

**The “Woman’s Angle” and Beyond: Allied Women War Reporters
during the Second World War**

by

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A Graduating Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements, in the
Honours Program
For the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
In the
Department
Of
History

The University of Victoria

April 1, 2020

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	ii
Introduction.....	1–6
Chapter One: Reporting as a Woman.....	7–29
America.....	13–20
Australia.....	20–24
Canada and Great Britain.....	25–29
Chapter Two: How Women Wrote the War.....	30–57
Women Reporting from the Front Lines.....	33–39
Women Reporting on Women’s War Work.....	39–44
Women Reporting the Human-Interest Story	44–57
Conclusion.....	58
Bibliography.....	59–64
Primary Sources.....	59–63
Secondary Sources.....	63–64
Appendix: The Women.....	65–74

Introduction

In order to depict a battle, there is required one of those powerful painters who have chaos in their brushes

Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*¹

At the outset of the Second World War, the archetypal war correspondent was a burly, hard-drinking, male figure.² English-speaking nations in the early half of the twentieth century saw war reporting as comprising combat reporting only, and did not perceive women as being capable of writing about this masculine subject.³ During World War II, English-speaking Allied nations believed that women journalists constituted an inferior class from their male colleagues, making their reporting of lesser value by definition. This likely contributed to the scholarly neglect of women's World War II journalism. The twenty-first century's increased focus on the histories of women and minorities has brought some research, but this scholarship has a primarily national focus. This thesis — focusing on the women war reporters of English-speaking Allied nations, thereby excluding the Soviet Union — argues that, as a whole, women's Second World War reportage is integral to our understanding of the conflict through journalism.

¹ Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, (Newburyport: Open Road Media, 2017), 278. ProQuest Ebook Central.

² Greg McLaughlin, *The War Correspondent*, (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 35. doi: 10.2307/j.ctt19qgf0x.7.

³ Carolyn M Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance: The United States Military, the Press, and the 'Woman War Correspondent,' 1846–1945," PhD thesis, (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012): 71.

This thesis uses two categories of secondary sources. The first is biographical histories written in the context of specific nations. These works describe the regulations imposed on women by their governments and military authorities during World War II, the attitudes of media industries towards female writers, and the difficulties faced by women trying to access operational zones and military facilities.

Jeannine Baker is *the* authority on Australian women Second World War reporters.⁴ I draw heavily on her work for my discussion of those women. Her book, *Australian Women War Reporters: Boer War to Vietnam*, analyzes the difficulty of the Australian government and military in accepting women war reporters. Baker describes the restrictions placed upon women war correspondents by the Australian government and military designed to preserve firm barriers between the “masculine” and “feminine” worlds. In her discussion of Australian women reporting outside of mainland Australia, Baker also describes British and American management of women war reporters; however, close analysis is reserved only for the Australian situation. The book is accessible to a general audience but draws on Baker’s scholarly work.

One of the very few histories of Canadian female war reporters is provided by Marjory Lang.⁵ Though World War II is not the focus of Lang’s book, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945*, Lang’s book is valuable for its description of Canadian societal prejudice against women journalists. The regrettably

⁴ Jeannine Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters: Boer War to Vietnam*, (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2015).

⁵Marjory Lang, *Women who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880–1945*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999).

brief section dedicated to Second World War reporters makes clear the extent of government-imposed restrictions on women's overseas reporting and introduces a few key figures.

Nancy Caldwell Sorel's *The Women Who Wrote the War: The Riveting Saga of WWII's Daredevil Women Correspondents* offers a comprehensive, readable history of American women war reporters.⁶ Following individuals' wartime careers, Sorel's book covers the women journalists' lives as well as their reporting, allowing for an understanding of their experiences on a personal level, as well as their professional exploits. Sorel's history delves back to before 1939, discussing the role of American women reporting as international correspondents and freelancers in Spain, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, and Germany during the 1930s, illustrating both the opportunities for women and the limitations placed on them before Germany's invasion of Poland.

The second category of secondary sources is academic works. The articles analyse the gender dynamics in Allied countries, using individual women as case studies. In "All the Glamour of the East': Tilly Shelton-Smith Reports from Malaya, 1941," Baker examines how being required to report only domestic aspects of soldiers' lives in Malaya led to Shelton-Smith writing stories that outraged both the Australian military and the public.⁷ In "This Was No Place for a Woman': Gender Judo, Gender

⁶ Nancy Caldwell Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War: The Riveting Saga of World War II's Daredevil Women Correspondents*, (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1999), eBook.

⁷ Jeannine Baker, "All the Glamour of the East': Tilly Shelton-Smith reports from Malaya, 1941," *Australian Historical Studies* 41, no. 2 (2010): 198–216. doi: 10.1080/10314611003636556.

Stereotypes, and World War II Correspondent Ruth Cowan,” Candi Carter Olson discusses how reporters like Cowan manipulated gender divisions to not only get ahead in the male-dominated field of war journalism, but also to refute sexist stereotypes in their writing.⁸ Carolyn Edy’s PhD thesis, “Conditions of Acceptance: The United States Military, the Press, and the ‘Woman War Correspondent,’ 1846–1945,” is a valuable analysis of the circumstances of American women war correspondents.⁹ Edy discusses the woman war correspondent compared to other American women who were drawn into the workforce during the war, and in the contexts of the media and the military during the war. Once the US joined the war, reporters of other nationalities were able to obtain accreditation with the American military, so Edy’s analysis of women war reporters is applicable to women from other Allied countries.

Chapter 1 explores the connections and similarities between English-speaking Allied nations’ attitudes towards women war journalists in terms of the restrictions imposed by their governments, militaries, and media industries.¹⁰ This chapter examines the systemic sexism that devalued women’s war journalism and prevented them having equal access to the war as the male reporters. Focusing on women’s experiences rather than their reporting, Chapter 1 draws primarily on secondary sources discussing women war reporters of specific countries and how their governments managed them. Another text referenced in Chapter 1 that does not primarily discuss women war reporters but

⁸ Olson, Candi S. Carter. “‘This Was No Place for a Woman’: Gender Judo, Gender Stereotypes, and World War II Correspondent Ruth Cowan.” *American Journalism* 34, no. 4 (2017). doi: 10.1080/08821127.2017.1382296.

⁹ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance.”

¹⁰ “English-speaking Allied nations” are henceforth referred to as simply “Allied nations”

provides insight into the relationship between the Canadian military and media during the war is Timothy Balzer's *Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management During the Second World War*.¹¹

Chapter 2 examines how the restrictions on women reporter's movements and the "woman's angle" subject matter prescribed to them by their governments, militaries, and editors required women to write about aspects of the Second World War other than the front lines, such as medical personnel, refugees, and civilians. This chapter mostly relies on primary sources to illustrate the breadth of reporting done by female war reporters, and the individual news articles are too numerous to cite here. I source articles both from online databases and collections of wartime articles published after World War II, including *The Face of War* by American war reporter Martha Gellhorn, a selection of articles spanning Gellhorn's career, and *Reporting World War II*, a Library of America collection of American wartime journalism.¹² Where original articles are unavailable, I use those quoted in secondary sources; however, I keep this to a minimum.

There is no existing study of Allied female war reporters as a group.¹³ That this gap in scholarship be filled is important because women made a significant contribution to Second World War reportage, often covering aspects of the conflict overlooked by their male colleagues. By examining Allied women's wartime reportage and demonstrating that their reporting offered comprehensive coverage of the war from a

¹¹ Timothy Balzer, *The Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management during the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

¹² Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, (New York: Grove Press, 2018); Library of America. *Reporting World War II*. New York: Library of America, 1995.

¹³ That this gap exists is confirmed by Jeannine Baker in her historiographical article "Marginal Creatures: Australian Women War Reporters During WWII.

variety of perspectives, this thesis makes a novel contribution to the historiography of World War II journalism.

Chapter One: Reporting as a Woman

I had been sent to Europe to do my job, which was not to report the rear areas or the women's angle.

Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War*¹⁴

... there's nothing I hate more than the woman's angle on anything.

Iris Dexter, writing to her brother¹⁵

As this thesis is focused on the Second World War (1939 to 1945), I do not discuss the increasing presence of women writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in detail; however, I begin this chapter with an overview to situate women reporting on the Second World War in the context of women's historical participation in journalism and universal prejudices against women journalists. I then discuss specific challenges for women war reporters in America, Australia, and Great Britain and Canada.

In the nineteenth century, English and American women became an increasingly important readership for newspaper and magazine publishers, making contributing women's content a viable employment option for women.¹⁶ However, throughout the

¹⁴ Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, 136.

¹⁵ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 1.

¹⁶ Patricia Bradley, *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality*, (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005): 25–27, 35; Martin Conboy, "Women's Journalism from Magazines to Mainstream," in *Journalism: A Critical History*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2004): 7-10, doi: 10.4135/9781446215111.n8.

western world, general news, politics, and war primarily remained the beats of newsmen.¹⁷

However, despite the bias against them, women found ways to report on war. Kit Coleman, an Irish Canadian journalist for Toronto's *Mail and Empire*, received press accreditation in 1898 from the US Army to report on the Spanish-American War.¹⁸ Women journalists, such as Australians Agnes Macready for Sydney's *Catholic Press* and Edith Charlotte Musgrave Dickenson for Adelaide's *Advertiser*, reported on the Boer War from South Africa.¹⁹ Canadian Rosamund Boulton unofficially reported on the First World War for the *Toronto Daily News*, and was eventually officially endorsed by the *Toronto Star*.²⁰ American Peggy Hull covered the First World War with accreditation from the US War Department and official endorsement from the Newspaper Enterprise Association.²¹ The Spanish Civil War offered more women the opportunity to report from within a conflict zone, including Martha Gellhorn of *Collier's*, Eleanor Packard of the United Press, Francis Davis of the London *Daily Mail* and *Chicago News*, Virginia Cowles of the London *Sunday Times* and Hearst Publications, and others.²² In Spain, the women did their jobs under heavy bombing and, on the front lines, machine-gun fire.²³ Gerda Taro—a 26-year-old German Jew who photographed the Spanish Civil War with

¹⁷ Lang, *Women who Made the News*, 249.

¹⁸ Barbara M. Freeman, *Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989): 127. <https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/400973>.

¹⁹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 8.

²⁰ Lang, *Women who Made the News*, 271–272.

²¹ Roth, Mitchel P., "Hull, Peggy (1889–1967)," in *The Encyclopedia of War Journalism, 1807-2010*, 2nd ed., (Amenia, N.Y.: Grey House Publishing, 2010): 176–177. *Gale eBooks*.

²² Sorel, "Apprentices in Spain," in *The Women Who Wrote the War*.

²³ Noel Valis, "'From the Face of my Memory': How American Women Journalists Covered the Spanish Civil War," *Global Society* 54 (2017): 551, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-017-0189-7>.

her partner and fellow photographer Robert Capa—is believed to be the first female war photographer to die in a combat zone. In 1937, she was killed in a crash between an automobile and a tank after leaving the trenches to find more film.²⁴

When the Second World War began, women journalists covered the story—*Daily Telegraph* writer Clare Hollingworth scooped the world by reporting on the imminent war before it started.²⁵ Posted to Poland, she had borrowed a consular car and driven into Germany when the wind caught roadside burlap screens, revealing the assemblage of German tanks and machine guns awaiting the invasion.²⁶ On 29 August 1939 the *Daily Telegraph* ran the headline "100 tanks massed on Polish border, ten divisions reported ready for swift stroke."²⁷ Hollingworth was in Katowice when the bombs started falling, and alerted the British Embassy in Poland that the war had begun.²⁸ She was not the only woman reporting from Poland. New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Sonia Tomara left Warsaw just before the German army reached the city, after an exhausting night walking to and from the radio station in the blackout to broadcast to the US. She reported from a border town near Rumania on the deplorable state of the Polish military and the terror inflicted on civilians by the *Luftwaffe* until the Polish government capitulated in

²⁴ Alison Gee, "Gerda Taro: The Forgotten Photojournalist Killed in Action," *BBC World Service*, December 27, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25108104>.

²⁵ "Clare Hollingworth; Obituaries Intrepid war correspondent who had the 'scoop of the century' when she spotted German forces massing on the Polish border in 1939," *Times* (London), January 11, 2017, ed. 1, sec. editorial, <https://advance-lexis-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca>.

²⁶ Clare Hollingworth, *Front Line*, (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1990): 13–14.

²⁷ "Clare Hollingworth; Obituaries."

²⁸ Hollingworth, *Front Line*, 15.

the face of both German and Soviet invasion. Her last dispatch was dated 17 September.²⁹

Despite the successes of these and other women war reporters, media industries' attitudes towards women in the mid-twentieth century reflected western society's sexism. By the end of the 1920s, American, Australian, Canadian, and British women had all attained suffrage, but they were not considered equal to men. Publishers and the public treated "woman journalists," "girl journalists," "paper dolls," or "reporterettes," as lesser than journalists, who were assumed to be a men.³⁰ Commonly held sexist beliefs dictated what women should and, more importantly, could write: women are emotional and innately unsuitable for covering war; women's domestic nature dictated that they should only write on domestic topics; women's writing is naturally subjective and intimate—stylistically more suited to human-interest stories.³¹ Western society believed that women lacked the mental capacity for understanding military details. Gellhorn, veteran reporter of the Spanish Civil War, was once informed by a British press officer that she "would not understand" inter-troop relationships³²

Not only did military commanders and policy makers during the Second World War believe women to be inherently unsuitable for war reporting, women's inclusion was considered dangerous. Supposedly vulnerable women proving themselves capable of front-line reporting threatened gender norms.³³ A female presence among soldiers might

²⁹ Sorel, "One Thought, One Holy Mission: Poland," in *The Women Who Wrote the War*.

³⁰ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 45, 52; Lang, *Women who Made the News*, 248.

³¹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 44-45.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 60; Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 79.

inhibit male bonding or tempt men away from their duties, and the need to protect weaker women could distract men from the fighting.³⁴ As Director of British Army Press Relations Lieutenant Colonel Philip Astley stated, “Although we may deny the fact, chivalry still lies latent in all men. The woman may say she can ‘take it’ and in fact she probably *can*, but that is beside the point. She becomes a source of worry and embarrassment to all concerned in times of danger.”³⁵ Pacific correspondent John Lardner also mentioned women “embarrassing” soldiers. According to his account, photographer Dickey Chapelle’s presence overnight on Okinawa “demoralized” the men in that tent section.³⁶

The harsh consequences faced by women who escaped restrictive regulations exemplifies the Allied military authorities’ desire to control women reporters. Gellhorn was arrested by military police after hiding in a hospital ship in order to access the Normandy beachhead after D-Day.³⁷ American reporter Lee Carson of the International News Service (INS) risked the same fate after vanishing into Normandy with several male correspondents.³⁸ Iris Carpenter, a British correspondent for the *Boston Globe*, landed on the Normandy beaches with permission, but was court martialled for her interpretation of “beachhead” as including nearby Cherbourg. Fortunately, an American officer stood up for her, saving her career.³⁹ Dickey Chapelle’s credentials were revoked as a consequence of becoming the first woman reporter on Okinawa and, at the same

³⁴ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 60–61; Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 79–80.

³⁵ In Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 60.

³⁶ Sorel, “It’s Not Over, Over Here,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

³⁷ Caroline Moorehead, *Martha Gellhorn: A Life*, (London: Vintage, 2004): 259.

³⁸ Sorel, “Liberating Paris,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

³⁹ Sorel, “D-Day,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

time, the first woman to spend the night on a Pacific island during combat. Chapelle left the hospital ship to which she was assigned and went ashore on Okinawa on a communications ship. She was supposed to return that night, but it was days before conditions allowed for her return to Pacific Fleet headquarters on Guam.⁴⁰ Australian authorities imposed collective punishment for women reporters' misbehaviour. After American-accredited and London *Daily Mail*-endorsed Australian reporter Lorraine Stumm went to New Guinea without permission, the Australian Directorate of Public Relations (DPR) was pressured into allowing *Australian Women's Weekly* editor Alice Jackson to go as well. DPR then ended their entire licensing system for women correspondents.⁴¹

Despite individual women's proven ability to report on war, being a good journalist was generally considered impossible for the female creature.⁴² Women on the home front only began to receive assignments beyond recipes, housewifery, and society columns in large numbers because most of newspaper offices' male staff either went off to fight in or report on the Second World War and, as in other industries, women moved into the newly available space.⁴³ Deeply ingrained sexism meant that women journalists who wanted to report from combat zones faced heavy discrimination. Here, I lay out the sexist policies and attitudes that women reporters faced.

⁴⁰ Sorel, "It's Not Over, Over Here," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁴¹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 112.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 37.

America

Of all Allied women war reporters who covered the Second World War, Americans had the freest rein. Despite America's neutrality until the 7 December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbour, I begin my discussion of Allied countries' sexist policies with the US because American policies impacted other Allied women war reporters, as I explain during my discussion of those countries' policies. American neutrality before Pearl Harbour meant that, until the end of 1941, American journalists were not constrained by the regulations of a military and government at war.⁴⁴ Roving correspondents could move wherever functioning infrastructure and determination took them.⁴⁵ Some international correspondents, including women, therefore simply continued their work.⁴⁶ Americans gleaned some protection from their neutral citizenship, although how ironclad that protection was, no one could be certain.⁴⁷ Like their male counterparts, women journalists took risks. Sigrid Schultz, the sixteen-year Berlin bureau chief of the *Chicago Tribune*, remained in Berlin after start of the war despite great personal danger.⁴⁸ By the time she put in for an exit visa, her reporting had incurred the attention of Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. She needed US Embassy assistance to escape.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 115; Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 83–84.

⁴⁵ Joseph J. Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957): 181.

⁴⁶ Sorel, "Working Under the Swastika," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁴⁷ Sorel, "Waiting for Hitler: The Phony War," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁴⁸ Sorel, "Cassandras of the Coming Storm," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁴⁹ Sorel, "Working Under the Swastika," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

The well-established Schultz had the professional respect of her superiors, but no matter their competence, this was harder for women to attain than for men. When, in 1939, Tania Long transferred to the New York *Herald Tribune* London bureau from Berlin, her new boss, Ed Agly, complained that he was being sent “a girl.” The London bureau chief of the *New York Times*, Raymond Daniell, sympathized, advising Agly not to let the higher-ups send him a second-rate reporter. “Besides,” Daniell said, “This is a man’s job.”⁵⁰ This exchange demonstrates American publishers’ attitude: women were by nature less competent. A *Saturday Evening Post* article illustrates the blatant sexism of the media industry. The article featured complaints from male editors about their female staff, including women’s reasons for being late to work being unacceptable or unrelatable compared to those of men, male officials refusing to deal with women reporters, and the tired refrain that women talk too much. The piece was actually published as a defense of the “paper dolls,” but a photo caption disparaged the women even as the (male) authors credited them with keeping newspapers afloat during wartime: “Typical copy desk today. That skirted reporter at the left chats sociably between puffs while two female copyreaders struggle with dispatches and a copy girl does her best.”⁵¹

When women reporters showed courage under fire to produce a story, they were still overlooked. In Sweden, Betty Wason attracted the attention of CBS when she interviewed a Swedish diplomat who evacuated with the Norwegian royal family after the Nazi invasion of Norway. With British, French, and Polish forces having landed in

⁵⁰ Sorel, “Braving the Blitz,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁵¹ Stanley Frank and Paul Sann, “Paper Dolls,” *Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1944.
http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/wp-content/uploads/satevepost/Paper_Dolls.pdf.

Norway in an attempt to prevent the Nazi takeover, Wason snuck past the border guards into Norway. After hitching a ride through the mountains and sheltering in the woods from bombs and machine gun fire during an air raid, Wason interviewed wounded soldiers, determining that the British botched the campaign. She left Norway the same way she entered, hitching rides and trudging through snowdrifts. CBS then asked Wason to find a man to read her stories—her feminine voice lacked authority—and offered the male reader a contract. As Nancy Caldwell Sorel states, “there was no appeal ... not in 1940 when there was neither the fact nor the expectation of equality between the sexes.”⁵²

America’s abandonment of neutrality allowed American women journalists to become accredited war correspondents, but also subjected them to controls. Unlike some Allied military officials and policymakers, General Dwight Eisenhower was supportive of women reporters, and the US War Department system for managing war correspondents, established in January 1942, mandated equal treatment for all accredited war correspondents.⁵³ Correspondents had the honorary rank of captain and a uniform—a feature of accreditation that visually indicated women war correspondents as equals to their male counterparts.⁵⁴ However, it is important to note, as Carolyn Edy does, that this professional recognition granted to accredited women was not due to any true belief in gender equality. A woman reporting on war was novel and the “woman’s angle” was

⁵² Sorel, “Waiting for Hitler: The Phony War,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁵³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 121–122.

⁵⁴ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 20, 121.

marketable.⁵⁵ With the men on the front lines, America's readership became saturated with mothers, wives, and sweethearts left at home. The notion of women war reporters was more palatable when viewed as women journalists reporting on the war for women readers.⁵⁶

American women reporters were accredited to cover women in uniform, like the Women's Army Corps (WAC), nurses, and various aspects of life behind the lines.⁵⁷ Despite the official pretense of equality, the *woman* war correspondent was separate from the war correspondent.⁵⁸ A variety of barriers prevented women from accessing operational areas and military installations—just reaching the necessary continent could be difficult. Helen Shipley, the head of American Immigration and Naturalization, objected to women's presence in combat zones. She delayed or denied the passports of women reporters and confiscated the passports of women returning to America on leave.⁵⁹ The War Department deemed flying too dangerous for women, who had to travel by ship. In the case of *Life* photographer Margaret Bourke-White, the ship to which she was relegated was torpedoed on its way to North Africa.⁶⁰

When woman reached conflict zones, they were usually limited to hospitals and servicewomen's areas and their writing was often limited to military press officer-approved subject matter. Press camps, which lacked women's "facilities," were largely

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁹ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 33; Sorel, "Learning the Rules, Dressing the Part," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁶⁰ Sorel, "Women on Trial: North Africa," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

out of bounds. Women reporters, of course, were perfectly capable of managing with discomfort. Martha Gellhorn, sent to China by *Collier's* in 1941, was frequently without a women's lavatory, and travelled on foot, on horseback, by rickety boat, and by even more rickety plane.⁶¹ She also contracted China Rot, which caused "the skin between [her] fingers [to rot] away in a yellowing ooze laced with blood."⁶² Lack of access to the press camps meant lack of access to on-site censors and transmission equipment. Women correspondents had to send their stories to censors in London via field-message services, meaning that women couldn't repair damage done to their writing by the censors and that their stories were delayed.⁶³

Another layer of difficulty for women correspondents were individual sexists. No matter a woman's official accreditation, a sexist superior could make getting access to anything near-impossible.⁶⁴ When Ruth Cowan of the Associated Press (AP) landed in Algiers, the head of the AP office, Wes Gallagher, tried to send her straight back to the US.⁶⁵ She remained in North Africa, but was refused service in the press corps mess because it was for men only.⁶⁶ Gallagher only began to assign Cowan stories once Cowan wrote a telegram to her close personal friend, Eleanor Roosevelt, saying that women were unwanted by the AP in Algiers. The telegram was never sent, but word of her connection to the first lady got around and treatment of Cowan—who should have

⁶¹ Martha Gellhorn, *Travels with Myself and Another*, (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2001): 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶³ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 32-33.

⁶⁴ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 33; Sorel, "Women on Trial: North Africa," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁶⁵ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 33-34; Sorel, "Women on Trial: North Africa," in *Women Who Wrote the War*; Olson, "'This Was No Place for a Woman,'" 434-435.

⁶⁶ Sorel, "Women on Trial: North Africa," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

been respected on the grounds of her 12-year career with AP—improved slightly.⁶⁷

However, she still faced unremitting discrimination throughout her time in Algiers, and “the AP’s masculine attitude [gave her] an inferiority complex.”⁶⁸

As the Allied invasion of Europe drew closer, the London-based Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) under Eisenhower began to restrict women correspondents further. Only 58 of 500 SHAEF-accredited correspondents were permitted to accompany the first assault units on D-Day. Women were banned altogether.⁶⁹ The rationale behind this sexist policy was paternalistic safety concerns, which ignored the fact that some of the women reporters in Britain on D-Day were veterans of the Spanish Civil War or the Blitz, the *Luftwaffe*’s bombing of British cities.⁷⁰ These women were perfectly capable of making their own decisions about their safety, but were instead dictated to by SHAEF. Officially, with training, any correspondent could accompany the second-wave airborne troops. However, when American women reporters Betty Gaskill and Dixie Tighe and Briton Judy Barden requested to go, Eisenhower’s press aide informed them that “‘the sharp jolt of the exploding parachute canopy’ could damage their ‘delicate female apparatus,’ causing vaginal bleeding.”⁷¹ Eisenhower allowed women correspondents to visit Normandy a few days after the initial landings, but they were not provided with transmission facilities,

⁶⁷ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 34; Sorel, “Women on Trial: North Africa,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁶⁸ Olson, “No Place for a Woman,” 434–435.

⁶⁹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 126.

⁷⁰ Among others, Martha Gellhorn experienced the bombing of Madrid and Helen Kirkpatrick was in London during the Blitz. Sorel, “Apprentices in Spain,” “Braving the Blitz,” “D-Day,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁷¹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 126.

transport in Normandy, or accommodation, resulting in women resorting to sleeping in foxholes, ships, or on landing craft.⁷²

On 11 June 1944, SHAEF began to differentiate officially between women war correspondents and war correspondents.⁷³ As I have discussed, US military-accredited women war correspondents were often limited to areas where women were already present. Under the new policy, these limitations became official; if they wanted to leave the women's areas, women correspondents had to obtain special permission from SHAEF and approval from relevant military commanders. When the Public Relations Division (PRD) issued a list of SHAEF-accredited correspondents, women were listed separately. According to PRD, this was because they had a different status than men correspondents.⁷⁴

The Pacific theatre was even more restrictive for women than Europe and North Africa. The region was considered particularly dangerous and so women were excluded on the basis of patriarchal attitudes.⁷⁵ After the campaign to retake the Philippines began, General MacArthur refused to allow women to be accredited to the South-West Pacific Area until after March 1945, when Manila returned to American control. Women could be accredited to the Pacific Fleet headquarters in Guam from November 1944, but they could only go as far forward as the hospital ships.⁷⁶ Though there was the risk of attack by the Japanese Air Force, women reporters could be accommodated with the nurses on

⁷² Ibid., 131-132.

⁷³ Ibid., 129.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 131.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 145-146.

⁷⁶ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 145.

the ships, and they were “theoretically safely away from the masculine-only combat zone.”⁷⁷ The previously-discussed stripping of Dickey Chapelle’s credentials demonstrates how seriously the American military took keeping women reporters in line. Men correspondents’ presence on Okinawa was accepted, but Chapelle’s was not. After she was sent back to the US, her editor wrote a letter to the navy stating that the severity of disciplinary action taken against Chapelle was due to her sex.⁷⁸ He was almost certainly right.

Australia

The Australian government and military were far less willing to consider women as war reporters than were the American authorities. Until 1942, when the Australian Army’s Directorate of Public Relations (DPR) took over managing war reporters from the Department of Information (DOI), women were denied official accreditation.⁷⁹ To access domestic military facilities, women had to apply to the DOI for a temporary press pass. Gender discrimination was openly acknowledged; that “applications by women reporters for special passes ... would not be encouraged” was a stated fact.⁸⁰ The Australian military distrusted journalists in general, and women even more so. Government and military officials believed that women were “natural gossips” who

⁷⁷ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁸ Sorel, “It’s Not Over, Over Here,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

⁷⁹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 53-54.

⁸⁰ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 54.

could not be trusted with sensitive information. This attitude was exemplified by the ejection of London *Daily Mirror* correspondent Lorraine Stumm from a press briefing at a military headquarters in Brisbane.⁸¹ Before 1942, only three Australian women were permitted to report on war-related stories overseas by the government and military. They were to write from the “woman’s angle,” and they were kept far from the front lines. *Australian Women’s Weekly* editor Alice Jackson travelled to the US and Britain to cover the “Bundles for Britain” campaign, which sent blankets and warm clothing from America to Britain, and both Tilly Shelton-Smith of the *Weekly* and Dorothy Gordon Jenner of the Sydney *Sun* visited troops in South-East Asia.⁸² They were not accredited correspondents.⁸³

Strict adherence to the “woman’s angle” backfired spectacularly in the case of Shelton-Smith, who visited Malaya to “obtain ‘first-hand news of how our boys are faring in the tropics,’” not to report on military matters.⁸⁴ Limited to writing about the domestic side of life in Malaya and kept surrounded by officers and away from the average soldier Shelton-Smith’s stories portrayed the men relaxing in the exotic locale, sleeping in comfortable quarters, attending functions, and dancing with Asian women.⁸⁵ The catastrophic backlash included soldiers threatening to tear Shelton-Smith limb from

⁸¹ Ibid., 60–61.

⁸² Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 61–62; Alice Jackson, “Our Editor Distributes ‘Bundles’ in London,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, October 25, 1941, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4715448>.

⁸³ Jeannine Baker, “‘All the Glamour of the East:’ Tilly Shelton-Smith reports from Malaya, 1941,” *Australian Historical Studies* 41, no. 2 (2010): 200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10314611003636556>; Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 62, 85–86.

⁸⁴ Baker, “All the Glamour of the East,” 202.

⁸⁵ Baker, “All the Glamour of the East,” 206–210.

limb, should they ever get their hands on her.⁸⁶ Some misogynistic threats alluded to rape.⁸⁷ The fiasco reinforced the belief among many that women were incapable of reporting on military affairs.⁸⁸ However, at least one man recognized that the “woman’s angle” was imposed at the risk of misrepresentation. When Jenner reached Malaya, Eighth Division commander Major General Gordon Bennett sent her on jungle exercises ensuring that she witnessed grit, dirt, and hard-working soldiers. As a result, her reporting from Malaya “closely matched the ANZAC discourse.”⁸⁹

In 1942, DPR decided to accredit women reporters. The women’s auxiliary services needed publicity and wartime “woman’s angle” reporting included covering women in uniform.⁹⁰ To facilitate this, DPR created two war correspondent classes designed to keep women reporters on mainland Australia and out of operational areas: Lines of Communication Correspondents who worked from their publications’ offices and Visiting Correspondents with temporary accreditation.⁹¹ Women correspondents were uniformed like Australian Women’s Army Service (AWAAS) officers.⁹² As a measure meant to appease women correspondents, reinforce their role documenting the home front, and raise publicity for the women’s services, a group of accredited women correspondents were sent on a tour of the women’s Army, Navy, and Air Force centres in New South Wales and Queensland.⁹³ This tour was as close to war reporting as most of

⁸⁶ Ibid., 207.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 211.

⁸⁸ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 67.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 87.

⁹¹ Ibid., 41, 90–91.

⁹² Ibid., 41, 90–92.

⁹³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 41, 93.

those women got. In 1942, when a Japanese bombing attack devastated Darwin in the Northern Territory, requests by women war correspondents to visit the area were repeatedly denied, due to the usual excuses about “facilities.”⁹⁴ Persistent women, such as Jackson and Stumm (who was accredited with the American forces, endorsed by the London *Daily Mirror*, and worked from MacArthur’s Brisbane headquarters), were demoted to Visiting Correspondents by the DPR.⁹⁵

Accreditation with the US military was a route taken by several Australian women correspondents determined to get closer to the front lines—though Australian authorities still did their best to thwart them. When Stumm’s American accreditation and connection with MacArthur got her to New Guinea in October 1943, shortly after Jackson’s request to visit the area had been denied, DPR’s Colonel John Rasmussen demanded her return to Australia and issued a publication ban on her material. Stumm remained in New Guinea with the blessing of MacArthur’s aide-de-camp and her articles appeared in *Woman*. Following Stumm’s trip to New Guinea, DPR finally approved Jackson’s request to go.⁹⁶ Like some of their American counterparts, there was a small number of Australian women in Europe when the war began and they were able to benefit from SHAEF’s willingness to accredit women reporters, though the increased restrictions after D-Day resulted in Australians only being granted temporary press passes.⁹⁷ Still, Anne Matheson of the *Weekly* landed on Normandy’s beaches a few days

⁹⁴ Ibid., 100, 103.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 101–103, 106.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 108–112.

⁹⁷ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 129.

after D-Day after reporting during the Blitz.⁹⁸ In 1938 and 1939, Margaret Gilruth reported from Europe for the Melbourne *Herald*, *Courier-Mail*, and *Mercury*. In France, shortly before the Nazi invasion of the Low Countries, she covered the activities of the Royal Air Force, which included some Australian pilots.⁹⁹

That Australian women war correspondents were banned from New Guinea until 1943 demonstrates the rigidly sexist nature of the Australian military authorities' attitude towards women journalists and DPR's desperate desire to keep control of them. When Stumm and Jackson visited New Guinea there were both American and Australian nurses and servicewomen already in Moresby.¹⁰⁰ Before the 1942 bombing, there were nurses in Darwin, but despite the existing female presence DPR refused to allow women war correspondents to visit. Persistence and American influence succeeded in the short term for Jackson and Stumm, but, as I discussed previously, this was also what ended the women war correspondents' licensing system in Australia.¹⁰¹

Canada and Great Britain

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 114, 123.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 115–118.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 108–112.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

Unlike the Australians, Canadian and British authorities did not create a women correspondents' class, but they had a similar attitude towards women war correspondents. I combine Canada and Great Britain because both countries treated women reporters similarly, and journalists of both nationalities sought American military accreditation.

Like the American authorities, Canada's Wartime Information Board refused to allow women reporters to fly, but, crucially, the board also would not allow them to cross the Atlantic by ship without a male escort, in case the vessel was torpedoed.¹⁰² This made transporting women reporters to Europe expensive and difficult, giving the board grounds to refuse women's accreditation. Even though the Battle of Britain brought the front lines to the British home front in 1940, the British War Office (BWO) refused to accredit women as war correspondents. Similar to the Australian DPR, the BWO only allowed women journalists short-term "special facility visits" to military installations, which ambitious journalists must have found frustrating.¹⁰³

There are very few records of Canadian women journalists working as war reporters during the Second World War. Posted to the London Ministry of Information, Mollie McGee of the *Globe and Mail* was the only Canadian woman in London reporting back to Canada until Margaret Ecker Francis arrived from the Canadian Press (CP) in 1943.¹⁰⁴ CP reporter Gladys Arnold, who was in France when Paris fell in June 1940, briefly worked from London, but CP assigned her to a ship transporting children to

¹⁰² Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 121; Lang, *Women who Made the News*, 274–275.

¹⁰³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 120.

¹⁰⁴ Lang, *Women who Made the News*, 278–279.

Canada, and she did not return to Europe until the end of the war.¹⁰⁵ McGee and Ecker (who used her maiden name in her reporting, despite her married name being Francis) both had remarkable wartime careers. McGee obtained US military accreditation—the first Canadian woman to do so—and was also the first woman accredited by the Canadian Army when it finally relented in 1944.¹⁰⁶ Ecker was the only woman sent to Europe as a correspondent by CP. Both women reported on Paris’s liberation in 1944, and Ecker travelled with the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) during the liberation of the Netherlands.¹⁰⁷ Her articles’ datelines indicate that she reported on Canadians “somewhere in Belgium” in November, wrote from Holland in mid-December 1944, and was still “with the RCAF in Holland” at the beginning of April 1945.¹⁰⁸

Neither Ecker nor McGee enjoyed cordial relations with Canadian Army Public Relations (PR), which was reportedly an “old boy network.”¹⁰⁹ Like the Americans, Canadian women reporters were limited to nurses and servicewomen’s areas were to write from the “women’s angle.” However, they did not always comply with these directives. While Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Malone, SHAEF Assistant Director of Public Relations in charge of PR for the Canadian contingent who landed in Normandy, complained about women not understanding and refusing to obey military rules, the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 277.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 278.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 279.

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Ecker, “Cut Excellent Airfield from Netherland’s Bush,” *Globe and Mail*, April 2, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Margaret Ecker, “‘Life and Limb Surgery’ Close to Battle Line,” *Globe and Mail*, November 20, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Margaret Ecker, “Slave’s Life,” *Globe and Mail*, December 19, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰⁹ Timothy Balzer, *The Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management during the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011): 69.

women resented gender-based discrimination interfering with their work.¹¹⁰ McGee was a vocal critic of both PR and of Malone, and “repeatedly and unrepentantly” disregarded regulations when she visited Canadian troops.¹¹¹ Ecker openly rebelled against the restrictions on her movements, leaving the hospital unit accommodated her in Normandy and visiting nearby Cherbourg.¹¹²

British women reporters also sought accreditation with SHAEF and the American military, though after D-Day, when SHAEF’s policies became more restrictive, only American and Canadian women reporters received full accreditation. Like Australians, British women could only obtain temporary passes.¹¹³ British authorities did not want to accredit women as war correspondents at all; the entire policy change that differentiated between male and female correspondents was a result of the less-discriminatory SHAEF compromising with BWO.¹¹⁴ BWO considered war correspondents to make up a paramilitary body whose purpose was disseminating military information.¹¹⁵ Sir J.P. Grigg, British Secretary of State for War, rejected the concept of women war reporters on the grounds that war correspondents accompanied troops to the firing line, but members of the women’s services were not permitted at the firing line.¹¹⁶ He does not appear to have considered women reporting on anything other than nurses and women in uniform within the realm of possibility. Individual commanders’ attitudes also impacted British

¹¹⁰ Balzer, *The Information Front*, 69.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54, 70.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 69.

¹¹³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 129.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

reporters, as they did other women reporters. As the *Daily Telegraph*'s Clare Hollingworth later wrote in her memoir, "My relationship with [General Bernard Montgomery] was not good. He was something of a woman-hater and would not accept the accreditation of British woman war correspondents."¹¹⁷ Montgomery refused to have women, including Hollingworth, attached to his unit.¹¹⁸ In fact, Baker suggests that Montgomery's antipathy towards women war reporters influenced SHAEF's decision to ban women from accompanying the initial D-Day assault.¹¹⁹

The gender-based discrimination experienced by Allied women war reporters as a result of widespread and deeply ingrained sexism and misogyny is undeniable. To varying extents, Allied governments and militaries sought to control the movements and activities of women war reporters. Sexist beliefs about the natures, capabilities, and mental capacities of men versus women caused women to be disregarded as competent journalists and made the inclusion of women reporters in press camps and on the front lines impossible in the eyes of government and military authorities. The widespread assumption that women should (and only could) write from the "woman's angle" meant that women journalists were seen as second class to men, resulting in the devaluing of their journalism. However, despite these restrictions, women's Second World War reportage actually offers wide-ranging coverage of the conflict and is valuable for our understanding of World War II through journalism.

¹¹⁷ Hollingworth, *Front Line*, 122.

¹¹⁸ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 133.

¹¹⁹ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 122.

Chapter Two: How Women Wrote the War

I happened to be the first through the gate, and the first person to rush up to me turned out to be a Polish Catholic priest ... who was not a little startled to discover that the helmeted, uniformed, begoggled individual he had so heartily embraced was not a man.

Marguerite Higgins, *Herald Tribune*, dateline Dachau, Germany, April 29, 1945.¹²⁰

The big story of the war is never at the front ... It is in the hospitals and the homes.

George Lorimer, newspaper editor, 1915.¹²¹

During the Second World War, western society imagined war correspondents to be nearly soldiers themselves, sending dispatches from their positions embedded in front-line units.¹²² The strictly defined gender roles of the time, which prevented women from blending into a military environment, made this idea of a war correspondent inherently male. Official restrictions on women war reporters aligned with societal beliefs about gender roles, preventing women journalists from being embedded with a combat unit. These factors, along with the previously discussed sexist beliefs about the nature and quality of women's writing, meant that women's Second World War journalism has been undervalued and hidden from the historical record. In this chapter, I first explain why discussion of war reporters both during and immediately after the war overlooked

¹²⁰ Marguerite Higgins, "33,000 Dachau captives freed by 7th army," *Herald Tribune* (New York), May 1, 1945, in Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, 2nd ed., (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, Inc, 2003): 94.

¹²¹ In Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 73,

¹²² Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 140.

women's journalism. I then discuss the women's war reportage itself by dividing it into three categories: front-line reporting, women's war work, and "human interest" stories concerning the wounded, civilians and refugees, and the Nazi concentration camps.

Editor's treatment of women's writing and women journalists' portrayal in the media disadvantaged women war reporters. Military strategy was front page news, whereas the human-focused stories usually assigned to women writers were relegated to less prominent placement.¹²³ When promoting women war reporters, media portrayals emphasized their femininity, not their reporting.¹²⁴ *Time's* description of Mary Welsh's work to her readers focused on her coverage of Paris fashion and her "feminine" viewpoint, not on her reportage on US diplomacy in Africa, labour relations, and censorship. These portrayals implied that the priorities and concerns of women reporters were different from those of their male colleagues.¹²⁵ Women's articles often appeared under headlines such as "Hot Beachhead Just No Place for a Timid Lady" (the lady concerned being the experienced and capable Associated Press correspondent Ruth Cowan) which made the author's gender, rather than the subject of the story itself, the newsworthy aspect.¹²⁶ Articles poking fun at the supposed suffering of male officials who had to provide for and chaperone women reporters made the reporters themselves seem less professional than their male colleagues.¹²⁷

¹²³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 139–140.

¹²⁴ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 123.

¹²⁵ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 119–120.

¹²⁶ Olson, "'This Was No Place for a Woman'," 437.

¹²⁷ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 120.

Women war reporters were not simply made light of—officials and other writers often either ignored the women’s presence, labelled them as playing a supportive role, or only mentioned them as an afterthought.¹²⁸ Editors, too, tended to describe war correspondents in terms that only mentioned men.¹²⁹ Another factor contributing to the invisibility of women war reporters in accounts of their profession was that during the war, reporters often sent brief stories by cable from remote areas. The news was compiled, and editors printed it without bylines, providing no indication of the journalists’ identities.¹³⁰ This lack of media acknowledgement and the perception that female-authored articles were unimportant contributed to women’s exclusion from American accounts of accredited war correspondents’ both during and immediately after the war.¹³¹

Women Reporting from the Front Lines

Despite restrictions and regulations, a small number of women chased their stories right up to the front lines. However, their style often differed from that of men correspondents. Many Second World War reporters wrote in the first person, providing the reader with an intimate look at the action through the eyes of someone who was there. Women reporters used this strategy, but men correspondents were able to portray

¹²⁸ Olson, “No Place for a Woman,” 429–430.

¹²⁹ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 91.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹³¹ As is discussed in Chapter One, Canada and Britain did not accredit women at all for most of the war, and Australia licensed women war correspondents differently than men. Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 90–91.

themselves as part of unit, part of a battle.¹³² Women reporters, even when they wrote in the first person, usually wrote as observers of soldiers at work, not as part of the action; however, the articles they produced were authentic in-the-moment observations of the violence, fear, chaos, and pain of war.¹³³

Martha Gellhorn “followed the war wherever [she] could reach it,” writing in-depth, descriptive stories.¹³⁴ Her writing captured more than battle strategy and results, bringing sights, sounds, and even smells of war home to her readers. Gellhorn was one of few women reporters to fly on a combat mission. In January 1945, she wrote about being a passenger in a P-61 night fighter—a Black Widow—on a nighttime mission over Germany.¹³⁵ In this story, Gellhorn was very much the ignorant outsider, zipped into flight gear and perched on a crate in the aircraft by the soldiers, equipped with a parachute and instructions for how to exit the plane, should it be hit.¹³⁶ However, Gellhorn’s reportage proves that being embedded with the troops was not necessary for her to be an effective journalist. She described the intensity of the takeoff, the violent swooping and swerving of the plane, and how night fighter pilots were directed to their targets by radar, but had to get close enough to see the target before firing.¹³⁷ The strongest impression Gellhorn gave in her article was the unselfish professionalism of the pilots. The men and boys were experienced, stoic, and, like many war reporters who

¹³² Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 132–133; Eric Thompson, “Canadian Warcoros in World War II: Professionalism, Patriotism, and Propaganda,” *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 23, no. 3 (1990): 61, www.jstor.org/stable/24780438.

¹³³ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 133.

¹³⁴ Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, 136.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 226–238.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 228–230.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 228–231.

write about the bravery of men under fire, Gellhorn used the story to note their selflessness: “They all did their job, that was all. Some men fly by day and others by night, some men work in tanks, others drop out of planes in parachutes, and there is always the infantry. All jobs and all appalling jobs. They do not think of them; they do them; there is nothing else to do.”¹³⁸

Gellhorn also witnessed part of the battle for the Gothic Line, a heavily fortified German defensive line spanning Italy’s “boot,” as the Eighth Army fought its way up the Italian peninsula.¹³⁹ Where an embedded combat reporter might have focused on the fighting, Gellhorn described the “huge hodgepodge of humanity”—the different nationalities and cultures composing the Eighth Army—which necessitated road signs done in pictures and code numbers.¹⁴⁰ She detailed the German defences: tank traps, barbed wire, mines, hidden pill boxes, and tank turrets sunk into pits.¹⁴¹ Of course, she also described the fighting as she saw it from the top of a nearby hill with the Canadian brigadier in charge of that particular assault: “The battle, looking absolutely unreal, tiny, crystal clear, spread out before us. But there were men in the tanks, and men under those trees where the shells landed, and men under those bombs.”¹⁴² When the fighting was done, she, with the surviving soldiers, walked the battlefield. She described select details: the inside of a Sherman tank turret coated with bits of flesh and blood; a young Italian girl madly laughing on the doorstep of her bombed-out hovel; a coat “spread lovingly”

¹³⁸ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 237–238.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 136, 195–205.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 136, 195–199.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 196–197

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 200.

over the body of a Canadian soldier.¹⁴³ It was a story about a battle, but written to emotionally engage the reader.

Like Gellhorn, photographer Margaret Bourke-White got as close as she could to the front. In 1941, she reported from the Soviet Union and when the Germans commenced bombing Moscow, she was there.¹⁴⁴ Despite hotels being off-limits during raids, Bourke-White photographed the bombing from balconies and windows around the Red Square. On 1 September 1941, hers were the first images of the bombing published in the West—she had the lead story in *Life*.¹⁴⁵ Bourke-White also had some access to the central front, where she photographed whatever she could: the bodies of civilians after bombing raids, soldiers dripping with rain, the destruction at Yelnya where German helmets littered the ground like “hundreds of empty turtleshells [sic].”¹⁴⁶ In one rare instance, Bourke-White was able to escape the woman reporter’s usual outsider status. She accompanied a female scout to an action point within a quarter mile of German gun batteries near Smolensk, running huddled across an open field while both Soviet and German machine guns fired over their heads.¹⁴⁷ In America, Bourke-White’s stories and photographs were credited with helping to change the perception of the Soviets as enemies to one of hardworking patriotic people and allies.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 202–203.

¹⁴⁴ Sorel, “The Month of April: The Advance,” in *The Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁴⁵ Sorel, “Margaret Bourke-White Shoots the Russian War,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁴⁶ Margaret Bourke-White, “Death and Life on the Battlefields,” in Library of America, *Reporting World War II*, vol. 1, *American Journalism 1938–1944*, (Library of America, 1995): 204; Sorel, “Margaret Bourke-White Shoots the Russian War,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁴⁷ Bourke-White, “Death and Life on the Battlefields,” in *Reporting World War II*, vol. 1, 200.

¹⁴⁸ Sorel, “Margaret Bourke-White Shoots the Russian War,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

Bourke-White also had multiple opportunities to photograph the war from the air. In fact, when she joined the crew of a B-17 for a bombing mission in North Africa, she became the first woman to fly with an American crew on a combat mission over enemy soil. The plane undertook evasive maneuvers to escape anti-aircraft fire from below, providing a variety of angles for Bourke-White's photography. The resulting story earned seven pages in *Life*. Two planes went down, but Bourke-White's made it back safely.¹⁴⁹ In Italy, she accompanied the pilot of an unarmed observation plane, called a Cub, when he flew over Cassino valley to direct the Fifth Army artillery's fire to a German battery.¹⁵⁰ From the air, Bourke-White captured what she called the "pattern of war,"—vehicle tracks, lines of split rail ties, neat shell holes—interspersed with the "sickening rubble" of "smashed towns."¹⁵¹ Like the North African bombing mission, the observation flight could easily have ended in disaster. Bourke-White's unarmoured Cub was chased by four German fighter planes.¹⁵² Bourke-White (like Gellhorn writing about the Black Widow mission) emphasized the Cub pilot's skill, describing the many tasks that he undertook: directing the artillery, timing shells, watching for enemy planes, and maneuvering for his passenger's photography.¹⁵³ Despite the danger, Bourke-White depicted her pilot as stoic and calm—he was more excited about being served steak upon their return to the mess than being pursued in his unarmed aircraft by German fighters.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Sorel, "Women on Trial: North Africa," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁵⁰ Margaret Bourke-White, "Over the Lines," in *Reporting World War II*, vol. 1, 746–750.

¹⁵¹ Bourke-White, "Over the Lines," in *Reporting World War II*, vol. 1, 750–752.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 759.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 758.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 760.

Unlike Gellhorn and Bourke-White, who had permission to fly on the combat missions they reported on, Lee Carson of the International News Service (INS) was not allowed fly over the beaches on D-Day, but she did it, nonetheless. While SHAEF allowed a few men correspondents to go with the first wave of units, most reporters spent D-Day awaiting news at the Ministry of Information in London. However, Carson went to an air base and found a pilot willing to take her along. Sorel describes Carson's view of the fighting as being "as comprehensive as any that came in that day, and maybe the first as well."¹⁵⁵ Carson's article in the *Honolulu Advertiser* was datelined as being from "an advanced fighter base in England," and does not state that Carson witnessed the battle herself.¹⁵⁶ Getting that close to the all-male sphere of battle was a violation of both orders and prescribed gender roles which could result in loss of accreditation.¹⁵⁷ However, Carson's descriptions of the fighting indicate familiarity with the scene. "Landings were carried out under the red glare and black smoke of Allied and German guns," Carson wrote. "Planes relentlessly pounded antiaircraft and machinegun positions and rocket installations. Convoys of German vehicles ... are being shredded by Thunderbolts and Mosquitos strafing the operations." She also spoke with pilots who described the troops as being "as thick as seaweed" on the beach, bringing words from the soldiers themselves to readers at home.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Sorel, "D-Day," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁵⁶ Lee Carson, "Beaches 'Alive' With Troops, Returning Fighter Pilots Say," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 6, 1944. <https://www.newspapers.com/>.

¹⁵⁷ As discussed in Chapter One with reference to Dickey Chapelle's reporting on Okinawa.

¹⁵⁸ Carson, "Beaches 'Alive' With Troops."

Carson and British *Boston Globe* reporter Iris Carpenter received full war correspondent's accreditation from SHAEF, which released them from restrictions imposed on women correspondents. Though accreditation to a military unit was never officially granted to a woman war correspondent during the war, Carson and Carpenter attached themselves to the First Army press camp.¹⁵⁹ Carson's reporting on American lines breaking during the Battle of the Bulge described German planes "zooming down from the pink-streaked winter skies to shower our front-line positions with streams of hot lead, and tearing the world apart with their heavy artillery barrages."¹⁶⁰ She also provided early reporting on the Malmedy Massacre, where German tank crews slaughtered disarmed Americans.¹⁶¹ Carson remained with the First Army throughout the spring of 1945. She reported on the American attack on Cologne, a *Volksturm* surrender in Berrendorf when townspeople realized the futility of fighting the Americans, and a grisly mass murder-suicide carried out by a munitions manufacturer in Leipzig.¹⁶² Being female had no impact on the ability of Carson or any of the other women to report on combat. Those who reached the front proved capable of writing engaging, comprehensive coverage of the war.

¹⁵⁹ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 35; Sorel, "The Battle of the Bulge," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁶⁰ Sorel, "The Battle of the Bulge," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Lee Carson, "First Army Hits Cologne at Six New Positions," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Lee Carson, "'If Wehrmacht Can't Hold You Then We Can't' says *Volksturm*—Turns Town Over to Yanks," *Washington Post*, March 4, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Lee Carson, "Leipzig Host Blows Self, 100 Other Nazis to Shreds," *Washington Post*, April 20, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Women Reporting on Women's War Work

Not all women war reporters wanted to be combat reporters. Some were happy to remain outside the realm of weapons, troops, and military strategy.¹⁶³ After all, men were not the only ones in uniform; women's auxiliary units were deployed overseas, as were nurses. Reporters like *Globe and Mail* correspondent Mollie McGee viewed reporting on women as being equally important as reporting on the men on the front lines. "Men and women both are in this war," McGee stated. "There should be a woman covering every field of activity in which women are taking part."¹⁶⁴ While claiming that all "woman's angle" stories were of equal merit would be ridiculous—for example, Marjorie Avery's article about a prominent New York decorator painting servicemen's clubs overseas cannot be compared to Betty Wason's coverage of Greek guerilla warfare against Axis occupation—it would be equally absurd to disregard the important reportage produced by women simply because women also wrote about fashion or the British royal family.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 71.

¹⁶⁴ Lang, *Women Who Made the News*, 278.

¹⁶⁵ Marjorie Avery, "Local Decorator Does Job at Front," *New York Times*, February 1, 1945, ProQuest Newspapers; Betty Wason, "Greece Fights Back," *Maclean's*, May 15, 1943, ProQuest; For examples of women war reporters who also wrote "women's" stories, see Dorothy Drain, "I Met Roosevelt's Smiling Boys in Blue," *Australian Women's Weekly*, March 29, 1941, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4714957>; Dorothy Drain, "Sewing 'Chutes for Paratroops," *Australian Women's Weekly*, October 2, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4721174>; Margaret Ecker, "London Women Ingenious in Keeping Smartly Garbed," *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Janet Flanner, "General and Mrs. Douglas MacArthur," *Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1942; Rita Hume, "Soldiers are Sentimentalists if Pockets are any Indication," *Washington Post*, May 28, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Alice Jackson, "Government Decides on Simplified Fashions," *Australian Women's Weekly*, August 1, 1942, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4722274>; Tania Long, "Britain's King, Queen Play War Roles Well," *Washington Post*, September 8, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Tania Long, "Shopping is 'Nightmare' with War Prices, Coupons," *Globe and Mail*, October 13, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Mollie McGee, "Canada's Soldiers Plan Children's Christmas," *Globe and Mail*, December 17, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Mollie McGee, "Queen Elizabeth Visits Canadian Casualties,

Women journalists who reported on women's work during the war helped change societal perceptions of nurses and women in uniform and educated the public about their importance to the war effort.

Reporting on the essential nature of servicewomen was necessary to combat a common perception that women were untrustworthy. The supposed potential of women to leak information to the enemy concerned Allied government and military officials, as is indicated by women's reporting. Canadian Press (CP) correspondent Margaret Ecker addressed the issue up front: "Canadian women can keep a secret—Canadian Women's Army Corps [CWAC] girls are proving that at Canadian Military Headquarters Overseas Records Office."¹⁶⁶ In a *New York Times* Special to the *Globe and Mail*, Tania Long wrote that "Girls on Commando HQ Staff Know Vital Military Secrets": "Britain evidently discounts the old maxim that no secret can be kept by a woman ... [.] Often they know more than some of the men working alongside them, for all plans, documents and communications go through their hands."¹⁶⁷ Australian officials in particular viewed women as untrustworthy gossips.¹⁶⁸ Australian women war correspondents focused their reporting on women's professionalism and ability to handle sensitive information. Patricia Knox emphasized the trust bestowed upon the members of the Woman's

Talks With Them All," *Globe and Mail*, June 17, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Elizabeth Riddell, "Paris Won't Lead Fashion Parade," *Truth* (Sydney), September 17, 1944, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/168761588>.

¹⁶⁶ Margaret Ecker, "CWAC's in Overseas Posts Experts in Record Work," *Globe and Mail*, January 4, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶⁷ Tania Long, "Girls on Commando HQ Staff Know Vital Military Secrets," *Globe and Mail*, July 7, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶⁸ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 60–61

Auxiliary Australian Air Force [WAAAF] working in operations rooms.¹⁶⁹ “To be trusted with the secret movements of all the planes, to know their whereabouts and their missions, is one of the highest honors [sic] that the RAAF [Royal Australian Air Force] can bestow on anyone,” wrote Knox, “and they have entrusted this work to the WAAAF.”¹⁷⁰ Although the male controller might have been the one in contact with Fighter Command, Knox wrote, the women plotted the movements of both Allied and enemy planes.¹⁷¹

Reporting by women war reporters was essential for building the image of nurses and women in uniform as providers of vital assistance to the military. This reportage demonstrates that a need existed to educate the public about the expanding roles of women. the idea of women in uniform was difficult for many people to accept. Nurses and servicewomen were often slandered as “camp followers” (prostitutes) and American legislators expressed concerns about women in uniform undermining society’s gender roles.¹⁷² Ruth Cowan of the Associated Press (AP) took on rumours spread in the US that servicewomen and nurses were lazy and incompetent by reporting on the tough self-defence training undertaken by Army nurses in England, and the hard work of the WACs (Women’s Army Corps members), who worked as airplane mechanics, assessed combat footage, drew maps, patched wings, drove light vehicles, and did more stereotypically

¹⁶⁹ Patricia Knox, “WAAAF’s Plot ‘Plane Movements,” *Northern Star* (Lismore, New South Wales), April 6, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article96418214>; Patricia Knox, “Women Can Keep Secrets,” *Daily Advertiser* (Wagga Wagga, New South Wales), April 6, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article144113389>.

¹⁷⁰ Knox, “Women Can Keep Secrets.”

¹⁷¹ Knox, “WAAAF’s Plot ‘Plane Movements.”

¹⁷² Olson, “This Was No Place for a Woman,” 428, 433, 440.

feminine jobs, like stenography, switchboard operations, and file clerking.¹⁷³ The WACs were invaluable and freed up soldiers for combat duty, and Cowan made sure the home front knew it. She also addressed rumours of promiscuity, eschewing the popular notion that WACs were issued contraceptives (which implied that they were “playgirls”).¹⁷⁴

Australian women were encouraged to support the war effort as domestic figures—the masculine military environment was no place for ladies.¹⁷⁵ Connie Robertson, women’s editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, reported on the AWAS members who worked on the Australian coastline, operating anti-aircraft instruments. She highlighted their efficiency and skill at their tasks and stated that “if they had their way, the girls would be operating the guns,” a job still reserved for men.¹⁷⁶ Knox reported on the AWAS women working in Australian Army workshops, where they did the kind of industrial labour generally done by men.¹⁷⁷ When Alice Jackson of *Australian Women’s Weekly* visited Australian nurses and Red Cross workers in New Guinea she portrayed them as selfless and respectable and highlighted the importance of their service. She praised the nurses for their brave and unceasing care of wounded men: “All the qualities which have made the Australian soldier famous are matched here. These women all have their share of splendid mateship, indomitable courage, and rare humor [sic] which makes a cheery jest of hardships.”¹⁷⁸ According to Jackson, the nurses

¹⁷³ Olson, “This Was No Place for a Woman,” 438, 440.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 440.

¹⁷⁵ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 57, 61.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 94–95.

¹⁷⁷ Patricia Knox, “Women Do Men’s Jobs,” *Northern Star* (Lismore, New South Wales), April 1, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article96417712>.”

¹⁷⁸ Alice Jackson, “Nurses Share Mateship of War in New Guinea,” *Australian Women’s Weekly*, December 4, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4721280>.

wanted to get as close to the front lines as possible. They were not concerned about risks such as bombing, a matron stated. They were prepared for that when they enlisted.¹⁷⁹ Another nurse said that the nurses who were able to get to the most forward hospitals were the most fortunate: “We who got away to the Middle East were the lucky ones. Everyone who enlisted wanted to go.”¹⁸⁰

Ecker reminded her readers of the vital role of Canadian servicewomen and nurses to the war effort, writing that “Women Played Big Part in 1944 Drive into France.”¹⁸¹ “Thirteen days after D-Day, four attractive girls in air force blue battledress waded ashore from landing craft as part of a RCAF [Royal Canadian Air Force] Mobile Field Hospital,” wrote Ecker. More women—nurses, CWACs, Wrens (Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service members), and Red Cross workers—followed, moving forward with the front lines. Ecker highlighted the desire of the servicewoman to serve her country, despite knowing that “there would be no place for her in beachhead days.” She described them as a vital support for the fighting men, often working close to the front.¹⁸² Ecker also reported on two servicewomen who won British Empire medals for bravery and devotion to duty—WAAF corporal Alice Holden and Wren transport driver Elizabeth Glen Booth both dragged airmen from burning planes.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Jackson, “Nurses Share Mateship of War in New Guinea.”

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Margaret Ecker, “Women Played Big Part in 1944 Drive into France,” *Globe and Mail*, January 2, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Margaret Ecker, “Two Servicewomen Win B. E. Medals for Bravery,” *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Women war reporters documenting the war work of women brought attention to participants in the war effort that would otherwise not have received as much coverage. The soldiers had their spokesmen in male combat reporters, and servicewomen and nurses had theirs in the women war reporters.¹⁸⁴ Through the journalism of those women, the Allied public saw the contribution made to the war effort by women, and historians today see the same.

Women Reporting the Human-Interest Story

During the Second World War, editors wanted front-line stories, and women's war coverage was often disregarded as not being "hard" news.¹⁸⁵ Women were generally assigned "soft" news stories that were less technical and analytical, and focused on people. However, "human interest" stories about wounded soldiers, civilians, and death camps were not soft.¹⁸⁶ Women journalists provided vital coverage of the cost of modern warfare and the suffering of humanity. As one American commander acknowledged, women correspondents covered "those important facts of living, which most male reporters never see."¹⁸⁷ As a result, women war reporters were the ones bringing the reality of war-induced suffering to the eyes of the world.

¹⁸⁴ Olson, "No Place for a Woman," 441.

¹⁸⁵ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 139–140.

¹⁸⁶ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 45; Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 25–26.

¹⁸⁷ In Edy, "Conditions of Acceptance," 117.

The Wounded

Reporting on the wounded came part-and-parcel with reporting on medical personnel. Part of military authorities' reasoning for accrediting women war correspondents might have been to cover nurses, but in forward hospitals, women reporters witnessed men with horrific injuries arriving from the front lines. The women's reporting reminded the home front of the human cost of war. Dickey Chapelle, assigned to a hospital ship at Iwo Jima, documented the use of whole blood in treating wounded men. Her portraits of one man, taken before and after he received fourteen pints of blood, appealed to donors for years afterwards. She also photographed in the ship's operating rooms, where doctors performed an average of an amputation every half-hour for three days.¹⁸⁸

Unlike Chapelle, Martha Gellhorn was not supposed to be onboard a hospital ship on its way to the Normandy the day after D-Day, but by hiding in one of the ship's lavatories until the vessel was underway, she managed it.¹⁸⁹ Her story captured the tension, chaos, pain, and camaraderie onboard the ship. "Neither the English crew and ship's officers nor the American medical personnel had any notion of what happened to large conspicuous white ships when they appeared at a war," Gellhorn wrote, "though everyone knew the Geneva agreement concerning such ships and everyone wistfully hoped that the Germans would take the said agreement seriously."¹⁹⁰ She described mines and sunken wreckage littering the water, the still-ongoing flash of naval guns, and

¹⁸⁸ Sorel, "Iwo Jima," in *The Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁸⁹ Sorel, "D-Day," in *The Women Who Wrote the War*.

¹⁹⁰ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 167.

the continuous movement of troops from ships and tanks crawling up the hillside onshore.¹⁹¹ Wounded men came to the ship via a “fast, terrifying bucket-brigade system,” wrote Gellhorn, as the ship’s crew and stretcher-bearers received stretchers carrying wounded men from lighter vessels and landing craft below. She wrote of the tireless work of the medical personnel and especially highlighted the courage of the soldiers. Any who were well enough to speak, she wrote, joked amongst themselves, asked after their friends, and directed the medical personnel to those who were worse off. Two soldiers, one with a smashed knee and one with a smashed shoulder, were more concerned about a young French boy wounded by a shell fragment than about their own injuries: “They were afraid he’d be scared, a civilian kid all alone and in pain and not knowing any English and going to a strange country.”¹⁹²

Gellhorn went ashore on the beachhead, going at night with the men sent to fetch the wounded who were still lying out in the open before they became victims of an air raid.¹⁹³ She witnessed the transfer of wounded men from trucks to beached landing craft, and then had to wait through an air raid for the tide to come in so the vessel could float again. Soldiers who had been on the beach from the beginning of the fighting told her that snipers were still too close to even light a cigarette.¹⁹⁴ Upon her return to Britain, Gellhorn was arrested for stowing away on the vessel.¹⁹⁵ However, her story was

¹⁹¹ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 168–169.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 173–174.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 176–177.

¹⁹⁵ Sorel, “D-Day,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

published, and *Collier's* readers received a glimpse of the hard work and bravery onboard a hospital ship.

Lee Miller visited an American tent hospital and a collecting station in France, where, like Gellhorn, she saw men with horrible injuries. However, her reporting focused on the brutality of the wounds, rather than on the courage of the men. “The wounded were not ‘knights in shining armor,’” she wrote, “but dirty, dishevelled, stricken figures ... uncomprehending. They arrived from the front-line Battalion Aid Station with lightly laid-on field dressings, tourniquets, blood-soaked slings ... some exhausted and lifeless.”¹⁹⁶ She described the “badly mangled” being rushed to the nearest field hospital and the “walking wounded” sitting, slumped.¹⁹⁷ There was none of the cheer and jokes that Gellhorn described, but Miller wrote about how much better off the wounded were in this war than in the last. Not only were the men reaching aid stations and hospitals quickly, but there was also sulfa and penicillin aplenty to administer before they were evacuated to England and America.¹⁹⁸ The wounds might be brutal, Miller told readers, but with skilled medical professionals, antibiotics, and live-saving efficiency, people’s sons, brothers, and husbands could survive.

Civilians

“Many thousands of people with bundles and bags were on the streets begging to be let into the [train] station,” Virginia Cowles reported from Paris for the *Sunday Times*

¹⁹⁶ Lee Miller, “U.S.A. Tent Hospital,” in *Reporting World War II*, vol. 2, 190.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

in June 1940. “The police were holding them back, telling them that no more trains were leaving Paris.”¹⁹⁹ As part of the flood of people all trying to flee the city before the Germans reached it, Cowles reported the desperation she witnessed: “The exodus had to be seen to be believed—an unbroken flow of human beings bicycling, riding and trudging along the roads. We passed dozens of overloaded cars that had broken down; we passed people who had run out of petrol, weeping in despair; old people lying by the roadside too tired to move any further.”²⁰⁰ A veteran war reporter, Cowles was no stranger to refugees, but the exodus from Paris shocked her.²⁰¹ She described it again in her book, *Looking for Trouble*, which was published in 1941: “Try to think in terms of million. Try to think of noise and confusion, of the thick smell of petrol, of the scraping of automobile gears, of shouts, wails, curses, tears.”²⁰²

Cowles finally reached Bordeaux, where she secured passage across the Channel to Britain on a cargo ship that usually carried 180 passengers but, on that trip, carried 1,600. Her account of the voyage appeared in the *New York Times*. Cowles stated that it was the last refugee ship to leave Bordeaux, and described distinguished bankers and politicians sleeping in passageways, on deck chairs, and even “on top of a ping pong table.”²⁰³ It was better to stay above decks, she noted, in case the ship was torpedoed, but below decks was safer in an aerial bombardment. In this case, the ship narrowly escaped

¹⁹⁹ Virginia Cowles, “Paris Falls Silent as Thousands Flee Nazis,” *Sunday Times* (London), June 16, 1940, in “Paris Falls Silent,” *Sunday Times* (London), June 14, 2009, NewsBank: Access World News.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Virginia Cowles, “The Beginning of the End,” in *Reporting World War II*, vol. 2, 53.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Virginia Cowles, “Refugees’ Voyage Filled with Peril,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

two aerial bombardments and was guided by a destroyer to avoid submarines.²⁰⁴ Cowles remained in London after her escape from France and reported on the Blitz, emphasizing the strength of the British people. She compared them to the London Bridge, which she found still standing after an evening bombing raid: “This was the spirit of London—proud, brave and with a determination that brought tears to one’s eyes.”²⁰⁵

Sonia Tomara of the New York *Herald Tribune* also reported the pain of displaced civilians, telling the stories of some of the five million people who fled from Belgium and Luxembourg into France, such as one woman who lost seven of her nine children when they were machine-gunned on a train.²⁰⁶ Tomara joined the throng travelling from Paris on foot. Reaching Orleans, only seventy miles from Paris, took four days. There was no food and no gasoline, she reported, just desperate people sleeping on the floor of the railway station and outside in the square.²⁰⁷

When the Blitz brought the war to Britain, women war reporters, barred by the British War Office from becoming accredited war correspondents, mostly reported on civilians, informing the world about what was happening in London and everywhere else the bombs fell. Home front reporting was generally the purview of women, meaning that during the Blitz, women reporters were more deeply engaged in covering the civilian experience.²⁰⁸ As a result, it was women war reporters documenting life in besieged Britain who played an important role in building Britain’s image as a brave, stalwart

²⁰⁴ Virginia Cowles, “Refugees’ Voyage Filled with Peril.”

²⁰⁵ Virginia Cowles, “Churchill Proud of British Morale,” *New York Times*, September 10, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²⁰⁶ Sorel, “Fleeing France,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 120.

nation under attack, and, while the US remained neutral, as a worthy potential ally for America.²⁰⁹

Tania Long of the New York *Herald Tribune* frequently wrote about the German bombings.²¹⁰ After a November 1940 night of heavy bombing which hit both London and Coventry, she described the casualties as a result of direct hits to a bus, multiple hotels, a hospital, an emergency hospital, and a firemen's recreation room set up in a school. "Less than two minutes after the sirens had wailed out their nightly song—the signal for renewed terror, destruction and death—a huge fire was blazing in one part of London," wrote Long. "Raiders ... had started beacons going to guide the swarms of Nazi machines which were to follow."²¹¹ She described the bombing as routine: when the Germans dropped "hundreds of incendiaries," the fires were "nothing new to the intrepid firemen."²¹² Long also reported on a funeral service held for victims in Coventry: "There was nothing beautiful about this mass funeral. It was grim ... Death was anonymous—many of the victims were never identified—and there was nothing to distinguish one coffin from another."²¹³ Four years later, Long still reported on German bombing attacks, as V-bombs fell on Northern England on Christmas Eve: "One group of children evacuated from Southern England ... had a narrow escape when a bomb fell close to the

²⁰⁹ Sorel, "Braving the Blitz," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²¹⁰ Tania Long, "British Women Drafted for Duty as Fire Watchers," *Globe and Mail*, August 20, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Tania Long, "Life in London Goes on Despite Bombing," *Washington Post*, October 20, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Tania Long, "Mass Raids Tear London's Wounds Anew," *Washington Post*, November 17, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Tania Long, "Nazis Launch V-Bomb Attack on N. England," *Globe and Mail*, December 25, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Sorel, "Braving the Blitz," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²¹¹ Long, "Mass Raids Tear London's Wounds Anew."

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Sorel, "Braving the Blitz," in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

house in which they were living. Other children living nearby were killed together with their parents.”²¹⁴ Despite continuous reporting on the destruction, few articles depicting the war weariness of Londoners were printed. Arriving in London in early 1944, Elizabeth Riddell of the Sydney *Daily Mirror* refused to write about Britons stoically carrying on, asking why the world should not know “what a horror England has gone through, and is still going through”. Remarkably, she won that censorship battle, and her description of “regimented, couponed life” in the bombed-out city was published. Few writers provided this kind of insight, as most reporters avoided depicting exhaustion or despair among the British people.²¹⁵

When the war moved back to the continent, so did the need to report on civilians and refugees. Anne Matheson of the *Australian Women's Weekly* reported on the “army of mercy” which would follow the liberating forces, bringing food, medicine, and other supplies to formerly occupied populations.²¹⁶ She described the training undertaken by Girl Guides as they prepared to join the humanitarian effort in Europe, listing everything from mountain climbing, to water purification, to delousing, to setting up displaced person camps. Medical professionals, engineers, and canteen workers were also part of the relief force. “Their first job will be to get civilian services restored, starving populations fed, and the spread of disease checked,” wrote Matheson. “They anticipate

²¹⁴ Long, “Nazis Launch V-Bomb Attack on N. England.”

²¹⁵ Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*, 125.

²¹⁶ Anne Matheson, “Army of Mercy Will Follow Troops into Europe,” *Australian Women's Weekly*, October 2, 1943, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4721173>.

the worst of conditions with disease, starvation, extensive rioting, terrorists shattering the nerve of the people, and the retreating enemy carrying out a scorched earth policy.”²¹⁷

Globe and Mail correspondent Mollie McGee reported on the plight of Normandy’s civilians in the wake of the fighting. McGee, calling herself the first woman correspondent to enter Cherbourg, described two abandoned hospitals.²¹⁸ Some patients were German soldiers, some French civilians. McGee reported a grisly situation:

The hospital had been without water for a week, and in the underground operating suite and along a narrow underground passage were 100 seriously wounded patients who had lain on stretchers for 72 hours without attention. In the meantime, their doctors—overwhelmed by the number of casualties—had operated, throwing arms, legs, and soaked bandages on the floor.²¹⁹

Speaking to frightened parents, McGee reported on the thousands of evacuated children waiting to return home to Normandy, following its liberation. “Some are moving from shelter to shelter, driven by the approaching rumble of guns,” wrote McGee. “Others are kept in groups, forbidden to move from where they are for fear of impeding German military movements on the roads. In the meantime, their parents make vain attempts to get news or reach them.”²²⁰ She also interviewed women who lived in Normandy throughout the occupation.²²¹ The women showed McGee their rations of black, sticky salt and a small block of putty-like soap meant to last four people a month. One farmer’s

²¹⁷ Matheson, “Army of Mercy Will Follow Troops into Europe.”

²¹⁸ Mollie McGee, “Cherbourg Cleanup,” *Globe and Mail*, July 20, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Mollie McGee, “10,000 Normandy Children Waiting to Return Home,” *Globe and Mail*, August 11, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²²¹ Mollie McGee, “Glad They’ll Get Soap Now, say Women of Normandy,” *Globe and Mail*, July 15, 1944, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

wife explained how “the fear of her life had been that her husband would have a discussion with the officer or any of the six soldiers billeted at their farm, that that discussion would lead to an argument, and the argument to ...”.²²² The implication was not good.

Women reporters were instrumental in raising awareness in Allied countries about Nazi treatment of civilians. Several women war reporters, including Tomara, visited Gestapo torture chambers discovered in and around Paris. She described a tiny bathroom where prisoners were plunged into near-freezing water for an hour at a time, another room where electric currents were used, another room where prisoners were beaten. At a rifle range, Tomara wrote, prisoners were attached to poles by the neck and shot at—“blunt bullets tore the flesh horribly.”²²³ “Execution was not swift and merciful,” reported Catherine Coyne of the *Boston Herald*.²²⁴ She described concrete walls covered in sound-absorbing grey matting: “Into the soft matting are pressed handprints ... they look as though tortured prisoners tried to claw their way up the wall.”²²⁵ Most tortured civilians were killed, but Helen Kirkpatrick of the *Chicago Daily News* interviewed one woman who survived. Her injuries were brutal: broken shoulders, a nearly paralyzed arm and leg, and burned feet that Kirkpatrick described as resembling “underdone beef.”²²⁶ Ecker, with the RCAF during the liberation of the Netherlands, reported the starvation of the Dutch people: “The death rate for the still-occupied North

²²² Mollie McGee, “Glad They’ll Get Soap Now, say Women of Normandy.”

²²³ Sorel, “Liberating Paris,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

Netherlands has increased fivefold since September 1944, when the Germans were driven out of the south ... Groups of women pushing prams are said to walk for food all the way from Amsterdam in the west to the Province of Friesland, northeast of Zuider Zee. Such trips take three or four weeks.”²²⁷

The Camps

Of all the human-interest stories written by women reporters during the Second World War, those about the Nazi camps were the least “soft.” Sigrid Schultz, as the *Chicago Tribune* Berlin bureau chief, had been one of the first to report the existence of concentration camps before she fled Germany.²²⁸ She, and other women reporters, were among the first to report on the camps as they were liberated. At Buchenwald, a young Frenchman told Schultz how he had worked in a stone quarry as “*un cheval*.” “When a man fell because his back was broken by the weight and effort, he was shot,” he said.²²⁹ Marguerite Higgins of the New York *Herald Tribune* spoke to children at Buchenwald. Asked about his parents, an eight-year-old boy stated that “all the older people were burned up.” Photographer Lee Miller also visited Buchenwald, and some of her photos appeared in *Vogue*. One image showed a pile of bodies, another a prisoner with a clubbed face hanging from a hook. Another photo spread showed healthy German children and an orderly village next to images of a mound of burned bones and a row of ovens.²³⁰

²²⁷ Margaret Ecker, “Eight of Every 10 Babies Die in Amsterdam Slums,” *Globe and Mail*, April 18, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²²⁸ Sorel, “The Month of April: The Camps,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²²⁹ In Sorel, “The Month of April: The Camps,” in *Women Who Wrote the War*.

²³⁰ Lee Miller, “‘Believe It’ Lee Miller Cables from Germany,” *Vogue* (New York), June 1, 1945, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/>

Higgins was one of the first people to set foot in Dachau when the camp was liberated, entering with another correspondent ahead of the American soldiers. “The minute the two of us entered a tangled barrage of “Are you Americans?” in about sixteen languages came from the barracks 200 yards from the gate,” she wrote. “An affirmative nod caused pandemonium. Tattered, emaciated men, weeping, yelling and shouting ‘Long live America!’ swept toward the gate in a mob. Those who could not walk limped or crawled.”²³¹ Prisoners took Higgins around the camp, and she described the horror she witnessed for her New York *Herald Tribune* readers. “In the crematorium itself were hooks on which the S.S. men hung their victims when they wished to flog them,” she wrote. “Just beyond the crematorium was a ditch containing some 2,000 more bodies which had been hastily tossed there by the S.S. men who were so busy preparing their escape they did not have time to burn the bodies.”²³²

Gellhorn introduced Dachau to her readers by beginning her story in a C-47 flying out of Germany with American former prisoners of war (POWs) who did not think anyone would believe them if they spoke about their prisons: “One of the men said suddenly, ‘We got to talk about it. We got to talk about it, if anyone believes us or not.’”²³³ Then, Gellhorn told about her visit to Dachau. “Behind the barbed wire and the electric fence, the skeletons sat in the sun and searched themselves for lice,” she wrote. “We crossed the wide, crowded, dusty compound between the prison barracks and went to the hospital. In the hall sat more skeletons ... [.] What had been a man dragged

²³¹ Higgins, “33,000 Dachau captives freed by 7th army,” in Beasley and Gibbons, *Taking Their Place*, 94.

²³² *Ibid.*, 95.

²³³ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 263–264.

himself into the doctor's office."²³⁴ The doctor, a former inmate, described for Gellhorn the experiments done on the prisoners by the Nazis. *Collier's* readers learned about experiments involving oxygen deprivation, freezing water, malaria injections, and streptococci injections. Gellhorn took her readers on a tour of the crematorium, which, when she visited, was still heaped with bodies. "[The bodies] were all naked, and behind the crematorium the ragged clothing of the dead was neatly stacked," Gellhorn wrote. "The clothing was handled with order, but the bodies were dumped like garbage."²³⁵

The American POWs were right. Not everyone believed reports of atrocities. Mollie McGee recognized this and implored her readers to believe the truth. "In our Western world, ruthless, scientifically organized cruelties simply do not exist," she wrote. "In Europe they did."²³⁶ In France, McGee visited Struthof, "a camp constructed for killing."²³⁷ She emphasized her presence at the camp, placing herself as an eye witness: "I saw the records, the gas chamber where the more fortunate died, the special furnace in which they were cremated."²³⁸ According to McGee, the Nazis used Struthof for poison gas experimentation. The bodies were examined at Strasbourg University. McGee described the testing room, a square white-tiled chamber, and quoted her French guide on what went on inside: "S.S. troops brought Polish women here, undressed them on the terrace and drove them shrieking and naked in here, closed that door, tried out new poison gases on them while professors watched them die through the glass panel."²³⁹

²³⁴ Gellhorn, *Face of War*, 264.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 270.

²³⁶ Mollie McGee, "Hun 'Science,'" *Globe and Mail*, January 24, 1945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

Descriptions of the camps were blunt and horrifying, as reporters tried to illustrate for the home front the atrocities Nazi Germany committed.

The body of work produced by women war reporters during the Second World War provides a comprehensive view of the war and its impacts on people. Despite sexist treatment, women's coverage of wounded soldiers, civilians and refugees, and the Nazi death camps brought the realities and horrors of war home to readers, in a way that combat reporting alone could not.

Conclusion

While the “real” war correspondents—the men on the front lines with the troops—reported on what former CBC war correspondent A.E. Powley called “something of the thing called war,” women reporters captured the Second World War in its entirety: the soldiers, the bullets, the bombs, the camps, the wounded, the doctors, nurses, and women in uniform working tirelessly behind the lines, and the civilians whose homes, lives, and bodies were shattered by the fighting.²⁴⁰ It was not “the rare and exceptional woman, alone, who could be relied upon to do a newspaperman’s work,” it was that sexism and misogyny ingrained in both Allied society and military regulations kept all but the most stubborn far from the action.²⁴¹ Canada and Great Britain refused to accredit women as war correspondents, Australia provided licences (for a brief period) but tried to keep women reporters confined to the home front, and America allowed women to be accredited as war correspondents, but with the understanding that they were to report on the women’s areas. Despite these barriers, women produced in-depth reporting that, because they could only rarely get access to the front lines, examined the war from a wide range of angles and contexts. Though not recognized as being important at the time, women’s reportage is crucial to a balanced historical understanding of World War II through its journalism.

²⁴⁰ A.E. Powley in Thompson, “Canadian Warcoros in World War II,” 58–61.

²⁴¹ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 95.

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Appendix: The Women

I have never been asked to march in an ANZAC Day march. Men war correspondents have marched—but I think they’ve forgotten that there were women.

Pat Jarrett in an interview in 1989.²⁴²

There is no definitive record of how many women reported on the Second World War.²⁴³ During the conflict they were restricted, oppressed, and ignored, and history has treated them no differently. This is as complete a record as I have been able to compile of the women who challenged the rules dictating what a woman could write in order to join the ranks of war reporters documenting World War II. Due to restrictive policies and the unwillingness of some publications to allow women to report anything other than the “woman’s angle,” many journalists wrote for publications of different nationality than themselves. Here, the location of the publication does not necessarily indicate the nationality of the woman. For the purposes of this record, it is not necessary to identify the citizenship of the journalists. No matter their birthplace, they defied the same prejudice in order to do their jobs.ⁱ

Ackerman, Caroline Iverson: *Life*

Avery, Marjorie: *Detroit Free Press*

²⁴² In Jeannine Baker, “Marginal Creatures” 40.

²⁴³ Edy, “Conditions of Acceptance,” 177, 179–190.

Arnold, Gladys: Canadian Press

Atkinson, Oriana MacIlveen Torrey: *New York Times*

Balfour, Honor Catherine Mary: *Time-Life*

Barden, Judy: North American News Alliance, *New York Sun*

Beeby, Nellie B.: *American Journal of Nursing*

Bess, Dorothy: *Saturday Evening Post*

Billingham, Rena: Reuters

Bonney, Therese: Duell, Sloan, Pearce

Booker, Edna Lee: International News Service

Bourke-White, Margaret: *Time-Life*

Boyle (von Frankenstein), Kay: *New Yorker*

Bracker, Virginia Lee Warren: *New York Times*

Bradley, Mary H.: *Colliers*

Breckenridge, Mary Marvin: NBC Radio

Brenner, Anita: North American News Alliance

Bridgeman, Julie: *Liberty*

Brooks: International News Service

Browne, Barbara P. Ellis: Christian Science Monitor

Camp, Helen: Associated Press

Carpenter, Iris: *Daily Herald* (London), *Boston Globe*

Carson (Putnam Boudreau Reeves), Gladys Lee: International News Service

Chapelle, Georgette "Dickey" Meyer: *Look*

Chapelle (Klein), Mina Fox: *American Home*

Clark, Katherine L.: WCAU Radio

Cochrane, Jackie: *Liberty*

Cookman (Bass Gibson Newlin), Mary Carter Carson: *Ladies Home Journal*

Cooper, Anice Page: Whittlesey House

Cowan Nash, Ruth Baldwin: Associated Press

Cowles Crawley, Harriet Virginia Spencer: North American News Alliance, *Sunday Times* (London)

Coyne, Catherine: *Boston Herald*

Craig, Elisabeth May: Gannett Publishing

Cravens, Kathryn: Mutual Broadcasting

Crost, Lyn: Honolulu Star Bulletin

Danenberg, Elsie Florence Nicholas: North American News Alliance

Davis, Gladys: *Life*

Davis, Maxine: Macmillan

de Bettencourt, Sylvia: Correio de Manha

DeCormis Mackenzie, Anna: *Fortune*

Dew, Gwen: *Detroit News, Newsweek*

Dexter, Iris: *Woman*

Diggins, Margaret Mary "Peggy": International News Service

Disney MacKaye, Dorothy Cameron: *Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal*

Drain, Dorothy: *Australian Women's Weekly*

Drake, Katharine Zimmerman: *Reader's Digest*

Draper, Eleanor

Dunstan, Rita: *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney)

Durdin, Margaret Peggy L.: *Time*

Ebener, Charlotte: International News Service

Ecker Francis, Margaret: *Canadian Press*

Evans, Drucilla: *New York Post*

Ferber, Edna: North American News Alliance

Finan LoSavio Allen, Elizabeth "Betty" Sturges Field: *Harper's Bazaar*

Finch, Barbara Miller: Reuters

Flanner, Janet: *New Yorker*

Fleeson, Doris: *Woman's Home Companion*

Foster Snow, Helen

Frank, June Mickel: *This Month*

Frederick, Pauline: Western Newspaper Union

Freeman, Beatrice Oppenheim: *Magazine Digest, New York Herald*

Frissell Bacon, Antoinette "Toni": *Vogue, Harper's*

Gaskill Shinn, Betty Milton: *Liberty*

Gellhorn, Martha: *Collier's*

Gilruth, Margaret: *Herald* (Melbourne)

Gingrich, Helen: *Esquire-Coronet*

Gould, Beatrice Blackmar: *Ladies Home Journal*

Graham, Betty

Green, Janet: Trans-Radio Press

Hager, Alice Rogers: *Skyways Magazine*

Hamburger Daly, Edith Iglauer: *Cleveland Press*

Hardesty, Harriet C.: United Press

Hargrove, Rosette: Newspaper Enterprise Association, *New York World Telegram*

Harmon, Dudley Ann: United Press

Harriman, Kathleen: International News Service

Hartzog, Hazel: United Press

Hiatt Waller, Helen: NBC Radio

Higgins, Marguerite: *Herald Tribune* (New York)

Hill, Mary Catherine Phillips Polk: *Los Angeles News*

Hill Brandt, Carol E. Denny: *Collier's-Redbook*

Hollingworth, Clare: *Daily Telegraph*

Hornaday, Mary: *Christian Science Monitor*

Howard, Rosemary: *Newsweek*

Hull Duell, Henrietta Eleanor "Peggy" Goodnough Kinley: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*

Hume, Rita: International News Service

Hunter, Ann: WAIT Radio

Irons, Evelyn: *Evening Standard* (London)

Irwin, Virginia: *St. Louis Post Dispatch*

Jackson, Alice: *Australian Women's Weekly*

Jacobs Pakradooni, Ann Loyd: *Young America*

Jacoby, Annalee: *Time*

Jarrett, Pat: *Herald* (Melbourne)

Jenner, Dorothy Gordon: *Sun* (Sydney)

John, Betty Beaman: *Cleveland News*

Johnson, Carol L.: Newspaper Enterprise Association

Johnston, Laurie: *Newsweek*

Kempner, Mary Jane: *Vogue*

Kirkpatrick, Helen Paull: *Chicago Daily News*

Knickerbocker Walker, Agnes Schjoldager: *New York Times*

Knox, Betty: *Evening News*

Knox, Patricia: *Argus* (Melbourne), *Advertiser* (Adelaide), *Examiner*

Kuhn, Irene: NBC

Lamport Azrael, Sara M.: *New York Post*

Landau, Ida B.: Overseas News Agency

Lavelle, Elise: National Catholic News Service

Lecoutre, Martha Jansen: *Tri-Color*

Lewis, Flora: Associated Press

Lloyd Churchill, Rhona: *Philadelphia Evening News*

Lochridge, Mary Patricia: *Women's Home Companion*

Long Daniell, Tatiana "Tania": *Herald Tribune* (New York)

Lovitt, Eleanor Murray Jones Ragsdale: Newspaper Enterprise Association

Lowry, Cynthia Coleman: Associated Press

Lucas, Lenore Virginia Hippard Sandberg: Overseas News Agency

Matheson, Anne: *Australian Women's Weekly*, Australian Consolidated Press

MacCormac, Isabel: *New York Times*

MacFarlane, Hedvig Rosa Marianne Thorburn: Göteborgs-Posten

Mann, Cathleen Sabine (Marchioness of Queensbury): *Time-Life*

Maslin Junkin, Alice: Blue Network

McCall, Francis: NBC

McGee, Mary "Mollie" V.P.: *Globe and Mail*

McIlhenny, Eleanor: *Pan-American*

McKee, Rosa: *Minnesota*

McLaughlin, Kathleen: *New York Times*

McMahon, Helen (Nell): *Sun News-Pictorial*

Melendez, Dorothy: *Star Herald*

Meyer, Jane: *Chicago Herald American*

Miller, Elizabeth Lee: Condé Nast

Moats, Alice-Leone B.: *Collier's*

Monahan, Lois Mattox Miller: Readers Digest

Moss, Martha Elizabeth "Bettye" Phillips Murphy: *Afro-American*

Muller, Mary T.: *Reader's Digest*

Murdoch, Barbara Mifflin Boyd: *Philadelphia Bulletin*

Mydans, Shelley Smith: *Life*

O'Brien, Mary H.: Fawcett Publications

Offner, Philippa Gerry Whiting: *Life*

Packard, Eleanor Newell Cryan: United Press

Pain, Kathleen (Kay): *Sun* (Sydney), *Herald* (Melbourne)

Palmer Clark, Greta Brooker: *Liberty*

Palmer, Mary Babcock: *Newsweek*

Parker Lyons Mackierman Hlavacek, Margaret Pegge: *American Weekly*

Perkins, Alice Kelly: Fairchild

Poor, Peggy: *New York Post*

Prewett, Virginia: *Chicago Sun*

Pringle, Helena Huntington Smith: *Women's Home Companion*

Putnam, Eva B.: Trans-Radio Press

Reeve, Margaret Elizabeth: *Time-Life*

Reston, Sarah Jane Sally Fulton: *New York Times*

Reusswig, Martha Sawyers: *Collier's*

Riddell, Elizabeth

Robb, Inez Calloway: International News Service

Robertson, Constance (Connie): *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Age*, ABC

Robertson, Ruth A.

Robinson, Iona: *Saturday Review*

Rocho, Ethel P.: *Collier's*

Saix, Jaqueline: *Time-Life*

Schultz, Sigrid: *Chicago Tribune*

Seaman, Chrissie: *Daily Mirror* (Sydney)

Severyns, Marjorie: *Time*

Skariatina Blakeslee, Irina: *New York Times*

Smedley, Agnes: *Nation*

Smith, Adele (Tilly) Shelton: *Australian Women's Weekly*

Smith, Beverly: *Collier's*

Stewart, Lady Margaret: *Truth*

Stirling, Hermione Monica: *Atlantic Monthly*

Stringer, Anne: United Press

Stumm, Lorraine: *Daily Mirror* (London)

Tait, Pauline Whittington: *Chicago Sun*

Thayer, Mary Molly Cogswell Van Rensselaer: International News Service

Thompson Kopf, Dorothy: Bell Syndicate

Tighe, Dixie: *New York Post*

Tomara, Sonia: *Herald Tribune* (New York)

Vanderlip, Candace Baird Alig: International News Service

Vandivert, Margrethe "Rita": *Time*

Wace, Barbara: Associated Press

Wason, Betty: CBS

Welsh Monks Hemingway, Mary: *Daily Express* (London), *Time-Life*

Wertenbaker, Lael Tucker: *Time*

Whitney, Betsey Maria Cushing Roosevelt: *Washington Times-Herald*

Wiley, Bonnie: Associated Press

Winkler, Betty Dablanc: Press Alliance

Winn, Mary Day: *This Week*

Zaimes, Margaret Karch: American Red Cross

Zugsmith Randau, Leane: PM

ⁱ This list is not exhaustive in terms of either the individuals or their publications. Information regarding names and publications was drawn from Baker, Sorel, Edy, and the women's articles.