

WOMEN ON WAR: A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF  
FOUR WOMEN WAR REPORTERS

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ABSTRACT

In thinking about the ways in which war journalists approach their work, the ethics of how that journalism is performed is one of the most crucial considerations of how and why journalists report on war. I attempt in this thesis to research how four different female war correspondents -- Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne, and Marie Colvin utilized frameworks that guided their ethical decision-making in their reporting over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I reviewed the topics and approaches that represented a Kantian approach, which was followed by the topics and approaches that represented an ethics of care approach and an approach that represented a philosophy of communitarianism. Military might served as a theme of analysis to discern the Kantian categorical imperative and communitarianism, while the suffering of civilians, the suffering of soldiers and the material destruction of property were used to discern a feminist ethic of care. A discussion of how each journalist reported on the deaths of civilians and soldiers was also used to discern a feminist ethic of care and a Kantian categorical imperative. This serves the purpose of expanding a practice of media ethics journalists can use.

Keywords: feminist ethic of care, war journalism, war reporting, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne, Marie Colvin, media ethics, textual analysis, war journalists, war reporters

## Chapter 1: Introduction

In the male-dominated field of war journalism, seeing the contributions of women who work in the role of war correspondent is as important as ever. Even those who work in the field of war journalism, the ones who would be inured to the tales of the larger-than-life war reporter, are taken in by the feats, accomplishments, and idiosyncrasies of their idols who set the standard of war reporting in previous generations. Stephen Farrell, a British journalist who has covered war and conflict, admired American war correspondent Marie Colvin (Young, 2012), and she, in turn, held up Martha Gellhorn as her journalistic hero (Colvin, 2012). The work of these journalists represents some of the most profound journalism in the practice since writing about conflict was first popularized in the Civil War (Knightley, 2004), despite women often being barred or ostracized from the company of their male counterparts (Steiner, 2016). In thinking about the ways in which war journalists approach their work, the ethics of how that journalism is performed is one of the most crucial considerations of how and why war journalists report on war.

The purpose of this research is to identify how four different female war reporters from the United States approached ethical decision-making while reporting on the major wars and armed conflicts of the 20th century, some of which the U.S. was involved in. This analysis included how the various conceptions of the ethics of care, defined as a way of moral life that can be invoked in every human encounter (Noddings, 2010) applied in the work of these four women. Some of the codes utilized in this analysis also can be interpreted through the lens of war and peace journalism, which, while a useful framework in the study of war reporting, is not the focus of this study.

People who live in communities affected by war are, by the very nature of the conflict, more vulnerable than people in many other situations often reported in the news. This alone prompted Marie Colvin, one of the most prominent war reporters of the 20th century and early 21st century, to adopt an approach to reporting that countered the practices of her counterparts (Colvin, 2012). During her life, she acknowledged the influence of Martha Gellhorn's war journalism on her own war-reporting practices (Colvin, 2012). As she openly embraced an alternative to what journalists think of as "objective" reporting -- being emotionally removed from the people the story is about -- I asked if her perception and practice of media ethics in war was also practiced by other journalists. In particular, this ethical approach that centered human suffering at the heart of the reportage of war was practiced by other prominent American female war reporters of the 20th century, most notably Mary Roberts Rinehart, who reported on World War I (Cohn, 1980, Doran, 1922, Disney & Mackay, 1948), Gellhorn, who reported on World War II (Moorehead, 2003, Rollyson, 1990) and Ethel Payne, who reported on the Vietnam War (Streitmatter, 1994, Morris, 2015).

In this thesis, I researched how four different female war correspondents -- Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne, and Colvin utilized frameworks that guided their ethical decision-making in their practice of reporting on war and conflict over the course of the 20th century. Textual analysis was used to compare -- or contrast -- how each woman used various approaches of media ethics in their practice of reporting on war and conflict.

The feminist ethics of care, Mathewson (2022), drew on the life experiences of women. The result of using this conception of ethics fell in line with what Held (1990) described as a genuinely universal or gender-neutral moral theory. This form of ethics, according to Held, accounted for the experience and concerns of women as well as men

(Held, 1990). This, according to Held, could be conceived as one that would be an ethics that accounted for the experience and concerns of women as well as men (Held, 1990). This was based on connections between people and developing relationships with others based on empathy and caring. Nel Noddings argued that ethics of care is based on a form of natural caring that was emotionally accessible to everyone, positing that love and care of fellow human beings is enough to base an ethics on (Noddings, 1995).

Mathewson suggested that the ethics of care differed from the more commonly practiced Kantian categorical imperative inherent in journalistic codes of ethics written in the 20th century. As Mathewson explained, the categorical imperative conceived by Kant holds that all people should be treated the same universally and remnants of this philosophy can still be found in principles like the SPJ Code of ethics (Mathewson, 2022). He writes that Kant believed in the obligation to adhere to philosophical principles that would govern everyone -- arguably a philosophy that informed how journalists approached reporting, interviewing and interacting with sources. This approach to treating people according to the same universal philosophical principles universally is the foundation of a 20th-century conception of media ethics often taught in journalism schools and practiced in professional newsrooms across the U.S. (Richards, 2005 and Cliffords & Covert, 1980). This Kantian philosophy as the basis for media ethics is meant to ensure that journalists treated everyone with the same standards of fairness and objectivity. However, with people in vulnerable situations, some ethical researchers have found this conception of media ethics lacking and, in fact, suggest that it undermined the humanity of those who need more care in reporting than the average source (Steiner & Okrusch, 2006, Vanacker & Breslin, 2006, Hossain & Aucoin, 2018). Mathewson suggests that there is opportunity for journalists to do more in considering the full

humanity of certain sources while still balancing truth, facts, honesty, fairness and other standard journalistic norms. His description of the ethics of care informs that evolving conception of how empathy towards other people can fuel a response that meets the needs of others, a departure from an objective, neutral ethic based on detached reason (Mathewson, 2022).

The concept of objectivity, defined as something that is standing across or apart from something else by hermeneutical philosopher Günter Figal (2010), might lend normative credence to the general Kantian *modus operandi* of modern professional journalism. However, that sense of “standing apart” was criticized by Noddings, as well as 19th-century philosopher David Hume, who also developed an ethics of care. Hume’s philosophy also prioritized consideration of other people, claiming that general good will and approbation of mankind has as its basis the qualities of beneficence, humanity, friendship and gratitude, natural affection and public spirit (Hume, 1826). Hume even went on to say in his essay “On Beneficence” that any feeling that arises from the tender sympathy and generous concern for others, or indeed any doing good to others, should compel people in advantaged positions to provide shelter for those less fortunate (Hume, 1826).

The ethics of care functioned as the theoretical framework through which Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne and Colvin’s work was analyzed to discern if and how each woman practiced a feminist ethic of care in her war reporting. It is important to study how each of these women reported on war and what ethic they utilized in their practice of reporting on war and armed conflict so that we have a better understanding of the range of approaches. Each of these four women represented, perhaps, a way of reporting that is informed by the life experience of women because women are socialized differently than

men, thus affecting their approach to war reporting that is valuable for journalists and academics to study. By learning about the ethical approaches of these women, journalists might be exposed to new ways to effectively and compassionately report on war and conflict.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature review details who Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne and Marie Colvin were and what wars or conflicts they reported on, as well as elaborates on the various ethical principles that others have noted in their work. The ideological frames used include the concept of the ethics of care, which details considerations of an ethical and moral life and includes that individuals feel sincere passion and compassion for others.

### Mary Roberts Rinehart

Rinehart, one of the few female war reporters from the United States to report on World War I directly from the European theater, went to Europe in 1915 at the outset of the Great War to send dispatches from the front to *The Saturday Evening Post* in New York. She reported from Belgium, France and Britain, often wearing the uniform of upper-crust ladies from the East Coast of the United States -- “white gloves and a fashionable fur coat” (Disney, 1949, pg. 14).

Rinehart said of her time reporting on World War I that she went because she wanted to see war, not necessarily because she wanted to write about war. The writing followed when she pursued the interest of finding out more about an event or issue that interested her. War was just one of those many experiences in her pursuit to “live a full life, to be a part of my times” (Rinehart, 1917, pp. 29). As Rinehart’s biographer says,

Mary lay awake thinking about the war. Not about the horror, the brutality, the wanton destruction of property, the ghastly waste of human lives; those would impinge on her consciousness later. At the moment, she was focusing on how she

could get overseas and what she'd find there to write about. (MacLeod, 1994, pgs. 170-171)

Rinehart wanted to see the conflict firsthand and write about what she saw. This motivation was what originally spurred her to find opportunities to report on the battles of the European theater, however, she quickly demonstrated a compassion for soldiers and victims of war. This was her ultimate motivation to report on The Great War for the readers of the U.S.

After her excursions to the battlefields of Europe, Rinehart began to report with a lens that focused on the wounded, dying, and dead soldiers who arrived at railway stations in Europe's biggest cities by the trainload from the front lines. Their threadbare uniforms, after they were cut off by the surgeons to operate, revealed bodies infested with lice and gangrene-plagued wounds. The lack of adequate shoes that held in the battlefield, the spoiled food made available to soldiers and other terrible realities of the war became the experiences she would most often describe in her reporting in the two months she reported on the war (MacLeod, 1994).

While her time with the front-line fighters yielded the most intrepid stories, she also covered the atrocities committed by the German army, which Britain's King Albert divulged to Rinehart in an exclusive interview in 1915. The inextricable pull to go to Europe and witness war was quenched in about 60 days of reporting. At the end, MacLeod writes, Rinehart

...knew about war. There was no glory in it, no romance. War was nothing but privation, discomfort, and boredom, punctuated by bursts of deadly fighting that brought only greater agony, worse shortages, more bodies to be wept over and buried. Nobody ever won...wars could only be lost. (MacLeod, 1994 pg. 194)

Those two months proved to be “the great moment of her life, and, somehow, she knew it” (Cohn, 1980, pg. 78).

In her first days reporting on the war, she traveled to England before heading for the battles on the Continent. Hearing back in the United States that there weren't enough medical supplies with which to treat the wounded coming back from the front lines, Rinehart first sought to determine just how patched-up of a state the medical and surgical establishment was in. This was a task she referred to as an “errand [that] was primarily humane...it seemed incredible that such conditions could exist in an age of surgical enlightenment; that, even in an unexpected and unprepared-for war, modern organization and efficiency should have utterly failed” (Rinehart, 1917, pp. 12). Her recollections of her time reporting on a hospital full of wounded civilians in La Panne, France, in which she met an injured baby and a blind teenaged soldier, also reveal her sensibility of reporting on the horrors of World War I;

The baby at La Panne -- why should it go through life on stumps instead of legs?  
The boyish officer -- why should he have died? The little sixteen-year-old soldier who had been blinded and who sat all day by the phonograph listening to Madame Butterfly, Tipperary, and Harry Lauder's A Wee Deoch-an'-Doris -- why should he never see again what I could see from the window beside him...Why? Why?  
(Rinehart, 1917, pp. 48-49).

What Rinehart saw on her European tour, as we can tell from her reflection on her reporting, shocked and horrified her. This compassion and concern for the people she reported on comes through in the reporting and writing of her time covering World War I.

## **Martha Gellhorn**

By the 1930s, war journalists from the United States and Britain had descended on Spain to cover the Spanish Civil War, which began in 1936 and lasted three years. Reporters covering the war, similarly to what can be seen from American journalists covering the American Civil War, took a side. While some reported in a pro-government vein, others took the side of the Nationalist rebels, Knightley writes. This lack of objectivity undermined the journalists' attempt to dutifully report on the war while failing to set aside personal biases for or against any one side. World War II saw the practice of journalists embedding with military units, which, as Knightley posits, imbued in correspondents a sentiment that they were part of the fighting forces -- something that Knightley describes as a powerful tool in winning the Allies' North African fight during the war (Knightley, 2004). During the Korean War (1950-1953) journalists prioritized descriptions of military victories and failures, rather than reporting on whether the war could be justified and if short-term costs were worth long-term gains (Knightley, 2004). Equally problematic was the public's complete lack of awareness of the cause of the Vietnam War, showing that perhaps the journalists did not adequately report on the conflict for the American public to understand what the war was even being fought over (Knightley, 2004).

As the 20th century progressed, public relations spin, censorship, and propaganda were so commonplace that Knightley even stipulates, based on a University of Leeds study conducted after the conclusion of the Gulf War, that much of the English-speaking public of the Western world wants wars involving their country to be reported on favorably, and that war should be reported on less. This sentiment can be said to be a long-term facet of war reporting, affecting how the public receives information about

conflict and how journalists can adequately report about war so that the public will be open to war journalism.

While later in her life, Gellhorn would doubt the power of journalism, her venture into journalism started in part with a belief in “the perfectibility of man, and in progress...if people were told the truth, if dishonor and injustice were clearly shown to them, they would at once demand the saving action, punishment of wrong-doers, and care for the innocent” (Gellhorn, 1936, pp. 1). Despite her personal care for the most victimized of war, Gellhorn herself believed that reporting on war didn’t much matter, betraying a broken faith that the institution of journalism had power to stop wars and divert destructive forces of government and militaries away from the destruction of thousands (or millions) of lives or arouse the better angels of the natures of people, whether powerful or provincial.

This St. Louis native, who joined the likes of Marguerite Higgins and Dickey Chapelle, was one of the most prominent -- and earliest -- women to report on World War II and the Spanish Civil War. Long before U.S. involvement in the war, Gellhorn reported on the capitulation of Czechoslovakia to the oncoming German army, writing to friend Charles Colebaugh in 1938;

...the story of Czechoslovakia is, really and finally, the story of the dishonesty of the Chamberlain government and the cowardice of Daladier: but I am writing you a picture of a destroyed state, practically calling the lost sugar beet fields and coal mines and railroads by name, practically naming the refugees who are homeless and in desperate danger. (Gellhorn, 1938, pp. 68)

Gellhorn clearly demonstrated care for the people of Czechoslovakia in this letter to Colebaugh, telling him through her choice of words about one of the first atrocities of

World War II, in which the Czech government was abandoned by its allies in an effort to appease Adolf Hitler as he advanced in his plans to conquer Europe.

That sense of care for the residents of Europe led Gellhorn, in 1945, to the Bergen-Belsen and Dachau concentration camp to witness for herself and her 3 million readers in the United States. Her piece on Dachau, published the same year, detailed the medical experiments performed on the prisoners and the destructive effects on the ones who were left alive. Rather than going to the fields of battle to witness the last of the German soldiers, then teenage boys and old men, struggle to fight the increasing numbers of the oncoming Allied forces, Gellhorn went instead to where, perhaps, the war had wrought the most destruction and violence.

Moorehead says Gellhorn wrote very few letters about what she saw at Dachau, other than a brief mention to one friend, Hortense Flexner, that she would never forget the guilt she felt that she didn't know what was happening in the concentration camps sooner. This perhaps accounts for why Gellhorn wrote very little about her experience reporting on the concentration camps. The horror of what she saw made her want

...to be 'relieved' of the memory of Dachau, counting on her terrible memory and her habit of losing information the moment she had no need of it. If she wrote out Dachau, she reasoned, she would forget it (Moorehead, 2009, pp. 175).

The pain and suffering she witnessed at Dachau, which she visited after the surrender of the German military, was beyond comprehension. Her bearing witness to that suffering had to be reported on so the rest of the world could know what happened, but also that Gellhorn herself could forget she knew.

Pilger described Gellhorn's sensibility in reporting in a recounting of his and Gellhorn's notes to each other as they flew around the world reporting on power, conflict and the effects of corruption and cruelty. He said they

agonized over the gulf between morality in ordinary people's lives and the amoral and immoral nature of power: a distinction she believed journalists were duty-bound to understand. (Pilger, 2005, pp. 1)

This sensibility, one of understanding the forces that effectuated evil acts on the world, belied a plain-spoken style of writing very much influenced by Ernest Hemingway, Gellhorn's ex-husband and literary influence. Her blunt statement of facts, of happenings, of observations allowed her to write in a style that, at least, would serve as a record of events. McLoughlin identifies a "second way of telling" that centers her observation of a "terrible and violent control" in the events leading up to World War II, in addition to a style that features a cold statement of facts. In this removed stylistic prose, which she equated with authorial effacement and the explicit repudiations of personal feelings, McLoughlin posits that Gellhorn feared that the tolerance of emotionality in reporting would compromise the revelation of truth in her reportage.

This style in her journalistic writing is no more evident than in her intimation of a tour of the jail in Dachau, led by a German socialist who was imprisoned there for a decade. The tales this prisoner told Gellhorn of the atrocities committed in the compound compelled her to tell us "Then, because I could listen to no more, my guide...took me across the compound to the jail. In Dachau, when you want to rest from one horror, you go and see another" (Gellhorn, 1945, pg. 238).

Gellhorn described the terrible consequences of World War II on Europe's Jewish population, gypsies, gay men and women and other groups of people targeted by the

Nazis and the atrocities the rest of the world let Germany commit. Gellhorn rejected the prospect of seeing the entire field of war. Instead, she situated the onus of her reporting on where seeing war has its limitations and where it fails to address the shortcomings of armed conflict. Instead, the emphasis in her reporting on war (particularly in World War II) prioritized telling the stories of the humans who were damaged by war (Gallagher, 1998).

### **Ethel Payne**

Payne, one of the most prominent African American journalists of the 20th century, experienced a defining moment in her career in her time reporting on the Vietnam War for three months in 1966. This made her sensitive to the plight of Black Americans, women, Jews and gay people and emboldened her to lambast racial stereotypes and racist practices inherent in the practice of journalism in the United States (Streitmatter, 1994). The experience in Vietnam also made her the first Black reporter to cover the third great war the United States was involved in in the 20th century.

Payne seemed to feel the enormity of the soldiers' burden of fighting a war receiving less and less support at home. Her impression of soldiers both Black and White was that of children longing for home, in particular during shows starring favorite entertainers from the American stage and screen. She spent Christmas dinner 1966 eating dried prunes and peanut butter crackers, crying while writing her story on a typewriter in a Di An hotel (Morris, 2015). Her main interest in her reportage on the war, however, remained almost entirely with Black soldiers who did not share the same column space in American newspapers as white soldiers. Morris tells us that she used her pages to advocate for the service members she encountered in her work, at one time reporting the names and addresses of lonely soldiers desperate for letters from the states. Morris

reports that she also covered Black doctors at Third Field Hospital, an agronomy graduate of Tuskegee University who assisted Dinh Tuong farmers by increasing the local rice paddies business, an integrated team of doctors who treated everything from leprosy to tuberculosis, and the 1st Platoon of Lima Company, a group of American soldiers both white and Black.

She also took her short nine weeks in Vietnam to advocate for these Black soldiers directly to their commanding officers and other military personnel in administrative positions. When, as Morris recounts, a notice was posted to a bulletin board at Cam Ranh Bay Air Base describing the perpetrators of recent assaults as Black soldiers, Payne spoke with the base's commanding officer directly. The recommendation she made to the white supervisor of the base was to "identify and isolate the troublemakers, train unit leaders and commanders on dealing in a more equitable manner with the troops, and use the chaplains to counsel the soldiers" (Morris, 2015, pg. 269). Payne cared enough about the soldiers fighting on the front lines of the Vietnam War for Americans of all colors to break the norms of objectivity, recommending to military commanders what she thought a possible solution was to the challenges managing a military unit that contained soldiers of color with White soldiers.

She felt in later years that her only omission in covering the Vietnam War was not reporting more fully on how public relations officials in Lyndon B. Johnson's administration sought out opportunities to highlight the accomplishments of Black soldiers. While Payne lifted up the stories of African-American soldiers in the war, repressive policies were still enacted back home against people of color, particularly Black Americans, as Morris found.

## **Marie Colvin**

Colvin was described by Canadian journalist Lyse Doucet (2019) as a foreign correspondent who braved the dangers of war to tell the rest of the world about the bloodiest atrocities of war, no matter the location. Among the many wars and conflicts Colvin reported on in a 25-year career, one of the earliest and biggest wars she covered was the Gulf War, which Colvin called a battle that turned a Baghdad, a normally bustling city, into one that was “silent and edgy” that nonetheless united the Iraqi people (Colvin, 1991). Colvin, like many other war correspondents, who faced similar challenges and dangers, confronted “war reporting in all its terrifying wonder, and some of its warts...the black humor, the crackle of danger...by being there, she could change what was there (Doucet, 2019). Colvin displayed a sensibility of caring about the effects of war on the people who couldn’t escape and the people who fought those wars, attempting to report on the conflicts she covered to inform the world about those conflicts and change the outcome for those who could lose everything because of the violence. Ahmad characterized her as someone who had faith in the ability to turn the tide of conflict with her writing, a “faith in the power of journalism that compelled the pair [Colvin and photographer Paul Conroy] to return to the front line after they had safely got out of Baba Amr on February 17...Colvin felt a responsibility to return.” (Ahmad, 2018). Colvin couldn’t turn away from the people who couldn’t leave Baba Amr in Syria. She felt that she was abandoning them and taking the easy way out by using her privilege as a White, Western journalist to flee a war when the people she depended on to tell the story of that war couldn’t do the same.

In the year Conroy reported on conflict zones with Colvin before her 2012 death in Syria, he saw how she practiced her style of reporting, a style that notably showed she

didn't care what weapons armies, militias and terrorist groups used to fight. Planes, guns, tanks, any weapon of war was just that -- a weapon of war, and in Colvin's view, she didn't need to be more specific in her reporting about what those weapons were. It only mattered what those weapons did to an already-suffering people. As Conroy told Ryan McChrystal of *Index on Censorship*, Colvin didn't -- or couldn't -- tell the difference between a Lancaster bomb and a Mig. She focused on people, not the big military picture or weapons (McChrystal, 2018). This description of McChrystal's showed that Colvin placed people at the center of her reporting on war, rather than on military strategy, weapons and narratives of military officers or political officials.

Colvin recounted in 2002 the reason she felt her work to be so important and why she felt compelled to do it. She wanted to write about the extreme and unendurable experiences of humanity, that reporting on war for the rest of the world to know about is important work, and that her job was to bear witness to that conflict (Colvin, 2002).

Colvin said she felt like she had to go to the places where conflict and war was wrought to tell people in far-flung places about the worst of the human experience. Despite the enormity of the task of writing about war and the human suffering it caused, the plight of those who were most affected by war was a singular mission for Colvin. It was also one that she committed to with a regard for the people who needed to know about what war was really doing to people on the ground. She did this even though she did not feel there was a way for her to adequately describe the damage war inflicts. As she told the International Women's Media Foundation at the turn of the 21st century:

The pain of war is really beyond telling. I don't think I've ever filed a story and thought, "I got it. I really said what I want people to feel." But I do try. And I think, whatever the rights and wrongs of a conflict, I feel we fail if we don't face

what war does, face the human horrors rather than just record who won and who lost. My profession as a war correspondent, there doesn't seem to be any chance of unemployment. (Colvin, 2000)

Colvin describes in this speech to the IWMF that she places the effects on real people above other considerations in reporting on war, attempting to communicate those effects to the rest of the world. Informing the public about the horrors faced by those suffering from war is paramount in her view of writing about war. Colvin's considerations of how to report on war and her considerations in practicing war journalism can be informative for journalists reporting on armed conflict.

Each of these women practiced war reporting in a way that suggests that a feminist ethic of care could be present in how they approached war and conflict reporting. To determine if that feminist ethic of care exists in their work, the following theoretical frameworks were used.

### **Styles of Journalism**

Throughout history, various styles of reporting and news writing were popular and commonly practiced. This includes the interpretive journalism of Colvin, as well as the earlier, communitarian philosophy practiced by earlier journalists, including Rinehart, Gellhorn and Payne. Since objectivity was a relatively new professional norm in the practice of journalism in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it wasn't practiced as widely in the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, which can be observed in the patriotic tone in which Rinehart, Gellhorn and, at times, Payne reported on war.

Objectivity is traced as a journalistic norm in McLaughlin's chapter on war and journalism in his full-length text "The War Correspondent," in which he wrote in the chapter "Journalism, objectivity and war" that adventurism in war was common in the

late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Examples abound of journalists between the Spanish-American War and World War II who engaged in a reporting that had adventure as a main element in the reporting and writing, if it wasn't the core of the reporting. As McLaughlin stated, prominent war journalist Richard Harding Davis was blind to any conflict of interest that could have arisen from his reporting on the same war in which he was fighting as a patriotic citizen (McLaughlin, 2016). McLaughlin also articulates that objectivity as a journalistic norm was adopted later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although there were some early adopters – notably James Gordon Bennett when he covered the Canadian Revolution in the 1830s (although it could be posited that Bennett was objective in his reporting on the Canadian conflict because he himself was Scottish by birth and lived in the United States for most of his adult life, making him feel neutral to the conflict).

Objectivity took hold as comparisons started to be made between journalists and historians in the 1970s and beyond, calling for, as Schudson wrote, a journalism that cool, not emotional, represents each leading side in the writing of something controversial, and writing about new current events in a way that doesn't shape, slant or comment upon it (Schudson, 2001). The perception that journalism should be objective has its critics – McKeown wrote that objectivity is a myth, perpetuated by editors who aspire to omniscience in dispassionately choosing from current events of the day to report what the public needs to know (McKeown, 1976).

While objectivity is clearly a normative value in the practice of journalism in the modern era, another kind of journalism that emerged in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, that of a “journalism of attachment” was espoused and practiced by Martin Bell, a BBC reporter who reported on the Bosnian War in the 1990s. Bell's reporting on that war gave rise to a

journalism that espoused a duty that journalists must follow to tell both convenient and inconvenient truths over and above being impartial in reporting. This is similar to the reporting Colvin did throughout her career as a war correspondent, and one that McLoughlin articulates in his chapter. This is complementary with the “interpretive journalism” that Peterson described as an act of interpreting the social world while simultaneously representing it, something that journalists do in tandem in their act of representing the world to their audience while observing it (Peterson, 2001). Interpretive journalism was also operationalized in the context of broadcast journalism in the United Kingdom in Cushion’s 2015 treatise on live and interpretive journalism, in which he wrote that providing an interpretation of the politics being reported on in British television news broadcasts was served by reporting live from political events and happenings (Cushion, 2015). This sense of interpretation was also used in respect to Colvin’s reporting on war, using an approach that Soontjens (2018) called a journalism in which reporters express their perceptions of what they’re reporting on and referring to causes or explanation for why an event they’re covering happened without relying on outside sources for content or explanation. Colvin’s style of journalism definitely fit this particular mold of journalism.

### **Background of male-dominated field**

The style of war correspondence in the early 20th century can be attributed in large part to most of the Great War’s reporters being men (Gallagher, 2000). Farish (2001) suggests that the way men reported on war and the ways women (of which Rinehart was one of few) reported on war diverged sharply as men viewed battle more theatrically, whereas women did not. According to Knightley, some of the earliest war reporters in the United States wrote a general overview of the scene of a battle, how the

fight was won or lost and who the victor was. As early as the Civil War, reporters described battle scenes in language that glorified and romanticized the fight (Knightley, 2004). The Crimean War, which Edwin Lawrence Godkin reported on for *The London Daily News*, saw reporting on the political backstory behind the lack of resources in the British military. Many American war correspondents who covered the Civil War often wrote invented copy designed to build support for the North or the South, depending on which side of the Mason-Dixon line correspondents were reporting for.

As part of this reporting, which Knightley called “invented, partisan and inflammatory” (Knightley, 2004, pp. 21), casualties were underreported to increase public support for the North or the South, depending on the correspondents’ affiliation, while overstating the accomplishments of either Union soldiers (in the case of the reporters who worked for Northern newspapers) or Confederate soldiers (for the reporters who worked for Southern newspapers) (Knightley, 2004). However, there is evidence that male reporters also reported on war and conflict utilizing an ethics of care, as in the example of Philip Gibbs for *The Daily Chronicle*, who documented the German dead of World War I in rather poetic prose. *The Saturday Evening Post* reporter Irving S. Cobb described weaponry and shelling in his reporting in his correspondence about one of the later battles of World War I (Knightley, 2004).

Interestingly, Gallagher writes that women are placed in a unique position of often being perceived as not seeing battle while being the main observers of war (Gallagher, 1998). Gallagher came to this conclusion by reading texts produced by women early in the 20th century, focusing on how women view war, experience and understand war. Each of the women whose work is analyzed in this thesis add to the pantheon of 20<sup>th</sup> century war reporting produced by the journalists mentioned here. Their

perspectives and views on the wars and conflicts they covered provide a rich account of the major wars and armed conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that can contribute to an understanding of war and how to report on it.

## Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

### The Ethics of Care

Mathewson posits that Kantian conceptions of media ethics have served American journalism, perhaps global journalism, for more than a century. The neutrality, distance and objectivity often practiced in journalism might not be the most appropriate journalistic ethics to employ, according to Mathewson (2022) and Vanacker and Breslin (2006). The Kantian universal categorical imperative prioritizes the “consideration of an equitable rule of a civil society,” writes Mathewson. An alternative exists that advocates for adoption of an “ethics of care,” which, as Mathewson writes, “envisions a distinct contribution to humanity. It’s an elaborate moral philosophy although similar to women’s rights in that it, too, is based in the distinct life experience of women” (Mathewson, 2022, pg. 71). This philosophy could serve to demonstrate an approach to writing about war and military conflict that is inherent in the ways in which women report on war inconsistent with the way men report on war. Men, as historians have noted, oftentimes report on war from the perspective of the victors, reporting on stories that focus on military strategy and weapons. It is possible for male war reporters, of course, to practice a feminist ethic of care -- there are examples in history of men elevating the stories of communities who suffered from war, just as there are examples of women reporting on military movements and defense systems with the lens of the emerging champions of the conflict. Essentially, a feminist ethic of care focuses war reporting on how war makes people suffer, while the Kantian categorical imperative sets a standard of treating all sources the same -- whether its a family who lost their home in a war, or a military general making decisions about their unit’s next move.

This is embodied by reporting the news in a way that results in enterprise reporting and reflect caring and concern for other people, rather than just rote reporting on events. An example of this that Mathewson refers to in his treatise “Ethical journalism” includes how ethics of care was used in reporting on the COVID-19 pandemic, the recession that resulted from the global outbreak and racial justice reporting that arose from police killings of Black people. The care and compassion inherent in the reporting on the events of 2020 are prominent indications that an ethics of care can be an ethical basis for reporting that still adheres to the traditional journalistic standards of fairness, accuracy, truth, transparency, and sensitivity (Mathewson, 2022). He says that situating the stories of people who are, essentially, from underrepresented communities at the heart of the news story is an example of ethics of care in reporting.

Scottish philosopher David Hume developed theories of ethical and moral life, including that individuals feel sincere passion and compassion for others. In Hume’s conception of ethics, as he put it;

...when a man denies the sincerity and all the public spirit or affection to a country and community... it is impossible for any one to be so selfish, or rather so stupid, as to make no difference between one man and another, and give no preference to the qualities which engage his approbation and esteem. (Hume, 1826, pp. 8)

Hume goes on to maintain that along with the removal of the self, the capacity to care about anyone at all is also removed (Hume, 1826, pg. 8). Such an approach renders the actor passive and insensible, Hume writes, two things that many journalists, if not most, would not want to be called in a professional capacity.

Nell Noddings, considered to be one of the most prominent feminist ethicists, described an approach to ethics that rejected Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative. This theoretical conception of Kant's, which advocated for the universal treatment of other people (essentially, treating everyone the same), is said by Mathewson to be the basis of the SPJ Code of Ethics. Noddings advocated, instead, embracing a conception of ethics based predominantly on the act of caring for people. Her operationalization of this ethics of care includes acting on love or inclination, replacing Kantian reason with caring with emotion (Noddings, 2013, pp. xvi), emphasizing empathy in social interactions, drawing on memories of caring and being cared for and to question if we are at our "caring best" in a situation where the challenges are difficult and burdensome. As Noddings described,

In care ethics ... we are not much interested in moral credit. We are, rather, interested in maintaining and enhancing caring relations—attending to those we encounter, listening to their expressed needs, and responding positively if possible. ethical caring ... derives its strength from natural caring. This is clearly a reversal of Kantian priorities. (Noddings, 2013, pg. xvi)

Another ethicist, Virginia Held, stated that a moral theory that is sincerely universal should take women's experiences into account (Held, 1990). This ethical approach, in Held's view, required those who practice it to perceive that material psychological and social prerequisites to autonomy exist, a basic indication that a person's human rights are met. Without the resources to maintain this autonomy, Held argued, the elimination of society and the ability of people to exist would result. Therefore, she continued, an ethical philosophy must contain the ethics of care. This can be exemplified by what Held termed the moral salience of caring for those who we take responsibility for, prioritizing

emotions like sympathy, empathy, sensitivity and responsiveness. This would also necessitate, she says, rejecting moral theories that can be considered dominant, rather respecting, not removing the claims of others we have relationships with, as Held articulates (Held, 2006, pg. 2). Bastiaan Vanacker and John Breslin applied the ethics of care to the practice of journalism, touting the ethics as one that

can enrich and diversify media ethics, both from a theoretical and practical perspective...care-based ethics can help journalists assess the vulnerability of these involuntary news subjects in balancing the potential cathartic and traumatic effects of media coverage...while not surrendering journalistic integrity or autonomy. (Vanacker & Breslin, 2006)

This can be exhibited in war reporting with Hossain & Aucoin (2018), who advocated for practicing the ethics of care in journalism. They asserted that journalists often failed to adequately report on the challenges faced by a great majority of the world's population, writing that caring can support the type of reporting journalists do when they adopt a universal ethical standard of care (Hossain & Aucoin, 2018). They go on to say, "Indeed, if care ethics can be applied globally by journalists, can lead to more humane reporting about many stories, from global warming to local effects of international wars. (Hossain & Aucoin, 2018). This would manifest itself in how stories can be told (and how/what photos are used) in reporting on migrant deaths, and how narratives can be sensitive to human suffering in extreme situations, as Hossain and Aucoin pointed out (Hossain & Aucoin, 2018).

Hossain and Aucoin operationalize care ethics by pointing to other scholarly work that suggests that journalists who report on refugees in Europe dedicate more reporting to the problems experienced by those refugees, including racism, poor provisions, and

hostility (Zeitler-Bank, 2017). Empathy-based ethics (Borden, 1993, Ciulla, 2009), getting informed consent from sources (Borden, 1993), including local contexts when developing ethical global journalism (Wasserman, 2011) or looking to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a starting point for global ethics journalism standards (Hamelink, 2002).

Thirdly, it is important to recognize another philosophical framework, that of communitarianism. This philosophy, which is largely thought of as being based on German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's philosophy of right, articulates that the identities of individual people is heavily influenced by the social ties between the self and the community, predominately the government or state (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2001). Communitarianism allowed for a philosophical examination of patriotism, which is inherent in some of the reporting by Rinehart, Gellhorn and, at times, Payne. As Hegel conceived of it in his seminal work "Philosophy of Right," he described patriotism as an attitude that is inherent in the commonplace acts that establish the state as both a means and an end, but that is often used in the justification of extreme sacrifices and acts in the interest of preserving the state (Hegel, 1896). Other scholars of philosophy have credited Hegel with the idea that under this philosophical approach, war is a violent product of two peacetime factors, a fixed national identity and a moral aspiration that unifies a people (Stepellevitch, 2001). It was that sense of a moral aspiration and national identity that informed some of the war reporting analyzed in the findings.

Morrice, in his 1988 article "Liberalism and Communitarianism," specified that Communitarianism in the context of international relations doesn't adequately treat human beings as members of a global community of humans, and that the traditional definition of Communitarianism first treats human beings as members of a national

political community of citizens more than a global community. Morrice criticizes this traditional conception of Communitarianism, establishing a new framework in which to define a Communitarian philosophy. It is this later iteration of Communitarianism Morrice addressed in the 1980s that gives us a new Communitarian framework in which to view some of Rinehart's, Gellhorn's and Payne's reporting, in which they sometimes report on the citizens of and people of other countries and cultures as fellow members of the international human community. In the case of Rinehart and Gellhorn in particular, this could also be because they think of the people of European countries that were allied to the United States as members of a fellow democratic country, and therefore members of a democratic political community. The inverse of this, of course, could be considered to be the lack of identification with the civilians and soldiers of Germany, who were members of a political community that was the antithesis of a democratic political community.

Borden, too, studied communitarian philosophy in the practice of journalism, positing that journalists who adhered to the principles of this philosophical approach manifestly reported on issues using a frame that was meant to uphold the common good. She articulates this conception of the common good as a set of morals or ideals that results in the most amount of good for the most people in one community, utilizing a framework of reference to think about what would result in the most good for the most people (Borden, 2013). This conception of reporting could articulate principles or ideals that are considered to generally be the common good for one community or another, one type of people or another – in the context of war journalism, this philosophy could result in a journalism that reports on war utilizing the ideals that are considered part of the common good for Americans but not nationals of other countries, for those who live in

democratic societies but not other types of societies, for the U.S. and its allied countries but not countries the U.S. was not allied with, etc.

### **How ethics of care are operationalized**

The ethics of care can be operationalized, or recognized, based on certain practices enacted by journalists in war zones. The first is the focus in news stories on the experiences of people who suffer from war, rather than on victories in battle, military strategy or weapons. Seeking out civilians and reporting on how armed conflict affects them, from destroying homes to causing the deaths of family members, friends and neighbors, is one tangible result of applying ethics of care in war journalism. Reporting on how soldiers suffer, too, can be a mark of how ethics of care is operationalized in war reporting. News stories about how soldiers and armed combatants suffer from mental illness caused by war, like post-traumatic stress disorder, can be an example of that operationalization. On the opposite end of that spectrum, if Matthewson's definition of ethics of care in journalism is to be believed, the Kantian ethic would result in a very different kind of war journalism. An emphasis on the development of military technology, defense systems and weapons, military strategy and the victor's experience of battle would be the operationalization of a Kantian categorical imperative. Communitarianism, similarly, was operationalized via the analysis of how each woman wrote about military might, primarily if each woman's reporting on military might was patriotic or proud.

Knowing that Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne, and Colvin were four of the most prominent female war correspondents of the 20th century, and that there is evidence to support that each of them practiced an ethics of care to some extent, we can ask the following questions:

## Research Questions

**RQ1:** What ethical principles or approaches are apparent in the war journalism of Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne, and Marie Colvin?

**RQ2:** How do these ethical approaches manifest in their writing?

**RQ2(a):** How does each woman write about the deaths of soldiers?

**RQ2(b):** How does each woman write about civilian casualties?

**RQ3:** How do the ethical approaches of each woman compare when placed against the practices of the other women?

## Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Textual analysis is one of the most appropriate research methodologies to find meaning in the work of each of the four war correspondents whose work I analyzed. Rather than using a quantitative method or a mixed method that utilized a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, I used textual analysis as a method by which I found ideas, sensibilities, perceptions, and attitudes in each woman's war reporting. Using textual analysis allowed for a process that traced the distinct practices and approaches to media ethics that was apparent in each woman's war reportage.

According to Fursich (2009), textual analysis can facilitate interpretation and is often used by cultural scholars who aim to investigate media content. He also went on to articulate that textual analysis allows for an examination of the ideological assumptions of the text undergoing the analysis. This method was well-suited to evaluate each reporter's ideological assumptions in the manner in which she approached the task of reporting on war and in how she wrote about those most affected by war and conflict, most predominantly soldiers involved in battle who were wounded or killed in action, as well as civilian casualties. McKee (2003) said textual analysis can be used to interpret texts in varying ways depending on the time and situation and how the creators of texts produce material consistent with how they make sense of reality. Given the often-oppressive nature of war and military conflict, I sought to discern how each of the four women who reported on war covered war in a manner consistent with the ethics of care.

Alternatively, their reporting might be more akin to the war reporters of the 20th century if it is shown to be neutral in nature and focused less on the human toll. McKee (2003) also explained that textual analysis can be used to interpret how the creator of the

text interpreted the world around them and communicated that perception, something that is of interest to this line of research.

Textual analysis is described as a method that allows for an examination of how texts are interpreted to make sense of the world around us (McKee, 2003a). This method can be utilized in diverse ways in communications and humanities research, depending on the epistemological or linguistic research traditions of various disciplines in which this method is used (Fursich, 2009). In the context of this research, textual analysis was employed using a conception of general ideological frames, which allowed for an analysis of the considerations each woman used in her war reporting and how she reported on war and conflict in particular ways, down to which stories she told. In the example of Colvin's reporting on war and conflict in the late 20th century, she intimated to colleagues more than once that war, in her opinion, wasn't about weapons, machinery of war or military strategy, or even of who won and who lost -- it was about the human cost of war and the people and communities that suffered because of violent activity perpetrated by those who fight in war (Colvin, 2000; McChrystal, 2018). This textual analysis yielded insights into how each woman reported on war and conflict.

### **How analysis was conducted**

Articles and letters written by Rinehart that were used in the analysis were collected from The University of Pittsburgh's ULS Digital Collections database. Articles written by Gellhorn were collected from an online database called The Unz Review, and her letters were collected from a commercially-published book edited by Caroline Moorehead. Payne's articles were collected from the ProQuest database accessed through the University of Missouri, Columbia, and a transcript of an interview she gave to fellow journalist Kathleen Currie was published online in a Washington Press Club Association

archive. Colvin's articles, originally published in *The Times of London*, were collected from another commercially-published book, "On the Front Line: The Collected War Journalism of Marie Colvin." Videos of a single interview she gave to fellow journalist Oliver North were found on the Marie Colvin Memorial Foundation website. A speech she gave to the International Womens Media Foundation Awards audience in 2000 was found on YouTube, and the last broadcast on which she was interviewed on cable television for Anderson Cooper's show "Anderson Cooper 360" was also found on YouTube. After acquiring research materials, including news articles written by each of the four journalists, as well as additional materials such as letters, speeches, and interview transcripts, I examined all of the texts, and I identified if themes were present that would determine a feminist ethic of care or an ethic based on the Kantian categorical imperative the way Matthewson described it. The themes or a priori codes that suggested a feminist ethic of care included the suffering and death of civilians, the suffering and death of soldiers and the material destruction of war. The themes that suggested an ethic based on the Kantian categorical imperative included reporting on battles won, references to military strength or military might of one armed force or another in a conflict or war, and the development of new technology or weapons system intended for use in war (this last theme also included reporting on new methods of transportation, like new sea vessels, aircraft, etc.) One emergent code that suggested a communitarian philosophy included a tone in the writing that implied a sense of patriotism. Other emergent codes included peacekeeping.

Each of the 40 articles, as well as the other materials used in the sample, were analyzed and highlighted in various colors that corresponded to each of these themes.

References to battles won were highlighted in red, references to civilian suffering were highlighted in orange, references to military might were highlighted in blue, references to the suffering of soldiers was highlighted in yellow, references to the destruction of battle was highlighted in green and references to the development of new war technology was highlighted in purple. As I found references to each of these themes in every article analyzed, I highlighted those references in the corresponding color. I then counted the number of passages highlighted in each article and noted, utilizing Atlas.ti, how many passages there were that referenced battles won, civilian suffering, soldiers suffering, military might, the destruction of war and the development of war technology. Using these themes to fit into each of the three ethical approaches that were being analyzed for in the texts, I looked for word choices, tone in the writing, and what each journalist focused on in her reporting in each news article that showed one ethical approach or another. Other themes were found during the process of revising the thesis that showed other considerations, primarily peacekeeping. It should be noted here that due to five of Rinehart's articles not containing examples that were easily analyzable using the themes that would allow for a discernment of a feminist ethic of care or a Kantian categorical imperative, they were excluded, but they are referenced in Appendix A, which does include full bibliographic detail for each of the five articles excluded.

### **Sample**

\_\_\_\_\_The sample includes 10 newspaper or magazine articles each by Gellhorn, Payne, and Colvin, and five articles for Rinehart, along with supplemental materials (article N = 35). The supplemental materials (see: Appendix A) include letters written by Rinehart and Gellhorn, an interview transcript of an interview Ethel Payne gave, a copy of a

speech of Marie Colvin's, videos of one of Colvin's speeches, an interview she gave to journalist Oliver North, as well as a live on-air interview she gave to Anderson Cooper (supplemental material N = 19). These were used in the sample to determine each woman's mindset and approach when reporting and were coded accordingly, as noted above.

## Chapter Five: Findings

The first research question asked about the ethical principles and approaches that were apparent in the war journalism of Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne and Colvin. To answer this, there is a review of the topics and approaches that represented a Kantian approach, followed by the topics and approaches that represented an ethics of care approach and an approach that illustrated the philosophy of communitarianism.

### *Kantian Categorical Imperative*

**Military Might.** In her reporting on World War I, Mary Roberts Rinehart often refers to the military might of the American and Allied forces. The strength of the soldiers, the success of military strategy in overcoming enemy forces and the superiority of weapons, battleships and other instruments of war all serve to impress upon readers the success of the American military in Europe. This is illustrated by multiple references to facets that comprise the strength of the U.S. military. These references included a high level of organizational efficiency, superiority of naval vessels, the development of new weapons and defense systems and the physical strength and military preparedness of troops and officers.

Military organization is detailed in the story “For the Great Adventure” as Rinehart reported on as soldiers learned how to order themselves in lines at the onset of battle, strategically placed for maximum fighting efficiency,

...second platoons lead, the third and fourth follow all with the same formation.

The reserves are behind them, with the company commander, ready to go forward when the time comes. This is the present arrangement, very roughly blocked out.

It is not complicated in itself, but it must be taught. Later on we shall have to

develop an army of specialists, but now we must train officers in the handling of those specialists. That is the new warfare (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 1).

Rinehart's reporting on how these young men continued to receive training is one example of a Kantian categorical imperative. While she could have been advocating for hiring more soldiers, a case can be made that her intention in writing this passage was simply to highlight the changing nature of training the soldiers received in an effort to train them effectively for the conditions of the modern battlefield. The objectivity that Rinehart wrote with in this passage is shown by the rote listing of military exercises necessary to train American soldiers in combat – the order of the platoons, the later hiring of specialists – which showed that at some points, she had the ability to objectively report for the readers what they needed to know about the American military. Her objective tone is shown by the relatively neutral, unemotional word choices she uses in this passage, including in how she lists the exercises the soldiers are required to go through during military training, and how the nature of hiring, military jobs and training will change later in the war.

In Rinehart's 1917 article "The Boys are Marching," she documents the strategy of intense gunfire into the oncoming enemy ground troops during battle, ensuring that the way is clear for American forces to gain ground and more effectively engage in hand-to-hand combat. She wrote:

Charges are preceded by intense barrage fire, which clears the way for the troops.

The close-order formations of the first year, which have added so much to the mortality percentages, are no longer in effect (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 37).

Writing in this way about “mortality percentages” obfuscated the real human cost of war, a word choice that, while it allowed Rinehart to talk about the deaths of soldiers, also allowed her to maintain a distance in writing about such deaths that illustrated an attitude of objectivity. This is evidenced by the fact that she leaves herself out of the passage, essentially making herself absent from the story in favor of relating exclusively that changes in the way the American and Allied militaries operated on the battlefield, leading to fewer mortality rates among the soldiers. The reference, too, to this strategy of fighting with barrage fire, showed Rinehart’s consideration of how American troops learned and adapted to conditions of war, and she wrote dispassionately that how American troops fought changed from previous conflicts. The manner in which she wrote about how American battle strategy and the deaths of soldiers shifted showed Rinehart adhered to a Kantian categorical imperative rather than a feminist ethic of care in this passage.

Gellhorn reported on a continued military presence in Italy, which was helped by the actions of the 504th Regiment, an Italian division that assisted in the Allied fight in Naples and Anzio during World War II. Gellhorn reported in her story “82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne: Master of the Hot Spots” that

The division led the 5th Army into Naples. Though elements of the division helped chase the Germans as far north as the Volturno River and others fought their way up into the mountains near Cassino, the real Italian veterans are the 504th Regiment, which spent two months on the flat marshland at Anzio (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 23).

Gellhorn’s objective description of how American and Italian divisions worked together to beat back the German advance is another example of the Kantian categorical

imperative. The lack of sentiment in this description doesn't invite the reader to feel one emotion or another when reading this passage, instead presenting a strictly informational approach to elaborating on how American and Allied forces exhibited military strength in this stretch of the fighting. This is evidenced by her use of simple language to describe what the American and Italian soldiers did while conducting military operations in Anzio, Italy, not using emotional language and staying relatively neutral in her description of what the soldiers from both militaries were doing.

The sample of Gellhorn's war reporting contains many passages to the military might of the American and Allied armed forces. In Gellhorn's article "82nd Airborne: Master of the Hot Spots," she wrote about the might of the American military, in which she references

The plane is that valuable drayhorse of war, the twin-engined C-47. Scores of other planes fly through the night and the wind, and in all of them sit the quiet men, heavy with equipment-rifle or tommy gun, ammunition, grenades, land mines, first-aid packets, rations and maps, perhaps a radio, a bazooka or a light machine gun as well-100 pounds or more to carry to the ground (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 22).

In this article, she chronicles the strength shown by the American and Allied military forces in Europe, embodying an approach informed by the Kantian categorical imperative. Her description of the plane, along with the ways that soldiers were outfitted, are an indication of how Gellhorn wanted to communicate to readers the preparedness of the troops to fight in a battle against the German military. The rote listing of the equipment they carried on the plane and that they would bring with them down to the

ground shows an objectivity, devoid of any emotion that would stir a sense of patriotism in the readers, and since she doesn't focus on the emotional, mental or physical toll of war on these soldiers in this passage, a feminist ethic of care doesn't apply here. She articulates the Kantian categorical imperative by only describing the weapons and equipment soldiers were required to carry into battle, also leaving any reference to herself out of this passage. This shows a neutrality that can only be described as informed by a Kantian categorical imperative.

Ethel Payne reported in her article "The Greatest Ship Afloat: We Visit the U.S.S. Enterprise" that among the servicemen on board, there are several teams of men capable of operating fighter planes and working in positions that provide technical support to these aircraft. She reported:

This air support includes Fighter Squadrons Ninety-Two and Ninety-Six, Reconnaissance Attack Squadron Seven, Light Attack Squadrons Thirty-Five, Fifty-Six and One Thirteen, Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron, eleventh Detachment Helicopter Combat Support Squadron One Detachment and finally, Heavy Attack Squadron Two Detachment which permits in-flight refueling (Payne, 1967, pg. 1).

The literal listing of the specific teams of attack pilots on board the U.S.S. Enterprise shows an objectivity that underpins a Kantian categorical imperative, as Payne leaves out any emotional reference to these teams of fighters, their capabilities or their accomplishments thus far in the war. The mention of the ability of fighter planes to refuel while still in the air seems to be a new capability of Vietnam War-era U.S. fighter planes, which further reinforces how Payne wrote about the strength of the U.S. military in an

objective manner in this passage in her story. Because Payne leaves any reference to herself out of this passage, and articulates this list of platoons in unemotional language, Payne manifestly uses a framework that is Kantian in nature.

In Payne's January 1967 article "Vietnam: The History of an Abused People," she includes one important reference to the international community's perception of America's military strength. She reported

The International Control Commission urgently requested the United States to increase military and economic assistance. That has grown now into a full scale military operation to aid the people of South Vietnam to resist Communist aggression (Payne, 1967, pg. 28).

Payne's inclusion of this information towards the end of this explanatory piece about America's involvement in the Vietnam War shows an objectivity that one would consider appropriate in a historical explainer about how Vietnam came to be embroiled in conflict and why the U.S. got involved. This manner of writing about the historical underpinnings of the Vietnam War fits into a Kantian categorical imperative, as Payne dispassionately describes in this passage that an international body wanted the U.S.'s involvement. She also exemplified this by articulating that the International Control Commission wanted the involvement of the United States, showing in this passage the political and historical reasons for why the U.S. was involved in the Vietnam War.

Marie Colvin, in her article "Black banners of death fly over Baghdad" also reported that one country did have a strategic advantage over the other. She wrote,

Both states have about 1 million men under arms. But Iran, with its population of 45m, can afford more casualties...So the Iraqis in this battle, as before, have stood

back and used their superiority in arms to shell the Iranian positions (Colvin, 1987, pg. 6).

Colvin's description of how Iran and Iraq attempted to out-strategize the other places her squarely outside of an expression of concern for who wins out in the conflict, showing that each of the two countries had the ability to emerge victorious in this battle – Iran with its bigger population, and Iraq in its superior weapons systems. This objectivity is Kantian in nature, showing that Colvin's choice to report on the strengths of either side was in an effort to situate her perspective outside of that of Iranians or Iraqis. The fact that she herself doesn't appear in this passage and that she presents the facts of both countries' military strengths is manifestly neutral and objective in nature, making this passage fit within a framework of the Kantian categorical imperative.

In her article "Under Fire," as the Iranian military's attack on Baghdad continued into the night, Colvin reported

Doyle, spotting the flashes on the horizon, narrated for those of us less knowledgeable about armaments. "Those are the big boys, the cute 2,000lb bombs," he said. "Unfortunately, I've been through this before. They are just pounding the hell out of that place."

The bombing appeared to be 20 miles off, probably at the Rashid military complex. The attack slackened off, then started again at 3.35am...The anti-aircraft fire stopped and started again in almost 15-minute intervals, sometimes directed above our hotel, filling the skies but seeming to have little effect (Colvin, 1991, pg. 42).

Colvin's recounting of both her observations during the attack on Baghdad, as well as that of her fellow journalist's narration of the bombing in Baghdad that night, is an objective retelling of the events during this stretch of the bombing. Her lack of emotive descriptions of the violence and a lack of words in the passage that would otherwise describe an exciting or scary scene show Colvin's objectivity in reporting on the bombing, fitting this passage into a framework that implies her approach using a Kantian categorical imperative.

### ***Feminist Ethic of Care***

The philosophical approach of a feminist ethic of care was also used in varying amounts in the reporting analyzed.

**Peacekeeping.** Rinehart also writes in a way that allows her readers to feel emotions of support for the United States and support for American and Allied troops. Her tone in writing about vessels, weapons and the troops themselves underscores a larger narrative intended to get the audience to care about the soldiers and feel a very specific emotion of caring about the technologies and vessels that protect and support American troops.

The military strength of the American armed forces is demonstrated in references to the men themselves who landed on European shores to fulfill peacekeeping roles on the ground. In one such reference, Rinehart described the Marines when she wrote

Most of us know the marines in about this fashion: Now and then we read something in the daily paper about a body of marines being landed somewhere, and the immediate following of peace and order; because peace and order follow the marines like the pause and hush after a cyclone (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 45).

This showed an example of how this mentality about American armed forces fit into a feminist ethic of care. Rinehart described the peace instituted after the presence of the American marines, and she drew a comparison between the meteorological force of a cyclone and the American marines. She wrote in this passage that peace follows the marines like a hush after a storm, which is not objective or neutral, but highlights an attitude of caring for the American Marines that she seems to communicate to her audience. While this could be taken to mean that the U.S. Marines were as powerful as a cyclone – perhaps in a celebration of military might – she rather focused on writing of the peace that followed the Marines rather than the strength of the Marines themselves, which embodied a feminist ethic of care.

More training of new recruits and draftees included academic theory in addition to the element of practical training in how to fight upon landing. Rinehart went on to report

The Harvard unit, working directly under these experienced officers from the front, gives eight hours a day to practical work and two hours to theory. The result of this practical training, with its one day each week given over entirely to sham battles under actual combat conditions, is that these men are being taught to take out their companies and platoons and place them properly in the trenches; to send out scouting parties and patrols; to build machine-gun emplacements and operate the machine guns; to throw bombs and to teach others how to throw them; to sketch plans of defense; to learn of the occupation, duties and plans of counterattack of trench warfare; of the liaisons between their platoons and the ones to their right, left and behind them, and also with their artillery (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 7).

With this reporting about the academic education and the vocational training of the new soldiers, Rinehart showed a feminist ethic of care that is meant to evoke readers' confidence that American soldiers received thorough training in their preparation for battle and peacekeeping efforts in Europe. The very fact that she included this passage listing in detail the training regimen of the new recruits exemplified an ethic of care, which she communicates to her audience. She also seemed to communicate an ethic of care about her audience to stoke pride and confidence in the training of the American military in the war. The newest servicemen of the American ground forces and their training was written about in this article of Rinehart's to further inspire confidence in the preparedness of the armed forces, which embodied the perspective from Rinehart that caring about these men's training also meant caring about the soldiers themselves, showing a feminist ethic of care.

In April 1967, after she returned to the United States, Payne also reported on Black soldiers who won awards for their valor in battle during the Vietnam War, "GIs Tell How They Stand on the Viet War." She wrote

Two of the 14 Congressional Medals of Honor awarded in this war have gone to Negroes. They have won countless other decorations for acts of valor. In every major campaign in Vietnam, they have distinguished themselves. Thanks to television, Americans have a visual image of the kind of fighting men they are (Payne, 1967, pg. 2).

In her reporting on these Black servicemen, Payne exuded a philosophy of a feminist ethic of care in her effort to compel her readers to care about the Black soldiers who fought in the Vietnam War. Her use of the phrase "countless other decorations for acts of

valor” showed a confidence in the American military, particularly in the Black soldiers, that she wanted to communicate to her readers back in Chicago. Her reporting on the awards and honors of Black soldiers revealed an effort to show American readers that these men were just as good as White soldiers, and just as capable of fighting for their country – effectively, just as American – as their White counterparts.

**The Suffering of Civilians.** In “A Talk with the King of the Belgians”, Rinehart reported on Belgian King Albert’s reaction to the suffering of the Belgian people, which included an apparent feeling of dejection among Belgian civilians, Belgian soldiers’ long treks through the country between battles, and the suffering of the Belgian people at the hands of German soldiers and the deaths of both Belgian and German noncombatants. In this interview, she observed

It was clear that the subject was a tragic one. The sad plight of his beloved people has caused the King of the Belgians great grief. He loves them, and they love him, with an absolutely unselfish devotion; and now they are suffering and he is helpless. His face is clouded. Possibly he was seeing, as I am sure I was, the dejected figures of the peasants in the fields; the long files of his soldiers as they made their way through wet and cold to the trenches; the destroyed towns; the upheaval of a people (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 1).

Rinehart’s decision to include this description of King Albert’s reaction to seeing the suffering of his people is, in itself, sufficient to determine a feminist ethic of care in how she reported this story. She used the words “sad plight,” “absolutely unselfish devotion,” “suffering,” “clouded,” “dejected,” “wet and cold,” “destroyed towns,” and “upheaval of a people,” all communicating that Rinehart herself cared immensely about the suffering

of civilians, and that she wanted to elicit from her readers that same level of care that she felt her readers back in the U.S. should feel about their civilian counterparts in Europe. The suffering of the noncombatants of Belgium reported on in this story through Rinehart's conversation with the Belgian king also showed the destruction that war brought to the communities in which this French-speaking people lived.

Martha Gellhorn was one of the first western journalists, if not the first western journalist, to encounter and describe the concentration camps instituted and run by the German Nazi forces and in which millions of Jewish citizens of Europe, Black Europeans, the disabled, Romani people (at the time: "gypsies"), people accused of homosexuality, political prisoners, and prisoners of war were incarcerated, forced into hard labor, starved, experimented on and killed. The survivors of the concentration camps were emaciated, sick, and often the only surviving member of their families, and her article about the liberation of Dachau, one of the worst concentration camps run by the Nazis, described the horrific plight of the people forced into these camps. "Dachau: Experimental Murder" described for a western audience exactly what happened behind the barbed wire of these camps.

She described in the story that there was a vegetable garden prisoners were forced to work in to grow fruit and vegetables that were meant for consumption by Nazi soldiers and officers who worked running the concentration camp, and the punishments inflicted on the starving prisoners who tried to take some for themselves:

Next to the hot-houses were the vegetable gardens and very rich ones, too, where the starving prisoners cultivated the vitamin foods that kept the SS strong. But if a

man dying of hunger furtively pulled up and gorged himself on a head of lettuce he would be beaten until he was unconscious (Gellhorn, 1945, pg. 5).

This description of cruel and unusual punishments perpetrated by Nazi soldiers on the noncombatants imprisoned at Dachau is further indication of the feminist ethic of care with which Gellhorn reported this story. The suffering experienced by the individuals forced to live in Dachau for years at a time was further psychological torture described by Gellhorn, who described this torture of prisoners through her use of the words “starving,” and “dying” to show the dire situation of these individuals. Her references to “vitamin foods,” the produce grown in the garden at the camp, and her description of how these starving prisoners “gorged” themselves, further showed her mindset in reporting this story. The punishment of being beaten was just one of the many instances of suffering in which Gellhorn reported on in this article, in an effort to compel the reader to also witness the same horror Gellhorn herself witnessed.

Gellhorn wrote in “The Children Pay the Price” that the war orphans of Italy who lost their parents, and sometimes entire families, during the war, suffered considerably in the years after the war. In 1949, Gellhorn wrote

There are children with mutilated minds, too, who were so brutally shocked by the war that their minds can no longer direct their bodies. Some of them are in institutions; most of them are not...a boy of twelve, sits in their scabby room, year after year, doing nothing. He has never spoken since the night he was pulled from under the bricks of his home (Gellhorn, 1949, pg. 78).

Gellhorn included the plight of children who were psychologically traumatized by the war, showing a feminist ethic of care in showing their predicaments. In her reporting on

these children in Italy, Gellhorn centered their traumatic experiences for the reader, evoking feelings of sympathy and compassion for these kids. Her description of “children with mutilated minds,” just as much as the children with mutilated bodies, suffered just as much in the aftermath of the war, as Gellhorn showed in the passage of the little boy who sits in his room day after day. Gellhorn’s description of his life experience elicits care from her readers.

In a selection of Martha Gellhorn’s letters, the consideration of the suffering of noncombatants is most prevalent. This theme was analyzed especially in the letters she wrote about the articles she wrote about World War II that were included in the analysis. She proceeded in a 1938 letter to tell her editor, Charles Colebaugh, about the details of the Czech people’s lives that she saw on the ground as she reported on them in “Obituary of a Democracy.” She wrote:

Czecho was much worse than war really, and the story is as moving as anything I ever saw...but I still have the nightmares over the old Czech of sixty one who showed up at a frontier town with his front teeth knocked out and his ribs all but sticking through with the beating he got, and his hands black and swollen; and he was mused up that way because he was a Czech and believed in having a president. He was only one of thousands on the march. It’s some story (Gellhorn, 1938, pg. 70).

In this passage, Gellhorn continued to show the consideration of real people’s experiences in the communities most affected all over Czechoslovakia, which showed a feminist ethic of care toward the Czech people. Her description of her nightmares about the Czech man showed her care and compassion for the Czech people, down to the

explicit details she wrote in her letter about the man's injuries, using the descriptions of her experience in Czechoslovakia as "much worse than war really" and "as moving as anything I ever saw," showing that she utilized the framework of an ethic of care in how she wrote about her observations of the people there. This showed that she centered the physical, emotional and psychological torment the Czech people. These observations resonated with her enough to include in her letters to her editor as well as in the magazine article itself.

Payne notes incidents of civilian suffering in her reporting. In "Two Views of the War," she reports that: "The small children were round-faced and big eyed; but the marks of poverty are upon them and many of the adults running sores and scabs, the evidence of diet deficiency and lack of sanitation" (Payne, 1967, pg. 4). This passage indicated Payne's observations that fit solidly into a feminist ethic of care. Her inclusion of descriptions of their physical maladies showed how she saw and wanted to communicate the effects of poverty in this community of Vietnamese families, which included the description of Vietnamese children as "round-faced and big eyed," while also remarking on the "marks of poverty" that they lived in. Her further elaboration on the Vietnamese adults she observed suffering from "sores and scabs, the evidence of diet deficiency and lack of sanitation" also exhibited an ethic of care in how she described the deprivation this community lived in. This decision to situate the ways the Vietnamese people suffered during the war evokes feelings of compassion in the reader, which seemed to be a conscious choice of Payne's in how she reported.

In "Ghosts of war stalk Basra's empty streets," Colvin reported on the scarcity of food and the few resources available in Basra as a result of the Iran-Iraq War. She wrote

in this story: “Food is scarce and expensive. The factories, port and oil plants are closed; its hospitals desperately short of medicine and filled with malnourished babies” (Colvin, 1992, pg. 49). Colvin identified the challenges faced by Basra’s civilian population in an effort to communicate to readers the real suffering of innocent civilians, notably infants. Her description of how food was hard to find, and the food that was found by people in the city was expensive to buy showed an ethic of care in how she described the plight of those who weren’t able to rise above the living conditions in the city during this juncture of the fighting. Her use of the word “desperately” to show how the hospitals in the city didn’t have the medicine they needed, as well as her description of “malnourished” to describe how the babies were sick showed a further feminist ethic of care in how Colvin reported on Basra. This is an example of Colvin’s approach to reporting on Basra utilizing a feminist ethic of care, in which she described the plight of babies in Basra’s hospitals. The lack of medication made the treatment of patients even more challenging for physicians, which Colvin described in an effort to center the suffering of civilians at the core of the story.

Colvin continued to report on how ethnic Albanians, primarily from the rural villages of Kosovo, were subjected to violence by Serbian soldiers in “Massacre in a spring meadow.” She reported

The women and children last saw them [the men] being escorted into a field in the center of Meja where lines of men already sat in the open under the barrels of what they described as hundreds of Serbian gunmen. Then the Serbian forces on a narrow road shouted at the family to move, move, move. There was no chance to say goodbye (Colvin, 1999, pg. 104).

The separation of families from the men who led them and the teenage boys who would soon come of age traumatized these families, an experience Colvin centered in her reporting about ethnic Albanian families in this story. This embodies a feminist ethic of care, evidenced by Colvin's inclusion of how families weren't granted the opportunity to say their final goodbyes to each other before the massacre. Her inclusion of the fact that "there was no chance to say goodbye" communicates to the reader the tragedy of how these families were torn apart, and how the men and boys of these families were removed from their families at gunpoint, further evidence of a feminist ethic of care. The separation of these ethnic Albanian families, rather than the military activities of the Serbian soldiers, is the focus of this story. This showed Colvin's ethical decision to uplift the narrative of the Albanian families rather than the seemingly victorious Serbian military.

Colvin also revealed in a 2000 speech at the International Women's Media Foundation Courage in Journalism award ceremony that

I really care about the experience of those people most affected by war, those asked to fight, and mostly those people just trying to survive...Craters, buried houses, bombed houses, women weeping, dead children, suffering. The pain of war is really beyond telling (Colvin, 2000).

Colvin's description of her attitude towards her work couldn't more clearly articulate how she conceived of her job as a war correspondent. She revealed in this speech what her focus was when reporting on war, as she described when she told the audience that she cared most about the experience of real people on the ground. She used the phrases "those people most affected by war," identifying that those people were "those asked to

fight,” as well as “those people just trying to survive.” The decision to talk about her decision to center people and the effects of war on people in her work revealed an ethical decision to elevate the stories of those most affected by war rather than the military back-and-forth of the victors and the losers or the day-to-day activity of war and battle. This, in turn, showed that a feminist ethic of care is present more than an objective Kantian categorical imperative.

**The Suffering of Soldiers.** Few of Rinehart’s articles contain any reference to the suffering of American or European troops; this may be because Rinehart felt a certain responsibility to support the morale of American troops by painting a rosier picture of war than she might otherwise have written. This may have been informed by her previous training as a nurse in the years before she got married and started a family, and being a wife and mother to two fighting-age sons during World War I, Rinehart very well could have allowed the decisions she made about reporting and writing to be influenced by the fact that she was a woman, and therefore felt a responsibility to frame her coverage of American and Allied soldiers in a nurturing, supportive light. This is evidenced in her writing, in which she frames the American military in rosy depictions.

One such soldier Rinehart met had injuries from battle in “For King and Country”. This heavily-bandaged man, as Rinehart described,

...slowly and painfully...slid forward, pushing himself with his hands, his two bandaged feet held in the air. He sat at the edge of the doorway and lowered his feet carefully until they hung free. ‘Frozen feet from the trenches,’ said a man standing beside me. The first man was lifted down and placed on a truck, and his place was filled immediately by another. As fast as one man was taken another

came. The line seemed endless. One and all, their faces expressed keen apprehension, lest some chance awkwardness should touch or jar the tortured feet. Ten at a time they were wheeled away. And still they came and came, until perhaps two hundred had been taken off. But now something else was happening. Another car of badly wounded was being unloaded. Through the windows could be seen the iron framework on which these stretchers, three in a tier, were swung (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 5).

An inherent feminist ethic of care can be discerned from Rinehart's reporting on these soldiers, as evidenced by her inclusion of what injuries these soldiers had. Her written account of one man's bandaged feet, her inclusion of a quote showing that that man's injuries were caused by freezing conditions, and her observation that many men, transported away "ten at a time," were injured severely by the war all illustrate a feminist ethic of care. She described these soldiers' "tortured feet" and "bandaged feet," which showed that she wanted the reader to feel the sorrow and compassion for these soldiers the same way she did. Describing this scene showed her reporting through the philosophical approach of the feminist ethic of care.

Gellhorn's reporting on the suffering of Allied soldiers took precedence throughout her reporting about the effects on towns and cities across Europe during World War II. Examples of this theme were the most prominent and discernable, and show an emphasis in her observations about the effects of war on how troops suffered the worst effects of war in Europe. In her 1944 story "The Wounded Come Home," Gellhorn reported on the injured soldiers who were shipped back to the United States on ships that included hospital wings to treat the soldiers ahead of their return home. Gellhorn

described the first man she saw brought aboard the hospital ship on which she sailed with American troops and medical staff, and wrote in this article that

The box was raised to our deck, and out of it was lifted a man who was closer to being a child than a man, dead-white and seemingly dying. The first wounded man to be brought to that ship for safety and care was a German prisoner (Gellhorn, 1944, pg. 1).

Gellhorn included her observation about this wounded German soldier to compel her readers to care about him, despite being a soldier for the opposing military. His injuries were just as grievous as those of American and Allied soldiers, as she described by writing about this soldier being “dead-white and seemingly dying.” Her decision to write about this German soldier, rather than just the American soldiers brought aboard, showed Gellhorn’s feminist ethic of care in reporting on this man in the context of the many soldiers who were treated on the ship. This is especially apparent because she only wrote that this soldier was German after describing his injuries and that he “was closer to being a child than a man.”

In “Mightiest Ship Afloat: We Visit the Enterprise,” Payne reported on a naval officer, Engineman Second Class Earl C. Houston, on board the Enterprise who was previously assigned to another U.S. seafaring vessel. As she wrote in this article,

Houston is so painfully shy that it was hard to get him to talk about what happened on Oct. 27, 1966. He was aboard the ill-fated USS Oriskany when it caught fire and 43 of its officers and men were burned to death. Houston made trip after trip into the ship’s cabins bringing out the bodies of the victims, sometimes through scalding water and billowing clouds of smoke. One he took an

axe and broke open a jammed door and grabbed a hose to water down the intense heat. When he finally gave up and went to the sick bay for oxygen, he looked over at an unconscious ship mate and decided that he needed attention more -- so he went back to get more bodies (Payne, 1967, pg. 2).

This passage indicated Engineman Second Class Houston suffered considerably from the outbreak of the fire on the U.S.S. Oriskany the year before. Payne's inclusion of this man's experience is meant to make her audience feel the horror of his experience on the U.S.S. Oriskany, as well as to show Houston's bravery and courage in helping to rescue his fellow soldiers. She showed a feminist ethic of care in her use of the words "painfully shy" to describe Houston's demeanor in her interactions with him, also describing her conversation with him as difficult, as "it was hard to get him to talk." After observing the death of so many fellow crew members on board the Oriskaney, it can be surmised that the trauma of that experience might have made him unable to talk very much about something that was so horrific. Her decision to elevate this one man's experience on the Oriskaney showed a feminist ethic of care, which Payne utilized in how she wrote about this man's experience.

Letters written by Payne about her war reporting or during the course of her three months in Vietnam couldn't be found. However, a transcript of an interview between Payne and journalist Kathleen Currie from 1987 was found, detailing a conversation in which Payne described her reporting on the Vietnam War and what she observed in her months in Vietnam. Her motivations, intentions, attitudes, and perceptions are discernable in the transcript of this interview with Currie.

In the transcript, Payne said she was transported on a bus to a U.S. military base 20 miles outside Saigon, where Bob Hope and other entertainers were performing for the troops during Christmas festivities. When she got to the base, the first thing she saw was ...a sea of men in uniform, and the worst of it were the stretchers, with the wounded on them, some of them lying on their stomachs, because they had been so badly wounded. Row after row of stretchers and nurses and all. It was such a sad feeling that came over me. Is this what it is like? Is this war? Does it have to be? (Payne, 1987).

This passage of the interview transcript showed that Payne was deeply concerned about the welfare of the soldiers. Her mention of how some soldiers had injuries that required them to lay on their stomachs, as well as the number of rows of injured soldiers, showed her compassion for them and how she wanted to communicate in this interview that her concern for those soldiers impacted how she reported on them. Her asking questions at the end of this passage – “Is this what it is like? Is this war? Does it have to be?” – showed that her method of reporting on war and conflict was influenced by this decision to center these soldiers’ stories and experiences at the center of her reporting. This illustrated a philosophical approach that involved a feminist ethic of care.

**Destruction of Battle.** In Rinehart’s reporting on the ways Belgian towns were affected by fighting during World War I, she reported in her interview with King Albert in “A Talk with the King of the Belgians” that one town, Louvain, was deliberately destroyed by German armed forces. As King Albert described to Rinehart,

“You would see open towns that were bombarded; other towns that were destroyed after occupation! You would see a country ruthlessly devastated; our

wonderful monuments destroyed; our architectural and artistic treasures sacrificed without reason -- without any justification...No military necessity dictated the destruction of the Louvain. It was not bombarded. It was deliberately destroyed” (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 1).

King Albert’s statement to Rinehart about the German destruction of Belgian communities showed that beyond the suffering of Belgium’s civilians and soldiers, the country suffered through the loss and destruction of its cultural icons. Rinehart’s inclusion of this quote from King Albert showed that her concern for the destruction of towns that had tangible cultural value to the Allied countries was centered in her reporting in this story. Rinehart’s inclusion of how King Albert described how towns across the country were “deliberately destroyed,” “bombarded” and “ruthlessly devastated” in the fighting during the war, showed a feminist ethic of care in an effort to instill in her readers a sense of how much this war destroyed. It is also worth noting that by reporting on how Belgian cultural landmarks were destroyed in war, a nation’s fighting spirit was challenged, almost as if the German military was trying to dampen the Belgian peoples’ morale in the fight against German aggression -- if the country’s national landmarks and items of shared cultural heritage and history were destroyed, there wouldn’t be a country or a sense of “being Belgian” left to fight for. This inclusion of how Belgium’s national cultural icons were destroyed is one interesting and insightful exemplar of how Rinehart reported on the war utilizing a feminist ethic of care.

Gellhorn also described the physical damage wrought in “Only the Shells Whine,” in which she wrote that

We waded in water from the fire hoses and climbed two flights of stairs and went through a hanging door into a home that had once been comfortable and sweet.

Now the white-painted furniture of the bedroom was half splintered and the voile curtains hung in damp rags and the family photographs and all the small, useless ornamental things people collect and cherish were blown about like rubbish on the floor (Gellhorn, 1940, pg. 13).

Gellhorn's description of a family home in a building that had been destroyed in the fighting during World War II showed a feminist ethic of care. Her inclusion of how homes were destroyed, because of her description of how the pretty curtains had been damaged and family photos and other personal items had been blown all over what was left of the apartment, impressed upon readers just how damaging this war was to regular people's homes. Her use of the words "comfortable," and "sweet," to describe the recent state of this one family's home, quite the opposite of her description of what she saw after this building was bombed ("half splintered," "damp rags," "blown about like rubbish on the floor") exhibited a further consideration in her reporting on the war that showed a feminist ethic of care. This is especially true considering that by reporting on how people's homes or shelters were destroyed, the people of this city were losing the things that they needed to survive. It might be that everyone who lived in this home had survived, but by the enemy military force destroying the things that people needed to survive, it was, essentially, killing them slowly – a consideration that Gellhorn seemed to acknowledge by choosing to include how family homes were destroyed in the utilization of a feminist ethic of care framework in her reporting.

Gellhorn also reported in her story “82nd Airborne: Master of the Hot Spots” that villages on the Italian coastline, specifically in Anzio, near Rome, sustained heavy damage on the beach. In her description of what the bombs and shells did the beach at Anzio, she said

Even now, from the air, the Anzio beachhead looks like no other part of Europe; the shellholes almost touch one another, raw and round, full of water. The few remaining trees stand like clawed telegraph poles; there are no towns, but only jagged burned-out slabs of masonry (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 23).

Gellhorn, in this passage, described the damage war wrought on nature. As she included a description of large round holes in the sand created by shells that landed on the beach, and that any trees that still stood looked like telegraph poles, showed that it wasn't just the built environment that war destroyed. It was also the natural landscape. This is further evidenced by Gellhorn's use of the description “raw and round” when describing the shellholes in the beach, as well as the choice to characterize the damaged telephone polls as “clawed,” and her observation that in the area she was in, there were no towns anymore, just “jagged burned-out slabs of masonry.” This choice to report on what war did to nature also is informed by a feminist ethic of care because the German military was destroying the land that this one community had built on and that sustained the community and livelihoods of the people who lived there.

“Under Fire” documents the destruction of war and battle and the resultant effects of fighting. In this article, Colvin reported that

The first evidence of attack was at the international post and telecommunications building. It had been hit by at least four missiles that had left gaping holes and

dangling wires. Chunks of building and glass littered the streets, but no surrounding buildings suffered damage more than broken windows.

A bit further on, the Ba'ath party headquarters had taken a direct hit in the roof...a car tilted crazily into a 30-foot crater already filled with water (Colvin, 1991, pg. 43).

Colvin's reporting on the destruction of this building showed that she wanted to communicate how war destroyed buildings utilizing a feminist ethic of care. Her decision to describe how several missiles damaged an important communications building, down to including details like how the wires were dangling, that parts of the building and broken glass were in the street, and that a car bore so much of the impact of an explosion that it was in a crater created by a bomb. Her description of "gaping holes" and "dangling wires" to describe the damage showed the severity of the destruction to this building, which also served as a way to communicate to her readers in Europe and the U.S. that the damage to this building was beyond repair. The services provided by this building were undoubtedly undermined by its destruction, negatively impacting day-to-day operations in the city that provided for a sense of the common good among the people who lived in that city. These details showed that her effort to report utilizing a philosophy based on a feminist ethic of care.

### ***Communitarianism***

**Patriotism.** In "The Gray Mailed Fist," Rinehart reported on, among other things, the organization of the U.S. Navy and the actions of the Secretary of the Navy. The first of these passages references the speed and economy of the U.S. Navy:

Yet, considering all these things, the navy has maintained astonishing efficiency. It has made the very best of the ill-balanced building programs of the past -- for the first time in its history the present Secretary of the Navy has presented a comprehensive building program to cover a period of years; and it has, thanks to Admiral Fletcher's reorganization of it -- its division into forces -- been capable of its new forced expansion without confusion.

The Atlantic fleet, which we are presently to visit, is now divided into the battleship force, the cruiser force, the destroyer force, the mine force, and a train. To these has been added since the beginning of the war a patrol force.

There was formerly an aviation section, but it is now consolidated under the commander of the destroyer force, which includes both destroyers and air craft.

(Rinehart, 1917, pg. 12).

The inclusion of these types of ships and weapons in the story showed Rinehart's more celebratory perspective in her reporting, which some of her reporting embodied. This passage fits more into a third philosophy –communitarianism. This philosophy is shown in her use of the phrase “astonishing efficiency” to refer to the activities of the U.S. Navy, which described what the Navy was able to do with inadequate funding. Her tone of awe while remarking on the expansion of the naval fleet and how the Secretary of the Navy reorganized the entire branch showed an attitude of amazement and excitement, fueled by an attitude of patriotism. She continued to communicate this in how she wrote about how Admiral Fletcher expanded the Navy – an “expansion without confusion” as the Navy was reorganized into various divisions that increased the Navy's capacity to fight enemy forces.

Another passage that refers to the numbers of marines shows us that there is strength in numbers, as well.

We have something like seventeen thousand marines now. Those who know them wish there were many times that number, though their warmest advocates will maintain that the seventeen thousand would be able to handle twenty times their weight in German avoirdupois (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 45).

Rinehart's description of the strength imposed by the sheer number of soldiers allowed the reader to infer that the marines would, indeed, be able to go to battle with just as numerous of an enemy force – situating this passage also in a philosophy of communitarianism. Rinehart wrote of these servicemen in a way that portrayed the patriotism allowed for by communitarianism by writing in a way that allowed readers to care about these men and have confidence in the strength of the American military, if not in strategical competence, then at least in the confidence in numbers. In this passage, we can also discern that Rinehart reported on the American soldiers strength over that of the German military is an example of how she described an American strength – something relevant to the “common good” principle for Americans (and perhaps Allied troops, as well), but not a “common good” for all people, including the German soldiers the U.S. Marines were fighting against.

Rinehart's description in “The Gray Mailed Fist” showed how the U.S. attempted to develop new weapons and technologies at the time to fight the war. She contrasted this later in the story with her inclusion of one seasoned naval captain's experience of seeing how the Navy changed during his career, in which she wrote

He has lived to see all the changes since then -- the development of steam and the reciprocating engine, and now the gigantic oil-burning boilers and turbines of his flagship, the Pennsylvania. He has seen the light cannon of those days grow into the vast guns of his modern ships (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 44).

With this passage, Rinehart revealed an approach to reporting on this naval captain in a manner that invited the reader to share in her feelings of awe about the technological developments that produced new engines, as well as the “gigantic oil-burning” boilers and turbines that powered these ships. Her choice to describe these new technologies in the story elevated the excitement of what was, at the time, a modern warship, which resulted in a shared experience between Rinehart and the reader. This, too, fits into a philosophy of communitarianism, and allowed for an expression of patriotism and enthusiasm about the American military.

“For King and Country,” one of two news articles Rinehart wrote with that headline, documents the military might that showed Rinehart’s description of soldiers waiting for deployment to the front lines. Rinehart’s reporting showed that residents of the British Isles were eager to actually take up arms and join the fight against German aggression. She notes

Everywhere there were squads: Scots in plaid kilts with khaki tunics; less picturesque but equally imposing regiments in field uniform, with officers hardly distinguishable from their men. Everywhere the same grim but cheerful determination to get over and help the boys across the Channel to assist in holding that four hundred miles of battle line against the invading hosts of Germany (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 1).

This inclusion of the types of soldiers from the British Isles that were prepared to fight showed Rinehart's attempt to communicate to the reader her perception of awe about each of these groups of soldiers, sharing the experience of waiting to go to war. This showed a philosophy of communitarianism, as Rinehart observed the uniforms of the various military factions, from the kilts of the Scottish soldiers to the regimental uniforms of British officers. She further communicated this in the passage by noting how the Allied military forces were numerous and determined enough to show a degree of military strength in the early days of fighting, expressing an excitement that encourages the reader to feel the same sense of community in the fight against the German military.

This public display of military force continued in Rinehart's reporting on the scene in London, in which she wrote

Bands playing, the steady tramp of numberless feet, the muffled clatter of accoutrements, the homage of the waiting crowd. And they deserved homage, those fine, upstanding men, many of them hardly more than boys, marching along with a fine, full swing. There is something magnificent, a contagion of enthusiasm, in the sight of a great volunteer army. The North and South knew the thrill during our own great war. Conscription may form a great and admirable machine, but it differs from the trained army of volunteers as a body differs from a soul (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 1).

This passage, in the wondrous manner in which Rinehart wrote of her observations in London, showed a clear communitarian philosophy in how Rinehart wrote of the parade of men marching off to war. Rinehart's tone in reference to the numbers of volunteer soldiers who marched to the front-line fighting in France and the rosy portrayal of the

British and Scottish soldiers appeared to be intended to elicit patriotic feelings for the armed soldiers of the Allied forces and emotional support for the servicemen that American soldiers would be fighting alongside in Europe. That same tone in which Rinehart wrote about the volunteer army of the British Isles also serves the effect of inspiring confidence in the military strength of the Allied troops, as well as her comparisons to America's own Civil War. This showed a philosophy of communitarianism, a response she endeavored to elicit from the reader.

Gellhorn goes on to report on the exploits of the 82nd Airborne, reporting in this article that a strategic plan to send paratroopers into Italy went awry -- but that because of the military strength of American troops, somehow, the plan worked anyway. In this article, she wrote

There began a brief guerrilla operation in which forces ranging from six to a few hundred paratroopers of all ranks attacked the enemy where found, as if this incredible dispersion had been the original plan. Capt. Edwin Sayre, a round-faced, black-haired Texas farmer, and Lt. Col. Arthur. Gorham, a 28-year-old West Pointer, landed fairly near the planned drop zone; they collected ninety-five men between them. This force took a fortified position and a wired and mined system of pillboxes, fought off two tank attacks, occupied the high ground north and east of Gela and prevented German reinforcements from using the one road which led to the American landing beach. Captain Sayre was seen leading his men with a grenade in one hand, a grenade in his teeth and a rifle in the other hand; later he seemed to find the old Western style best, for he was using two pistols (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 22).

This incredible show of force further showed that Gellhorn utilized an approach informed by a communitarian philosophy in reporting on this battle in Italy. Her manner of reporting on the strength of the American military served to evoke wonder and even amusement from the reader, if not a sense of patriotism. Gellhorn's tone in this passage elicited from the reader a patriotic feeling of support for the soldiers fighting this battle, even to the point of characterizing them seemingly as a figure in an old American Western movie, as in the example of Captain Sayre's fighting.

These American divisions did have assistance in fighting the occupying German army, with Gellhorn also reporting that during the course of the fight,

Reinforcements of 125 men and a company of tanks arrived; the troopers cheered the tanks and attacked again. During the night they got artillery support, and by midnight the ridge and the valley behind it were cleared. One paratrooper was clearly worth five of any other kind of man, and that included the other man's artillery and tanks (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 23).

Gellhorn's reporting on this scene clearly showed her own observation of patriotic sentiment among the troops and show of strength, situating this passage squarely within a Communitarian framework. Her depiction of American paratroopers as five times the men that other types of men were is clearly meant to evoke patriotism and faith in America's fighting force, as well as pride in American soldiers.

The battle continued to further show language that implies the strength of the British soldiers fighting in Nijmegen, with Gellhorn reporting that

The end of this battle found paratroopers fighting in the huge steel girders of the bridge, trying to pick off Germans before they could blow themselves and the

bridge sky-high. The British tanks were rolling across below them. It is a pity that the movies do not do these things right, for this battle was as photogenic as it was sensational (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 42).

Gellhorn evoked the cinematic effect this battle had and invited the reader to experience the battle for themselves through her language – invoking phrases that imply action like “blow themselves and the bridge sky-high.” The dramatic visual description of the fight between the British and German soldiers is a somewhat cheery indication that her approach to reporting on this story was fueled by patriotism, which situated her approach in this story in a communitarian philosophical framework.

Ethel Payne, in her reporting in “The Greatest Ship Afloat: We Visit the U.S.S. Enterprise,” also alluded to the massive ship’s ability military power and gave readers back home a sense of how big the ship is. She wrote that

Your first impression after the effort to get in out of the wind is the awesome display of nuclear power and the majesty of a floating city. Imagine a skyscraper, 25 stories high and five blocks long drifting in the ocean and you get an idea of the size of the Enterprise...so tremendous is it that it would take several days to cover every part of the vessel. There are 5200 personnel on board, and work goes on around the clock. At any hour of the day or night at least one-third of the crew is on duty (Payne, 1967, pg. 1).

Payne’s manner of describing this ship situated this passage in the story squarely within a philosophical framework of Communitarianism, as she wrote of the Enterprise in a way that invited the reader to share her amazement about the size and capacities of this ship. The lack of objectivity in her description – obvious from her use of references like “the

awesome display of nuclear power,” “majesty of a floating city” and “so tremendous is it” – painted a rosy and awestruck picture of the Navy’s capacity to conduct military operations in the Pacific.

In the same story, Payne continued, writing that “It was build [sic] at a cost of \$440 million. In speed, endurance and maneuverability, it can outrun any ship on the sea” (Payne, 1967, pg. 1). Payne’s inclusion of this figure is meant to evoke wonder and astonishment among her readers, both in the sheer cost of this one naval ship and its ability to speed ahead and effectively dodge enemy vessels. This decision to include this information and her characterization of the ship fits into the philosophy of Communitarianism, as Payne invited the readers to feel the same sense of wonder about the ship that she felt in landing on it. Similar to Rinehart’s effort to describe a state-of-the-art naval war ship of the time, Payne invited her readers to share in the experience of pride and patriotism regarding American troops and military might.

### ***Deaths of Soldiers***

The second research question asked about how these ethical principles and approaches manifested in the writing of Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne and Colvin. To answer this, the question is broken down into two questions about how each of the four journalists wrote about or thought about the deaths of soldiers and civilians. I answered first how each of these journalists wrote about the casualties of soldiers in their reporting.

Of course, not every soldier brought back from the front lines was brought back alive. The ones who returned deceased were unloaded from a different car on the same train after the injured servicemen had disembarked. Rinehart wrote

The stretchers were laid out side by side. Their occupants did not speak or move. It was as if they had reached the limit of their endurance. They lay with closed eyes, or with impassive, upturned faces, swathed in their brown blankets against the chill. Here and there a knitted neck scarf had been loosely wrapped about a head...and still the line grew. The car seemed inexhaustible of horrors (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 5).

Rinehart wrote of these men who lost their lives fighting in World War I with a great amount of care and compassion, writing of this scene of deceased soldiers being unloaded from the train to show her readers that the repercussions of war included the real human cost. The manner in which she wrote about these men was very human, including the description of how they lay on the stretchers, with “passive, upturned faces, swathed in their brown blankets against the chill.” Her inclusion of her observation that some of these deceased soldiers were wearing scarves wrapped around their heads showed these men in a very caring light that she used to make readers care. This illustrated a feminist ethic of care in how Rinehart reported on the deaths of soldiers.

In “For King and Country”, Rinehart detailed the story of one English naval commander who was dismembered in battle and died from his injuries on the battlefield. In this article, Rinehart said that the English naval commander “had one of his legs shot away, but remained on the bridge until he died” (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 4). Rinehart describes the death of this British commander in a manner that showed her care in reporting on the severe injury this soldier suffered before his death, yet still held his position and fought through their pain to continue fighting against enemy combatants. Rinehart’s apparent aim in how she described this English commander’s last moments

appears to be that she wanted to portray both the pain and the bravery of this one man in the last act of his life, thereby illustrating a feminist ethic of care.

In “The Boys are Marching”, Rinehart explained that more than 1,400 British soldiers were killed, a loss so great that the British people engaged in protests. She reported the numbers of American soldiers killed in battle in Europe in the first year of fighting, reporting that

During the first year of the war, when the loss of British officers was so great that it raised a storm of protest, because officers were comparatively few and greatly needed, out of eleven thousand eight hundred and nineteen British officers engaged, one thousand four hundred and four were killed, or twelve out of every hundred. But that included the horrible retreat from Mons, the Marne, the battle of the Yser, Neuve Chappelle, and all those hideous times when the Germans, in massed formations, flung themselves like the waves of the sea against the Allied armies. These figures, however, cover all branches. It is only fair to admit that the infantry lost twenty officers out of every hundred that first year. Brave Canada’s losses were greatest, by percentage, that first year also, when the German high-explosive shells met no further resistance than the feeble garden-hose spraying of shrapnel, and when, because of lack of ammunition, the Allies frequently fired one shot to twenty of the enemy. Canada, that first year, with thirty-three thousand men in the field lost: Killed in action, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven; died of wounds, seven hundred and forty-two; died of disease, one hundred and eight -- a total of two thousand six hundred and twenty-seven (Rinehart, 1917, pg. 37).

This passage lists the numbers of dead from the Allied militaries from the first year of the war, which demonstrated a feminist ethic of care. Rinehart's aim in listing these numbers seemed that it was in an effort to assure her audience that despite high casualties of Allied soldiers early in the war, lessons were learned from those early losses and battle strategy was changed to cut down on the deaths of soldiers. Her care in how she reported these numbers, as well as her intention in informing her audience about the drop in soldier casualties over time, also suggested a philosophy of Communitarianism. This is revealed in her lack of a neutral tone in reporting on the Germans, in which she described "all those hideous times" the German army "flung themselves like the waves of the sea" in the fight against the American and Allied militaries. This lack of objectivity showed that not only did she hold the Allied forces in the same regard as American forces, but also that she wrote in a tone that implied an anti-German attitude, which further aligned her reporting in this passage in a philosophy of Communitarianism.

The death of soldiers was often centered in her descriptions of World War I in Rinehart's letters, as well. She wrote in a letter dated February 14th, 1918 to the editor-in-chief of *The Baltimore Sun* newspaper that she

...should like very much to get into communication with the father of Ivan Nock, the young Baltimore engineer, who was killed recently in France.

A short time before his sad death I received a letter from him of which I am very proud. In the letter the boy said that his mother was dead, but I believe his father is still living. If he is, I should like him to have this letter, which is a wonderful one for any boy to have written (Rinehart, 1918).

Rinehart wrote this letter because she cared about the soldiers she reported on and corresponded with. Her care for these soldiers, much like this young engineer from Baltimore who was serving in the U.S. military, highlighted a feminist ethic of care in how she approached reporting in Europe during World War I. Her feeling of pride for this young man, her sadness over his death and her desire for his surviving parent to receive the letter Rinehart herself was sent demonstrated her practice of a feminist ethic of care in not just her reporting, but in how she cared about the people affected most by the war when she wasn't writing a story for publication.

Gellhorn wrote of loss of life of American soldiers, and wrote of one troop that "By four-thirty in the afternoon, forty-five troopers had been killed and 120 wounded" (Gellhorn, 1946, 23). These 45 soldiers who lost their lives in this battle, as Gellhorn wrote, were part of a larger show of American force that day that also saw a great many more injured in that battle. She reported on the deaths of these soldiers in a manner which showed her decision to document the number of troopers who lost their lives that day, which could be considered a choice that was determined by a Kantian categorical imperative, but in determining her reason for reporting on these deaths, the very inclusion of these numbers showed her desire to inform the American people that soldiers were dying. Her care to write about these soldiers' deaths actually showed a feminist ethic of care in how she reported on this battle that killed so many men in one day.

The wounds and fatalities American soldiers sustained during battle weren't always from enemy fire. Gellhorn reported that during one incident involving friendly fire against American air forces flying over Italy, almost two dozen planes that carried at

least one pilot each was lost by being shot down by soldiers on the ground fighting for the American military. Gellhorn reported

Their arrival in Sicily was one of those disasters which happen in war, and are generally passed over in sad and tactful silence. Flying in good weather and good formation, heading directly for their proper drop zones, they were suddenly fired on by one American machine gun. It was what is called friendly fire. This error started all the guns along the coast, also friendly, and the anti-aircraft guns on United States naval vessels lying offshore. Twenty-three planes were lost; the formation was disrupted; the paratroopers, some already wounded, were dropped as God willed. The enemy could do nothing worse (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 23).

Gellhorn reported on this attack of friendly fire in an effort to show American readers the tragic events in war, even between soldiers fighting on the same side. This passage, written with an inherent approach of a feminist ethic of care, showed Gellhorn's intention to show her judgement about the description of a disaster "passed over in sad and tactful silence" in which "the enemy could do nothing worse." This passage, because of Gellhorn's word choices, imparted a feeling of sadness and compassion for the soldiers who died needlessly. That intention to evoke an emotion in the reader and reveal her own emotion in her reporting showed her lack of objectivity.

Gellhorn reported in "82nd Airborne: Master of the Hot Spots":

During the counterattacks which followed, German tanks rolled to within fifty yards of Colonel Gavin's command post -- a shallow, hastily dug foxhole -- troopers were crushed by tanks with their bazookas still in their hands; one NCO

and six men dragged a 75-mm. pack howitzer into the open and fired at point-blank range on the nearest German tank (Gellhorn, 1946, pg. 23).

While most of this passage showed an objectivity that reveals a philosophy of the Kantian categorical imperative, Gellhorn also showed a feminist ethic of care in how she chose to include a reference to troopers being crushed to death by tanks. That care in reporting on how these soldiers died reveals a compassion and care for the soldiers that, in the context of the rest of this passage, showed that Gellhorn based her reporting on both the considerations fueled by the Kantian categorical imperative and the feminist ethic of care simultaneously.

Ethel Payne, in her 1987 interview, also told her interviewer, Kathleen Currie, that

When we got out on the road, the bus got stuck in some mud, and some of the GIs who were on the road came and lifted the bus back on the road, and we went on. Shortly after, there was a land mine that exploded, and four soldiers were killed. So that was my Christmas Day introduction to Vietnam (Payne, 1987).

In her choice to share this first experience in Vietnam, Payne revealed this experience of her interaction with soldiers who helped her bus get out of the mud before an explosion in which other soldiers were killed shortly after. Her description of this experience showed a feminist ethic of care in how she went about reporting on the Vietnam War in the months that followed this incident, which can be discerned by the very fact that she brought up these men at all. While at first glance, it might seem she talked about this first day in Vietnam in an objective, detached way, her description of these soldiers showed her feminist ethic of care in how she reported on the troops.

As Marie Colvin reported in 1999 when she reported on the soldiers of the KLA in “Kosovo guerillas fight Serb shells with bullets,” these fighters had good reason to fear the bullets of the Serbian snipers in the forest. As Colvin said of their time fighting near the woods,

Their commander was killed by a sniper 10 days ago. Another soldier, Morina, remembers his village and how the old men wept when he left. Another refuses to get out of bed, saying he cares more about the cold than the Serbs (Colvin, 1999, pg. 101).

Colvin’s reporting on this KLA unit’s commanding officer meeting his death just days before showed a feminist ethic of care in how she considered the soldiers while she was reporting on this story. Her very inclusion of this one commander’s death showed that Colvin viewed this soldier’s death as one of the ways that the soldiers he commanded suffered, and she reported on his death in the context of how these KLA fighters had to face immense challenges in the fight against the Serbian military.

### *Civilian Casualties*

In the greater context of which ethical approaches appeared in each of the four journalists’ reporting, I also answered the second part of this research question. I answered here how each woman wrote about the deaths of civilians.

In “For King and Country”, Rinehart depicted the suffering civilians in references to women attending to children severely injured by shells and the apparent and observable sadness and grief of civilians whose loved ones were being deployed to battle. In particular, she wrote about the deaths of civilians in a manner that described the emotional toll that losing family members who weren’t fighting in the war took on

noncombatants. She described war as more than an armed clash between grown men of two countries, but also that

War is a boy carried on a stretcher, looking up at God's blue sky with bewildered eyes that are soon to close; war is a woman carrying a child that has been wounded by a shell...war is the flower of a race, torn, battered, hungry, bleeding, up to its knees in icy water; war is an old woman burning a candle before the Mater Dolorosa for the son she has given (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 3).

The suffering of the noncombatants of Europe, as Rinehart, were observable scenes such as these, and she wrote about what she saw in a poetic way in this passage to impart to readers the pain of suffering experienced by the people of Europe. The feminist ethic of care apparent in this passage shows that her choice to describe the deaths of civilians in this way, and to connect how innocent civilians die in war and that these deaths are, in fact, the direct result of war. Her poetic description of how war is the death of children and a bereaved mother holding vigil in her son's memory, rather than just the fighting and material destruction, elucidated Rinehart's ethical approach to writing about World War I, utilizing a feminist ethic of care in an effort to compel readers to care about the lamentable deaths of noncombatants in Europe during the war.

Rinehart quoted King Albert directly in her story "A Talk with the King of the Belgians." In this passage, he told her

"The victims of extreme cruelty do not live to tell of it; but German soldiers themselves have told the story. We have had here many hundreds of journals taken from dead or imprisoned Germans furnishing elaborate details of the most atrocious acts...they furnish powerful and incontrovertible testimony of what

happened in Belgium when it was swept over by a brutal army” (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 3).

Rinehart’s inclusion of this quote from King Albert showed her decision to describe the Belgian deaths that were a direct result of German aggression. King Albert’s telling of how the Germans killed Belgian civilians showed Rinehart’s feminist ethic of care in reporting on these aggressions, as she chose to give the Belgian king the column space in her article to articulate his criticism of the German army for killing Belgian noncombatants and his lamentation for the deaths of innocent civilians. Rather than editorializing his comments or attempting to report on it herself, she gave a grieving national leader the opportunity to tell American readers that the German army was “atrocious” and “brutal.”

Gellhorn described in “Dachau: Experimental Murder” a Polish man who sought treatment from a doctor in the hospital. As Gellhorn observed,

This man had survived; he was found in a pile of dead. Now he stood on the bones that were his legs and talked, and then suddenly he wept. “Everyone is dead,” he said, and the face that was not a face twisted with pain or sorrow or horror. “No one is left. Everyone is dead. I cannot help myself,” he said. “Here I am and I am finished and cannot help myself. Everyone is dead.”

The Polish doctor who had been a prisoner here for five years said, “In four weeks you will be a young man again. You will be fine.”

Perhaps his body will live and take strength but one cannot believe that his eyes will ever be like other people's eyes (Gellhorn, 1945, pg. 1-2).

In her description of this emaciated Polish man, we can determine a feminist ethic of care from the manner that Gellhorn used to write about his condition and his experience. Gellhorn stated plainly and without embellishment that this man experienced the most horrendous treatment any human being can experience. Her inclusion of his quote detailing that everyone he arrived at Dachau with had died allowed him to speak to his own experience and tell the rest of the world, in his own words, what happened to him. Gellhorn's plain language to describe this man – that his legs were just bones, that he cried as he talked, and that he will emotionally never be the same – is a further determination of Gellhorn's feminist ethic of care. Her use of this language states for the reader what happened and gives one man who was confined in this concentration camp the power to tell what happened.

Her first description of how civilians of Europe suffered at Dachau introduced the reader to the plight faced by the individuals imprisoned there. In the horrific conditions of the camp,

Behind the barbed wire and the electric fence, the skeletons sat in the sun and searched themselves for lice. They have no age and no faces; they all look alike and like nothing you will ever see if you are lucky. We crossed the wide, crowded, dusty compound between the prison barracks and went to the hospital. In the hall sat more of the skeletons and from them came the smell of disease and death. They watched us but did not move: No expression shows on a face that is only yellowish stubbly skin stretched across bone (Gellhorn, 1945, pg. 1).

Gellhorn wrote of the experience of the people imprisoned at Dachau in terms that were just as stark and plain as the language she used to describe the experience of the Polish

man. She described what she saw when she observed the individuals who sat on the ground, searching themselves for lice, and she told her readers that the devastating scene was “nothing you will ever see if you are lucky,” which showed her humanity in how she wrote about this concentration camp that was the location of so much pain and death for so many. This feminist ethic of care is apparent in the beginning of this passage, as well as in her further descriptions of how the hospital smelled, the living people who looked like skeletons sitting in the hallway, and the ageless, expressionless faces of the people at Dachau. Interestingly, because Gellhorn didn’t name the victims in the concentration camp, she simultaneously humanizes them to her audience and others them. She denies them the humanity of a name, reinforcing a communitarian philosophical framework that draws her (mostly American) readers into a sense of community, but communicates the suffering of these European concentration camp prisoners in a way that expresses their pain and loss.

In perhaps the only instance of civilian casualties Payne observed when reporting, she described in her interview with Currie what she observed of the suffering and deaths of civilians in Vietnam. In one experience with a Vietnamese woman, she recalled

And I saw this orange haze, and I wondered about it, but I didn't realize at the time that it was Agent Orange they were spraying. That came later; the knowledge came later. I guess what I saw later was probably the result of that defoliation process, as they called it, because we went to a village and stepped into a crude hospital that they'd set up for wounded civilians. Of course, they called this something that had happened in an encounter with the Viet Cong, and they blamed the Viet Cong for it. But this woman was actually dying, this peasant

woman. I can't even describe it. You knew instantly that she was dying. She was lying on this cot. I remember this bubbling foam just came out of her mouth. I said, 'Now, I can't faint, because I'm not over here to do that, you know. I have to be tough.' But just to see this as a direct result of the war, you know, that was my real first encounter with what war is all about (Payne, 1987).

While Payne didn't actually write about this peasant woman in any of her articles covering the Vietnam War, this description of how Agent Orange resulted in the Vietnamese woman's suffering and the chemical that would eventually kill her also served to show how Payne thought of the injury caused to noncombatants. This sentiment showed a feminist ethic of care in how Payne approached her reporting on the people she came across and was an experience that showed her that there was a real human cost. Her care about this woman, still apparent years after she observed this scene, is revealed in her description of this woman's condition and her recounting of her initial reaction of how she felt like she would faint. She wanted to impart this knowledge in the interview, which revealed that a feminist ethic of care was present in the manner in which she reported on the war. Similarly to Gellhorn not naming the individuals she observed and interviewed at Dachau, Payne didn't name the woman she talked about in this interview. She both humanizes the woman by describing her plight and "otherizes" her by not naming her. This could be utilizing a framework that is communitarian in nature as well as the framework of a feminist ethic of care.

One of Colvin's most poignant pieces about the immense challenges noncombatants experienced during war is depicted in one of her 1999 articles about the Kosovo War, "Massacre in a spring meadow." In this story, Colvin reported

They were what Serbs in uniforms and black masks had made Egzon, his brothers and cousins shout as the children watched their fathers and grandfather being dragged away to a killing field at the village of Meja in southwestern Kosovo on Tuesday morning (Colvin, 1999, pg. 102).

Colvin's reporting on how the men of ethnic Albanian families in this village were killed showed her determination to center the ways these families suffered from such persecution. The Zyberi family, who lived in the village of Meja in Kosovo, were forced to watch all the men in their family marched away by Serbian soldiers to an open field in the village where hundreds of Albanian men and boys were shot and killed by Serbian soldiers. The decision to focus on this massive killing by Serbian soldiers shows a feminist ethic of care, which is further evidenced by how Colvin uses the perspective of the children of the Zyberi family as the men of their family were literally dragged away to the field in Meja, where they were all shot and killed.

Colvin reported in "Basra – blitzed and battered, but not beaten" that ...everywhere there are tales of tragedy. One soldier was crying as he described how three friends had gone out to telephone home when the bombardment appeared to ease on Wednesday. All three were killed by a shell. (Colvin, 1987, pg. 5).

These tragic stories, as Colvin wrote them, showed her decision to show the emotional pain of this one man as he cried and described the deaths of three of his friends as they simply went out to try to find a way to communicate with their families. This centering of this one man's experience of the bombing and shelling in the Iran-Iraq War and the

resulting loss of civilian life showed that Colvin used an approach of the feminist ethic of care in how she wrote about the deaths of innocent civilians in this war.

She also talked in an interview with Oliver North about her time reporting on attacks on civilians who had worked for United Nations compounds by militia fighters in East Timor. As western U.N. officials and employees in these compounds were evacuated from the country, civilian employees who worked for the U.N. compounds in East Timor were left behind -- some 1,500 Timorese employees and their families. She recounted: "The militia was essentially killing anyone that had any connection to the U.N. and any civilian they came across...the women were so scared. It was one of the more awful scenes I'd ever seen" (North, 2012 ). In this interview, Colvin divulged that she cared too much about the people who faced violence and almost certain death. This certainly showed a feminist ethic of care, as she revealed to North that as she reported on the militia killing civilians associated with the United Nations in East Timor, the first thing that came to mind for her was the fear of the women she observed. Her description of what she thought about that scene showed her humanity and her inclination to show in both this interview and in the way she reported on the conflict in East Timor that she saw the death and suffering of innocents first.

She demonstrated this commitment to reporting on the people most affected by war during her final interview on Anderson Cooper's news show on CNN on February 22, 2012, when she reported on the Syrian government's attack on its citizens after a small uprising of protesters. While she reported her final story in the city of Homs, Syria, Colvin told Cooper in a live broadcast that

These are 28,000 civilians, men, women and children, hiding, being shelled, defenseless. That little baby is one of two children who died today, one of the children being injured every day. That baby will probably move more people to think, “What is going on? Why is no one stopping this murder in Homs that is happening every day?” (Colvin, 2012).

In one of her last public communications before her death the next day, February 23, 2012, Colvin told the world over a broadcast of an infant boy who had been grievously injured and killed in the attack on civilians in Homs. Her comments on Cooper’s show revealed an feminist ethic of care in how she talked about this little boy who was injured and killed in the bombing in Homs, which included her reporting that another child had also died that same day. Her description of what she hoped this baby’s death would compel people to think and do showed her focus on not just caring about the deaths of civilians, but to her focus on communicating that care to the rest of the world. Just like Gellhorn and Payne before her, Colvin didn’t say the name of the little boy she described in Cooper’s broadcast, which could also be because of an operationalization of a communitarian philosophical framework.

### ***Comparison of Ethical Approaches***

In an attempt to answer the third research question, I explained how each ethical approach of each of these four women compared when placed against the practices of the other women.

The example of how Rinehart differed in her approach from the other women whose work is included in the sample manifests in the way she reported on the deaths of Belgian civilians during World War I. Her few references to these deaths in the sample of

five news articles about World War I showed an acknowledgement of the deaths these noncombatants suffered through the quotes of her interview subject, the King of Belgium, as she wrote in the 1915 article “A Talk with the King of the Belgians”;

“Thousands of civilians have been killed without reason. The execution of noncombatants is not war, and no excuse can be made for it. Such deeds can not be called war...it is quite true. It is a barbarous and inhuman system of protecting the German advance. When the Belgian soldiers fired on the enemy they killed their own people. Again and again innocent civilians of both sexes were sacrificed to protect the invading army during attacks. A terrible slaughter!” (Rinehart, 1915, pg. 4).

This description of Belgian civilians being killed by German soldiers is one of the few instances Rinehart wrote about civilian deaths at all in the course of the war, situating her approach towards reporting on civilian casualties roughly in the same camp as that of Ethel Payne several decades later. This quote of the King of Belgium’s allowed Rinehart to show that noncombatants were dying in the war, but to distance herself from the loss of life, she included reference to these deaths only through the context of King Leopold’s response about those deaths in her interview with him. She also reported very little on the deaths of soldiers, writing in one 1915 article about the deaths of soldiers, which showed that while she wanted to acknowledge the loss of life among the American and Allied armed forces, she focused much of her reporting on other facets of the war. In a similar vein, Payne didn’t reference the deaths of soldiers in her reporting very often. The lack of mention of soldier casualties is limited to one passage, with Payne writing that many of the Vietnamese soldiers had been killed. This similar lack of reporting on soldier

casualties places Payne's ethical approach to reporting on this facet of war more on the side of the Kantian categorical imperative rather than a feminist ethic of care. The fact that Payne didn't reference the casualties of civilians at all in her reporting further showed a Kantian approach in the sample of 10 news articles she wrote about The Vietnam War. The ways that Colvin and Gellhorn differed came down to the patriotic manner in which Gellhorn sometimes reported on American and Allied troops. Gellhorn's view of the spectacular in war, in line with a communitarian philosophy that promoted and uplifted patriotism and pride in pro-Democracy military forces, was completely absent in Colvin's. Since much of the sample of Colvin's reporting didn't include conflicts that involved American forces, this very well could have been the reason Colvin didn't seem to be as emotionally invested in one side or the other. While Gellhorn wanted to cheer on the home team, so to speak, in her reporting of World War II, Colvin wanted to simply communicate the ways in which normal people suffered during armed conflict. Because Colvin practiced much of her career in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, she could have been trained at a time when objectivity had become a predominant normative value in journalism, long after Gellhorn sought to highlight the accomplishments and military feats of the U.S., Canadian and Allied European militaries.

Despite some instances of Gellhorn's Communitarian approach to some reporting in an effort to instill in her readers a sense of patriotism, Gellhorn and Colvin are the two journalists who adhered the most to the feminist ethic of care in terms of how they reported on both civilian and soldier casualties. This might not be any surprise, since Colvin said during her life that she was heavily influenced by the war reporting of

Gellhorn. However, in terms of how Gellhorn reported on civilian casualties, during World War II, we see that she took a feminist ethic of care in her reference to them, as she showed in this passage about Dachau:

We have all seen the dead like bundles lying on all the roads of half the earth, but nowhere was there anything like this. Nothing about war was ever as insanely wicked as these starved and outraged naked, nameless dead (Gellhorn, 1945, pg. 5).

This passage, showing an extreme scene to which Gellhorn was witness, described the outrage she felt seeing the naked and starved bodies of innocent civilians. The projection of the feeling of being incensed shows the feminist ethic of care inherent in much of Gellhorn's work.

Gellhorn's philosophical approach also shows up in Colvin's reporting on war and conflict in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. She showed this approach in much of her reporting, particularly in passages that showed her concern and compassion for the loss of life in the civilian population. She illustrated this by writing

But in row after row of dark green tents there are no fathers. Family after family tells the same story and it always ends with Meja... They had not been told that other families who passed through Meja after them had seen a pile of bodies in the field in the center of the village. 'There has certainly been a mass killing,' confirmed the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Estimates of the total dead ranged yesterday from 200 to more than 1,000. Whichever proves correct, the Serbian forces are now killing on a scale that matches their bloodlust in the Bosnian and Croatian wars. In Bosnia, they reached

a peak of savagery shortly before their strategic position began to deteriorate.  
(Colvin, 1999, pg. 105-106).

This passage of Colvin's story showed the extreme circumstances ethnic Albanians in Kosovo lived under during the Kosovo War, certainly revealing a philosophical approach of an feminist ethic of care in Colvin's reporting on the war. This passage is representative of Colvin's typical stylistic approach to writing about the suffering and death of noncombatants, underscoring an approach to making decisions about what to report on in the war and how to report on it that showed a consideration more for the innocent civilians caught up in the conflict rather than the soldiers doing the fighting. Much of her reporting that showed a feminist ethic of care is revealed in how she reported on the suffering and death of civilians – much of her reporting doesn't actually include references to the deaths of soldiers. However, she also showed this manner of approaching war reporting with a feminist ethic of care more than a Kantian categorical imperative by writing also of the deaths of soldiers. Colvin's approach to reporting mirrors quite closely that of Gellhorn's approach to reporting, as we can discern a feminist ethic of care that informed how both women centered both soldiers and civilians in their reporting.

In how both Gellhorn and Rinehart reported on war, we can see that both utilized an approach that showed a Communitarian philosophy, seemingly in an effort to communicate the wonder of the military scenes they observed. The language they both used to describe what they saw exuded pride in the troops and an adherence to notions of patriotism, communicating that they felt pride in American and Allied soldiers, and inspiring the feeling of pride in the troops among their readers. Payne, as well, sometimes

adhered to this notion of patriotism, which showed that some of her reporting was informed, too, by a philosophy of Communitarianism, much like Gellhorn and Rinehart.

In Payne's reporting in articles like "The Greatest Ship Afloat: We Visit the U.S.S. Enterprise," we see that she often highlighted the accomplishments and new technology of the U.S. military during the Vietnam War, which compared closely to how Gellhorn reported on the American and Allied forces during World War II. Both women described the vessels and weapons and immensity of these military settings at times – not dissimilar from how Rinehart reported on Naval ships and new weapons technology during World War I. One of the key differences in how Gellhorn and Payne reported on war, however, lied in how Payne reported on the immensity of these weapons and vessels less frequently than either Rinehart or Gellhorn. Gellhorn celebrated military might more frequently in her mention of the military exploits of American and Allied soldiers, and, unlike her counterparts, even wrote about battles and military actions in a manner that was cinematic and, perhaps, sensationalized. Colvin herself never reported on war in quite the same way as the others, leaving considerations of military might or strength out of her reporting.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion**

I will first summarize answers to the first and third research questions, which offer a general overview of ethical principles and approaches located in the texts, followed by a comparison between the journalists. Then, I will review how I answered the second research question which asked how the ethical approaches were made manifest in their writing about the deaths of soldiers and civilians. Ultimately, I explore how these findings are theoretically and practically important and offer ideas for future research.

None of these journalists have approaches to reporting on war and conflict that are manifestly different from each other when viewed through the lens of the Kantian categorical imperative and the feminist ethic of care. Both philosophical approaches were inherent in the sample of news articles about war and conflict written by each woman, although it seems obvious from a close reading of the text that Rinehart wanted to bolster confidence in the troops among her readers, so her reporting on World War I was cheerier and more rosy than what might otherwise be depicted, which showed a communitarian philosophical approach. Because MacLeod wrote that Rinehart went to report on the war less out of a compulsion to report on war and more out of a curiosity about what she would find there, it can be discerned that a sense of innocence in her approach to the war informed her style of reporting on the conflict in Europe and the people affected. Gellhorn, in her belief that wrongs could be righted by communicating to the world the dishonors and injustices visited upon the innocent people of Europe, reported on World War II with a sensibility informed by both the feminist ethic of care and communitarianism. Both of these philosophies allowed her to write about the war in a

way that humanized the people of Europe and invited her audience into a shared perception of the war. This could also be fueled by a sense of adventurism, which McLaughlin (2016) wrote about in “The War Correspondent.” Like Richard Harding Davis before her, Rinehart seemed blind to a conflict of interest in how she reported on the American and Allied militaries, although, unlike Davis, she didn’t actually fight on the side of the American military.

Similarly, Payne wanted to highlight the accomplishments of Black soldiers in Vietnam, as Gellhorn sometimes sought to report on that of the Allied forces, so both women could be said to have use the communitarian approach in their work more than Colvin, who had a reporting philosophy that aligned more with just the Kantian categorical philosophy and the feminist ethic of care, depending on the story. This sense of bringing her readers into her observations of the Vietnam War, particularly since she focused much of her reporting on Black American soldiers fighting there, further emphasized her philosophical approach of communitarianism, inviting her community of Black readers in Chicago to care about the Black soldiers who were from Chicago and Black soldiers from other parts of the country, as well. This, as Streitmatter posited in his biography of Payne, was fueled by a desire to show the indignities of racism experienced by Black Americans in the United States. Colvin, as McLoughlin wrote, centered people suffering from war in her reporting, since she didn’t care what weapons destroyed homes and people’s lives – she only cared that lives were destroyed by conflict. This inherent feminist ethic of care in her reporting manifested in every article she wrote in the sample.

Gellhorn and Colvin, in their reporting on the ways that both civilians and soldiers suffered during war and conflict, manifestly use the feminist ethic of care in their

reporting more than the Kantian categorical imperative. Colvin reported on the deaths of noncombatants more than her earlier counterparts included in the sample, predominately because she herself said she was driven by seeing for herself the destruction war causes and the pain it inflicts on those who suffer from the effects of armed conflict. Her will to see the ways in which people suffered, including the fact that war results in the deaths of noncombatants, manifests in a greater number of times in which the deaths of noncombatants was reference in the 10 articles she wrote that were included in the sample.

To answer the second research question, which asked how the ethical approaches were made manifest in their writing about the deaths of soldiers and civilians, I recap the main findings as it relates to each journalist, beginning with Rinehart.

Each of these philosophical frameworks, as they manifest in the themes analyzed in Rinehart's reporting on World War I, are present in the sample. It is possible that the communitarian philosophical approach is the more dominant framework in the sample, This consideration, more than any other inherent in her reporting on World War I, provided the lens through which she viewed and wrote about what she saw when reporting on the European theater of the Great War and the military training camps of the United States. It is also apparent that the patriotic tone she took in her reporting was fueled by a desire to communicate the wonder she felt in her observations about war, and her pride in the soldiers and her sense of duty and obligation to adopt a patriotic manner in her writing about the war is one of the most discernable qualities in her writing.

Gellhorn's reporting showed that a feminist ethic of care and a philosophy of communitarianism is present more than a Kantian categorical imperative in the sample.

While communicating the ways in which civilians and soldiers suffered and reporting the deaths of both groups, she also reported on World War II in a manner that was informed by a Communitarian philosophy, as evidenced by her depictions of the glory of battle, the bravery of the soldiers, and the patriotic tone with which she described the actions of the American and Allied military forces and cinematic representations of military scenes. In terms of the feminist ethic of care Gellhorn utilized in her reporting, this philosophy is illustrated by Gellhorn's inclusion of reporting on the destruction of battles fought during World War II. A feminist ethic of care can be said to be present in her perception that the course of history was primarily about real people and what happened to them.

Despite Payne's inclusion of references that fit into the theme of military might, underscoring the determination of the Communitarian approach being the driving philosophy of her work in reporting on Vietnam, she also includes references to civilian suffering and death in the sample of her news articles about the Vietnam War. Since her news articles included in the sample show an overarching philosophy of the Communitarian perspective and the feminist ethic of care, her mindset was largely one that took into account the real experiences of both soldiers and noncombatants in the war.

Colvin's inclusion of the suffering of civilians is the most prominent theme in the sample of her body of war reporting on various wars and conflicts between 1987 and 1999. This fits categorically with the conception of a feminist ethic of care. Her references to the injuries and deaths of civilians, as well as the psychological toll noncombatants suffered in war and armed conflict, are more numerous than references to any other theme analyzed for in her body of work. Rather than focus on types of weapons or military vessels, military strategy or a battle that was won from the perspective of the

victorious side, Colvin wanted to describe the suffering and pain of the people who fought war and the people caught up in it. This predilection to reporting on war utilizing a philosophy that can be described as a feminist ethic of care shows the mindset and perspective Colvin widely adopted when writing about the experiences of people in war. Colvin's manner of writing about war more manifestly contained a philosophical framework of the Kantian categorical imperative, exemplifying what Schudson (2001) described as an objective journalism that was cool and unemotional. However, by Colvin's decision to center the suffering of people in her reporting, she also wrote in a way that Peterson (2001) would have described as interpretive, choosing what to describe to readers in the Western world in a way that both represented the world to her audience while she simultaneously observed it. Colvin's style of reporting could also fit into the conception of interpretive journalism that Soontjens (2018) described, as Colvin expressed her perception of what she reporting on and included information about causes for why something happened. Colvin often did this without relying on sources for explanation, communicating political realities, international relations or cultural beliefs as an expert on the regions of conflict she reported on.

The ways that these philosophical frameworks manifest in the reporting of all four journalists is explained further here and I share how my findings contribute to our understandings of these ethical principles.

### ***Kantian Categorical Imperative***

Some of the sample of war reporting fit squarely into a philosophy of the Kantian categorical imperative. Rinehart's articles included in the sample display a Kantian categorical imperative at times, although Gellhorn's work also suggested some indication of a Kantian categorical imperative in her reporting on World War II. Since much of both

Rinehart's, Gellhorn's and Payne's work was written through a patriotic lens, typical more of a Communitarian philosophy, it is valuable to remember that at times, it was possible to step back and report objectively on what they were observing and describing for their readers even if they felt personally invested in the scene they were reporting on more often than not. The Kantian categorical imperative also manifested in the sample of Colvin's war reporting more often than the other women, which could be ascribed to the fact that Colvin pursued her career in the last years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, long after the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics was published and put into practice. The basis of that Code of Ethics, which calls for objectivity in reporting, came into prominence at a time not long before Colvin began her career, thus influencing her reporting and journalistic norms of her time more than that of the other journalists analyzed. Her example is the greatest in the demonstration of how the Kantian categorical imperative is used in war reporting, and allowed for a greater understanding of how objectivity can be the main normative value in the course of reporting. Placing herself outside the "who-won-and-who-lost" norm of war reporting is an important consideration in the example of which philosophical approaches to utilize in war reporting. Each of these four journalists' instance of the use of a Kantian categorical imperative is a manifestation of how Mathewson articulated this particular philosophical framework, prioritizing objectivity, neutrality and distance from the subjects they reported on.

### ***Ethic of Care***

All the women whose work is analyzed in this thesis utilized a feminist ethic of care in their reporting, evidenced most by their references to the struggles and deaths of

civilians and noncombatants in the war as well as the suffering of soldiers (which also included the deaths of American and Allied troops). This determination of how each woman reported on war through considerations that illustrated the feminist ethic of care is valuable to understand so that we can discern how to effectively utilize this philosophy in war journalism. Centering the deaths of both soldiers and civilians in stories, as well as the ways in which both groups suffered other than suffering loss of life, are the predominant ways that each of these women demonstrated a feminist ethic of care in their reporting, and their perception of war is valuable for us to understand because, as Held said, the life experiences of women is important to consider in her conception of ethics of care. The material destruction of war on property and the environment also are discernable ways that each woman reported on war, demonstrating a feminist ethic of care that can be used by other journalists in this type of reporting, another way that each woman exhibited Noddings' perception of being at their "caring best."

These considerations demonstrate a feminist ethic of care by centering the damage war inflicts on communities, and by studying how each of these journalists utilized these elements to draw attention to the effects of war, journalists who report on war now can incorporate use of these elements to most effectively report on war in a manner that centers the humanity of people affected by war. Academically speaking, the contributions of these women to our understanding and practice of ethical considerations in war journalism allows for an expanded view of how the ethics of care can be used in the context of journalism studies.

### ***Communitarianism***

Communitarianism, too, was manifest in the work of Rinehart, Gellhorn and Payne. Each of these three women described scenes that are celebratory in nature regarding the military and its exploits. These findings showed that reporting on war and conflict also sometimes takes on a complimentary tone, exhibiting a patriotism and pride in the U.S. military and its allies. This communitarian philosophy, which seeks to establish a rhetoric and ethic of a community, draws the reader into a shared understanding of the superiority of the U.S. military and results in an exciting, spectacular or even cinematic language that served to perpetuate notions of pride in the country and the soldiers serving it. These findings also contribute to a historical understanding of how war was reported on throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and by tracing the philosophy of communitarianism through the war reporting through each of the first three journalists, we saw how considerations about reporting in a complementary manner for one side or another, for the military of one's own country or another's, changed over time as perceptions about ethical journalism changed from the beginning of World War I to the Kosovo War in the late 1990s.

The findings included in this thesis were surprising, as I expected to find that each woman used only one philosophical approach or the other. After an analysis of their newspaper and magazine articles, letters, speeches and interviews, both the Kantian categorical imperative and the feminist ethic of care are present in many, if not all, of the four women's articles about war and other materials in which they reference their frame of mind when reporting on war and conflict. In terms of Rinehart's reporting, the finding that the Kantian categorical imperative was so prominent was surprising given that Rinehart's biographer, MacLeod (1994), said that at the end of Rinehart's time reporting

on war, she knew about the deprivations of war and the damage it caused, particularly in the damage war caused to human lives and the deaths it resulted in. It was similarly surprising to find any mention of references written in a manner that implied a Kantian categorical imperative in Colvin's work, considering that she said herself in her 2000 speech to the International Women's Media Foundation that war causes pain beyond telling, and that she conceived of her role as a war journalist to report on the human horrors of war. It should be noted, however, that the references to the Kantian categorical imperative are the most minimal in Colvin's work than the work of her three previous counterparts.

Scholars and journalists can use these findings to form a basis for their own conception of media ethics. In scholarship, researchers can utilize the criteria used to determine a feminist ethic of care or a Kantian categorical imperative in the war journalism of other war reporters and other journalists who report on high-conflict beats. The practical applications for journalists to utilize these findings can extend to how media ethics, in the practice of Kantian ethical philosophy and the various conceptions of ethics of care, can shape determinations of how to report on war and armed conflict.

### **Limitations**

This study of the war reporting of Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne and Marie Colvin was limited to 10 articles about war written by each journalist, as well as letters written by Gellhorn and Rinehart, a transcript of one of Payne's interviews, a copy of one of Colvin's speeches, and videos of speeches or interviews Colvin gave. Because of the style in which Rinehart reported on World War I, and perhaps because of her own moral considerations beyond the scope of this study, five of

her articles initially included in the sample were eliminated due to a lack of themes present that were analyzed in all the other news articles and other materials. In addition, finding complete articles of Gellhorn's proved to be difficult in some cases. Libraries and archives that were expected to have a complete collection of her war reporting did not have any, and the digital archive where all of Gellhorn's articles in the sample were found had only incomplete copies of a few of her news articles about World War II. Limitations in this study existed for both Payne and Colvin, who did not have letters or other correspondence available in the libraries and archives where such materials were expected to be found. In lieu of letters, a transcript of an interview between journalist Kathleen Currie and Payne was used to discern Payne's mindset in reporting on the Vietnam War, and videos found online of speeches, interviews and live cable news broadcasts were used to help discern Colvin's ethical approach in her war reporting. A transcript of her 2010 speech at St. Bride's Church in London was also used in the sample of secondary materials included in the analysis.

The scope of this study was limited to a maximum of 10 articles each from each journalist in large part because of the availability of all of their news articles about the wars on which they reported. The limitation of time, too, impeded a complete analysis of all of each woman's articles about war and conflict. The timeline of war journalism included in this study begins at the outbreak of World War I, which Rinehart reported on, excluding reporting from women who reported on war and conflict before the beginning of the 20th century, also excluding war reporting written and published after the year 2000 (some of which is Colvin's, since she was active in the field until her death reporting on conflict in Syria in 2012), because this study is just analyzing war reporting

by Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne and Colvin in the 20th century. It should be noted that each of these women died in the 20th century except for Colvin. Further limitations arise from the difficulty of acquiring materials thought to be housed at museums and archives in other parts of the country (or, in Gellhorn's case, in another country).

This research gives a broader perspective to how war journalists can think about ethical considerations they use in determining what to report on when they report about war and armed conflict, how they write about soldiers versus noncombatants, the material destruction of war versus military victories, etc. These types of considerations when practicing war journalism can make news stories about war richer, fuller and oriented towards the humanity of the people affected by war rather than the perceived glory of war from the perspective of the victorious side.

### **Opportunities for Future Research**

Further opportunities for research include the stylistic elements of each woman's war reporting in a stylistic sense, how each woman's reporting on various wars or armed conflicts compared to that of their contemporaries reporting on the same war or how their literary and journalistic predecessors influenced their approach to reporting on war and conflict. Ample opportunities for further research about each of these women and their body of war journalism utilizing quantitative research methodologies, which can yield interesting insights. Further areas for research that weren't included in the scope of this study could lead to a study of how war and conflict is reported on and written about by female war correspondents versus male war correspondents or how nonfiction writers write about war and conflict versus fiction writers seeking to write novels, fictionalized essays or other forms of fiction about war. It should be noted, too, that a feminist ethic of

care, as Mathewson described, should not be conflated with the fact that each of these four reporters were women. Additional future research can include if there are any other philosophical approaches to war reporting that could be determined from the war reporting of each of these four women, or how the Kantian categorical imperative and the ethics of care can be determined to be found in the war reporting of other journalists.

## **Conclusion**

This analysis moves scholarship forward by operationalizing how the philosophies of ethics of care, the Kantian categorical imperative and Communitarianism manifest in war journalism. This analysis also discerned what ethical principles or approaches are apparent in the war journalism of Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne and Marie Colvin, delving into how these ethical approaches manifest in the writing of each woman, how each reporter writes about the deaths and suffering of soldiers, how each woman writes about civilian casualties and suffering, and how each of these ethical approaches compare. Reporting on war and conflict can be better served by learning about each woman's approach. Journalism about communities that are most impacted by war can center those experiences at the center of reporting in the practice of a feminist ethic of care in war journalism. Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne and Colvin are four women whose work can be studied in determining how ethics of care can be operationalized in war journalism.

Analyzing each woman's reporting on war and conflict is best studied under the lens of the ethics of care, which, when using the research methodology of textual analysis, allowed for an understanding of the considerations inherent in each woman's decision when reporting on war -- down to what stories to tell and which stories not to tell, the language and vocabulary used to tell those stories, and the tone inherent in each

piece of war reportage written by Rinehart, Gellhorn, Payne, and Colvin. Letters written by each woman at the time of their reporting, as well as transcripts of interviews and speeches, videos of speeches, interviews and live broadcasts on specific stories allowed for a way to further inform us about each woman's intent in reporting a story, how she reported on it, why she reported on one story and not another, who she interviewed and how she wrote a story. Whether and how each war correspondent's ethical approach fits into a feminist conception of media ethics, how they show that ethics and how it compares to the media ethics practices of the other women is the crux of the theoretical framework I used to discern the patterns and themes that emerge from each woman's reportorial work on war.

This understanding is worth pursuing because by learning how these four prominent writers, who all reported on war and conflict over the course of the 20th century, it is possible to determine how journalists and writers who write about war should write about war and conflict, focusing on the elements of peace journalism versus war journalism. This serves the purpose of expanding a practice of media ethics journalists can use in reporting on war and conflict.

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## Appendix

### **Mary Roberts Rinehart's articles**

The following newspaper articles and letters were acquired from the ULS Digital Collections at The University of Pittsburgh.

“The Gray Mailed Fist”:

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. “The Gray Mailed Fist.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 23 June 1917, pp. 11–45.

<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229731/viewer#page/32/mode/2up>

This article is about the U.S. Navy, previously underfunded by Congress and unappreciated by the American public. At the outset of World War I, when the American armed forces were deployed to fight alongside the United States' European allies, the U.S. Navy was, in Rinehart's estimation, astonishingly ready despite being often-complained about by the American public, who, before World War I, didn't feel the need to fund the Navy because of a perception that the United States didn't need a strong naval force. However, the destroyer ships, submarines and other seaworthy vessels that comprised the U.S. Navy fleet were available in the numbers needed at the time that Rinehart sailed on one of them with hundreds of soldiers across the Atlantic, and the training program Naval officers and soldiers had to undergo to be ready for battle made the U.S. troops strong and militarily ready, according to Rinehart's reporting (Rinehart, 1917).

“For The Great Adventure”

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. “For The Great Adventure.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 25 Aug. 1917, pp. 6–78.

<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229715/viewer#page/80/mode/2up>

This story documents the training at a U.S. military training camp. The young men who came to the various camps to undergo military training were trained in trench warfare, how to shoot rifles, handguns and other firearms, how to march in formation and how to fight. The need to train soldiers how to operate in conditions of trench warfare, how to dig those trenches, the strategic placement of firearms, barbed wire and listening posts and the handling of munitions like hand grenades, rifle grenades and bayonets were all part of the curriculum in training camps. How soldiers-in-training spent their time from day to day, the days families were permitted to visit, and the training of defensive strategies in the event of a gas attack during battle are also detailed thoroughly in this story. Weeding out soldiers who displayed personality traits that implied dishonest character was apparently a concern, as at least one soldier was said in Rinehart's story to have stolen money. Additionally, recruits who were initially drafted and reported for duty but were rejected for service because of health conditions, age or other reasons felt discouraged because of a willingness to fight for the U.S. in the war, but were rejected from service for seemingly trivial reasons (Rinehart, 1917).

“For King and Country”

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. “For King and Country.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 17 Apr. 1917, pp. 1–39.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229715/viewer#page/58/mode/2up>

This patriotic and optimistic article, written after Rinehart traveled to Europe, is about the Allied soldiers who fought the battles of World War I in Europe and the civilians of Europe who sacrificed material comforts and physical security during the fighting. Some noncombatants sacrificed their sons or other male family members to the war, and after

fighting on the front lines, surviving members of the American and Allied military forces were given one-week vacations back to London. Transport back to the front lines across the English Channel brought back wounded soldiers who had recovered and soldiers who were coming back from their break from the fighting. At the time, the next frontier of battle was expected to be France, and troops on active duty were starting to make their way to the French front lines. Rinehart also details her journey to France by boat to visit the military hospitals where soldiers were treated for their injuries is also a central event. She also reported on what she observed when she landed in France, as well as her observations about the hospitals and the care taken in treating wounded troopers. Her journey around France after visiting the hospital, the conditions in which she stayed, her cheerful interactions with Belgian soldiers also feature prominently in this article (Rinehart, 1915).

“A Talk with the King of the Belgians”

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. “A Talk with the King of the Belgians.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 5 Apr. 1915, pp. 1–67.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229921/viewer#page/4/mode/2up>

This article, based primarily on an interview with Belgian King Albert, showed the King’s thoughts about the Battle of Louvain, German documents showing contingency plans for battle with Belgium, King Albert’s respectful relationship with American President Woodrow Wilson and Rinehart’s perception of King Albert during their visit at the Belgian army headquarters (Rinehart, 1915).

“The Boys Are Marching”

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. “The Boys are Marching.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 18 Aug. 1917, pp. 1–37.

<https://historicpittsburgh.org/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229681/viewer#page/18/mode/2up>

This article, also reported on in the United States when Rinehart visited a military training camp on the East Coast, documents the way young men were being trained for war after a lifetime of living comfortable lives in a country that previously had no reason to believe it would ever be at war. Young men that previously lived lives of going to balls, going on vacation to the mountains and the beach and playing golf were suddenly thrown into a new life in which they needed to train in how to use weapons, engage in hand-to-hand combat and learn the new military strategy of trench warfare. The physical strength and strategic prowess of the soldiers undergoing training in these military camps is written about in a rosy manner that inspires confidence in America's fighting force, and a description of the camps Rinehart visited shows similarities in many. Some camps had deficiencies for lack of the country's experience building barracks and other military facilities needed during active wartime, including barracks that lacked ventilation systems and were very hot during the summer. Others didn't have proper drainage infrastructure to drain away rainwater during the heavy showers of the East Coast springtime. Entertainment provided by organizations near the camps, including the Y.M.C.A., hosted dances and other events for the soldiers, and soldiers were given menus of the food to be served in the camp dining hall each day. Rinehart also reported on American military uniforms were not made, in her view, to a very high standard, conspiracy theories rumored to have been started by the Germans, that mortality rates among fighting soldiers overseas is less than expected and that the more experience soldiers get, the less likely they are to die in battle and that military strategy and superior

weapons are responsible for Allied victory in Europe up to that point in the war (Rinehart, 1917).

### **Mary Roberts Rinehart's Letters**

#### *Letter of February 6, 1917*

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Letter of February 6, 1917." Received by Lord Northcliffe, 6 Feb. 1917, Philadelphia, PA.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt:31735037971409>

This letter from Rinehart to a British friend of hers she addresses by the title of Lord Northcliffe is, in part, a thank-you letter for the gift of a book about war that he had sent her, and an acknowledgement that the United States was about to be fully involved in the war that had already pulled in many of the great powers of Europe. She also writes that many Americans feared the large German, Hungarian and Austrian population in the U.S. at the time that had never completely integrated into the life of their new country, and the feared prospect that they might support Germany in the war against the rest of Europe and the U.S. Rinehart also writes that the U.S. government should have already prepared to enter the war, but that the people of the U.S. were grimly determined to enter the fight and make the necessary sacrifices to fight the war. In one example of America's lack of military might in the Panama Canal, Rinehart wrote that the amount of weapons and munitions available to American soldiers stationed there was not sufficient to properly fight if enemy forces had tried to launch an attack on the canal. She also worries that the U.S. government didn't adequately prepare the country's young men to fight a war or manufacture the weapons and other material resources these young soldiers would need to adequately fight for their country -- potentially jeopardizing the chances of these young men to survive (Rinehart, 1917).

*Letter of February 14, 1918*

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Letter of February 14, 1918." 14 Feb. 1918.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt:31735037971409>

In this letter, Rinehart writes to the Editor-in-Chief of *The Baltimore Sun* after reading an article in that newspaper about a young American soldier who died in battle during World War I. Rinehart had apparently been in communication with this soldier by exchanging letters, and after learning about this young man's death, wanted to send his father the last letter the soldier had sent her. The letter she received from him was heartwarming and she believed that letter would be a comfort to the soldier's father. In the letter she sent to the editor of *The Baltimore Sun*, she asks for the father's address so she can send the father the letter of the soldier (Rinehart, 1918).

*Letter of July 14, 1917*

In this letter to the Secretary of War, Rinehart tells him that the training curriculum and conditions in one army training camp in the U.S. were substandard and wouldn't actually have the effect of training young men for war. She tells him that very little about the day-to-day life of these soldiers-in-training will prepare them for the conditions of war, and she asks the Secretary of War to send someone he trusts to overhaul the training schedule, curriculum and physical conditions of the training camp so as to better prepare the young men there to fight the war in Europe (Rinehart, 1917).

*Letter to the Secretary of War, circa 1915-1918*

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Letter to the Secretary of War, circa 1915-1918."  
Received by U.S. Secretary of War.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735037971300#page/1/mode/2up/search/war>

In this letter, Rinehart wrote to the Secretary of the Navy to express her feelings about a letter read by Senator George Chamberlain, a Democrat from Oregon who served in the U.S. Senate from 1915 to 1921. The letter read by Senator Chamberlain in the Senate Chambers during a session of Congress was from the father of a young American soldier who had died because of exposure to deleterious conditions while fighting in battle during World War I, and Rinehart was moved by the letter read by the Senator. She expressed that she wanted anyone held responsible for the ill health or negligent conditions of soldiers, and the mothers of the country whose sons are sent overseas to fight in the war are owed reassurance from the government and the military that their sons will be taken care of. She also wrote of her previous experience training and working as a nurse in the years before the war, and that she was inspecting the condition of military hospitals that treated wounded soldiers and officers. She had several recommendations, including the expansion of living quarters for doctors, nurses and other medical staff who worked in these hospitals, and that no or fewer medical orderlies are hired in the hospitals and that more trained nurses are brought in instead. She also recommends hiring more doctors to work in the hospitals so that the physicians who were already there wouldn't be forced to work extremely long hours every day and that citizens from the nearest city or community be brought in to form an inspection committee for each hospital, and that they thoroughly inspect the hospital near their community and write a report to be published in the local newspaper for others in the area to read. She also praises the work of the doctors and nurses she already met and the high standard of care and sanitation at the hospitals she visited (Rinehart, c. 1915-1918).

**Articles excluded from analysis of Mary Roberts Rinehart's work**

Five of Mary Roberts Rinehart's newspaper articles about World War I were excluded from this analysis because these five didn't contain any element that would allow for a discernment of whether those articles fit into a Kantian categorical imperative or a feminist ethic of care — they didn't mention any battles won by the Allied forces, the suffering or deaths of civilians, the destruction of battle on communities and physical property, military might of the American military, the suffering or deaths of soldiers, or the development of war technology used in World War I. These articles were

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "For King and Country: The Sick and Sorry House." *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 June 1915, pp. 12–13.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229715/viewer#page/64/mode/2up>

In this article, Rinehart takes an excerpt from her journal and describes the scenes in one European city she visited during her time reporting on World War I. Her general observations, while illuminating about life in this one city, don't contain references to civilian or soldiers' suffering, the deaths of civilians or soldiers, the destruction of battle or the development of new war technologies. She wrote about some of the pilots she met, the quarters they lived in, and some of the curious places she visited.

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Going to the Sun." *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 July 1918, pp. 8.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229731/viewer#page/1/mode/2up>

This article is a description of what the women of the country would say to the soldiers fighting during World War I, and contains a poetic description of the way soldiers suffer, but no actual reporting on soldiers who are wounded during battle. With so few specific pieces of information about her observations in one scene or over the

course of a period of time reporting on the war, it was difficult to ascertain actual reporting to analyze, so it was excluded from the sample.

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Queen Mary of England." *Saturday Evening Post*, 19 June 1915, pp. 1–4.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229863/viewer#page/1/mode/2up>

Rinehart describes Queen Mary's day-to-day life in the palace in this article, writing about the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, the work of the Queen's Guild in knitting socks for the soldiers, the work of organizing drives for English citizens to donate socks and belts to the soldiers, and Rinehart's overall impression of Queen Mary. Because this article doesn't contain any analyzable references to the themes analyzed for that would show one ethical approach or the other, this article is excluded from the analysis.

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "The Woman Behind the Soldier." *McClure's*, Apr. 1918, pp. 5–56. <https://historicpittsburgh.org/islandora/object/pitt:31735062230515>

This article for McClure's details how the women of the country should support soldiers overseas, and how important it was for the war effort to be supportive of the men fighting in the war. Because this article was about how civilians should act at home during the war, rather than showing the themes that would allow for an analysis of one ethical approach or the other, this article was excluded.

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "The Gains of War." *McClure's*. Oct. 1918, pp. 1.  
<https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229731/viewer#page/1/mode/2up>

This article articulates how Rinehart thought a country could benefit from the outbreak of war, and the social effects wartime had on the general population. Since this article didn't show one ethical approach or another, it was excluded from the analysis.

Roberts Rinehart, Mary. "Before the Drums Beat." *Unknown*, 10 Mar. 1938, pp. 24–158. <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735062229681/viewer#page/6/mode/2up>

This article details Rinehart's recollection of World War I and how society was once again calling for war in the early years of World War II, and her perception of how war was inhumane. Because this article was in reference to World War II and not World War I, which most of her war reporting was about, this article was excluded from the sample.

### **Martha Gellhorn's articles**

The following selection of newspaper articles and magazine articles by Gellhorn were acquired from the Unz Review digital collection. Published copies of Gellhorn's letters used in the analysis were acquired from the commercially-published book "Selected Letters of Martha Gellhorn," edited by Caroline Moorehead.

#### "Obituary of a Democracy"

Gellhorn, Martha. "Obituary of a Democracy." *Collier's*, 10 Dec. 1938, pp. 12–13. <https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1938dec10-00012/>

This story details the result on the ground of the downfall of Czechoslovakia's democratic system of government after allies failed to come to their aid when faced with Nazi German aggression. The civilians and soldiers in the Czech military both suffered equally by the fall of their democratic government, with many soldiers previously stationed on the front lines to protect the Czech people from German invasion walking home, sometimes for days, after the country's transportation system ceased to work after German interference. With the entire Czech military disbanded, Czech soldiers and officers had nothing else to do or anywhere to go except home. These fighters were

dejected after losing their country without so much as a battle. Many employers in the country, including mines, railroads and factories, had been shut down amid the German takeover of the Czech economy, putting many Czech citizens out of a job. Many didn't know what they would do for work and most, if not all Czechs, were facing a future of poverty. This meant living and working in labor camps for most (Gellhorn, 1938).

“Dachau: Experimental Murder”

Gellhorn, Martha. “Dachau: Experimental Murder.” *Collier's*, 23 June 1945, pp. 16–21. [https://www.oldmagazinearticles.com/war-correspondent-martha-gellhorn-at-DACHAU-death-camp#google\\_vignette](https://www.oldmagazinearticles.com/war-correspondent-martha-gellhorn-at-DACHAU-death-camp#google_vignette)

This article is about the European prisoners forced to live, sometimes for years, in the Dachau concentration camp. Upon Colvin's visit with Allied troops during the liberation of Europe, she saw huge piles of bodies Nazi soldiers didn't bother to bury or otherwise dispose of, and survivors of the camp were still in an extremely emaciated condition from lack of food. Many of the Europeans in Dachau were forced to submit to medical experiments. Survivors knew about these experiments in detail and informed Colvin about what happened to those who died from those experiments. Others were forced into isolation for months or years at a time, and no one imprisoned at Dachau was allowed to eat from the vegetable garden they were forced to work in to grow food for the Nazi officers who commanded the camp. Terrible punishments were inflicted on these prisoners at Dachau for the most minor of offenses. Even after the American Army liberated Dachau, many in the concentration camp still died because, as Gellhorn reported, their emaciated bodies couldn't handle the shock of happiness, or they crowded against the electrical wire surrounding the camp and were electrocuted, or they died from eating too much food after being forced to starve for so long. She also places blame for

the existence of the concentration camps on the Allied forces in that it took more than a decade for the U.S. and its European allies to do anything about them (Gellhorn, 1945).

“English Sunday”

Gellhorn, Martha. “English Sunday.” *Collier's*, 1 Apr. 1944, pp. 60–66.  
<https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1944apr01-00060/>

Colvin reported in this article on the English civilians who lived ordinary lives in the small towns and villages of England while war changed day-to-day life. Bomber planes would fly overhead while children played on a bridge. Rationing affected the food available to ordinary English citizens, who would save up their rations to be able to make a birthday cake for their children’s birthday parties. One young woman from the village was divorcing her husband because of the hardships posed on their marriage during the war, and another woman, who was engaged to be married to another young man from the village, would go to his grave site every day after losing him in battle. One woman took a bus to a nearby town to work in a war factory in an effort to do her part to help end the war, and people from the cities would evacuate to the village to escape the bombing. Those left homeless from the blitz in the cities were housed, clothed and fed in this village, and everyone in the village would gather at the usual places -- the workingman’s club, the church -- and in the pleasure of each other’s company, try to forget that there was a war going on even while supporting the local men who were off fighting the war (Gellhorn, 1944).

“Fear Comes to Sweden”

Gellhorn, Martha. “Fear Comes to Sweden.” *Collier's*, 3 Feb. 1940, pp. 20–22.  
<https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1940feb03-00020/>

This article describes the lives of the people of Stockholm, Sweden, starting with modern homes many Swedes live in, and describing the high-quality child care parents and their kids enjoyed, a very productive cooperative that produced tens of thousands of tons of food, and the bomb shelter being constructed that the locals believed was better than the one they had already built under the grain silos. The day-to-day lives of the city's residents was upended by the war and preparation for it. Another bomb shelter under construction between the Stockholm market and the nearby concert house was blocking locals' views of the much-loved statue of Orpheus. Swedes, according to Gellhorn's reporting, normally lived very high qualities of life, and in such a scenic country where life was almost always pleasant, reminders of war disrupted daily life. A large military barracks on the edge of the city neighbored a training field where soldiers learned how to shoot, operate searchlights and practiced war games. Military fortifications protected the country to the north and south and the Swedish military had armed itself heavily and quickly at the outset of war. Swedes worried about the possibility of German invasion and the moral responsibility to help arm Finland next door, and the questions and moral debates that arose from these problems caused ire in workplaces and heavy discussions in schools. Fighting, as of the reporting of Gellhorn's article, had not yet started for Sweden, but the country was prepared to enter the fighting if it came to them (Gellhorn, 1940).

#### "Holland's Last Stand"

Gellhorn, Martha. "Holland's Last Stand." *Collier's*, 26 Dec.. 1942, pp. 25-29.  
<https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1942dec26-00025/>

In this article, Gellhorn reports on the Dutch forces training the citizens of Suriname, a South American country, to fight in an effort to bolster European allied forces against the Germans. The Dutch colony was occupied by both European and American armed forces

who shared the work of readying native soldiers in Suriname for the war. The diversity of people made life interesting in the capital city of Paramaribo, and American soldiers stayed in the one hotel in the city when they were on leave. Dutch commanding officers training the natives in Suriname was a common sight early in the morning, and Dutch soldiers on the ground in Suriname would often wait for letters from their families back home. American currency had flowed into the country at the start of the war, Gellhorn reported, but it didn't exactly make the economy in Suriname very strong. As she reported, both prices and wages went up, and a labor shortage ensued as the United States demanded more and more war production from the country that was difficult for the jungle-dense South American country to keep up with. She also reported that aside from the Suriname citizens who fought in seemingly small numbers for the Dutch military, the people of Suriname had no idea there was even a war involving dozens of countries. A bauxite mine near the capital city, as well as a Dutch frontier post near the border with French Guinea and several remote villages, are described in addition to prison conditions and the state of the inmates incarcerated there (Gellhorn, 1942).

“Bombs from a Low Sky”

Gellhorn, Martha. “Bombs from a Low Sky.” *Collier's*, 27 Jan. 1940, pp. 12–13.  
<https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1940jan27-00012/>

Bombing in Helsinki, Finland is the main subject of this story. The damage to property sustained after the bombing, as well as the human lives lost because of the war coming to the city, are described in detail. Gellhorn reported on buildings destroyed by the bombing, streets littered with chunks of brick and broken glass, the death of a little boy who was escaping the bombing with an old woman and the damage visible inside private homes. Firemen in Helsinki would spend all night sifting through the rubble of bombed-

out buildings to find bodies of those who died in the bombing. Some were saved but their injuries were expected to be severe enough to have a dim prognosis. Families with children attempted to find transportation to get their children out of the city in hopes that the small towns and villages out in the country would be safer for them. Trains and buses were the main methods of transportation for those who were trying to leave, predominantly children. Others fled into the nearby forest with their children, who got sick from exposure to the elements. Rumors also were passed between the residents of the city, and radio transmissions controlled by the Russians caused many to believe unreliable information about the cause of the war (Gellhorn,1940).

“The Children Pay the Price”

Gellhorn, Martha. “The Children Pay the Price.” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 27 Apr. 1949, pp. 17–81.

[https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/flipbooks/reprints/The\\_Children\\_Pay\\_the\\_Price/](https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/flipbooks/reprints/The_Children_Pay_the_Price/)

In this description of Italy after the war, Gellhorn reports on the orphaned, disfigured and sick children of Italy, who lived in an otherwise beautiful and pleasant country. The economic toll of the war left the Italian government in dire financial straits, and while the country built itself back up economically, not enough money was left over for the country to provide social services, medical care, education and other services to the Italian children whose lives were ruined by World War II. Many of these children were orphans who not only lost their parents, but every other adult in their family. Some were witness to German soldiers shooting their parents, grandparents and other relatives, and others were forever dismembered or disfigured by the bombings and other destruction they experienced during the war. Some lived in dilapidated orphanages, reform schools or hospitals with inadequate medical care, and some weren't given a high-

quality education, if they were given one at all. Some weren't visibly scarred by the war, but displayed behavioral problems that limited their ability to communicate, engage in social interactions or even leave their homes (Gellhorn, 1949).

“The Wounded Come Home”

Gellhorn, Martha. “The Wounded Come Home.” *Collier's*, pp. 14–15.  
<https://www.unz.com/print/Colliers-1944aug05-00014>

Gellhorn reported from a hospital ship transporting injured American soldiers back home after sustaining injuries in battle. She described a clean ship full of doctors, nurses and medical staff who were constantly busy treating patients and the anxiety of hearing planes flying over the ship's route to France to take in more injured soldiers. The ship didn't just take in American servicemen, but others who were injured on the battlefield and picked up by medics. This included a German prisoner, who was none too popular among the American and allied soldiers also receiving treatment on the ship. The soldiers and medics who were deployed to the shore of France to bring the injured back to the ship often came back with their own injuries from carrying stretchers that made their hands blister. Much had to be done on the ship to treat injured fighters, so while it is clear Gellhorn wasn't in a position to conduct any interviews, she reported many of her observations and recounted what doctors, nurses and the wounded said in her presence (Gellhorn, 1944).

“82nd Airborne: Master of the Hot Spots”

Gellhorn, Martha. “82nd Airborne: Master of Hot Spots.” *Collier's*, 23 Feb. 1946, pp. 22–47.  
[https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/flipbooks/reprints/82nd\\_Airborne\\_Master\\_of\\_the\\_Hotspots/](https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/flipbooks/reprints/82nd_Airborne_Master_of_the_Hotspots/)

This story documents the men who fought in the 82nd Airborne Division for the U.S. Army on their mission in Sicily in July 1943. They parachuted into Italian air space before landing on the ground in Sicily, with the objective of disrupting the communications systems of the German soldiers there and capturing a German-controlled landing field near Point Olivo. Some didn't make it to the ground they were meant to land on, and what was intended to be a clean landing in the same place evolved into a guerilla operation that involved skirmishes between Nazi forces occupying Italy and groups of American soldiers between six and 200 men, depending on how many soldiers landed in the same place. The military strength displayed by these men can be measured in the number of enemy soldiers they killed upon landing, the number of heavy artillery attacks they successfully fought off and the sheer enthusiasm for fighting displayed by the men on the ground. During the following days, battle ensued between American and German forces, with success arising from the strength of the strategy executed during trench warfare and the heavy munitions American soldiers used against the Germans. While some soldiers from the 82nd Airborne didn't survive, the many who did marched long distances in short amounts of time to get to the end position of the Sicilian campaign. During much of this time, the Italian government wasn't able to lend any military support to the American advance, but American forces seemed numerous and armed enough to be able to fight off German attacks and repel Nazi forces into a retreat. The fighting in other parts of Italy was difficult, as Italy's mountain ranges are tall and numerous. The German military, which had secured strategic positions in the Italian mountains, would lie in wait for American soldiers to advance on the mountains before fighting began, often benefitting the Germans. The 82nd Airborne Division was later

deployed to France to help liberate the country from Hitler's grip, marching through village after village in the liberation campaign. This wasn't without some fight from the Germans, who bombed the village of St. Mere Eglise, destroying trees, homes and killing farm animals. Residents of the village hid in dugouts while Americans bombed German tanks and soldiers on both sides were killed. Other campaigns across France were waged by the American Army in the following weeks, which met with some success (Gellhorn, 1946).

“Only the Shells Whine”

Gellhorn, Martha. “Only the Shells Whine.” *Collier's*, 17 July 1937, pp. 12–65.  
<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c2724c7c-9e09-596e-e040-e00a180661ef#/?uuid=c2724c7c-9e09-596e-e040-e00a180661ef>

Gellhorn reported on the fighting in Madrid during World War II, writing that shelling went on for such long periods of time it was difficult to know exactly how long fighting lasted during any one day. Because it was also difficult to determine how far away a shell landed and when the next one would land, it was often just as safe to stay in the same spot as it was to try to run away. The hotel in Madrid in which Gellhorn was staying was no more immune to bombing, shelling and gunfire than other buildings in the city, and often the whole building shook when a bomb landed nearby. For more than two weeks, the war had taken its toll in Spain's capital city, and it was just as common to see buildings collapsing from the destruction of weapons as it was to see lyddite smoke filling the air after a bombing. The people who lived in Madrid continued to live their lives as normally as they could, going to work, waiting in line at the market, children walking down the street singing a song. Bombs and shells often created impassable holes in the roads, and children couldn't go to school because of the fighting. When families

had guests over, there was little to offer them, so often something as small as an orange would be on offer. A local hotel took on a new purpose as the city's first military hospital, taking in patients who were injured in the fighting in the city (Gellhorn, 1937).

### **Martha Gellhorn's letters**

The selection of letters used in this analysis were written around the time Gellhorn reported certain news articles also used in the analysis. While letters addressing some of her articles weren't found, some she wrote to family and friends during or after stretches of time in which she reported on some of these stories were analyzed.

Gellhorn's letters were unavailable from the libraries and archives they were expected to be in, so copies of her letters, published in the 2006 book "*Selected Letters of Martha Gellhorn*," edited by Caroline Moorehead, were used instead. Titles were not given by either Gellhorn or Moorehead to any of the letters published in Moorehead's book, so I gave titles to the letters used in the analysis for clarity of reference.

#### *Letter of October 1938*

Gellhorn, Martha. "Letter of October 1938." Received by Charles Colebaugh, 4 Place de La Concorde, Oct. 1938, Paris, France.

In this letter to her editor at *Collier's*, Charles Colebaugh, Gellhorn described conditions on the ground in Czechoslovakia during the days after the capitulation of Czechoslovakia's European allies. Her attempts to see deposed Czech President Benes were unsuccessful, as he was under a kind of house arrest in his home in the country. Police and household staff turned Gellhorn away, despite her patient waiting to interview him for this story. She wrote to Colebaugh, too, that the Czech people seemed also to be under the same gag order as their former president, and that the risk of angering Hitler

and the new Nazi occupiers was keeping the people of Czechoslovakia tight-lipped (Gellhorn, 1938).

*Letter of July 1937*

Gellhorn, Martha. "Letter of July 1937." Received by Eleanor Roosevelt, 726 Park Avenue, July 1937, New York, NY.

This letter, to close family friend First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, details Gellhorn's observations in Spain when reporting on the Axis air attack on Madrid and other parts of Spain that Gellhorn traveled to in order to report on the war. Gellhorn wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt that from Gellhorn's vantage point back in New York City, she heard about continued fighting in Spain and other parts of Europe, and that the knowledge that noncombatants were suffering injury, death and the loss of their communities made her angry. She also wrote of lecturing to groups of the public about the war in Europe and what Americans could do to help, although she noted that she disliked public speaking, did not feel predisposed to it and would rather not do it (Gellhorn, 1937).

*Letter of March 1939*

Gellhorn, Martha. "Letter of March 1939." Received by Eleanor Roosevelt, 18 Mar. 1939, San Francisco de Paula, Cuba.

Gellhorn wrote in this letter, also to Mrs. Roosevelt, that she felt angry and miserable reading about the continued fighting in Europe, and that the people she saw and interviewed while reporting on the war in Madrid two years before had only seen the war in their country, and across the European continent, get worse. She opines that writing is difficult, about various issues that came up in the management of her and

Ernest Hemingway's house in Cuba, and her relative good fortune compared to that of many other people in the world (Gellhorn, 1939).

*Letter of November 1939*

Gellhorn, Martha. "Letter of November 1939." Received by Ernest Hemingway, 30 Nov. 1939, Helsinki, Finland.

Gellhorn wrote in this letter to Hemingway while she was reporting on the war in Helsinki that Russian air forces were dropping propaganda leaflets over Finland's airspace, primarily over Helsinki. Some pamphlets teased the Fins, reminding them that Russia had food and that the people of Helsinki were starving. She also wrote to Hemingway that the foggy, cloudy weather was advantageous for the Russia air forces, as Finnish defense systems couldn't detect or fire on Russian planes in that kind of weather. She wrote to him of the bombs they dropped, the heavy impacts of the bombs, the gas dropped on the city and the destroyed apartment buildings and homes after Russian attacks on the city. The material, emotional and psychological impact to the people of Helsinki was devastating, Gellhorn noted in the letter (Gellhorn, 1939).

*Letter of Summer 1949*

Gellhorn, Martha. "Letter of Summer 1949 ." Received by William Walton, summer 1949, Rome, Italy.

Gellhorn wrote in this letter to friend William Walton that while she was traveling around Italy reporting on the plight of Italian children after World War II, she found her son. She was hoping to adopt a child from one of the dozens of orphanages, hospitals and other facilities that housed the lost, orphaned, sick and injured children of Italy in the years after the war, and she adopted a little boy named Alessandro. While spending time with him in the orphanage in which she found him, she also wrote of the children who

were traumatized so much that they screamed and cried often, or the children who were just so desperate for the attention and love of adults that they would compete with each other for adult care and affection (Gellhorn, 1949).

### **Note on Martha Gellhorn's articles**

Finding complete versions of many of Gellhorn's articles about World War II proved challenging. Libraries and archives that were thought to have complete copies of her articles didn't have them at all, and one online archive, The Unz Review, only had partial articles for many of Gellhorn's work. These included "Obituary of a Democracy," "Bombs from a Low Sky," and "The Wounded Come Home." Efforts to find complete copies of these three stories for the analysis were unsuccessful.

### **Ethel Payne's articles**

The selection of Ethel Payne's newspaper articles about the Vietnam War were acquired from the database ProQuest, accessed through the University of Missouri. A transcript of an interview with Payne, conducted by the journalist Kathleen Currie for The Washington Press Club Foundation in 1987, was also used in this analysis.

"Mightiest Ship Afloat: We Visit the Enterprise"

Payne, Ethel. "Mightiest Ship Afloat: We Visit the Enterprise." *The Chicago Defender*, 14 Jan. 1967, pp. 1-7.  
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/493162124/CE80339C8D80424FPQ/4?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

In this article, Payne describes her observations upon landing on the U.S.S. Enterprise, one of the newest and most armed ships on the Pacific Ocean shipped out by the United States during the Vietnam War. The sheer size of the vessel, its height and width, is described in terms a city-dweller could understand: the size of a skyscraper, the width of several city blocks that would take days to properly tour. It was reported to cost a few

hundred million dollars to build and could outrun and outmaneuver any other vessel on or under the ocean waves. While the Enterprise was on the water, it was home to thousands of military personnel, of which at least one-third was on duty at any given time, day or night. The ship's systems were powered by nuclear energy, ensuring it could operate independently for long stretches of time without the need for the replenishment or replacement of supplies. She also reported that the men fighting the Vietnam War hoped for more popular support of the war at home. Much of the story describes the men stationed on the Enterprise, which included men from Memphis, Tennessee, Blooming Grove, New York, Portsmouth, Virginia, Milford, Texas, Charleston, South Carolina and Groton, Connecticut (Payne, 1967).

“The Puzzling Adventure of Mildred Harrison”

Payne, Ethel. “The Puzzling Adventure of Mildred Harrison.” *The Chicago Defender*, 4 Feb. 1967, pp. 1–1.  
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/493176385/CE80339C8D80424FPQ/3?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

American entertainer Mildred Harrison, upon arriving at the airport to fly home to the United States after performing for the troops in Vietnam, was arrested and jailed for allegedly violating Vietnam's currency laws. After apparently failing to declare \$2,000 in salary checks on her declarations form, she was detained in a Vietnamese prison and, although she was eventually released, had to stay in the country to await trial. She, in turn, alleged that she was the scapegoat for black market activities by an American army lieutenant. The strange episode was made even more desperate for the performer, who contracted acute appendicitis during her forced stay in Vietnam, so severe that she had to undergo surgery at a hospital in Saigon (Payne, 1967).

“Vietnam: The History of an Abused People”

Payne, Ethel. "Vietnam: The History of an Abused People." *The Chicago Defender*, 7 Jan. 1967, pp. 28–28.

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/493230415/CE80339C8D80424FPQ/2?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

This explainer piece contains a brief history of how the Vietnam War started. Payne described the Vietnamese people as a people that originally inhabited Central China, being pushed farther and farther from the interior until they inhabited what is now Vietnam. While the Chinese initially controlled the newly-established Vietnam, the Vietnamese gradually came to govern themselves until European colonization. Later, it was part of Indo-China, and later came under Japanese rule during World War II. Five years after Japanese control was established, communism inspired Ho Chi Minh's uprising. Fighting between Vietnamese communists, the French and Vietnamese nationalists ensued after the end of World War II, and after nine years, international forces stepped in to divide the country into the communist North Vietnam and the nationalist South Vietnam. After communists from the north infiltrated the South Vietnamese government, the prime minister of the democratic South Vietnamese was overthrown, and more fighting between those who advocated for communism in Southeast Asia and those who wanted to maintain the democratic system of government South Vietnam enjoyed for a decade. The United States, aligning itself with the democratic forces still in Vietnam, supplied weapons and then soldiers for the fight against communism in Vietnam (Payne, 1967).

"A Yule Carol From Viet"

Payne, Ethel. "A Yule Carol From Viet." *The Chicago Defender*, 23 Dec. 1967, pp. 5–5.

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/493208555/AF023CD6523F4BC2PQ/45?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

Payne describes Christmas 1966 in Vietnam, which featured American soldiers singing Christmas carols and gospel songs, a Christmas performance starring Bob Hope, the winner of the Miss World beauty pageant that year, Phyllis Diller, Anita Bryant and other famous celebrities of the time. Helicopters and fighter planes passed by overhead during the show, supposedly going home and eliciting a response in the crowd of soldiers of homesickness. Injured soldiers were brought to the show in ambulances wearing blue hospital-issued pajamas. Famous author John Steinbeck and his wife had traveled to Vietnam to visit their son, who was working for an American communications unit in the country, and Steinbeck was writing a piece about the war for Newsday Magazine (Payne, 1966).

“Two Views of the Conflict in Vietnam”

Payne, Ethel, and Betty Washington. “Two Views of the Conflict in Vietnam.” *The Chicago Defender*, 23 Jan. 1967, pp. 4–4.  
<https://www.proquest.com/hnpchicagodefender1/docview/494282301/F51B47037F1C4638PQ/1230?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

In a companion piece to her co-worker Betty Washington’s critical article about the United States as an aggressor in the Vietnam War, Payne reported on American soldiers doing good works for Vietnamese noncombatants. One of the objectives of the American military in Vietnam was to convince them that the Americans were fighting for Vietnamese freedom, to instill confidence in the Vietnamese peoples’ own ability to provide for themselves and to then teach them ways they can help themselves. Through civil projects that would provide modern infrastructure and resources for Vietnamese villagers, American Marines built water and sewer improvements in one rural village. Residents of this rural village (Payne doesn’t specify where) were also taught how to arm themselves in a fight with the Viet Cong, and medical help was provided to the sick and

injured in the area. The people in this remote community in the jungle obviously lived in poverty, by Payne's observations, with children living with sores and scabs on their bodies and faces from malnutrition and unsanitary conditions. American soldiers who assisted in helping these villagers said they liked the work because it allowed them to see why they were called up for service and stationed in a distant part of the world. The ability to help people who didn't enjoy the modern conveniences and amenities of the Western world were able to get modern medical treatment for the first time and live in more sanitary conditions than they had access to before. While performing the work of these civil projects, American soldiers had in mind that attacks by the Viet Cong were always possible. Viet Cong fighters were reputed to kidnap local leaders in communities across the country to demoralize residents in rural villages (Payne, 1967).

#### "GIs Tell How They Stand on the Viet War"

Payne, Ethel. "GIs Tell How They Stand on the Viet War." *The Chicago Defender*, 11 Apr. 1967, pp. 2-4.

<https://www.proquest.com/hnpchicagodefender1/docview/494282613/F51B47037F1C4638PQ/1201?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

In slightly more than two months in Vietnam, Payne interviewed hundreds of American soldiers in an effort to determine conditions Black soldiers were living under in the armed forces in the Vietnam War and what they were doing as part of their duties in the military. Payne reported that Black soldiers were occupied with their day-to-day tasks and accomplishing their troop's mission on the ground. Racial segregation wasn't an issue in combat and military life, according to Payne's article, because the enemy didn't care if the American soldier they were fighting was Black or White. Black and White servicemen slept, ate, showered and recreated in the same quarters, and battle took place with both White and Black soldiers fighting together in the same missions on the same

battlefields. This was, as Payne reported, the first war in American history in which Black and White forces were fully integrated. Black volunteers enlisted in the military at three times the rate of other racial groups in the U.S., and often had served jail time for participating in civil rights protests back home. Many of those to enlist preferred to join the Navy, Air Force and Marines, but the Army got the soldiers who were drafted and some volunteers. Paratrooping units that went on the most hazardous missions had a high number of Black volunteers because of the extra pay these soldiers got for going on the most dangerous missions. Perhaps because of this, as Payne pointed out, the number of Black soldiers killed in combat was higher than that of other racial groups. Racial integration in the armed forces reached into the officer class, with numbers of Black officers climbing in the years between 1962 and 1967, when Payne reported on the Vietnam War. Fourteen Black servicemen had been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, as well as many other awards for bravery in battle. Support for the war and justification for American armed forces fighting in Vietnam was high among Black American soldiers (Payne, 1967).

“Vietnam Seabee Battalions Build, Fight”

Payne, Ethel. ““Vietnam Seabee Battalions Build, Fight”.” *The Chicago Defender*, 19 Jan. 1967, pp. 8–8.  
<https://www.proquest.com/hnpchicagodefender1/docview/494275218/F51B47037E1C4638PQ/1231?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

Military Construction Battalion 6, a division of the U.S. Navy stationed in Vietnam, built huts, military fortifications, dining halls and galleys, as well as a cold storage unit that Payne reported was equal to 30,000 refrigerators. Often, during construction of various projects meant to help both Vietnamese civilians and American soldiers, MCB 6 would be attacked by Viet Cong fighters, and would have to defend

themselves and the construction before heading back to work. The men of this battalion also adopted a nearby orphanage and worked on minor construction for local villagers. Several servicemen are mentioned in this article, including men from Norfolk, Virginia, Detroit, Michigan, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Chesapeake, Virginia, Waynesboro, Virginia and Jersey City, New Jersey (Payne, 1967).

“Visit to Korea reveals contrasts with Vietnam”

Payne, Ethel. “Visit to Korea reveals contrasts with Vietnam.” *The Chicago Defender*, 30 Mar. 1967, pp. 2–2.

<https://www.proquest.com/hnpchicagodefender1/docview/494302610/F51B47037F1C4638PQ/1203?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

Payne compares conditions of the Korean War in the 1950s to the Vietnam War, reporting on the heat and jungle rot of the Vietnamese landscape compared to the cold conditions of winter weather in Korea. During a visit to the demilitarized zone at Panmonjum, on the border of North and South Korea, Payne described the long journey there, the still-strained conditions between the two countries and the tension apparent by just visiting. The diplomats and military officers responsible for maintaining the line marking the demilitarized zone still met often to exchange messages and reports, as well as investigate claims of violations (Payne, 1967).

“Air Base in Japan Plays Role in Viet War”

Payne, Ethel. “Air base in Japan plays role in Viet War.” *The Chicago Defender*, 29 Mar. 1967, pp. 4–4.

An air force base in Tachikawa, Japan established during the Korean War continued to provide military support to American armed forces fighting in Vietnam, being used predominantly as a base camp for the 6100th Support Wing of the Kanto Air Base Command. Payne reported on several servicemen who were stationed there,

including soldiers from Vicksburg, Mississippi and Montgomery, Alabama. Both men she reported on were college graduates in the states and worked as supervisors or advisors on base (Payne, 1967).

#### Our “Man” in Saigon Closes Our Her Vietnam Diary

Payne, Ethel. “Our ‘Man’ in Saigon Closes Out Her Vietnam Diary.” *The Chicago Defender*, 27 Mar. 1967, pp. 4–4.

<https://www.proquest.com/hnpchicagodefender1/docview/494304107/F51B47037F1C4638PQ/1206?accountid=14576&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers>

In Payne’s last article about the Vietnam War, she wrote about the most interesting individuals she met in her time reporting on the war overseas. Among these men is a captain from Chicago who worked as part of a work team that provided medical assistance to military hospitals in South Saigon, a pilot from Camden, New Jersey and a corporal from Memphis, Tennessee (Payne, 1967).

#### **Other material used to analyze Payne’s approach to war reporting**

While no letters Payne wrote during her reporting on the Vietnam War could be found, a transcript of an interview a journalist conducted with Payne in the 1980s was used to assess Payne’s approach to reporting on war. In this interview, Payne tells Kathleen Currie of The Washington Press Club Foundation about why she wanted to go to Vietnam to cover the war. Her curiosity about how Black troops were doing in Vietnam was her primary consideration, which was informed by her extensive reporting on the civil rights movement in the United States and the impact to Black communities. The insights this interview transcript yields to this analysis included a consideration for the emotional experience of soldiers, the suffering of civilians in Vietnam caused by exposure to Agent Orange and the acknowledgement of Black troops to prove that they could do all the same jobs and activities in war as White troops. With the Vietnam War

being the first war the United States was directly involved in in which troops were integrated, a focus on the activities of the Black soldiers and the jobs they were doing, as well as the places they came from, were top of mind for Payne as she reported on the Vietnam War between December 1966 and March 1967 (Currie, 1987).

### **Note on Ethel Payne's articles**

Some articles were available only in part from the database used to find Payne's articles about the Vietnam War. In particular, only the first page of "'Two Views of the Conflict in Vietnam'" was available. The partial article of Payne's was used in the analysis, the accompanying article by Payne's fellow reporter Betty Washington was not.

### **Marie Colvin's articles**

A selection of published copies of Colvin's newspaper articles were acquired from the book "On the Front Line: The Collected Journalism of Marie Colvin," published in 2012. Additional materials were used in the analysis included videos found online of an interview she did with Oliver North, found on the Marie Colvin Memorial Foundation website, as well as a video of a 2000 speech she gave to the International Women's Media Foundation and a live cable news broadcast in which she was interviewed by Anderson Cooper on his CNN news show. A copy of her 2010 speech to journalists at St. Bride's Church in London was also used in the analysis.

"Black banners of death fly over Baghdad"

Colvin, Marie. "Black banners of death fly over Baghdad." *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 5–6.

This January 1987 story documents the fighting between Iraq and Iran during the Iran-Iraq War. Iranian troops had been able to gain ground in the fighting but were challenged in taking the city of Basra. The military strength of the Iraqi armed forces was in its

superior weapons systems, while the Iranian armed forces was larger because the country had a bigger pool of soldiers to draw from Iran's larger population. The Iraqis were fighting against the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini's vow to spread Shi'ite Islam to other countries on the Persian Gulf, including Iraq. However, Colvin also reported that other Muslim countries on the Gulf were resentful of Iran since the country had previously accepted weapons from both the United States and Israel, which many in the Muslim world thought of as "Great Satan" and "Little Satan," respectively (Colvin, 1987).

"Basra -- blitzed and battered, but not beaten"

Colvin, Marie. "Basra -- blitzed and battered, but not beaten." *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 3–5.

In this article, also published in January 1987, Colvin reported that the second-biggest city in Iraq, Basra, was under attack by the Iranian military. Iraqi soldiers would bomb and fire Iranian forces all day, and Iranian armed forces would fight back all night. Iranian missiles were fired at residential areas of the city, and fear of being caught in the crossfire forced many of Basra's residents indoors, keeping them out of the streets. The warfare these residents were trying to escape often found them, since many homes and shops were destroyed by the artillery. Some who ventured out were killed (Colvin, 1987).

"Wine and lipstick lay Iran's ghost to rest"

Colvin, Marie. "Wine and lipstick lay Iran's ghost to rest." *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 7–9.

This October 1989 article details the lives of people in Tehran, who continued their best efforts to live as normal a life as possible during the period of transition into a new Iranian government under Hojatolisalam Hashemi Rafsanjani. The new government was

still a conservative Muslim government, but some facets of day-to-day life in Tehran had relaxed despite the regime. While women could wear jeans and high heels under their raincoats and Scotch was still available on the black market, foreign nationals still had to be rescued by their ambassadors after facing prison time for minor offenses, and some foreigners in the country had been subjected to corporal punishment before diplomats stepped in to take them out of Iran. Some facets of life were more challenging than they were before the new Rafsanjani government came to power. High prices, low wages, a limited housing market in the city caused problems for those who advocated for political change in the years before, and families of multiple people were forced to live in shabby one-room apartments and sleep on the floor at night after scrounging for food all day. Government subsidies to help offset the price of essential food staples were often taken by black market operators, who sold the poor low-cost alternatives that were toxic. Ultra-conservative Muslim clerics pressured Rafsanjani to roll back his plans to open Iran to the West and give more freedoms to business people in the country, putting a new regime leader in a precarious position as he battled the demands of the country's conservatives with the demands of the Iranian people who were starving and living in substandard housing (Colvin, 1989).

“Soviet settlers jolted by the promised land”

Colvin, Marie. “Soviet Settlers Jolted by Promised Land.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 10–13.

This February 1990 article is about the Russian Jews who escaped persecution and antisemitism in the Soviet Union and came to Israel to start new lives in a safer country. The wave of emigrants from Russia into Israel was massive; an estimated 4,500 arrived in January of 1990 alone, Colvin reported. At the time, some said that the number of Jews

moving to Israel in the subsequent few years could number between 500,000 and 1 million, straining social services and housing for the country of only 4 million inhabitants at the time this article was published. Russian Jews who came to Israel often came with only suitcases full of clothes and personal items and \$140 in cash, the most they were allowed to take out of Russia. The crisis fueled high unemployment throughout Israel and brought inflation in the country to 20% (Colvin, 1990).

#### “Under Fire”

Colvin, Marie. “Under Fire.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 34–48.

Colvin’s January 1991 article about the Gulf War covers the last day of peace before the Iranian invasion of Baghdad. Normally a bustling city with customers frequenting the shops in the souk market, the threat of armed attack kept people out of the streets, hiding away in their homes. Businessmen who dared to open their shops faced a day of few or no customers, and often had to close after only an hour after opening. After diplomatic talks failed between the Iraqi foreign minister and an American mediator, Secretary of State James Baker, the people of Baghdad knew an attack was probably imminent, and many families shut up their houses and left the city to stay with relatives in the small towns of Iraq to escape the fighting. On the night bombing started, women and children went to a bomb shelter under the hotel Colvin was staying in, and noises of bombing, shelling and gunfire went on all night and into the next day. Those who looked outside could see the bright flashes of light created by munitions being dropped on the city. For a population of people who expected an attack from Iran, the residents of Baghdad didn’t panic in the light of day following the first night of bombing and shelling, and instead went to the market to get bread and drivers still went to the gas station to fill up their

tanks. The fighting had been so highly anticipated that after a night of bombing, the city's residents didn't think it was as bad as they thought it was going to be. As might be expected after a military attack on a city, some services had been damaged enough to not function at all -- some buildings no longer had electricity, plumbing was damaged so water and the contents of sewers spilled into the streets, potholes lined the roads after bombs were dropped. Government workers handed out food staples to the poor, dance clubs found new functions as bomb shelters and the city's oil refinery was completely destroyed. Worker housing at Colvin's hotel was also fired on, and fighting continued through the next few days (Colvin, 1991).

“Ghosts of war stalk Basra's empty streets”

Colvin, Marie. “Ghosts of war stalk Basra's empty streets.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 48–51.

This August 1992 article details the day-to-day life of those who still lived in Basra after years of fighting between Iraqi and Iranian armed forces. While residents still went to nightclubs, listened to live music and drank Scotch, life remained difficult in many ways. Much of the city had been destroyed and damaged from the fighting, soldiers who were tired of the fighting deserted but were later caught, the little food available in the city was expensive, a port, an oil refinery and factories had all closed, hospitals didn't have much-needed medicine and children sick from starvation were hospitalized despite needed supplies. Despite the intense need of the city's residents, a robust black market run by Iranian rebels supplies explosives, weapons and information back to Iran. A year and a half had passed since the end of fighting, but the city's telecommunications system still hadn't been repaired, so new phone lines had to be installed for every phone number

someone might want to call. Many residents, including those who lived in the marsh areas of the city, had been killed in the fighting (Colvin, 1992).

“Israeli bulldozers rev up for showdown in Jerusalem”

Colvin, Marie. “Israeli bulldozers rev up for showdown in Jerusalem.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 88–90.

In March 1997, Colvin reported on a new residential settlement to be constructed in East Jerusalem, a part of the city dominated by Palestinian residents. Even the United States and the United Nations had voiced dissent to the construction of this settlement, siding with the likes of Yasser Arafat, the president of Palestine, pitting them against Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. To Netanyahu and the Israeli government, it was important that this settlement be built to close the last gap in a string of Israeli settlements around the edge of east Jerusalem, which Palestinians thought of as the capital city of their faith. Tensions were so high between the Palestinian and Israeli governments that peace talks had been called in Gaza, with American diplomats attending the meeting to criticize the Israeli determination to build the settlement. Fighting had thus far been averted, and both Israel and Palestine were apprehensive about escalation to armed conflict. Palestine’s armed forces weren’t as numerous as the Israeli Defense Force, making an armed conflict with Israel an almost certain failure. However, there was still speculation that Palestinians would be so incensed at the Israeli settlement that they might take up arms against the Israelis anyway (Colvin, 1997).

“The centuries of conflict over a sacred heartland”

Colvin, Marie. “The centuries of conflict over a sacred heartland.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 94–95.

This March 1998 story is one of several articles Colvin reported on the Kosovo War. Kosovo is a southern country in the Baltic region of Europe that was formerly part of Yugoslavia. Serbian nationalists thought of Kosovo as theirs, claiming it was their ancestral homeland lost to them in medieval times. For centuries, though, it had been home to the ethnic Albanians who consisted of 90% of Kosovo's population. Serbian communist party leader Slobodan Milosevic visited Kosovo in 1989 and said publicly that he was the protector of Kosovo's ethnic Serbs, fomenting aggression between Serbs and Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, escalated into fiercer and fiercer fighting throughout the 1990s. Residents of both countries feared the conflict could escalate still further into a war that engulfed all the Balkan countries (Colvin, 1998).

“Kosovo guerillas fight Serb shells with bullets”

Colvin, Marie. “Kosovo guerillas fight Serb shells with bullets.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 100–104.

Colvin's April 1999 article about the Kosovo War between ethnic Albanians living in this southern Baltic country and Serbian nationalists is the story of how she crossed with a Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) unit as they marched through rural villages in Kosovo in an effort to open supply lines to further fight off Serbian forces. In many of these villages, bullets had damaged trees, and bombs, shells and bullets had destroyed the homes of rural ethnic Albanians. One home was completely destroyed, and roads were littered with broken glass and debris from nearby homes destroyed in the fighting. Roofs of family homes had holes from shells, and at night, when the unit set up camp, gunfire could be heard from Serbians hiding in the forest in the hills surrounding the Kosovo Liberation Army. Soldiers with the KLA wondered with the Americans would send material support in the form of weapons, aircraft and ground troops, and

surviving soldiers of the KLA unit Colvin embedded with told stories of home, waited for letters that never came from their families, and sometimes refused to get out of bed because they were more concerned about the cold winter weather conditions than the weapons of the Serbians surrounding them. Despite the intense ferocity with which the KLA soldiers often fought, the Serbians had better weapons and an unknown chemical gas that left people with red, irritated eyes, difficulty breathing and disorientation. Doctors who tended to the patients affected by this gas didn't know what it was and were uncertain how to treat it, Colvin reported (Colvin, 1999).

“Massacre in a spring meadow: War in Europe”

Colvin, Marie. “Massacre in a spring meadow: War in Europe.” *On the Front Line*, Harper Press, London, UK, 2012, pp. 104–112.

Colvin's reporting on the Kosovo War in May 1999 identified local families of a Kosovo village where Serbian soldiers had marched the men of the rural community into a nearby field by the hundreds before killing them. Many of these families attempted to flee, sometimes escaping to nearby villages to live with extended relatives in homes that were suddenly housing dozens of members of one family. When the Serbian invasion followed them, they attempted yet again to escape, sometimes leaving behind homes and barns that erupted in fire as they fled. Survivors of other villagers who marched past the large field where ethnic Albanian men in Kosovo were shot by Serbian troops told Colvin they passed large piles of bodies in the field. Others were pulled from tractor-drawn metal carts carrying several members of a family and beaten. The killings were the worst atrocities of the war and constituted an ethnic cleansing of Kosovo Albanians by Serbian nationalists (Colvin, 1999).

**Other material used to analyze Marie Colvin's war reporting**

No letters or emails were available from the libraries, archives and research centers I reached out to that could have possibly had them. However, I found copies of speeches, video recordings of interviews and videos of speeches that lend insight into Colvin's mindset and perspectives when reporting on war.

*Truth at all costs*

Colvin, Marie. "Truth at All Costs." Speech at St. Bride's Church. Speech at St. Bride's Church, 2010, London, UK, St. Bride's Church.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkcK\\_1h8ZO8&t=606s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkcK_1h8ZO8&t=606s)

This was a speech of Colvin's made at St. Bride's Church in London in 2010. In this speech, she talked about the importance of war reporting and the civilians who die or who lose family in bombings and attacks in armed conflict. She also acknowledges 49 other war journalists who died the previous year in reporting on war and conflict, as well as other journalists who were injured or kidnapped while doing their jobs. She also tells the tale of how she lost one of her eyes while reporting on war in Sri Lanka, and the real fear war reporters feel when in combat zones. The financial, physical and emotional cost of doing that work is important, she said, and news organizations must continue to fund it. She also talked about the public's right to know what is happening in the world, the privilege of reporting on war, and the war journalists who demonstrated before her how important it is that journalists report on armed conflict. Despite changes in the journalism industry, reporting on war was still as important as it ever was (Colvin, 2010).

*Oliver North sit-down interview with Marie Colvin – 1*

North, Oliver. "Oliver North Sit-down with Marie Colvin - 1." *Marie Colvin Memorial Foundation*, <https://mariecolvin.org/archive>. Accessed 24 Feb. 2012.

In this portion of Oliver North's interview with Colvin, she discusses her childhood, her college years at Yale University writing for the Yale Daily News and how

she got her first journalism job at United Press International in New York City. After spending time in Paris, France, she moved on to covering war and conflict for *The Times of London*, and what she thought about her career covering war all over the world. She also talked about the things that kept her going when in danger, and her time reporting on the Kosovo War between ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo and the Serbian military (North, 2012).

*Oliver North sit-down interview with Marie Colvin – 2*

North, Oliver. "Oliver North Sit-down with Marie Colvin - 2." *Marie Colvin Memorial Foundation*, <https://mariecolvin.org/archive>. Accessed 24 Feb. 2012.

In this continuation of North's interview with Colvin, she described her time reporting on conflict in Indonesia in the late 1980s, in which an armed militia group attacked former United Nations employees and their families left behind in the country after the U.N. ordered an evacuation of peacekeeping guards. The people left behind were killed by the militia, and she was one of few journalists who stayed to report on the slaughter. She also talked about her reporting in Sri Lanka, where she was with Tamil Tiger fighters when she was shot in her eye. The risks of doing this kind of reporting also are discussed between Colvin and North (North, 2012).

*Marie Colvin wins 2000 IWMF Courage in Journalism award*

Colvin, Marie. "Marie Colvin Wins 2000 IWMF Courage in Journalism Award." International Women's Media Foundation. Marie Colvin wins 2000 IWMF Courage in Journalism Award, 10 Oct. 2000, New York, NY.

In this video of Colvin's speech at the 2000 International Women's Media Foundation award ceremony, she said that she bears witness to the conflicts of the world. She said she doesn't care about what type of weapons hurt and kill people, she only cares

about the experiences of those most affected by war -- both those who are asked to fight and those just trying to survive. The dead and suffering people and the destruction of property are some of the worst effects of war, as she saw in places like East Timor, which she talked about in her speech. Her presence in these places was, sometimes, a life-saving presence for the people who lived in the areas she went to and reported on. (Colvin, 2000).

*Marie Colvin's Final Dispatches and Tributes*

*Anderson Cooper 360*. Interview with Marie Colvin, CNN, Feb. 2012.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T9dwDvIYpYc>

In the last news broadcast on which Colvin was interviewed about her work on the ground reporting on conflict, she tells CNN's Anderson Cooper on his show about the Syrian government's ongoing attack against Syrian civilians in the city of Homs. A little boy was injured and killed in the bombing, and the video of this little boy is played while Colvin talked about why it was important to her to stay while the situation got more and more dangerous. While CNN journalists had already left, like many journalists who had been reporting in Homs, Colvin and her photographer Paul Conroy stayed. (CNN, 2012).

**Note on analysis of Marie Colvin's articles**

Much of Colvin's journalism about war and conflict was available in the book "On the Front Line," published in 2012. Copies of 10 of her newspaper articles about war and conflict between 1987 and 1999 published in this book were used in this analysis.

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WOMEN ON WAR:  
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF FOUR WOMEN WAR REPORTERS

Madeline Shannon

Dr. Amanda Hinnant, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

In thinking about the ways in which war journalists approach their work, the ethics of how that journalism is performed is one of the most crucial considerations of how and why journalists report on war. I attempt in this thesis to research how four different female war correspondents -- Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne, and Marie Colvin utilized frameworks that guided their ethical decision-making in their reporting over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I reviewed the topics and approaches that represented a Kantian approach, which was followed by the topics and approaches that represented an ethics of care approach and an approach that represented a philosophy of communitarianism. Military might served as a theme of analysis to discern the Kantian categorical imperative and communitarianism, while the suffering of civilians, the suffering of soldiers and the material destruction of property were used to discern a feminist ethic of care. A discussion of how each journalist reported on the deaths of civilians and soldiers was also used to discern a feminist ethic of care and a Kantian categorical imperative. This serves the purpose of expanding a practice of media ethics journalists can use.

Keywords: feminist ethic of care, war journalism, war reporting, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Martha Gellhorn, Ethel Payne, Marie Colvin, media ethics, textual analysis, war journalists, war reporters