressed the non-commercial benefit of newspapers presenting women's views, stating that even "the most foolish little girl reporter is born knowing things about other women that it takes a man psychologist like Munsterburg fifty years of steady study even to guess at."<sup>15</sup> She compared the need for women to have a voice in the newspaper to their need for a voice at the polls. Other journalists opposed newspapers' emphasis on a distinct female perspective. Blaming "sob sister" journalism on editors' acceptance of this notion, reporter Sarah Addington wrote in the *New York Tribune* in 1918 that the woman's angle was "very often an obtuse angle" and warned against newspapers losing sight of their purpose.<sup>16</sup> Sharing a similar perspective, newspaper publisher Frank Dallam Jr. criticized female war correspondents for romanticizing war, filling "so much space in our popular magazines with their personal sensations,

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<sup>14</sup> "Journalism Week, 1914. From Speeches By Newspaper Makers and Advertising Men at the University May 18-22, 1914," *The University of Missouri Bulletin*, 15 no. 20 (July, 1914), 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>16</sup> Sarah Addington, "Sob Traitors," *New York Tribune*, September 5, 1918. In an essay in which she spoke out against the Sob Sister trend, Addington commented briefly about the woman's angle, which she saw as providing a gateway for the many women reporters cluttering the pages of newspapers with their attempts to emulate reporter Nellie Bly.

experiences, and impressions, with incidental reference to the momentous events they are supposed to 'cover.' ”<sup>17</sup>

At the start of World War I, *Saturday Evening Post* editor George Lorimer said the woman's angle of war was expansive, and necessary. He explained his decision to send four women writers to Europe despite the attitude he noted that some editors had developed toward the woman's angle of war.

“The big story of the war is never at the front,” George Horace Lorimer, the man who sent them, told me. “It is in the hospitals and in the homes.” ... “But,” says the man who reaches more men in a week than any other in America, “war is largely a woman's affair and women, I think, best understand the little things that go to make up the big story.”<sup>18</sup>

The author of this profile of Lorimer and the *Post*'s female war correspondents praised the woman's angle of war for what she saw as its ability to foster peace. Women were more likely to provide unglossed accounts of war, she wrote, and the present war might have been prevented if more voices, in past wars, “had been lifted to speak of the honor and glory of carnage as mankind's great mirage, or plainly put in such figures all might read,” the cost of mourning “heroes made on battlefields.”<sup>19</sup>

As editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Lorimer had hired Mary Isabel Brush, “sent to find out how Prohibition took the Russian Empire by storm”; Corra Harris, who spent three months traveling in France and England and visiting Soissons battlefields;

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<sup>17</sup> Frank M. Dallam, Jr., “The American Fighting Man,” *Goodwin's Weekly*, September 18, 1918. Dallam owned the *Oroville (Washington) Gazette*.

<sup>18</sup> Ann Simonton, “Four American Women Who Have Been to the War,” *New York Tribune*, August 1, 1915.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

Maude Radford Warren, who “got the going away story” of regiments on their way to military training at Salisbury Plain and the battle at Neufchatel; and Mary Roberts Rinehart who had “just dropped round for a call on Queen Mary of England in wartime.”<sup>20</sup> As the Great War progressed, Lorimer continued to publish writings by women the *Post* billed as war correspondents, including Eleanor Franklin Egan, who had reported on topics of war and foreign relations for two decades.<sup>21</sup> Ten years after she had first made headlines by surprising Japanese officials as a female war correspondent, Egan made national headlines when the *Saturday Evening Post* published her first-hand account of surviving a submarine attack.<sup>22</sup>

Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan, the American writer, who returned yesterday on the steamship New York from Liverpool, after spending six months in southern Europe and the Orient, told a thrilling story of an attack on a British passenger ship in the Mediterranean by a submarine flying the Turkish flag. As a result of the attack, of which she was an eyewitness, twenty-five persons were drowned.<sup>23</sup>

While Egan’s article was closer to an unglossed account of war than an idealized personal narrative, most war accounts that Lorimer published by women writers throughout the war did fit more closely with Dallam’s portrayal: “personal sensations, experiences, and

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>See description of Eleanor Franklin (as her name appeared in bylines before marrying war correspondent Martin Egan) in the previous chapter.

<sup>22</sup>“Our War Correspondent Creates Consternation,” (*Richmond Times Dispatch* May 5, 1905; and “25 Drowned in Submarine Panic,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1915.

<sup>23</sup>“25 Drowned in Submarine Panic,” *New York Times*.

impressions, with incidental reference to the momentous events.”<sup>24</sup> These accounts, along with so many accounts written about “women war correspondents,” continued to rely upon—and feed—the public imagination. Yet, even a decade later, newspapers continued to announce women as the first or only woman war correspondent, sometimes just for a particular battle but more often the description was unqualified and implied that no other female war correspondent existed.<sup>25</sup>

The majority of articles billed as women’s war correspondence up through World War I were travelogues and personal essays that rarely mentioned military operations or required access to military officials. As such, the authors of these works did not fit the military’s definition of war correspondents. They each wrote as “woman war correspondent,” already a category distinct from “war correspondent.” And yet, even in 1918 some women did report for newspapers and magazines as war correspondents. Cecil Dorrian, whom the United States accredited as a visiting war correspondent, covered war in Europe for twelve years, until her death in 1926 from pneumonia.<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Frazier also was among the fewer than sixty war correspondents who gained military accreditation during World War I.<sup>27</sup> Most women who reported about military

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<sup>24</sup> Frank M. Dallam, Jr., “The American Fighting Man,” *Goodwin’s Weekly*, September 18, 1918.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Rosemary Drachman, “Only Woman Correspondent on the Moroccan Front: Longworth’s Sister as ‘First Lady’ of Fez,” *Washington Post*, January 10, 1926.

<sup>26</sup> “American Woman War Correspondent,” *Boston Daily Globe*, August 19, 1926. Note that Dorrian’s obituary described her as a “woman war correspondent,” but the military had accredited her as a war correspondent, a distinction that is discussed further in Part III of this study.

<sup>27</sup> Emmet Crozier, *American Reporters on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

operations did so by gaining special permission to visit military camps or meet with military officials, such as Peggy Hull and Elizabeth Thornton.<sup>28</sup> The nature of war itself poses the greatest challenge in locating the work of early-20th-century women who served as war correspondents, versus those who wrote as “women war correspondents.” Reporters often had to send breaking news as brief cables from war zones or remote locations; their editors would compile stories and print them without bylines. Thus, women who reported on the hard news stories of war, as indicated in profiles or other articles describing their work, often worked behind the scenes. For example, Mildred Farwell wrote as a war correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, but her role was best conveyed not through her bylined stories but articles that appeared after she was kidnapped.<sup>29</sup> *The Sun* described Margaret Harrison’s work reporting on the Armistice in Berlin after she was charged with being an American spy.<sup>30</sup>

In the years after the Great War, exceptional women columnists and essayists wrote regularly about foreign relations. Even as their own country remained neutral, topics relating to war were unavoidable for most writers stationed in Europe or Asia, and many of these women established a reputation for themselves as war correspondents. For example, in the 1920s, readers and editors heralded Dorothy Thompson for her work as a

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<sup>28</sup> Wilda Smith and Eleanor Bogart, *The Wars of Peggy Hull The Life and Times of a War Correspondent* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1991); and “American Woman and a French Officer Are Wounded,” *Washington Post*, October 22, 1918. The article reported that a grenade had injured a French military officer and “Miss Elizabeth Shirley Thornton of the *New Republic*.”

<sup>29</sup> John T. McCutcheon, “Mrs. [Mildred] Farwell Held Captive by Bulgars,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 21, 1915.

<sup>30</sup> “Mrs. Harrison Entered Russia As *The Sun*’s Correspondent,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 31, 1921.

war correspondent with a “Richard Harding Davis reputation.”<sup>31</sup> Newspapers and magazines, as well as press associations and universities, regularly recognized women for their work writing about war in the years between the two World Wars. Yet it wouldn’t be until World War II that these writers would need to seek acceptance, once again, from the military and would have to work under the constraints of military supervision and regulation.

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<sup>31</sup>“The Press: Cartwheel Girl,” *Time*, June 12, 1939.

### PART III.

#### A Woman's Province in the Good War

*I expected to find somebody badly wounded. Instead, a girl's screams came from behind a locked door and an American voice ordered gruffly, "Stop clawing, you little bitch, or I'm gonna break your bloody neck."*

*... At the time it seemed that it would be possible either to appeal to his sense of decency or else frighten him into leaving the girl alone. With a matter-of-fact brutality, which was more shocking than her sobbing, he told me, "I've got a pistol and there ain't nobody going to stop me having her or any other German gal I want. And why not? We won 'em didn't we? What the hell can they expect of an army that licked 'em?" Then he slammed the door.*

*... The officer we flagged set off to the rescue as though his jeep had been under fire, with a distressed "Hell! The most stinking part of this whole stinking war business is that there should be women anywhere near it."<sup>1</sup>*

—Iris Carpenter, 1946

In the spring of 1945, Iris Carpenter had been covering the war as an accredited correspondent for the *Boston Globe* for more than a year when a German woman, seeing Carpenter's uniform, "panted up one afternoon with an agonized expression and an

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<sup>1</sup>Iris Carpenter, *No Woman's World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 291.

urgent ‘Soldier woman! Please come! You must come! You woman, you must help!’”<sup>2</sup> Carpenter heeded the German woman’s call, but when she realized they could not save the young woman themselves, she ran back to find someone who could. Carpenter recalled this incident in her memoir, and she did not say how the incident ended; instead, she closed the chapter with the officer voicing his frustration as he set off to the rescue. But Carpenter did reveal, in the words she recalled, that the officer’s ultimate disgust was not with the rape or the rapist, but with the presence of women near war. Carpenter leaves it to the reader to decide whether the officer meant to imply that the most “stinking part” was the German woman’s presence, for making the American soldier’s crime possible, or Carpenter’s presence, for enabling an American woman to witness such a crime against another woman.

As the following chapters illustrate, both interpretations convey fears that the military, the public, and the press struggled with as women entered the “inner circle” of war.<sup>3</sup> Women’s presence in war challenged gender roles in place at that time, and even seemed, to some who opposed their presence, to threaten the very outcome of the war as well as society’s return to traditional values after the war.<sup>4</sup> The military and the public perceived women as vulnerable, as adding to men’s physical and emotional responsibilities at the front. Women’s presence could also distract, tempt, or misguide

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<sup>2</sup>Carpenter, *No Woman’s World*, 291-292.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

<sup>4</sup>D’Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 223; and Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 20-27.



soldiers away from their duties.<sup>5</sup> Women at the front could bear witness to the worst of humanity, which up close was rarely glorious, and portray their observations to the rest of the world, a role that outraged at least one *Boston Globe* reader who declared that war was not a “woman’s province.”<sup>6</sup>

The fact that Carpenter described the incident in her memoir but not her extensive war reporting further illustrates the precarious role of accredited women war correspondents. All accredited World War II correspondents faced conflicting motivations, as they weighed just how much truth they could share without losing accreditation or access to their sources or, worse, risking other people’s lives and their own freedom. All war correspondents also had to weigh just how much truth they could keep to themselves without losing their readers, their reputations or their jobs. But women, whose presence was controversial both in the office and at the front, had the added pressure of proving themselves in two unwelcoming territories, while knowing their actions could be construed as representative of all women war correspondents, and vice versa. They also had to live with what Carpenter called a “fantastic, beyond description hodgepodge” of factors working for and against them wherever they tried to do their jobs, with regulations permitting women to cover war even while many military officials, editors and others strictly forbade their presence.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>“The Rhine Maidens,” March 14, 1945, *Newsweek*. This article, about war correspondents Iris Carpenter, Ann Stringer, and Lee Carson, reported that in the Army’s “Chesterfieldian view,” women at the front distract soldiers.

<sup>6</sup>R., “A Rebuttal from ‘R,’ ” What People Talk About, *Daily Boston Globe*, April 3, 1945.

<sup>7</sup>Carpenter, *No Woman’s World*, 35.

Public and private documents written by editors, reporters, and military officials also illustrate the precariousness of women's role as war correspondents, as well as the (perhaps perceived) precariousness of gender roles and relationships between the sexes throughout World War II. Military regulations, as well as public and private accounts of war correspondents revealed at least two categories of war correspondents by the end of World War II: the war correspondent, who wrote primarily for and about men, and the *woman* war correspondent, who wrote primarily for and about women. Some writings reveal an acceptance among men of the press and the military for the exceptional women whose war reporting rivaled war reporting by their male colleagues. Others reveal an acceptance only for women who covered news for and about women, while still others reveal an opposition to women reporting on war in any capacity. Among women who worked as war correspondents, their interpretations and expectations for the role also varied—with some women wanting only to report alongside male reporters on hard news topics of war while resenting female reporters who were content to report on “woman's angle” topics of war—and vice versa.

Many works have considered the military's inclusion of war correspondents during World War II, as well as the military's inclusion of women during that time.<sup>8</sup> Yet

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<sup>8</sup>See for example, Madelyn Klein Anderson, *So Proudly They Served: American Military Women in World War II, A First Book* (New York: F. Watts, 1995); Richard Collier, *The Warcos: The War Correspondents of World War Two* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); Karen J. Donnelly, *American Women Pilots of World War II, American Women at War* (New York: Rosen Pub. Group, 2003); Olga Gruhzt-Hoyt, *They Also Served: American Women in World War II* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Carol Pub. Group, 1995); Ellen Hampton, *Women of Valor: The Rochambelles on the WWII Front* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Wanda Langley, *Flying Higher: The Women Airforce Service Pilots of World War II* (North Haven, Connecticut: Linnet Books, 2002); Mary S.

no study has examined closely the United States military's acceptance of women as accredited war correspondents during World War II. This section will explore the process by which these women gained accreditation, as well as the ways the media, the military, and women themselves constructed, and continually reconstructed, the category of "woman war correspondent" as they witnessed war for audiences back home and around the world.<sup>9</sup> As this section will reveal, the process by which the category of woman war correspondent emerged varied considerably within the military, the press, and the lives of women themselves.

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Mander, *Pen and Sword: American War Correspondents, 1898-1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); and Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>9</sup>See, for one explanation of how and why societies and individuals construct and reconstruct gender categories, Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 6.

## Chapter Five.

### To Play Men's Rules, 1941-1942

*... when she was a guard on the girls' basketball team back in Syracuse, the girls played according to the girls' rules that made it an entirely different game from the basketball played by boys. But in the newspaper business there was no such thing as girls' rules. She had to play men's rules or not play at all. Dorothy [Thompson] was willing to play men's rules, for she asked no favors because she was a woman. But she demanded as fair treatment as a man.<sup>1</sup>*

— John McNamara, 1945, author of *Extra! U.S. War Correspondents in the Fighting Fronts*

In the early 1940s, newspaper reporting was still very much a male domain, though women who had proven themselves capable of playing by “men’s rules” often found work as exceptional reporters whose editors and audiences could—and did—overlook their sex. Americans were reporting about aspects of war worldwide, but, as neutral correspondents, their access to these stories depended upon their own connections, creativity, and resources. Reporters who wrote about World War II in the years before the United States officially entered the war did not need United States

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<sup>1</sup>John McNamara. *Extra! U. S. War Correspondents in the Fighting Fronts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), 104.

military accreditation or recognition to cover the war, nor could they benefit from the resources, facilities, and access that such accreditation could provide.

Even as reporters were closely following war overseas, the War Department had begun paying more attention to the news industry. The department sought to avoid repeating its Great War mistakes, such as overzealous censorship and propaganda, to carry out its vision of a total war that would call upon every citizen for assistance and support.<sup>2</sup> This strategy included the creation of a department of public relations, in 1941, that would promote the war effort by working closely with journalists, rather than against them.<sup>3</sup> The War Department began by establishing the terms by which the military would both nurture and control this relationship, with a set of definitions and regulations that would grow and change throughout the war. The premise of these regulations was the mission of the public relations department, which the War Department defined as threefold:

- 1) To keep the people informed of the progress of war.
- 2) To give understanding of the Army to the people, and insure [*sic*] support and interest due to this active knowledge.

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<sup>2</sup>Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 344; Jeffery Alan Smith, *War and Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 197-208; and "Letter to Arthur Goodfriend, February 15, 1945," in Arthur D. Chandler Jr., ed., *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Volume 4, The War Years* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), doc. 2283, 2479-2480.

<sup>3</sup>"July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1943," *Biennial Reports of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army to the Secretary of War*, July 1, 1939-June 30, 1945 (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1996), 49-50; and Joseph Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 176-178.

3) To aid in the maintenance of civilian morale, and incidentally, soldier morale, by the consistent release of hometown and general coverage stories about activities of men in the Army.<sup>4</sup>

The department further determined that it could best achieve its mission by accrediting civilian press representatives who could travel to military theaters and convey news of the war to the public.<sup>5</sup>

As a method of providing news free from hint of propaganda, the principle has been accepted that civilian correspondents rather than public relations officers should prepare the news for the public.<sup>6</sup>

In January of 1942, just as the first American troops landed in England, the War Department's public relations division established its official procedures for accrediting, accommodating, and controlling war correspondents, along with establishing an official definition of the term "war correspondent."<sup>7</sup> These newly drafted regulations, published as a military field manual, affirmed "correspondents perform an undoubted public function in the dissemination of news concerning the operations of the Army in time of war."<sup>8</sup> The field manual then noted that this function, which required accredited correspondents to truthfully convey facts without jeopardizing military strategy or

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<sup>4</sup>12th Army Group Publicity and Psychological Warfare Section, *Report of Operations (Final After Action Report)*, vol. 14 (1945): 22.

<sup>5</sup> Marshall, "July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1943," 93; and Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, 176-178.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>FM 30-26 *War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations for Correspondents Accompanying U.S. Army Forces in the Field* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 21, 1942).

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

morale, was delicate and therefore must be governed. The first regulation then defined the category of individuals who would be bound by these rules:

The term “correspondent” as used in this manual includes journalists, feature writers, radio commentators, motion picture photographers, and still picture photographers accredited by the War Department to a theater of operations or a base command within or without the territorial limits of the United States in time of war.<sup>9</sup>

The War Department planned to limit the number of correspondents accredited from each publication or with each military group, requiring correspondents to rotate every thirty to ninety days, with preference “given to agencies representing the largest possible news or picture dissemination” as well as to “newspaper men with past military experience or past experience in the coverage of large maneuvers.”<sup>10</sup>

Reporters applying for military accreditation had to apply to the War Department Bureau of Public Relations Overseas Liaison Branch by completing a personnel security questionnaire and following instructions specific to war correspondents.<sup>11</sup> The form required the signature of the correspondent’s employer and an accompanying letter from the news organization, specifying the theater requested and transportation required, along

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<sup>9</sup>*FM 30-26 War Department Basic Field Manual*, January 21, 1942. (This definition changed after revisions in 1944 and 1945, which are described in chapter eight.)

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.* The term “newspaper men,” as it is used here, did not necessarily indicate a person’s sex; other official documents about accredited war correspondents published in the first two years of World War II (and referred to later in this chapter), use the term to describe reporters who are also women.

<sup>11</sup>“Instructions for Person Applying For Accreditation As A War Correspondent,” War Department Bureau Of Public Relations Overseas Liaison Branch, MC 572, in Caroline Iverson Ackerman Papers, 1927-2004, box #7, folder #6. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

with two passport-size photos.<sup>12</sup> Before they could gain accreditation, war correspondents had to sign contracts vowing to abide by military rules, and to submit all of their writings to intelligence officers whose job it was to delete any portion of their work that they deemed “objectionable.”<sup>13</sup> How and when war correspondents’ work was censored, however, was left to the discretion of military officials.

Correspondents, unless the occasion is unusual, will be permitted to see their dispatches after being censored in the event they desire to make a revision, or to note the objectionable portions for future avoidance, or to recheck on wordage for cable charges.<sup>14</sup>

No elaboration was provided for which circumstances might be deemed “unusual.” Other regulations governing accredited war correspondents contained similarly vague language. War correspondents had to follow the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, remaining “under the control of the commander of the Army force which they accompany.”<sup>15</sup> This stipulation also required war correspondents to dress and behave as members of the military, while offering them equal treatment—so long as such treatment was reasonable and within necessary limits, as noted in this 1942 field manual regulation: “Correspondents will be given the same privileges as commissioned officers in the matter of accommodations, transportation, and

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<sup>12</sup>“Instructions for Person Applying For Accreditation As A War Correspondent,” War Department Bureau Of Public Relations Overseas Liaison Branch, MC 572, in Caroline Iverson Ackerman Papers, 1927-2004, box #7, folder #6. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>13</sup>*FM 30-26 War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations*, January 21, 1942.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*



messing facilities. All courtesies extended them in such matters must be without expense to the Government.” The article further assured members of the press, while reminding members of the military, that “every reasonable facility and all possible assistance will be given correspondents to permit them to perform efficiently and intelligently their work of keeping the public informed of the activities of our forces within the limits dictated by military necessities.”<sup>16</sup> Yet each officer was free to define reasonability and necessity, so this give and take was more ambiguous than the regulations conveyed. For example, the regulations also stated that so long as accredited correspondents did not interrupt troops at work or ask about anything “clearly secret,” war correspondents could talk to troops about whatever they wanted, whenever they wanted—“subject to the approval of the officer present with the troops in question.”<sup>17</sup>

Regulations in 1942 stated that all accredited correspondents would remain under the control of military officials, who had the ultimate power to decide what correspondents could and could not do.<sup>18</sup> Government regulations, from 1942 to 1944, stipulate that the United States military must treat all accredited war correspondents equally, without specifying or limiting any category of correspondent. Thus, women who wrote as war correspondents in the first two years of World War II did so under the rules for men, and were therefore numbered among the most exceptional journalists—those

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<sup>16</sup>*FM 30-26 War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations*, January 21, 1942.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*; *FM 30-26 C 1 War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations for Correspondents Accompanying U.S. Army Forces in the Field*, April 24, 1942; *FM 30-26 C 2 War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations for Correspondents Accompanying U.S. Army Forces in the Field*, July 25, 1942; and *FM 30-26 C 3 War Department Basic Field Manual Regulations for Correspondents Accompanying U.S. Army Forces in the Field*, December 23, 1942.

whose publications trusted them enough to sponsor them for accreditation and relied upon them to cover the war for their readers.

Helen Kirkpatrick was among this group of exceptional women, and she was among the earliest groups of war correspondents the United States military accredited to cover the war. She had already built a reputation for her reporting on war and international relations in 1939, when the *Chicago Daily News* hired her full-time, effectively ignoring (but not changing) its policy against hiring women reporters.<sup>19</sup> Two years later, the *Chicago Daily News* promoted its “famous war correspondents,” in a series of advertisements syndicated to newspapers nationwide. These advertisements included Kirkpatrick’s name in each, without noting that she was a woman or in any way different from her colleagues. For example, one such advertisement noted seven *Daily News* “ace correspondents,” including Kirkpatrick, “who have been covering Europe with unparalleled brilliance,” and further described their work in glowing terms.<sup>20</sup>

Writing every day from the trouble spots of the world these tested foreign experts, augmenting these newspapers’ great wire services, will present readers with the broadest possible coverage of history-making events. Noted for world scoops and brilliant, penetrating analyses of daily happenings on their world-wide beats, these correspondents have placed the *Daily News* foreign service in the front rank of world news-gathering forces.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Helen Kirkpatrick Milbank: Interview #1, Washington Press Club Foundation, April 3, 1990.

<sup>20</sup>“Biggest War News To Come: Starting Tomorrow In *The Herald-Journal*: Famous War Correspondents Of The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service,” *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, March 2, 1941.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*

In July of 1942, four months after the United States military first accredited Kirkpatrick to cover the war in Europe, the *Boston Globe* reminded its readers that the *Chicago News*, which it said offered the best foreign news, provided its war coverage.<sup>22</sup>

Moving the group around and guessing where the news will break next is the job of Carroll Binder, a former war correspondent reluctantly turned editor. His staff, famed for their interpretive reporting, give him inside tips and private messages to keep the service up to its special standard. Helen Kirkpatrick, for instance, foretold the fall of France a week in advance, Edgar Mowrer the deadlock with Germany several years ago, and A.T. Steele the Japanese aggression by 11 months.<sup>23</sup>

Few official records are available regarding individuals who were accredited as war correspondents before 1944 or individuals who were accredited to theaters outside of the European or Mediterranean theaters. Media accounts, memoirs, personal correspondence, and other unofficial documents provide a limited picture of the process and experience of accreditation in these years. While most of these accounts list war correspondents who were men, several that describe war correspondents as early as March 1942 also reveal the names of women who were accredited.<sup>24</sup> Yet most news and government accounts of war correspondents, even some that named specific women as war correspondents,

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<sup>22</sup>“Great Staff of Foreign Correspondents,” *Daily Boston Globe*, July 23, 1942.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>See, for example, the biographies of sixty-five accredited Associated Press war correspondents, all of whom are men, published in Oliver Gramling, *Free Men Are Fighting: The Story of World War II*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942); as well as “A Letter from the Publisher,” *Time*, August 3, 1942, which noted that Mary Welsh was accredited as a war correspondent; and “MacArthur Lauds Victims,” *New York Times*, May 1, 1942, which described Annalee Jacoby, based in the Pacific, as “the only accredited woman war correspondent.”

continued to discuss war correspondents as though they were a category entirely composed of men.

When the director of the Office of War Information, Elmer Davis, reported about the early activities of war correspondents, he noted that since the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States military had accredited more than 600 correspondents, including “newspaper writers, radio commentators, and motion picture and still cameramen,” and that about 400 of these correspondents were “actively covering the news on the war fronts at all times.” He also noted that thirteen of these correspondents had been killed, including Lea Burdette, a woman, whom he described as an accredited war correspondent for *PM* magazine.<sup>25</sup>

“The gallantry of these reporters and photographers is akin to that of our fighting men, but it is also a thing apart,” said Mr. Davis, “for they can’t fight back when, as often happens, their own lives are jeopardized. Their mission is to mirror for us at home something of what our fighting men are doing for us. Whatever they may tell about themselves is but incidental to giving us the best understanding they can of those with whom they are joined. Their service is one to which we owe much; to which we will owe even more before we have achieved a victory based in part on the understanding they give to us. ... In every corner of the world, these men are braving the rigors of climate and disease as well as the dangers from enemy high explosives.”<sup>26</sup>

Editors who spoke publicly about war correspondents also described the group in terms that did not mention women and might have seemed to apply only to men—if all of

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<sup>25</sup>Associated Press, “Text of OWI Praise of Deeds of War Correspondents,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1943. Lea Burdette, Davis noted, was “covering the British occupation of Iran” when she “was slain by Kurdisk bandits.”

<sup>26</sup>Associated Press, “Text of OWI Praise of Deeds of War Correspondents.”

the individuals described had, in fact, been men. William Hutchinson, the bureau manager of International News Service, testified at a legislative hearing about the process of hiring war correspondents, beginning in 1942:

At the start, we tried to take older men and send them abroad to the war fields in the belief in our organization—and I notice that the others did likewise—that it was sort of a patriotic feeling to take men above the draft age in order to use them as correspondents.

The result was that one after one they failed on the job, the work was just too tough for them, the experiences too exhausting, with the result that all of our older men, men over 40, have come home. That meant we had to send younger fellows, fellows who had the physical ability to stay up with the troops.<sup>27</sup>

The government also viewed the military's handling of press and war correspondents as a work in progress in 1942. In July, Davis announced the government's plan to restructure the Office of War Information.<sup>28</sup> The reorganized Office of War Information would consist of three branches, for policy development, domestic information, and overseas information operations, Davis explained, though periodic changes to this structure would be necessary.<sup>29</sup>

By 1943, it was obvious to many war correspondents that the military's plans for public relations were also works in *need of* progress, though much of the challenge of regulating and accommodating such a role was inherent to the role itself. War

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<sup>27</sup>“Veteran’s Legislation, Hearings Before a Subcommittee on the Committee on Finance,” United States Senate, Seventy-Eighth Congress, First Session, March 1, 1943, 34-35.

<sup>28</sup>Lewis Woods, “Full News of War Promised by Davis,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1942.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

correspondent Edmund Stevens, writing for the *Christian Science Monitor* in June of 1943, described the limitations of his job and the extent to which correspondents depended upon the cooperation of military officials, the whim of military censors, and the availability of military transportation.

I defy anyone to watch a tank battle and obtain any accurate notion of what is happening, everything goes so fast, is so scrambled up and usually both sides are hidden from view by the mounting dust clouds in which the guns fire invisibly. To find out what really happened, you have to go back to a brigade or divisional headquarters, read the intelligence summary or listen while a staff officer explains the meaning of blue and red crayon marks on his map. But even after you have been ‘put into the picture,’ there is little you can do about it, for most of the stuff was off the record.”<sup>30</sup>

While his readers imagined war correspondents as rushing everywhere “in one endless round of excitement,” Stevens wrote, instead war was “tiresome and sordid,” with long, boring stretches punctuated by brief moments of danger.<sup>31</sup> Military officials and their personnel, he wrote, were reluctant to help war correspondents and even more reluctant to tell them anything. “So, whether we got anywhere or picked up any stories beyond the official handouts depended on the individual contacts and ingenuity, especially as to the more narrow type of military mentality, a correspondent is at best a busybody and at worst a potential spy,” he wrote.<sup>32</sup> War correspondents had to share jeeps with correspondents from competing publications, while sharing a conducting

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<sup>30</sup>Edmund Stevens, “War Correspondent: Thrills, Danger and Boredom,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 11, 1943.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

officer as “chaperone,” as well. Even after an accredited correspondent managed to write a story worth sending to editors back home, Stevens noted, other challenges remained.<sup>33</sup>

In the stable periods, the Public Relations branch of the Eighth Army field headquarters to which I was accredited had its own dispatch rider service which used to pick up copy at regular points in the forward area and take it back to Eighth Army field headquarters whence it was sent by plane in a little red bag tagged “Urgent, Most Immediate” and, of course, “Secret.” But as soon as the front was on the move—and the African campaign was mainly a war of movement—the carefully organized dispatch rider system tended to break down. Thereafter, we sent our copy back whenever the opportunity presented itself or used the regular army liaison service when available. Consequently, the time it took stories to reach base was extremely elastic and often a later dispatch would arrive before the previous one. What the base censor did with your dispatches was strictly his own affair as you weren't there to wheedle and argue. And then finally to be datelined delayed. Under the circumstances, I used to marvel that anything ever got through at all.<sup>34</sup>

Problems that war correspondents and military officials described and addressed, publicly, in either news articles, memoirs or official correspondence, rarely mentioned women in 1942 and 1943, most obviously because so few women were working as war correspondents at that time. They were exceptions, and their employers and colleagues considered their work exceptional. At the annual conventions of the Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in April 1942, newspaper publisher

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<sup>33</sup>Edmund Stevens, “War Correspondent: Thrills, Danger, and Boredom,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 11, 1943.

<sup>34</sup> Stevens, “War Correspondent: Thrills, Danger, and Boredom.”

William Allen White explained why he did not expect the war to have a significant effect on his hiring of women in the newsroom.<sup>35</sup>

The dean of America's country editors remarked, eyes twinkling, that he had not given too much thought to expected expansion of women into the newspaper field as a result of the war. "I hire women on ability," he said. "I give a woman the same salary as a man. If she's good she gets ahead just as fast. If she isn't she gets the gate just as quick."<sup>36</sup>

White's explanation seemed to imply and reflect the perceptions that were common among those who worked with women reporters at that time—it was the rare and exceptional woman, alone, who could be relied upon to do a newspaperman's work as well as a man. Raymond Daniell was a correspondent stationed in London for the *New York Times* when he first met the woman who would later become his wife, Tania Long. He recalled, somewhat sheepishly, his initial reaction when his friend, Ed Angly, first mentioned that Long would be joining him as a correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune*.

He told me of the response his office had made to his request for reinforcements for the London bureau. He had told me they had offered to send a girl from Berlin, and I had snorted.

"Don't let them palm off any second-raters on you," I advised. "Besides, you don't want a girl. This is a man's job."  
He agreed. And then Tania arrived. She proceeded to dig right into the job at hand and provided us with as much competition as any man in London.

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<sup>35</sup>"Women Publishers View War Changes," *New York Times*, April 21, 1942. White was a prolific author who, along with his wife, Mary Ann White, owned the *Emporia (Kansas) Gazette*.

<sup>36</sup>"Women Publishers View War Changes," *New York Times*, April 21, 1942.



Before the war was eighteen months old she had won the prize of the New York Newspaper Women's Club for best reporting of the year.<sup>37</sup>

At a celebration to announce the award to which Daniell referred, Eleanor Roosevelt explained that the group had recognized Long, "particularly for her stories on the bombing of London." She went on to list additional women who were working as war correspondents and whose work, she emphasized, was on par with that of their male colleagues.<sup>38</sup>

Among the coterie of women under fire, turning out their daily dispatches as competently as the men beside whom they work, we who envy their assignments and admire their achievements tonight honor Eleanor Packard of The United Press, in Rome; Helen Kirkpatrick of *The Chicago Daily News*, New York Post Service, and Tania Long of *The Herald Tribune*, both in London; Betty Wason on PM and Marie Marlin of The United Press, with the Greek forces in Albania. Also Sigrid Schultz, chief of *The Chicago Tribune* bureau in Berlin; Virginia Cowles, contributor to various papers, including *The New York Times*; Frances Davis, back from Spain and hospitalized in Boston; Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, Sonia Tomara, Dorothy Thompson, and Hazel McDonald of *The Chicago Times*, all of whom are back again in this country. Here's a 'bravo' to them all. They have done us proud.

Kirkpatrick, whose work Roosevelt referred to, above, in 1941, had returned to London by the time American troops first arrived, and her background made her an obvious choice for military accreditation at the start of the United States' involvement in World War II. She had graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Smith with a degree in history and had gained a strong background in foreign affairs after working in Geneva for several

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<sup>37</sup>Raymond Daniell. *Civilians Must Fight* (New York: Doubleday Doran, 1941), 69-70.

<sup>38</sup>"Two News Women Honored for Work; Mrs. Roosevelt Presents \$100 Prizes of Their Club at Front Page Ball; War Reporters Hailed," *New York Times*, February 15, 1941.

years, first as a secretary for the Students International Union and later as editor of *Geneva* magazine, while writing as a stringer for international newspapers and wire services.<sup>39</sup> Just as the *Chicago Daily News* had found her background exceptional enough to hire her despite its policy against hiring women reporters, her press colleagues had chosen her to represent them as a board member of the Association of American Correspondents.<sup>40</sup> In this role, she was one of two reporters to be named and quoted in a transcript of a press conference about war correspondents in July of 1942. General Dwight Eisenhower began the forum by acknowledging rumors that the military had fallen short with press relations.<sup>41</sup> Before addressing specific concerns, Eisenhower said he wanted to assure them all, again, of the following:

First, there is no doubt in my mind of the place of public opinion in winning the war. I think you can simplify it to this extent—that it's only public opinion that does win wars. It's only public opinion that translates into the soldier's mind the things to win wars with and makes them want to fight. So I have no doubt in my mind of the place of the American newspaper and particularly en masse over here and the service they've got to do toward winning this war.<sup>42</sup>

Speaking on behalf of the Association of War Correspondents, its president Raymond Daniell presented the war correspondents' main complaints, most of which the

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<sup>39</sup>Helen Kirkpatrick Milbank: Interview #1, Washington Press Club Foundation, April 3, 1990 in Williamsburg, Virginia, Anne Kasper, Interviewer.

<sup>40</sup>“U.S. Reporters In London Elect,” *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1942; and “Daniell Heads News Men: Times Correspondent Is Elected Head of London Association,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1942.

<sup>41</sup>“Press Conference, 4 PM, 14 July, 1942,” in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

association attributed to a lack of allocated resources and a lack of cooperation on the part of the Press Relations Office. Eisenhower read aloud the following passage, quoting from the association's list of concerns:

“The attitude of the Press Relations Office is not conducive to good relations with the American correspondents. Their attitude is too often one of disdain to the jobs they are doing; instead of attempting to act as a liaison office between the Press and the Army, they have created the impression that their duty is to serve as obstacles between the correspondents and the services.”<sup>43</sup>

Eisenhower then responded to these concerns by reiterating how much he and all members of the military valued and depended upon the press, stating that the appearance of anything else was unintentional and that he would investigate any problem and “see that it gets corrected.”<sup>44</sup> The war correspondents' other concerns included the time it took for their work to be censored and the difficulty some correspondents had faced in accessing military sites, specifically facilities such as airdromes, right after an air raid. Here, Eisenhower reacted with surprise, noting that accredited correspondents should already have such access. Kirkpatrick spoke up and contradicted the association's complaint that some accredited correspondents had been unable to access an airdrome after an air raid on July 4, 1942.

Helen Kirkpatrick: “If it's a British airdrome, General Eisenhower, you can visit before the raid takes off, while it's going out and while it's coming back and write your story afterward.”

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<sup>43</sup>“Press Conference, 4 PM, 14 July, 1942,” in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>44</sup>“Press Conference, 4 PM, 14 July, 1942,” in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

General Eisenhower: I see now, I was just wondering in my own mind what could be the reason for any difficulty or why the question had to be asked.

[Daniell:] “All operations taking place up to date have been from British airdromes.”

General Eisenhower: They wouldn’t accept our correspondents you mean?  
Helen Kirkpatrick: “I’ve never had the slightest difficulty getting into British airdromes on any sort or kind of operations—never had the slightest trouble.”

[Daniell:] “What we’d like to do is to guard against the recurrence of what happened on the Fourth of July, by being able to cover the thing ourselves rather than take the skeleton communique.”<sup>45</sup>

Kirkpatrick’s presence shows that she participated in an official military press conference. Her comments indicate that she wanted Eisenhower and her colleagues to know that a skilled war correspondent should not have trouble gaining access to military facilities. Here, the fact that she had not had difficulty should have been irrelevant: The correspondents’ association had met to determine which complaints were valid and needed the military’s attention; the correspondents’ complaint was not that *no one* had access, but that the military should provide access to facilities more freely, to more correspondents.<sup>46</sup> It is not possible to know Kirkpatrick’s motivation in contradicting her colleagues here, but her statements and Eisenhower’s response begin to illustrate that members of the military viewed and valued Kirkpatrick as a war correspondent—and not

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>20</sup> “Press Conference, 4 PM, 14 July, 1942,” in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, 5.

as a *woman* war correspondent, a category that would not be specified in military regulations for another two years.

## Chapter Six.

### Women's Stuff and the Little Stories, 1942-1943

*"That is one reason I've stuck it out—to write the women's stuff and the little stories the heap big men won't be bothered with. I've learned through long experience that sometimes pays dividends!"*<sup>1</sup>

—Ruth Cowan, war correspondent

Associated Press, 1943

The chief of the planning and liaison branch of the newly organized Bureau of Public Relations, Lt. Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy, recommended that the War Department establish a women's interest section of the bureau that would be directed by the executive vice president of the *Houston Post*, Oveta Culp Hobby.<sup>2</sup> Dupuy first suggested that Hobby would head the section, "either de facto or in an advisory capacity," and she affirmed her interest in the role and arranged to meet with him the following month in

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from Ruth Cowan Nash to Hazel White (Reavis) MC 417 119 Personal Correspondence. July 28, 1943, in Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, 1905-1990, MC 417, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup>Lt. Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy, unpublished journal entry, no date, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin; Lt. Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy to Oveta Hobby, June 8, 1941, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C.<sup>3</sup> She also attached a proposal for developing the section, declaring that the objective would be “to attune the women of the United States to constructive attitudes and efforts during the emergency,” while keeping in mind the need to help women “overcome the peace talk of the last twenty years.”<sup>4</sup> Hobby’s plans to generate publicity included the dissemination of press releases to local newspapers about “routine Army news translated into terms of woman reader interest,” “women’s part in defense program,” “news stressing health, disciplinary, recreational, and occupational training phases of military service,” and “special assignments.”<sup>5</sup> She also planned to invite women reporters who worked near military camps to act as liaisons between their newspapers and the public relations bureau “for army stories of special interest to women readers.”<sup>6</sup> The War Department accepted her proposal and appointed her “Expert Consultant to the Secretary of War” on July 28, 1941, with the official title of “Chief, Women’s Interests Section, Planning and Liaison Branch, Bureau of Public Relations.”<sup>7</sup> Newspaper articles announcing her position described Hobby as a woman’s interpreter of

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<sup>3</sup>Oveta Hobby to Lt. Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy, July 12, 1941, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and “Outline of Suggested Plan for Women’s Branch of Bureau of Public Relations,” Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>4</sup>“Outline of Suggested Plan for Women’s Branch of Bureau of Public Relations,” Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>“Oveta C. Hobby is hereby appointed Expert Consultant to the Secretary of War,” July 28, 1941, in Oveta Culp Hobby Papers (container 1, folder 4), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

military news and emphasized her experience as a newspaper editor, wife, mother, and former first lady of Texas.

She has learned much about “the women’s viewpoint.” Her selection to head the newly created women’s division in the War Department’s Bureau of Public Relations is viewed as a tacit recognition by men in the masculine profession of arms that there is such a viewpoint.<sup>8</sup>

Though Hobby did not have direct involvement in the accreditation of women war correspondents, her work launching the women’s interest section and her newspaper background gave her a unique understanding of public relations, which she brought to bear in her later roles, developing and directing the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps and, as it was later established, the Women’s Army Corps.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the women’s interest section, in reaching out to reporters and editors who covered women’s news, did much to promote the idea of a woman’s angle of war among members of the press, the military and the public. Dupuy, writing to his wife in 1944, called the women’s interest section that he and Hobby had developed “the most vital method of moulding the opinion of women of the U.S. solidly back of the Army.”<sup>10</sup> When Hobby left the women’s interest division for the WAACs in May 1942, news articles noted that the division would carry

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<sup>8</sup>Eleanor Ragsdale, “Feminine Chapeau Pops Up Among Army Brass Hats,” 1941, NEA Service, in Oveta Culp Hobby Papers (container 1, folder 4), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>9</sup>Oveta Culp Hobby, Chief, Woman’s Interest Section, to The Director, Bureau of Public Relations, “Resignation,” May 15, 1942, in Oveta Culp Hobby Papers (container 1, folder 4), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and Ann Allen, “The News Media and the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps: Protagonists for a Cause,” *Military Affairs*, vol. 50, no. 2 (April, 1986): 77-83.

<sup>10</sup>Ernest Dupuy to Laura Dupuy, letter, April 28, 1944, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.



on “but with a vastly modified program. The new objectives of the war department’s distaff side were explained today by WID’s new chief, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, and her assistant, Mrs. Lily Shepard. One of the main goals, they said, is to make our army a ‘personalized’ one.”<sup>11</sup> Blair and Shepard also stressed that the division had changed its focus and the tone of its communications months earlier, noting that those “syrupy” pamphlets that Dorothy Thompson had criticized were an example of the division’s work before Pearl Harbor.<sup>12</sup> The women’s interest section was charged with producing news releases, cartoons, and tip sheets, working closely with newspaper editors at more than 2,000 publications nationwide, to ensure a continuous supply of women’s interest stories in support of the war effort.<sup>13</sup>

When the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps made plans, in June 1942, to schedule its first training sessions in Des Moines, Iowa, newspaper editors requested permission for reporters to cover the new recruits firsthand.<sup>14</sup> The War Department refused initial requests, noting that the WAAC director felt it “unwise to have the light of minute-by-

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<sup>11</sup>“WID Carries ON; ‘Personalizing’ Army Is Its Job. ‘Turquoise Era’ Ends; No More Sirupy [*sic*] Pamphlets,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1942.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>See scrapbook and other copies of articles generated by the women’s interest section to recruit more women and civilians to help with the war effort, on topics such as grocery shopping, joining the workforce or supporting their soldiers abroad. “Woman’s Page, 1942-1944: Scrapbook of Press Coverage,” Record Group 208: Entry 194. Oversize box; and boxes 1034-1036, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>14</sup>Brian Bell, Associated Press, to Genevieve Forbes Herrick, May 27, 1942, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Library of Congress; and Seymour Berkson, International News Service, to Genevieve Forbes Herrick, June 4, 1942, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Library of Congress.

minute publicity shining down on these girls at the very first of their training.”<sup>15</sup> But Genevieve Herrick, director of public relations for the WAAC and a former newspaper reporter, indicated that the department might be open to accrediting correspondents to cover WAAC activities in the future.

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 4 in which you ask that your staff correspondent and my very good friend, Miss Inez Robb, be accredited to go to the new W.A.A.C. School at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, during its first days of operation. Your request and that of other editors is being given careful consideration by the War Department’s Bureau of Public Relations. As soon as the definite plans and policies have been worked out, I shall let you know. You may be sure that Miss Robb will receive the same opportunities that any correspondent will have.<sup>16</sup>

Ultimately the War Department decision held, and Robb did not observe the WAAC’s first training. In November, Cowan and nine other women participated in WAAC simulation exercises in Camden, South Carolina.

Ten women writers headed for the Army’s Carolina maneuvers today, out to get the women's angle on war. and to mix face powder with gunpowder for the first time in U.S. war games history. They carried their own idea of the proper field kit—wardrobes complete from riding togs and slacks to evening gowns. Yes, evening gowns.

The reluctant War Department broke precedent at the behest of Mrs. William P. Hobby, head of its new Women's Division, but made one position reservation. Neither of the armies in the maneuvers is going to

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<sup>15</sup>Genevieve Forbes Herrick, Public Relations Headquarters, to Brian Bell, Associated Press, June 1, 1942, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>16</sup>Genevieve Forbes Herrick, Public Relations Headquarters, to Seymour Berkson, Managing Editor, International News Service, June 8, 1942, Oveta Culp Hobby Papers, Library of Congress.

capture any women. They will be rated as observers, not subject to capture, instead of correspondents, who are.

As observers they will not be permitted to transmit spot news, but many write feature stories which will picture for mothers the activities, reactions and hardships for their soldier sons under simulated war conditions.<sup>17</sup>

Robb did not attend the WAAC exercises; just weeks before, the War Department had quietly granted her far greater access, accrediting her to accompany WAACs abroad as a United States war correspondent.<sup>18</sup> Cowan's editor sought accreditation on her behalf, in December. Both women had written about the war, domestically, and Robb had covered the war in England.<sup>19</sup> Massachusetts Representative Edith Nourse Rogers cited Robb's news coverage in her Congressional testimony to pave the way for programs such as the WAACs. Rogers, addressing the Speaker of the House, said: "Courageous Inez Robb saw the work of British women at first hand in England, and she reveals the remarkably fine job in the war that they are doing. They are a challenge to American

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<sup>17</sup>Associated Press, "Women Writers Observers In Carolina War Games En Route to the Front," *Knickerbocker News* (Albany, New York), November 17, 1943; in addition to Cowan, attendees included Mary Hornaday, *Christian Science Monitor*, and Lee Carson, International News Service, both of whom became accredited as war correspondents the following year.

<sup>18</sup>Inez Robb, "At U.S. Army Camp in Africa: INS Woman Scribe Now with WAACs," *San Antonio Light*, February 1, 1943. Robb reported that the War Department had accredited her in October, 1942; Cowan's editor requested her accreditation in December to accompany the WAACs to England, or elsewhere. Paul Miller to Col. F.V. Fitzgerald, December 16, 1942, Ruth Cowan Nash papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>19</sup>See, for example, Ruth Cowan, "Great Opportunities Seen For Women in WAVES, WAACS," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 10, 1942; Inez Robb, "Hard Winter but English 'Can Take It': Public Never Grouches Over War's Hardships, Correspondent Finds," *Syracuse Herald Journal*, February 10, 1942; and Inez Robb, "600 WAACS Will Make Up America's First Female AEF: 600 WAACs to Get Duty in England," *Washington Post*, August 25, 1942.

women. We must do a better job.”<sup>20</sup> The opening paragraph of the first article Rogers presented explained the purpose of Robb’s series.

Throughout America women anxious to do their part to win the war are asking, “What can I do to help?” To suggest an answer to the patriotic question being asked by so many American women, Inez Robb, star feature writer for International News Service and *New York Journal-American*, has made a detailed survey of Britain’s women at war. In a series of illuminating articles, of which this is the first, Inez Robb reveals how the women of Britain have freed millions of additional men for the fighting forces and how their experience may prove of inestimable value to their sisters across the Atlantic.<sup>21</sup>

Though Hobby had publicly announced that WAACs could travel anywhere the United States military needed their service, Robb and Cowan first believed, as did their editors, that the military had accredited them as war correspondents to accompany the WAACs to England.<sup>22</sup> Their orders were confidential, but when the military outfitted them with gear best suited for a warmer climate, such as mosquito netting, the two reporters realized they might get a closer look at the war than anyone had suspected, a

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<sup>20</sup>“What British Women Are Doing To Help: Extension Of Remarks of Hon. Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts in the House of Representatives, Thursday, March 5, 1942,” Appendix To The Congressional Record, 88 Cong. Rec. A842 1942. Rogers presented two articles that Robb had published in *New York Journal-American* on January 12, 1942.

<sup>21</sup>Inez Robb, “Blood and Toil of British Women Free Millions of Men for War Jobs,” *New York Journal-American*, January 12, 1942.

<sup>22</sup>“WAACs Soon to Be Seen in Country’s Major Centers: Graduates of Ft. Des Moines Scheduled for Assignment,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 9, 1942; “4 WAAC Units Going to British Zone This Year,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 9, 1942; and Ruth Cowan, “How We Go to War,” unpublished manuscript, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, 1905-1990, MC 417, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

fact that made Cowan uneasy when she talked about her trip with her editor, John Evans, a conversation she described in an unpublished memoir she completed after the war.<sup>23</sup>

“But Mr. Evans, suppose, just suppose, the ship doesn’t go to England.”  
Mr. Evans smiled reassuringly.

“Of course, you are going to England. You don’t think the war department is sending WAACs to North Africa, do you? They’re fighting down there.”

I gulped. I remembered that mosquito netting hidden in my room. Now was the time to speak up—say what I suspected, what I almost knew. But could I be sure? “There must not be a slip through a woman—” Would that refrain never cease? I was in the horrible position of seeming to deceive my office. But this was war. My first allegiance, my first loyalty, to whom did it belong? The AP or my country.<sup>24</sup>

While Robb’s and Cowan’s experiences are well documented in articles and other unofficial documents, little remains in government documents to show how or why the military decided to accredit them as war correspondents in North Africa. Both women often wrote first-person articles, from which a timeline and basic understanding of their experience can be drawn. These articles also show that newspaper editors nationwide viewed their presence in the theater as newsworthy in itself—with the words “woman war correspondent” or “girl reporter” displayed prominently, along with depictions of Robb or Cowan in photographs or cartoon illustrations, such as a line drawing of a

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<sup>23</sup>Ruth Cowan, “How We Go to War,” unpublished manuscript, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library, 87.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

woman in uniform applying makeup as she looks in a mirror.<sup>25</sup> Each woman described the challenges she faced adjusting to life in the midst of war, as well as life so far from home, in the middle of North Africa. But neither woman mentioned publicly the battles fought behind-the-scenes, with men already stationed in the theater.

Just as the women did not know where they were headed until they disembarked, several military officials themselves were caught off guard.<sup>26</sup> Brigadier General Robert McClure, Army chief of staff for the European Theater, reported that the two women's arrival was "totally unexpected and disrupting," and Eisenhower referenced McClure's cable as he expressed his own surprise and disapproval in the following message he sent to Major General Alexander Surles, Army director of public relations:<sup>27</sup>

I am informed by Ruth Cowan and Inez Robb that they were authorized by the War Department to remain here with the mission of covering WAAC and women activities. If this represents the desires of the War Department, I can make provision for their retention as additional to maximum previously fixed regardless of representations made in message referred to above. I have no information on subject and these two women are not repeat not accredited to this theater. In this connection the local heads of

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<sup>25</sup>See, for example, Associated Press Photo, "Ready for War: She's Equipped," *Washington Post*, January 29, 1943; Ruth Cowan, "Girl Reporter in North African Battle Area Rides a Tank to Check Upon Musicians," *Washington Post*, March 14, 1943; Ruth Cowan, "Women Reporters Hitchhike to Escape Advance of Nazis," *Ironwood (Michigan) Daily Globe* February 26, 1943; Inez Robb, "War Fails To Spoil Midwinter Cruise On Mediterranean," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 10, 1943; and Inez Robb, "Woman War Correspondent," *Washington Post*, a series of articles that ran daily from May 11 to May 15, 1943.

<sup>26</sup>Inez Robb, "Inez Robb Finally Gets Answer To Transport's \$64 Question," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 13, 1943.

<sup>27</sup>McClure to Surles, "Cable #8006," January 30, 1943 (CM-IN 14082, OPD Message File); and Eisenhower to Surles, "Cable #8095," January 30, 1943, in Chandler, ed., *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, 933.

the newspaper services which these two girls represent did not repeat not have prior warning of their arrival.

Please let me know your intentions and, above all, give me warning the next time you dispatch special newspaper representatives to this theater.<sup>28</sup>

It's unclear whether Surles responded to these cables, and the public relations bureau did not permit any "specialized attention" to the WAAC or, as it later became, the WAC, which may have limited official records relating to Robb and Cowan's accreditation.<sup>29</sup> Cowan's friend Lily Shepard, writing from her War Department post in the Women's Interest Division, explained to Cowan that the misunderstanding was "just one of those things."<sup>30</sup>

Colonel Fitzgerald says all the formalities of telling the European Theater of your expected arrival, were observed. A message was sent back from the European Theater that you would be welcome. At that time, North Africa was under the European Theater. But what the European Theater did not realize was that you were going to North Africa. It was thought at that time that your party (all of it) was going to England. So, no word was sent to North Africa for that reason.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>McClure to Surles, "Cable #8006," January 30, 1943 (CM-IN 14082, OPD Message File); and Eisenhower to Surles, "Cable #8095," January 30, 1943, in Chandler, ed., *The Papers of Dwight Eisenhower*, 933.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. A footnote from the editor states that no response had been found; Mattie Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, D.C.: United States War Department, 1942), 374.

<sup>30</sup>Lily Shepard to Ruth Cowan, November 2, 1943. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library. Shepard was assistant to Emily Newell Blair, the director who took over the women's interest division after Oveta Hobby left for the WAACs. See "WID Carries On; 'Personalizing' Army Is Its Job: 'Turquoise Era Ends; No More Sirupy [*sic*] Pamphlets," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1942.

<sup>31</sup>Lily Shepard to Ruth Cowan, November 2, 1943. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

No word had reached Cowan's fellow Associated Press correspondent Wes Gallagher, either. Though Gallagher did not mention either woman in his detailed memoir of facing battles and bureaucracy throughout the North African campaign, Cowan's letters report that he openly fought the presence of a woman assigned to his theater.<sup>32</sup>

Humiliating as was Mr. Gallagher's inhospitality—hostility is the more precise word—on my arrival, that is not the main point. The latter is that I came here on a definite assignment as an Associated Press reporter, and as such I feel that I had a right to help and co-operation from a fellow staff member.

The way in which my copy went through should show how little such help I got. Yes, Mr. Gallagher is busy—but I've observed he has spare time. However, I got my copy off as best I could with the aid of censors, army press relations officers and other reporters. Russ Landstrum, although ill, gave me my first lessons on cablese. He did not want to leave on my account. He is tops.

I was exhausted the night I arrived and was in the censors' office trying to file my story before the men reporters were got onto the fact that the WAACs had arrived when Mr. Gallagher, whom I had never seen before, came in. His greeting was that I could not stay in Africa.

I spent the next three days, when I should have been writing stories, fighting to stay on the job.<sup>33</sup>

In Cowan's letters, her complaints centered around her perception of Gallagher as insensitive, impolite, and unhelpful—traits that might not have surprised nor offended

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<sup>32</sup>Wes Gallagher, *Back Door to Berlin: The Full Story of the American Coup in North Africa* (New York: Doubleday, 1943).

<sup>33</sup>Ruth Cowan Letter to Robert Bunnelle, AP London, Feb. 13, 1943, cc Mr. Hackler and Mr. Evans. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.



Gallagher or other “rough-and-ready” war correspondents who took pride in being efficient, if not competitive and combative. For example, Cowan reported that Gallagher never checked on her or asked how she was doing, she explained, even after she had survived bombings and blackouts.<sup>34</sup> She said she had been “deeply hurt and confused” by his attitude toward her, which had “handicapped” her as she tried to do her job.<sup>35</sup>

Cowan’s boss, Edward Kennedy, recalled later that Cowan had first believed she was fighting to protect much more than her career.<sup>36</sup>

I was faced by a serious administrative problem a few days after I reached Algiers: a charge of attempted murder against Wes Gallagher was brought by a high-strung woman correspondent who alleged—not to prosecuting authorities but to all who would listen—that Gallagher had placed her where he knew she was sure to be bombed. In reality, Gallagher had merely found quarters for her in the overcrowded city. DeLuce and I eventually persuaded her that Wes had not sought her doom.<sup>37</sup>

Robb did not publicly report having encountered discrimination or hostility during her work in North Africa, nor did the memoirs of men who worked with Robb at that

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<sup>34</sup>RC Letter to Robert Bunnelle, AP London, Feb. 13, 1943, cc Mr. Hackler and Mr. Evans. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Edward Kennedy and Julia Kennedy Cochran, *Ed Kennedy’s War: V-E Day, Censorship, and the Associated Press* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 106-107. Kennedy’s daughter, Cochran, edited and published *Ed Kennedy’s War* in 2012, more than 60 years after Kennedy had set the manuscript aside.

<sup>37</sup>Kennedy and Kennedy Cochran, *Ed Kennedy’s War: V-E Day, Censorship, and the Associated Press*, 106-107.

time mention any such conflict.<sup>38</sup> Cowan reported that Robb's colleagues at International News Services had been entirely welcoming and helpful, to both women.<sup>39</sup> Robb was dissatisfied with her interactions with military officials, however. In a letter to General Eisenhower in March 1943, she expressed outrage at the notion that the military should confine her to reporting solely on "woman's angle" topics.<sup>40</sup> In a three-page letter, Robb reminded General Eisenhower that she had written about women's activities, including extensive coverage of the WAACs and the Ninth Evacuation Hospital, but that she had been assured before her trip that she would have the same freedom to cover news stories as any accredited war correspondent. When she first arrived in Algiers, she noted, General Robert McClure had also assured her that Eisenhower would not tolerate any discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or sex. She had hesitated to burden Eisenhower with her problem, she wrote, but four futile weeks of negotiating with the Army Press Relations Office convinced her that she had no other option.

Forty-eight hours ago, the P.R.O. ruled that I could write only stories that dealt with women. If this rule is enforced, it means that I must leave North Africa as soon as possible.

Sir, I am one of the most respected newspaper reporters and magazine writers in the United States. For several years I have been a foreign correspondent for extended periods. I came here armed with every

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<sup>38</sup>Carolyn Edy, "Juggernaut in Kid Gloves: Inez Callaway Robb, 1901-1979," *American Journalism* 27, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 83-103.

<sup>39</sup>RC Letter to Robert Bunnelle, AP London, Feb. 13, 1943, cc Mr. Hackler and Mr. Evans. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>40</sup>From Inez Robb to General Dwight Eisenhower, Commanding Allied Forces, North Africa, March 1, 1943, from unprocessed papers, Inez Callaway Robb, The Robert E. Smylie Archives, The College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho. No other records relating to this request have been found.

possible credential issued by the United States War Department. Yet since my arrival, I have been thwarted in everything I have attempted to do. ...

When my credentials were issued by the War Department in Washington, I was assured that as soon as my assignment with the WAACs had concluded, I would be released by the commanding officers and permitted to do a good reporting job in other fields.

I have never asked to go into the front lines, I do not now ask to go into the front lines. All I ask now is permission to do feature stories in this area. Only 48-hours ago, I was refused permission by Col. Phillips, acting for Gen. McClure, to do a series of stories on the flying fortress crews ... Major Max Boyd had arranged for me to be based in Constantine and to drive out by day to visit the crews. The Twelfth Air Force Command, according to Maj. Floyd, was most eager for such a series. Undoubtedly, Maj. Gen. Spaatz would have approved, too, Yet my request was flatly turned down by Col. Phillips and Gen. McClure on the ground I could write only about women!

(It seems to me that even crews of flying fortresses are the sons and the husbands of women, if technicalities are called for.)

If it is true that I am to be restricted to writing only about women, then I must request transportation home. No one in the United States is interested solely in women stories out of North Africa at a time like this. The arrival of the WAACs here was not a woman's story, Sir. It was a news story. But there is a saturation point to WAAC stories.<sup>41</sup>

Robb's letter indicates that she had understood that she was free to cover any topics she found newsworthy in her travels as an accredited correspondent with the WAACs. In 1942 and 1943, military officials and reporters might have made informal arrangements for women to cover the woman's angle of war, yet the existence of an

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<sup>41</sup>From Inez Robb to General Dwight Eisenhower, Commanding Allied Forces, North Africa, March 1, 1943, from unprocessed papers, Inez Callaway Robb, The Robert E. Smylie Archives, The College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho. No other records relating to this request have been found.

official arrangement before June of 1944 is unclear from extant government records. A few personal documents, including communications from military officials and editors, state that the women were accredited to cover WAACs and “women’s activities,” but United States military regulations for war correspondents during World War II did not stipulate suitable topics of news coverage. Robb’s attachment to a military unit was a rare privilege for any war correspondent at that time, and Robb had secured her place by agreeing to accompany, and cover, the WAACs. At the time Robb and Cowan were in North Africa, competition among war correspondents was fierce. Edward Kennedy recalled the “highly capable” Associated Press war correspondents chosen to cover the Allied Forces in North Africa—excluding Cowan as he did so by naming the twelve men to whom his comment referred.<sup>42</sup>

I believe this staff was the best group of reporters ever assembled; I was extremely pleased to be the head of it. ... For the enormity of the story which we were covering, the staff was small. It was limited by a rigid quota system imposed by Army Public Relations; it took long arguments and cajolings to get each new man into the Theater. The home appetite for news from North Africa seemed insatiable. We were sending up to 20,000 words a day. There was the headquarters story, purporting to give an overall picture of the campaign each day, first-hand accounts by members of the staff at the front, countless “features,” and reams of regional interest containing a never-ending flow of names of soldiers, their exploits, experiences and thoughts.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Kennedy and Kennedy Cochran, *Ed Kennedy’s War*, 105.

<sup>43</sup>Kennedy and Kennedy Cochran, *Ed Kennedy’s War*, 104-105. Kennedy wrote that this group of AP reporters included Wes Gallagher, Noland Norgaard, Hal Boyle, Bill King, Dan DeLuce, Don Whitehead, George Tucker, and Paul Lee, who were joined later by Joe Morton, Kenneth Dixon, Lynn Heinzerling, and Joe Dynan.

Cowan and Robb wrote more than a dozen articles each as they covered the WAACs and the North African campaign. Though Cowan indicated in her letters that the lack of cooperation she faced had delayed her stories, most of her articles appeared in print within a few days.<sup>44</sup> Robb, one of International News Service's highest paid feature writers at the time, had nearly all of her articles labeled "delayed," and many appeared several weeks after publication.<sup>45</sup> While Robb's feature articles did include profiles of military officials and other stories unrelated to women's activities, both women tended to write around military strategy or operations, with a greater focus on news about women, such as WAACs, nurses, or civilians, or about aspects of the war that related to women's traditional roles, such as food preparation, laundry, children, fashion, and health.<sup>46</sup> All of

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<sup>44</sup>See, for example, Ruth Cowan to Robert Bunnelle, February 13, 1943, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library; Ruth Cowan, "WAACs Arrive in Africa Headed by a Boston Woman," January 31, 1943, *Daily Boston Globe*; Ruth Cowan, "Feminine AEF Greeted By Air Raid in Africa," *Washington Post*, February 3, 1943; and Ruth Cowan, "WAACs Who Drive Jeeps Win Eisenhower's Praise," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1943—the dateline read "Allied Headquarters North Africa, February 6," and while Cowan's feature articles, such as those about WAAC housekeeping and entertainment, did have datelines indicating delays up to three days, these datelines were typical for feature stories, sent by courier from remote locations, because the cost of sending stories by "wireless" meant that most publications reserved its use for breaking or urgent news.

<sup>45</sup>Carolyn Edy, "Juggernaut in Kid Gloves: Inez Callaway Robb, 1901-1979," *American Journalism* 27, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 83-103; many of Robb's articles ran in newspapers throughout the month of May, more than a month after her return, see, for example, Inez Robb, "Inez Robb Learns to Like Food While Stationed on African Front," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 15, 1943.

<sup>46</sup>Ruth Cowan, "Folks Still Dress for Evening in Africa," *Washington Post*, February 9, 1943; Ruth Cowan, "Women's AEF Head Is Still Quite Feminine," *Washington Post*, January 31, 1943; Ruth Cowan, "N.E. Ambulance Drivers Among Unsung Heroes of Fighting in Tunisia," *Daily Boston Globe*, March 5, 1943; Inez Robb, "Gunner from Flatbush Riddles Own Plane Downing 2d Nazi," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 17, 1943; Inez Robb, "Tooth Brush Is Pressing Need For Soldiers in War Hospital," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 1, 1943; Ruth Cowan, "First WAACs to Join A.E.F. Sing Thru Sea Danger: Sleep in Blankets; How 'Eyes' Won Crew," *Chicago Tribune*, January 31, 1943;

their articles had an upbeat, promotional tone that did not reflect the gravity of the military's mission in Algiers or even the risk they often faced as they conducted their work and traveled in a war zone.<sup>47</sup> In a detailed account of their day-to-day routine, Cowan explained that the WAACS "are becoming aware that war is not a tea party," before providing several paragraphs that might suggest otherwise. "They rave about the charm and quaintness of the city in which they are stationed. 'It's wonderful!' says WAAC Auxiliary Frances Carland of Woodstock, Ill." Robb's article appeared just below and beside Cowan's, set together as a story package despite their competing organizations, profiling "the prettiest supply sergeant in this or any other army," Anne Bradley, who Robb said was "destined to live in Army clover so long as strong men in the supply service can buy, beg, borrow or steal in hope of a smile."<sup>48</sup> Cowan and Robb seemed to be writing as much to entertain readers as to inform, a strategy that military officials seemed to appreciate. One commander who praised the Associated Press for sending Cowan to cover troops in North Africa saw her work as a service to her country.

She wrote a flock of home town stories, just the right tales for mothers and relatives who want to know about those important facts of living, which most male reporters never see. I think that Ruth and AP can do more for

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and Inez Robb, "Mail Arrival Brings Joy to WAACs Abroad," *Lima (Ohio) News*, February 2, 1943.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ruth Cowan, "War No Tea Party, WAACS Find in Africa," *Washington Post*, February 13, 1943; and Inez Robb, "Sergeant is Glamour Girl of Africa," *Washington Post*, February 13, 1943.

this base and the families back home than any other writer I've met to date.<sup>49</sup>

Despite Eisenhower's immediate reaction to the presence in his theater of two women who were sent to report on WAACs, in later months Eisenhower would publicly support the accreditation of women war correspondents. In a letter to the editor of "Overseas Woman," Eisenhower explained that "in total war, women must bear their full share of the burden."<sup>50</sup> As military officials recognized the importance of gaining women's support and service, they increasingly recognized the need to keep women's share of the burden separate from men's. As the next chapter will show, the military's accreditation of female correspondents to cover the "woman's angle" of war meant that the military, the media, and the public began to value female war correspondents for their sex, and therefore their expertise in matters relating to their sex, rather than for their expertise in matters of foreign relations or military combat. The military's perceptions and the media's portrayal of these women, in turn, began to overshadow the work of women whose exceptional backgrounds as foreign correspondents had earned them their roles as accredited war correspondents.

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<sup>49</sup>Commander Bob Brown to Commander Barry Bingham, as quoted in a letter from Robert Bunnelle to Claude Jagers, August 28, 1944. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

<sup>50</sup>Eisenhower to Arthur Good Friend, February 15, 1945, in Chandler, ed., *The Papers of Dwight Eisenhower*, 2479-2480.

## Chapter Seven.

### As Epitomes of All the Rest, 1943-1944

*It was a nice thing for journalism that General George C. Marshall and General Eisenhower allowed girl correspondents to go along with the armies. To tell the story; tell it well. And to stand out themselves as epitomes of all the rest.<sup>1</sup>*

—Jack Oestreicher, International News Service

Whether women followed “men’s rules” in their reporting or committed themselves to covering the woman’s angle, media often portrayed all female war correspondents as though they lived by a separate set of ideals and concerns. While Mary Welsh’s wartime reports (in cables to her editors at *Time*) covered United States diplomacy in Africa, labor regulations, and censorship, when *Time* described Welsh’s work to her readers, its focus was Welsh’s “feminine” viewpoint and her coverage of fashions in Paris.<sup>2</sup> The Associated Press news brief announcing the military accreditation

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<sup>1</sup>J.C. Oestreicher, *The World is Their Beat* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945), 229.

<sup>2</sup>Mary Welsh, “London Cable No. 6948, From Mary Welsh to David Hulburd—March 20, 1943 Re Winston Defending Randolph,” Harvard Houghton Library; and Mary Welsh, “London Cable No. 6949, From Mary Welsh to David Hulburd—March 20, 1943 Re Giraud Cover,” Harvard Houghton Library. “Foreign News: Retreat from Greatness,” *Time*, March 29, 1943; and “Foreign News: Out of Boredom,” *Time*, April 5, 1943.



of Welsh and Helen Kirkpatrick did not mention either woman's expertise as foreign correspondents but, instead, highlighted their presence in wartime London and their wardrobe concerns.<sup>3</sup>

Two American women reporters who lived in London through its worst air attacks became today the first women correspondents formally accredited to the United States Army. They are Helen Kirkpatrick, of the *Chicago Daily News*, and Mary Welsh, of *Time* and *Life* magazines. They turned their attention at once to what kind of uniforms they would wear. The Army said they probably will be issued the same dress as women drivers attached to the U.S. embassy—an adaptation of an officer's uniform.<sup>4</sup>

Another news brief ran nationwide after the United States Army ordered that the uniform for female war correspondents would include a beige beret that the women had chosen themselves—because, as ETO commander Lieutenant General Jacob Devers explained, “if eight women can agree on any one hat, they ought to have it.”<sup>5</sup> Articles about women working as war correspondents often portrayed, humorously, the plight of male military officials who had to chaperone or otherwise handle the needs of female war correspondents. The article “Six Girls, No Chow, No Beds,” described SHAEF facilities officer Major Charles Madary “after dark on a rainy night,” stranded in Luxembourg as a chaperone for “six—count them—six beautiful female war correspondents.”<sup>6</sup> The article featured the names of eighteen female war correspondents but provided no information

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<sup>3</sup>Associated Press, “Two Women Reporters Accredited to Army,” *Atlanta Constitution*, March 26, 1942.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>By Cable to *New York Times*, “8 Women Agree on a Hat; to Devers That's News,” *New York Times*, October 22, 1943.

<sup>6</sup>Lee McCardell, “Six Girls, No Chow, No Beds,” (*Baltimore*) *Sun*, October 17, 1944.

about their backgrounds. Madary explained that he handled facilities for all war correspondents, “male and female,” and that female war correspondents worked hard and were not “much trouble.” Yet the reporter presented anecdotes throughout the article to show ways in which these women, with their restlessness and whimsical notions, continually challenged Madary. For example, in Paris the female correspondents “were distracted for a few days by the fall style shows; they got ants in their slacks again and pressed Major Madary to hit the open road.”<sup>7</sup> Here and elsewhere the article implied that ignorance and frivolity—not courage or commitment—were behind women’s desire to work as war correspondents. In describing his duties as a chaperone, Madary recounted the day he had been ordered to find and escort war correspondent Lee Miller to safety.

“When I found her she was up on the rampart of an old fort making pictures of the shelling of the effort on the Isle de Cezezemore [*sic*],” the major said. “There was a flock of hens beside her taking a dust bath and an unexploded German hand grenade. She didn’t want to leave.”<sup>8</sup>

As quoted, Major Madary speaks of “picture making” as if Miller’s photography was a pastime and implies that perhaps the hens in the dust bath had caught her eye and prevented her from noticing the unexploded grenade. This article was dated October 17, 1943, but the reporter was either unaware or unconcerned that the October issue of *Vogue* featured Miller’s gruesome eleven-page account of the devastation she had witnessed at

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<sup>7</sup>McCardell, “Six Girls, No Chow, No Beds.”

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. It is likely that Madary was talking about the island of Cézembre.

St. Malo, including detached body parts and the swollen corpses of a horse and an American soldier.<sup>9</sup>

The reporter disregarded the war reporting of other female war correspondents, as well, as he described Madary's supposed rescue of Catherine Coyne, of the *Boston Herald*, and Marjorie Avery, of the *Detroit Free-Press*. The two women were working as war correspondents in Antwerp when military officials notified Madary that the city was too dangerous. "The gals, who had been walking around the streets eating ice cream, protested that nobody else appeared frightened and insisted upon seeing Antwerp Cathedral, whence the British brigadier finally hustled them out of town."<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, when women wrote about surviving battles or witnessing violence in their work as accredited war correspondents, newspaper editors and other reporters often made light of these dangers, focusing instead on threats to their femininity. For instance, Cowan revealed in later years that she had vomited in her helmet after surviving her first air raid and her correspondence with her Associated Press editors indicates that she suffered an extended illness after enduring months of anxiety in North Africa.<sup>11</sup> Yet one newspaper introduced an article by Cowan as "her exciting story of fighting in North

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<sup>9</sup>Lee Miller, "France Free Again," *Vogue*, October 1944, 92-94, 129-134, 136, 143.

<sup>10</sup>McCardell, "Six Girls, No Chow, No Beds."

<sup>11</sup>Ruth Cowan to Jean E. Collins, 1979, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library; and Ruth Cowan letter fragment, no date, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library. Letters that Cowan's editors, Robert Bunnelle and Edward Kennedy, and friends sent to Cowan throughout 1944 also mention her illness.

Africa, where, as anywhere else she worried most about being caught in an air raid shelter with a shiny nose.”<sup>12</sup>

Martha Gellhorn, an experienced foreign correspondent who had covered the Spanish Civil War and other conflicts, had long blamed women themselves for these portrayals and for societal perceptions that often diminished their work and their potential. In a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, Gellhorn wrote that it’s “awful, when women go feminine publicly, especially about a good trade like writing, a trade that’s as sound and practical as plumbing.”<sup>13</sup> As veteran “woman’s angle” reporters, Cowan, Iverson, and Robb were all examples of accredited war correspondents regularly promoted by media as exceptional women, rather than as exceptional reporters. They are also examples of women who had gone “feminine publicly,” by emphasizing their femininity in their articles, with self-deprecating anecdotes about having to overcome a fear of being seen in slacks or sans makeup, or having to go months without visiting a beauty parlor.<sup>14</sup> Caroline Ackerman’s expertise in aviation and engineering seemed lost on the reporters who wrote about her work, as *Life* magazine’s aviation editor, as an exception—“the only

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<sup>12</sup>“Woman War Correspondent Tells of Fight to the Front,” *San Antonio Express*, August 2, 1943.

<sup>13</sup>Martha Gellhorn to Eleanor Roosevelt, letter, Nov. 11, 1936, in Caroline Moorehead, *Selected Letters of Martha Gellhorn* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2006), 42.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*; for examples in which Cowan and Robb had gone “feminine publicly,” as Gellhorn described the tendency for some women to emphasize their femininity in their articles, see Ruth Cowan, “Adventure Seeker Finds It in Africa,” *New York Times*, February 23, 1943; and Inez Robb, “Woman War Correspondent,” *Washington Post*, May 14, 1943.

woman the War Department has allowed on a military or nonmilitary mission aboard a bomber”—and the rule.<sup>15</sup> But Ackerman, as she was quoted, appeared to play along.

When you're the only girl—and pretty, at that—flying along on a mission in an Army bomber with a crew of eight handsome war heroes, you yearn for lipstick and powder but your better side tells you to wear those darn coveralls and like it. ... In one zip, however, Miss Iverson divested herself of the coveralls and stood five-feet-three of femininity. A licensed pilot herself, Miss Iverson confessed, however, that flying with a crew of Army fliers “is a thrill any girl would like to have.”<sup>16</sup>

In their personal letters Iverson and Cowan confessed to emotions and behaviors that they blamed on feminine traits. After Iverson read a military official's comment that Mary Welsh could grasp “the full air picture” more readily than anyone he had ever known, Iverson replied: “I must confess that I was woman enough to pounce on your mention of Mary Welsh more than anything else in your long letter to Charlie. Do I envy her the chance to cover the war—so very ably—and visit with you for discussion of Chinese philosophers et al! What a break!”<sup>17</sup> Robb wrote about beauty regimen challenges at the front and downplayed her real fears, even as she imagined Rommel so close she could

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<sup>15</sup>“Girl Reporter Makes Trip Here In Army Bomber,” *Courier-Journal*, September 15, 1942.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Letter from Colonel Glen Williamson (GSC; O-17723, Hq. USSTAF, APO 633, NY NY), to Charlie Murphy, copy enclosed to Carolina Ackerman. (July 2, 1944) Box 8, Folder #6. “Precision Bombing (Story and Support Material), 1943.” Caroline Iverson Ackerman Papers, Schlesinger Library; and Letter from Caroline Ackerman to Col. Williamson (August 1944) Box 8, Folder #6. “Precision Bombing (Story and Support Material), 1943.” Caroline Iverson Ackerman Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

feel his breath on her neck, while writing openly about her fear of lice.<sup>18</sup> Cowan similarly joked that she would rather be hit by a bomb than have to share a foxhole with a spider.<sup>19</sup> In letters to her male editors, Cowan often cushioned her complaints with statements of self-blame, such as lamenting her “trusting spirit” or dismissing her anger toward Associated Press correspondent Edward Kennedy as a symptom of a possible mutual attraction that neither had acknowledged.<sup>20</sup> During and after the war, when Cowan wrote or spoke about her work as a war correspondent, she often described, at length, the challenge she faced trying to keep her brown hair blond on various battlefronts.<sup>21</sup>

Why any woman who is dependent upon an experienced beauty parlor to keep her blonde hair looking “so natural”—or even blonde at all—should want to go to war of her own accord is something I’ll never understand.

But go to war I did, and I stayed in it two years and four months to come out of it on the eve of the last shot in Berlin—still a blonde. But they should have had some place in a hospital casualty list to record “Vanity.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>See, for example, Inez Robb, “Woman War Correspondent,” *Washington Post*, May 11, 1943; Inez Robb, “Inez Robb Finds Beauty Shop—But No Soap in Hotel,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 12, 1943

<sup>19</sup>Helen M. Staunton, “Ruth Cowan Prefers Bombs to Spiders,” *Editor & Publisher*, [no date, article fragment], Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

<sup>20</sup>Ruth Cowan to Edward Kennedy, April 25, 1945, Ruth Cowan Nash papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

<sup>21</sup>Members of the Overseas Press Club of America, *Deadline Delayed* (New York: Dutton, 1947).

<sup>22</sup>Cowan’s manuscript submission to Overseas Press Club, undated, p. 2. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute; and “American Girl Reporter Gets Taste of War,” *Portsmouth (Ohio) Times*, August 8, 1944.

These anecdotes reflected the acceptance, among these women, their editors, and their readers, of traits and roles society ascribed to them as women—but their statements were also strategic. Robb and Cowan’s articles from North Africa ran under headlines such as “Girl Reporter at the Front” or “Woman War Correspondent,” often without regard to the content of the article, revealing that the concept of female-at-the-front was itself newsworthy.<sup>23</sup> In 1944 and 1945, nearly every article that accredited war correspondents Catherine Coyne and Iris Carpenter wrote, for the *Boston Herald* and *Boston Globe* respectively, featured their portraits and included the label “Girl” or “Woman” war correspondent.<sup>24</sup> Accredited female war correspondents remained a novelty in news coverage through the end of World War II. Articles continued to treat the presence and work of female war correspondents as record-setting achievements, as in the following excerpt from a 1944 *New York Times* article, which overlooked the fact that women correspondents had filed Navy news from the Pacific as early as 1942.

Journalistic history was made at Admiral Chester W. Nimitz’s headquarters here today when Barbara Finch, Reuter [*sic*] correspondent, set up her typewriter in the public relations office and wrote the first Navy story to be filed from the Pacific area by a woman.<sup>25</sup>

One month later, the *New York Times* noted that “so far” four women had been accredited to the Pacific as war correspondents: Shelley Mydans, Peggy Hull, Barbara Finch, and

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<sup>23</sup>See, for example, Ruth Cowan, “Girl Reporter in North African Battle Area Rides a Tank to Check Upon Musicians,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 1943.

<sup>24</sup>See, for example, Iris Carpenter, “Nazis Won’t Let Germans Quit, Says Surrendered Newsman,” *Daily Boston Globe*, October 11, 1944; Catherine Coyne, “Fearing Air Raid, Writer Puts on Steel Helmet, Then Falls Asleep,” *Boston Herald*, August 1944.

<sup>25</sup>By Telephone to *New York Times*, “First Woman Reporter Files From Pacific Area,” *New York Times*, October 10, 1944.

Eleanor Packard.<sup>26</sup> But this article did not mention that Mydans had been a prisoner of war in Japan, as had Gwen Dew, another woman accredited to the Pacific as a war correspondent.<sup>27</sup> The article overlooked other women accredited to the Pacific early in the war, as well, including Georgette “Dickey” Chapelle.<sup>28</sup>

When Chapelle sought military accreditation in 1944 she was surprised to find the process—from gaining the assignment to gaining the military credentials—was far easier than it had been the first time she applied, two years earlier. She started by approaching an editor at Fawcett Publications, publisher of *Women’s Companion* and *Popular Mechanics*, where she had previously submitted articles and photographs of women working in war jobs. She recalled in her autobiography that she “had no reason to be really hopeful” and had sought any possible advantage to land the assignment. Before she had finished explaining to her editor why he should send her to cover the woman’s angle in the Pacific, he told her, “We need somebody out there right now. Go ahead. Just be sure you’re first someplace.” The military processed Chapelle’s application for accreditation “in an incredible forty-eight hours,” she explained. “There was a clearing-house for reporters’ accreditation now, functioning like a well-oiled machine.” While Chapelle became famous in later years for her war photography, in 1944 she still sought

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<sup>26</sup>“Four Women Writers in Pacific,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1944.

<sup>27</sup>See Gwen Dew, “Repatriates Tell Stories Of Jap Prisons: Talk To Internee Of First Trade,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 3, 1943;

<sup>28</sup>Dickey Chapelle, *What’s a Woman Doing Here? A Reporter’s Report on Herself* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1962).



every advantage when military officers interviewed her before granting her accreditation.<sup>29</sup>

“Now, let me see, Mrs. Chapelle,” the lieutenant began, riffling the papers in his IN basket, “are you a writer or a photographer?” ...

I told him I’d be working as both reporter and photographer, since my magazines had no one else in the area.

“You can’t be both,” he told me firmly. “On operations, you may use radio facilities if you are a writer, or your camera if you are a photographer. But only one.”

I didn’t understand what he meant by “on operations.” I was pretty sure the term in wartime usually meant “in combat.” But certainly the Navy would never consent to a woman observer where there was any shooting! I wasn’t willing, though, to ask the lieutenant any silly questions as long as he was taking my professional role so seriously. So I just looked thoughtful and asked, “How many accredited writers has the Navy sent out from San Francisco?”<sup>30</sup>

When the lieutenant replied that, as far as he knew, the Navy had accredited “a couple” women writers but no women photographers, Chapelle recalled, “That settled it. Now anything I did, including breathing, west of where I sat was a scoop of some kind. “I’m a photographer, then.”<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Ruth Cowan appreciated the importance of “firsts” in her reporting, even if such a status relied on being first as a woman, rather than first with a news story, or scoop. She wrote in a telegram in 1943 that she and Reuters correspondent Rena Billingham were applying for military permission to cross the

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<sup>29</sup>Chapelle, *What’s a Woman Doing Here?*, 63-66.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 63-66.

<sup>31</sup>Chapelle, *What’s a Woman Doing Here*, 63-66.

English channel with the ships that would bring back wounded soldiers when “suggestion was made that we go over on [a] Liberty ship—no women war correspondents had done that one. Sure, we jumped at it.”<sup>32</sup>

Just as the woman’s angle offered new material for editors who had to provide daily coverage of the war, many soldiers and officers believed that a woman’s presence could brighten the monotony and drudgery of their service to the war. Lee Carson, war correspondent for International News Service, explained that the presence of any reporter made them feel like they were not “dying in anonymity. But the fact there was a dame around gave them something to talk about for weeks. And they thought, ‘Well, if she’s here, hell, it can’t be too bad.’”<sup>33</sup> *Boston Globe* war correspondent Carlyle Holt, in an article about his colleague Iris Carpenter, explained that “every outfit is delighted if any woman who looks like home comes anywhere in their vicinity,” even if her presence may be disruptive.<sup>34</sup>

If there is one person that every member of a combat unit is happy to see, that person is a good-looking woman, including feminine war correspondents. There is nothing that a combat outfit will not do for them.

Usually the gripe from the G.I.s and junior officers is that the senior officer pulls his rank and takes said female off in a corner somewhere so he can pour his story and that of his outfit into her pearly ears for as many hours as she can take it.

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<sup>32</sup>Ruth Cowan to Associated Press, by telegram, June 1943, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>33</sup>Oestreicher, *World is Their Beat*, 221.

<sup>34</sup>Carlyle Holt, “Even More Attractive Than Photo, Says Holt,” *Daily Boston Globe*, April 29, 1945.

Every outfit turns itself upside down to make her comfortable, get her anything and everything she can want, including especially all the stories that anybody can remember.<sup>35</sup>

Stand-alone photographs of female war correspondents ran with captions such as “The Gal Boosts Morale,” for a photo of Associated Press correspondent Bonnie Wiley with wounded soldiers in Iwo Jima, and “Soldiers Greet Girl Reporter,” which topped a photo of Inez Robb and described her as “fairly besieged by doughboys” in North Africa.<sup>36</sup> When female war correspondents visited military camps, newspapers and even soldiers themselves often described their presence alone as a service to their country. In a letter to Cowan twenty-five years later, magazine writer Helena Huntington Smith recalled soldiers’ reactions when she covered the war as an accredited correspondent for *Woman’s Home Companion*.

And did I take a lot of ribbing! Just the same, homesick GIs were glad to see anything in a skirt that talked American.

When the battle of the Bulge had reached its declining phase I spent a short time up front as a guest of Major-General “Jim” Gavin of the 82d Airborne. General Gavin had seemed particularly pleased at having a woman visit his area.

“The only reward these boys have,” he said, “is to feel that people at home know what they’re doing, So much the better that you’re from *Woman’s Home Companion*.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Holt, “Even More Attractive Than Photo.”

<sup>36</sup>Associated Press, “Ready for War ... She’s Equipped,” *Washington Post* January 29, 1943; Associated Press, “The Gal Boosts Morale,” *Atlanta Constitution*, March 12, 1945; and “Soldiers Greet Girl Reporter,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 18, 1943.

<sup>37</sup>Helena Huntington Smith to Ruth Cowan Nash, September 7, 1968, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

Most female war correspondents recognized the advantages this novelty factor offered, in terms of access and attention. They also recognized their power in numbers, as women became more commonplace among war correspondents. Marguerite Higgins in 1944 was a young reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune* with a Columbia University degree in journalism when she first sought work as a war correspondent.<sup>38</sup>

In arguing to be assigned to the Air Force junket, I had no idea of the adventure to which it would lead. I only knew that it seemed to offer the last best chance of getting to the war. Among those scheduled for the trip were Margaret Bourke-White, of Time and Life, Lee Miller of *Vogue* magazine, and Helen Kirkpatrick. Their presence among the junketeers provided, it seemed to me, excellent ammunition for those of my bosses who were still saying that the front was no place for a woman.<sup>39</sup>

Yet, as Higgins noted, any advantage women gained through this attention just as easily served to disadvantage them. As a “beginner overseas,” Higgins noted that her youth and her sex led to inevitable encounters with men in power who tried to brush her off “with the ‘run-along-now-little-girl-I’m-a-busy-man’ line.”<sup>40</sup> As a reporter and as a war correspondent, Higgins said she had to prove herself continually to military officials and male colleagues who associated her “femininity and blond hair with either dumbness or slyness, or both.”<sup>41</sup> Beyond the challenge for each individual who worked to overcome these preconceptions was an underlying awareness that one woman’s actions often determined the ways in which military officials and professional colleagues treated all

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<sup>38</sup>Marguerite Higgins, *News Is a Singular Thing* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 71-72.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>41</sup>Higgins, *News Is a Singular Thing*, 56.

women. As Higgins explained: “Certainly unusual disadvantages face a woman war correspondent. One is the fact that since her presence is highly unusual anything she does, good or bad, is bound to be exaggerated and talked about.”<sup>42</sup> This visibility could lead to greater problems. If military officials believed that the presence of one female war correspondent caused a problem, they could seek measures that hindered the work of all female war correspondents. Just months before the War Department drafted separate regulations for female correspondents, and months before Col. Ernest Dupuy took over as head of public relations, Dupuy wrote to his wife about a tale that he found both humorous and cautionary.

Heard an interesting story today. An officer who has WRENS and WACs in his establishment was visited by a succession of WREN officers, each proclaiming that the sanitary facilities were not suitable. The poor man sent squad after squad of soldiers into the toilets after hours and scrubbed and scrubbed and polished. Still the WREN ladies turned up indignant noses. It was not until a WAC officer came in and bluntly told him that he lacked receptacles for disposal of certain feminine monthly accessories that he tumbled! And yet we have women reporters who clamor to go to war. If they think we'll have special receptacles for them they are nuts. War is sure becoming hellier.<sup>43</sup>

Dupuy likely was aware of some hyperbole in the anecdote—and may even have embellished it himself, drawing out the confusion for its entertainment value. Yet his reaction illustrates the real concern that officers had about billeting and otherwise having to take responsibility for the “distaff side” in the midst of military operations. War

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 213.

<sup>43</sup>Ernest Dupuy to “Sweetheart” (Laura Dupuy), January 25, 1944. R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

correspondent Don Whitehead explained that while men “had only to pick up a shovel and walk over behind the nearest sandhill,” military officials believed that women required “additional conveniences,” such as latrines sheltered by canvas tarps.<sup>44</sup> But even makeshift facilities could overcome the long-held prejudices of some military officials who refused to acknowledge women’s right to cover the war. All women were “strictly taboo” for the 8th Army, Whitehead noted, because General Bernard Montgomery considered women “an unnecessary nuisance.” In February 1943, veteran war correspondent Clare Hollingworth gained accreditation and “finagled” the long trip to Tripoli, Whitehead explained.<sup>45</sup> “As soon as Montgomery heard about it, he was furious. ‘I’ll have no women correspondents with my army,’ he said. ‘Don’t let her into Tripoli. Get rid of her.’ So Clare did a quick return trip.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>John Romeiser, *Combat Reporter: Don Whitehead’s World War II Diary and Memoirs* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 66.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 66 and 114.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 114.

## Chapter Eight.

### A Matter of Special Facility, 1944

*Women, no matter how rough and ready they claimed to be, continued all throughout the war to be the subject of a great debate. Every time allocations for space came up, someone was bound to suggest that the women stay with the field-hospital units where nurses were already provided or not go at all.*

—Colonel Barney Oldfield<sup>1</sup>

The military did not officially address women as a group in war correspondent regulations until June 1944, several months after SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) officials sought to reassess, clarify, and improve military interactions with war correspondents. In April, General Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Davis, head of public relations for SHAEF, requested Eisenhower’s assistance in calling upon all military personnel “to give correspondents and public relations officers complete access to the source of news,” while reminding them of the importance of this role.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Barney Oldfield, *Never A Shot In Anger* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1956).

<sup>2</sup>Gen. T.J. Davis to A C/S, G-6 SHAEF and Dep. C/S ETOUSA (for Deputy Theater Commander), Subject: Accreditation of War Correspondents, April 4, 1944. 00074-1, 1-

In order to offer the general public current, complete and unabridged information, within military security limitations, war correspondents receive proper authoritative sanction or “accreditation” to accompany armed forces on military operations.

They are free to go wherever they choose in the legitimate pursuit of their profession, limited only by accommodation facilities. In order to perform their duties properly, commanders of all echelons must give them every assistance possible within military security.<sup>3</sup>

These ideas echoed the principles the War Department had set forth in its 1942 regulations; the only reason Davis stated for asking Eisenhower to revisit them was “to forestall any disagreeable situation involving lack of understanding on the part of commanders with respect to public relations policies, security procedures, and treatment of war correspondents.”<sup>4</sup> Yet Davis also emphasized to Eisenhower that SHAEF “must be prepared for heavy increases,” noting that the list he had attached of correspondents accredited as of March 1944, was “not at all a heavy representation” and that Americans would continue to “demand more information about their men and their war” from the radio stations and newspapers they relied upon.<sup>5</sup>

Other SHAEF officials sought to revisit accreditation policies, as well, while conveying an urgency that Davis did not reveal in his letters to Eisenhower. Colonel Justus “Jock” Lawrence notified Surles that the PRO had placed a hold on “further

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977, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>3</sup>Gen. T.J. Davis to A C/S, G-6 SHAEF and Dep. C/S ETOUSA (for Deputy Theater Commander), Subject: Accreditation of War Correspondents, April 4, 1944. 00074-1, 1-977, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



acceptance [of] War Correspondents here,” until the following week when Major Edward Strode, the executive officer, would arrive to discuss “this and other subjects.”<sup>6</sup> Lawrence ended his message with the explanation: “Problem requires reexamination and coordinated program.”<sup>7</sup>

SHAEF reaccreditation of war correspondents included a new procedure to increase the number of accredited correspondents—while increasing SHAEF’s control over their activities.<sup>8</sup> SHAEF also sought to ensure that only “bona fide war correspondents” would gain accreditation, and its reaccreditation process offered SHAEF the opportunity to “scrutinize” the background of each correspondent requesting reaccreditation.<sup>9</sup> Davis emphasized that this process would ensure that SHAEF did not accredit freelance correspondents, business representatives, and others who had previously gained accreditation despite regulations that should have prevented them from doing so.<sup>10</sup> The first step to gain the accreditation necessary to operate in any military theater was for news organizations to submit written approval for correspondents’

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<sup>6</sup>Jock Lawrence to General Surles, 00074-1, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>SHAEF G-6 Publicity and Psychological Warfare Division, Proposed Plan and Procedure for Reaccreditation of Correspondents to SHAEF (Revised), April 12, 1944, 00074-1, 1-925 to 1-928, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Jock Lawrence to Robert Bunnelle, April 11, 1944. SHAEF National Archives, 00074-1, 1-921, 00074-1, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

accreditation.<sup>11</sup> SHAEF distributed a new form for editors and bureau chiefs to complete for their correspondents in fulfillment of this requirement. The form asked each employer to name its correspondents in order of priority, to indicate whether they would cover activities in London or overseas, and to indicate the specific service or location requested.<sup>12</sup> After processing these lists, SHAEF would hold “accreditation days” in the Public Relations Branch Information Room in London, assembling correspondents to hear a PRO official give a “brief talk.” PRO officers then interviewed correspondents individually, reviewing their records, including proof of identification and personal histories, before reminding them of regulations governing their activities and obtaining their written promises to abide by these regulations.<sup>13</sup> The new process did not prove expeditious or uncomplicated, as Dupuy noted in the following diary entry dated April 28, 1944.

Tension is mounting here, and evidently in Germany. Our correspondent accrediting has been going on and the press-box building up, but have momentarily had to mark time since the higher-ups want to see the lists. It adds another difficulty to the job, since time is flying, and may also have

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<sup>11</sup>From ETO Headquarters to Bureau Chiefs and Editors, Memorandum, “Pro Forma, Appendix A, April \_\_, 1944 [template, has space to add date],” 00074-1, 1-928; 0074-1, 1-927, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>12</sup>From ETO Headquarters to Bureau Chiefs and Editors, Memorandum, “Pro Forma, Appendix A, April \_\_, 1944 [template, has space to add date],” 00074-1, 1-928; 0074-1, 1-927, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>13</sup>SHAEF G-6 Publicity and Psychological Warfare Division, Proposed Plan and Procedure for Reaccreditation of Correspondents to SHAEF (Revised), April 12, 1944, 00074-1, 1-925 to 1-928, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

some embarrassing elements, if anyone is arbitrarily withdrawn without definite cause. We'll see.<sup>14</sup>

Some war correspondents, such as A.J. Liebling, considered the lengthy reaccreditation process a “high point in *opera buffa* absurdity,” with SHAEF operating “nine separate echelons of Public Relations in London at once.”<sup>15</sup> Liebling argued that the process was a means of military censorship—forcing correspondents to mark time, instead of covering the war.<sup>16</sup> While gathered together in London in the spring of 1944, war correspondents campaigned for military recognition, such as campaign theater medals and ribbons for war correspondents “who have seen active and dangerous duty with the United States combat forces.”<sup>17</sup> They wrote articles about biding their time between battles, about inadequate press facilities at the front, and about obstacles posed by accreditation and censorship.<sup>18</sup> Military officials similarly tended toward introspection during this waiting period. Lawrence wrote and distributed a pamphlet titled “Know Your War Correspondent,” which targeted military officials but was picked up by newspapers

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<sup>14</sup>Ernest Dupuy, diary entry, April 28, 1944. R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>15</sup>A.J. Liebling, *The Wayward Pressman* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1948), 125.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>“Honor to Writers Urged: Colleagues Would Allow Ribbons for War Correspondents,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1944.

<sup>18</sup>See, for example, “The Office Of Wordy Incompetence,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1944; “The OWI Promises Speedy News From Invasion Beachheads,” *The (Baltimore) Sun*, April 23, 1944; Ernie Pyle, “London Filled With Reporters For Invasion,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 11, 1944.

nationwide.<sup>19</sup> SHAEF PRD officials planned communications for Overlord and other operations, while they processed correspondents for accreditation. Initial plans for correspondents who would be accredited for Operation Overlord included a list of 43 war correspondents, seven of whom were women.<sup>20</sup> SHAEF public relations officials also used this time to continue assessing regulations and policies. On May 15, 1944, Lawrence wrote to Dupuy and clarified SHAEF's position on war correspondents:

Our fundamental policy is that, unless otherwise ordered, every publication in the U.S. is entitled to get an opportunity to report the doings of its men within the regulations outlined and as long as we can take care of the correspondents, we will do so. ...

There is every reason to believe that we are entering 'the biggest show on earth' and that there will be use for every correspondent eventually. It is understandable that newspapers and services are trying to staff up their

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<sup>19</sup>To All Unit Commanders From R.B. Lord, Subject: "Know Your War Correspondent, an informal pamphlet" (May 22, 1944) File 1-1021, 000.74-1. Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland; and Associated Press, "Commanders Urged to Aid War Reporter: U. S. Headquarters Term Accurate Battle News Best Armor to Combat Axis Propaganda," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 23, 1944.

<sup>20</sup>Memorandum for Chief of Staff From: T.J. Davis Subject: War Correspondents 00074-5, 1-1169 and 1-1170 (April 24, 1944). Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. The memorandum listed the following seven women, by last name and publication: [Ruth] "Cowan (Miss)" of Associated Press, [Marjorie] Avery of *Detroit Free Press*, [Betty] Gaskill of *Liberty*, [Helen] Kirkpatrick of *Chicago Daily News*, [Rosette] "Hargrove (Miss)" of N.E.A., [Mary] "Welsh (Miss)" of *Time*, and Barbara Miller Browne of *Christian Science Monitor*. The use of "Miss" next to some women's names and not others is most likely a means of differentiating these four from male war correspondents who shared the same last name.

bureaux [*sic*] here to anticipate casualties and other hinderances [*sic*] which might arise in future.<sup>21</sup>

Correspondence and official documents in the months and weeks prior to Operation Overlord often referenced means of limiting the number of accredited correspondents and ensuring that only “bonafide war correspondents” gain reaccreditation.<sup>22</sup> While professional background, previous accreditation, and type of publication were all listed as means of differentiating correspondents, sex was not. The first time sex appeared as a category in official war correspondent regulations and memoranda was the week after Operation Overlord.

Official records do not explain what led SHAEF to further revise its regulations to address female war correspondents. The SHAEF Public Relations Division policy dated June 11, 1944, stated, “Women correspondents are eligible to receive SHAEF endorsement within the assigned quotas. SHAEF endorsement will be affixed to credentials issued by Service Departments.”<sup>23</sup> A few days later, an official memorandum specified that accredited women war correspondents could use information room

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<sup>21</sup>From PRO, ETO, J.B.L.L. ETOUSA 16 to Ch/PRD SHAEF, Attention: Ernest Dupuy (May 15, 1944) File 1-953, 00074-1, Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>22</sup>See for example, “Plan for Press Conference,” 1-996. Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>23</sup>SHAEF Public Relations Division Policy File, “Women Correspondents: SHAEF PRD Memo,” June 11, 1944, Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

facilities “on the same basis as a male correspondent accredited to SHAEF.”<sup>24</sup> Yet these facilities would “normally be related to those arenas anywhere, within the overseas theatre in which women service personnel are on duty, provided prior approval is obtained from the command concerned.”<sup>25</sup> That same week SHAEF published its revisions to the official uniform requirements for accredited correspondents—specifying differences for male and female correspondents.

(2) The proper uniform for accredited female correspondents, photographers, and broadcasters is similar to that for accredited male correspondents, as outlined in 1b (1) above, except that female correspondents will wear either skirts or (when in the field) slacks, if desired, and berets, to match the uniform and with a patch on the left side similar to that provided above for the garrison cap.<sup>26</sup>

This revision would not have had a direct bearing on accredited war correspondents because it specified the same uniform they had been wearing since 1942. Yet its timing further illustrates the military’s official recognition, in 1944, of a new category for female war correspondents—and it may also illustrate the military’s previous hesitation to

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<sup>24</sup>W.A.S. Turner to Director of Public Relations, War Office; Director of Public Relations Air Ministry; Deputy Director of Public Relations, C.M.H.Q., and Public Relations Officer ETOUSA, June 14, 1944; “Future Policies Regarding SHAEF Accreditation,” page 3, File 1 1046; 1945:000.74-1 “Acceptance and Release, War Correspondents,” ARC Identifier 615368, Series: General Correspondence, compiled 1944-1945; Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>From Headquarters European Theater of Operations United States Army To Commanding Generals, Forward Deputy Commander, Base Section Commanders, Commanding Officers, et al, “Subject: Prescribed Uniform for Civilians,” APO 887, AG 421 OpGA, June 19, 1944), 3, Series: Decimal Files, Record Group 498, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

mention female war correspondents in official documentation. Correspondence following these new policies continued to refer to “women war correspondents” or “female correspondents” as a separate category, such as the memo SHAEF sent in June 21, 1944, notifying the public relations officer of eleven “female War Correspondents” assigned to five hospitals in his command.<sup>27</sup> The SHAEF letter granting accreditation for Associated Press correspondent Ruth Cowan, in July 1944, described specific restrictions for her work and her access to facilities, required by her status as a female correspondent.<sup>28</sup>

1. The bearer of this letter Ruth Cowan—A.P. is a SHAEF accredited woman war correspondent and is to be attached to the 5th General hospital to do hospital and other stories.
2. Movements of the correspondent while attached to the hospital will be restricted except with prior approval of the commanding officer of the hospital and the Public Relations Officer of the command concerned.
3. Only courier press bag facilities of transmission will be provided and no demands will be made by the correspondent for electrical transmission facilities. The facility will extend for thirty days from date, subject to earlier termination by PRD SHAEF or on request for good reason by either the correspondent or the commanding officer of the hospital through PRO FUSA.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>PRO signed Lee to AD SEC COM Zone to Public Relations, June 21, 1944; File 1 1217, Declassified, 000.74-5 ARC Identifier 615368, Series: Decimal Files, Record Group 331, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. The message named the following eleven correspondents: Martha [Gellhorn] Hemingway, Marjorie Avery, Virginia Irwin, Erika Mann, Iris Carpenter, Dixie Tighe, Rose Hargraves [Rosette Hargrove], Ruth Cowan, Catherine Coyne, and Molly McGee.

<sup>28</sup>Letter To Public Relations Officer, P&PW, FUSA, From Public Relations Division, SHAEF, July 26, 1944. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>29</sup>Letter To Public Relations Officer, P&PW, FUSA, From Public Relations Division, SHAEF, July 26, 1944. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

The same month Cowan received her accreditation as a woman war correspondent, she wrote to the American War Correspondent Association, which in 1944 was headed by her editor Robert Bunnelle, to call the association's attention to the inconsistency of restrictions for women as war correspondents.<sup>30</sup> Elaborating upon a letter Martha Gellhorn had written to public relations officer Jock Lawrence, Cowan explained, "the position of wrangling and fighting into which we are forced in our efforts to do our jobs for the organizations that employ us is personally humiliating."<sup>31</sup> Yet SHAEF's new policy continued to restrict female correspondents' rights, as illustrated by an August 1944 official memorandum. This time, the focus of the letter was Helen Kirkpatrick and her goal "to cover French administrative activities in liberated area," with Dupuy's recommendation that Fitzgerald, of the 12th Army Group, assign Kirkpatrick to an evacuation hospital "as far forward as possible with understanding that movement from that station be only with permission of commanding officers concerned with liberal treatment within limits her safety and operations." The letter reminded Fitzgerald of the limitations that must apply to Kirkpatrick, as a women correspondent:

Presence of women correspondents in combat zones beyond forward limits in which women personnel are on duty will be matter of special facility which will be arranged unless commander concerned objects and within limits of facilities available. ... Only press bag courier

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<sup>30</sup>Ruth Cowan to Robert Bunnelle, president of the American Correspondents in London Association, July 1944, Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.



communications will be provided. This is in accordance with agreements signed by all other women correspondents on far shore.<sup>32</sup>

Kirkpatrick, who had once commanded Eisenhower's full attention when she vouched for war correspondent access to military facilities, now had her access deemed a "matter of special facility" dependent upon the approval of any "commander concerned." Even then, the policies would require her to settle for the hassle and delays of sending her stories by courier instead of wireless. Similarly, the directives SHAEF published on June 11, 1944, threatened Lee Miller's status as an accredited war correspondent—despite orders SHAEF distributed the same day to elevate her status. These orders confirmed the reassignments of accredited war correspondents to various theaters, listing these "men" by last name, including Therese "Bonney," Margaret "Bourke-White," and Helena "Pringle."<sup>33</sup> SHAEF then confirmed that Lee "Miller, of Conde Nast," would stay in the European theater "indefinitely as reward for strict adherence to pooling agreement and excellent coverage."<sup>34</sup> It is not clear when SHAEF's right hand caught up with its left, but the conflicting orders nearly cost Miller her war correspondent credentials. General Francis Fitzgerald, of the United States 12th Army Group, cabled Colonel Ernest Dupuy

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<sup>32</sup>To Fitzgerald from Dupuy, August 7, 1944, "REF NO S-57063. SHAEF Outgoing Message To Twelfth US Army Group for Fitzgerald From SHAEF FROM DUPUY SIGNED SCAEF," File 2-874; 1945:000.74-2 "Correspondents: Accreditations, Violations," ARC Identifier 613124, Series: General Correspondence, compiled 1944-1945; Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>33</sup>To AGWAR for Surles for Mitchell and Ruby, From SHAEF Main, Signed Eisenhower, from Allen, from Newman, S-90785, June 11, 1944, File 3 849, Declassified, 000.74-1. Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

on August 7, 1944, to notify SHAEF PRD that Lee Miller, “female correspondent for *Vogue*,” was present in a forward area and taking pictures of the fall of the citadel at St. Malo.<sup>35</sup>

Understand that she is accredited to Communications Zone for purpose of covering Civil Affairs and went into Combat Zone with permission of Public Relation Officer Communication Zone but without Army Group and Army approval. Strongly recommend no correspondent accredited to Communications Zone enter combat area without specific permission of Army Group in each case. Recommend that no female correspondent be permitted to enter forward area under any circumstances, that each one sign an agreement embodying this provision and that this Headquarters be furnished with copies of each agreement, irrespective of the assignment of the individual. Further recommend that credentials be promptly withdrawn for violation of agreement.<sup>36</sup>

Before the directives, Kirkpatrick and Miller had access to press facilities and privileges in accordance with their status as accredited war correspondents. Regulations and military correspondence give no reason as to why women needed to be identified as a separate category among war correspondents or why they should or should not be allowed to cover combat zones or areas not staffed by women personnel. Whatever circumstances led military officials to establish policies specific to female war correspondents, they remained undocumented, even after military officers sought further clarification, and fewer restrictions, for female correspondents assigned to their units. Less than a month after the first restrictions appeared, SHAEF investigated the

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<sup>35</sup>12th Army Group from Fitzgerald Signed Army Group Commander to Public Relations Division, SHAEF, for Dupuy, Ref No Q-20550, August 19, 1944, File 2 880, Declassified, 000.74-2, Series: Decimal Files, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

“practicability” of easing its restrictions to allow female correspondents to visit the Far Shore.<sup>37</sup> Two days later, Lawrence replied: “ban on entry of women correspondents on Far Shore lifted by Supreme Commander,” with no explanation in his cable nor the official communication he sent to elaborate on the change in policy.<sup>38</sup>

A sudden relaxation by SHAEF of the restrictions which hitherto have prevented women war correspondents from covering stories on the Far Shore will enable at least 16 such correspondents to cross the Channel during the movement to France of the first group of WACs. A second group of ten women correspondents will be enabled to participate in a limiting facility during the coming [sic] week to cover the activities of field and evacuation hospitals on the Far Shore. PRD, SHAEF is selecting the correspondents and arranging the clearance in both of these facilities since PRO, ETOUSA is not, at this time, undertaking to facilitate trips of correspondents on the Far Shore. Approval has been received of a plan for a facility visit to observe the processing of Prisoners of War which will occur during the coming week.<sup>39</sup>

If previous military regulations for war correspondents seemed to apply to all correspondents, with no reference to a correspondent’s sex, then the 1944 revisions to those regulations made clear what was self-evident all along: despite the assertion that the military would treat correspondents equally regardless of sex, race, or creed, the military had never intended to consider the rights or responsibilities of correspondents who were not men. Thus, as the military revised its press regulations to include specific clauses for

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<sup>37</sup>“Subject: Facility Visits,” “Daily Journal of the Public Relations Office,” Headquarters, ETOUSA, July 7, 1944, APO 887.

<sup>38</sup>July 9, 1944. PR Section ETOUSA Staff Conf. Notes, Lt Wylie for Col Lawrence.

<sup>39</sup>Headquarters ETOUSA, “Daily Journal of the Public Relations Section,” APO 887, July 8, 1944, Record Group 498, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

women, these revisions effectively excluded women from all regulations that did not mention them—by creating two categories under their jurisdiction: war correspondents and women war correspondents. This official categorization, based upon sex, made it difficult for the military to make exceptions for individuals who had gained military officials' respect as war correspondents long before regulations redefined their role as "women war correspondents." This exclusion, as the next chapter will demonstrate, led women who previously identified as war correspondents to take on the cause for all women war correspondents. As a *Boston Globe* article noted about Iris Carpenter, "For months she was one of a small group of women correspondents who fought for their right to use the press camps on the same basis as the male correspondents, and she finally shared in the victory for feminine rights. Since that victory she has stayed regularly with 1st Army."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Carlyle Holt, "Even More Attractive Than Photo, Says Holt," *Daily Boston Globe*, April 29, 1945.

## Chapter Nine.

### Outstanding and Conspicuous Service, 1945

*IF CHANGES HOURLY ON THE HOUR SEEM CONFUSING TO YOU  
THEIR INCEPTION THIS END HUNDRED TIMES MORE SO.<sup>1</sup>*

—Lee Carson, December 1944

As war correspondents and “good soldiers,” Lee Carson and Iris Carpenter knew how and when to make the most of their surroundings—and when to move on. In the months after D-Day, when the War Department tied their accreditation to a willingness to cover women’s activities, they wrote about women and wounded soldiers in France.<sup>2</sup> They used their reporting skills, and the military connections these skills had earned them, to find and break news stories so often that by March of 1945, their bylines

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. Oestreicher, *The World is Their Beat* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945), 217-218. Carson sent this message to editors by wireless from the United States First Army front in Belgium.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Lee Carson, “French Women Chic Despite War Curbs: Art and Design of Gowns Disguise Poor Materials Brought On in Past Years,” *New York Times*, August 29, 1944; Lee Carson, “Caring for Seriously Wounded Boys in Germany Is Told,” *Tipton (Indiana) News*, December 3, 1944; Iris Carpenter, “Four Red Cross Girls Thumb Way Into Paris,” *Daily Boston Globe*, September 3, 1944; and Iris Carpenter, “Captain With Moustache Cheers Sophie Who Is Ill,” *Daily Boston Globe*, November 1, 1944.

appeared regularly beneath front-page headlines, nationally syndicated.<sup>3</sup> A SHAEF “Location Status” report from February 3, 1945, listed Carpenter and Carson, along with Helena Pringle, among the 18 accredited war correspondents writing for American publications who were permanently attached to the First United States Army.<sup>4</sup> Despite War Department policies limiting female correspondents to the use of courier facilities, bylines on both women’s articles revealed that their reports often traveled by wireless, appearing in print within 24 hours.

Other women did not have the same access or acceptance. After Ruth Cowan’s stint covering the WAACs in North Africa, she continued to work as a war correspondent for the Associated Press, in England, Italy, and France. While Cowan spoke publicly about the value of the “woman’s angle,” she did not always agree with its interpretation. In letters to editors and military officials, she argued that she should be allowed to cover the repatriation of Marseilles and she expressed her resentment for their refusal. In a two-page letter, dated February 9, 1945, Cowan explained to editor Edward Kennedy the medical stories she planned to write and the steps she had taken to gain access to the Delta G-2 unit, before Major James Todd, “in a manner a touch threatening,” had refused

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<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Iris Carpenter, “Thrilling Tank Brigade Charge Wrests Samree From Germans,” *Atlanta Constitution*, January 13, 1945; Iris Carpenter, “Rhine Spanned in 10 Minutes,” *Daily Boston Globe*, March 10, 1945; Lee Carson, “Second Infantry Division Blocked German Victory,” *New Castle (Pennsylvania) News*, January 4, 1945; and Lee Carson, “Doughboys Suspect Healthy Young Cologne Civilians Are German Soldiers,” *The Lowell Sun*, March 6, 1945.

<sup>4</sup> “Location Status SHAEF War Correspondents as of 1200 Hours, 3 February 1945,” Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, Public Relations Division, February 3, 1945. R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. This list also included photographers and British war correspondents for a total of thirty-six correspondents attached to the First Army. The seven correspondents listed as having only facility passes, or temporary attachment, did not include women.

her.<sup>5</sup> Kennedy replied to Cowan ten days later, in a tone echoing that of his previous letters to Cowan: admonishing her, then trying to appease her.<sup>6</sup>

I regret very much that despite your assurances to me that you would snap out of all this emotional business, you allowed yourself, on the basis of your letter, to get into a new tangle. Your assignment was not to cover repatriations, but to cover the Riviera. If there was a good repatriation story which fell your way, of course you should have tried to cover it—but not to the extent of getting all snarled up about it. . . .

On the Riviera you have just about the best assignment we have to offer in this bureau, and it is about the pleasantest place to stay at this time. There are plenty of stories there and I am sure you can get them. So I would say, please follow the lines of your assignment—which is to take it easy, get plenty of rest, don't get into emotional storms and do the fine job I know you can do if you follow this advice.<sup>7</sup>

Kennedy's suggestion for "plenty of rest" was an allusion to Cowan's previous letters informing her editors of an illness she had fought since North Africa, which she said her doctors had linked to the trauma, such as air raids, she had faced in North Africa, along with exhaustion. Yet Kennedy's advice did not sit well with Cowan, as her sarcastic response, typed beneath the words "THE ASSOCIATED PRESS Riviera Society Section," revealed.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Letter from Ruth Cowan to Edward Kennedy, February 9, 1945. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library

<sup>6</sup>Letter from Edward Kennedy to Ruth Cowan, February 19, 1945. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Letter from Ruth Cowan to Edward Kennedy, February 28, 1945. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

Your letter clears up several things. I'm glad to get it straightened out just what my assignment is. It is simply the Riviera. I don't think we need to go into what I think about it. I'll do it because for the moment you've got me behind the eight ball. You've won this round.

I'm sorry but I took you seriously when you suggested I operate as a sort of sub-bureau out of Marsailles [*sic*]. Remember?

Certainly there are good stories here. But some of them are highly dangerous. Some Americans are going to have pass-port difficulties, for example.<sup>9</sup>

Sometime during this written exchange with Kennedy, the public relations division ordered that Cowan "proceed on 20 Feb 1945 from this hq to Hq Delta Base Section, on temporary duty for a period of approximately 90 days, for the purpose of carrying out instructions of the Theater Commander, and, upon completion of this duty will return to her proper station."<sup>10</sup> Though Cowan's orders and published articles indicate that she, the military and her editors had reached a compromise, her illness worsened and she soon returned to New York.

A list of "SHAEF Accredited War Correspondents," as of February 10, 1945, showed thirty-two women among 298 Americans who were accredited as war correspondents.<sup>11</sup> One month later, SHAEF updated and corrected its listing to include

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<sup>9</sup>Letter from Ruth Cowan to Edward Kennedy, February 28, 1945. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>10</sup>To Ruth Cowan, From HQ ETO USA, By Command of General Eisenhower. Subject: Orders. February 19, 1945. Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>11</sup>"List of SHAEF Accredited War Correspondents," Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, Public Relations Division, February 10, 1945, in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.



326 American correspondents, thirty-eight of whom were women.<sup>12</sup> On March 18, 1945, the public relations division wrote to all commanding generals requiring them to clarify their policies for accepting and accommodating female war correspondents. After reminding commanders of the directive published in June 1944—which permitted female correspondents in areas where female service members were on duty, subject to commanders’ approval—the letter explained the reason for the division’s request.<sup>13</sup>

2. Some commanders maintain a more relaxed policy, giving facilities equally to all correspondents, while others are more rigid in their interpretation.

3. In order for the Public Relations Division properly to assign and process women correspondents and efficiently carry out their public relations mission, it is necessary to have the clearly defined policies of the Army and Air Force Commanders readily accessible.

4. A report will be submitted through the Adjutant General, this headquarters, outlining the established procedure of each Army and Air Force Commander with respect to the limitations placed on the assignment

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<sup>12</sup>“Addendum Number 1 to Total Lists of War Correspondents Accredited to SHAEF, dated 10 February 1945,” Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, Public Relations Division, March 10, 1945, in R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. The list showed an additional six American women among correspondents who were “newly accredited or returned to the theater,” and that two women (one of whom was not listed February 10) were among those “dis-accredited or departed theatre, to be deleted from lists.” Corrections to accreditation numbers or the spelling of war correspondent names included another woman who had not appeared on the February list.

<sup>13</sup>To: Commanding Generals, From: H.H. Newman, Colonel, AGD, Assistant Adjutant General. PRD-AGM, “Subject: Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” (March 18 1945) File 3-902 and 3-903, Declassified, 000.74-4, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

and subsequent freedom of movement of women correspondents within their command.<sup>14</sup>

Most commanders responded within days, conveying these relaxed to rigid interpretations—and revealing just how little direction the directives provided. Each general confirmed that his command followed the policies from June 11, 1944, and a few did not elaborate further.<sup>15</sup> For example, the 21st Army Group had “no amendments or comments to make on the present procedure which operates satisfactorily.”<sup>16</sup> The most relaxed policy was also the most straightforward: the First French Army Group’s declaration of equal treatment for all war correspondents.<sup>17</sup> The United States Strategic Air Force and the Ninth U.S. Air Force also reported equal treatment for all war correspondents, though neither command would allow women to accompany combat

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Responses that just restated or otherwise confirmed adherence to the directives, without elaboration, included the following letters: From Headquarters First U.S. Army; From Headquarters Fifteenth U.S. Army, A. Morris, Jr., Captain A.G.D., Asst Adjutant General. To: Commanding General, SHAEF, “Subject: Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” File 3-914, Declassified, 000.74-4. Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>16</sup>21 Army Group to Supreme Commander AEF, March 29, 1945, File 3-910, Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>17</sup>From General De Lattre De Tassioni, to Colonel Newman, “Facilite Accordees Aux Femmes Correspondants de Guerre,” (April 9, 1945) File 3-914, Declassified, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. The response read: “Les femmes correspondantes de guerre beneficent des meme facilites que les hommes correspondants de guerre.”

missions.<sup>18</sup> Other responses were not as direct. The Third United States Army Group had “no objection to arranging facility visits for women war correspondents to such portions of the Army area as may be deemed advisable,” but also reported that accommodating women correspondents for permanent assignment was “not considered practical.” The Ninth United States Army was similarly ambivalent: while its policy accommodated all correspondents regardless of sex, the commander recommended “the number of women correspondents sent to Ninth United States Army be kept to a minimum.”<sup>19</sup> The most detailed policy clarification, and the longest, served to illustrate the directives’ inherent challenge. The Sixth Army, which also handled the Seventh Army’s correspondents, responded twice within five days. Its second letter sought to amend its first letter, which “was in error,” by adding an item to its four-part response.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>From Col. J.B. Gordon, HQ US Strategic Air Forces in Europe, to Supreme Commander AEF (March 29, 1945) File 3-909, Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; and National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland; From Lt. Col. FH Monahan HQ Ninth Air Force, to Supreme Commander AEF (March 23, 1945) File 3-911, Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>19</sup>From Col. John A. Klein, Adjutant General, “Subject: Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” March 25, 1945, File 3 913 APO 339, Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>20</sup>From John E. Pederson, Headquarters Seventh Army, to Supreme Commander AEF, March 30, 1945 AG File 3-916 Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland; From Headquarters 6th Army Group, Col. J.L. Tarr, To: Supreme Commander, AEF, File 3-904 Declassified, 000.74-4, “Facilities for Women War Correspondents,” Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World

1. Although in the 6th Army Group Area there is no official directive or policy governing accredited women war correspondents, other than SHAEF Directives, it is felt that the directives referred to in paragraph 1 of the basic communication are adequate and equitable.
2. The practice in connection with accredited women correspondents in this theater since D-Day is as follows:
  - a. Women correspondents were informed at ROME on 1 August 1944 that they would not be brought on the beaches but would be brought in by plane as soon as arrangements could be made, following the landing of women army personnel (nurses). In accordance with this promise, women correspondents were flown into Southern France on D plus 7, the landing strip having been opened on the preceding day.
  - b. Women correspondents were billeted at hospitals and permitted to live at hotels or with private families near press camp, if they so desired. Women correspondents have never been billeted in the American Press Camp. On the other hand, they are billeted in the French Press Camp, where there are women employed as stenographers, drivers, etc.
3. Women correspondents have accompanied men correspondents on sorties without restriction other than the general safety and security of correspondents.
4. There has been no objection by the army, corps or divisional commanders in this area to accredited women correspondents accompanying men correspondents on sorties or to forward units. In case any commander should object, his desire should certainly govern the situation.<sup>21</sup>

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War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland; and From Headquarters 6th Army Group, Col. J.L. Tarr, To: Supreme Commander, AEF, 3-915 Declassified, 000.74-4, "Facilities for Women War Correspondents," Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>21</sup>From Headquarters 6th Army Group, Col. J.L. Tarr, To: Supreme Commander, AEF,

Taken together, the collection of command responses revealed that the original directive's central problem, which no commander's clarification could resolve, was its reliance on the approval of commanding generals. This ambiguity allowed women to work freely as war correspondents in some commands but not others. Presumably, it also allowed commanders to provide access to *some* women war correspondents but not others. While a general could complain if an individual war correspondent's presence was disruptive or otherwise problematic, he could do little else if the correspondent was a man and had not broken any rules. On the other hand, generals could guard against a whole category of war correspondents just by declaring it impractical to accommodate women in their command. Even Carpenter, whose quality and quantity of war reports in 1945 might belie such hindrances, expressed frustration with the discord between military directives and the military mindset.

Covering the war, under the 'short-term facilities' which were SHAEF's compromise between the War Department ruling which stated that women could go to war to cover the war and the commanding attitude of mind which said, 'Hell, they don't anywhere on my sector,' turned life into a fantastic, beyond description, hodgepodge of flying or sailing between rocket-bombed London and shell-rocked Normandy.<sup>22</sup>

After the War Department's informal command survey of March 1945, to assess the consistency among commanders' policies for women war correspondents, the matter does not appear again in official documents or correspondence. Post-war field manuals

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March 29, 1945, File 3-915, Declassified, 000.74-4, "Facilities for Women War Correspondents," Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>22</sup>Iris Carpenter, *No Woman's World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 35.

and regulations, just as those prior to June 1944, do not mention sex as a category or condition of war correspondence. Military reports that provide detailed assessments of all aspects of communication also fail to mention sex as a category or condition, or even as a factor. Likewise, memoirs, diaries, correspondence, and other writings by men who served as war correspondents or public relations officers rarely—if ever—mention female war correspondents. In detailed, almost daily diary entries and letters home, Dupuy regularly described interactions with correspondents and challenges they presented. He mentioned Helen Kirkpatrick on a few occasions, speaking well of her work without any mention of her sex.<sup>23</sup> Otherwise, Dupuy did not mention female war correspondents by name nor did he mention specific challenges they presented.<sup>24</sup> The following remarks, from a 1946 WAC report on public relations activities during the war, offer some insight as to why military officials did not bother explaining the need for such limitations:

While annoying, the difficulties encountered in accomplishing a well-rounded public relations program for the WACs in the ETO ... were minor and never dangerously prejudicial to the Women's Army Corps. Among the chief headaches were:

... Antagonisms between the Army male and the Army female. (Since this problem is self-evident, there's no reason for further discussion.)<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>24</sup>From Headquarters, US Forces European Theater, Public Relations Division to Theater WAC Staff Director, "Outline, WAC Public Relations Activities, European Theater of Operations, 4 July 1943 -1 April 1946. ETO," November 23, 1945, 104-107. Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, 1907-1966, Record Group 331; National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

The problem might have seemed self-evident—within a society that defined and valued most aspects of war in masculine terms. Photographs, film clips, and descriptions of press camps illustrate some obvious challenges and inconveniences that the presence of a female war correspondent might have presented to her male counterparts at that time. One film clip of a press camp in the Mariana Islands shows several male war correspondents, some without shirts, some without pants, who are lounging on cots, playing cards or typing their stories, with their laundry lying around and pinup posters hanging from the sides of their hut.<sup>26</sup> Another clip shows soldiers and war correspondents who, after having bathed for months with just their helmets to use as sinks, have thrown off their clothes and are jumping into a lake, where they are bathing nude, as well as swimming, splashing, and playing games in the water as they cool off.<sup>27</sup> War correspondent memoirs, too, depict the easy camaraderie in close quarters that, in the 1940s, seemed suitable only for men.<sup>28</sup> Don Whitehead, in his memoir *Combat Reporter*, described traveling to Tripoli in February 1943 with fellow reporters Ned Russell, of United Press, and Jack Belden, of *Time*. Whitehead described the apparent discomfort of

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<sup>26</sup>Film clips on Critical Past: War Correspondents Typing Documents and Playing Cards in Their Hut on Saipan, Marianas Islands during World War II. Location: Saipan Mariana Islands Date: 1945 Duration: 32 sec. Accessed: April 11, 2011. <http://www.criticalpast.com>.

<sup>27</sup>Film clips on Critical Past: American Troops and War Correspondents at Mont Saint Michel and Saint Malo in France. Date: 1944 Duration: 6 min 11 sec. Accessed: April 11, 2011. <http://www.criticalpast.com/>.

<sup>28</sup>Gallagher, *Back Door to Berlin*. (New York: Doubleday, 1943), 103-104

a YWCA woman who “steadfastly ignored” the fact that the plane’s walls “had been plastered with pictures of nude women.”<sup>29</sup>

Helen Kirkpatrick, speaking years later, recalled that the military restrictions for women were based on practical considerations, as well as personal prejudice and even ignorance.<sup>30</sup> On naval battleships, for instance, “men run around not fully dressed and the facilities are designed for men and not for women,” she said. “If you have a whole bunch of men who have been in the army cut off from women and you put some young girl in their midst, this can cause certain problems.”<sup>31</sup> Yet, Kirkpatrick said, the no-facilities claim was often made by public relations officials who “were really arm-chair characters” and did not understand life at the front.<sup>32</sup>

I said, “You don’t know what you’re talking about when you say, “It poses problems for the commanding officers to have women there.” It doesn’t pose problems at all. It poses fewer problems the nearer the front you get because life is very simple and very primitive.”

“Well, you know the latrines.”

I said, “Look, there aren’t any latrines at the front, it is exactly like camping in the woods; it doesn’t raise any problems.”<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Romeiser, *Combat Reporter*, 114.

<sup>30</sup> Helen Paull Kirkpatrick, Smith Centennial Study Oral History Project, 23-27, Helen Paull Kirkpatrick Papers, 1930-1998, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

<sup>31</sup> Helen Paull Kirkpatrick, Smith Centennial Study Oral History Project, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 25.



Kirkpatrick also noted that many of the restrictions the military imposed upon her were based on political concerns rather than discrimination, from public relations officers and other military officials who were unhappy with her articles about de Gaulle and the Free French, topics that were not popular in Washington.<sup>34</sup> Military officials, editors, and even war correspondents themselves often discriminated against one another for reasons unrelated to an individual's sex. As hundreds of reporters were accredited toward the end of the war, news about them began to differentiate between the "war correspondent," who enjoyed the "softer" accommodations of hotel and press camp, and "combat correspondents," who slept in foxholes and faced the frontline assault.<sup>35</sup>

Those of us in the trade developed a snobbish pride in drawing a distinction between a "war" correspondent and a "combat" correspondent.

WE righteously considered our combat status a step higher in the correspondents' caste system and, consequently, we had the same clannish feeling that bound combat troops against the rear echelons who had never heard a shot fired in the war.<sup>36</sup>

Yet for all the categorizing in the last year of the war, when the War Department officially recognized war correspondents for their service, in 1946, the honor reflected a broad definition of war correspondents that included all reporters whom the military had accredited to theaters of war. Campaign ribbons recognized accredited war correspondents for "outstanding and conspicuous service with the armed forces under

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Romeiser, *Combat Reporter*, 47; Ernie Pyle, "Vet War Correspondents Scared," *Atlanta Constitution*, June 11, 1944.

<sup>36</sup> Romeiser, *Combat Reporter*, 47.

difficult and hazardous combat conditions.”<sup>37</sup> The War Department’s original goal was to present one ribbon to a limited number of correspondents, no matter how many theaters they had served, but by the time commanders and public relations officers had all had their say, it seemed, the list of ribbons and medals had grown to include far more correspondents and, in many cases, several more awards.<sup>38</sup> For example, the War Department’s original list, released in January 1945, presented “European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign” ribbons to 305 war correspondents, including twenty-seven women, and presented the same ribbon posthumously to eight war correspondents.<sup>39</sup> While this list did not include Pacific-Asiatic Theater ribbons, it grew to 399 by the time the War Department presented its awards at a dinner the following year, while noting that the department was still working through its records and expected to award additional ribbons and medals.<sup>40</sup> The full number of war correspondents, including those from Allied nations, recognized by the War Department totaled more than 800, and some received as many as four awards, such as Noel Busch of Time, who had a Purple Heart

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<sup>37</sup>“European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Ribbon,” Headquarters U.S. Forces, European Theater, November 26, 1945, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. The list noted that the ribbons had been authorized “under the provisions of War Department Cable WARX 29101, 30 January 1945.”

<sup>38</sup>“Awards to Accredited War Correspondents,” R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>39</sup>“European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Ribbon,” Headquarters U.S. Forces, European Theater, November 26, 1945, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. The list noted that the ribbons had been authorized “under the provisions of War Department Cable WARX 29101, 30 January 1945.”

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

and three campaign medals.<sup>41</sup> The discrepancies between official communications that outlined goals and criteria for recognizing war correspondents and the number and type of awards the War Department authorized likely was another symptom of the varying mindsets among public relations officials who were charged with interpreting these directives. It is also likely that military officials found it easier to grant awards than to justify withholding them, especially because the war was behind them so, while their need to control correspondents had diminished, the desire for positive publicity had not.

The process by which officers chose Medal of Freedom candidates should have been simplified by the fact that it had fewer decision makers. The War Department had charged an ad hoc committee, of five public relations officers, with determining “appropriate decorations” for a proposed limit of just five war correspondents. The committee started by considering the full list of accredited war correspondents, including those from the United States and other Allied nations. “From this list, from the recommendations of the witnesses appearing before it, and from the considered personal opinion of the members of the Board, both [*sic*] of whom had wide personal knowledge of public relations operations during the late campaign in Western Europe,” the board recommended twelve war correspondents as deserving of the Medal of Freedom, listing Helen Kirkpatrick third.<sup>42</sup> The paragraph that followed her name, to explain her

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<sup>41</sup>War Department, “War Correspondents—Decorations and Awards,” 1-14, M.C. 417, folder 117, “Corr. U.S. War Dept., re: campaign ribbon, 1945-1946,” Ruth Cowan Nash Papers, Schlesinger Library.

<sup>42</sup>“Proceedings of a Board of Officers Convened in Accordance with the Following Orders: Special Orders No. 8,” February 1, 1946, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. The board did not indicate whether the order in which correspondents were listed was significant, and the names were not in alphabetical order.

nomination, did not describe Kirkpatrick as a woman war correspondent, nor did it mention whether she had covered women's activities or woman's angle topics.<sup>43</sup>

Miss Helen Kirkpatrick, *Chicago Daily News*, attached to Supreme Headquarters also visited various armies in the field. Miss Kirkpatrick's objective interpretation of military operations and particularly of the renaissance of Occupied France not only contributed to understanding of the problem in the mind of the American public but also went far to promote good Allied relations. Miss Kirkpatrick never hesitated to face danger in the pursuance of her profession. As a member of the War Committee of the American Correspondents' Association, Miss Kirkpatrick was of outstanding assistance to Public Relations Division, SHAEF.<sup>44</sup>

While Kirkpatrick was the only woman among the correspondents the board recommended, existing documents give no indication whether the board had considered sex as a factor in its assessment. The War Department approved the board's recommendations, but when the medals were announced in 1947, the list of recipients included the names of another seven war correspondents, all of whom were men.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>"Proceedings of a Board of Officers Convened in Accordance with the Following Orders: Special Orders No. 8," February 1, 1946, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>44</sup>"Proceedings of a Board of Officers Convened in Accordance with the Following Orders: Special Orders No. 8," February 1, 1946, R. Ernest Dupuy Papers, 1943-1945, unprocessed collection, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>45</sup>"Medal of Freedom Awarded by Army to 19 War Writers," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 27, 1947.

## PART IV.

### Persona Non Grata

*All I know is that when that dame presumes to tell me about the war, I don't just get mad—I explode. For war reporting is not a woman's province, though your readers would have it feminized to an immeasurable degree. They do not realize that, when a large society of persons is composed almost exclusively of man, the code of conduct is a masculine code the way of living is a masculine way. In such company a female is an undesirable alien and any attempt to crash into that world of men by apeing [sic] their ways only makes her "persona non grata."*<sup>1</sup>

—R., 1945.

This study has shown that American women have always made a place for themselves as war correspondents, but whether they worked beside men or among women, they remained outsiders, in one sense or another, through the end of World War II. Their acceptance by the military, their coworkers, and their audiences depended upon this outsider status—either standing apart from other women, as exceptions, or standing apart from other war correspondents, as women. It has also shown the roles the press and the military held in constructing the “woman war correspondent” as an outsider, or alien,

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<sup>1</sup>R., “A Rebuttal From ‘R,’ ” What People Talk About, *Daily Boston Globe*, April 3, 1945, 8. This rebuttal followed a series of letters to the editor in March 1945 that defended Iris Carpenter after “R.” wrote to complain about having to read war news written by a woman. See R., “Woman Has No Business Reporting War, He Says,” What People Talk About, *Daily Boston Globe*, March 16, 1945.

among the public, the press, and the military. No matter how many women worked as war correspondents, writing about battles they witnessed firsthand or military strategy they gleaned from official interviews, members of the press and public were ready to label them “women war correspondents” and laud them for their novelty, their status as exceptions, often with no consideration of their work. The military first denied or ignored the presence of women among war correspondents. Official attempts to make a place for “women war correspondents,” situating them outside the inner circle of war, ultimately helped more women find their way to the front.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>See Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 183, for a discussion of women and their presence in what Elshtain describes as a series of ever-widening circles surrounding an inner circle of war.

## Chapter Ten.

### Conclusion

*Indeed it will be some time before we have a really clear picture of what has happened or what is happening at the moment. You must experience the terrible confusion of warfare and the frantic, night-marish thunder and smoke and bedlam of battle to realize this.*

—Ernie Pyle, 1944<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation has outlined an early history of American women who worked as war correspondents, while demonstrating the ways in which the press and the military both promoted and prevented their access to war. As the first historical analysis considering the concepts of “woman war correspondent” and “war correspondent” as they were constructed by the press, the military, and women themselves, its value lies both in the answers it provides and the questions it presents. Previous works about women war correspondents have offered rich narratives about the experiences of individual women, even as these works have simplified their history into a tale of heroic women prevailing over an army of chauvinistic editors and commanders. This study has drawn from a variety of sources, considering the roles and influences, positive and negative, not only of the women who worked as war correspondents but the individuals

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<sup>1</sup> Ernie Pyle, “Vet War Correspondents Scared,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 11, 1944.

and institutions surrounding them. The result is a more nuanced picture that reflects the reality many women faced as Americans balanced the need for women to work with the greater need for stability and social acceptance. The press and the military's attempts during World War II to segregate war correspondents, by sex, are consistent with the wartime segregation in many occupations and industries, and with the ongoing segregation between the roles of newspapermen and "sob sisters" or "society girls" in journalism.<sup>2</sup> The military's attempts to regulate women's work as war correspondents and their access to theaters of war is also consistent with findings of previous scholarship. When the military invited women to work as war correspondents who would cover the woman's angle, the military created a new set of rules for all women, thus creating barriers that might otherwise be viewed as entry points.

### **War Correspondents and the Woman's Angle of War**

Despite the concept of a lone woman war correspondent, which continually resurfaced in newspaper articles throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, American women wrote about war whenever Americans participated in war. Just as the military and the press were navigating the goals and limitations of their early relationship with one another, the military and the press changed their definitions and expectations for war correspondents with each war. Whereas the term "war correspondent" had been loosely

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<sup>2</sup>See, c.f., Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women*, 173; D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 20-27; Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977); Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).



defined—used whenever and however it suited writers and editors to do so—the field regulations of 1914 offered an official definition for war correspondent, and official guidance for military officials who sought to regulate them. Despite the warnings of some military officials who called for regulations that would exclude women from working as war correspondents, the regulations instead stipulated criteria that were rigid enough to exclude most men and women, yet did not specify sex as a category or even a factor for consideration.

By the time the United States entered World War II in 1941, several women had already established themselves as exceptional reporters, whose coverage of war and foreign relations had helped them secure enough readers and professional connections to prove their worth to their employers. Likewise, military officials recognized the influence of exceptional reporters, whether they were male or female. The women who worked as foreign correspondents, covering war news from Europe and the Pacific, in the years before World War II, had developed a competing storyline to the sob-sister and society-girl categories. Most readers, editors, and military officials took seriously the writings by foreign correspondents, such as Sigrid Schultz and Anne O'Hare McCormick, whose expertise in their subject matter was exceptional among all reporters, male and female. At the start of World War II, these exceptional journalists had reason to believe the War Department's official communications, and Eisenhower's assurances, that all war correspondents would be treated equally. Most of them had already proven that rules for other women did not apply to them—by proving themselves the best man for the job.

In 1942 and 1943, however, the military began considering the best women for the job. In its commitment to total war, the War Department began a public relations

campaign to encourage women's participation. Just as the new Women's Interest Division worked with woman's angle reporters to promote the war effort domestically, it soon made sense to send women reporters, as accredited war correspondents, to cover the first WAACs stationed in North Africa. Yet their presence was an unwelcome surprise to the veteran war correspondents who had been reporting on Operation Torch since November 1942, as well as to many military officials who knew how to work with war correspondents but were unprepared for two "women war correspondents," who were similarly unprepared for the front and whose very presence was permitted by their difference—the novelty and unique perspective offered by a female at the front. As the value of a woman's angle of war took hold, the military sought to accredit more women and editors sought to send more women. Many of these women had never traveled abroad, had never reported on politics or military strategy or anything close to war. Articles about them ran nearly as often as articles by them—stories that exaggerated their femininity against masculine surroundings.

The short-term effect of the presence of so many "women war correspondents" was to make life more difficult for women who had long worked as "war correspondents." While it might only have been a few, if any, female war correspondents whose presence was truly disruptive, news articles held up women war correspondents as "epitomes of all the rest." Those who saw themselves as war correspondents, whether they were men or women, often resented "women war correspondents" not only because these women competed for facilities, stories, and access, but because the attention they drew was capable of influencing the public's perception of "war correspondent"—as not necessarily a man's job—as well as the public's perception of a "woman war

correspondent”—as not necessarily a war correspondent. Some of this resentment was likely territorial. Skilled war correspondents who knew their way around war and the military, who had worked hard to secure their status and privilege, resented these newcomers. Yet it was also likely a reaction to the frivolous tone common to many woman’s angle articles, and even more common in the headlines that editors plastered above these stories.

This tension and the many conflicts it caused, as illustrated in personal correspondence if not in official documents or news stories, led the War Department, in 1944, to officially recognize a new category for women war correspondents within its accreditation procedures, along with a separate set of directives to assist military officials in handling them. The War Department did not document the rationale behind the new policies, yet it is clear that many military officials would have welcomed the directive as a means of handling the many women who sought more serious assignments and greater access to the front, without losing sight of the military’s goal to promote the war effort among all of its citizens. This strategy also stood to benefit the military as an indirect form of information control, if not propaganda. Accrediting more women as war correspondents, and limiting them to assignments related to women’s activities, offered the military a way to increase news coverage while assuring a steady stream of stories that were least likely to assist the enemy and most likely to promote the military and boost morale.

The War Department also likely saw the directives as a means of reducing conflict: among war correspondents who were grappling for the limited accommodations at the front; among commanders who did not believe women belonged at the front; and

among women who continually questioned why military officials were excluding them when regulations provided them the same rights as men. The military needed a way to justify its treatment of women, within a military culture that was traditionally masculine but comprised of individuals from varying backgrounds, education levels and beliefs, who had similarly varied opinions on women's rights. The military's reasons aside, its attempt to officially segregate the work of war correspondents by sex was consistent with workplace strategies in industries nationwide, throughout the war, to balance the need for more women workers with a greater societal need to ensure that women could step outside their roles without challenging society's accepted roles for men and women.

The folly of these partial directives became obvious immediately. The military had attempted to fit a diverse group of individuals—with varying backgrounds, ages, skills, and goals, among other differences—into the category of “woman war correspondent,” revoking many of their privileges in the process. The directives not only discounted the differences among the women whom they described, they also failed to take into account the differences in the mindsets of the military officials who would be charged with interpreting them. Clearly, the Public Relations Division would not have seen itself as the place, or the war as the time, to fight the equal rights battles society as a whole hadn't resolved. In that sense, allowing individual commanders to limit the work of female war correspondents might have seemed necessary. Not only did these commanders themselves represent a diverse group of Americans, with a range of backgrounds and levels of education, but the commands to which correspondents were assigned represented Allied nations—from Britain's blanket no-woman-correspondent policy to France's any-correspondent policy. Instead, the military's attempt to navigate

these attitudes, by creating a directive with no consequences but plenty of room for interpretation, just led to further confusion and conflict.

The directives appeared to have backfired on the military in other ways. The “exceptional” women, who had gained accreditation as war correspondents before losing ground as women war correspondents, began to challenge the military. Instead of working efficiently among men, separate from other women, they began to speak up for their rights, and therefore the rights of other women. They pointed out the overarching field regulations that stipulated equal treatment for all war correspondents, and found new ways to work around the flawed directives. Women who were exceptional reporters were by definition hardworking and resourceful; by 1945, many of them knew their way around a military command better than public relations officials who sought to control them. Those whose bylines had become household names, who knew more about war, military strategy, and international affairs than most men, had connections to match their reputations. Military officials who had worked with Ann Stringer, Helen Kirkpatrick, Iris Carpenter, Lee Carson, and so many others, understood that it was not in the military’s best interest to prevent these women from working as war correspondents.

As more women found their way around the directives, and as more military officials relaxed their interpretations of the policies, female war correspondents, as a group, began to redefine the concept of “woman war correspondent.” Stories by women who had started reporting as women war correspondents, such as Lee Carson and Iris Carpenter, appeared regularly as front-page news, with “war correspondent” bylines. When the government presented its theater campaign ribbons to war correspondents, in

honor of their “outstanding and conspicuous service” in the face of danger, once again the only category the government recognized was “accredited war correspondent.”

While outside the scope of this study, other works have shown that the ground these women gained as war correspondents soon shifted, just as the short-term gains of women in other professions had done after World War II.<sup>3</sup> Women, such as May Craig, who sought access to military transport in 1947, once again faced exclusion from military officials who blamed inadequate facilities.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, these arguments resurfaced in the Korean and Vietnam wars when the military sought to prevent all women, even veteran correspondents such as Marguerite Higgins and Dickey Chapelle, from gaining accreditation and access to war.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 223; Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 20-27; Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*, 72; and Joan W. Scott, “Re-Writing History,” in eds. Higdonnet, Jenson, Michel, and Weitz, *Behind the Lines*, 23-25; and Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Doris Fleeson, “Who Banned Maine Woman Correspondent From Return From Rio on Missouri?” *Daily Boston Globe*, August 29, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Joyce Hoffmann, *On Their Own: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2008).

## Chapter Eleven.

### Limitations and Future Research

*And do I still think women correspondents should be allowed at the war fronts? Of course, if they are there to do a bona fide reporting job and if they have the common sense not to make nuisances or fools out of themselves.*

*I have some pet dislikes in journalistic styles and high on the list is the story we used to call the “lookie here, I’m only a girl but look where I am.”<sup>1</sup>*

—Marguerite Higgins, 1955

Like many projects, this one began with a deceptively simple question that existing texts could not answer, and led me to more questions than I could answer in one study. I set out to understand the United States military’s reasons for accrediting women as war correspondents and confining them to the woman’s angle during World War II. The question seemed straightforward, especially because so many secondary sources summarized this phenomenon in one paragraph—as though it was a documented fact throughout World War II that applied to all women who worked as war correspondents. Similarly, these same works described a handful of trailblazing women who worked as

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<sup>1</sup>Marguerite Higgins, *News Is a Singular Thing* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), 212.

war correspondents before 1940, so I also assumed it was reasonable, as well as necessary, to understand the press and the military's treatment of women who worked as war correspondents before World War II. I soon realized that, perhaps because I had overestimated the military and underestimated women, I had not appreciated the challenge or the opportunities my research questions presented.

As I began to research my first question, I realized that the military itself had not answered the question during World War II, and in fact had all but avoided the question in previous decades. I had hoped to find clear documentation illustrating the military's arguments for and against women as war correspondents, and the process by which regulations evolved for women war correspondents. Instead, I quickly learned that clear documentation, within the military and during wartime, was not a logical expectation. The volume of documents created by the Allied nations during World War II is nearly unmatched—except possibly by the number of documents that are missing or otherwise unavailable.<sup>2</sup>

While at first I assumed that the challenge of locating documents was preventing me from answering my original question, as to how and why the military accepted and restricted women as war correspondents, I soon discovered the real challenge: throughout the war, the military had avoided this question as best it could. This finding ultimately helped strengthen my study, by forcing me to find answers elsewhere, piecing together evidence from correspondence, and memoranda—considering as significant what the

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<sup>2</sup> James E. O'Neill and Robert W. Krauskopf, editors, *World War II: An Account of Its Documents* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976), 72-83; and Timothy Mulligan, *World War II Guide to Records Relating to United States Military Participation*, Rebecca L. Collier, Judith Koucky, and Patrick R. Osborn, eds. (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2008).



military did not say, what was not in the documents, often as more significant than what was there. Here, too, I found challenges that became opportunities that have the potential for further opportunities. Most of these were typical of any historical study that relies upon primary documents. Reading letter fragments and government memoranda, or cabled messages, it is easy to overlook significant details. As I became more familiar with the names of the various public relations officials, who changed jobs throughout the war, as well as the various military units, battles, locations, editors, war correspondents, and as I began to consider letters, diary entries, government documents chronologically, suddenly a cable that read “I was misinformed, sorry,” gained significance and meaning. If these documents, articles, and letters, took on greater meaning each time I read them, the opportunity remains for the discovery of more evidence, significance, and meaning with future readings.

The number and variety of women, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, who worked as war correspondents—and were recognized as such by the military and the press—exceeded my expectations and broadened the scope of my research considerably. As a starting point for this study, and not the focus, I have introduced the early conceptualization, in the press, the public, and the military, of the woman war correspondent and the woman’s angle of war. Future research could consider these concepts more broadly, situating them in the context of women’s history, military history, or journalism history, and more deeply, considering, for instance, the concept of “woman war correspondent,” within the concepts of stunt journalism, yellow journalism, or sob sisters.

The sixty women I have identified so far as war correspondents who began their work before 1914, along with the nearly 200 whom the government recognized or accredited during World War II, include many whose names do not appear in historical works about journalists or women of their time. Each one has a story worth telling, and yet their collective stories remain to be told as well.

As I researched each woman who was accredited as a war correspondent in World War II, I continued to identify errors in accounts of war correspondents that are cited repeatedly in other works. The list of women who worked as war correspondents, published on the Library of Congress website within its “Women Come to the Front” exhibit, was drawn from the names of war correspondents Colonel Barney Oldfield listed as an appendix in his book, *Never A Shot In Anger*.<sup>3</sup> Each mention I have found about women war correspondents cites one of these two sources, or presents the same information without any citation. Yet this list is missing the names of many women whom the United States accredited as war correspondents, whose work as well-known and well-respected by readers of their time, including Inez Robb, Lee Carson, Iris Carpenter, Dudley Ann Harmon, and Dixie Tighe. At the same time, these lists also include the names of some women twice, as well as the names of women whom the military classified as visiting correspondents, without officially granting them accreditation. For example, the list includes the name of war correspondent Irina Skariatina, but elsewhere it includes her married name, Mrs. Blakeslee, as though the names represent two different women.

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<sup>3</sup> Barney Oldfield, *Never A Shot In Anger* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1956); “Women Come to the Front: Journalists, Photographers, and Broadcasters of World War II,” Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/wcf/wcf0005.html>.

It is easy to see how such errors were introduced; official listings of accredited correspondents contained such errors as well, and though SHAEF distributed lists on a monthly basis in 1944 and 1945, no list was comprehensive or entirely accurate. Individual military units, especially those outside the European Theater of Operations, often handled accreditation and regulation of war correspondents themselves and did not always report the names of these individuals to the War Department's public relations division. Researching these lists, seventy years later, requires a working knowledge of the many individual journalists, their spouses, and the organizations that hired them. For example, the lists most often listed last name and publication, and war correspondents often shared the same last name—sometimes because they were married to each other (the Stringers, Mydanses, Vandiverts, Jacobys, Packards, Brownes, Franks, Daniells, and Wertenbakers, for example), and other times by coincidence, such as Hal Cowan and Ruth Cowan or even the Bill Stringer who died in action, whose widow, Ann Stringer, was a war correspondent, as was another, unrelated Bill Stringer who wrote for *Christian Science Monitor*. While Lee Miller was the name of a man who wrote for International News Service, it also was the name of a woman who worked as a writer and photographer for Conde Nast publications.

Thus, even as I conclude this study, I have introduced the possibilities for so many future inquiries, ranging in significance and scope: considerations of war correspondent couples, of bylined versus non-bylined articles, of the human-interest angle versus the woman's angle, as well as a more thorough consideration of correspondence between editors and the women they assigned as war correspondents.

**Table 1.** American women war correspondents through World War I, by the earliest war in which they wrote for newspapers or magazines that described them as war correspondents.\*

Names (and pseudonyms)	Publications	Battles Covered	Home State	Lifetime	Spouse	Other Jobs
Jane Maria Eliza McManus <b>Cazneau Storm</b> (Cora or Corrine Montgomery; Storms)	<i>NY Times,</i> <i>NY Sun,</i> <i>NY Tribune</i>	Mexican war	NY	1807-1878	Allen Storm, William Cazneau	Author, diplomat
Margaret <b>Fuller</b>	<i>NY Tribune</i>	Roman Revolution	NY	1810-1850	Angelo Ossoli	Author
Lillie Devereaux <b>Blake</b> (Aesop, Essex)	<i>NY Evening Post</i>	Civil War	CT, DC, NJ	1833-1913	Frank Umstead, Grinfile Blake	Lecturer, novelist
Susan E. <b>Dickinson</b>	<i>NY Tribune</i>	Civil War	PA	~1833-1915		Editor, society writer
Lottie Bengaugh <b>McCaffrey</b>		Civil War	PA		John Bengaugh, <sup>†</sup> Richard McCaffrey	Printer
Laura Catherine <b>Redden</b> <b>Searing</b> (Howard Glyndon)	<i>NY Times, NY</i> <i>Tribune, NY Mail,</i> <i>MO Republican</i>	Civil War; Franco-Prussian	MO	1839-1923	Edward Searing	Poet, novelist
Teresa Patten Howard <b>Dean</b> (Theo, The Widow)	<i>Chicago Tribune,</i> <i>Chicago</i> <i>Inter-Ocean</i>	Sioux Indian, Spanish- American, Boxer, Philippine, Mexican	WI	~1859-1935	James Howard, <sup>†</sup> ____Dean, Lewis Tallman	Novelist
<b>Bright Eyes,</b> Susette LaFlesche Tibbles	<i>Omaha World</i> <i>Herald</i>	Sioux Indian	NE	1854-1903	Thomas Tibbles <sup>†</sup>	Lecturer, author
Clara Duniway Bewick/Beurick <b>Colby</b>	<i>Woman's Tribune</i>	Sioux Indian, Spanish- American	NE	1846-1916	General Colby <sup>†</sup>	Latin and history professor
Mary Hannah <b>Krout</b>	<i>Chicago</i> <i>Inter-Ocean,</i> <i>Chicago Tribune</i>	Hawaiian Revolution	IL	1851-1927		Author, poet, teacher
Margherita Arlina <b>Hamm</b>	<i>Boston Herald</i>	Sino-Japanese, Spanish- American	ME	1867-1909	William Fales, <sup>†</sup> John McMahon <sup>†</sup>	Author

**Table 1, continued.** American women war correspondents through World War I, by the earliest year in which newspapers or magazines described them as war correspondents.\*

Names (and pseudonyms)	Publications	Battles Covered	Home State	Lifetime	Spouse	Other Jobs
Cora Howorth Taylor <b>Crane</b> (Imogene Carter)	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	Greco-Turkish	NY	1865-1910	Stephen Crane, <sup>†</sup> Hammond, McNeil, others	Owned brothel
Emma Paddock <b>Telford</b>	<i>NY Times, NY Tribune</i>	Greco-Turkish	NY	1851-1920	William H. Telford	Teacher
Anna Northend <b>Benjamin</b>	<i>Leslie's, NY Tribune</i>	Spanish- American, Philippine, Boxer	MA	1874-1902		
Nora <b>O'Malley</b>	<i>Indiana Woman</i>	Spanish- American, Indian	IN			
Elsie <b>Reasoner</b>	<i>Chicago Tribune, McClure's, AP</i>	Spanish- American	KS	1878-1913	Ralph Lester	Sculptor
Fanny Brigham <b>Ward</b>	<i>New Orleans Picayune, Phil. Record</i>	Spanish- American	MI, OH	1843-1913	William Ward	US Treasury
Katherine Short <b>White</b>	<i>Chicago Record</i>	Spanish- American			Trumball White <sup>†</sup>	
Josephine Miles <b>Woodard</b>	<i>Cincinnati Comm. Gazette</i>	Spanish- American	OH	1862-1932	Orlando J. Woodard	Society editor
Eliza Archard <b>Conner</b> (Zig)	<i>Cincinnati Gazette, Saturday Eve. Post</i>	Philippine	OH	~1850- 1912	Conner	German/ Latin teacher, novelist
Eugenie Magnus <b>Ingleton</b> (Midge)	Transvaal newspapers	Boer	England, CA	~1886-1936	George Ingleton, Fred Hogue	Playwright, actress
Eleanor Franklin <b>Egan Rich</b>	<i>Atlanta Constitution</i>	Russo-Japanese	IN	-1925	Martin Egan	
Sadie Kneller <b>Miller</b>	<i>Leslie's</i>	Riff, Balkans	MD	~1867-1920	Charles Robert Miller	Photographer
Eleanor Henrietta "Peggy Hull" Goodnough <b>Deuell</b>	<i>Cleveland Plain Dealer</i>	Mexican, WWI	KS	1890-1967	Hull, Deuell	

**Table 1, continued.** American women war correspondents through World War I, by the earliest year in which newspapers or magazines described them as war correspondents.\*

<b>Names (and pseudonyms)</b>	<b>Publications</b>	<b>Battles Covered</b>	<b>Home State</b>	<b>Lifetime</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	<b>Other Jobs</b>
Jean Cabell <b>O'Neill</b>	<i>Brooklyn Eagle</i>	Mexican, WWI	NY, DC	~1873	Francis O'Neill, Joseph Herbert	
Alice Muriel Livingston <b>Williamson</b> (Alice Stuyvesant)	<i>McClure's</i>	Mexican, WWI	NY	1869-1933	Charles Norris Williamson	Novelist, screenwriter
Harriet Chalmers <b>Adams</b>	<i>Harper's, National Geographic</i>	WWI	CA	1875-1937	Franklin Pierce Adams	Explorer, photographer
Grace Ellery <b>Channing</b>	<i>Harper's, Saturday Evening Post</i>	WWI	RI	1862-1937	Charles Walter Stetson	Playwright, author
Rheta Louise Childe <b>Dorr</b>	<i>NY Evening Mail</i>	WWI	NE	1866-1948	John Pixley Dorr	Author
Cecil Inslee <b>Dorrian</b>	<i>Newark Evening News, NY Tribune</i>	WWI	NY	-1926		
Mildred Williams <b>Farwell</b>	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	WWI	DC	-1941	Walter Farwell	
Elizabeth <b>Frazer</b>	<i>Saturday Evening Post</i>	WWI	CA	1877- 1967		
Inez Haynes <b>Irwin</b>	<i>McClure's</i>	WWI	MA	~1873-1970	Rufus Gilmore, William Irwin†	novelist
Corra May White <b>Harris</b>	<i>Saturday Evening Post, Atlanta</i>	WWI	GA	1869-1935	Lundy Harris	Novelist
Ruth <b>Wright Kauffman</b>	<i>Outlook</i>	WWI	NY	1883-1952	Reginald Wright Kauffman†	Novelist
Helen <b>Johns Kirtland</b>	<i>Leslie's</i>	WWI	NY	1890-1979	Lucien Swift Kirtland†	Photographer
Inez <b>Milholland</b>	<i>McClure's, Harper's</i>	WWI	NY	~1886-1916	Freda Eugene Boissegain	Lawyer, social reformer
Maude <b>Radford</b>	<i>Chicago Tribune, NYT</i>	WWI	IL	~1875-1934	Joseph Warren	Author, professor

**Table 1, continued.** American women war correspondents through World War I, by the earliest year in which newspapers or magazines described them as war correspondents.\*

**1910-1918, continued**

Names (and pseudonyms)	Publications	Battles Covered	Home State	Lifetime	Spouse	Other Jobs
Mary Roberts <b>Rinehart</b>	<i>Saturday Evening Post</i>	WWI	PA	1876	Stanley Rinehart	Novelist, playwright
Alice <b>Rohe</b>	<i>NY World, Denver Times</i>	WWI	KS	~1876-1957		
Elizabeth Shirley <b>Thornton</b>	<i>New Republic</i>	WWI	NY			
Sophie <b>Treadwell</b>	<i>San Francisco Bulletin</i>	WWI	CA	1885-1970	William McGeehan	Playwright
Mary Isabel Brush <b>Williams</b>	<i>Chicago Tribune, NYT, Saturday Eve. Post</i>	WWI	IN	1888-1944	Pierce Williams	Society writer
Bessie <b>Beatty</b>	<i>San Francisco Chronicle</i>	Russian Revolution	CA	1886-1947	William Sauter	Author, radio host
Anna Louisa Mohan, Louise <b>Bryant</b>	<i>Philadelphia Public Ledger</i>	Russian Revolution	NV	1885-1936	John Reed, † others	Author

\*This table is not exhaustive, in terms of individuals, names, publications, battles, or other details. Where a cell is blank, the information was unconfirmed or unavailable. Where “~” appears, the number is unconfirmed and may be off by one year.

Information for this table was drawn from biographies and contemporaneous news and magazine articles, as well as biographical entries from contemporaneous works, such as social registries, alumni publications, and books. References that were particularly helpful included: John William Leonard, ed., *Woman’s Who’s Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York: American Commonwealth Company, 1976); Helen C. Black, *Notable Women Authors of the Day* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1893); and Mitchel P. Roth, *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997).

†Spouse was a war correspondent or military official during the time his wife was described as a war correspondent.

**Table 2.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

All Names	Accrediting Publications
1. Caroline Iverson <b>Ackerman</b>	Life
2. Gladys <b>Arnold</b>	Canadian Press
3. Oriana MacIlveen Torrey <b>Atkinson</b>	New York Times
4. Marjorie "Dot" <b>Avery</b>	Detroit Free Press
5. Honor Catherine Mary <b>Balfour</b>	Time-Life
6. Judy <b>Barden</b>	North American News Alliance, New York Sun
7. Nellie B. <b>Beeby</b>	American Journal of Nursing
8. Dorothy <b>Bess</b>	Saturday Evening Post
9. Therese <b>Bonney</b>	Duell, Sloan, Pearce
10. Rena <b>Billingham</b>	Reuters
11. Edna Lee <b>Booker</b>	International News Service
12. Margaret <b>Bourke-White</b>	Time-Life, Tomorrow
13. Kay <b>Boyle</b> von Frankenstein	New Yorker
14. Virginia Lee Warren <b>Bracker</b>	New York Times
15. Mary H. <b>Bradley</b>	Colliers
16. Mary Marvin <b>Breckenridge</b>	NBC Radio
17. Anita <b>Brenner</b> Glusker	North American News Alliance
18. Julie <b>Bridgman</b>	Liberty
19. Olive <b>Brooks</b>	International News Service
20. Barbara P. Ellis <b>Browne</b>	Christian Science Monitor
21. Katharine Ingham <b>Brush</b> Winans	(Novelist)
22. Helen <b>Camp</b>	Associated Press
23. Iris <b>Carpenter</b>	Boston Globe
24. Gladys Lee <b>Carson</b> Putnam Boudreau Reeves	International News Service



**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

<b>All Names</b>	<b>Accrediting Publications</b>
25. Georgette "Dickey" Meyer <b>Chapelle</b>	Look
26. Mina Fox <b>Chapelle</b> Klein	American Home
27. Katherine L. <b>Clark</b>	WCAU radio
28. Jackie <b>Cochrane</b> (Bessie Lee Pittman)	Liberty
29. Mary Carter Carson <b>Cookman</b> Bass Gibson Newlin	Ladies Home Journal
30. Anice Page <b>Cooper</b>	Whittlesey House
31. Ruth Baldwin <b>Cowan</b> Nash	Associated Press
32. Harriet Virginia Spencer <b>Cowles</b> Crawley	North American News Alliance
33. Catherine <b>Coyne</b>	Boston Herald
34. Elisabeth May <b>Craig</b>	Gannett Publishing
35. Kathryn <b>Cravens</b>	Mutual Broadcasting
36. Lyn <b>Crost</b>	Honolulu Star Bulletin
37. Elsie Florence Nicholas <b>Danenberg</b>	North American News Alliance
38. Tatiana "Tania" Long <b>Daniell</b>	New York Times
39. Gladys <b>Davis</b>	Life
40. Maxine <b>Davis</b>	Macmillan
41. Sylvia <b>de Bettencourt</b>	Correio de Manha
42. Anna <b>DeCormis</b> Mackenzie	Fortune
43. Gwen <b>Dew</b>	Detroit News, Newsweek
44. Margaret Mary "Peggy" <b>Diggins</b>	International News Service
45. Dorothy Cameron <b>Disney</b> MacKaye	Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal
46. Katharine Zimmerman <b>Drake</b>	Reader's Digest

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

All Names	Accrediting Publications
47. Eleanor <b>Draper</b>	French newspaper
48. Margaret Peggy L. <b>Durdin</b>	Time
49. Charlotte <b>Ebener</b>	International News Service
50. Drucilla <b>Evans</b>	New York Post
51. Edna <b>Ferber</b>	North American News Alliance
52. Elizabeth "Betty" Sturges Field <b>Finan</b> LoSavio Allen	Harper's Bazaar
53. Barbara Miller <b>Finch</b>	Reuters
54. Janet <b>Flanner</b>	New Yorker
55. Doris <b>Fleeson</b>	Woman's Home Companion
56. Helen <b>Foster</b> Snow (Nym Wales)	
57. June Mickel <b>Frank</b>	This Month
58. Pauline <b>Frederick</b>	Western Newspaper Union
59. Beatrice Oppenheim <b>Freeman</b>	Magazine Digest, New York Herald
60. Antoinette " Toni" <b>Frissell</b> Bacon	Vogue, Harper's
61. Betty Milton <b>Gaskill</b> Shinn	Liberty
62. Martha <b>Gellhorn</b>	Collier's
63. Helen <b>Gingrich</b>	Esquire-Coronet
64. Beatrice Blackmar <b>Gould</b>	Ladies Home Journal
65. Janet <b>Green</b>	Trans-Radio Press
66. Alice Rogers <b>Hager</b>	Skyways Magazine
67. Harriet C. <b>Hardesty</b>	United Press
68. Rosette <b>Hargrove</b>	Newspaper Enterprise Association, New York World Telegram

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

<b>All Names</b>	<b>Accrediting Publications</b>
69. Dudley Ann <b>Harmon</b>	United Press
70. Kathleen <b>Harriman</b>	International News Service
71. Hazel <b>Hartzog</b>	United Press
72. Helen <b>Hiett</b> Waller	NBC Radio
73. Carol E. Denny <b>Hill</b> Brandt	Collier's-Redbook
74. Clare <b>Hollingworth</b>	Daily Telegraph
75. Mary <b>Hornaday</b>	Christian Science Monitor
76. Rosemary <b>Howard</b>	Newsweek
77. Henrietta Eleanor "Peggy" Goodnough Kinley <b>Hull</b> Deuell	Cleveland Plain Dealer
78. Rita <b>Hume</b>	International News Service
79. Ann <b>Hunter</b> (Joan Rapoport)	WAIT Radio
80. Edith Iglauer <b>Hamburger</b> Daly	Cleveland Press
81. Marguerite <b>Higgins</b>	New York Herald Tribune
82. Virginia <b>Irwin</b>	St. Louis Post Dispatch
83. Ann Loyd <b>Jacobs</b> Pakradooni	Young America
84. Annalee <b>Jacoby</b>	Time
85. Betty Beaman <b>John</b>	Cleveland News
86. Carol L. <b>Johnson</b>	Newspaper Enterprise Association
87. Laurie <b>Johnston</b>	Newsweek
88. Mary Jane <b>Kempner</b>	Vogue
89. Helen Paull <b>Kirkpatrick</b>	Chicago Daily News
90. Agnes Schjoldager <b>Knickerbocker</b> Walker	New York Times

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

91.	
92. Betty <b>Knox</b>	Evening News
93. Irene <b>Kuhn</b>	NBC
94. Sara M. <b>Lamport</b> Azrael	New York Post
95. Ida B. <b>Landau</b>	Overseas News Agency
96. Elise <b>Lavelle</b>	National Catholic News Service
97. Martha Jansen- <b>Lecoutre</b>	Tri-Color
98. Flora <b>Lewis</b>	Associated Press
99. Rhona <b>Lloyd</b> Churchill	Philadelphia Evening News
100. Mary Patricia <b>Lochridge</b>	Women's Home Companion
101. Cynthia Coleman <b>Lowry</b>	Associated Press
102. Lenore Virginia Hippard Sandberg <b>Lucas</b>	Overseas News Agency
103. Isabel <b>MacCormac</b>	New York Times
104. Hedvig Rosa Marianne Thorburn <b>MacFarlane</b>	Goteborgs-Posten
105. Cathleen Sabine <b>Mann</b> , Marchioness of Queensbury	Time-Life
106. Erika <b>Mann</b>	Liberty
107. Cecilia Jackie Barber <b>Martin</b>	Ladies Home Journal
108. Alice <b>Maslin</b> Junkin (Nancy Booth Craig)	Blue Network
109. Anne <b>Matheson</b>	Australian Consolidated Press
110. Francis <b>McCall</b>	NBC
111. Elizabeth Anne O'Hare <b>McCormick</b>	New York Times
112. Mary "Molly" V.P. <b>McGee</b>	Toronto Globe & Mail
113. Eleanor <b>McIlhenny</b>	Pan-American
114. Rosa <b>McKee</b>	Minnesota

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

All Names	Accrediting Publications
115. Kathleen <b>McLaughlin</b>	New York Times
116. Dorothy <b>Melendez</b>	Star Herald
117. Jane <b>Meyer</b>	Chicago Herald American
118. Elizabeth Lee <b>Miller</b>	Conde Nast
119. Lois Mattox Miller <b>Monahan</b>	Readers Digest
120. Alice-Leone B. <b>Moats</b>	Collier's
121. Mary T. <b>Muller</b>	Readers Digest
122. Barbara Mifflin Boyd <b>Murdoch</b>	Philadelphia Bulletin
123. Shelly Smith <b>Mydans</b>	Life
124. Mary H. <b>O'Brien</b>	Fawcett Publications
125. Philippa Gerry Whiting <b>Offner</b>	Life
126. Eleanor Newell Cryan <b>Packard</b>	United Press
127. Gretta Brooker <b>Palmer</b> Clark	Liberty
128. Mary Babcock <b>Palmer</b>	Newsweek
129. Margaret Pegge <b>Parker</b> Lyons Mackiernan Hlavacek	American Weekly
130. Alice Kelly Perkins	Fairchild
131. Martha Elizabeth "Bettye" Phillips Murphy Moss	Afro-American News
132. Mary Catherine Phillips Polk Hill	Los Angeles News
133. Peggy Poor	New York Post
134. Virginia Prewett	Chicago Sun
135. Helena Huntington Smith Pringle	Women's Home Companion
136. Eva B. Putnam	Trans-Radio Press
137. Eleanor Murray Jones Ragsdale Lovitt	Newspaper Enterprise Association

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

<b>All Names</b>	<b>Accrediting Publications</b>
138. Margaret Elizabeth <b>Reeve</b>	Time-Life
139. Sarah Jane Sally Fulton <b>Reston</b>	New York Times
140. Martha Sawyers <b>Reusswig</b>	Collier's
141. Inez <b>Robb</b>	International News Service
142. Ruth A. <b>Robertson</b>	Press Syndicate
143. Iona <b>Robinson</b>	Saturday Review
144. Ethel P. <b>Rocho</b>	Collier's
145. Nancy W. <b>Ross</b> Young	Novelist
146. Jaqueline <b>Saix</b>	Time-Life
147. Sigrid <b>Schultz</b>	Chicago Tribune
148. Marjorie <b>Severyns</b>	Time
149. Irina <b>Skariatina</b> Blakeslee	New York Times
150. Agnes <b>Smedley</b>	Nation
151. Beverly <b>Smith</b>	Collier's
152. Lady Margaret <b>Stewart</b>	Truth Newspapers
153. Hermione Monica <b>Stirling</b>	Atlantic Monthly
154. Elizabeth Ann <b>Stringer</b>	United Press
155. Lorraine <b>Stumm</b>	London Daily Mirror
156. Pauline Whittington <b>Tait</b>	Chicago Sun
157. Mary Molly Cogswell Van Rensselaer <b>Thayer</b>	International News Service
158. Dorothy <b>Thompson</b> Kopf	Bell Syndicate
159. Dixie <b>Tighe</b>	New York Post
160. Sonia <b>Tomara</b>	New York Herald Tribune

**Table 2 Continued.** American women whom Allied Forces recognized or accredited as war correspondents during World War II.\*

All Names	Accrediting Publications
161. Candace Baird Alig <b>Vanderlip</b>	International News Service
162. Margrethe "Rita" <b>Vandivert</b>	Time
163. Barbara <b>Wace</b>	Associated Press
164. Betty <b>Wason</b>	Radio
165. Mary <b>Welsh</b> Monks Hemingway	Time-Life
166. Lael Tucker <b>Wertenbaker</b>	Time
167. Betsey Maria Cushing Roosevelt <b>Whitney</b>	Washington Times-Herald
168. Bonnie <b>Wiley</b>	Associated Press
169. Betty Dablanc <b>Winkler</b>	Press Alliance
170. Mary Day <b>Winn</b>	This Week
171. Margaret Karch <b>Zaimes</b>	American Red Cross
172. Leane <b>Zugsmith</b> Randau	PM

\*This table is not exhaustive, in terms of individuals or their publications. The information was drawn from government documents within collections at the National Archives at College Park, the Library of Congress, Schlesinger Library, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Additional information, such as the women's names, was drawn from biographical sources and newspaper articles, such as obituaries and wedding announcements.

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    - i) Time Inc. collection.
- 2) Library of Congress.
  - a) Oveta Culp Hobby papers.
- 3) College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho.
  - a) The Robert E. Smylie Archives.
    - i) Inez Callaway Robb, unprocessed papers.
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