

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: TRIBUTES TO FALLEN JOURNALISTS: THE
 EVOLUTION OF THE HERO MYTH IN
 JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE

Raymond McCaffrey, Doctor of Philosophy, 2013

Dissertation directed by: Associate Dean Ira Chinoy
 Philip Merrill College of Journalism

This dissertation explores a hero mythology in newspaper tributes to fallen journalists and examines whether these stories implicitly or explicitly encouraged risk-taking by reporters and discouraged them from acknowledging the psychological consequences of that behavior. This historical case study uses qualitative methods to analyze *New York Times* tributes to U.S. journalists who died from 1854 to 2012 and whose names appeared on the Journalists Memorial at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.

This study finds that the *Times* wrote about 274 of the 362 fallen journalists and depicted one in four in heroic terms, with their stories invoking themes often found in classic hero myths. Eighty percent of these hero journalists were on foreign assignments that typically involved covering war. Virtually all of these hero journalists killed in the United States were targeted because of their journalistic work. These journalists were seen as answering a call and giving their lives in service to a greater cause often tied to

normative journalistic values, such as pursuing the truth. The tributes for 27 percent of these journalists mentioned qualities associated with risk-taking, such as courage. One in ten of these journalists embodied a type of stoicism that involved them downplaying personal hardship.

A central finding of this study suggests that this hero mythology emerged in the mid-1920s, immediately after the adoption of state and national journalism ethics codes and the opening of the first journalism schools in the United States. Consequently, this mythology served as vital part of American journalism's professional movement, melding tacit journalistic codes with the tales of heroic fallen journalists.

These hero myths evolved, reaching their zenith during World War II, when the U.S. government assisted in this idolatry. This hero mythology then ebbed until resurfacing sporadically during the Vietnam War and Watergate era with antihero journalists whose work seemed to be in direct opposition to the authorities who once celebrated them. The post 9/11-era saw a resurgence of the hero myth despite the advent of research that questioned whether journalism's so-called macho code discouraged journalists from seeking treatment for occupational mental health risks such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

TRIBUTES TO FALLEN JOURNALISTS:
THE ROLE OF THE HERO MYTH
IN JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE

by

Raymond McCaffrey

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2013

Advisory Committee:

Associate Dean Ira Chinoy, Chair
Professor Emerita Maurine Beasley
Assistant Professor Kalyani Chadha
Professor Mark Feldstein
Professor Carl Lejuez

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Preface

Like many other journalists, I grew up in newsrooms. By that, I mean I spent many of the formative years of my life in them, learning what it meant to be a journalist, and a person for that matter, since for many years they were one and the same.

How I learned, I can't say, since there was no discernible lesson plan, or – most of the time - any signs of adult supervision. Newsrooms always were unruly places, at least in the beginning, and the less unruly they became, the less most of us reporters liked them. There were editors screaming above the din of police scanners. There were often reporters screaming back, at least in the early days before jobs became scarcer and everyone grew more timid. There were copy editors, shuffling in to work around sundown, sullen and detached, cursing their lot in life and ready to take out that hatred on our stories.

Newsrooms were tense places. There was not even the faintest notion of privacy, desks literally stacked side by side. There was griping and moaning, flashes of anger and occasional tears, mostly long periods of inactivity when reporters were waiting for leads to materialize in their heads, or sources to call them back, or – more often than not – just any kind of news to happen; and then, when it did, the griping and moaning immediately ceased, and the most unruly people in the world attained a kind of laser-like focus that allowed them to confront impossible situations and meet unforgiving deadlines.

The people I met in newsrooms were some of the noblest I've ever known, and the most impossible. Nobody seemed to have anything resembling a personal life, and nobody much wanted one. We dated one another, feuded, sometimes married, then

divorced, watched children grow, continued to run out on stories, and, at the end of the day, commiserate together, mainly in bars. In the after-hours, we often complained and moaned some more, except on the nights after big stories, where someone on the night desk would invariably arrive with thick stacks of the next day's paper quite literally hot off the presses, and we would tear through them, fresh ink smudging our hands, and survey the product of our work with something that resembled pride.

We also talked about stories in the making: One young reporter would stop in each night on the way home from spending the day with a family he was following: the two young children had been horribly disfigured in a propane explosion that he had covered as a cop reporter. He recounted what he had seen that day, and the reporters told him what seemed right – what scenes were important. Many months later, these very same reporters stood with him, raising their glasses as they celebrated the fact that he had won the first Pulitzer Prize in the paper's history.

One of these nights, a Sunday, we all gathered in our regular haunt after spending the entirety of the day covering the crash of a United Airlines jet in a nearby park, the deadliest plane crash to occur in the city's history. As we tried to put behind us a day spent standing near the crater in the park and the scattered remains of plane's fuselage, or knocking on the doors of those who had lost family members in the crash, a pay phone in the bar rang. On the other end was an editor back at the paper reporting that the police scanner had just carried a call about a major fire at a local nursing home. The first two reporters at the scene arrived to find the bodies being lined up outside, nine elderly women in all. One of the reporters broke down in tears, and the other gently told her that it was not the time for that, there was work to do. And so they continued on together,

until most of the newsroom joined in to cover what would become the deadliest fire in the city's history.

We believed in the same things, though we never quite identified what they were. Certainly, they were not written down; and just as certainly they were not dictated by management. These codes seemed to be about journalism or news, at least about how you behaved while gathering it, how you dealt with sources you encountered, and – perhaps most importantly – how we treated each other.

Indefinable as they were, these beliefs were not vague notions. Once, we all rallied in defense of a fellow reporter – the same one who had consoled her colleague outside the smoldering nursing home – after she objected to the orders of an unpopular city editor to interview a woman whose husband had suffered an apparent fatal heart attack at a peep show. Reporters confronted the managing editor outside in the parking lot as he was trying to enter his car and leave for home. This wasn't news, we said, among other things. Suffice it to say that the interview never happened, and no related story ever ran - and the unpopular editor later lost his job.

In essence, newsrooms were magical places – or at least they engender magical thinking in the people who remember them.

When I finally left the newsroom where I spent those formative years, I carried with me the knowledge that I would miss that place and those people every day for the rest of my life – and, in a sense, I was right. Yet, recently, while I returned to that city to visit a close friend still at the paper, I declined his invitation to come inside that same newsroom to say hello. Part of me knew that what I missed was no longer there; another part feared the realization that, in a certain sense, it had never existed at all.

Later, after I had left the profession for good and embarked on a career in academia, I heard a classmate say, rather derisively, that journalists liked to think of themselves as heroes. My thought was: *Never that*. If anything, the journalists I knew never talked about the qualities that they found admirable in other journalists. Yes, they would talk about the old days, the impossible bosses, the clownish publishers - the things that made us laugh. But few words were shared about the time in the trenches, the things we had seen, and the people we had interviewed, often on the worst days of their lives. Some of these people were heroes; but not us. If anything, there was a bit of survivor's guilt, if guilt over surviving something second-hand made any sense.

This knowledge didn't make it any easier to understand this world that I came from and now sought to study. How does one define the qualities that make a journalist? Many newsrooms I worked in seemed to be menageries, homes for people who would have had a hard time existing in any other place – and the newspapers seemed better for it. Some, myself included, had taken journalism courses or had formal training. Others carried with them colorful pasts – one of the best journalists I ever worked with delighted in telling stories about his prior career as a trash collector. Some reporters had savant-like qualities; they had no apparent social skills, but were able to talk to anyone. I remember hearing one young reporter start out a phone interview with a victim's family in such an awkward fashion that I cringed; nearly an hour later I walked by to find the reporter still on the phone. It turned out he could talk to anyone, and the secret may not have been his professional skills, but his human qualities.

Journalists themselves never expounded upon these virtues. They talked about them in a sort of shorthand. Once, when another journalism instructor was telling me

about the virtues of a former journalist colleague, she succinctly described him as "a real reporter." It seemed to be the ultimate compliment – just as when a fictional cop on the HBO-series, "The Wire," describes another cop as "real police." Similarly, when one journalist describes another journalist as "a real reporter," it only carries weight and meaning if the speaker is "a real reporter" too.

When it came time to determine the topic I wanted to study for my dissertation, I thought back to this world I had once lived in and this kind of secret society of people who believed in so much and talked about it so little. That knowledge had a particular resonance when I began reading studies about the mental health problems faced by journalists, particularly Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. While still working in the newspaper business, I had gone back to school and received a master's in clinical psychology. My thesis examined mental illness in the homeless, a population I had written about as a reporter after spending a week living on the streets in the city where I worked. In some ways, the homeless seemed a much more accessible population to study than journalists, at least when it came to the matter of mental disorders. The journalists I knew never really talked about the serious personal toll from workplace stress. And news outlets have always seemed to have very little clue as how to deal with it, even though many of the people I've met in newsrooms were relatively bright, educated people. Once, when I was talking to an editor about possibly going overseas, and mentioned my psychology background, he asked if I would like to serve on a committee being formed to consider ways to address Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in journalists who had served in war zones. I said I would, only never to hear back from him again. It seemed that the

prevailing policy to mollify journalists who had returned from traumatic assignments was simply to give them a promotion.

As I tried to hash out my dissertation idea with new and former colleagues, they were enthusiastically supportive. More often than not, they shared a personal story from their time in the field - an experience that had stuck with them or something they had seen and could never quite forget. Often times the images visited them in their dreams. They almost all had carried these experiences without talking to anyone about them.

These conversations led me to believe that true subject of inquiry for me was not mental disorders in journalists, at least not now. It was this other thing - why journalists were so disinclined to talk about what they had experienced on the job and why they apparently had never sought professional help.

What was at the root of this system of beliefs that nobody really could put words to? One thing seemed certain - the answer was not simply in written journalism codes per se. When we remembered the journalists we had known, some of whom had passed on, we never said they were impartial or accurate - that would be damning them with faint praise. No - when recounting their exploits we were in a sense like the Klingons of the Star Trek universe. We sang songs - or more specifically we told stories. The answer, it seemed, was somewhere in the stories - the myths.

For all the heroes and their stories

Acknowledgements

I had originally not intended to write an acknowledgements section. One reason was the memory of preening celebrities accepting awards on television, going on and on until the orchestra strikes up the music to drone out their ramblings about all those who had made their great moment possible.

That's not to say that I don't find the acknowledgements sections of the many dissertations I've read to be interesting and sometimes moving. It seemed to me that the names of the people who helped me most with this study are appropriately listed at the front of this dissertation: my advisor and the other committee members who provided invaluable assistance. I plan to thank them in person, as I will the others who offered support through this process. As for the people who are most responsible for steering me on the road to any sort of accomplishment in life, it seemed like the least of the things I should thank them for is a document of several hundred pages.

Nonetheless, my feelings about the acknowledgments section changed somewhat with news of the deaths of two journalists within months of my completion of this dissertation. One of the journalists I never knew – he was a young documentary filmmaker on assignment. The other journalist – the city editor at the newspaper where I spent my formative years – was not simply the greatest journalist I ever knew, but the single most important person in my professional life. And based on the tributes I read about him following his death, most any other journalist who worked with him felt the same.

The young documentary filmmaker apparently died of exposure in the freezing cold while living on the streets as he was working on a film about the homeless. A link to the story about his death had been e-mailed to me by a journalist friend who had been there many years ago when I set out on the same assignment to spend a week on the streets in the middle of winter. I know I myself didn't see any danger in that assignment, and even now it seems somewhat shameful to even suggest that there was some. Yet, there undoubtedly was –I would later write about how the central protagonist of my series on the homeless was found dead of exposure under a highway overpass. As I spent nights sleeping under bridges, all I saw was the story.

That viewpoint had a lot to do with my former city editor who recently died. His name was Jim Bishop. This hulking rough-hewn Texan we affectionately called "the big man" had come up with the idea of the homeless project, and then, like great editors always do, got out of the way and allowed me to claim the story as my own.

When I finally came back inside and wrote a long series that effectively changed the path of my career as a journalist - it didn't just help my career; it allowed me to realize that I had one - Jim helped me birth the story with the type of insightful, gentle editing that made reporters love him. When he would come across an anecdote that seemed especially moving, "the big man" would look up from the computer screen, point to one of his bare, beefy arms, and, with the slightest smile, simply say: "Goosebumps."

The gesture carried an extra measure of meaning for those who knew why Jim always wore the short-sleeve shirts that left his arms bare. The fabric of a long-sleeve shirt irritated the scarring from the burns he suffered on assignment as a young reporter. Jim rarely talked about that incident, though the news stories about him after his death

mentioned how he was nearly killed from an explosion while covering a train derailment as a young reporter in east Texas. Jim had risked his life for the profession and sent out others like me who would gladly do the same.

After reading so many tributes to other journalists over the past few years, the arch of Jim's story was all too familiar. Jim had risen from the ashes of that explosion and answered the call to adventure once again, ultimately triumphing by opening himself up to the spirit of compassion and devoting his life to unleashing the potential of countless young journalists.

In Jim's story, I could see the myths; yet I knew them to be true. Like many others, I felt blessed that I had just been one more person to encounter him on his hero's journey.

“Only in death will we have our own names since only in death are we no longer part of the effort. In death, we become heroes.”

The narrator in the 1997 novel, "Fight Club," by Chuck Palahniuk.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Fallen Journalists

As Syrian government forces ramped up their shelling of rebels in February 2012, Marie Colvin pushed forward toward the front lines, telling a colleague, "I'm going in no matter what."¹ The 56-year-old U.S.-born journalist had been covering wars for 25 years in troubled places such as Somalia, Afghanistan, the Balkans, and Southeast Asia, and had become known for wearing a trademark black patch in place of the eye she had lost while covering an uprising in Sri Lanka."²

In a Feb. 19, 2012, dispatch to her paper, the *Sunday Times of London*, Colvin wrote: "The scale of human tragedy in the city is immense."³ Two days later Colvin's body was found in the rubble of a media center that had been destroyed by rockets and bombs.⁴

Colvin's name has been added to the ranks of the more than 2,000 other journalists listed on the Journalists Memorial at the Newseum in Washington, D.C., the leading American museum dedicated to the history of news and journalism.⁵ In the days following her death in Homs, Syria, she was the subject of innumerable tributes from fellow journalists. One bore the headline: "Marie Colvin: Courageous War Correspondent and American Hero."⁶

¹ Marie Brenner, "Marie Colvin's Private War," *Vanity Fair*, August 2012, accessed Nov. 13, 2012, <http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/2012/08/marie-colvin-private-war>.

² Neil MacFarquhar, "Recalling a Journalist Who Died Bearing Witness to a Siege," *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 2012, A10.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Marie Colvin," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁶ "Marie Colvin: Courageous War Correspondent and American Hero," *Fox News*, Feb. 24, 2012, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://nation.foxnews.com/marie-colvin/2012/02/23/marie-colvin-courageous-war-correspondent-and-american-hero>.

The journalist as hero is part of the profession's lore. When Ernie Pyle, the legendary war correspondent, was killed on Okinawa toward the end of World War II, the *New York Times* lauded him for dying "a hero's death."⁷ Similar terms were used when, on Sept. 11, 2001, freelance photographer Bill Biggart became the only journalist to die when terrorists attacked New York City and Washington.⁸ His final photo – which captured the smoking remains of the south tower – was shot at 10:28 a.m., the time the north tower collapsed, burying Biggart in the rubble with his camera beside him.⁹ Striking the tone seen in the many newspaper and magazine tributes to Biggart, one journalist wrote: "A great deal of honor has been heaped, deservedly, on the heroes who rushed to the World Trade Center that morning to rescue lives. In his own way - a way any journalist can understand - Biggart was a hero as well."¹⁰ This tradition has carried on in the post 9/11 era, with the deaths of journalists such as Marie Colvin and *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Shadid receiving widespread coverage by the media, not just in newspapers and on television but through online blogs and social media.¹¹

Yet, a key part of Colvin's personal history was not included in the initial stories after her death. In fact, friends said that the long-time war correspondent had been treated for Post

⁷ "Ernie Pyle," *New York Times*, April 19, 1945, 26.

⁸ "Bill Biggart, 'I'm With The Fireman,'" *New York Times*, Sept. 18, 2001, B10.

Biggart is also featured in a Newseum exhibit and book: Cathy Trost, Alicia C. Shepard, Tom Brokaw, and Newseum, *Running toward Danger : Stories Behind the Breaking News of 9/11*, (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers ; Distributed by National Book Network, 2002). The Newseum exhibit includes the camera with which he took his final picture before being crushed by one of the collapsing twin towers.

⁹ Jerry Adler, "Shooting To The End," *Newsweek*, Oct. 14, 2001, accessed Feb. 3, 2012, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2001/10/14/shooting-to-the-end.html>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Rod Nordland and Alan Cowell, "Two Western Journalists Killed in Syria Shelling." *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 2012, accessed April 6, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/23/world/middleeast/marie-colvin-and-remi-ochlik-journalists-killed-in-syria.html?pagewanted=all>

Traumatic Stress Disorder.¹² They believed her newspaper should not have allowed her to return to the battlefield.¹³ Marie Brenner of *Vanity Fair* reported hearing one writer at a memorial service for Colvin declared: "The Sunday Times has blood on its hands."¹⁴ Brenner wrote that "members of the foreign staff confided to me their rage at what they considered the danger they now faced in the paper's frenzy for press awards."¹⁵ Friends and colleagues also said that Colvin was haunted by the things she had seen in war zones, and for years had blunted the memories with heavy alcohol use.¹⁶ These same friends had urged her to stop drinking and feared that her erratic behavior would lead to poor decision-making in the field.¹⁷

Brenner also reported that *The Sunday Times of London* had launched its own investigation regarding its possible complicity in Brenner's death; one anonymous editor revealed that under British laws it would have been "illegal" to prohibit a reporter with PTSD to return to work after receiving medical clearance.¹⁸ And Colvin wanted to return to covering wars, according to Brenner, who wrote: "Work was where she felt competent and safe."¹⁹ When Colvin ignored the Syrian government's ban on foreign journalists entering the country and snuck across the border with the help of smugglers, she was carrying "her lucky copy" of *The Face of War*, by Martha Gellhorn - Colvin had returned from many a conflict in which she spent

¹² Brenner, "Marie Colvin's Private War."

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

her evenings reading the dispatches of the legendary combat correspondent.²⁰ In the book, Gellhorn wrote of a career in which she had become "an unscathed tourist of wars."²¹

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and Journalists

Much has changed since Martha Gellhorn's time as a World War II-era correspondent as far as understanding the impact of covering war and other traumatic events on journalists. Few believe that journalists such as Marie Colvin return from battle "unscathed."²² Research over the past two decades has determined that journalists who cover war and other traumatic events have been found to be at risk for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.²³ In truth, the term "fallen journalists" can be applied to many more reporters and photographers than just those whose names appear on the Journalists Memorial – it also can be used to describe journalists suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, depression, substance abuse, or other psychological and physical maladies that are tied to their work in the field. A wave of mass killings and other traumatic events in the United States over the past 20 or so years prompted further examination by researchers of trauma experienced by journalists those who work on the domestic front. These events included covering the terrorist bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, the shootings at Columbine High School in 1999, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, and, more recently, mass shootings at Virginia Tech University, a Colorado movie theatre, and an elementary school in Connecticut.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Martha Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1988), 16.

²² Ibid.

²³ Hal Himmelstein and E. Perry Faithorn, "Eyewitness to Disaster: How Journalists Cope with the Psychological Stress Inherent in Reporting Traumatic Events," *Journalism Studies* 3, no. 4, (2002): 537.

Meanwhile, researchers have advanced in their understanding of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and the reasons why some individuals avoid treatment because of the accompanying social stigma that can go with being diagnosed with a mental disorder.²⁴

Despite mounting efforts by some media outlets to launch intervention programs, journalists have been hesitant to seek treatment.²⁵ When terrorists attacked New York City and Washington, D.C., on Sept. 11, 2001, scores of journalists rushed to the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, right on the heels of rescue workers. Yet when mental-health workers finally swept in to provide counseling to those who had witnessed first-hand the traumatic aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, journalists turned out to be the most hesitant group to step forward for help – journalists were found to be less willing to share feelings and more ashamed to admit the effect of traumatic events than police, firefighters, and other first responders.²⁶ Reporters later said that they declined to tell editors that they were suffering physically or psychologically because they were afraid that doing so would break what they described as “a newsroom ethos.”²⁷ This ethos appeared to be reminiscent of the code espoused by Martha Gellhorn's former husband, Ernest Hemingway, who once dismissed a question about whether his writing had been affected by "the traumatic shock of your severe 1918 mortar wound," by replying that "the effects of wounds vary greatly. Simple wounds which do not break bone are of little account. They sometimes give

²⁴ Thomas W. Britt, "The Stigma of Psychological Problems in a Work Environment: Evidence from the Screening of Service Members Returning from Bosnia." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 8 (2000): 1599.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Anthony Depalma, "Suffering in Silence," *Columbia Journalism Review* 47, no. 6, (2009): 46.

²⁷ Ibid.

confidence. Wounds which do extensive bone and nerve damage are not good for writers, nor anybody else."²⁸

Echoes of the so-called Hemingway code have long resonated in newsrooms, where researchers have documented a culture that encourages macho behavior and discourages the expression of "softer" emotions.²⁹ Journalists have been historically unwilling to admit to any signs of weakness in a culture where they could lose major assignments.³⁰ Arthur Kent, an NBC correspondent who gained fame for his reporting during the first Gulf War - the telegenic reporter's dispatches that included updates about impending scud missile attacks earned him the name, the "Scud Stud" - would find this out.³¹ Kent was suspended by the network for turning down an assignment to travel to the Croatian capital of Zagreb in 1992 during the war in the Balkans.³² Kent said the suspension stemmed from a contract dispute with the network, which prompted him to "refuse any hazardous assignments" until the matter was resolved.³³ NBC News management, Kent said, was retaliating by trying to label him "a coward and a shirker."³⁴ Kent said the danger of the assignment, which he labeled an "ill-conceived fishing expedition," was proven by the death of ABC news producer, David Kaplan, who was fatally shot in Sarajevo, the

²⁸ George Plimpton, "Interviews: Ernest Hemingway, The Art of Fiction No. 21," *Paris Review*, Spring 1958, No. 18, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/4825/the-art-of-fiction-no-21-ernest-hemingway>.

²⁹ Cindy Elmore, "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," *Women & Language* 30, no. 2 (2007): 21.

³⁰ Fred Fedler, "Insiders' Stories: Coping with Newsroom Stress: An Historical Perspective," *American Journalism* 21, no. 3 (2004): 77.

³¹ Associated, Press, "Foreign Correspondent Is Suspended by NBC," *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1992, 44.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ "Scud Stud Kent Goes To War With NBC," *The Sun*, Aug. 19, 1992, 6G.

³⁴ Kathleen Teltsch, "Chronicle." *New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1992, B4.

Bosnian capital, on the same day that NBC announced Kent's suspension.³⁵ In dismissing Kent's claims, an NBC spokeswoman said that the network would never order a reporter into a war zone, noting that Zagreb was a stable area 175 miles from Sarajevo.³⁶ NBC, which subsequently fired Kent, ultimately settled a lawsuit brought against it by its former correspondent.³⁷

Roughly 20 years after Kent's suspension, the death of another acclaimed journalist highlighted how that pressure – either overt or implicit - to take on risky assignments can play out in less public ways. When *New York Times* reporter Anthony Shadid died on Feb. 16, 2012, of an apparent asthma attack while sneaking his way into Syria, he was the subject of innumerable tributes from fellow journalists. These tributes even came from readers, via blogs and Twitter feeds – so many, in fact, that the *Times* felt compelled to assemble them together in an online story.³⁸ *Times* columnist Paul Krugman blogged that Shadid was a “fine reporter, and a genuinely heroic one both physically and morally.”³⁹ And in an e-mail tribute sent to the *Times* newsroom, Executive Editor Jill Abramson praised Shadid in terms that emphasized how he espoused core newsroom values: “Anthony died as he lived - determined to bear witness to the transformation sweeping the Middle East and to testify to the suffering of people caught between government oppression and opposition forces.”⁴⁰ The *Times* also ran a stirring first-person story by photographer Tyler Hicks, who wrote how he had helped carry Shadid's body back to Turkey

³⁵ "Scud Stud Kent Goes To War With NBC," 6G.

³⁶ Associated Press, "Foreign Correspondent Is Suspended by NBC", 44.

³⁷ Elizabeth Kolbert, "NBC and Kent Settle Suit." *New York Times*, March 17, 1994, C20.

³⁸ "From Readers and Colleagues, an Outpouring of Respect for Anthony Shadid," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 2012, accessed March 19, 2012, <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/17/on-twitter-an-outpouring-of-respect-for-shadid>.

³⁹ "Paul Krugman, "Anthony Shadid, R.I.P.," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 2012, accessed March 30, 2012, <http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/17/>.

⁴⁰ "From Readers and Colleagues, an Outpouring of Respect for Anthony Shadid," *New York Times*.

"across barbed wire" after Shadid apparently had an allergic reaction to horses that were being ridden by the smugglers who ushered them into Syria.⁴¹ In an editorial tribute, the *Times* noted that Shadid had once been shot in the West Bank and had more recently been kidnapped in Libya in 2011, but he embarked on his last assignment "predictably undaunted," though the Syrian government had worked "to keep foreign reporters out and the full truth of its many horrors hidden."⁴² The *Times* added: "Personal travail — being shot in Ramallah, kidnapped in Libya — was part of the business for him, as it is for many of our colleagues. He kept going back."⁴³

But four months after his death, in June 2012, a cousin of the late correspondent said Shadid had raised objections with *Times* management about the safety of the plan to smuggle him and Hicks into Syria.⁴⁴ In a speech at the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee's convention in Washington, D.C., Ed Shadid, a surgeon and an Oklahoma City council member, also specifically took issue with the *Times*' coverage of his cousin's death, saying: "It's not the rosy picture ... that was portrayed."⁴⁵ The cousin said that a prior plan for Shadid to cross into Syria was canceled because a security advisor working for the *Times* said it was "too dangerous," but the paper reversed course six weeks later after CNN had been able to enter the country.⁴⁶ Shadid initially agreed to go, his cousin said, but then raised objections after learning that "the plans started to fall apart," prompting a phone call in which "there was screaming and slamming

⁴¹ Tyler Hicks, "Bearing Witness in Syria: A Correspondent's Last Days." *New York Times*, March 3, 2012. A1.

⁴² "Anthony Shadid," *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 2012, A22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Matt Pearce, "Anthony Shadid's Cousin Takes a Shot at NYT - and Journalism in General," *Los Angeles Times*, June 25, 2012.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Dylan Byers, "Anthony Shadid said to have blamed death on New York Times," *Politico*, June 24, 2012, accessed Jan. 17, 2013, <http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2012/06/shadid-said-to-have-blamed-death-on-nyt-127119.html>. The entirety of speech, which lasts about 12 minutes, can be seen in a YouTube video that accompanies the Politico story.

on the phone in discussions with editors."⁴⁷ Shadid had learned there were no longer motorcycles available for transport into Syria, his cousin said, and he also realized "that the smugglers weren't solely focused on" on the journalists, and "they were going to take ammunition, and crates of ammunition. It was at that time that he called his wife and gave his last haunting directive, that if anything happens to me I want the world to know the *New York Times* killed me."⁴⁸

Whether or not Anthony Shadid actually raised objections before embarking on his last assignment is certainly subject to conjecture. Responding to the claims, a *Times* spokesperson said: "The *Times* does not pressure reporters to go into combat zones. Anthony was an experienced, motivated correspondent. He decided whether, how and when to enter Syria, and was told by his editors, including on the day of the trip, that he should not make the trip if he felt it was not advisable for any reason."⁴⁹ And Shadid's wife, Nada Bakri, also a *Times* reporter, declined to talk to reporters about the story.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, some of the concerns raised by Shadid's cousin appear indisputable, even accepted if simply on face value.

The *Times* itself acknowledged in stories about Shadid's death that he had a chronic health condition – his cousin said he most likely died from a heart attack, not from asthma, based on the accounts of how he collapsed: "Anthony unfortunately was a smoker, and with minimal exertion in December he was struggling. He was wheezing. We should make sure that journalists

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Pearce, "Anthony Shadid's Cousin Takes a Shot at NYT - and Journalism in General."

The *Los Angeles Times* also reported that Shadid's wife responded by Twitter, tweeting: "I do not approve of and will not be a part of any public discussion of Anthony's passing. It does nothing but sadden Anthony's children to have to endure repeated public discussion of the circumstances of their father's death." The *Los Angeles Times* did interview Tyler Hicks, the photographer on assignment with Shadid, who said it was Shadid who was putting the pressure on editors to travel into Syria.

are physically capable of the assignments given to them."⁵¹ The *Times* also reported that Shadid had experienced what few would dispute was a traumatic event – while in captivity in Libya in the summer of 2011, his cousin said, Shadid was “bound, gagged, tied up with wire, beaten and subjected to mock execution.”⁵² Shadid, his cousin said, had given “warning signs” about the psychological effects of that the experience when he gave a commencement speech later that year in which he said "there is nothing exhilarating about escaping death. Its very prospect felt to me like a poison spreading through your body. It lingers far longer than most bruises and it lasts long after the memories fade of hands and legs bound by wire."⁵³

Finally, Shadid's cousin raised a concern not often discussed when talking about risk-taking by journalists – namely that in paying tribute to journalists killed in action, newsrooms might at some level be sending the wrong message to the journalists who will follow in their paths:

In his death, there are lessons which would help us protect journalists in the way that he would have done. I think his death is misunderstood and there's a tendency to romanticize it... Immediately after his death we heard from the previous executive editor of the New York Times, Bill Keller, who said that Anthony had one of the characteristics of great journalists. Great journalists always go. We heard from the deputy director of the Committee to Protect Journalists that Anthony knew the risks but chose to go because that's what reporters do. The danger, I think, of ... that 'journalists always go, great journalists always go,' is that future journalists watching all this will feel that to get ahead they must take excessive risks.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

The Need for Research

There has been little scholarly research into the hidden dangers of romanticizing the deaths of fallen journalists and the message it sends to future journalists – the message that "great journalists always go" get the story, no matter if they are hurting physically or mentally. Researchers concerned with the psychological problems faced by journalists have largely ignored what motivates journalists to put themselves in harm's way in the first place. At the same time, scholars concerned with journalistic ethos typically limit their focus to how journalists adhere to the tenets of professional codes, such as the need to remain objective.⁵⁵ Left unexplored is the existence of journalistic ethos that some say encourages risky, almost macho behavior, and discourages emotional expression.⁵⁶

Social psychologists say that professional codes can be at the root of a powerful mythology that is only loosely based on the rules and norms that are established and preserved by organizations.⁵⁷ They say the function of these codes has been to serve as myths that are incorporated by an organization – so much so that the organizations can come to reflect the myths more than the nature of the work itself.⁵⁸ They add that the myths that arise from these professional codes become crucial to the development and survival of an organization, which they define as "systems of coordinated and controlled activities."⁵⁹

⁵⁵ John Steel, "Cultivating a Journalistic Ethos? Equilibrium in British Journalism Education," International Communication Association 2007 Annual Meeting.

⁵⁶ Elmore, "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," 21.

⁵⁷ Richard W. Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (Foundations for Organizational Science, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2001): 7.

⁵⁸ John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," *American Journal of Sociology* 83, no. 2 (1977): 340.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 342.

The failure to explore this mythology may help to explain why the on-the-job mental health risks faced by journalists went ignored for so long by both researchers and newsroom management. In the 2006 text, *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*, Dr. Anthony Feinstein, a psychiatrist, questioned the industry's role in contributing to the suffering of journalists who have covered war and other traumatic events.⁶⁰ In essence, Feinstein blames the newsroom myth that professional reporters had the ability to remain so emotionally detached that they could report on the most traumatic events and emerge unscathed and silent, carrying with them only the facts that they had dutifully recorded in their notebooks. Feinstein says:

To a degree, the profession itself has helped foster this silence. Embedded within the persona of the war journalist is an element of self-deception: the idea that he is someone who can confront war with impunity. It could be argued that this is a necessary prerequisite that allows war journalists to practice their profession. The news bosses are not immune to this way of thinking either, for it affords them a degree of comfort when dispatching journalists to wherever the latest conflagration erupts. The profession has been so effective in fortifying these constructs and perpetuating a very public myth that researchers in the field of psychological stress have, to date, passed them by.⁶¹

In essence, it is this public myth that has gone unexamined by researchers. According to Carl Jung, the Swiss psychoanalyst, any attempt to explain the motivations of a person or persons should begin with asking what myth they are living by.⁶² Jung wrote that "(m)yth goes back to the primitive storyteller and his dreams, to men moved by the stirring of their

⁶⁰ Anthony Feinstein, *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), v.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Joseph Campbell, Phil Cousineau, and Stuart L. Brown, *The Hero's Journey : Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work*, (1st New World Library ed, *The Collected Works of Joseph Campbell*. Novato, Calif.: New World Library : Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2003), 46.

fantasies.”⁶³ And as myths go, Jung wrote, “(t)he myth of the hero is the most common and the best known myth in the world.”⁶⁴ In his seminal work, *The Hero With A Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell wrote about the role of the so-called hero’s journey as a central myth in many cultures.⁶⁵ According to this myth, the hero is someone who answers the call to embark on a dangerous journey that ultimately is in service to others.⁶⁶ The myth of the hero, Jack Lule writes, “is one of humankind’s most enduring archetypes, found in societies around the world and across time.”⁶⁷

The Purpose of this Study

The purpose of my dissertation is to explore the existence of hero myths that journalists might follow. It seeks to uncover the historical roots of these myths, with the hope that learning when this mythology started might also offer some understanding as to why it came to exist in the first place. The dissertation raises the question of whether mythology explains why journalists take the risks that they do and shrug off the psychological impact of the work they perform.

The mythologizing of journalists has been in force since independent reporters first went out into the field of battle. William Howard Russell of the *Times* of London has been recognized

⁶³ Carl G. Jung and Marie-Luise von Franz, *Man and His Symbols*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), 78.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶⁵ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. 3rd ed, (Bollingen Series XVII. Novato, Calif.: New World Library, 2008), 57.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 315.

⁶⁷ Jack Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories : The Mythological Role of Journalism*, The Guilford Communication Series (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 283

as the model for the modern war correspondent.⁶⁸ Unlike correspondents who covered the Napoleonic War, Russell actually reported from the battlefield during the Crimean War in 1854, and he was memorialized after his death in St. Paul's Cathedral.⁶⁹ A tablet of a bust in his crypt following his death in 1910 at St. Paul's carried the inscription, "First and Greatest of War Correspondents."⁷⁰ And as Phillip Knightley detailed in his book, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq*, war correspondents have not only been mythologized, but they themselves have served as the creators of myths, often at the expense of the truth.⁷¹

Largely ignored, though, is the role news organizations themselves play in mythologizing those mythmakers, particularly in the form of posthumous tributes, such as the one that the *New York Times* paid to Anthony Shadid. Steven R. Goldzwig and Patricia A. Sullivan write that newspapers editorials written after the deaths of prominent figures are "an important eulogistic form."⁷² They add that a "newspaper editorial eulogy is a mass-mediated vehicle that continues to help us cope with the loss of national public figures."⁷³ Goldzwig and Sullivan's analysis of newspaper editorial eulogies written after the assassination of national figures such as President John F. Kennedy, his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King Jr. serve to provide

⁶⁸ Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 224.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Frederick John Mansfield, *The Complete Journalist: a Study of the Principles and Practice of Newspaper-Making* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1935), 127.

⁷¹ Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq*. 3rd ed. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

⁷² Steven R. Goldzwig and Patricia A. Sullivan. "Post-Assassination Newspaper Editorial Eulogies: Analysis and Assessment." *Western Journal of Communication* 59, no. 2 (1995): 126.

⁷³ Ibid.

"therapeutic guidance for engaged readers during the post-assassination crisis period."⁷⁴ In that capacity, they write: "The post-assassination editorial is a rhetorical form that provides national space for responding to and coping with a shocking, disorienting, and potentially politically dangerous public event."⁷⁵

This dissertation will argue that newspaper tributes to fallen journalists - eulogies that can be conveyed through editorials as well as news stories - serve much the same function. They serve as, in Goldzwig and Sullivan's words, "a mass-mediated vehicle" that allows the members of the journalistic community cope with the loss of their own; they also serve as a "rhetorical form" that can provide "therapeutic guidance" to this community and the greater public. Indeed, the most tragic and public deaths of journalists - the videotaped beheading in 2002 of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl by kidnappers in Pakistan comes to mind - can be seen as the type of "shocking, disorienting, and potentially politically dangerous public event" that Goldzwig and Sullivan write about.⁷⁶ The danger is that these events can shake to the core the journalism community's belief in what they do in an increasingly chaotic world. The tributes not only put the life of the fallen journalist in perspective; they can reaffirm basic journalistic values and offer motivation for others to continue the cause. But as could be seen in the tributes to Anthony Shadid, they can also send a message about how great journalists must confront danger - no matter what.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Clyde Haberman, "NYC; Killed on Job but Spared 'Hero' Label," *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 2002, B1.

Research Questions

This dissertation will examine coverage of fallen journalists in newspapers by looking at tributes in the *New York Times*. Overall, this study will involve an analysis of *Times* tributes to fallen U.S. journalists whose names appeared on the Journalists Memorial, which dates back to 1837.

Researchers have looked into the mythic elements of news stories, identifying the prevalence of an array of mythic archetypal figures, including that of the hero.⁷⁷ Extending this work, this study will ask: Do *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists advance a hero myth?

Studies looking at the roles of myths in news narratives have determined that the nature of mythic archetypes can shift through time.⁷⁸ Consequently, this study will ask: If there is a hero myth advanced in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists, then has it evolved through time?

Mythological tales have long sought to instruct, using classic narrative forms such as the so-called hero's journey to espouse certain values that are held dear by the greater society.⁷⁹ Consequently, this study will ask: Are there certain journalistic values depicted in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists?

Mythological tales also seek to inspire, often using the stories of heroes to reinforce the value of qualities like courage and solemn sacrifice.⁸⁰ Consequently, this study will ask: Are there qualities glorified in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists that encourage risk-taking and discourage the acknowledgement of the psychological impact of that behavior?

⁷⁷ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories : The Mythological Role of Journalism*, 15

⁷⁸ Ana C. Garner and Karen Slattery, "Mobilizing Mother from Good Mother to Patriotic Mother," *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 14, no. Number 1 (2012): 1-77.

⁷⁹ Joseph Campbell and Bill D. Moyers, *The Power of Myth*. 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 151.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

The Organization of Chapters

This dissertation will be presented as a narrative that largely examines the journalism tributes in chronological fashion in order to provide an historical context to the analysis. That time period begins in the formative years of the penny press in the United States and the development of reporters working separately from the editor and publisher. This study also covers the period when journalism schools first opened and journalistic codes were initially adopted at the start of the twentieth century. It includes the major wars of that century - World War I and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War - and continues to the present post 9/11 era and the global War on Terror. It presents a unique look at journalism history, exploring how a hero mythology surrounding fallen journalists is in line with emerging research focused on the physical and psychological risks faced by journalists.

Chapter 1 serves as the introduction. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of research involving myth and journalistic practice. The chapter establishes that despite a wealth of research into journalistic practice, there has little to no scholarly research specifically looking at how a common mythology might guide journalists at work. Chapter 3 looks at sociological and psychological theories that are relevant to understanding the possible role of these myths. This chapter considers, in particular, social learning theory, which holds that people can learn how to behave as a result of “symbolic communication” that can include exposure to mass media, such as books and television.⁸¹ The next chapter explains the methods of this case study, which largely involve a qualitative analysis of *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists. This chapter will also discuss the Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial project at the Newseum.

⁸¹ Albert Bandura, "Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication," *Media Psychology* 3, no. 3 (2001): 265.

Chapter 5 will begin the analysis of the tributes to fallen journalists. This chapter will examine tributes to fallen journalists in the nineteenth century, a formative period in U.S. journalism. The period begins during the early days of the penny press papers and the growing utilization of news gatherers who were not the editors or publishers of newspapers.⁸² Despite the advances of the penny press and the utilization of the news gatherers during the Civil War, Michael Schudson writes that “the reporter was a social invention of the 1880s and 1890s.”⁸³ This invention was aided in particular by the competition between media barons such as Joseph Pulitzer, who bought the *New York World* in 1883, and his competitor, William Randolph Hearst, who bought the *New York Journal* in 1895.⁸⁴ Their war for readers led to newspapers increasing their circulation by as much as tenfold, and a concomitant increase in the hiring of reporters.⁸⁵ This chapter will suggest that, despite this development, tributes to fallen journalists lacked any discernible hero mythology during a time when the profession had yet to establish any common national codes to follow.

Chapter 6 examines tributes to fallen journalists in the early twentieth century, a period defined in this dissertation as beginning in 1900 and lasting until 1939, just before the beginning of World War II. The era began with the rise of a professionalism movement in journalism centered on education and the development of ethical codes. It included the establishment of the country’s first journalism school at the University of Missouri in 1908.⁸⁶ And two years later, in

⁸² Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 23.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ W. David Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 7th ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 2008), 233.

⁸⁵ Elliot King, “Objectivity During a Class of Titans, 1883-1915,” in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, ed. Steven R. Knowlton and Karen L. Freeman. (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005), 117.

⁸⁶ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 297.

1910, the Kansas Editorial Association became the first state press association to adopt a code of ethics.⁸⁷ Other state press organizations followed, and, in 1923, the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted the Canons of Journalism.⁸⁸ This chapter covers the time period when journalists were establishing their professional roles amid major events, such as World War I and the Great Depression, and the emergence of new journalistic mediums, such as radio. This dissertation will make the argument that it was in this era, almost immediately after the development of professional codes, that one can begin to see the establishment of a hero mythology in tributes to fallen journalists.

Chapter 7 will delve into how the heroic vision of the reporter – in particular, the war correspondent – became more paramount during World War II, defined as 1940 to 1945. The mythology in these tributes was in no way subtle. The analysis of *Times* coverage also reveals how this hero mythology involving journalists was part of a broader national mission, with the U.S. Navy naming ships after fallen journalists and U.S. leaders taking prominent roles in memorial services to them. Moreover, the profession charted the importance of key news values in these tributes. These news values also became embodied in the establishment of journalism awards in the names of these fallen journalists.

Chapter 8 deals with the immediate post World War II era, which is defined as lasting from 1946 to 1959. This chapter examines journalistic roles during the late 1940s and the 1950s, a time marked by the rise of television news broadcasters and the challenges faced by journalists during the Korean War, the McCarthy era, and the emergence of the Cold War. The ranks of the fallen journalists at this point include those from the emerging new medium, television. This

⁸⁷ Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston, New York etc: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 429.

⁸⁸ "A Newspaper Code," *New York Times*, April 29, 1923, 2.

period is also marked by the first on-the-job deaths of women, who had gained a greater foothold in journalism during World War II, as they began to replace male journalists who went off to war.⁸⁹ This chapter looks at the application of the hero mythology to women and TV journalists who died in the line of duty. It also examines how this mythology was diminished by a shifting national purpose and a growing disenchantment with foreign wars.

Chapter 9 looks at journalistic roles as they were defined during the 1960s and 1970s, from 1960 to 1979, marked by the coverage of the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal that ended in the resignation of a U.S. president. This era is marked by the emergence of the journalist as antihero, a figure whose pursuit of the story sometimes appeared to fly in the face of the greater society. At the very least, journalists were increasingly at odds with U.S. political figures, including a succession of U.S. presidents. When investigative reporters became the rage following Watergate in the 1970s, these practitioners were depicted as exhibiting many of the same qualities as the heroic martyr-reporters who had perished while covering wars. The prime example was Donald F. Bolles, an *Arizona Republic* reporter who died after a bomb exploded in his car while in the midst of an investigation of organized crime.⁹⁰

Chapter 10 involves the final era in this study, from 1980 to 2012. This chapter will include a look at how the hero mythology continued as newsrooms gradually became aware of the mental health risks related to reporting on events such as war, natural disasters and other traumatic events. This era begins in 1980, the year the American Psychiatric Association first added Post Traumatic Stress Disorder to its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual after determining that Vietnam War veterans exhibited symptoms of distress that could be tied to their

⁸⁹ Maurine Hoffman Beasley, Kathryn T. Theus, and University of Maryland College Park. College of Journalism. Women's Project. *The New Majority : A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions.* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 29.

⁹⁰ "Don Bolles Dies; Maimed Reporter," *New York Times*, June 14, 1976, 34

experiencing of traumatic events.⁹¹ It was mid-way through this period, in 1996, that trauma researchers turned their attention to journalists, with the subject gaining broader consideration in 1999 with the formation of the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma.⁹² This period is also marked by the advent of new technology that radically altered the way that news was produced and delivered, starting with the birth of cable TV news in 1980, and eventually including the emergence of the Internet as a journalistic form in the mid-1990s. Against this backdrop, this chapter argues that the hero mythology continued on amid a shifting U.S. global mission that took on a new form in the post 9/11 era.

This chapter also includes an overview of the fallen U.S. journalists who were not covered by the *New York Times* - roughly one in four individuals on the memorial wall - in the years covered by this study. As part of my study, I built a comprehensive database that allowed me to analyze and present a fuller picture of how journalists die on assignment, whether being shelled on the battlefield while covering a war in a foreign country or struck by a car while reporting from an accident scene on a U.S. highway close to home. This information also allowed me to analyze the circumstances that generate coverage of fallen journalists. Are journalists who die in a foreign country more likely to be covered than those who die on U.S. soil? Are male reporters more likely to be covered than female journalists? Does the journalists' form of media affect this coverage – is a print journalist more likely to be covered than a reporter working in TV, or radio, or multimedia platforms? Also explored on a larger scale will be the

⁹¹ Gretchen Dworznik, "Journalism and Trauma," *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 534-53.

⁹² Roger Simpson. "Journalism and Trauma: A Long Overdue Conjunction." *Nieman Reports* 58, no. 2 (2004): 77.

notion of what scholars have called "textual silences," and how what is omitted from news stories can also tell us much about the underlying intent of media coverage.⁹³

Chapter 11 concludes this dissertation. As part of this conclusion, I will make what I believe will be a compelling case that this hero mythology is a relatively new phenomenon, developing in the 1920s, immediately after the adoption of state and national journalism ethics codes and the opening of the first journalism schools in the United States. Accordingly, I will argue that this mythology almost served as the third wave of the professional movement in American journalism along with the development of ethics codes and the advent of journalism schools. Moreover, I will also contend that the perpetuation of this mythology has continued almost unabated, despite ongoing research that has begun to question whether journalism's so-called macho code was a factor in discouraging journalists from seeking treatment for newly-identified occupational mental health risks such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Moreover, I will conclude that tributes to fallen journalists can serve to endorse risk-taking and encourage a disregard for the personal consequences of that behavior.

⁹³ Meghan Sweeney, "Listening Rhetorically to Textual Silence: Intimate Partner Homicide Media Coverage," *International Journal of Listening* 26, no. 3 (2012): 146.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Fallen Journalists and Myth

Though studies have revealed the mental health issues faced by reporters and photographers who cover war and other traumatic events, there has been little scholarly research into what motivates journalists to pursue these risky assignments and dismiss the psychological and physical dangers of such work. This study will look at whether newspaper tributes to fallen journalists convey a hero mythology that encourages such behavior.

This dissertation will attempt to bring together two important yet independent strains of research revealed in a review of the literature. One is the study of mythology, not just in sacred texts, but in daily news stories. The other is the study of journalistic practice, in particularly the tradition of risk-taking amongst journalists. Though scholars interested in journalistic practice have looked at news stories as a form of mediated discourse by journalists about their profession, this study will examine the mythic themes in those stories or what those stories say about taking risks on the job.

The Study of Myth

The study of myth has long been a robust source of scholarly work. In her 1882 text on mythology, Catherine Ann White writes that the word "myth" derives from two Greek words: "mythos," which means "a myth or fable, and logos, a discourse."¹ Accordingly, White writes:

¹ Catherine Ann White, *The Student's Mythology; a Compendium of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Hindoo, Chinese,, Thibetian, Scandinavian, Celtic, Aztec, and Peruvian Mythologies, in Accordance with Standard Authorities/* New ed. (New York,: A. C. Armstrong & son, 1882).

"A myth is, properly speaking, an allegory or fable invented to convey some important moral or religious truth, or illustrate some aspects of nature."²

Many other scholars have sought to define mythology and explain its importance in the evolution of humanity. Mircea Eliade writes that myth, "supplies models of human behavior and, by that very fact, gives meaning and value to life."³ Carl Jung writes that the "inward vision" of people and societies "can only be expressed by way of myth."⁴

In his vast cross-cultural study of mythology throughout history, Joseph Campbell concluded that myths "flourished" in every type and form of society on record.⁵ The presence of myth is so strong and dates back so far in time that Campbell concludes that it might be considered "the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into the human cultural manifestation."⁶ Campbell notes that the hero myth is one of the most popular models and can be seen in many forms of writing: "Even in popular novels, the main character is a hero or heroine who had found or done something beyond the normal range of achievement and experience. A hero is someone who has given his or her life to something bigger than oneself."⁷

The overarching message given by all of these scholars is that myths have played a vital role in all societies through time, serving to instruct a society's members through the use of stories that feature heroes and other figures who serve as models for how to live and how to die.

² Ibid.

³ Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* [1st American ed, World Perspectives, New York: Harper & Row, 1963], 2.

⁴ C.G. Jung and Aniela Jaffé, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, rev. ed, (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 3.

⁵ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 151.

⁶ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 57.

⁷ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 151.

Seeing myths in news stories can be unsettling to those who associate the term myth with something false. Yet, James W. Carey wrote: "One of the most productive ways to see news is to consider it as myth."⁸ Still, in *Myth and Mass Media*, published in 1959, Marshall McLuhan wrote that "surprisingly little attention" had been given to bringing "the relatively articulated concept of 'myth' into the area of 'media.'"⁹ McLuhan's ensuing work focused on how myths and messages were conveyed with emerging technologies such as the printing press, the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, and television.¹⁰

Roland Barthes later produced seminal work involving mythology and the media, seeing, for instance, the myth of France's imperial power signified on a *Paris Match* cover featuring a young soldier of African descent saluting in a French uniform.¹¹ In the preface to his 1972 book, *Mythologies*, Barthes wrote that his work involving mythology and media began with "a feeling of impatience" with how newspapers "constantly dress up a reality."¹² He added that "the notion of myth seemed to me to explain these examples of the falsely obvious. At that time, I still used the word 'myth' in its traditional sense. But I was already certain of a fact from which I later tried to draw all the consequences: myth is a language."¹³ Hanno Hardt would later argue in *Myths for the Masses: An Essay on Mass Communication*, that "even in its most advanced forms of persuasion -for example in advertising and propaganda -mass communication still relies on

⁸ James W. Carey, *Media, Myths, and Narratives : Television and the Press*, Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research V. 15. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1988, 70.

⁹ Marshall McLuhan, "Myth and Mass Media," *Daedalus* 88, no. 2 (1959): 339.

¹⁰ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media; the Extensions of Man* 1st ed. (New York,: McGraw-Hill, 1964) , 121.

¹¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York,: Hill and Wang, 1972), 116.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 11.

the mythical force of the word to gain influence through strategies that are based on the use of language."¹⁴

A number of researchers have analyzed how journalists have used mythic forms in news writing. S. Elisabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne pointed out that journalists are not just conveyers of objective fact, but they also present the news by using narrative structure seen in classic storytelling.¹⁵ These news stories, the authors noted, are indicative of a given society's view of life.¹⁶

This phenomenon can be seen in the many different mediums journalists use to report the news. In a 1979 study of national and local television newscasts, Robert Rutherford Smith argued that though TV may not create myths, it can be used to convey prevailing mythologies.¹⁷

In a later study of TV newscasts about major airline crashes in the 1970s and 1980s, Richard C. Vincent, Bryan K. Crow, and Dennis K. Davis, concluded that the narrative techniques used in such spot-news coverage went beyond just telling viewers what happened, but also sent powerful messages about the vicissitudes of life.¹⁸ These narratives also served to

¹⁴ Hanno Hardt, *Myths for the Masses : An Essay on Mass Communication* (Blackwell Manifestos. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 20.

¹⁵ S. Elisabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, "Rethinking News and Myth as Storytelling," in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, International Communication Association Handbook Series, ed. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 205.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Robert R. Smith, "Mythic Elements in Television News." *Journal of Communication* 29 (1979): 75-82.

¹⁸ Richard C. Vincent, Bryan K. Crow and Dennis K. Davis, "When Technology Fails: The Drama of Airline Crashes in Network Television News," in *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997) 357.

highlight the reassuring role of traditional authority figures in restoring order, they wrote.¹⁹ The authors concluded these newscasts support the view of the “media’s power to help guide the social construction of reality.”²⁰

Narrative often conveys myth through the use of archetypes. Ana C. Garner and Karen Slattery have conducted a number of recent studies looking at the roles of mythic archetypes in news narratives from a variety of news outlets, including the *New York Times*, and have determined that the nature of those archetypes has changed through history.²¹ During World War II, the media's coverage of the mothers of U.S. soldiers shifted from the archetypal "good mother," who "nurtures her children and protects them from harm" to "the patriotic wartime mother" who "remains silent when the government sends her child directly into harm’s way."²² By comparison, the mothers of U.S. soldiers in the Iraq War were still portrayed by the *Times* and other national newspapers as "good mothers" who cared about their children, but some of them also strayed from the archetype of the "patriotic mother," offering opposition to the war effort.²³ That same shift in archetypes could be seen in national TV news coverage of mothers of U.S. soldiers fighting the Iraq War."²⁴

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Garner and Slattery, "Mobilizing Mother from Good Mother to Patriotic Mother," 1-77.

²² Ana C. Garner and Karen Slattery, "The World War II Patriotic Mother," *Journalism Studies* 11, no. 2 (2010): 143.

²³ Karen Slattery and Ana C. Garner, "Mothers of Soldiers in Wartime: A National News Narrative," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24, no. 5 (2007): 429.

²⁴ Karen Slattery and Ana C. Garner, "Mother as Mother and Mother as Citizen: Mothers of Combat Soldiers on National Network News," *Journalism* 13, no. 1 (2012): 87.

Overreliance on these archetypes can lead the media to ignore the deeper issues at the heart of news they report. In a recent study that looked for mythic themes in the narrative of newspapers stories about women accused of killing their children, Barbara Barnett concluded that depicting these women "as insane or evil was a narrative device that helped journalists simplify their stories" and avoid discussing larger issues, such as whether society is supportive enough of parents.²⁵

The hero myth has been identified as one of the archetypes common in news stories.²⁶ Jack Lule in particular has conducted studies analyzing the mythological implications of *New York Times* journalism.²⁷ His work includes an analysis of the way the paper drew on "central myths" in a series of editorials following the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.²⁸ Lule concluded that when writers "attempt to understand and express their experience of the world, they consciously and unconsciously draw upon the special stories, the commonly shared, and universally understood stock of archetypal stories."²⁹ Lule wrote that news stories and myth are both about "telling the great stories of humankind for humankind."³⁰ Accordingly, he adds, one can "recognize in news stories the siren song of myth. These news stories offer more than a

²⁵ Barbara Barnett, "Media in the Media: Narrative and Myth in Newspaper Coverage of Women Who Kill Their Children," in *Cultural Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011), 285.

²⁶ Sandra C. Sipes, "I Need a Hero: A Study of the Power of the Myth and Yellow Journalism Newspaper Coverage of the Events Prior to the Spanish-American War," (master's thesis, Wichita State University, 2006).

²⁷ Jack Lule, "The Myth of My Widow: A Dramatistic Analysis of News Portrayals of a Terrorist Victim," *Political Communication & Persuasion* 5, no. 2 (1988), 101-20.

Jack Lule, "Murder and Myth: New York Times Coverage of the TWA 847 Hijacking Victim," *Journalism Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (1993), 26-39.

²⁸ Jack Lule, "Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The New York Times Responds to September 11, 2001," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2002): 275-93.

²⁹ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism*, 31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

retelling of common story forms. These news stories offer sacred, social narratives with shared values and beliefs, with lessons and themes, and with exemplary models that instruct and inform. They are offering myths.”³¹

Journalistic Practice

A consideration of myth has been largely absent from the study of journalism practice - and most other professions for that matter. Instead, scholars who study professionalism talk of ethos, which derives from the Greek word for “custom, habit, or usage” and has come to refer to “usages, habits, and traditions of one social group as distinguished from another.”³²

Consequently, ethos is about a shared identity among groups of people, often individuals who work together or share the same profession. Sociologist Everett Cherrington Hughes wrote that a person’s “work is one of the things by which he is judged, and certainly one of the more significant things by which he judges himself.”³³ That work, Hughes added, “is one of the more important parts of his social identity, of his self; indeed, of his fate in the one life he has to live, for there is something almost as irrevocable about choice of occupations as there is about choice of a mate.”³⁴

In the preface to a classic and often-cited 1964 study, sociologist Harold L. Wilensky wrote that the path to professionalism is marked by the opening of professional schools, the establishment of common institutional ethics codes, and sometimes – as in professions such as

³¹ Ibid., 18.

³² William M. Sattler, "Conception of Ethos in Ancient Rhetoric." *Speech Monographs* 14, no. 1 (1947): 55.

³³ Everett Cherrington Hughes. *Men and Their Work*. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 43.

³⁴ Ibid., 44.

law and medicine - the initiation of a licensing system.³⁵ Wilensky added that achieving that professionalism is tied to how well members of a given discipline can embody those institutional codes.³⁶ Wilensky noted that the evolution of the military as a profession in society had to do with the development of “professionalism based on a sense of brotherhood in a self-regulating fraternity dedicated to codes of honor and service”³⁷

In the military, those codes of honor and service can be both written and unwritten, a mixture of pragmatic rules and macho decrees. In his analysis of the autobiography of a U.S. soldier-turned-Vietnam War protestor, Fran Shor noted that "myths of patriotic militarized masculinity" not only draw individuals into military service, but continue to inform them during and after their time in active duty.³⁸

As researchers began to explore the high incidence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in the military, they came across another discovery: this macho mythology that motivated soldiers in combat was also discouraging them from seeking treatment for their psychological distress.³⁹ A 2000 study by Thomas W. Britt revealed that members of the U.S. military returning from Bosnia attached a stigma to talking about psychological problems and were much more comfortable seeking treatment for a medical condition.⁴⁰

³⁵ Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *American Journal of Sociology* 70, no. 2 (1964): 137.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁸ Fran Shor, "Transcending the Myths of Patriotic Militarized Masculinity: Armoring, Wounding, and Transfiguration in Ron Kovic's *Born on the Fourth of July*," *Journal of Men's Studies* 8, no. 3 (2000): 375.

³⁹ Britt, "The Stigma of Psychological Problems in a Work Environment: Evidence from the Screening of Service Members Returning from Bosnia," 1599.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Research into journalism practice has unearthed themes remarkably similar to those found in studies involving the military. On the one hand, the professionalization of journalism in the United States has been largely tied the opening of journalism schools and the establishment of common ethics codes in the early part of the twentieth century.⁴¹ But journalists also talk about unwritten rules in a macho culture that preaches "toughness."⁴²

Much research involving journalism practice has concentrated on the written - not the unwritten - rules. A central focus has been given to the role of objectivity in the professional practice of journalists. Many other professionals – doctors and lawyers, for instance - follow norms that require them to remain objective and avoid emotional involvement with clients.⁴³ Journalists took that one aspect of professionalism and made it a central part of their professional identity. The reason, many have argued, dates back to the early nineteenth century and the efforts by the penny press newspapers to separate themselves from the partisan press and establish a measure of credibility with the growing number of readers.⁴⁴ In her seminal 1972 study involving journalists at work, sociologist Gaye Tuchman concluded that the totem of the modern journalist – the concept of objectivity – was actually part of a “strategic ritual” used by news organizations to deflect criticisms from the public.⁴⁵

Other researchers have looked to journalism textbooks to discern the ties between journalistic norms and notions of professional identity. Richard Keeble noted that textbooks tied

⁴¹ "A Newspaper Code," 2.

⁴² Elmore. "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," 21.

⁴³ Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?," 141.

⁴⁴ Raphael Cohen-Almagor, "The Limits of Objective Reporting," *Journal of Language & Politics* 7, no. 1 (2008): 137.

⁴⁵ Gaye Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity," *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 4 (1972), 660.

the concept of objectivity to detachment, instructing that while interviewing, reporters must "remain detached, listening carefully and simply asking pertinent questions."⁴⁶ In a study that focused on textbooks in the early twentieth century and their role in the development a professional identity for journalists, Randall S. Sumpter concluded that these texts not only gave instruction about how to report and write the news, but they "also taught journalism students about their place in a distinct professional hierarchy where they exploited sources and readers while obeying editors and publishers."⁴⁷ In her review of textbooks dating back to the late nineteenth century, Linda Steiner determined that these texts also sent clear messages about gender roles in the newsroom.⁴⁸

These studies speak to the existence of a professional identity tied as much to unofficial rules as to explicit written codes. In *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, Marianne Salcetti documents the evolution of a "reportorial ethos" toward the end of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁹ Salcetti writes that underneath "the service ideals of reporters – the values, goals, and inspirations of one's chosen life task – was the notion of sacrifice on behalf of the story, or the public interest as a valued quality."⁵⁰

Those unwritten rules also displayed themselves in a study of professional identity among reporters more than a century later. In a survey conducted by Patrick Lee Plaisance and Elizabeth A. Skewes, journalists who viewed themselves in an adversarial role saw the notion of courage

⁴⁶ Richard Keeble, *Ethics for Journalists* (Media Skills. London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 130.

⁴⁷ Randall S. Sumpter, "Core Knowledge." *Journalism History* 35, no. 1 (2009): 42.

⁴⁸ Linda Steiner, "Construction of Gender in Newsreporting Textbooks 1890-1990," *Journalism Monographs* 135:1.

⁴⁹ Marianne Salcetti. "The Emergence of Reporters Mechanization and the Devaluation of Editorial Workers," in *Newsworkers : Toward a History of the Rank and File*, ed. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 75

⁵⁰ Ibid.

as being important to their work in addition to following traditional news values such as independence, justice and open-mindedness.⁵¹ Journalists who saw themselves more as disseminators of information felt self-control was important in their work, in addition to following ethical rules such as fairness and the minimization of harm.⁵²

In a 2007 study by Cindy Elmore, female journalists surveyed about working in newsrooms described a macho culture that “encouraged toughness and derided 'softer' emotions.”⁵³ These unwritten rules have been upheld in newsrooms dominated by men.⁵⁴ Elmore adds: "For several of the women, their perceptions of a male-ordered newsroom culture included the assessment that it encouraged toughness but scorned other emotions by those working in the newsroom. As a result, they felt there was a lack of sensitivity to journalists needing help with stress or family difficulties."⁵⁵ In a survey of how men and women at newspapers viewed their professional roles, William P. Cassidy concluded that newsrooms operate in a traditional macho culture so steadfast that female journalists have been found to be more “aligned with the majority culture of their profession” than men.⁵⁶

In an historical study that involved the analysis of biographies, autobiographies, magazine articles, and other writings written by U.S. journalists or about them, Fred Fedler wrote that journalists have been unwilling to admit to any signs of weakness in a culture where they

⁵¹ Patrick Lee Plaisance and Elizabeth A. Skewes, "Personal and Professional Dimensions of News Work: Exploring the Link between Journalists' Values and Roles." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2003): 833.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Elmore. "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," 21.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 21, 22.

⁵⁶ William P. Cassidy. "Traditional in Different Degrees: The Professional Role Conceptions of Male and Female Newspaper Journalists." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 16, no. 2 (2008): 114.

could lose plum assignments.⁵⁷ Moreover, in their efforts to become “hard or detached,” these newspaper reporters and editors crafted a public image, Fedler wrote: “Outwardly, most journalists seemed unaffected by what they saw. Critics accused them of becoming callous, cynical, and hard-boiled, of being ghouls who enjoyed rushing to the scene of disasters and who remained indifferent to victims’ suffering.”⁵⁸ The reality was that journalists were hurting. Fedler noted that when reporters have given accounts of how they reacted to on-the-job stress, their responses were mostly “dysfunctional,” falling into four general categories: they “distanced themselves psychologically from what they saw” on assignment; they self-medicated with alcohol or tobacco; they simply “broke under the strain,” or they ultimately left their jobs or the profession itself.⁵⁹

The stress experienced by journalists has been increasingly the subject of research. One study found about 20 percent of war correspondents to have a lifetime prevalence rate of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, the same as that of combat veterans.⁶⁰ Increasing attention has been paid to the fact that journalists who report for smaller news outlets may be especially at risk, as the traumatic events they chronicle can involve people they know and scenes they revisit in their personal lives.⁶¹ A 2003 survey of journalists by Caroline M. Pyevich, Elana Newman, and Eric Daleiden revealed that though relatively few journalists had ever covered a war, almost all participants reported that they had been “exposed to at least one work-related event in which

⁵⁷ Fedler, “Insiders’ Stories: Coping with Newsroom Stress: An Historical Perspective,” 92.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Anthony Feinstein and John Owen, “Journalists, War and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder,” in *Sharing the Front Line and the Back Hills: International Protectors and Providers: Peacekeepers, Humanitarian Aid Workers and the Media in the Midst of Crisis.*, ed. Yael Danieli (Amityville, NY US: Baywood Publishing Co, 2002), 305-15.

⁶¹ Roger Simpson and William E. Coté, *Covering Violence : A Guide to Ethical Reporting About Victims and Trauma.* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 2.

someone was hurt or killed,” events ranging from a motor vehicle accident to sexual assault, murder, airplane crashes, fires, natural disasters, torture, or kidnapping.⁶²

In a 2006 book about journalists and their coverage of violence, Roger Simpson and William E. Coté wrote that events like the Oklahoma City bombing, the 9/11 attacks, and numerous school shootings and large-scale hurricanes have brought “belated attention to the journalists who serve readers and viewers locally, where violence takes the form of car crash, a rape, violence in the home, or a death or injury from gunfire. Reporters, photographers, and editors – just doing their job – interview and photograph those affected by violence, moving their pain to the front page or the evening newscast where everyone can see it. Many journalists find violence on their doorstep on their local news beat.”⁶³

The industry is gradually coming to terms with this awareness that most journalists are exposed to traumatic events during the course of their work. In 1995, the *New York Times* began training newsroom supervisors, such as the chiefs of the foreign desk, to assess "assignment-induced stress" in employees and, if need be, steer them towards getting assistance.⁶⁴ Despite this effort, which also included deploying counselors in bureaus around the world, the *Times* described the response to the treatment program by journalists as “lukewarm.”⁶⁵ Media outlets have also worked toward providing more advanced training to reporters assigned to dangerous

⁶² Caroline M. Pyevich, Elana Newman, and Eric Daleiden, "The Relationship among Cognitive Schemas, Job-Related Traumatic Exposure, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Journalists," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 16, no. 4 (2003): 327.

⁶³ Simpson and Coté, *Covering Violence : A Guide to Ethical Reporting About Victims and Trauma*, 2.

⁶⁴ Himmelstein and Faithorn, “Eyewitness to Disaster: How Journalists Cope with the Psychological Stress Inherent in Reporting Traumatic Events,” 553.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

locales, helping them to learn how to take precautions in an environment where they may be personally targeted - bodyguards have also been assigned in instances.⁶⁶

In a 2007 journal article advocating a need for “trauma training” in journalism school classrooms, Gretchen Dworznik and Max Grubb wrote that trade publications had only started to document the stress faced by all walks of journalists, but that was because these professionals were finally beginning to talk about it.⁶⁷ Randal A. Beam and Meg Spratt wrote in a 2009 journal article that the realization “that journalists can develop emotional problems after being exposed to violent or traumatic events has only recently become part of the dialogue about sound newsroom management.”⁶⁸

Journalistic Practice and Myth

A review of the literature involving journalistic practice and myth reveals a number of key insights. Research into journalistic practice gives a portrait of a profession built around written ethical principles such as objectivity. At the same time, certain unwritten codes evolved in newsroom - codes that preached self-sacrifice and often macho principles like courage and daring. More recent research has focused on the physical and psychological toll that journalists experience by taking on these risky assignments. Yet, those journalists seem resistant to seeking help because of those unofficial unwritten codes that have yet to be fleshed out.

Scholars who study mythology suggest that the path to such a discovery can be found in the myths that groups of people hold dear. Mythic themes have been explored in news stories.

⁶⁶ Mark H. Massé, *Trauma Journalism : On Deadline in Harm's Way.*(New York: Continuum International Pub. Group, 2011), 5.

⁶⁷ Gretchen Dworznik and Max Grubb, "Preparing for the Worst: Making a Case for Trauma Training in the Journalism Classroom," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 62, no. 2 (2007): 190.

⁶⁸ Randal A. Beam and Meg Spratt. "Managing Vulnerability." *Journalism Practice* 3, no. 4 (2009): 421.

Yet scholars largely have not sought out the mythic themes that emerge when journalists write about themselves and their professional practice, even though there is evidence that they should.

In an essay on professionalism and journalism, John Soloski discussed how journalistic practice is informed by certain "romantic" visions, such as the "crusading reporter who, much to the consternation of a cantankerous but benevolent editor, takes on one of the more villainous politicians in the city, and after some hard work and a bit of luck, catches the politician 'red-handed,' helps to send him to jail and betters the lives of the downtrodden and helpless."⁶⁹ Soloski writes: "Embedded in these myths are many of the professional norms and values of journalism as it is practiced in the United States."⁷⁰

Though they haven't looked for myths, scholars have acknowledged that an analysis of the deeper meaning in news stories can provide rare insight into what journalists think about their profession. Barbie Zelizer writes that journalism should be considered "not only as a profession but as an interpretive community, united through its shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events."⁷¹ Zelizer notes that this "interpretation plays itself out systematically in events that are negative and positive markers of journalistic accomplishment," such as coverage of the McCarthy era and Watergate, ultimately leading to "larger discourses about the state of American journalism."⁷²

⁶⁹ John Soloski, "News Reporting and Professionalism: Some Constraints on the Reporting of the News," in *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997) 138.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Barbie Zelizer, "Journalists as Interpretive Communities," in *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997), 401-402.

⁷² Ibid., 409.

News stories and other writings by journalists offer rich primary-source material for journalism historians, representing what William David Sloan and Michael Stamm call “the raw materials of history,” offering the potential to reveal what the profession itself identified as important journalistic values at a given time.⁷³

E.M. Palmegiano assessed British attitudes toward American Journalism in the nineteenth century by looking at themes that emerged in tributes and other writings in magazines and reviews.⁷⁴ Mark Hampton examined journalism memoirs, professional publications and handbooks to determine their role in defining the notion of a journalist in late-nineteenth century Britain.⁷⁵ Michael Palmer studied news values in Parisian newsrooms in the late nineteenth century as reflected in memoirs, novels and newspaper articles.⁷⁶

Newspaper editorials have also served as effective vehicles for journalists to assess the profession. For instance, Elizabeth Blanks Hindman found that the mainstream media used editorials addressing criticism of the press following the fatal crash that killed Princess Diana to deflect the blame to the paparazzi who pursued her car and the tabloids that bought sensational photos.⁷⁷ Russell Frank discovered a similar attempt at so-called “paradigm repair” in newspaper stories commenting on “pack journalism” that ensued in a variety of events, ranging from the

⁷³ William David Sloan and Michael Stamm, *Historical Methods in Communication*, 3d ed, (Vision Press, 2010):194.

⁷⁴ E.M. Palmegiano, ““Baby--Beer--Bullets!!!” British Perceptions of American Journalism in the Nineteenth Century,” *American Journalism* 24, no. 4 (2007): 37.

⁷⁵ Mark Hampton, “Defining Journalists in Late-Nineteenth Century Britain,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 22, no. 2 (2005): 138, 139.

⁷⁶ Michael Palmer, “Parisian Newsrooms in the Late Nineteenth Century: How to Enter from the Agency Back Office, or Inventing News Journalism in France,” *Journalism Studies* 4, no. 4 (2003): 479.

⁷⁷ Elizabeth Blanks Hindman, “The Princess and the Paparazzi: Blame, Responsibility, and the Media’s Role in the Death of Diana,” in *Cultural Meanings of News : A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011), 183.

Oklahoma City bombing to the impending birth of septuplets to a woman in a rural community.⁷⁸

In an historical case study of Israeli press coverage of a radical weekly that ceased publication in 1993, Oren Myers concluded that such stories served to "reflect and shape the professional self-perceptions of the Israeli journalistic community."⁷⁹

In a 2007 study, Matt Carlson examined these perceptions by examining coverage in newspapers, magazines on television following the deaths of two journalistic icons: TV news anchor David Brinkley and newspaper columnist Mary McGrory.⁸⁰ Carlson determined that the lives of these two journalists, who died at advanced ages following long distinguished careers, were depicted "in a manner that bolsters the cultural authority of journalists," and the stories about them also allowed for a larger consideration of the journalism profession.⁸¹ Similarly, in a 2012 study, Carlson found that coverage of the death of another icon, former CBS anchor Walter Cronkite, gave journalists the opportunity to consider the diminished standing of modern journalists.⁸²

These studies reflected the findings of a 2006 study in which Carlson examined stories written about the first two journalists to die covering the Iraq War: TV journalist David Bloom of NBC and *Washington Post* columnist Michael Kelly.⁸³ Carlson writes that the deaths were

⁷⁸ Russell Frank, "These Crowded Circumstances: When Pack Journalists Bash Pack Journalism," in *Cultural Meanings of News : A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011), 201.

⁷⁹ Oren Meyers, "Memory in Journalism and the Memory of Journalism: Israeli Journalists and the Constructed Legacy of Haolam Hazeh," in *Cultural Meanings of News : A Text-Reader*, ed. Daniel A. Berkowitz (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011), 321.

⁸⁰ Matt Carlson, "Making Memories Matter: Journalistic Authority and the Memorializing Discourse around Mary McGrory and David Brinkley," *Journalism* 8, no. 2 (2007): 165.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Matt Carlson, "Rethinking Journalistic Authority," *Journalism Studies* 13, no. 4, (2012): 483.

⁸³ Matt Carlson, "War Journalism and the "KIA Journalist": The Cases of David Bloom and Michael Kelly," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 2 (2006): 91.

"interpreted by journalists through narratives related to bravery, volunteerism, sacrifice, and witnessing."⁸⁴ He concluded that coverage of what he called the "KIA journalist" ultimately "situates the death of the war reporter within broader tropes connected to the normative journalistic role," and Kelly and Bloom were "placed in a framework that strives to increase journalism's cultural authority by positioning journalists as representations of the collective good."⁸⁵

Carlson's study about the Iraq War correspondents was published in *Critical Studies in Media Communication* as part of a "Critical Forum devoted to war reporting and the KIA journalist."⁸⁶ The study drew a response from Michael Schudson, who as part of that forum wrote that "although one might imagine the media would go out of their way to portray fallen journalistic comrades as heroes, taking every opportunity to show that they died by violence under fire, in fact, this is not what Carlson found. Why did the media resist golden opportunities to emphasize the courage of journalists under fire?"⁸⁷

Noting that initial reports largely described Kelly as being killed in an "accident," Schudson said the media "elected not to romanticize one of their own" and instead presented an "un-mythologized image" that left him "impressed that these two men (and many others) who had already proved themselves, who were by no means forced or cajoled to put themselves in danger, chose to take the risks they did."⁸⁸ Moreover, he said the coverage serves as "a caution to

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jack Lule, "'They Shoot Journalists, Don't They?'" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 2 (2006): 170-70.

⁸⁷ Michael Schudson, "Was Objectivity Killed in Action?" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 2 (2006): 171.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

media critics who believe that journalists are playing out large cultural myths and unconscious frames as they go about their work and that commitment to carefully pinpointed, descriptive factuality is merely ideological cover. In this instance, where the pull of myth should have been so powerful, the reporters resisted it."⁸⁹

Carlson's study, however, did not consider whether these stories were advancing hero myths via a narrative structure that is common in classic mythology. In doing so, one can see "the pull of myth" in less explicit ways, as this study will later show in the *Times* coverage of Kelly's death and many other fallen journalists. (The *Times* account also explicitly states that the Humvee Kelly was in came under enemy fire.)

This study will also explore how fallen journalists have been covered through a broad historical period. Finally, this study will also involve a consideration of fallen journalists who failed to receive national media coverage. These textual silences can tell us much about what the profession holds dear - and what it does not. Ultimately, I hope that a broad-based and nuanced approach to studying tributes to fallen journalists will uncover hidden meanings and deep powerful myths.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 3: Theory

Myth and Power

When journalist Bill Moyers conducted a series of interviews in the late 1980s with a then relatively obscure scholar of mythology named Joseph Campbell, the resulting multi-part TV series was titled, "The Power of Myth."¹ That "power" became obvious as Campbell charted the ubiquity of mythic archetypes, from Sir Galahad in the Celtic legends to Luke Skywalker in the "Star Wars" movies.² In his comparative approach to mythology, Campbell revealed that these myths have shaped individuals and societies from the dawn of mankind.

Carl Jung made his case for this power through theories that are at once profound and mystical. Myths are everywhere, according to Jung, especially in our dreams.³

Explaining how this power might wield itself in the workplace - especially a workplace as unwieldy as that seen in journalism - can be more difficult. Tougher still is the task set out in this study: to uncover myths in stories about fallen journalists - and then suggest how they might influence certain behavior in journalists, such as taking on dangerous assignments and ignoring the personal consequences.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to make an argument for causation. However, at the same time, the study would be deficient if there were not an attempt to draw some conclusions from the findings, if only to help raise questions and suggest future research or

¹ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 1.

² Ibid.

³ C. G. Jung and Joseph Campbell, *The Portable Jung* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 60.

possible types of action by the news industry. Though the approach of examining myth in journalistic practice is a novel one, this study will not offer any new theory. However, in this chapter I outline a variety of psychological and sociological theories that delve into, among other things, professional practice and how individuals and groups of people learn shared values and how those values can influence future behavior, such as taking risks on the job.

This study will most prominently rely on social learning theory, which posits that people learn how to behave not just through rules but vicariously – by observing the consequences faced by others as they perform. This dissertation will also rely on institutional theory, which looks at how professions come to establish common institutional codes and how those rules can attain mythic qualities. Finally, Jungian theory provides an explanation of the role of myths in the human psyche and argues that the basis of psychological well-being is predicated on a full understanding of the power of those myths.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory as advanced most prominently by Albert Bandura looks at human behavior in an integrated way, not solely as a result of unconscious drives and traits or as the product of behavioral conditioning based on reinforcement from the external environment.⁴

Social learning theory sees human behavior as influenced by the interrelation of external events, internal processing, and a system of reinforcement.⁵ In other words, most human behavior is

⁴ Stephen A. Maisto, Kate B. Carey, and Clara M. Bradizza, "Social Learning Theory." In *Psychological Theories of Drinking and Alcoholism (2nd Ed)*, ed. Kenneth E. Leonard and Howard T. Blane. (New York, NY US: Guilford Press, 1999), 107.

⁵ Ibid.

learned from what goes on in the social environment.⁶ People learn not only by the consequences they experience, but vicariously, seeing what happens to other people; together, this information is processed cognitively.⁷ This processing allows people to hypothesize about possible consequences to behavior in certain situations.⁸ Thus, future behavior by a given individual is a result of self-evaluation and in accordance to internal rules.⁹

Vicarious learning, also known as “modeling,” involves the belief that people learn new ways of behaving by either observing others or symbolically through words that are spoken or in writing.¹⁰ According to social learning theory, people are more likely to perform or avoid a behavior after they have seen a model either reinforced or punished for behaving in the same way.¹¹

Another key principle of social learning theory is that people play an important role in how they behave, particularly in the way they cognitively process information relating to their experiences.¹² These processes - such as encoding, organizing, and retrieving information – allow people to calculate and develop expectations about the potential consequences of behaving in a certain way in a certain setting.¹³

According to social learning theory, cognitive processes are crucial when it comes to people learning how to deal with stress, which can be seen as events in the environment that

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid..

¹⁰ Ibid., 109.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 109-110.

¹³ Ibid., 110.

challenge people.¹⁴ People learn how to deal with stress by processing and retaining a representation of these experiences.¹⁵ Of particular importance is learning consequences for their actions and the actions of others.¹⁶ In this way, this learning influences their future behavior.¹⁷

Social learning theory – particularly as it relates to how individuals develop a sense of “self-efficacy” in their lives - perhaps provides the best overarching framework from which to explore the psychological principles behind risk-taking behavior. Bandura wrote that self-efficacy “is based on the principle assumption that psychological procedures, whatever their form, serve as means of creating and strengthening expectations of personal efficacy.”¹⁸ Implicit in that assumption, Bandura wrote, is a “person's estimate that a given behavior will lead to certain outcomes” along with “the conviction that one can successfully execute the behavior required to produce the outcomes.”¹⁹

In that sense, a sense of self-efficacy is a basic organizing principle of human existence and a means to gain control over one’s environment. Bandura wrote: “People strive to exercise control over events that affect their lives. By exerting influence in spheres over which they can command some control, they are better able to realize desired futures and to forestall undesired ones. The striving for control over life circumstances permeates almost everything people do

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Albert Bandura, "Self-Efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change." *Psychological Review* 84, no. 2 (1977): 193.

¹⁹ Ibid.

because it can secure them innumerable personal and social benefits.”²⁰ The desire to exercise personal control over one’s life is typically equated with striving to prevent undesired outcomes; so-called “control freaks” are viewed as people who overly control their environments, to the point of trying to eliminate all potential risks. However, in reality, a healthy sense of self-efficacy can be more due to the ability to produce valued outcomes – and sometimes producing those outcomes can only come as a result of taking risks.

Viewed through the framework of social learning theory, risk-taking behavior that is motivated by a drive for a sense of self-efficacy can amount to what is commonly called a double-edged sword. Bandura wrote: “Although a strong sense of efficacy in socially valued pursuits is conducive to human attainment and well-being, it is not an unmixed blessing.”²¹ He noted that “the lives of innovators and social reformers driven by unshakable efficacy are not easy ones,” and these individuals “are often the objects of derision, condemnation, and persecution.”²² Moreover, he added, individuals “who gain recognition and fame shape their lives by overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles only to be catapulted to new social realities over which they have lesser control. Indeed, the annals of the famed and infamous are strewn with individuals who were both architects and victims of their destinies.”²³

The concept of self-efficacy is based on the understanding that people can regulate their own behaviors.²⁴ Expectations involving self-efficacy are about more than just determining the

²⁰ Albert Bandura, *Self-Efficacy in Changing Societies*. (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

consequences of certain behavior - people must also calculate how likely they are to perform at the level they believe is necessary to achieve a desired effect.²⁵ Bandura also stressed the role of cognitive processes in behavior when discussing the concepts of “forethought capability” and “self-reflective capability”²⁶ The concept of forethought capability is based upon the belief that most of behavior is premeditated and thus is not just a response to an event in the environment.²⁷ The concept of self-reflective capability has to do with the belief that people can reflect upon their own thoughts, predict possible behavior, and alter these evaluations of the adequacy of the behavior.²⁸ In this context, an individual’s beliefs about self-efficacy play a key role in this process.²⁹

Social Learning Theory and Risk-Taking

Social learning theory can also be used to explain risk-taking behavior. For instance, teenagers and young adults have been shown to learn risky driving by imitating the driving behavior of others and anticipating rewards and punishments from their parents and peers.³⁰

The great utility of social learning theory is that its broad approach brings it in line with other theories, including those that consider risk. The widely-influential work of Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky revolves around a cognitive process in which individuals form

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Bridie Scott-Parker, Barry Watson, and Mark J. King, "Understanding the Psychosocial Factors Influencing the Risky Behaviour of Young Drivers." *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour* 12, no. 6 (2009): 470.

“decision frames” to determine whether or not to take risks.³¹ Their work reveals how decisions are influenced by the way people process information.³² In their ground-breaking 1981 study on risk, the two researchers showed that participants presented with a problem involving the same scenario framed in two different ways would pick the riskier solution if that option was presented so that it seemed the more moral choice.³³ Perhaps more importantly, if a course of action is viewed as leading to some sort of "gain," then it is viewed as "risk averse."³⁴ If that same identical course of action is presented in such a way that it could potentially lead to some sort of "loss," then it was generally perceived as a form of risk-taking.³⁵

Rewards - a key element of social learning theory - are also crucial in the decision to take on risks. Risk-taking can be better understood through a phenomenon called “delay discounting,” which explains why individuals might take huge chances for lesser short-term rewards that might not seem worth the risk in the long term.³⁶ Accepting the premise that people prefer rewards immediately as opposed to later, delay discounting experiments follow a model where rewards are reduced in proportion to the delay of their receipt.³⁷ In this way, delay discounting experiments are designed to measure traits like “impulsivity” and “self-control” in certain groups

³¹ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice," *Science* 211, no. 4481 (1981): 457.

³² *Ibid.*, 453.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Warren K. Bickel, Bryan A. Jones, Reid D. Landes, Darren R. Christensen, Lisa Jackson, and Michael Mancino, "Hypothetical Intertemporal Choice and Real Economic Behavior: Delay Discounting Predicts Voucher Redemptions During Contingency-Management Procedures," *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 18, no. 6 (2010): 546.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

– for instance, drug use is common among those who opt for lesser rewards sooner rather than rewards of more value later.³⁸

This difference in risk-taking propensity among addicts and other groups of people is suggested by laboratory experiments involving the so-called Balloon Analogue Risk Task, or BART, where a propensity for risk-taking is measured by participants inflating a simulated balloon on a computer screen.³⁹ The participants accumulate money by pressing a pump button that inflates the balloon, all with the understanding that if the balloon explodes they will lose all of their earnings.⁴⁰ The BART has been useful in examining an array of groups that could be said to be comprised of “real world risk-takers,” some of whom could be categorized as being too risky in some of the choices they make.⁴¹ These studies have included a range of risk-takers, including chronic substance abusers.⁴² Smokers have also been studied for risky behavior.⁴³ But even these risk-taking individuals are “typically well beneath the maximizing value of 64 pumps” when they take the BART procedure.⁴⁴ This finding suggests people sometimes don't take enough risks when presented with challenges.

³⁸ Ibid.,546.

³⁹ Timothy J. Pleskac, Thomas S. Wallsten, Paula Wang, and C. W. Lejuez, "Development of an Automatic Response Mode to Improve the Clinical Utility of Sequential Risk-Taking Tasks," *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 16, no. 6 (2008): 555- 556.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 555.

⁴² Marina A. Bornoalova, Stacey B. Daughters, Gustavo Daniel Hernandez, Jerry B. Richards, and C. W. Lejuez, "Differences in Impulsivity and Risk-Taking Propensity between Primary Users of Crack Cocaine and Primary Users of Heroin in a Residential Substance-Use Program." *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 13, no. 4 (2005): 311.

⁴³ C.W. Lejuez, Will M. Aklin, Marina A. Bornoalova, and Eric T. Moolchan, "Differences in Risk-Taking Propensity across Inner-City Adolescent Ever- and Never-Smokers." *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 7, no. 1 (2005): 71.

⁴⁴ Pleskac, Wallsten, Wang, and Lejuez, "Development of an Automatic Response Mode to Improve the Clinical Utility of Sequential Risk-Taking Tasks," 557.

In addition to suggesting that certain groups of people, such as addicts, have a greater propensity for risk, these studies also shed light on what would appear to be obvious: that is, individuals suffering from mental health issues have different notions of risk than more healthy individuals. As their mental health becomes more compromised, their perception of risk and rewards changes from when they were less afflicted. This might explain why addicts, or someone suffering from PTSD, might make what others consider to be an overly risky choice.

Bandura saw the consumption of alcohol as a stress reducer or, in other words, a form of negative reinforcement.⁴⁵ Bandura believed that people learn norms about drinking behavior when they are children by observing adults or seeing them portrayed in the media.⁴⁶ Though they may start drinking more through socialization than as a reaction to stress, they will experience stress reduction as they continue to use alcohol.⁴⁷ This intermittent reinforcement can lead to future use of alcohol use as a stress reducer.⁴⁸

This can lead to addiction, which the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual says is characterized by a growing compulsion to take a drug, followed by inability to limit its intake.⁴⁹ This use can ultimately lead to an “addiction cycle,” which George Koob describes as involving various types of reinforcement that feed the compulsive behavior - positive reinforcement when pleasurable effects are experienced, and negative reinforcement

⁴⁵ Maisto, Carey, and Bradizza, "Social Learning Theory," 111.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 111.

⁴⁹ George F. Koob and Michel Le Moal, "Drug Addiction, Dysregulation of Reward, and Allostasis," *Neuropsychopharmacology* 24, no. 2 (2001): 97.

when the drugs are used to alleviate an aversive state, such as stress, or with withdrawal from drugs themselves.⁵⁰

Ultimately, the addict's decision-making is compromised by his or her physical state as well. Healthy people generally enjoy a state that Koob defines as "homeostasis," which is characterized by the proper regulation of neurological and internal systems that are key to survival, everything from the dispensing of hormones to the regulation of the temperature of the one's body.⁵¹ Addicts, however, find themselves in a state of "allostasis," where the "chronic demands" they place on their bodies and minds upset the balance of these regulating systems.⁵² Not only do these addicts experience profound cognitive changes as they begin to recalibrate their conception of needs and rewards.⁵³ Koob says that "chronic arousal, repeated stress and negative affective states" result in these addicts having "no margin left for responding to additional challenges, no opportunity for relaxation, and no capacity for more responsiveness."⁵⁴

This explains why someone in a compromised mental state might appear to be functioning well on the outside, but in reality is no longer equipped to make crucial decisions, such as determining whether a scenario is risky or not. Though they may appear stable, their "new set point," as Koob calls it, is not the same as a more healthy person. In this sense, Koob says, "a simple definition of allostasis is a process of maintaining stability, or 'apparent stability,' through change but at a price."⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Ibid., 98.

⁵¹ Ibid., 101.

⁵² Ibid., 101-102.

⁵³ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Institutional Theory

If social learning theory provides a framework for understanding how individuals learn and behave, institutional theory helps explain how that behavior might play out in the workplace. This theory delves into how and why organizations develop norms that employees must learn in order to become part of a common profession. This theory also looks at how organizations attempt to obtain legitimacy in institutional environments.⁵⁶

Sociologists John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan stated that the function of institutional codes has been to serve as myths that are incorporated by an organization – so much so that the organizations can come to reflect the myths more than the nature of the work itself.⁵⁷ These myths become crucial to the development and survival of an organization.⁵⁸ Codes evolve over time, along with the particular products or services that an organization produces or offers.⁵⁹ In a competitive work environment, competitors emerge to force organizations to revise existing codes, sometimes incorporating values espoused by new forces in the marketplace.⁶⁰ This process allows organization to not only survive, but to become more legitimate.⁶¹

Richard Scott wrote that institutions are comprised of what he calls regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements. These norms are ultimately formed in interaction between

⁵⁶ Pascale Peters and Stefan Heusinkveld, "Institutional Explanations for Managers' Attitudes Towards Telehomeworking." *Human Relations* 63, no. 1 (2010): 107.

⁵⁷ Meyer and Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," 340.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid..

individuals, and thus are developed as a result of human behavior.⁶² Scott wrote that these norms typically are enduring and resistant to change, and to be effective these norms must be sanctioned by those in positions of power; institutions use these codes or norms to empower employees to take certain actions – and avoid others.⁶³ Though codes are implemented by external pressure, the actor – in this case, the employee – can ultimately internalize the values. In certain organizations, individual actors take on specific roles – roles that allow these actors access to specified materials and rights, according to Scott.⁶⁴

In describing why organizations typically adopt common bureaucratic structures, Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell identified a four-part process of structural change that leads to organizations becoming more similar to one another instead of more efficient, but ultimately attaining legitimacy in the eyes of the public.⁶⁵ This process begins with more interaction between organizations in a given field, followed by the formation of strictly-structured coalitions; next there is an increase in the information load experienced by these organizations, which ultimately leads to a mutual awareness by members of these organizations that they are engaged in a common enterprise.⁶⁶

Influencing this process of change, DiMaggio and Powell write, are three mechanisms of what they call institutional isomorphism.⁶⁷ Coercive isomorphism stems from the organization's quest to establish legitimacy and respond to pressures from society at large, as well as other

⁶² Scott, *Institutions and Organizations*, 7.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 153.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

organizations which may directly affect its survival.⁶⁸ Mimetic isomorphism stems from how organizations respond to uncertainty – most commonly this is done by imitating competitors.⁶⁹ Finally, normative isomorphism stems from the effort to establish a sense of professionalization.⁷⁰

Jungian Theory

If institutional theorists see myths arising from written professional codes, Carl Jung saw them coming from a deeper, far less obvious source. Myths like that of the hero consist of what Jung called archetypes, a concept he developed in the early 1900s while researching mythology as part of his early work with Sigmund Freud.⁷¹ Looking at a book published by a colleague, who gave an extensive account of vivid mental "fantasies" experienced by one individual, Jung was shocked to see similarities between those images and myths from primitive societies.⁷² This led him to develop the concept of what he would later term the collective unconscious.⁷³ Jung wrote: "While the personal unconscious is made up essentially of contents which have at one time been conscious but which have disappeared from consciousness through having been forgotten or repressed, the contents of the collective unconscious have never been in consciousness, and therefore have never been individually acquired, but owe their existence

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Murray Stein, *Jung's Map of the Soul : An Introduction* (Chicago: Open Court, 1998), 89.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

exclusively to heredity. Whereas the personal unconscious consists for the most part of complexes, the content of the collective unconscious is made up essentially of archetypes."⁷⁴

The idea of the archetype, Jung wrote, "indicates the existence of definite forms in the psyche which seem to be present always and everywhere. Mythological research calls them 'motifs.'"⁷⁵ Hence, Jung added, the collective unconscious suggests that "there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of preexistent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents."⁷⁶

Jung saw the recurrence of the hero myth in the psyche of patients, and he came to see the hero as playing a vital role in the creation of human consciousness, in both men and women.⁷⁷ In essence, Jung saw the hero's journey as involving an individual's move to separate from the mother and leave childhood behind in order to engage with life and embrace grown-up responsibilities.⁷⁸ Jung came to believe that, from an evolutionary perspective, humans had a basic need to take on this hero's journey; they would not have been able to survive life's demands if they did not learn how to resist being mired in childhood fantasies and engage in reality.⁷⁹

Joseph Campbell wrote that "Freud, Jung, and their followers have demonstrated irrefutably that the logic, the heroes, and the deeds of myth survive into modern times. In the

⁷⁴ Jung and Campbell, *The Portable Jung*, 60.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 91.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

absence of an effective general mythology, each of us has his private, unrecognized, rudimentary, yet secretly potent pantheon of dream. The latest incarnation of Oedipus, the continued romance of Beauty and the Beast, stand this afternoon on the corner of Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, waiting for the traffic light to change."⁸⁰ Accordingly, he added: "It has always been the prime function of mythology and rite to supply the symbols that carry the human spirit forward, in counteraction to those constant human fantasies that tend to tie it back."⁸¹

Jung's theories still have a hold on clinicians. In a 2013 book about uncovering archetypes in one's personal life, Caroline M. Myss wrote: "We are drawn to stories about ancient Heroes who go off on the archetypal Hero's Journey, the solo quest to uncover your true self. In finding a route to that precious sacred knowledge of who you really are, you reach a place of empowerment. This is the essence of genuine self-esteem, the holy grail of the inner quest."⁸²

Another Jungian, Sam Keen, wrote: "The task of any individual who wants to be free is to demythologize and demystify the authority or myth that has unconsciously informed his or her life. We gain personal authority and find our unique sense of self only when we learn to distinguish between our own story - our autobiographical truths - and the official myths that have previously governed our minds, feelings, and actions."⁸³

In a sense, these Jungian principles guided the design of this study. The goal was to identify the myths that guide journalistic practice with the hopes that, in doing so, one can begin to understand their power.

⁸⁰ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸² Caroline M. Myss, *Archetypes : Who Are You?* (Carlsbad, Calif.: Hay House, 2013), 7.

⁸³ Sam Keen, *Fire in the Belly : On Being a Man*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1991), 33-34.

Chapter 4: Methods

Overview of the Study

This historical case study involved an analysis of *New York Times* tributes to U.S. journalists who died from 1854 to 2012. The review included a consideration of 362 fallen U.S. journalists whose names appeared with more than 2,000 others on the Journalists Memorial, at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.¹ The study focused solely on U.S. journalists because journalistic norms and values have been shown to differ around the world.²

This study employed qualitative methods, relying heavily on a textual analysis of primary source materials. This chapter will outline the source materials, the procedure to gather data, and the nature of the textual analysis, which involves a novel attempt to identify the portrayal of the hero myth in newspaper tributes to fallen journalists.

Source Material: The Journalists Memorial

It would be unrealistic to accept the Journalists' Memorial as a defining list of fallen journalists in the same way that, say, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a definitive account of soldiers killed in Southeast Asia. The Newseum can't depend on the type of regimented record-keeping system the U.S. military system must keep. Nonetheless, the Journalists Memorial presents a valuable snapshot of journalists who died in the line of duty. Its usefulness was

¹ The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

² Denis McQuail. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 5th ed. (London: Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 5.

reinforced by this study's review of *Times* stories, which sometimes carried running lists of fallen journalists from a given war or who died in similar ways, such as in helicopter crashes or a result of assassinations. It was a rarity to find a fallen journalist who was mentioned by the *Times* and not included on the Journalists Memorial. In those cases, the omission most often could be explained by the journalist not meeting the inclusion criteria mapped out by the Freedom Forum.

In 1995, the nonprofit Freedom Forum began construction on a 24-foot-high memorial to journalists who died in action to be placed in a park near its Newseum in Arlington, Va.³ That memorial was later moved to the Newseum's new headquarters in Washington, D.C.⁴ As of the end of 2012, there were 2156 names on the memorial wall, which is made of glass panels that stand two-stories tall.⁵ Photographs of selected fallen journalists are displayed nearby, and electronic kiosks in the same space include information on all of those on the memorial.⁶ The Newseum also maintains an online listing of those journalists along with accounts of their lives and their deaths.

The Freedom Forum lists its criteria for selecting journalists for inclusion on the memorial as follows. They must have "died in the line of duty" while gathering news.⁷ They must also meet the foundation's definition of a journalist, namely "a regular contributor of news, commentary or photography to a publication or broadcast outlet; an editor or other news executive; a free-lance journalist; a producer, camera operator, sound engineer or other working

³ "Freedom Forum to Honor Deceased Journalists, *Editor & Publisher* 128, no. 30 (1995): 21.

⁴ The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

member of a broadcast crew; or a documentary filmmaker."⁸ A panel comprised of journalists and journalism historians will review "difficult cases" that do not neatly meet the criteria.⁹ The Freedom Forum also investigates each nominee individually, and special exceptions can be made for those who don't strictly meet the formal rules for inclusion.¹⁰

Newseum staff members compile the names from sources that include news stories and information from leading press organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists, the International Press Institute, the International Freedom of Expression Clearing House, Reporters Sans Frontières, the International Federation of Journalists, and the Inter American Press Association.¹¹ The online listings also include what the Newseum calls a "working list" of journalists who have died in the current year, with a note that more research is needed before the individuals are officially selected for inclusion on the memorial.¹² The names of the fallen journalists from a given year are officially added to the wall in an annual rededication ceremony.¹³

Finally, it must be noted that though the Journalists Memorial served as a valuable index of fallen journalists, its regimented criteria for inclusion did not always match the *Times'* less obvious method for determining whether an individual was worthy of being called a journalist. Some of the individuals on the Journalists Memorial were not even referred to as journalists in the *Times* coverage of their deaths. For example, Alan Berg, a 50-year-old Denver radio

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Additional information provided by Rick Mastroianni, library manager for the Newseum.

¹¹The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

broadcaster shot to death by a white supremacist in 1984, was simply described as "Outspoken Talk Show Host" in the headline that accompanied the initial report about his killing.¹⁴ And it might come as a shock for anyone who lived through or studied the history of the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to find the name of Francis Gary Powers listed on the memorial. Powers, whose 1960 crash in a U-2 surveillance plane over the Soviet Union sparked an international crisis, eventually died in another crash, this one while working as a helicopter pilot for KNBC in Los Angeles.¹⁵ The *Times*' front-page coverage of the accident - Powers and a news cameraman perished when the helicopter ran out of fuel and crashed - had virtually nothing to do with his work as his journalist, as evidenced by the headline: "Francis Gary Powers, U-2 Pilot, Dies in a California Copter Crash."¹⁶

Primary Source Material: *The New York Times*

New York Times tributes to fallen journalists were considered primary source material for this study and a signifier that a journalist's death had received national coverage. The *Times* was selected because it is generally accepted as the leading newspaper in the U.S., if not the world, and has served a long-acknowledged role as a "standard setter" for other media outlets.¹⁷

Since this study dates back to the inception of the paper, it must be noted that the *Times* was far from a setter of standards when its founders, Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones,

¹⁴ Andrew H. Malcolm, "Outspoken Talk Show Host Slain Outside Denver Home," *New York Times*, June 20, 1984, A14.

¹⁵ Robert Lindsey, "Francis Gary Powers, U-2 Pilot, Dies in a California Copter Crash," *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1977, 12.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News : A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 189.

began publication on Sept. 18, 1851.¹⁸ At the time, it was just another newspaper started in New York City in the wake of the success of the initial penny press newspapers, such as the *New York Sun* and the *New York Herald*, and soon after, the *New York Tribune*.¹⁹ Raymond, who had worked for Horace Greeley at the *Tribune*, created a four-page paper much like the other penny press publications, but hoped to distinguish it by its comprehensiveness and, despite his Republican affiliation, political independence.²⁰

After Raymond died suddenly in 1869, George Jones assumed the job of the publisher until his death in 1891.²¹ In 1896, Adolph Ochs, then the publisher of the *Chattanooga Times*, bought controlling ownership of the paper for \$75,000 and named himself publisher of the 9,000-circulation paper.²² Within a year, Ochs started modern news vehicles such as a Sunday magazine and a Review of Books and Art, as well as coining the slogan that would adorn the paper from then on: "All the News That's Fit to Print."²³ William David Sloan writes: "When Ochs became its publisher and principal owner in August 1896, the *Times* was a moribund newspaper — a gray, conservative sheet that sold only a few thousand copies a day."²⁴ Ochs, who is credited with leading the *Times* to its preeminent status, fashioned the paper as an alternative to the sensational yellow journalism practiced at Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's

¹⁸ "About The Company," The New York Times Company, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline_1851.html

¹⁹ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 125.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 139.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 235.

New York Journal.²⁵ His masterstroke, though, to make the *Times* a leading New York City paper involved cutting the newsstand price from 3 cents to a penny in October 1898, and three years later the paper's circulation had jumped to 102,000, four times what it had been.²⁶ The decision also led to the paper being in the "the black" for the first time since Ochs bought it.²⁷

It is difficult to assess exactly when the *Times* reached its preeminent status. However, it can be said that the *Times* was clearly one of the nation's top newspapers when the industry became more professionalized in the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Times* won its first Pulitzer Prize in 1918, for coverage of World War I, the second year the awards were given, and has won more than 100 Pulitzer Prizes in all, the most of any newspaper.²⁸ The *Times* eventually came to be known as "the paper of record," a phrase the company may inadvertently have spurred in 1927 when it held a contest regarding an annual news index it published, and asked readers to write essays regarding "The Value of the New York Times Index and Files as a Newspaper of Record"²⁹ At the same time, the *Times* has endured, and even thrived, as the news business has changed, particularly with the advent of new mediums, such as radio, television, and the Internet. If anything, the *Times* has simply outlasted its initial competitors. For instance, the newspapers that won the first two Pulitzers in 1917, the *New York Tribune* and the *New York World*, have long since vanished from the media landscape.³⁰ When Herbert Gans conducted his

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

²⁷ Susan E. Tifft and Alex S. Jones, *The Trust : The Private and Powerful Family Behind the New York Times*. 1st ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1999), 56.

²⁸ "1918 Winners," The Pulitzer Prizes, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.pulitzer.org/awards/1918>.

²⁹ Daniel Okrent, "Paper of Record? No Way, No Reason, No Thanks." *New York Times*, April 25, 2004, WK2.

³⁰ "1917 Winners," The Pulitzer Prizes, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.pulitzer.org/awards/1917>.

landmark 1979 study of leading TV and magazine news operations, it was fairly well established that the *Times* had ascended from being not just the preeminent newspaper in the country, but the one that set the standards that influenced the news judgments of other news outlets.³¹ The next year, in 1980, the *Times* began publishing a national edition, further establishing its hold on opinion makers throughout the country.³² Its reach expanded even more when it began publishing online in 1996.³³

The *Times*' journey into the twenty-first century has not gone without setbacks. After winning seven Pulitzer Prizes in 2002 for its coverage of the 9/11 attacks, the paper was the subject of a widely-publicized scandal that began with revelations of plagiarism and fabrication by a young reporter and grew to include allegations of systemic problems in the newsroom, ending with the resignations of the paper's executive editor and managing editor.³⁴ On a larger scale, the paper's continued viability in a changing digital landscape came into question after the 2008 economic meltdown, and management was forced to turn to outside investors, but the paper has remained in family hands; its publisher, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr., is a descendent of Adolph Ochs.³⁵ What seems to have remained undisputed is the *Times*' singular place in journalism. For instance, Ken Auletta, the esteemed media critic of the *New Yorker*, wrote in a

³¹ Gans, *Deciding What's News : A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, 189.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ "About The Company," The New York Times Company, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.nyco.com/company/milestones/timeline_1851.html.

³⁴ Ken Auletta, "The Inheritance: Can Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., Save the *Times* and Himself?" *The New Yorker*, December 29, 2005, accessed Feb. 2, 2013, www.newyorker.com/archive/2005/12/19/051219fa_fact.

³⁵ Ken Auletta, "Changing Times: Jill Abramson Takes Charge of the Gray Lady," *The New Yorker*, October 24, 2011, accessed Feb. 2, 2013, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/10/24/111024fa_fact_auletta.

2009 blog that despite recent job cuts at the *Times*, it was still "incontestably the world's best newspaper."³⁶

Procedure

The Newseum's online listing of the names on the Journalists Memorial were reviewed in chronological order to determine what U.S. journalists were listed.³⁷ For this study, U.S. journalists have been defined as: journalists who worked for U.S.-based news organizations; journalists who were U.S. born and worked for foreign news organizations; or freelance journalists who were either U.S. citizens or resided in the U.S. The names of the first three U.S. fallen journalists on the memorial were not used because they died before the *Times* began publication.

The Newseum online directory indexes the fallen journalists in a variety of ways: by name, by location of death, by the organization they worked for, and by the year of their deaths. However, unless specifically stated in the biographical information for each individual, there is no specific listing that demarcates whether the journalist was a U.S. citizen or not. Consequently, the final list of U.S. journalists used in this study had to be culled in a variety of ways. Journalists were automatically included if they worked for a U.S. news outlet listed in the organization index. Almost every journalist who died in the U.S. was also added to the list. (A noted exception was Paul Guihard, who was killed while covering a riot during the integration of the University of Mississippi in 1962; though based in New York, he was a French citizen

³⁶ Ken Auletta, "A Hundred Cuts," *The New Yorker*, October 19, 2009, accessed Feb. 2, 2013, www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/10/ken-auletta-times-cuts.html.

³⁷ The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed Feb. 23, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

working for a French news agency, Agence France Presse.³⁸) Further efforts were made to identify the nationality of journalists working for foreign news organizations; if their nationality was not specifically listed in the memorial listings, online queries in search engines, such as Google, and newspaper databases, such as ProQuest, were conducted.

The names of all the identified fallen journalists in this study were then run through online *New York Times* archives.³⁹ Multiple search terms, such as the journalist's name and employer or place of death, were used to search these online archives so as to help to ensure that relevant stories were not missed. If a fallen journalist was not initially identified as being a subject of coverage by the *Times*, further search attempts were made to ensure that the omission could not be accounted for by initial misspellings of the name. In these cases, the date range of the search was sometimes narrowed to specific months and weeks and less specific search terms were used - the place of death, or, if applicable, even words related to the death, such as "Vietnam" or "plane" or "helicopter." The names of the identified U.S. journalists then were compiled in an Excel database.

That database was built to include additional information about the fallen journalists that included, if available, age, gender, nationality, specific job position (reporter, photographer, editor, etc.), cause of death, location of death, and employer. The database also included a category that noted whether the journalist's death had been covered by the *Times*. Other categories included foreign versus domestic deaths; deaths by assassination; deaths by air crashes, including a further breakdown of whether the crashes involved planes or helicopters;

³⁸ "Kennedy Is Dismayed by Killing of French Newsmen During Riots," *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1962, 27.

³⁹ The ProQuest Historical Newspapers index for the *New York Times* covers stories from 1851 to 2009. The *Times'* own online archive was used to search for stories published after 2009.

and deaths while covering war. The medium the journalists worked in was also documented: print, radio, newsreels or documentaries, radio, television, and multimedia.

Finally, this data was further broken down into an analysis of different eras: the nineteenth century; the early twentieth century, defined as the period from 1900 to 1939; World War II, from 1940 to 1945, a period that begins the year before the U.S. entered the conflict, which actually started in 1939; the immediate post-World War II era, defined as 1946 to 1959, a period marked by the Korean War and the rise of broadcast journalism and a more prominent role of women in the workplace; the 1960s and 1970s, from 1960 to 1979, a period marked by the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal; the late twentieth century through the post 9/11 era, which includes wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as a growing awareness of on-the-job risks by the journalism industry.

Method of Analysis

The *Times* covered 274 of the 362 U.S. fallen journalists who died during the newspaper's existence. Overall, more than 5600 news stories about those journalists following their deaths were reviewed to ascertain relevance. The initial review of the story's headline involved looking for the journalist's name or other wording that indicated that the story was focused on that individual or the events surrounding his or her death. More than 1600 of these stories were written in the year immediately after the journalist's death, and these stories were read in greater depth in order to determine their value as potential primary source material.⁴⁰ More than 400 articles were eventually selected for analysis based on whether they included at

⁴⁰ A complete listing of the articles selected as primary source material is available in the bibliography section of this dissertation. A complete listing of the fallen journalists covered by the *Times* is available in Appendix A.

least basic background information about the journalists and their deaths or possibly a broader profile of their lives.

This historical inquiry largely involved qualitative methods. The decision was based on the determination that, for this study, the type of a numerical coding system used in quantitative content analysis would not be the best way to assess less obvious, but often more significant meanings in text.⁴¹ Qualitative analysis of text also takes into account what quantitative analysis can't – what is missing from the text.⁴² Though qualitative analysis obviously brings into play the bias of the investigator, proponents would say that the strength of the method is the use of the researcher as an instrument.

Sloan and Stamm wrote that historians must have a firm “understanding of content” and caution that historical records can be “complicated by archaic, colloquial, or technical language.”⁴³ Sloan and Stamm made roughly the same argument when advocating qualitative analysis: “In essence, historians must understand as far as is possible what the content means. That task involves an ability to use the techniques of textual elucidation plus open-mindedness, imagination, and common sense.”⁴⁴ They added: “Understanding content, however, goes beyond comprehension of language and expression. It also deals with asking the fundamental question: What type of evidence is contained in this record? What type of information?”⁴⁵

⁴¹ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 361-362.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 211.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

This qualitative approach involved an interpretative analysis of the text, calling for a thorough reading of the source material in a concentrated attempt to identify themes that were relevant to the research questions. This approach involved an analysis of entire story as opposed to focusing on more "minimal units of analysis" such as "sentences or finite clauses."⁴⁶ Consequently, each individual tribute served as a unit of analysis and was examined for the following criteria:

(1). Mythic Structure of Story: This category determined whether or not the narrative of the tribute followed the structure of the classic hero myth. Stories determined to have depicted this myth followed one or more of the phases of the "hero's journey" as detailed by a number of scholars, in particular Joseph Campbell. Those distinct phases, as charted by Campbell in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, most prominently include, in order: the Call to Adventure; the Refusal of the Call; the Crossing of the First Threshold; the Road of Trials, the Ultimate Boon; the Refusal of the Return, and the Crossing of the Return Threshold.⁴⁷

The call to adventure, Campbell says, generally "begins with someone from whom something has been taken, or who feels there's something lacking in the normal experiences available or permitted to the members of his society."⁴⁸ Though the hero might initially refuse the call, he or she eventually crosses the first threshold and commences the road of trials which includes "a series of adventures beyond the ordinary, either to recover what has been lost or to discover some life-giving elixir."⁴⁹ During these adventures, Campbell says, the hero performs

⁴⁶ Maite Taboada and Loreley Hadic Zabala, "Deciding on Units of Analysis within Centering Theory," *Corpus Linguistics & Linguistic Theory* 4, no. 1 (2008): 63-108.

⁴⁷ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* 1-377.

⁴⁸ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

some type of deed – either a physical one, “in which the hero performs a courageous act in battle or saves a life,” or a “spiritual” one, “in which the hero learns to experience the supernatural range of human spiritual life and then comes back with a message,” or a boon, for his society.⁵⁰ The hero's victory is often short lived as he or she soon receives another call to adventure, which may be initially refused.⁵¹ Ultimately, the hero sets off on another adventure, then cross "return threshold" again and reenter society.⁵² Thus the hero's journey, Campbell wrote, is "usually a cycle, a going and a returning.”⁵³

If a news story failed to contain any elements of the hero myth, it was designated as having portrayed the fallen journalist as a victim - an individual whose death was depicted as simply tragic, not one that was symbolic of some overarching triumph in the midst of a noble adventure.

(2). Heroic Qualities: The stories were reviewed to determine whether or not the fallen journalist was depicted as reflecting certain heroic qualities associated with risk-taking and self-sacrifice. This review included a search for specific words such as "risk" and "courage" or, alternately, "cool" and "detached." The review also involved a search for phrases or passages that conveyed these sentiments, such as examples of the journalist risking his or her life, or ignoring danger, or shrugging off personal injury in a stoical fashion.

(3). Journalistic Qualities: The stories were reviewed to determine whether or not the fallen journalist was depicted as following certain journalistic qualities or core news values.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* 1-377.

⁵³ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

These norms - such as being impartial, accurate, and independent; or pursuing the truth and exposing wrongdoing - are often explicitly stated in journalism ethics codes.

(4). Scope of Coverage: The stories were reviewed to determine how newsworthy the *Times* considered a journalist's death. The stories were classified as either a brief, defined as a non-bylined story three paragraphs long or less; a news story, defined as more than three paragraphs in length, or an editorial. The review also determined whether the headline to the story covered one column or multiple columns and whether it referenced the journalist by name or occupation. Also recorded was the number of stories that mentioned the fallen journalist after his or her death.

Chapter 5: The Nineteenth Century

Overview

History books might remember journalists of the nineteenth century as heroes, dying while covering wars or perishing at the hands of assassins. But this study of *New York Times* tributes suggests that these journalists weren't heroes in their own time. There was no discernible hero mythology being crafted in the tributes to fallen journalists during the nineteenth century. Not a single *Times* story about a fallen journalist during this period followed the narrative structure of a hero myth. If there was any mythology at work, it was more akin to the victim myth.¹ These fallen journalists were portrayed more as victims of tragic fate than heroes whose deaths were symbolic triumphs.

The stories also largely failed to speak to the roles and values that journalists followed. The stories - all of them without bylines - did not convey even the slightest notion of what it meant to be a journalist, at least in the modern sense of the term. Consequently, there was no discussion of the journalists having embodied journalistic values - not surprising, since these values were only being developed in rudimentary form toward the end of this century.

Nonetheless, the deaths of these journalists was often newsworthy. The *New York Times* published articles on 16 of the 30 U.S. journalists on the Journalists Memorial who died in the nineteenth century after the paper began publishing in 1851.² Though some of these deaths were extensively covered by the *Times*, that coverage was largely generated by the standing of the journalist in the community - especially when the fallen journalist was a prominent editor or

¹ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories : The Mythological Role of Journalism*, 22.

² Three of the U.S. journalists on the Journalists Memorial died before the *Times* began publication in 1851.

publisher - and often focused on the sensational nature of their deaths, such as a dramatic gunfight. There is also no sense that their deaths were a loss for journalism, and, by extension, for the greater society as a whole. Similarly, there is no sense in the stories that the greater society experienced these deaths as the loss of a journalist working as a surrogate of the public. Moreover, without any real sense of a collective journalistic community, the tributes did not serve any eulogistic function for the profession.

More than half of those U.S. journalists who perished during this period were assassinated, meaning their killers targeted them personally. Editing a newspaper was a dangerous business in the U.S. throughout the century. And newspaper editors could be dangerous as well – they were often armed, engaging in duels with critics and rivals, and, in one case, the fallen journalist killed his assailant with his dying shot. Sometimes the most dangerous people were competitors – no fewer than four fallen journalists from this period on the Journalists Memorial were killed by rival newspaper editors. But many of these journalists were portrayed as powerbrokers engaged in feuds, not journalists who died because they were espousing journalistic values, such as the pursuit of the truth.

The hero myth was also noticeably absent in the tributes to journalists who died covering combat in the nineteenth century. Though the roots of the modern heroic American war correspondent are frequently traced back to reporters who covered such epic nineteenth century conflicts such as the Civil War and, later, the Spanish American War, some of these fallen journalists weren't even recognized as journalists when they died. It is difficult to say that these journalists were reporters in the modern sense of the word. For instance, one of the journalists covered by the *Times* after he was killed covering the Civil War was identified as a minister. Overall, five journalists died while covering foreign war, but effectively, this tradition did not

start until almost the very end of the century, with coverage of hostilities involving Cuba. If there was outrage over the deaths of these reporters, it was not because they were journalists but over the fact that they were Americans who died at foreign hands.

In this period, as well as in other eras covered in this study, a look at a list of fallen journalists is at once reflective of its time and suggestive of story lines that don't conveniently fit into conventional historical accounts. The emphasis in journalism history books on the significance of the penny press in the early nineteenth century sometimes obscures the ongoing relevance of other genres, such as the partisan press, the antebellum press, and the frontier press.³

The deaths spoke to a largely unsettled country with deep divisions, often sparked by race, as seen through the Civil War and the battle over slavery or the ongoing skirmishes relating to encroachment into Native American territories. Much of the United States was an unsettled, often violent terrain, and even prominent members of society would settle their differences through violence. Consequently, the coverage of the deaths of fallen journalists during this period tells a larger story about journalism in the nineteenth century and the state of the country itself.

Early *Times* Coverage of Fallen Journalists

The growth of journalism as a vocation could be seen the creation of the *Times* itself, birthed in the wake of the success of the initial penny press newspapers, such as the *New York Sun* and the *New York Herald*.⁴ Indeed, the development of the idea of journalism as a profession

³ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 1-502.

⁴ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 125.

can be clearly traced to the debut of the penny press on Sept. 3, 1833, when printer Benjamin Day started the *New York Sun*, sold it for a penny, and saw his circulation triple from 5,000 to 15,000 in two years.⁵ The modern notion of objectivity – a practice that has been central to defining the role of the reporter - also has been traced to the emergence of the penny press newspapers and their effort to practice a form of journalism that was separate from the influence of political parties.⁶

Yet, the *Times* early stories about fallen journalists do not convey any sense that these deaths were in service to a common profession. That is not to say the deaths of these individuals were often not considered newsworthy by the *Times* after the newspaper began publication in 1851. The *Times* did not cover the fatal shooting of Joseph Mansfield, owner of the *San Joaquin Republican*, in 1854 by a rival editor.⁷ However, the paper ran a half-dozen stories about the second journalist to die after the paper was established: James King, the *San Francisco Bulletin* editor who was fatally shot by a city supervisor.⁸

The *Times* stories did not convey any sense of how King's killing figured within the context of journalism – it was mostly news about the violent death of a prominent person in a distant U.S. city and how that death spurred unrest in that community. The first story, headlined "The Excitement in San Francisco," ran on page 2 of the June 16, 1856, edition of what was then called the *New York Daily Times*.⁹ The non-bylined article – it is billed as special

⁵ Stephens, *A History of News*, 184.

⁶ Cohen-Almagor, "The Limits of Objective Reporting," 137.

⁷ "Joseph Mansfield," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁸ "The Excitement in San Francisco," *New York Daily Times*, June 16, 1856, 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*

correspondence from the *N.Y. Daily Times* –does not even mention King's killing in the first paragraph. Instead, the article begins as more of a letter from afar, with the author noting that a steamer "with the mails from the East of April 20, has not yet arrived, and great fears are entertained that some accident has befallen her."¹⁰ Only in the third sentence of the second paragraph does the correspondent present the news of the killing: "Since 1851, there never has been anything to stir up the people like the movements now going on. The attempt to assassinate Jas. King, the Editor of the *Bulletin*, has filled the cup to the brim."¹¹

The story is in essence an impact story, detailing how the community rallied to deal with the crime: "The people have borne with them till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and have risen in their strength to crush the vipers that stung them. The 'Vigilance Committee' of the days of '51 have again assumed the reins, and the work has commenced. Immediately after the attempt to assassinate the editor of the *Bulletin*, notice was given to the members of the old Vigilance Committee to meet; those who were here responded to the call, and steps were taken to reorganize."¹²

The story includes an excerpt from a *Bulletin* article recounting of the events – the exacting report includes details about how the assailant, city supervisor James P. Casey, first confronted King in his office about a story that revealed that Casey had been a prison inmate.¹³ He later shot King in the street – the article ends with details about how "upwards of 20,000

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

persons were assembled" outside the jail and Casey was eventually taken by the city's Vigilance Committee.¹⁴ Casey would later be hanged by vigilantes.¹⁵

The story is not one about a hero, but the story of a victim – and the community's swift path to vengeance. In this way, the account of King's death contains elements of another mythic form found in many news stories, which - as Jack Lule noted in his research - focus on "innocent victims killed in car accidents, airline crashes, hijackings, fires, robberies, drownings. The news, as myth, elevates and transforms death into sacrifice."¹⁶ However, readers can see themselves in those victims - hence the "victim myth" is not about individuals who perform heroic deeds that set themselves apart from the greater society. The story about King included an extended description of his last hours at the hospital, concluding by saying, "Mr. King's wife was by his side throughout all these trying moments, and was hovering over him when his spirit took its flight."¹⁷

From the standpoint of the *Times*, many years from becoming a national newspaper, events such as these in the western United States offered a cautionary tale for those in New York City. In fact, 16 years later, the *Times* would revisit the case in an editorial following a vigilante incident in New York, making it clear that the actions after the King killing should not occur in the *Times'* hometown: "Now, we are far from counseling any such proceeding as that which followed the assassination of the editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. But we wish to warn all

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ "Is It to Be Law or Anarchy?", *New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1872, 4.

¹⁶ Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories : The Mythological Role of Journalism*, 22.

¹⁷ "The Excitement in San Francisco," 2.

concerned that there is a real, imminent danger that the people of New York will not submit forever to the utter disregard of all laws affecting life, property, and order."¹⁸

Assassinations and Sensational Killings

The tone of the *Times* coverage of King's death could be seen in stories about other sensational assassinations of journalists throughout the century. The *Times* covered five of the 12 journalists who were assassinated in the nineteenth century after the newspaper began publication.

In 1880, the *Times* ran seven page-one stories in the aftermath of the death of Charles De Young, the 35-year-old *San Francisco Chronicle* co-founder who was fatally shot in his office by the son of the San Francisco mayor whom Young himself had shot months before.¹⁹ The main page-one story on the killing reported that the political feud began before J.S. Kalloch was elected mayor - the *Chronicle* published "a sensational " account of a prior "scandal" that had forced him to "resign his pastorate" while he was living Boston.²⁰ De Young continued to challenge Kalloch's political aspirations in San Francisco, until one day Kalloch, in a speech, called De Young and his brothers "the bastard progeny of a prostitute," causing De Young to

¹⁸ "Is It to Be Law or Anarchy?", 4.

¹⁹ "Charles De Young Killed." *New York Times*, April 24, 1880, 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

shoot him outside the temple.²¹ Kalloch recovered and was elected mayor; De Young was awaiting trial when he was killed.²²

A separate page-one profile of De Young published the day after the initial story appeared focused on how journalism figured in his personal success. However De Young was not portrayed as taking part in a profession that had some higher purpose, but rather as a romantic adventurer making a go of it in the wild frontier of the American west. The story said that "during his life he had accomplished what very few men have done during a long term of years. His life, indeed, was a romance from the day when he first set foot in California, about 26 years ago, and a romance that could have been worked out only in a country blessed or cursed with just such a mingled and ever-changing population as that which existed in the Gold State in the earlier days of its history."²³

Indeed, the story portrays De Young as not just a victim, but - once again in the eyes of what at the time was decidedly an Eastern newspaper - a victim of the uncivilized far West: "Had the lot of this man of brain and nerve and energy and indomitable will been cast in a more staid and sober community, his life and its ending would have been far different."²⁴ The *Times* added: "Men of his aggressive and uncompromising nature are sure to meet with a tragical [sic] death in the far West, unless they take time by the forelock and fly from the ever-impending danger. No man knew this better than Charles De Young, and he was ever on the alert to avoid his enemies.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ "De Young's Thirty-Five Years," *New York Times*, April 25, 1880, 1.

²⁴ Ibid.

He never stepped into the street without a loaded revolver in his coat pocket, and he usually walked with his right hand grasping the stock, ready to draw it at a moment's warning."²⁵

When De Young's journalism background was addressed, it was not used to discuss the ideals which he espoused, but to show how his talents - and an almost lack of journalistic ethics - served his commercial success. The story noted that at, age 20, De Young and his brother, Harry, had started out publishing "a little 10 by 14 sheet" and "for the first time, his journalistic abilities began to show themselves. He had an eager scent for news, and was perfectly unscrupulous as to the means employed to get it, and it was no uncommon occurrence for the little free Chronicle to print information which the regular dailies did not contain."²⁶ The story noted that "advertisers began to realize its value as a medium of communication with the public, and the result was that after a few months of struggling, the De Youngs found themselves the owners of a valuable property," which led to the launching in 1869 of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "and from that time on the De Youngs, judging from a mercantile point of view, have been uniformly successful."²⁷ De Young's feuds are not depicted as serving any journalistic purpose, noting that he before shooting the mayor "he watched steadily for three days before he found an opportunity to shoot at him. He was never impatient hounding an enemy."²⁸ The story added: "His life was a troubled one, with all its success in a pecuniary light, and his death was precisely such a one as he might have anticipated."²⁹

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

In reporting on the death of De Young and other nineteenth-century journalists, the *Times* does not express indignation that their demise was a loss for journalism. Moreover, unlike in future stories about assassinated reporters and editors, these journalists were not depicted as launching investigations, but rather making personal attacks against opponents. Often the paper's greatest concern was about what effect the death might have on the surrounding community, as evidenced in a page-one story published when B.H. Stone, editor of the *Tahlequah Telephone*, was shot in his office in 1887 by a rival editor from the Native American *Cherokee Advocate*.³⁰ The story is not so much a tribute to a fallen journalist as much as it is a news story about unrest in the region. The story begins: "The killing yesterday of Editor B.H. Stone, of the Talequah *Telephone*, will, it is feared, result this week in a civil war in the Cherokee Nation," adding that "B. H. Stone, the editor of the *Telephone*, was a White man, and his paper was the recognized organ of the Opposition or Downing party."³¹

The *Times* reported that this "tragedy is a climax in the most bitter political fight that has ever taken place in the Territory," which pitted Stone's party against the Nationalists, which "controlled affairs of the Cherokees."³² The *Times* identified his killer as E. C. Baudinot, Jr. , the editor of the *Advocate*, the local paper supporting the rival Nationalists.³³ The *Times* said that Stone's paper had been attacking Baudinot's party in print, charging it with "corruption, perjury, and all manner of bad things, " and that Baudinot went to Stone and "asked for a retraction, and it was refused, and Stone ordered him out of the office. Baudinot alleges that the *Telephone*

³⁰ "Editor Stone's Death," *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1887, 1.

³¹ Ibid. The *Times*' original spelling of the territory differs from that which was adopted by the city that would eventually become part of Oklahoma.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

editor at the same time reached his hand under the desk, and believing he was reaching for a weapon the Advocate editor pulled his trusty Colt's and fired. The bullet struck Stone in the neck near the carotid artery, and passed out at the base of the skull on the opposed side. He lived only a few hours."³⁴ The *Times* added that "Baudinot walked coolly out of the office, met his bother on the sidewalk, and after a conference went home. He was not arrested."³⁵

Similarly, journalism was not at the center of the *Times* coverage of the fatal shooting in 1891 of Albert C. Osborne, the city editor of the *Sunday World*, in Columbus, Ohio, during a gunfight with two brothers who ran the competing *Sunday Capital*.³⁶ The story is more about a sensational event involving prominent local figures than about the role of journalism per se. The page-one story noted that the "newspaper feud" escalated two weeks before the shooting when the *Sunday World* made charges against the family that owned the *Sunday Capital*, alleging that a "female relative ... was unchaste."³⁷ The editor of the *Capital*, Col. W.J. Elliott, shot and killed Osborne as well as a bystander who was struck by a stray bullet.³⁸ The story carried a detailed account of what it called a "running battle" during which Osborne exchanged gunfire with both Elliott and his brother, Patrick.³⁹

In 1898, William Cowper Brann, who had been critical of Baptists in his journal, *Brann's Iconoclast*, was fatally shot in the back during a duel with a Baptist supporter who was also

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "Killed in a Street Fight," *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1891, 1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

killed when the wounded Davis managed to shoot back before dying.⁴⁰ The *Times* report of the killing had details very much like the shooting involving Albert Osborne in Columbus, Ohio—numerous people were killed or hurt; Brann managed to shoot his assailant before succumbing to his wounds, and his business partner was also wounded as well as two bystanders.⁴¹ The story contains five paragraphs of background about Brann, but he is not depicted in favorable terms; rather, Brann was said to have “studied for the ministry, but his ideas became too radical, and he became a newspaperman.”⁴² Described as having “a most aggressive character,” Brann “made a great many staunch friends, but also fully as many enemies, and became involved in frequent altercations with men whom he publicly attacked. He was once horsewhipped on the streets of San Antonio, and at various times his life was threatened.”⁴³ Moreover, the story added: “His bitterly sarcastic pen and his cynical manner of treating public matters again brought him into difficulties . . . He had several fights on the streets with men who felt themselves wronged, and was warned a number of times to leave the city. He defied his enemies, however, maintaining that he was merely speaking the truth and maintaining his rights to express opinions.”⁴⁴

The Early War Correspondents

The early part of the nineteenth century leading up to the start of the Civil War was a time of vast transformation in American journalism. What distinguished the penny press papers

⁴⁰ "William Cowper Brann," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁴¹ "Texas Duelists Will Die," *New York Times*, April 2, 1898, 6.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

was not the mere notion of objectivity, which can be seen in publications dating back to Colonial times.⁴⁵ The penny press furthered an evolution from a time where newspapers were essentially run by one person who was a printer, editor, and reporter to an era where news was the product of a media organization with numerous individuals serving in unique roles: reporters, editors and publishers.⁴⁶ The use of terms “journalists” and “reporter” were infrequent before then.⁴⁷

Still, there was only a gradual change in professional practice from the eighteenth century, when correspondents generally were people who knew the editor of the newspaper and corresponded by letter from distant locales.⁴⁸ Even by 1860, just before the start of the Civil War, journalism in the United States did not reflect any explicit shared values or constitute a distinct occupation.⁴⁹

The *Times* ran stories that mentioned two of the eight journalists on the Journalists Memorial who died while covering the Civil War. Overall, the *Times* covered the deaths of 9 of the 16 journalists who were killed covering wars during the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Both of the

⁴⁵ William David Sloan, “Neutrality and Colonial Newspapers,” in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, ed. Steven R. Knowlton and Karen L. Freeman (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005), 38.

⁴⁶ Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, 60.

⁴⁷ Hazel Dicken-Garcia, “The Transition from the Partisan to the Penny Press.” In *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, ed. Steven R. Knowlton and Karen L. Freeman (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005), 90.

⁴⁸ Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁰ Two fallen journalists did not fit neatly into either category. Charles Govin, a 23-year-old correspondent for the *Equator-Democrat* in Key West, Florida, was killed in 1896 while covering the Cuban insurrection by Spanish soldiers when, after being identified as an American reporter, he was tied to a tree and hacked to death. The Newseum lists him as having perished covering war, so that is the way he is categorized in this study, but Govin could also be considered a victim of assassination. In general, this study only classified journalists as the victims of assassination if they were clearly targeted in a premeditated manner. Frederick W. Loring, a writer for the *Saturday Evening Gazette*, was returning home after covering an Army survey of California, Nevada and Utah when he and two other men were shot to death by Apache Indians when their stagecoach came under attack near Wickenburg, Ariz. In a sense, Loring was both targeted and also in a war zone, namely the western United States before treaties were signed with Native Americans. For this study, he is considered as not meeting either criteria, since the Newseum did list him as covering war and that there is no evidence that he was targeted because of his profession.

Civil War correspondents written about by the *Times* were northerners. The Journalists Memorial identifies the first one as Arthur Fuller, an Army chaplain turned reporter who died in 1862 on assignment for the *Boston Journal*.⁵¹ But the *Times* story on his death identifies him only as chaplain, and makes no mention of his work as a correspondent; his death is noted in a column titled "Personal," which listed a host of newsworthy developments such as retirements, divorces and court judgments.⁵² Fuller is the first person listed in the story and the focus is more on the loss suffered by his family: "There has been a singular fatality attached to the family of the lamented Chaplain Fuller, of the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment, who fell at the battle of Fredericksburgh. Three of the family have perished by untimely deaths."⁵³ The story quotes from the letter the family received from Massachusetts governor, who refers to Fuller's death as an "instance of bravery" and notes that his "conduct was worthy of his State and his blood."⁵⁴

The *Times* did note the profession of Lynde Walter Buckingham, the *New York Herald's* Union cavalry correspondent who died in June of 1863 from injuries suffered when he was thrown off a horse while covering a clash between Union and Confederate forces in Virginia.⁵⁵ In a page-one column titled, "News From Washington," Buckingham's death is the fourth item listed, after news about a one Union general having a meeting with the President and the Secretary of War, another general being relieved of his command, and an admiral having been detached to Charleston.⁵⁶ The one-paragraph notice of Buckingham's death - a subhead reads: "A

⁵¹ "Arthur B. Fuller," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁵² "Personal," *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1862, 3.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "News from Washington," *New York Times*, June 24, 1863, 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Correspondent Killed” - clearly cast him as the victim of enemy forces; the *Times* wrote: "Walter Buckingham, correspondent of the New-York Herald, was killed yesterday, near Aldie, by a fall from his stumbling horse, while its rider was endeavoring to escape from guerillas who were in pursuit of him. His neck was instantly broken. He was buried by our cavalry near Aldie."⁵⁷

The end of the Civil War didn't mark the end of hostilities in the country. The *Times* also made mention of the journalist's occupation when reporting in 1866 that Apaches had killed Ridgeway Glover, a photographer on assignment for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.⁵⁸ The story, which ran on page five and carried the headline, "Indian Outrages," also included a subhead announcing: "One of Frank Leslie's Artists Killed."⁵⁹ In the second paragraph, after noting the capture of "a Government herd of mules," the story reported that an Army private "and Ridgeway Glover, an artist for Frank Leslie's paper, were killed and badly mutilated."⁶⁰

The *Times* published an entire column noting the death of Frederick W. Loring, killed by Apaches in 1871 while returning home reporting on a U.S. Army expedition in the west.⁶¹ The story served as a tribute to Loring, though it did not mention journalism per se – he was depicted as a writer and adventurer. The story, headlined "The Late Frederick W. Loring," identified him as a "promising young Boston writer, who was murdered by the Apaches in their recent raid on a stage on its passage from Wickenburg, Arizona, to San Bernardino, Cal, the San Francisco

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ "Indian Outrages," *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1866, 5.

The Journalists Memorial also lists Glover as having been on assignment for the *Philadelphia Photographer*.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "The Late Frederick W. Loring," *New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1871, 5.

The Journalists Memorial identifies Loring as having been on assignment for the *Saturday Evening Gazette*.

Bulletin of Tuesday, Nov. 14, says:"⁶² The *Times* quoted the *Bulletin* story at length, noting that he had arrived in San Francisco the prior spring "bearing a few letters of introduction" and "had accepted a place in the expedition for the freshness of the adventures which he anticipated. The prospect of traversing countries almost unknown to white men, had a special charm for him ... His traffic and revengeful taking off sadly closes a career which had been inspired by the noblest spirit and brightened by the most sanguine hopes."⁶³

Though Loring is described as being on an adventure, there is no sense that his sacrifice was in service to anything other than adventure's sake. In that regard, he is depicted more as a victim than a hero. And certainly there is no sense that this adventure is part of some journalistic purpose, say to inform his community off lurking dangers far from home.

The Early Foreign Correspondents

The aftermath of the Civil War began a trend that would lead to journalists begin to follow more firmly-established professional rules.⁶⁴ The first set of "reporters rules" found in the U.S. has been dated back to 1862.⁶⁵ In 1869, as president of all-male Washington College, Gen. Robert E. Lee proposed what would be the first formal course in journalism in the United

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ King, "Objectivity During a Class of Titans, 1883-1915," 117.

⁶⁵ Dicken-Garcia, "The Transition from the Partisan to the Penny Press," 96.

States.⁶⁶ In 1870, the U.S. Census offered for the first time an occupational category for journalists.⁶⁷

In 1872, there was the publication of what some consider the first textbook about journalism: *Hints To Young Editors*, by an anonymous writer.⁶⁸ And, in 1883, a trade publication, *The Journalist*, began publication.⁶⁹ Newsrooms also began to develop a more modern managerial hierarchy with managing editors overseeing every department of the newspaper and city editors supervising reporters who covered various beats.⁷⁰

One of the developing beats was that of the foreign correspondent, and its importance became clear early on. The *Times* published articles on all four of the journalists who died on foreign assignment in the nineteenth century compared to covering 12 of the 26 journalists who died in the United States.

One of the first fallen foreign correspondents to be covered by the *Times* was Jerome James Collins, a reporter/meteorologist for the *New York Herald* who died in the Arctic in 1881 while on an expedition on the newspaper's ship, the *Jeannette*.⁷¹ The *Times* ran brief profiles of all of the victims on Dec. 21, 1881, more than two years after the vessel went missing on Sept.

⁶⁶ Maureen H. Beasley and Joseph A. Mirando, "Objectivity in Education," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, ed. Steven R. Knowlton and Karen L. Freeman (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005), 181.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Sumpter, "Core Knowledge," 42.

⁶⁹ Patnode, Shaw, and Knowlton, "The 19th Century: The Evolution of Objectivity," 68.

⁷⁰ Fred Fedler. *Lessons from the Past : Journalists' Lives and Work, 1850-1950* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2000), 5.

⁷¹ "The *Jeannette's* Long Cruise," *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1881, 2.

The Journalists Memorial inscription for Collins notes that he died of apparent "exposure" and "starvation" after he escaped with others on small boats when the *Jeannette* sunk after striking ice.

11, 1879.⁷² In the profile of Collins, which ran on page two, he was identified as “the meteorologist of the exploring party” – only lower down in the story is it mentioned that he eventually took “a fancy for journalism” and joined the *Herald*, where his “greatest success was in the weather service, and after a series of careful experiments, he began sending the storm predictions for the *Herald* to Europe.”⁷³ Collins would figure prominently in subsequent stories about an official inquiry into alleged maltreatment of him by the captain of the vessel – a dozen stories would be written in the two years after the discovery of the ship - but his role as a journalist does not figure prominently in the coverage.⁷⁴ Mostly, he is depicted repeatedly as a victim of the most tragic circumstances.

But it was the coverage of hostilities in Cuba toward the end of the nineteenth century that really brought to the forefront the stature of the foreign correspondent. *New York Journal* publisher William Randolph Hearst, in a circulation battle with Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the *New York World*, made waves in 1896, two years before the start of the Spanish-American War, by sending two correspondents, Richard Harding Davis and painter Frederic Remington, to cover the growing conflict between Cuban rebels and Spanish authorities.⁷⁵

Despite the growing prominence of these foreign correspondents, there remained an absence of any hero mythology in the *Times* coverage of the journalists who died on foreign assignment. The coverage of the slaying of Charles Govin, a correspondent for a newspaper based in Key West, Florida, in 1896 by Spanish soldiers focuses less on the killing of a journalist

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ "General Telegraph News," *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1882, 2.

⁷⁵ W. Joseph Campbell, *Getting It Wrong : Ten of the Greatest Misreported Stories in American Journalism*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 9.

and more on the reaction of the community to the death of an American at Spanish hands.⁷⁶ Govin is clearly portrayed as the victim in the four-paragraph story, which carried a Key West dateline and a headline reading: "Indignation Against Spain."⁷⁷ The story began: "Several hundred of the most prominent citizens of this city gathered in front of the City Hall tonight in response to a call published in one of the local papers, to express their indignation at the barbarous manner in which Charles Govin of this city, was killed by Spanish soldiers ..."⁷⁸ The story noted that "Govin, who was visiting Cuba as the correspondent of a Key West paper, was an American citizen and was fatally murdered for no other offense beyond that of being an American citizen."⁷⁹

The *Times* ran a front-page brief a year later, in 1897, when Charles E. Crosby, a correspondent for the *Chicago Record*, was also killed while covering the war between Spain and insurgents from Cuba.⁸⁰ The *Times* quoted a dispatch from the U.S. consul general to Havana that simply said: "Mr. C.E. Crosby of New York, the representative of The Chicago Record, is reported killed while watching with field glasses a combat between the Spanish and insurgent forces near Arroy Planco, close to the boundary of Puerto Principe and Santa Clara."⁸¹

The *Times* also ran a one-paragraph notice on page three about the death of Frank Collins, noting that the *Boston Journal* correspondent "died at Tampa, Fla., this morning of

⁷⁶ "Indignation Against Spain," *New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1896, 5.

The Journalists Memorial identifies Govin as a correspondent for the *Equator-Democrat* in Key West, Fla.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ "Lost His Life in Cuba," *New York Times*, March 30, 1897, 1.

⁸¹ Ibid.

typhoid fever contracted while at the front in Cuba with the Second Massachusetts Regiment.”⁸² The *Times* carried a two-paragraph death notice when Ambrose W. Lyman, an Associated Press correspondent, died his Brooklyn, New York home after contracting disease in Cuba.⁸³ The notice said that Lyman had been “stationed at Siboney in charge of The Associated Press work,” and that though “he contracted fever there, he remained on duty until after the surrender of Santiago.”⁸⁴

The passing of Sydney G. Tovey, a 26-year-old British-born *New York Journal* correspondent, was reported in the *Times* after he died in New York of typhoid fever contracted while in Cuba covering the war.⁸⁵ In the second item of a column with a Washington dateline, which began with news of President William McKinley planning to visit soldiers based in Montauk Point, N.Y., the *Times* noted Tovey's death, under the subhead: "War Correspondent Dies of Fever."⁸⁶ The story said that he had died of typhoid fever after being “brought home a fortnight ago” after falling ill when “stationed near Admiral Sampson’s squadron” – the one-paragraph brief noted that “present at his deathbed” was his fiancée, “an actress” who “was to have danced in ‘Yankee Doodle Dandy’” the following Monday.⁸⁷

⁸² "Correspondent Collins Dies at Tampa," *New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1898, 3.

⁸³ "Death List of a Day," *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1898, 9.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ "Glad McKinley Will Come," *New York Times*, Aug. 27, 1898, 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

A Precursor to the Hero Myth

Januarius Aloysius MacGahan was the first U.S. reporter on the Journalists Memorial to die covering a foreign war. MacGahan was working for a British newspaper, the *London Daily News*, when he died from typhus in 1878 in Constantinople, soon after returning from reporting on the Russo-Turkish War.⁸⁸ The *Times* published two stories mentioning MacGahan in the month immediately after his death. The first story appeared as part of a page-one notes column on June 11, 1878, with the subhead reading, "Death of a Newspaper Correspondent."⁸⁹ The one-paragraph notice carried a London dateline and simply reported: "Mr. MacGahan, special correspondent of the Daily News, died at Constantinople on Sunday night of spotted typhus fever, complicated by epileptic fits. He had been delirious since Thursday."⁹⁰ Two weeks later, in a notes column by its London correspondent, the *Times* provided a reprint of what was termed a "feeling tribute" that ran in the *London Daily News*, by Archibald Forbes, a colleague.⁹¹ This story contained the elements that would be seen in many future journalism tributes in the *Times*. However, in the strictest sense, the story is a tribute by a British newspaper, not the *Times* itself.

The tribute listed qualities that would be a central part of the hero mythology, in particular a type of stoic detachment wherein the journalist shrugs off the personal cost of his or her work. Forbes described MacGahan as "the very will-o'-the-wisp of war correspondents," who "always contrived to 'show a good front,' and some streaks of very hard luck never daunted his frank, gallant cheerfulness. He never was a man to inflict upon his readers himself and his

⁸⁸ "The Diplomats' Meeting," *New York Times*, June 11, 1878, 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ From Our Own Correspondent, "The Club and Kettledrum," *New York Times*, June 25, 1878, 3

personal hardships and trials."⁹² Forbes added: "Nobody to read his letters and telegrams during the long, weary interval between the September attack on Plevna and the final fall of Osman's impoverished fortress, could gather any hint that during that period the writer had been four times down with malarial fever."⁹³

The tribute continued to detail journalistic qualities that would become held up high in the future, such as the fact that he ignored "physical hindrances" and thus "distinguished himself so brilliantly" while on assignment:

At Kischeneff in the early part of April, he broke one of the bones of his ankle when riding a young Cossack horse belonging to Prince Tserteleff. When I met him first on the platform of the railway station at Jassy he was limping along with this ankle inclosed in a mask of plaster of paris. He was still lame when he started into Bulgaria with Gourkho's column ... he was in the saddle again long ere his broken bone was properly set; and as a fact he never gave it time properly to set at all. Rather than 'be out of it,' he deliberately accepted the prophesied fate of being lame for life; and I have no doubt that he died lame.⁹⁴

In this tribute, one can see the type of mythology that would emerge in the early part of the twentieth century, and be on display in more modern times, such as when Anthony Shadid set out on his final assignment, despite his wounds. He was "in the saddle again," like Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, because great journalists always go.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Chapter 6: The Early Twentieth Century

Overview

The development of the hero myth in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists began in the early twentieth century as journalism in the United States was in the midst of a professionalization movement marked by the opening of journalism schools and the enactment of professional ethics codes. Indeed, the first fallen journalist the *Times* depicted as a mythic hero - Donald Ring Mellett, the editor of the *Canton Daily News* who was fatally shot in 1926 after his newspaper pursued an ongoing investigation into police corruption - was also the first journalist to die on assignment after the enactment of the first national journalistic ethics code.¹

Mellett's death came just three years after the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted the Canons of Journalism, in 1923, which detailed common journalistic values such as responsibility, freedom of the press, the obligation to remain independent, sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy, impartiality, fair play, and decency.² Moreover, following Mellett's killing, the hero myth was advanced in tributes to six of the next ten fallen journalists the *Times* covered in the 1920s and 1930s.

These initial mythic heroes included a succession of crusading journalists who were silenced by assassins, but by the end of the period that mythology was applied for the first time to war correspondents. Unlike with their counterparts in the nineteenth century, these journalists were not depicted as being killed as a result of petty feuds or simply the victims of tragic circumstances. Rather they were portrayed as professionals who were killed because they were in

¹ "Ohio Editor Slain after War on Vice; Assassin Escapes," *New York Time*, July 17, 1926, 1.

² "A Newspaper Code," 2.

the pursuit of a higher journalistic purpose, such as seeking the truth. There was a sense that their deaths were a loss for journalism, and, by extension, for the greater society as a whole.

Moreover, the tributes began to serve a eulogistic function for an emerging profession.

From the mid-1920s on, the stories about fallen journalists also began to display common themes that spoke to the roles and values that appeared in the newly-adopted journalistic codes. Journalistic values were mentioned in stories about seven of these journalists. Tributes, in addition, referred to values that were not addressed in the journalism codes. Qualities related to risk-taking were mentioned in stories about eight of the journalists. Two of the journalists were depicted as having stoic characteristics that led them to shrug off the personal impact of taking on dangerous assignments.

Overall, the deaths of these journalists were considered newsworthy. The *Times* published articles on 18 of the 19 fallen journalists in the early twentieth century. This period was also marked by a number of firsts, including the first cameraman and the first radio broadcaster to die on assignment. The *Times* coverage of these two deaths was significant in that in the process it validated the journalistic purpose of these emerging mediums.

The Beginning of the Century

The turn of the century marked the beginning of American journalism's professionalization movement. The University of Missouri opened the country's first journalism school in 1908.³ Two years later, the Kansas Editorial Association became the first state press association to adopt a code of ethics, and other press associations would follow.⁴ The first two

³ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 297.

⁴ Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing*, 429.

major journalism textbooks were published in 1911 by University of Missouri faculty members and both named “objectivity” as a value of reporting.⁵

Early textbooks contributed to the establishment of a so-called “professional identity” for journalists.⁶ They also taught values that would not be listed in the journalism ethics codes. In his 1913 textbook, *News Reporting and Editing*, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, chairman of the course in journalism at the University of Wisconsin, began to construct the image of the emotionally-detached reporter when he wrote: "Keep cool, no matter how great the disaster."⁷

Yet for the first two decades of the new century, the *Times* tributes to fallen journalists did not reflect these evolving professional values and this common sense of mission. They were more like the accounts of the deaths of journalists in the nineteenth century, particularly those about editors or publishers who were targeted because of stories they ran. These killings were still of compelling news interest. The *Times* covered seven of the eight fallen journalists to be assassinated during the early part of this period. Yet their deaths were not associated with a journalistic purpose.

For example, stories about the first journalist to die during this period - N. G. Gonzales, the editor of the *State*, in Columbia, S.C., who was shot in 1903 by Lt. Gov. James H. Tillman on a main street outside the State Capital building - were mostly about a sensational crime involving a major elected official and the unrest the incident spurred in the state.⁸ The *Times* ran

⁵ Beasley and Mirando, “Objectivity in Education,” 186.

⁶ Sumpter, "Core Knowledge," 42.

⁷ Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing*, 45.

⁸ "Lieut. Gov. Tillman Shoots Political Foe." *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1903, 1.

The Journalists Memorial lists his full name as Narciso Gener Gonzales.

32 stories about Gonzales in the year immediately after the shooting, with eight of them on page one.

The headline to the initial front-page story focused on the assailant, not the journalist - "Lieut.-Gov. Tillman Shoots Political Foe" - with Gonzalez' profession only identified in the subhead, "Columbia Editor Is Seriously Wounded by High Official."⁹ That initial story is not one about a crusading journalist who died in service to a higher calling but rather that of an active participant in a running quarrel: "It is rumored that the immediate cause of the attack was a message sent yesterday by Gonzales to Tillman. At the Columbia Hotel last night Lieut. Gov. Tillman said to a group of his friends: 'Gonzales has sent me word that when we meet again we shall settle our differences with pistols.' "¹⁰The story also dwelled on the impact the event had in the surrounding community: "The shooting caused intense excitement here. Within a few minutes word was passed along the streets that 'Jim Tillman had shot N.G. Gonzales.' There was a rush toward the scene, and the office of The State was soon the gathering place for a throng of people. The indignation was strong."¹¹

When Tillman was acquitted of the killing, the *Times* wrote a scathing editorial, charging that the killing "was assassination. And it is the assassin that a South Carolina jury has bidden go free as an innocent man of all offense ... How can the community in which such a thing can happen be called a civilized community? With what face can it call itself civilized?"¹² However, the *Times* editorial did not speak of journalism or values such as the First Amendment; it was

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² "The Acquittal of Tillman," *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1903, 6.

more about the lingering effects of slavery in the south. The *Times* compared the acquittal of Tillman to the case of a South Carolina congressman in the prior century who was reelected despite having brutally beaten a Massachusetts senator after he delivered an anti-slavery speech.¹³ The *Times*' sense of indignation was not dissimilar to its view of the assassinations of several newspaper publishers in the western United States in the nineteenth century. Its position essentially was that of a Northeastern newspaper looking askance at developments in a somewhat distant southern city.

The coverage of the death in 1908 of Edward Ward Carmack, the editor of the *Tennessean* in Nashville, was reminiscent of the stories published after the killing of Gonzales just five years earlier.¹⁴ The initial page-one story focused less on the death of a journalist than on a confrontation between prominent political rivals – Carmack versus Col. Duncan Cooper, a Democratic leader, and his son, Robin J. Cooper, who pulled the trigger.¹⁵ The *Times* ran 11 page-one stories about the slaying in the year immediately after Carmack's death, including extensive coverage of the trial of his killer.

Carmack was first and foremost portrayed as an “Ex-Senator,” not a journalist; the *Times* noted that “continual ridicule in the editorial columns of The Tennessean which Mr. Carmack directed at Col. Cooper was the cause of the tragedy. Mr. Carmack had been warned that Col. Cooper would resent the attacks on him, and was armed with a revolver, two chambers of which he emptied, one of his shots wounding his assailant in the shoulder.”¹⁶ Once again, the slaying

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "Carmack Shot Dead in Street," *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1908, 1.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

was portrayed as an event that had a significant impact on the immediate community – a subhead to the initial story read: “Great Excitement in the State.”¹⁷ In a separate profile of the combatants, the *Times* mentioned that Duncan Cooper had “gained control of The Nashville American in a poker game,” before selling it five years before the shooting; Carmack’s journalism career was portrayed as a vehicle for him to become “a terror to evildoers and to party foes.”¹⁸

As with its coverage of the assassination of Gonzales, the *Times* focused on the political unrest in South Carolina when it reported on the slaying of Sidney J. Cohen, a *Charleston Evening Post* reporter fatally shot in 1915 while covering a canvassing of votes by the Democratic City Executive Committee in Charleston.¹⁹ Cohen was portrayed as just another victim of a mass shooting - the list included an insurance agent, the superintendent of the city chain gang, a city meter inspector, and the inspector of weights and measures.²⁰ The story also noted the need for a “National Guard Company with fixed bayonets” to help “the police to restore order.”²¹

The *Times* account of the death in 1919 of Wesley Robertson, the 70-year-old publisher of the *Democrat* in Gallatin, Mo., portrayed the journalist as the victim of a “political feud” when he was fatally shot in his office by former town marshal Hugh Tarwater, who had filed a

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “Won Paper in Poker Game.” *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1908, 2.

¹⁹ “1 Slain, 4 Wounded in Political Fight,” *New York Time*, Oct. 16, 1915, 5.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

libel suit for a story that linked him to “a boot-legging ring.”²² The story did not depict Robertson - known as “Uncle Wes” - as being on a journalistic mission, but rather as having been embroiled in an “old rivalry of the Democratic factions” that had been “stirred anew” in a special election to replace Joshua W. Alexander, a congressmen appointed as Secretary of Commerce by President Woodrow Wilson.²³

The budding professional movement also was not reflected in the *Times* coverage of the initial war correspondents to die at the beginning of the twentieth century. Once again, the deaths of these journalists were considered newsworthy. The *Times* covered all of those five journalists who died while covering war. Moreover, the *Times* published articles on all six of the journalists who died on foreign assignment compared to 12 of the 13 journalists who died in the U.S. Yet the initial fallen war correspondents in the early twentieth century were not portrayed as heroes.

On June 8, 1904, the *Times* ran a three-paragraph page-three story about the death of Lewis Etzel, a U.S. citizen covering the Russo-Japanese War for the *London Daily Telegraph*.²⁴ Etzel was fired upon by Chinese soldiers while he was aboard a “junk,” a small Chinese ship – the *Times* headline read: “Chinese Kill An American.”²⁵ If there was any mythological theme in this story, it was one in which Etzel was depicted as a victim. As with the coverage of the death of Charles Govin, the American correspondent killed in 1896 by Spanish soldiers while covering the Cuban insurrection, the story focuses less on the slaying of a journalist and more on an international incident resulting from the death of an American at foreign hands. The *Times*

²² “Missouri Editor Shot by City Clerk,” *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1919, 15.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Chinese Kill an American,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1904, 3.

²⁵ Ibid.

published a total of six brief stories about the incident, which involved the U.S. consul pushing for an official inquiry by Chinese authorities into why 150 shots or more were taken at Etzel and Ernest Brindle, a correspondent with the *London Daily Mail*, though they were "plainly visible, at a distance less than 100 yards."²⁶ The inquiry resulted in a Chinese jury finding "that there was not the slightest cause for attacking the correspondents."²⁷

Just weeks after Etzel was killed, the *Times* ran a story about the death of a second correspondent killed covering the same war: Henry J. Middleton, a British-born reporter with the Associated Press.²⁸ Despite the absence of any discernible hero mythology, the story served as evidence of the increasing emphasis by the *Times* on the journalistic abilities of the fallen journalists. The five-paragraph page-two story in the *Times* noted his ability as "a vivid descriptive writer and a linguist," adding that arguably "his most brilliant work was in reporting for The Associated Press the Dreyfus trial at Rennes."²⁹ The page-two story noted that because of "the imminence of the Russo-Japanese war he was among those drafted for that service" by the Associated Press, and that "on account of his knowledge of languages was finally ordered to join the Russian headquarters in Manchuria."³⁰

When in 1915 Henry Beach Needham became the only U.S. journalist to die covering World War I, the *Times* reported the news on page one, but Needham was a secondary character

²⁶ "Admits Killing of Etzel," *New York Times*, June 9, 1904, 2.

²⁷ "'No Cause for Killing Etzel," *New York Times*, June 18, 1904, 6.

²⁸ "American Correspondent Dead," *New York Times*, June 29, 1904, 2.

The Journalists Memorial lists Middleton as having been British born. The *Times* doesn't mention this explicitly, but notes that he was stationed in the London bureau.

²⁹ "American Correspondent Dead," *New York Times*, June 29, 1904, 2.

³⁰ Ibid.

– he was not mentioned until the second paragraph, with the story clearly focused on the war hero pilot Lt. Reginald A. J. Warneford; the headline to the story read: “Airship Fall Kills Warneford.”³¹ The hero of this story was the pilot, not the journalist. Needham was identified as an "American writer" who had been "the assistant managing editor of McClure's Magazine" was in Europe serving as the "correspondent of a number of magazines and a New York newspaper."³²

Needham was one of four of the fallen journalists listed on the Journalists Memorial from this early twentieth century era to die in air crashes. This marked the beginning of a deadly trend. Nearly one in three fallen U.S. journalists on the Journalists Memorial would be killed by some sort of air crash, either in a plane or helicopter.

The *Times* ran stories on all four journalists to die during plane crashes during this era. In 1935, Allyn P. Alexander, a cameraman for Fox Movietone News, was killed while covering war maneuvers in a U.S. Army plane that caught fire and crashed in Sequoia National Park, Calif. Alexander, his sound technician, and the two-man flight crew died.³³ But the accident received scant coverage. The story gave brief biographical information about Alexander; it was largely about a spot-news event. The *Times* ran a front-page story about the deaths of two journalists who died in a plane crash on the Utah-Wyoming border working on a newsreel about airline safety for the Pathe News; the story portrayed James Pergola, a cameraman, and William Pitt, a

³¹ "Airship Fall Kills Warneford." *New York Times*, June 18, 1915, 1.

³² Ibid.

The Journalists Memorial lists Needham as having been on assignment for McClure's

³³ Associated Press, "Four Die in Crash of Army Bomber," *New York Times*, May 29, 1935, 4.

news editor, as victims, and included brief biographical information along with similar information about the others who perished in the crash.³⁴

The Birth of the Hero Journalist

Perhaps the most pivotal fallen journalist in this entire study was Donald Ring Mellett, the *Canton Daily News* editor whose death represented the first full-fledged depiction of the hero myth in *Times* coverage of any fallen journalist.³⁵ The volume of the *Times* coverage of Mellett's death alone was noteworthy: 94 stories were published about his killing in the first year after his death, roughly three times as many stories as the *Times* had published to that date on any fallen journalist in the same time period. Moreover, 12 of those stories appeared on page one.

Unlike with the coverage of assassinations of editors or publishers in the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, Mellett's killing was not simply portrayed as a newsworthy event involving a prominent person in a given community; it was clearly about the death of a journalist who was slain because of his adherence to certain journalistic values. Nor is Mellett depicted as an editor engaged in a political feud, but rather as one on a journalistic mission, namely to serve as a watchdog determined to expose corruption. The headline to the initial page-one story explicitly establishes that sentiment: "Ohio Editor Slain After War on Vice: Assassin Escapes."³⁶

The narrative structure of Mellett's life story clearly follows the key phases in the archetypal hero's journey as laid out by mythology scholar Joseph Campbell. For Mellett, the

³⁴ "Airliner Crashes on Utah Mountain; 19 Believed Dead," *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1937, 1.

³⁵ "Ohio Editor Slain after War on Vice; Assassin Escapes," 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

"call to adventure" occurs when he becomes publisher of the *Daily News* in 1925, after which he "soon came to feel that the underworld needed curbing."³⁷ After Mellett answered the call, he encountered what Campbell identified as the "road of trials." The *Times* wrote that Mellett "began campaigning vigorously and almost immediately encountered opposition from various quarters, including the police."³⁸ The story relates how Mellett's adventure resulted in his deliverance of a so-called "boon" to his community - newspaper stories which, among other things, led to the suspension of the chief of police.³⁹ Then, in the classic cycle of the hero myth, Mellett answered the call once again, returning to his "campaign" against corruption despite growing fears of retaliation.⁴⁰ Ultimately, Mellett was shot after parking his car in the garage of his home.⁴¹

Most significantly, the *Times* repeatedly described Mellett as a journalist – a term that was virtually absent from earlier stories about slain editors and publishers. A sidebar profile of Mellett that ran on the first day of the coverage of his death noted that journalism was a tradition in his family - the headline read: "Family All Journalists" - adding that "Mellett was one of seven sons who inherited an inclination to journalism from their father, Jesse Mellett, who was the founder years ago of a weekly newspaper in Elwood, Ind. This newspaper was among the first to be published in Madison County."⁴²

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Family All Journalists," *New York Times*, July 17, 1926, 4.

In a second-day story after Mellett's death, the *Times* also formally used the term "tribute" when publishing the text of a eulogy given by James M. Cox, the former Ohio governor and Democratic presidential nominee who owned the *Canton Daily News*.⁴³ The *Times* prefaced the text by noting that the former governor was commenting on the larger journalism profession, writing that Cox's "statement was not only a tribute to Mellett but to the untiring efforts of newspaper workers generally to make and keep their cities free from vice."⁴⁴ In his eulogy, Cox portrayed Mellett serving a greater cause that is one and the same as that espoused by his profession: "His love of the newspaper profession and his ideas to the responsibility of any journal to the community which fosters it were inherent. The daily paper has become one of the most active instrumentalities of society. Its possibilities for good or bad service are boundless."⁴⁵

In addition to the tribute, Mellett was also memorialized in a fashion that would be common for many fallen journalists who followed him, including two notable figures, George Polk and Ernie Pyle. A year after Mellett's death, efforts began at New York University to set up the Don R. Mellett Prize.⁴⁶ In this way, his heroic qualities were to be remembered through the ages. He was also posthumously honored when his paper was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service the next year for the work he spearheaded.⁴⁷

The coverage of Mellett's death set up a sort of template for future tributes to fallen journalists. The first journalist to die after Mellett was Charles R. Traub, a former newspaper photographer working for the newsreel service Pathe News - he had been on assignment in 1929

⁴³ "Cox Raps Canton Officials," *New York Times*, July 18, 1926, 14.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Gifts of \$200,841 to N.Y.U. Reported," *New York Times*, April 6, 1927, 18.

⁴⁷ "Pulitzer Awards Are Made for 1926," *New York Times*, May 3, 1927, 7.

at Daytona Beach, Fla., covering an attempt to set a new land speed record when he was hit by a swerving car driven at more than 200 mph by racer Lee Bible, who also died.⁴⁸ The coverage was more about the death of Bible than Traub. However, Traub was depicted as having heroic qualities, ones that were in service to a journalistic mission that was often dangerous. His editor, Ray L. Hall, said: "He was a member of the great anonymous army which goes unquestioningly to the far and perilous places, undergoing risk and hardship that the public may be served. He was a soldier of peace."

The coverage was also significant in that, in acknowledging Traub's journalistic role, the *Times* in essence endorsed the practice of journalism in a new medium. Newsreels had only made their debut in the 1890s, and during the early twentieth century they became an alternate way to print for Americans to become informed.⁴⁹ The Journalists Memorial would list Traub as the first U.S. cameraman to die in the line of duty.⁵⁰

The *Times* tacit endorsement of another journalistic medium could be seen just a year later, in 1930, when Gerald E. Buckley became the first U.S. radio broadcaster to die in the line of duty when he was shot in a hotel lobby near his studio in the wake of ongoing broadcasts targeting corruption in Detroit.⁵¹ Radio had only made its debut ten years earlier, in 1920, as the first commercial radio station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pa., began broadcasting.⁵²

⁴⁸"Bible Dies in Crash of Daytona Racer; Camera Man Killed," *New York Times*, March 24 1929, 1.

⁴⁹ Scott L. Althaus, "The Forgotten Role of the Global Newsreel Industry in the Long Transition from Text to Television," *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15, no. 2 (2010): 197.

⁵⁰ Charles R. Traub, "The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial," accessed March 4, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

⁵¹ "Killing of Buckley Arouses Detroit; Hint of Racketeer," *New York Times*, July 24, 1930, 1.

⁵² Ralph E. Hanson, *Mass Communication: Living in a Media World*. 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), 229.

However, the coverage of Buckley's death was perhaps more significant in that it was cast in a similar vein as that of Mellett, with the slain radio broadcaster depicted as another hero journalist crusading against corruption.⁵³ Though the story was certainly about the impact of a sensational killing in a given city – the first-day page-one story carried the headline, “Killing of Buckley Arouses Detroit” – the coverage stressed that Buckley was striving for a higher purpose and was not simply engaged in a petty feud, like many slain journalists up to that time.⁵⁴ The narrative of the story follows the same mythic structure as the tribute to Mellett, with Buckley responding to his call to adventure by launching a protracted on-the-air “campaign to recall Mayor Charles Bowles,” an effort that continued despite “several threatening letters,” only ending when he was killed by “gangsters.”⁵⁵

The assassination, four years later, in 1934, of Howard Guilford, the former editor of the *Saturday Press*, also evoked heroic myths. Guilford, like Don Mellett, was clearly cast as a man silenced as he explicitly pursued a higher journalistic purpose – not just his campaign against police corruption and organized crime, but for his role as a litigant in the precedent-setting *Near* case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ended up striking down a Minnesota gag law.⁵⁶

The lead to the initial page-one story read: “An assassin's shotgun tonight ended the stormy journalistic career of Howard Guilford, 40-year-old former editor of two militant weekly publications. The one-time editor of The Saturday Press, which figured in the famous case of the Minnesota newspaper suppression law held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court,

⁵³ “Killing of Buckley Arouses Detroit; Hint of Racketeer,” 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Associated Press. “Men in Auto Slay Minneapolis Editor.” *New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1934, 1.

was shot to death as he drove his car along a South Side street toward his home.”⁵⁷ Guilford's journey involved numerous trials - in 1927, he "had been attacked by gunmen, several slugs piercing his stomach," but he recuperated so that he could continue with his "attacks on gambling and other forms of vice," until retiring just before he was assassinated.⁵⁸ The *Times* reprinted an editorial in which Guifford himself had established a connection with Mellett, invoking his name as he responded to threats against him: "World had been passed that if we persisted in our exposé of conditions as they were in this city we would be 'bumped off.' Just a moment, boys, before you start something you won't be able to finish. The open season on editorial writers ended with the assassination of Editor Don Mellett of Canton, Ohio, by an imported gunman."⁵⁹

The hero myth seen in the Mellett coverage was also reprised with the *Times*' front-page coverage of the death of Walter W. Liggett, the publisher of the *Midwest American*, who was fatally shot in front of his wife and 10-year-old daughter in 1935.⁶⁰ Liggett was described as a “crusading publisher” who “had waged constant warfare against vice and gambling in Minneapolis.”⁶¹ Like mythic heroes, Liggett's life story involved a series of trials that had to be overcome - he was severely beaten not long before he was fatally shot.⁶² His grounding in journalism was also detailed – he was described as having been “a New York newspaper man

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ "Minnesota Editor Killed by Gunmen; Reform Crusader," *New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1935, 1.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

about ten years ago,” including a stint as “a copy reader in the sports department of The New York Times.”⁶³

Liggett was portrayed as a Bunyanesque figure: “a powerful, six-foot giant, his body topped with a shock of iron-gray hair” who once “offered to display his pugilistic prowess” by breaking a “man’s thumb” in a fight with one of his critics.⁶⁴ And though he was engaged in a fight against the state’s governor, that battle was not portrayed as a political feud as had been in the case with many fallen journalists before, but rather as a fight against corruption. The story noted that Liggett had been acquitted of statutory rape charges involving two 16-year-old girls, but the publisher had claimed that he was framed by his political enemies.⁶⁵

The volume of the coverage was also striking - the *Times* ran 58 stories that mentioned Liggett in the year after his death, including four page-one stories. In doing so, the *Times* moved beyond simply reporting about the slaying of a journalist, but also chronicling how the death resonated in the journalism community - one follow-up story focused on the American Newspaper Publishers Association passing a resolution encouraging the press to take up Liggett’s fight in Minnesota.⁶⁶ As with its coverage of many fallen journalists in the future, the *Times* also used its editorial page to establish itself as a champion of journalistic ideals as well as to bring pressure on public officials to make sure that justice was served. In an editorial published after the acquittal of an alleged assailant, the *Times* said the Minnesota governor “cannot be expected to rest content himself until the mystery of the Liggett murder has been

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ "The Text of the Publishers' Resolutions," *New York Times*, April 24, 1936, 14.

thoroughly cleared up.”⁶⁷ The editorial also tied Liggett’s investigation to the work of Guilford, whom the *Times* said had reported about the governor's "ties to the underworld" before being killed in a crime that had never been prosecuted.⁶⁸

Risk, Detachment and the Heroic War Correspondent

If the Canons of Journalism gave journalists values common for an emerging profession, journalism textbooks began mapping out virtues not mentioned in the ethics codes. In the 1929 text, *News Reporting: A Practice Book*, Carl N. Warren wrote that reporters should “exhibit always a detached point of view that takes care to tell the news clearly and involvngly.”⁶⁹ Warren, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter and lecturer at Northwestern’s Medill School of Journalism, quickly made a link between a story exhibiting a detached point of view and the reporter maintaining a personal sense of detachment by the controlling of emotions: “In writing death and funeral stories it is always best to be natural and straightforward, but also tactful. Do not let your feelings sway you unduly.”⁷⁰ According to Warren, assembling facts in a cool, calm manner was the primary calling of the reporter, no matter what the story: “He must keep his head, ask many questions, piece together many rumors and guesses, and finally arrive at what he considers the truth ... Find the facts, and keep your pulse steady.”⁷¹

In his 1935 textbook, *The Complete Journalist: a Study of the Principles and Practice of Newspaper-Making*, Frederick John Mansfield included the war correspondent on the list of

⁶⁷ "The Liggett Case," *New York Times*, April 18, 1936, 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Carl N. Warren, *News Reporting: A Practice Book* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1929), 54.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 59.

⁷¹ Ibid., 63.

journalism's "stars": "A high place in the ranks of journalism is held by the war correspondent, whose work is exceptional, distinguished, and often perilous."⁷² Unlike in American textbooks, Mansfield was clear that such work came at a cost, offering a quote by Sir William Beach Thomas, a war correspondent who was knighted for his work: "Physically and mentally the work was intense. You wrote of battles still in progress, you wrote of things not certain, you wrote with the conscious compulsion to censor every statement that touched persons or movements, you wrote elliptically for the telegraph, and you wrote with feelings harrowed by grim spectacles of death and suffering that could not be told and could only be felt."⁷³

In the 1938 text, *Interpretative Reporting*, Curtis Daniel MacDougall, a Northwestern journalism professor, wrote that a "reporter, to be successful, cannot be frightened by anyone."⁷⁴ He added: "Other qualities frequently mentioned as necessary for successful newspaper reporting include: reliability, courage, endurance, ability to organize one's activities, curiosity, imagination, perseverance, mental alertness, honesty, punctuality, cheerfulness, the power of observation, shrewdness, clearness in writing, enterprise, optimism, humor, adaptability, initiative."⁷⁵ MacDougall also wrote: "In objective reporting the writer is supposed to stay out of his own stories, but to make readers 'feel' as well as understand stories," offering a 1937 war dispatch by Ernest Hemingway as an example.⁷⁶

The mythological elements of the coverage first displayed in the reports of Mellett's death and the slayings of other crusading editors were soon applied to reporters covering war.

⁷² Mansfield, *The Complete Journalist; a Study of the Principles and Practice of Newspaper-Making*, 126.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁷⁴ Curtis Daniel MacDougall, *Interpretative Reporting* (New York,: The Macmillan Company, 1938), 128.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

The hero mythology was clearly seen in the coverage of the death of Wilfred C. Barber, a *Chicago Tribune* correspondent, who died from malaria in 1935 in Ethiopia while covering the Ethiopia War with Italy.⁷⁷ Barber, identified as a “war correspondent” in the subhead, very much was portrayed as a hero answering the call – the article said that Barber’s “last story” was “dictated from his sickbed,” and Barber was quoted as saying just before his death: “I am going to get better because I have to. I have to cover the war.”⁷⁸

The article – which was described as being a special cable to *The Chicago Tribune* – also included several paragraphs of biographical information about Barber, including the fact that he was part of a journalistic tradition since his father, Frederick Barber, has been on the staff of the *New York Sun*.⁷⁹ As with Mellett, Barber’s devotion to a higher journalistic purpose was also honored by the awarding of a posthumous Pulitzer Prize.⁸⁰ In listing biographical information about the winners that year, the *Times* noted that Barber – winner for best correspondence and honored for his “distinguished service” - had come “from a long line of American soldiers and journalists,” and that “(w)hen the Ethiopian crisis arose he rushed there by air and rail in response to orders from his home office. He reached Addis Ababa on June 21, the first correspondent, to arrive there. His early dispatches told of the high mortality and intense suffering among the Italian troops in Eritrea. These were followed by stories describing a ten-day journey to the Ogaden front. On his return to the capital he was stricken with the illness which proved fatal.”⁸¹

⁷⁷ Special Cable to The Chicago Tribune, “Chicago Reporter Dies in Ethiopia,” *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1935, 8.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “List of the 1936 Pulitzer Awards for Achievement in Journalism and Letters,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1936, 18.

⁸¹ Ibid.

The mythologizing of U.S. war correspondents would be magnified with the coverage of two U.S. journalists who were killed by each other's side in 1937 while covering the Spanish Civil War: Bradish Johnson Jr., a 26-year-old *Newsweek* photographer, and Edward J. Neil, a 37-year-old correspondent with the Associated Press, were in a parked car with two other correspondents, en route to the front, when they were shelled.⁸² (A third correspondent, E.R. Sheepshanks, a British journalist with *Reuters*, also died in the attack.⁸³)

Both Johnson and Neil would be portrayed in heroic fashion, men who had left behind lives of privilege and comfort to answer a call to adventure. Johnson - identified in the initial story to have been the Paris correspondent of *Spur* magazine - was described as a Harvard graduate whose "grandfather, for whom he was named, was one of the largest real-estate owners in Manhattan and noted financier."⁸⁴

Though the first story reported that Neil's "condition is not serious," his broken leg became infected and he died days later.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, Neil in particular was depicted in heroic terms in a way that served as a prototype for the heroic war journalists who followed. He was described as a former New York sportswriter "widely known among sporting fans" who had answered a call to serve a higher purpose, and "left the coverage of ball games and boxing matches in 1935 to join The Associated Press staff of writers covering Italy's conquest of Ethiopia."⁸⁶ Neil's story embodied what Jung considered a key part of the hero's journey - symbolically leaving behind childhood and engaging life and the world of grown-up

⁸² "Shell Kills Two Journalists in Auto Behind Rebel Lines near Teruel," *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1938, 4.

⁸³ "Friends Honor Sheepshanks," *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1938, 5.

⁸⁴ "Shell Kills Two Journalists in Auto Behind Rebel Lines near Teruel," 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

responsibilities.⁸⁷ Campbell saw this symbolism in the story of Oedipus, whose killing of his father constituted a slaying of his childhood.⁸⁸

In the case of Neil, that act equated to leaving behind the fun and games of sports and to take up a calling deemed more crucial to the survival of their greater society.

The narrative of Neil's story included that classic cycle known in many hero myths, where the hero answers the call, endures a series of trials, and finally delivers the boon - only to quickly answer the call again and repeat the cycle. With Neil, the cycle included instances of taking risks and ignoring personal hardship - two essential aspects of the hero journalist myth. The story noted that while "with the Italian Army in Africa, he was lost in the front lines during an assault on Amba Aradam; flew over Ethiopian territory in an Italian bombing plane, and after the capture of Addis Ababa watched the execution of looters and bandits. Stricken during the campaign, Mr. Neil was dangerously ill for several weeks. He returned to the United States, spent a few months in the New York Associated Press office and then was off again for Europe."⁸⁹ He then went to London, where "he helped cover the coronation of King George VI, then continued on to Spain, where he joined the force of correspondents covering General Francisco Franco's operations. He was watched as General Franco's troops stormed historic Bilbao, saw its capture and told how for the first time in all its sieges it fell."⁹⁰

The follow-up story about Neil's death, after contracting gangrene, carried the first byline for any *Times* tribute in this study.⁹¹ Included in the story are quotes from Neil himself about

⁸⁷ Stein, *Jung's Map of the Soul : An Introduction* , 89.

⁸⁸ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. 305

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ William P. Carney, "Edward J. Neil Dies of Wounds in Spain." *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1938, 10.

covering war – quotes that are emblematic of a certain machismo that was becoming part of the war correspondent’s persona: “One nice thing these wars do teach you ... when your number comes up you grin, shrug and make the best of it. No one has time to listen to a bleat.”⁹² The story noted that, even as a sportswriter, Neil had taken on dangerous assignments: “In 1932, for a description of his experience making ‘the world’s most dangerous mile and half’ bobsled ride at Lake Placid, N.Y., Mr. Neil received honorable mention for newspaper writing in the Pulitzer Prize awards of that year.”⁹³

The story also made note of a “tribute” from Kent Cooper, the Associated Press general manager, who in describing Neil also succinctly outlined the qualities of the war correspondent:

Neil did not undertake this assignment for the mere sake of ... adventure.

He was a competent, sensible reporter who went there because there was a task to be done. He wanted to do it. He did not go as a ‘visiting journalist’ who does not venture beyond where comfort and safety are assured and who returns to capitalize his ‘trip to the front’ on the radio and on platform as a ‘war correspondent.’

Like the assignment in Ethiopia, which he saw through to the end, he volunteered to say to me he would like to stay it out in Spain as long as it or he lasted. One who serves with such distinction and such steadfast devotion to duty surely will have proper recognition in the hearts and memories not only of his associates but of the reading public he served through danger so faithfully and so competently.⁹⁴

In the year after his death, the *Times* ran 23 stories that made mention of Neil. Less than a week after his death in Europe in January 1938, the Boxing Writers Association of New York, an organization of which Neil was a charter member, appointed 13 members to serve as delegation that would meet the ship that carried Neil's body back to America, as well as comprise an honor

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

guard at his upcoming funeral services.⁹⁵ Moreover, the group - which would later become known as the Boxing Writers of America - also voted to establish the Edward J. Neil Memorial Medal to be given to the most outstanding boxer of the year, an award that would later be given to legendary boxers such as Sugar Ray Robinson and Muhammad Ali.⁹⁶

The Associated Press board of directors also adopted a resolution paying tribute to Neil – a tribute that delineated the higher purpose for which the “gallant reporter” gave his life.⁹⁷ The AP also explicitly placed Neil's mission, and that of the journalism profession, in alignment with democracy as a whole: "If democratic institutions are to prevail, as we all believe they will, the public must be fully informed as to what is happening in the world. We must recognize that the good reporter is the keystone of our journalistic edifice. Believing this, we also believe that Edward J. Neil's death was not in vain. He undertook a perilous assignment at our behest and he carried it out gloriously."⁹⁸

The *Times* also documented the public reaction to Neil's death, establishing this as a staple of the coverage of fallen journalists by chronicling how those in the immediate journalism community and those in the greater society at large validated the journalistic mission. Neil, along with Johnson and Sheepshanks received military honors and their coffins crossed the Spanish border “in flag-draped coffins.”⁹⁹ A requiem mass was said for the three reporters in France, and

⁹⁵ "E. J. Neil Medal Voted," *New York Times*, Jan. 6, 1938, 25.

⁹⁶ "Sports News Briefs," *New York Times*, Aug. 14, 1976, 34.

About the BWAA," Boxing Writers Association of America, accessed March 8, 2013, <http://bwaa.org/>

Beginning in 2010, the name of the Edward J. Neil Trophy for Fighter of the Year would be changed to the Sugar Ray Robinson Award by what by then was known as the Boxing Writers Association of America.

⁹⁷ "Honor Slain Reporter," *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1938, 25.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ "Bodies Taken from Spain," *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1938, 7.

attendees included representatives of General Francisco Franco, the rebel commander, and the wire service for which Neil worked.¹⁰⁰ His memorial was marked with the same type of symbolism employed at funerals by the branches of the U.S. military, such as the Army's 21-gun salute and the Air Force's missing-man flyover: "The Associated Press wires were silent for two minutes during the funeral mass in Saragossa."¹⁰¹ A moment of silence in Neil's memory was observed in Madison Square Garden during a boxing match: "Just before the semi-final bout the Garden was darkened, a spotlight played on Neil's vacant chair, on which had been placed a wreath by the Boxing Writers Association of New York, and while a respectful crowd maintained silence a bugler sounded 'taps.'"¹⁰²

The *Times* covered Neil's funeral at the Roman Catholic Church of the Guardian Angel in New York City, noting it was attended by "(m)ore than 400 persons, many of them prominent in the sports and newspaper fields" – the story said that "(t)he sanctuary was banked with floral tributes, including a wreath given by General Franco, which was sent with the body from Spain. Outstanding among the flowers was a large circular piece consisting of white carnations on which the red numerals "30" were vividly superimposed. 'Thirty' is the symbol with which telegraphers end their messages."¹⁰³ Neil was also awarded a posthumous journalism award by

¹⁰⁰ "Bodies of Writers Taken to France," *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1938, 3.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² "Fight Fans Honor Neil," *New York Time*, Jan. 8, 1938, 8.

¹⁰³ "Hundreds Mourn Neil, War Victim," *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1938, 23.

the National Headliners Club.¹⁰⁴ The *Times* even ran a story on a “sentimental journey” by Neil’s widow, Helen Nolan Neil, to the town where her husband was wounded.¹⁰⁵

The *Times* also published an editorial headlined "Journalism's Role of Honor" in tribute to Neil and the two reporters who were killed with him, writing:

The reporter takes some of the risks the soldier takes. Indeed, the only ones he escapes are those of the front-line combat - and those only because the high commands won't let him sun himself under a barrage or take his notebook and pencil (in case he has a notebook and pencil: at home he has usually lost them) over the top. But there is a difference between a soldier and a reporter which demands of the reporter a different, possibly a higher, type of courage. The soldier must work himself into a killing mood. His emotions must be kindled to a destructive fury. The reporter has to keep calm because that is the only way in which he can do a good job of reporting.¹⁰⁶

The editorial would set the framework for the role of the reporter in combat. Commenting on the relationship between the press and the military, the *Times* wrote that a reporter "can hardly help" having "sympathy for the individual soldiers with whom he has talked, eaten and marched, but the better he is as a reporter the more objectively he tells his story."¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the *Times* continued, the reporter "risks his life, not to help one side or the other win the battle, but to let the world know what is going on. He attains, with admirable consistency, the unflinching eye, the steady hand of neutrality trying to probe and perhaps in the end abolish the tragic mystery of war. He deserves, as well as any soldier, to have his exploits someday lettered in imperishable bronze."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ "Headliners Club Awards Its Prizes." *New York Times*, July 11, 1938, 19.

¹⁰⁵ "Neil's Widow Returns," *New York Times*, June 2, 1939, 10.

¹⁰⁶ "Journalism's Roll of Honor," *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1938, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

The editorial managed to seamlessly merge words associated with explicit journalistic values - "neutrality," "consistency," "objectively" - with terms and phrases that relate to unwritten newsroom codes - "courage," "calm," and "risks his life" - on the eve of the war that was soon to follow.

Chapter 7: The World War II Era

Overview

The *Times* coverage of fallen journalists during World War II shows the continuation and amplification of the hero myth that began in the early twentieth century. The *Times*' portrayal of the hero myth reached its zenith during World War II. Overall, 42 percent of the journalists who died during this period were portrayed as heroes. Not only did the *Times* cover virtually every journalist who died covering the war. Overall, 39 percent of those fallen war correspondents were depicted heroically.

The *Times* ran stories that also told of how the greater U.S. society bestowed heroic stature on journalists, perhaps as never before. Naval ships were named after fallen journalists. Their names were inscribed in the cockpit of a state-of-the-art U.S. Army Air Forces plane christened "The Fourth Estate."¹ President Franklin Roosevelt and other high-ranking government officials invoked the names of fallen journalists as well, and spoke of how their journalistic purpose was aligned with the country's overall war effort.

During this period, the *Times* covered a greater percentage of fallen journalists than in any other period in this study. The *Times* wrote stories about 45 of the 46 U.S. journalists who died in the line of duty from 1940 to 1945 and 41 of the 42 of the journalists who died while covering war.

The perpetuation of the hero myth was not simply seen in the narrative structure of many of the tributes. This spirit was also invoked in the *Times* editorial pages where the paper linked key explicit journalistic values with unwritten macho qualities such as courage and a stoic

¹ Lawrence E. Davies, "Reporters Killed in War Honored," *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1945, 24.

resolve in the face of hardship. These editorials also almost consciously sought to rehabilitate the standing of a profession under increasing scrutiny for sensationalism and other journalistic misdeeds. In both editorials and news stories, these fallen journalists were compared to soldiers, fighting against a common enemy and fulfilling a common democratic purpose.

The Hero Journalist and the Buildup to War

The values and qualities that the *Times* would ascribe to the fallen journalists during World War II would be reflective of a trend seen with continuing professionalization of journalism. The journalism textbooks being published at the time could almost be seen as a primer for journalists going off to war.

In addition to teaching the tenets of the ethical codes that had sprung up just decades before, the textbooks stressed that reporters needed to remain emotionally detached, especially when witnessing certain grim events. In the 1940 textbook, *News and the Human Interest Story*, Helen MacGill Hughes, with the sociology department at the University of Chicago, wrote: “It is often remarked that the pressmen are nauseated at a hanging or an electrocution, but if a man can begin to write and fix his attention upon describing what he sees, he recovers control over the physical reactions of horror and they no longer dominate him. The reporter who writes without raising his voice has stilled all the impulses that would lead him to do something, even if it is only to take sides.”²

Indeed, journalism educators often linked the expression of emotion with a propensity to violate more explicit journalistic values, like reporting the news accurately and impartially. In

² Helen MacGill Hughes, *News and the Human Interest Story* (The University of Chicago Sociological Series. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago press, 1940), 95.

News Gathering and News Writing, also published in 1940, R.M. Neal, a University of Missouri journalism professor, wrote that a reporter must learn “to control his emotions. The first time he hears a sobbing wife tell how she killed the drunken husband who had knocked out half her teeth and tried to club her children, he is sick at heart. He must learn to control that sickness so that he can write an accurate and dispassionate story. Until he builds this control, he is forever in danger of an emotionalized story so inaccurate in facts or in interpretation that it does someone a great injustice.”³

The textbooks also inferred that expressing emotions – or even processing those that might arise in covering a traumatic event – was not part of being a reporter. A “successful journalist should be mentally fit” wrote journalism professors Roland E. Wolseley, of Syracuse University, and Laurence R. Campbell, of the University of Oregon, in the 1942 textbook *Exploring Journalism*.⁴ That mental fitness, the authors wrote, “means that he can’t be going off on a tantrum or a tangent now and then ... Moreover, it means that as an emotionally mature adult he has not time to devote to extensive introspective analysis or the classification of sundry complexes, psychoses, frustrations, or emotional sore thumbs.”⁵

The tributes to the fallen journalists during World War II would make it clear that these heroes did not suffer from any of those perceived weaknesses. The first U.S. journalist to die during this period was Webb Miller, the general European manager of the *United Press*.⁶ Though Miller was not killed in combat – his death after falling from a moving train was ruled an

³ Robert Miller Neal, *News Gathering and News Writing*, 2nd ed. (New York, : Prentice-Hall, 1949), 277-278.

⁴ Roland Edgar Wolseley and Laurence R. Campbell, *Exploring Journalism; with Special Emphasis on Its Social and Vocational Aspects* (2nd ed. Prentice-Hall Journalism Series. New York,: Prentice-Hall, 1949), 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁶ Webb Miller's Death Is Found Accidental," 4.

accident – his passing was marked as if he were a casualty of war.⁷ In a tradition that would be seen in the deaths of many fallen journalists, Miller's death would be depicted as if he were on assignment. The *Times* wrote Miller had fallen from the train while returning home after covering a House of Commons debate about the war.⁸ Miller's stature as a journalist was so prominent that there were reports that the Nazis had accused the British of killing Miller because his reporting, in their view, had endangered “the plans for spreading the war of the Western powers.”⁹ President Roosevelt even officially passed on his regrets upon Miller's passing.¹⁰

The narrative of Miller's story follows the narrative structure of the classic hero myth. The *Times* described Miller as “a Michigan farm boy who carried a copy of Thoreau’s “Walden” in his pocket while he traveled the world, enjoying - in his own words – ‘a grandstand seat at the most momentous show in history.’”¹¹ Ultimately, the story said, Miller “found Henry David Thoreau’s philosophy ‘impractical as a rule of life’ but it expressed for him an inner yearning during a life in the hurly-burly of international events.”¹²

Miller answered his call to adventure in 1916 when “he began the wanderings which took him over the face of the world,” first going “to Mexico as a freelance reporter covering the Pershing expedition against Pancho Villa” and next traveling to London in 1917, where “he experienced the thrill and terror of air raids” before heading to the “British front.”¹³ Miller

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ “Webb Miller Dies in London Accident,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1940, 9.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

traveled the world with “his portable typewriter,” meeting leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, who “inscribed his name in Mr. Miller’s cigarette case on condition that it never again be used for cigarettes. It never was. However, other signatures were added to make it a roster of the world’s great. Signatures later added included those of Benito Mussolini, Franklin D. Roosevelt, David Lloyd George, Adolph Hitler, General Hugh Johnson, Vicente Blasco Ibanez and other figures.”¹⁴

The story made it clear that Miller was not content to just hobnob with the famous and powerful. The narrative of his life was characterized by a cycle seen in the classic hero myths. When one adventure ended, there would be another call to action, followed by the inevitable return. This cycle could be seen in the account of Miller’s activities following one break from foreign reporting: “Returning to Europe, Mr. Miller halted in Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Turkey and Rumania. In 1935 he straddled a sandbagged parapet atop a mount in Ethiopia and wrote of the Italian entry into Adowa. His messages, relayed by native runner to Asmara, Eritrea, and thence wired to Rome and to this country, were the first from an American correspondent in Adowa.”¹⁵ When the Spanish Civil War broke out in the late 1930s, Miller “was once again at the front,” and when Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, he was there as well: “He visited the Western Front, sped to Helsinki during the air raids there and at the time of his death was preparing to go to Norway.”¹⁶

In an editorial tribute, the *Times* more explicitly summed up how Miller's journalistic role was enhanced by his penchant to take risks: "He had covered most of the wars and risked his life on most of the battlefields from Morocco to Finland. He felt that wholesale death might strike at

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

England soon, and he stayed in London, ready to report it. Now a blacked-out railroad station, an open compartment door, a moving train, have brought him his last assignment."¹⁷

The editorial also knitted together Miller's risk-taking with a mixture of stoicism and news-gathering acumen: "Newspaper men in many capitals will miss this modest, grave faced reporter of a world gone mad. Millions of readers who knew him only as a by-line had no conception of the devoted work that went into his dispatches. He was quick and resourceful in the highly competitive field of news agency work, where split seconds can count for so much. He was cool in his judgment, vivid and clear in his writing."¹⁸ The editorial also cast him as a hero in the mold of the saintly Galahad, the great battle-tested knight whom Joseph Campbell described as being a Christ-like figure whose ultimate quest had to do with opening his heart to compassion.¹⁹ The editorial concluded: "Somehow all the misery he saw on his war assignments did not dull him to human suffering. His death is a heartbreaking loss to The United Press, which he served so unsparingly, and to all American journalism."²⁰

Six months after Miller's death, Ralph W. Barnes, a *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent, became the first U.S. journalist to die covering combat during World War II while aboard a British bomber that crashed into a mountain during a storm, causing the bombs it was carrying to detonate..²¹ Though the crash happened more than a year before the U.S. would officially enter the war, Barnes's death, even more so than Miller's, would set the tone for the wartime heroic tributes to follow.

¹⁷ "Webb Miller," *New York Times*, May 9, 1940, 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

²⁰ "Webb Miller." *New York Times*, May 9, 1940, 21.

²¹ "Barnes's Funeral to Be Held Today," *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1940, 5.

Though three others died in the accident, Barnes is the focus of the story, as seen in the headline: “U.S. Reporter Dies In Bomber Crash.”²² The story also includes his picture, along with the caption, “Assignment’s End.”²³

The *Times* established his daring as a young reporter, reporting that after being assigned to the Paris bureau of the *Tribune* he filed “his first notable story recording the feat of Gertrude Ederle, first woman to swim the English Channel, on Aug. 6, 1926. When the tugboat following the swimmer was unable to land its passengers because of rough seas, Mr. Barnes tried to row ashore in a lifeboat. When the lifeboat capsized he swam ashore and ran two miles down the beach until he found a telephone, over which he gave his story to the London bureau for relay to New York.”²⁴ The story notes similar tenacity in his coverage of the war – his globetrotting adventures are similar to Miller’s. The *Times* wrote that Barnes had covered the German Army’s invasion of Dunkerque after the British had evacuated, then eventually “he returned to Berlin where he and Russell Hill, his assistant, were ordered to leave Germany on the grounds that they had 'indulged in false, hateful and sensational reporting' and 'endangered German interests. From Berlin Mr. Barnes went to the Balkans to cover developments. Subsequently he went to Palestine, where he covered the Italian advance into Egypt before he proceeded to Greece.”²⁵

The *Times* assiduously documented the outpouring following Miller’s death. There was the news that *Herald Tribune* employees had donated \$1,350 toward the purchase of the Ralph W. Barnes Memorial Ambulance for the British American Ambulance Corps., and Mrs. Ogden Reid, the newspaper company’s vice president called Barnes “a great newspaper man and a great

²² Ibid.

²³ "U.S. Reporter Dies in Bomber Crash," *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1940, 7.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

war correspondent.”²⁶ He would be the first in a succession of fallen U.S. correspondents to be honored by the Association of American Correspondents.²⁷

The follow-up coverage documented the magnitude of Barnes passing outside the journalism community. One story noted that Barnes would be buried in Yugoslavia “with full military honors with the R.A.F. fliers who also perished.”²⁸ An estimated 45,000 Montenegrins and South Serbians were reported to have attended the funeral for Barnes and the four British RAF members.²⁹

The *Times* also highlighted the close alliance between the British military and U.S. journalists during World War II and wrote of a mutual respect based on common risk-taking attributes. The *Times* published a tribute from a Royal Air Force officer who said that Barnes “had been an honorary member of an R.A.F. squadron” and was “sincere in his anxiety to share their trials and dangers. He said often that he felt he was doing his bit for the sake of democracy he valued.”³⁰ The officer added that Barnes was “the best type of American, he felt that Britain and her allies were fighting for the freedom of the rest of the world, and spared no effort to help in that fight. Ralph was very anxious to go on a night raid. When his turn, slated to end so tragically, came he was as keen as the most enthusiastic pilot. He was a brave man and every Royal Air Force pilot who knew him will miss his comradeship.”³¹

²⁶ “Gift for British-American Ambulance Corps,” *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1941, 7.

²⁷ “Tributes to Correspondents Lost Abroad Paid by News Men in London and Here,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1943, 21.

²⁸ “Barnes’s Funeral to Be Held Today,” *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1940, 5.

²⁹ “45,000 Yugoslavs at Rites for Barnes,” *New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1940, 8.

³⁰ “Barnes’s Funeral to Be Held Today,” 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*

In its own editorial tribute to Barnes, the *Times* again explicitly linked explicit journalism rules with unwritten values related to risk-taking:

American war correspondents have faced death in many forms in the burning cities of Poland and Belgium, in the frozen Finnish forests, in the bomb-strewn streets of London. None of them faced risk more willingly or more often than Ralph Barnes of The Herald Tribune, who was killed in the crash of a British bomber on a mountainside in Yugoslavia. He was a hard-working reporter who had hunted the news in many lands. Like scores of others who now serve the American public, he was intent, above all, on getting the story whatever the discomfort, whatever the danger. He now becomes the first casualty of the American press in this war.³²

The Hero Journalist and Society

The tributes to Barnes did not only come from those in his industry. Perhaps as never before in U.S. history, the mission of journalists was seen to be in concert with those of the country at large. Moreover, the U.S. government overtly played a role in the mythologizing of these war correspondents, depicting them as a vital part of the country's war effort.

The effort reflected the unusual symbiotic relationship between the government and the press during World War II. As William David Sloan writes, "The American media covered World War II more thoroughly and better than any war in history. However, the role of the media went beyond reporting. The media also played an important role in defining the issues and in shaping public opinion about them."³³ Sloan noted that role of the media in World War II has engendered criticism from "historians who have argued that once the United States entered World War II, though, the distinction between proper and reprehensible acts of war diminished.

³² "Death of a Newspaper Man," *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1940, 20.

³³ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 345.

There was little press criticism but widespread endorsement of dropping the atomic bombs on Japan."³⁴

The U.S. government also did its part to stem the flow of information to the public. On Dec. 18, 1941, soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the official U.S. entry into the war, the Office of Censorship was formed by President Franklin Roosevelt.³⁵ Byron Price, who had worked as the AP's executive news editor, oversaw the office and drew up a Code of Wartime Practices that called for the press to censor its coverage on a voluntary basis.³⁶ In addition, the Office of War Information was started in 1942 with journalist Elmer Davis hired to oversee the government's publicity effort.³⁷ In that capacity, Davis linked the mission of the military to that of the press.

Ralph Barnes was among the war correspondents publicly honored in April 1943 by Davis, who in listing the journalists who had died in the line of duty, said their "gallantry" was "akin to that of our fighting men but it is also a thing apart. Their service is one to which we owe much; to which we will owe even more before we have achieved a victory based in part on the understanding they gave to us."³⁸

The *Times* responded to that ceremony with an editorial which used the dramatic backdrop of war to comment on the role of journalists in a way that may have not been possible in peacetime, further constructing the image of the almost chivalrous reporter whose brand of

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "OWI Hails Bravery of War Reporters," *New York Times*, April 14, 1943, 4.

selfless heroism was more about reporting on the heroism of others.³⁹ Those fallen journalists, the *Times* wrote, “would have been the last to claim any special merit for what they were doing. They died in accidents, by disease and by enemy action. The dangers they faced were no more and no less than those encountered by the survivors. Whether reporting for newspapers, magazines, the radio or the motion picture, it was the story they were after.”⁴⁰

The editorial also seemed to almost directly comment on the concerns about journalistic sensationalism raised at the time by the Hutchins Commission.⁴¹ Commenting on correspondents covering the war, the *Times* wrote that there had “been a new note of serious purpose in their reporting” and that these journalists “were not seeking glory for themselves. They were not hunting sensations. They were trying to tell the American people about this war, to bridge the gap between the things the fighting man experiences and the home public's realization of them. The best correspondents are the most humble as to their own personal role. OWI Director Elmer Davis justly praises their 'gallantry' as 'a thing apart,' for they have to endure fire without fighting back. But it is of the gallantry of others that they have written.”⁴²

In the *Times* view, that humility in journalists was accompanied by an eagerness to risk their lives. The editorial concluded that “assignments involving such risks are as eagerly sought for as golden prizes in a lottery, and accepted in the spirit of service to country. It is this spirit in American correspondents that makes stay-at-homes proud to be members of the same profession.”⁴³

³⁹ Journalism's Gold Stars," *New York Times*, April 17, 1943, 16.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 170.

⁴² Journalism's Gold Stars," 16.

⁴³ Ibid.

At the same time, the *Times* and the U.S. military made sure that the country knew about the heroism of these journalists. In 1943, the Maritime Commission announced that Barnes would be one of a dozen fallen U.S. war correspondents for whom Liberty ships would be named.⁴⁴ (Liberty ships were pre-fabricated cargo vessels built during World War II – the first ones were named after those who signed the Declaration of Independence.⁴⁵) The "Ralph W. Barnes" was launched in December 1943 at the Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation yards in a ceremony attended by his wife, daughter, and parents.⁴⁶

In August 1945, the names of 38 reporters and photographers who were killed or went missing during World War II were unveiled on a bronze plaque in the cockpit of "The Fourth Estate," described as "the latest model in the P-61 Black Widow series, which was built by Northrop Aircraft, Inc."⁴⁷ In his official acceptance of the plane, Maj. Gen. Willis H. Hale, commanding officer of the Fourth Air Force, gave credit to the media for playing "a major role in the drive to give this country the air power it needed to insure victory in the war," adding: "That the free American press has continued to function as such through the world's greatest and most terrible conflict is the finest possible demonstration of a working democracy."⁴⁸

Hale acknowledged that the wartime job of the press had "not been easy," adding that in addition to "physical dangers" the "strict wartime censorship was on many occasions difficult to abide by. Many a juicy news beat went by the boards simply because we couldn't afford to let the enemy in on it. Nevertheless, you never confused censorship with suppression, and despite

⁴⁴ "Will Name Liberty Ships for War Correspondents," *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1943, 5.

⁴⁵ United States Merchant Marine, accessed March 10, 2013, <http://www.usmm.org/libertyships.html>

⁴⁶ "The Ralph W. Barnes Is Launched," *New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1943, 5.

⁴⁷ Davies, "Reporters Killed in War Honored," 24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

the fact that you had advance knowledge of many of our most secret war projects, violation of military security was never a problem.”⁴⁹

The Hero Journalist and World War II

The mythologizing in the aftermath of Barnes’ death was seen in the coverage of all the fallen journalists who would follow during World War II. D. Witt Hancock, a 33-year-old Associated Press correspondent, was the first casualty after the U.S. formally entered World War II – he went missing on March 3, 1942, while covering the Japanese incursion in Java, but would not be officially declared dead until after the end of the war.⁵⁰

Hancock’s name was kept alive in the press for years after his disappearance, as he was honored with others who went missing or perished while covering the war. Hancock was among those honored by the Associated Press in 1943 in the same way it had previously marked the passing of Edward Neil during the Spanish Civil War: the wires were stopped for a moment of silence.⁵¹ In story with the headline, "Press War Heroes Honored by Cooper," Kent Cooper, the Associated Press general manager, was quoted as saying at the ceremony in New York: “In this terrible war there have gone from the United States since Pearl Harbor many brave soldiers whom we all honor, but on this occasion I should like to single out the soldiers of the press. These reporters all have ability. They all have courage. Some of them have lost their lives.”⁵² Hancock was one of six fallen Associated Press correspondents who were the subjects of Francis

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "A.P. Writer Is Missing," *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1942, 10.

⁵¹ "Press War Heroes Honored by Cooper," *New York Times*, April, 10, 1943, 5.

⁵² Ibid..

Vanderveer Kughler portraits that were put on display in 1946 in the rotunda of the Associated Press headquarters at Rockefeller Plaza in New York.⁵³

In the ensuing coverage of fallen war correspondents, it was common for the *Times* to ascribe American news values to correspondents from countries that were U.S. allies. Harry Percy, a British correspondent for the U.S.-owned United Press was the next correspondent to fall in action in April 1942 – though he died of “malignant malaria” in Cairo, the *Times* treated him as if he had been killed in combat, making note of his stoic resolve when he was stricken.⁵⁴ The story said that Percy had “been assigned to the British Mediterranean Fleet,” and “became ill during his journey across Africa to Cairo, but began work as soon as he arrived.”⁵⁵ The United Press story run by the *Times* said: “His dispatches on the aerial Blitzkrieg against the British port of Plymouth last year were among the most stirring to come out of wartime Britain.”⁵⁶ Though he was born in Great Britain, a Liberty ship was named for Percy in 1943.⁵⁷ The *Times* reported that it “marked the first time a Liberty ship had been named for a war correspondent who was not an American citizen.”⁵⁸

The close ties between the U.S. and all of its Allies - even the Soviet Union, which in a few short years would become America's main adversary - could be seen in the coverage of the death of Eugene Petrov, a Soviet war correspondent whose work was run by the North American

⁵³ "Kughler Pictures on Exhibition Here," *New York Times*, March 30, 1946, 12.

⁵⁴ "H. L. Percy, Served 'in Cairo' for U. P., 40," *New York Times*, April 20, 1942, 21.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "U.S. Ship Is Named for British Writer." *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1943, 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Newspaper Alliance.⁵⁹ In a story with the headline, “Soviet Artists At War,” the *Times* wrote that Petrov’s death served as “a sharp reminder that in this war Russian artists, writers and film workers alike play a dual role as civilians and soldiers – when they are not making films about the war they are at the front, fighting it.”⁶⁰

Petrov was honored at the 1943 meeting of the Associated Press as one of the “Press War Heroes.”⁶¹ And he was one of the fallen journalists honored by the Office of War Information that same year.⁶² The National Headliners Club awarded him one of its “Special Valor Medals for Heroism by War Correspondents.”⁶³ A reference book, *Twentieth Century Authors*, that was published soon after his death, was dedicated “to the memory of Eugene Petrov, soldier of freedom.”⁶⁴

The link between American journalism and the country's war effort was so pronounced that when Ben H. Miller, a *Baltimore Sun* correspondent, was one of three to die on May 17, 1942, in a plane crash in Wichita, Kansas, he was seen as effectively functioning as a war correspondent while part of a press contingent covering a “‘production-for-victory’ tour of the nation’s war plants.”⁶⁵ Indeed, in a story headlined, “Newsmen, 2 Others Die In Plane Crash,” William V. Lawson, the public relations director for the group that had sponsored the tour, the

⁵⁹ "Soviet Artists at War." *New York Times*, July 19, 1942, X4.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "Press War Heroes Honored by Cooper," 5.

⁶² "OWI Hails Bravery of War Reporters," 4.

⁶³ "2 Women Will Get Headliners' Prizes," *New York Times*, May 28, 1943, 42.

⁶⁴ "Soldier of Freedom," *New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1942, BR22.

⁶⁵ "Newsmen, 2 Others Die in Plane Crash," *New York Times*, May 18, 1942, 9.

National Association of Manufacturers, said: “Mr. Miller died in the line of duty.”⁶⁶ Moreover, Miller was accorded the honors given to fallen war correspondents – he was among the first batch of reporters to have Liberty ships named after them.⁶⁷

The tributes to fallen journalists by the *Times* also reinforced the high standing of war correspondents in newsrooms. In fact, the decision by a reporter to abandon relatively safer assignments – say working a desk job in a newsroom on U.S. soil – became a crucial part of the narrative of these hero myths.

When John Singer, a correspondent with the International News Service, was killed in 1942 when the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Wasp* was sunk by a torpedo in the Solomon Islands, that *Times* noted that he had been a sports writer for the *New York Journal-American*, but suddenly “resigned last Spring while covering the New York Giants’ training camp at Miami to become a war correspondent.”⁶⁸ As with Edward Neil, Singer’s call to adventure had involved giving up a job on the sports staff in order to become a foreign correspondent.

Singer's story embodied what Jung considered a key part of the hero's journey - symbolically leaving behind childhood and engaging life and accepting grown-up responsibilities.⁶⁹ In the case of both Singer and Neil, that act equated to leaving behind the fun and games of sports and to take up a calling deemed more crucial to the survival of the greater society. Indeed, the *Times* noted that, in suddenly deciding to leave baseball training camp to become a war correspondent, Singer had said, “Writing sports seems to be meaningless now.”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ “Will Name Liberty Ships for War Correspondents,” 5.

⁶⁸ “Writer Long Missing.” *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1942, 4.

⁶⁹ Stein, *Jung's Map of the Soul : An Introduction*, , 89.

⁷⁰ “Writer Long Missing,” 4.

As with Neil, the sportswriters named an award not after one of their own, but a hero who had left them behind – the New York Chapter of the Baseball Writers Association of America named its award for Meritorious Service to Baseball the “Jack Singer Memorial” in 1943.⁷¹ A sportsmanship award given to Major League Baseball players was also named in Singer’s honor.⁷² In December 1944, Singer was also posthumously awarded a Purple Heart by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal for “wounds suffered when the aircraft carrier Wasp was sunk Sept. 15, 1942.”⁷³

New York Times sports columnist John Kiernan placed the relative insignificance of sports in perspective when he wrote a column that paid tribute to both Singer and Byron Darnton, a *Times* correspondent killed covering World War II: “It’s hard for a fellow in the sports field to keep his eye on the ball these days. The reports from further afield keep breaking in. There was Jack Singer, the correspondent who was still tapping his typewriter keys on the Wasp when three torpedoes hit that carrier. It was only a few months ago that Jack was traveling with Mel Ott and the Giants around the baseball circuit.”⁷⁴ Darnton, he wrote, “used to drop by this desk and chat about his favorite teams and players in the sports field, though Barney was on ‘the city side,’ as they said in newspaper circles. Two great chaps and fine writers; it’s a shock when bad news comes about close friends like that.”⁷⁵

⁷¹ Roscoe McGowen, "N.Y. Writers Name Williams 'Player of the Year'," *New York Times*, January 18, 1943, 22.

⁷² "Sportsmanship Awards to Musial and Rizzuto," *New York Times*, December 16, 1951, 171.

⁷³ "Newsmen Are Honored," *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1944, 7.

⁷⁴ John Kieran, "Sports of the Times," *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1942, 30.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

The *Times* Honors Its Own

The depiction of the hero myth was given a grander stage when the *Times* lost one of its own. When *Times* reporter Byron Darnton died in New Guinea on Oct. 21, 1942, when the boat he was in was accidentally attacked by a U.S. plane, the *Times* ran a front-page story on his passing.⁷⁶ The tribute to Darnton - the first *Times* reporter to be listed on the Journalists Memorial - includes mention of how Darnton received the initial call to adventure that propelled him into taking up journalism: "Under his uncle's kindly tutelage he saw the sights of New York and got his first glimpse of the inside of a newspaper office. In later years he often laughingly remarked to his friends that he had never got over the itch for news that he acquired then."⁷⁷

Darnton was also depicted as a hero who had to resist a number of temptations that would divert him from his true path, including ignoring H.L. Mencken, who tried "to persuade the young man to take up fiction writing as a career, but Mr. Darnton was wrapped up in his newspaper work and preferred to remain a reporter."⁷⁸ He also left a job at the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger* "when a prominent advertising agency offered him a much larger salary than his newspaper pay, but after three weeks he quit the new job in disgust and went back to reporting, determined never again to give up the vocation he preferred."⁷⁹

As with the tales of the hero journalists who gave up jobs as sportswriters in favor of the ostensibly more serious business of war reporting, Darnton had to first wrest himself from a job as an editor at *Times* in 1939 and request that he return to his position as a local news reporter

⁷⁶ United Press, "Darnton of Times Is Killed at Front," *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1942, 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

“because of his preference for first-hand contact with the news.”⁸⁰ In February 1941, he answered the call again, requesting that he be allowed to cover the war: “When the war came he told friends he was anxious to do his part.”⁸¹

The story also portrayed Darnton as having embodied the proper mix of stoicism and journalistic acumen when he was in the thick of battle. After being with Allied troops in New Guinea who were bombed by the Japanese, Darnton “wrote a characteristically amusing account of how he had jumped for a slit trench and embedded his knee in the back of a private from Brooklyn when the raiders appeared – but all the facts about the raid that the censors would pass were there, too.”⁸²

The *Times* published two of Darnton’s final dispatches posthumously, one of which ran in the *Times*’ Sunday magazine after having passed through military censors.⁸³ His last dispatch was identified as such in the headline and ran with a large picture of Darnton taken months before, while on assignment with the troops.⁸⁴ Ironically, the dispatch was a self-deprecating first-person account of what it was like to be a correspondent in World War II, one that minimized the very real dangers he faced: “If the flies will please get off my arms and out of my mouth and yes, I will write a little article comparing the job of war correspondent in this war and in the last one.”⁸⁵ His dispatch also commented on the coexistence of journalistic purpose and the national war effort, particularly as it related to military censorship: “The matter of giving

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Byron Darnton, “New Guinea Drive a Big Move by Air,” *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1942, 14.

⁸⁴ Byron Darnton, “Darnton’s Last Dispatch Pictures Life of Correspondent as Less Luxurious Than in 1918, but Rich in Rewards,” *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1942, 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

information to the enemy becomes involved in this fundamental, inescapable conflict. No correspondent wants to give such information, but the military authorizers are the judges of what is information and what is not."⁸⁶

In an editorial page tribute by the *Times* itself, the paper knitted together the values of journalism and country in paying homage to its fallen reporter: "Other members of our reporting staff have risked their lives in this war. Barney was the first to fall. He died at the height of his powers. From his cub reporter days he had been known as a man who never failed to come back with all the pertinent facts, without bias or distortion. To this solid foundation, as he grew in years and experience, he added the qualities of sympathetic understanding and of brilliant interpretation."⁸⁷ The editorial said that Darnton's "friends and associates on this newspaper know that he did not offer himself for foreign service out of any itch for adventure. It was in no reckless mood that he went on a perilous mission, leaving behind a wife and two children to whom he was profoundly attached. He had been a soldier in the First World War and knew what war was. He went to this war because he believed in the rightness of our cause."⁸⁸

The *Times* appraisal also conveyed the message that Darnton's life served as example of how and when to take risks in journalism: "Being the man he was, he would have scorned to mingle with fighting men and not take the fighting man's risks. It would never have occurred to him to endanger his life needlessly, out of mere foolhardiness, nor to have rated it as of more value than that of any private in the ranks. He had humor and sympathy, cheerfulness, unselfishness and unpretentious courage."⁸⁹ In sacrificing his life, the editorial concluded, he

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "'Barney' Darnton," *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1942, 20.

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid.

“did not die for a newspaper or even for a profession, though he was deeply loyal to both. He died for an undying cause to which he had subordinated all personal desire and ambition. He died, among his comrades, with all the others who have laid down their lives in the South Sea battles for his country.”⁹⁰

The *Times* continued to honor Danton with its most valuable commodity: newsprint. In all, the *Times* ran 29 stories that made mention of Darnton in the first year after he was killed. Many of the stories documented how the rest of the journalism community and the greater society at large marked his passing.

In a story headlined, “Newspaper Man’s Newspaper Man,” an assortment of prominent journalists paid tribute to Darnton, including Lewis Wood, president of the Gridiron Club in Washington, who said: “If Barney Darnton had to lose his life he would have wished to give it in the service of a calling he loved. He was a newspaperman’s newspaperman, always enthusiastic over any assignment, no matter how large or small. He died while writing chapters of one of the greatest stories in all the world’s history.”⁹¹

Some of those stories continued to make a strong connection between journalistic purpose and the national war effort. The *Times* reported that Darnton and a soldier killed in the same attack were buried “in the Port Moresby military cemetery with full military honors” in New Guinea “as Allied fighter planes skimmed the treetops and a squad fired a volley into the tropical sky.”⁹² Six reporters carried his American flag-draped coffin to the grave.⁹³ The *Times*

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ "Washington Writers Mourn Darnton Loss," *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1942, 3.

⁹² "Darnton Is Buried at Port Moresby," *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1942, 4.

⁹³ Ibid.

also noted that, in setting off on his last assignment, Darnton “departed like a soldier, packing a full field kit.”⁹⁴

The *Times* published on page one the wireless transmission in which General Douglas MacArthur notified the newspaper that it was his “painful duty” to notify it of Darnton’s death, writing: “He served with gallantry and devotion at the front and fulfilled the important duties of war correspondent with distinction to himself and THE NEW YORK TIMES and with value to his country. I had but recently conferred with him at Port Moresby and had been gratified by his comprehensive grasp of the battle situation.”⁹⁵

The *Times* reported that Secretary of War Henry Stimson - said to be an acquaintance of Darnton’s - marked Darnton's death at his weekly press conference, praising him as “a war correspondent of unusual ability.”⁹⁶ Australian Prime Minister John Curtin also expressed his official regrets.⁹⁷ Darnton was posthumously awarded a Purple Heart, and his widow, Eleanor Darnton, who became the women’s editor at the *Times*, received a scroll signed by President Franklin Roosevelt, saying that her husband “stands in the unbroken line of patriots who have dared to die that freedom might live, and grow, and increase its blessings. Freedom lives and through it, he lives – in a way that humbles the undertakings of most men.”⁹⁸

Coverage of Darnton continued long after his death. In 1975, near the end of the Vietnam war, the *Times* ran a story after the notebook that Darnton had been carrying when he was killed was discovered in a file cabinet at the *Chicago Tribune*, stored there by E.R. Noderer, the paper’s

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ "MacArthur Praises Darnton's Devotion," *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1942, 1.

⁹⁶ "Stimson Praises Darnton." *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1942, 4.

⁹⁷ "Curtin Regrets Darnton's Death." *New York Times*, Oct. 30, 1942, 4.

⁹⁸ "Purple Heart to Darnton," *New York Times*, March 24, 1945, 11.

New Guinea correspondent, who apparently planned to give to Darnton's survivors.⁹⁹ The *Times* ran excerpts from the notebook, which included details that as the U.S. plane that killed him approached, Darnton had written: "Jap or ours?"¹⁰⁰ In 2005, more than 60 years after the correspondent's death, Darnton's son, John, a *Times* foreign correspondent who had been just 11 months of age when his father passed, wrote a front-page story about a trip to the site where the Liberty ship named after Darnton had run aground near the island of Sanda in the North Sea.¹⁰¹

A year later after Darnton's death, the *Times* once again lost one of its own when Robert P. Post was killed on Feb. 26, 1942.¹⁰² Though Post would be listed as missing for nearly six months, the *Times* ran a front-page story when the bomber he was on went down.¹⁰³ The story, written by the paper's London bureau chief, Raymond Daniell, was extraordinary in how it mixed personal reflection with dense, almost cinematic detail: the narrative included descriptions of men seen jumping from the damaged plane. Daniell conveyed that Post's unique assignment flying with the Army Air Forces was no "journalistic stunt," but rather in service to a higher journalistic purpose.¹⁰⁴ Daniell wrote that Post had been the only *Times* correspondent in the London who was "young enough to meet the Army's physical requirements. He entered upon his new assignment eagerly, feeling that by informed, intelligent reporting of the aims and problems of the United States Air Force he would be helping strike a blow at Nazism."¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Martin Arnold, "Wartime Notes Led up to Death of the Reporter," *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1975, 55.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ John Darnton, "In the Name of the Father," *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 2005, 1.

¹⁰² Raymond Daniell, "Post of the Times Missing after Wilhelmshaven Raid." *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1943, 1.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Post was portrayed as answering the call to adventure, despite the fact that a commanding officer “had urged Post not to go on yesterday's raid on one of the most heavily defended targets in Germany, arguing that a less-hazardous mission would provide as much of the feel of the thing as Wilhelmshaven. But Post said all correspondents had agreed to go the first time the opportunity presented itself and that he was not going to drop out because it was dangerous.”¹⁰⁶ In fact, Daniell wrote, those crew members on “the plane he went in had come to look upon him as one of their team, so much so that in the mess they had fallen into the habit of including him in their discussion of 'what we will do.'”¹⁰⁷

The *Times* ran a page-one story when the Red Cross confirmed on Aug. 11, 1943, that Post had died when the bomber was shot down and his body had been found in the plane's wreckage.¹⁰⁸ However, the *Times* ran another tribute to Post months before that confirmation, in a March 1, 1943, editorial that was marked by the now familiar theme of journalism and country.¹⁰⁹ Noting that Post was among six reporters who were aboard the bombers that participated in the attack on Wilhelmshaven, the editorial said: "We do not suppose that he or his companions regarded their trip as a special act of courage. They thought of it, we are sure, in terms of helping American readers to understand what our fliers are doing in this war. The risks were incidental, as they have been and are for correspondents covering the fighting in the

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ The United Press, "Robert P. Post Dead, Red Cross Learns," *New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1943, 1.

¹⁰⁹ "'Bob Post,'" *New York Times*, March 1, 1943, 18.

Solomons, in New Guinea, in North Africa and on the high seas. The story was the thing in Bob Post's mind, and beyond that the sense of responsibility to his home public and to his country" ¹¹⁰

In explaining Post's reasoning in ignoring the urging for him "wait until the bombers went on a less dangerous errand," the *Times* delivered what could almost be described as a mantra for journalists who take on-job-risks,' writing that "he insisted on being taken along because, as he undoubtedly reasoned, the more dangerous the errand, the better the story."¹¹¹ Post, the *Times* said, had wanted to enlist in the Army but "was with difficulty persuaded that he could do more by remaining in his chosen profession. A veteran of the worst days of the London blitz, he was, in spirit, indeed a soldier."¹¹² The *Times* said that, as with Darnton, "he faced danger as part of a duty eagerly assumed."¹¹³

The *Times* also covered tributes to Post outside of the journalism community. It ran a tribute from a military officer who was "at the station to which he had been assigned" – the officer wrote that Post's had died while engaged in "a deed of daring and courage. It was an act to which Bob looked forward with the keenest interest. He was well aware of the danger and risks, but this did not enter his thinking. He realized that he could do a great deal to strike a blow at nazism, and that was the big purpose of his life."¹¹⁴ Post, the officer wrote, also "realized the American public must be accurately and honestly informed on the potentialities, possibilities and

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ "Officer Writes Tribute to Post of the Times; Says He Saw Duty to Risk Life on Raids," *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1943, 24.

weaknesses of daylight bombing. Most of all he realized that the only way American can win the war is through sacrifice by every American.”¹¹⁵

The consistent tone set in many of the tributes to the World War II journalists might be attributed to an obvious effect. Many of these stories were written by the *Times*' own war correspondents, and sometimes these reporters found themselves writing about reporters they had stood with in the trenches.

This trend could be seen in the coverage of the death of Brydon C. Taves, the United Press manager in Australia, who was killed when the combat plane he was in crashed in New Guinea.¹¹⁶ Taves was cast in the classic hero mold, one who resigned from his job at the wire service when the war began and “took the first ship to England and tried for several weeks to join the British armed forces,” but ultimately “rejoined The United Press in London and soon was assigned to Australia.”¹¹⁷ *Times* correspondent Frank L. Kluckhohn not only covered his funeral, noting that Taves and Pendil Raynor, an Australian correspondent who also was killed in the crash, both were buried with military honors in New Guinea.¹¹⁸ He wrote an extended first-person account about what it was like to cover the war, saying that those journalists, “like the late Byron Darnton” of the *Times*, “were trying in the manner they considered the most effective to get accurate, first hand accounts home.”¹¹⁹

Despite noting that “(t)his correspondent has long felt that what happened to any live war reporter was chiefly interesting to himself rather than to the public,” Kluckhohn went on to

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "Brydon Taves of U.P. Killed in New Guinea," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1943, 7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Frank L. Kluckhohn, "Bombs and Shots Peril War Writers," *New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1943, 5.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

describe how he and *New York News* correspondent Jack Turcott had covered the landing of the U.S. Marines at Cape Gloucester.¹²⁰ Kluckhohn wrote that, with a Japanese air attack imminent, the two correspondents "waded waist deep in water" and boarded separate vessels, with the one carrying Turcott struck by enemy and "a piece of shrapnel dented his helmet. He found the cabin afire and started to put it out when another bomb hit alongside, tiny fragments entering the cabin and causing small burns on various parts of his body. He then worked twelve hours aiding the doctor with the seriously wounded men."¹²¹

The death of John Frankish, with the United Press, died in Belgium on Dec. 23, 1944, was reported in what could be called an overtly personal bylined story by *Times* correspondent Harold Denny, who himself would die immediately after the war:

Jack Frankish of The United Press, one of the ablest and best liked war correspondents in this theatre, was killed in an attack by German planes on a village near the front where correspondents stayed overnight. He died instantly and without pain ...

This was Mr. Frankish's first military campaign. He arrived in France last August and participated in the march through France and Belgium and into the Siegfried Line. He worked indefatigably, spending all the time possible in the front line, not taking reckless chances, but accepting whatever danger was necessary to honest, thorough reporting of the war.

On the day of his death he had stayed at our hotel to take his first day off from the front in many weeks. He was sitting in the hotel lounge with other correspondents when the German planes dive-bombed the hotel.¹²²

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Harold Denny, "Writer Killed by a German Bomb; Hit While Resting Behind Front," *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1944, 4.

Fallen Journalists and New Mediums

The *Times* tributes to fallen journalists continued to extend the hero myth to journalists in emerging mediums. Frank J. Cuhel, with the Mutual Broadcasting System, and Ben Robertson Jr., who worked for the *New York Herald Tribune*, were both killed in a Feb. 22, 1943, crash of a Pan Am commercial airliner, the Yankee Clipper, in Lisbon - the *Times* noted that among the passengers, who included members of a USO troupe, were the men who “were both on their way to war assignments.”¹²³

The coverage would highlight the growing custom of considering fallen foreign correspondents as being almost perpetually on assignment, even if their deaths were far from the scene of their actual reporting. Moreover, though Cuhel worked for a radio network, his tribute struck the same tone as the one given to Robertson, the print journalist – even in the brief profiles of the two men that accompanied bios of the other passengers, there are stories of them engaged in the classic cycle of the hero answering the call to adventure, returning to society, then responding to the call once again. Cuhel, a member of the 1928 Olympic track team, had been “in Batavia, Java, as a representative of a commercial firm in 1942 when the Japanese invaded the island. After escaping to Australia he was the Mutual correspondent in Sydney until his return to the United States last December. He was on his way to a war assignment in North Africa.”¹²⁴

¹²³ "The Clipper's Passengers," *New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1943, 7.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Cuhel would be on the list of radio and news correspondents for whom Liberty ships were named.¹²⁵ The *Times* even ran a story when the bodies of the two men, along with other victims, arrived in Philadelphia aboard a Portuguese liner.¹²⁶

On July 20, 1943, Carl Thusgaard, with ACME News Pictures, became the first U.S. photographer on the Journalists Memorial to be killed during World War II when the bomber he was on was shot down by Japanese in New Guinea.¹²⁷ The *Times* ran a story when Thusgaard, who was Danish-born but settled in Queens, N.Y., after emigrating to the U.S. in the later 1920s, went missing on “his first bombing flight” off the New Guinea coast.¹²⁸ His name was among those included in a plaque unveiled at the Overseas Press Club at the end of the year honoring war correspondents killed in action.¹²⁹

The *Times* covered in a similar way the death of Lucien Adolph Labaudt, a French-born artist working for *Life* magazine, who was killed along with 11 members of the military when an American plane crashed while trying to land in India.¹³⁰ Describing him as “the first war correspondent killed in this theatre,” the story said that Labaudt had moved to the U.S. while a youth, and had painted “war scenes” for *Life* after the disbanding of the Army art program he had worked for as a civilian.¹³¹ He was buried with full military honors along with other victims of

¹²⁵ "Will Name Liberty Ships for War Correspondents," 5.

¹²⁶ "Ship Brings Dead in Clipper Crash," *New York Times*, April 12, 1943, 12.

¹²⁷ "Camera Man Missing." *New York Times*, July 24, 1943, 6.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ "Highlights at Opening of Second War Congress of Nam." *New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1943, 20.

¹³⁰ "U.S. Artist Is Killed in India Plane Crash," *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1943, 4.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

the crash.¹³² He was among the war correspondents whose names were inscribed in the cockpit of a U.S. military plane.¹³³ His name was also included on a plaque at the Pentagon honoring fallen correspondents.¹³⁴

When Frederick C. Painton, whose fiction writing had appeared in magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, suffered a fatal attack in Guam while working as a war correspondent for *Reader's Digest* in 1945, the *Times* reported that his fellow reporters attended his burial at a military cemetery there, with the Marines firing a salute and playing "Taps."¹³⁵ He was depicted as if he had died in combat, with the *Times* noting that he "had come into the Pacific after serving *The Digest* as correspondent in North African, Italy and France. He became ill in the Philippines after working and living with B-29 crews."¹³⁶

Another fiction writer, Frederick Faust - a prolific novelist who wrote "Dr. Kildare" under the pen name, "Max Brand" - was killed May 11, 1944 on assignment with *Harper's*, covering fighting near Santa Maria Infante in Italy.¹³⁷ Faust was cast as the classic hero whose call to adventure had led to him away from lesser pursuits - in his case, it was not covering sports or serving as an editor in a cozy newsroom, but writing popular fiction. And, like the classic hero, his adventure led to his heart being opened up to the spirit of compassion. The *Times* wrote: "Technically, he was just another accredited war correspondent attached to the Fifth Army. But in effect he was an over-age infantryman who had reported to Fifth Army

¹³² "Lieut. Lester N. Hofheimer Left \$1,000,000 for Philanthropies," *New York Times*, May 24, 1944, 21.

¹³³ Davies, "Reporters Killed in War Honored," 24.

¹³⁴ "Reporters Killed in War Honored," *New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1948, 12.

¹³⁵ "Frederick C. Painton, Correspondent, Dies," *New York Times*, April 1, 1945, 36.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Milton Bracker, "Kildare Creator Is Killed in Italy," *New York Times*, May 17, 1944, 3.

headquarters a month ago and said that the only way to write about war was to write about the human beings who really fight it.”¹³⁸ Faust, the story said, “waved aside an invitation to stay in the press camp and went right across the Garigliano River to a forward unit, which first stormed Santa Maria with serious losses. Two days ago a question on his whereabouts arose. And last evening his body was brought in ... There was no doubt that the man who wrote the Dr. Kildare series and whose name had been emblazoned on the covers of hundreds of pulp magazines for decades, was killed in action.”¹³⁹

The death of Raymond Clapper when the Navy plane he was in collided with another plane on Feb. 3, 1944, during the Marshall Islands invasion involved one of the first multimedia journalists of the time – Clapper had his own radio program with the Mutual Broadcasting System in addition to writing a column for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance.¹⁴⁰ The story also made clear that the experience of covering war had opened up Clapper’s capacity for compassion, saying that “he had de-emphasized politics in his writings to focus his commentaries more upon the human side of war.”¹⁴¹

The story focused on Clapper’s ties to print, noting that he started as a paper boy while growing up on a Kansas farm, and eventually became a “resident of the Gridiron Club in 1939, one of the highest honors in the power of a newspaper man’s colleagues to bestow upon him.”¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ "Clapper Is Killed in Pacific Crash," *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1944, 3.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

And the story also said that Clapper's "radio program, which he started with the Mutual Broadcasting System in September, 1942, enabled him to reach an even greater audience."¹⁴³

President Roosevelt brought up other important journalistic qualities in a note to Clapper's widow: "The tragic event which has brought such sorrow to you and the children emphasizes once more the constant peril in which correspondents do their work in this war. It was characteristic of Ray's fidelity to the great traditions of reporting that the day's work should find him at the scene of action for first-hand facts in the thick of the fight."¹⁴⁴ It would later be revealed that the collision happened because the pilot of the plane was maneuvering to give Clapper a closer look at a bombing target below.¹⁴⁵

In its editorial tribute to Clapper, the *Times* would focus on that central journalistic virtue: seeking out the truth no matter where, and reporting it.:

Raymond Clapper went from life as a man of his high quality would choose to go. He died in harness. He died on the hot trail of the biggest news of the day. It was characteristic of him that he should have followed close to our forces in their desperate drive against the enemy-owned Marshalls. If that assault was to crack Japan's vaunted ring of defense, he wanted to see it, so that, through his eyes and almost at first hand, his public might also see it.

That was always Clapper's way. He was no armchair reporter. He got around. He went and saw. He tracked news to its source.

He knew the leaders of public life, and they knew him, and gave him their trust. They knew that he had no axe to grind, no dogma to sell. It was the truth that he sought. One of the sanest of correspondents, his passion for fairness won the respect of his readers, whatever their party preferences.

Few newspapermen have had broader training than his, have carried professional responsibilities of a more varied sort, or have known America better. His success, based on his experience and knowledge, was at its peak. Journalism

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ "Photographer Tells How Clapper Died." *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1944, 3.

has lost a shining figure. The nation and the world have lost a great interpreter of events.”¹⁴⁶

Radio journalists also honored Clapper as one of their own. The Association of Radio News Analysts adopted a resolution saying: “As a reporter, editor and news analyst, Raymond Clapper represented the best traditions of his profession. He was always fair, scrupulously honest and invariably generous in evaluating the motives of those with whom he disagreed. His work as a writer and commentator raised the standards of both journalism and broadcasting. He died in the performance of his duty.”¹⁴⁷ Not only would the national Sigma Delta Chi association of journalists posthumously award Clapper the William Allen White Memorial Award, but it also created the Raymond Clapper Memorial Award for distinguished war correspondence, which was given to Ernie Pyle that first year.¹⁴⁸ The Navy also posthumously honored Clapper by awarding him the Purple Heart; Ralph A. Bard, Acting Secretary of the Navy, gave it to “a ‘brilliant journalist’ who died in ‘gallant company and in a worthy cause’” and presented the medal to his widow – he also said that Clapper “lost his life in action against the enemy.”¹⁴⁹

In reporting on the Aug. 19, 1944 death of another multimedia journalist - Tom Treanor, a correspondent with the *Los Angeles Times* and the National Broadcasting System - focused on stoic virtues of heroic proportion, reporting right until his death.¹⁵⁰ After a jeep he were riding in was crushed by a tank that the vehicle was trying to pass near Beval, France, the *Times* reported: "Though suffering from multiple injuries, Mr. Treanor was in good spirits to the last end even

¹⁴⁶ "Raymond Clapper," *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1944, 14.

¹⁴⁷ "Radio Men Laud Clapper," *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1944, 3.

¹⁴⁸ "New Award to Ernie Pyle." *New York Times*, May 3, 1944, 16.

¹⁴⁹ "Honors Raymond Clapper." *New York Times*, March 1, 1945, 3.

¹⁵⁰ "Two Correspondents Killed in France," *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1944, 4.

asked a companion to take a few notes on a story for him. He succumbed during an operation to amputate his left leg."¹⁵¹ It also noted that he had received five blood transfusions before dying, but "behind the good reporter he always was, he asked the name of the chaplain who attended him and jokingly requested another to take his photographs."¹⁵² In a separate story profiling him, it was noted that, before covering D-Day, he had been a roving correspondent who had traveled "miles through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and unoccupied France."¹⁵³

The *Times* also affirmed the legitimacy of soldier correspondents for military publications. John Bushemi, an Army staff sergeant and photographer for *Yank*, a military magazine, died Feb. 20, 1944, in the Marshall Islands when he "was with a group of correspondents approaching the front lines who suddenly became a target for Japanese knee mortars fired from trenches less than 100 yards away. Shrapnel cut an artery in his head and mangled his right leg."¹⁵⁴ He was best known as a character in the "best-seller 'See Here, Private Hargrove.'"¹⁵⁵ Bushemi, who was the recipient of a posthumous Bronze Star Medal, was also honored by The National Congress of Industrial Organizations War Relief Committee in New York, which created the John A. Bushemi award "to the CIO union making the most outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American veteran."¹⁵⁶

When Gregor Duncan, a cartoonist with *Stars and Stripes*, was killed in Italy on May 29, 1944, the *Times* ran a story that highlighted the effort of military newspaper correspondents –

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ "Tom Treanor Dies after Tank Hits Jeep," *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1944, 4.

¹⁵⁴ United Press, "Photographer for Yank Killed in Eniwetok Battle," *New York Times*, March 2, 1944, 8.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ "Award to Honor Bushemi," *New York Times*, July 13, 1944, 9.

the lead read: "The luck of the staff of The Stars and Stripes, that remarkable and not altogether appreciated record of soldiering by soldiers ran out. From the day of the African landings in November 1942, one of the most capable and intrepid and yet strictly G.I. sets of combat correspondents a paper ever had has been in there pitching at the front."¹⁵⁷ The story added that those "reporters, photographers and artists who have covered Tunisia, Sicily and Italy so far for The Stars and Stripes have not had the benefit of professional correspondents' salaries or privileges. Yet, uncomplaining, they have done a job that is highly respected on its merits by every professional in this theatre. As is too often the case, it took death to dramatize their work."¹⁵⁸

The story went on to chronicle the love story between Duncan and his wife, a Red Cross worker in Europe, and how people who knew them were "rooting for the couple's reunion."¹⁵⁹ The story noted: "Every man on The Stars and Stripes filed staff has risked death many times, but it was for Sgt. Gregor Duncan of California and New York to be caught by it. And the story of Gregor Duncan is particularly hard to take for those who were his friends because it involves a woman who also is their friend."¹⁶⁰

The *Times* assiduously covered the deaths of those soldier correspondents. It ran a brief when Peter M. Paris, a correspondent with *Yank*, was killed June 6, 1944, while covering the D-Day invasion in France.¹⁶¹ When Alfred M. Kohn, with *Stars and Stripes* was killed on Aug. 29,

¹⁵⁷ "Shell Ends Reunion of Couple at Front; Kills Artist Husband of Red Cross Aide," *New York Times*, June 2, 1944, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ "Sgt. P.M. Paris Killed," *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1944, 6.

1944, by German machine-gun fire during the invasion of southern France, the *Times* reported that "if it had not been for his own insistence on a front-line assignment, he probably would still be holding down a desk job as managing editor of the Rome edition ... When he was assigned to cover the invasion of southern France, he was warned to be cautious."¹⁶² When the *Times* ran a two-paragraph brief simply reporting that Robert Krell, of *Yank*, was killed "in the airborne offensive across the Rhine" on March 24, 1945, it noted that the Brooklyn resident had been a journalism student at Columbia University when he entered the Army, volunteering for the paratroops after serving 13 months in the Pacific and then joining the *Yank* staff as a combat journalist the January before his death.¹⁶³

The only U.S. fallen journalist not to be covered by the *Times* to die during this era may have been somewhat of an anomaly. Paul V. Connors, a former *Boston Record* sportswriter had been working as a reporter for *Stars and Stripes* when he was killed in 1945.¹⁶⁴ His identity as a working journalist appears to have been hindered. Killed when the bomber he was in was destroyed by enemy fire over Germany, Connors was not officially confirmed as working journalist and added to the Journalists Memorial until 2011.¹⁶⁵

In many of its tributes, the *Times* consistently made links between soldiers and journalists, such as after David Lardner, a *New Yorker* correspondent and son of humorist Ring

¹⁶² "Soldiers' Reporter Is Killed in Action," *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1944, 5.

¹⁶³ "Corp. Robert Krell Dead," *New York Times*, April 8, 1945, 17.

¹⁶⁴ "Sgt Paul V. Connors." *Daily Boston Globe*, Aug. 10, 1945, 8.

¹⁶⁵ Jeff Schogol, "Fallen Army journalist among those honored," *Stars and Stripes*, May 16, 2011, accessed May 4, 2013, <http://www.stripes.com/blogs/stripes-central/stripes-central-1.8040/fallen-army-journalist-among-those-honored-1.143750>

Lardner, was killed while covering battle in Germany.¹⁶⁶ On Oct. 27, 1945, the *Times* ran an editorial tribute to Lardner and other fallen correspondents that summed up the values of the war correspondents; in this rendering, values stated in the journalism ethics codes - accuracy, for example - that would have been considered damning someone with faint praise, are depicted as having a noble, heroic quality.¹⁶⁷ Carrying what would be the headline for two subsequent editorials to fallen journalists - "In Line of Duty" - it read:

These men, and the other newspaper correspondents who have gone unarmed, into the perils of this war, received their training under an old and still vigorous tradition. They were to get the news, to get all of it, to get it accurately, to get it quickly, under war conditions as under conditions of peace. All of them eagerly volunteered for this dangerous service. Any one of them could have withdrawn at any time, as the soldier cannot do. They learned soon enough that war can be dreary and tedious as well as perilous. In spite of everything they stayed with the fighting units to which they were assigned, kept the link unbroken between the individual soldier, sailor or marine and the homeland, and fulfilled their obligations toward their readers and their country. They deserve the soldier's epitaph: they fell in line of duty.¹⁶⁸

Journalists as Targets at Home and Abroad

Overall, two of the 46 of the fallen U.S. journalists during the World War II era were targeted. The *Times* covered both of those killings, which occurred on U.S. soil. As was predominant in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, both the fallen journalists who were targeted were editors of their newspapers.

The *Times* reporting of the Jan. 11, 1943, assassination of Carlo Tresca was similar to its coverage of fallen foreign correspondents, despite the fact that the victim was a foreign national

¹⁶⁶ "David Lardner Killed," *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1944, 25.

¹⁶⁷ "In Line of Duty." *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1944, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

from Italy shot to death in New York City, not overseas.¹⁶⁹ Tresca's journalistic methods - idiosyncratic at best - were counterbalanced by his opposition to a U.S. foe, Benito Mussolini of Italy.¹⁷⁰ Tresca was the subject of five front-page stories in the year immediately after his death. Tresca was killed in dramatic fashion, being shot to death in Manhattan in the evening leaving his offices.¹⁷¹ It was a big local story for the *Times* - and the victim was a noteworthy figure. He was described as an “internationally known revolutionary syndicated writer, militant leader of Italian anti-Fascists and colorful figure in American radical circles for more than a generation” who “affected a neatly trimmed beard, which was graying, pincenez glasses, a big black hat and a flowing dark cloak.”¹⁷² And yet Tresca was also depicted as a hero who answered a call and then underwent a series of trials: “During his turbulent years he once had his throat cut, had been bombed, kidnapped by a Fascist and shot at four times, besides being harassed by Mussolini’s diplomatic agents and by a hired assassin who was frightened into breaking his contract.”¹⁷³

Tresca had also been sent to jail in the U.S. for delivery of "obscene material" through the mail - Mussolini's government had turned over an anti-government editorial he had written - but he was released after intervention from President Calvin Coolidge.¹⁷⁴ The *Times* summed up that cause in an editorial tribute, which said: “Despite his humor and his unreclaimed dialect he was serious. He carried on a one-man war against Fascism long before the rest of the United States joined him. He may have come to his death as a result. He had some wild ideas, particularly

¹⁶⁹ Will Lissner, "Assassin Slays Tresca, Radical, in Fifth Avenue," *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1943, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

against religion, but one simple statement he made can still be endorsed after all the years: 'I seek only freedom, not anarchy.'"¹⁷⁵

John Chamberlain, in a "Book of the Times" column, also paid tribute, downplaying Tresca's time in prison and aligning him with the national spirit: "Carlo did time in Atlanta, for the law once actually feared this gentle and lovable man. When Carlo was released from Atlanta back in the Twenties he was still a dangerous character in the eyes of the police. Yet, for those who think we have lived in a repressive republic, it may be told that Carlo came back North from Atlanta unshadowed."¹⁷⁶ Additional stories included coverage of a memorial service for Tresca that drew thousands, some of whom joined in a procession through the city.¹⁷⁷

The *Times* story linked the Jan. 22, 1945, assassination of Arthur Kasherman, identified as the "vice crusader and publisher of Public Press, an 'expose' tabloid" to the prior slayings of Howard Guilford and Walter Liggett, noting that it "was the third of its kind in Minneapolis in eleven years" and none of the killings had been solved.¹⁷⁸ The story depicted Kasherman as being part of that continuum of crusading journalists, reporting that a Minneapolis newspaper "in a copyright story quoted Kasherman as having recently predicted his own death and the manner in which he was slain. 'I am not afraid to die.'"¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ "The Death of Carlo Tresca," *New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1943, 22.

¹⁷⁶ John Chamberlain, "Books of the Times." *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1943, 17.

¹⁷⁷ "5,000 Pay Tribute to Carlo Tresca," *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1943, 40.

¹⁷⁸ "Minneapolis Publisher Is Slain in Street by Bullets from Auto," *New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1945, 34.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

The *Times* story said that Kasherman had been "shot to death, apparently by someone he recognized, from a passing automobile just before midnight."¹⁸⁰ Kasherman had given the county attorney "names of his enemies," and on the day of his death "had visited the court house ... and asked for names of the present grand jurors," and had "indicated he planned to mail some information to the jurors."¹⁸¹ The mayor said a \$500 reward was offered to information about the death, with awards still "outstanding" in the deaths of the other journalists.¹⁸² As with Tresca, the heroic depiction of Kasherman belied the revelation that he had once served time, in his case in a state reformatory on extortion charges.¹⁸³

Joseph Morton of the Associated Press was not the victim of assassins in the traditional sense, but he was executed while covering the war.¹⁸⁴ The *Times* ran an initial story in March 1945, when Morton was seized by the Nazis - the story noted that Morton had "sent a note to his bureau chief" in Rome "in December that he was 'off on the biggest story of my life'" but failed to return, a story that "involved a flight in a bomber sent to bring out American fliers who had been shot down."¹⁸⁵ The *Times* ran a page-one story in July when it was determined that Morton, "a correspondent who distinguished himself by his coverage of the war in the Mediterranean," had been "executed by the Germans on Jan. 24, 1945, after his capture in Slovakia" - the news had been verified by an Associated Press reporter who determined after talking to "German officials and guards, that Mr. Morton has been executed at the concentration camp in

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ "Nazis Seize Morton of Associated Press," *New York Times*, March 7, 1945, 7.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

Mauthausen, a small Austrian town."¹⁸⁶ It was also reported that Slovak officials were planning to erect a memorial to him.¹⁸⁷

Morton was also portrayed answering a call. The *Times* wrote that he "expressed a burning ambition to become a foreign correspondent when he joined the staff of The Associated Press in Lincoln, Neb. eight years ago," adding: "When the opportunity came he achieved a brilliant and an extraordinary record of exclusive and significant reporting under difficult and hazardous conditions. He was fired with determination to go where no other correspondent had gone and get the story that no one else could get."¹⁸⁸ Those stories included one in which "Morton had made journalistic history with his interview with Marshal Tito" of Yugoslavia," and after learning "the American troops were headed for Dakar, he went overland and reached there twenty days before any other correspondent."¹⁸⁹ The story also noted, "So far as is known, he was the only war correspondent executed by the Germans."¹⁹⁰

A follow-up story days later said that German officials and former inmates revealed that Morton had been executed along with 13 American and British fliers who had flown "into Slovakia to help bring out stranded American aviators."¹⁹¹ Morton's stoic virtues were highlighted in the story, which reported that one inmate "said that some were beaten and tortured

¹⁸⁶ "AP Newsman Believed Executed; Captured by Germans in Slovakia,," *New York Times*, July 9, 1945, 1.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ "Executed Writer Went to Aid Fliers," *New York Times*, July 10, 1945, 5.

in an effort to make them talk, but Mr. Morton 'underwent the interrogation without difficulty or hardships.'"¹⁹²

Fallen Journalists at War's End

The last U.S. correspondent to be officially killed in the World War II era - Robert T. Bellaire, with *Collier's* - essentially died in a car accident, but the *Times* story again depicted him as dying in the line of duty.¹⁹³ After dying October 1, 1945 in Japan of a skull fracture suffered in an accident involving a jeep in Tokyo, the story noted that he was the "first Allied correspondent killed in the Pacific since Japan's surrender," and that he "had been repatriated after his interment by the Japanese on Dec. 8, 1941," when he had been the manager of the Tokyo bureau for the United Press.¹⁹⁴ The story also noted that he was buried with military honors.¹⁹⁵

Bellaire's death would come five months after what could be viewed as the symbolic height of the mythologizing of hero war correspondents, with the death of Ernie Pyle on Okinawa.¹⁹⁶ The *Times* would run 110 stories about Pyle in the 12 months immediately after he died. Nine of them mentioned the word "hero." That same word was mentioned 44 times in the more than 800 *Times* stories in which Pyle was referred to after his death.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ "Army Rites for Bellaire," *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1945, 12.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ "Ernie Pyle Is Killed on Ie Island; Foe Fired When All Seemed Safe," *New York Times*, April 19, 1945, 1.

Even though Pyle wrote for a competitor, the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, the *Times* carried a front-page story.¹⁹⁷ It also ran a stirring tribute on its editorial page: "Armed only with a notebook and a pencil, he fought as valiantly as any of the men of whose high courage and sacrifice he wrote so eloquently. As truly as any of them, he died a hero's death before a Japanese machine gun, on an island of which until a few days ago he probably never had heard."¹⁹⁸

Pyle's funeral was reported in dramatic manner, noting that that "funeral party" was under fire: "Machine guns beat a sharp tattoo and mortars barked at the front only a short distance ahead today as little Ernie Pyle, the doughboy's reporter, was laid to rest with military honors."¹⁹⁹ The story said that one soldier "fashioned a wooden plaque " so that it could "be placed at the spot where the columnist was killed. It reads: 'At this spot the Seventy-seventh Infantry Division lost a buddy - Ernie Pyle - 18 April, 1945.'"²⁰⁰

The reaction to Pyle's death was widespread throughout the country, both within and without the journalism profession. Senator Raymond E. Willis of Indiana, where the columnist was born, introduced a resolution proposing that Pyle be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously, saying that he been "as much a part of America as Mark Twain, or the corner drugstore, or the church in every town."²⁰¹ The directors of the Indiana University Foundation "authorized establishment of an Ernie Pyle Memorial Fund, possibly for

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ "Ernie Pyle," *New York Times*, 26.

¹⁹⁹ "Ernie Pyle Laid to Rest under Fire; Funeral Party on Ie Dodges Shells," *New York Times*, April 21, 1945, 8.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

development of a school of journalism on the campus."²⁰² No mere Liberty Ship would be named after Pyle. The Maritime Commission announced that one of its biggest vessels, "a C-4 military-type cargo vessel," would carry his name.²⁰³

The Army aired a "tribute" to Pyle as part the NBC radio network's Army Hour show, "saying that "a little guy with a big cap gave his life that we at home may know how war tastes and smells, and sounds and feels."²⁰⁴ The Army went on to characterize Pyle as "the GI's Boswell," and stress that the soldiers "loved him and he loved them, and tenderly they laid him to rest among their fallen buddies in a little cemetery on Ie Jima - he of the little body and the big heart. May God bless him."²⁰⁵

A film featuring Pyle called "The Story of G.I. Joe" was previewed in Washington, with members of Congress and U.S. Supreme Court justices in attendance, in addition to actor Burgess Meredith, who played Pyle.²⁰⁶ At the viewing, Pyle's widow was presented with the Medal of Merit, posthumously awarded to her husband, and she received a letter from President Harry Truman, who wrote: "Ernie Pyle typifies the hundreds of correspondents who have braved extreme danger, many of them losing their lives as he did, so that the free world could be fully informed of the war."²⁰⁷

An effort to build "a \$35,000 memorial library" to Pyle in his birthplace, Dana, Indiana, quickly morphed into a "plan to build a landscaped, lake-studded" site where Pyle could be

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ "Ship Will Be Named Ernie Pyle," *New York Times*, April 28, 1945, 17.

²⁰⁴ "Army Honors Ernie Pyle," *New York Times*, April 23, 1945, 11.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ "Pyle Film Shown, Medal for Author." *New York Times*, July 4, 1945, 11.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

buried after his body was moved from his grave in Okinawa.²⁰⁸ The new project was described as a "multi-million dollar park and cemetery."²⁰⁹ Finally, his widow asked that the plan be stopped "entirely and immediately," saying in a statement that it had "grown beyond all reasonable bounds," and that her husband "would be horrified and indignant."²¹⁰ She said that the project was "entirely out of keeping with everything that Ernie ever did, or said, or thought, or was."²¹¹

When Geraldine Pyle died seven months later, in November 1945, at age 45 of "acute uremic poisoning after a long illness" in a hospital near her Albuquerque home, the *Times* ran a story about her as well.²¹² The tribute - headlined, "Mrs. Ernie Pyle, 45, War Hero's Widow" - was longer than many of the stories the *Times* had written about other correspondents who had been killed during World War II.

²⁰⁸ "Protests Pyle Memorial." *New York Times*, April 22, 1945, 25.

²⁰⁹ "Mrs. Ernie Pyle, 45, War Hero's Widow," *New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1945, 19.

²¹⁰ "Protests Pyle Memorial," 25.

²¹¹ "Mrs. Ernie Pyle, 45, War Hero's Widow," 19.

²¹² *Ibid.*

Chapter 8: The Post World War II Era

Overview

The *Times* coverage of the fallen journalists in this period shows the continuation of the mythologizing that reached a fever pitch during World War II. Journalists who died on assignment - particularly those who died while covering war - were saluted by the *Times* as heroes in the same fashion as their predecessors in World War II. The *Times* applied the hero myth to journalists in emerging media, such as radio, and to the first women to die on assignment. In doing so, the *Times* paid special attention to the foreign correspondents who covered the post-war trouble spots around the world.

Yet at the same time, despite its efforts to establish some continuity between World War II and Korean War, the *Times* appeared as weary as the country in endorsing another U.S. war on foreign soil. Though it covered the deaths of all 10 reporters who died while covering the Korean War, none of those fallen journalists were depicted heroically. Overall, five journalists during this period were depicted in mythic heroic terms, but only two of those depictions happened after George Polk died in 1948. The image of the heroic journalist effectively disappeared in the 1950s, with the exception of the deaths of legendary photographer Robert Capa and Camille Cianfarra, a *Times* reporter who was aboard the *Andrea Doria* when it sank off the U.S. coast.

What remained constant during this period was the *Times* commitment to chronicling the sacrifice of these journalists. Of the 46 U.S. journalists who died in the line of duty from 1946 to 1959, the *Times* wrote about 44 of them. The deaths of 20 of those journalists generated editorials in the *Times*.

The legacy of World War II had a lingering effect on journalists and what they covered in this period. In particular, many of the journalists who died found themselves covering events that could be directly linked to retrenchment of countries and alliances immediately after the war. With time, these battles would be framed within the context of the competing national interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in what would be defined as the Cold War. The tributes continued to reinforce the need for foreign correspondents who would risk their lives in order to report back on what was happening in that changing world.

The Legacy of the Heroic Journalists

In the years immediately after World War II, the mythologizing of fallen U.S. war correspondents continued in earnest. In 1946, a year after the war ended, the *Times* ran an editorial tribute titled, "The War Correspondents," which effectively laid out the post-war mission for the press.¹ The editorial, which came on the heels of a speech given by Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, said:

Never in history has a great war been so competently and thoroughly reported to the American people as this one was. From the battlefields, where some of them died in service, the correspondents often saw more than the soldiers themselves. From the air, from the sea, from staff headquarters, from desert campaigns, from the surge of vast invasions across fatal beaches, from frozen wastes and tropic isles, from every outpost of the far-flung conflict they told all that could be told and, even by inadvertence, revealed little that should have been concealed. How much their energy, intelligence, daring and sacrifice contributed to the morale of an eager and anxious public at home can never be estimated.²

The *Times* also tied the mission of those World War II correspondents to those who would follow them. The editorial noted that, in honoring American war correspondents during

¹ "The War Correspondents," *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1946, 24.

² Ibid.

World War II, Patterson had "stressed particularly the need for reporting of the same quality and wide coverage in the present disheartening struggle for peace. The problems of our armies abroad cannot be understood or assessed by the American people without it."³ The *Times* concluded: "Only through the ardor and enthusiasm of able correspondents at the trouble spots can this be explained to the public. It has become their high duty to condition a war-weary and no longer attentive nation to the compelling task of winning the peace."⁴

In 1947, the *Times* reported that Medals of Freedom were awarded to 10 correspondents by General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower "for meritorious achievements aiding the United States in the prosecution of the war in Europe."⁵ In September 1948, 45 correspondents who died while covering the war had their photographs placed on a plaque in Pentagon's press room.⁶ In 1950, President Harry Truman unveiled a plaque at the National Press Club in Washington that included the names of 25 war correspondents who died covering the war in the Pacific.⁷

That same year, Ret. Fleet Admiral William F. Halsey Jr. presided at the dedication of a memorial plaque in Los Angeles to fallen World War II correspondents.⁸ The *Times* reported that with more than 1,000 in attendance, Halsey described the reporters as "brave men who died for their country," adding: "Their potent weapon was their pad and pencil. Those of us who saw them at the fronts knew the dangers they encountered."⁹ Included on the plaque was the name of

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Army to Release All Data on War," *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1947, 1.

⁶ "Reporters Killed in War Honored," *New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1948, 12.

⁷ "President Unveils War Dead Plaque," *New York Times*, April 27, 1950, 6.

⁸ "Halsey Says Truth Can Win 'Cold War,'" *New York Times*, April 17, 1950, 21.

⁹ Ibid.

New York Times war correspondent Harold Denny, who is not listed on the Journalists Memorial at the Museum.¹⁰ Denny did not technically die on assignment – he suffered a heart attack in a hotel room in Des Moines, where he was visiting his sister and was to speak at Drake University.¹¹ Nonetheless, the *Times* tribute conveyed that Denny, who had just been back in the country for a short time, had had his health compromised by his long years of covering war, including six months spent in an Axis prison camp and being "slightly wounded" just months before his death, then contracting pneumonia while in the field.¹²

In 1954, the Overseas Press Club dedicated its new office in Manhattan “as a living memorial to reporters who died while gathering news abroad, or as a result of such efforts,” beginning with the death of Webb Miller in 1940.¹³ President Dwight Eisenhower appeared in a filmed segment that was part of "a ninety-minute nation-wide television program, which capped a day-long dedication of a new Memorial Press Center."¹⁴ The TV program was sponsored by the Ford Motor Company and the Radio Corporation of American and "included a star-studded cast of entertainers," such as Bob Hope.¹⁵ In a story headlined, "President Lauds Heroes of Press," Eisenhower was quoted as saying that the ceremony was "to salute the eyes and ears of our free nation – the men and women of our free press. We are here to dedicate a living memorial to those members of the Fourth Estate who have given their lives, in war and peace, in

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ "Harold Denny, 56, Journalist, Dead," *New York Times*, July 4, 1945, 13.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "New Press Center to Be a Memorial," *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1954, 56.

¹⁴ "President Lauds Heroes of Press," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1954, 39.

¹⁵ Ibid.

pursuit of truth – the key to freedom.”¹⁶ Eisenhower added, "Through many years I have had good reason to count the press corps as a vital arm of the forces of freedom. In war, I saw its members strive tirelessly, endure hardship, dare battlefield peril that our people be fully and quickly informed; on every front, they were worthy comrades of our fighting men.”¹⁷

Journalists Dying in the Line of Duty

The tributes to fallen journalists in this era began to advance the idea that journalists, like doctors and other first responders, were always in a sense on the job. While most of the journalists who died during the World War II era were actually killed in the thick of combat, mostly on the battlefield, many of those who received heroic sendoffs in the Post-World War II era were actual en route to their next assignment.

For example, 30 of the 46 of the fallen journalists during this era died in air crashes. Unlike during the World War II era, none of those crashes involved actual combat. Eight of those crashes were in the U.S and 22 were overseas. All of those crashes were covered by the *Times*. Notably, in many of these stories, the journalists were singled out from the others who died in the crashes. Rather than being depicted as mere victims, they were cast as professionals in the midst of a mission, en route to yet another assignment.

When William Price of *Time* died on Aug. 24, 1946, in a crash that killed four others, he was the only casualty mentioned by name in a story that carried the headline: "Correspondent Dies in Egyptian Crash."¹⁸ When the *Times* ran a story on the death of 19 in an air crash near

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "President Lauds Heroes of Press," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1954, 39.

¹⁸ "Correspondent Dies in Egyptian Crash," *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1946, 6.

Hong Kong, the story largely focused on Royal A. Gunnison, with the Mutual Broadcasting System, noting that he and his wife were captives of the Japanese for 22 months after he stayed behind to report on the capturing of Manila."¹⁹ The story depicted Gunnison as a hero who, with his wife, "returned to the United States in an exchange of prisoners," then "rested up and returned to the Pacific as a correspondent."²⁰ Though the story does not specify what assignment he was on, it said his network has said that Gunnison had "left Shanghai over the week-end" and was en route to Singapore."²¹ Similarly, his inclusion on the Journalists Memorial is predicated on the notion that he was on assignment, even though the inscription dwells on his service as a war correspondent.²²

The same logic was applied to the coverage of the death in 1947 of J.B. Powell, with the *China Weekly Review*, who died of an apparent heart attack at age 60 in the United States.²³ However, the Journalists Memorial lists him having died while covering World War II, during which time he was held prisoner by the Japanese.²⁴ This perspective would make Powell the last World War II correspondent to die in the line of duty.²⁵ The *Times* described Powell's final moments - he died while giving a speech in Washington, D.C. - with the type of stirring narrative

¹⁹ "19 Die in Air Crash Outside Hong Kong," *New York Times*, Sept. 26, 1946, 8.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Royal A. Gunnison," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

²³ "J.B. Powell," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 16, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

that previously had been reserved for scenes of correspondents dying on the battle field.²⁶ The story drew special attention to the injuries Powell had suffered at the hands his captors: "The crippled journalist - portions of both his feet had been amputated to check the spread of gangrene - was guest speaker at a luncheon of the University of Missouri Alumni Association. He had just finished his address and sat down when he slumped across the speaker's table. He was dead before an ambulance arrived. His last words were a note of caution to Republican congressional leaders to avoid the pitfalls of hasty disarmament."²⁷ In an editorial tribute, the *Times* wrote: "John B. Powell, hobbling painfully about on his crutches, never thought of himself as a hero. But Japanese hatred and stubborn American courage raised him inevitably to heroic stature. He died as he lived, fighting to the end for his convictions."²⁸

The coverage was very much the same when John Graham Dowling, the Buenos Aires bureau chief with *Time*, was killed in Paraguay in 1955 when a commercial airliner crashed en route from London to Buenos Aires.²⁹ Pictured with a cigarette in his mouth, Dowling was the singular focus of the story, which began: "A United States correspondent, John Graham Dowling, and thirteen other persons were killed or unaccounted for in the crash of an airliner."³⁰

Roughly half of the story was a profile of Dowling, which noted that he "covered the Pacific theatres for The Sun as a war correspondent in World War II. He saw combat in the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, the Philippines and Okinawa. He remained on duty in the Far

²⁶ "J.B. Powell, Newspaper Man, Dies; Survivor of Japanese Brutalities," *New York Times*, March 1, 1947, 6.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "J.B. Powell," *New York Times*, March 2, 1947, 108.

²⁹ "Brazilian Plane Crashes," 14 Die., June 17, 1955, 17.

³⁰ Ibid.

East until 1948. During this time he spent one year in Peiping and was held for five weeks by the Russians during a visit to Manchuria."³¹ It also noted that Dowling had "covered the Korean War and the fighting between the French and Communist forces in Indochina."³²

When Camille Cianfarra, the Madrid correspondent with the *New York Times*, was killed in 1956 during one of the major events of the era – the July 25 collision between two passenger liners, the *Andrea Doria* and the *Stockholm*, near the Nantucket coast - he was the subject of a page-one sidebar, with the headline: "Times Man Killed, Cianfarra of Madrid and Two Daughters Among the Dead."³³

In addition to focusing on Cianfarra's long career with the *Times*, which included a stretch covering the Vatican, the story included a riveting account of a passenger helping with the rescue of the correspondent's wife, Jane, a former *New York Post* reporter.³⁴ Though the 49-year-old Cianfarra was returning home on leave, a separate editorial tribute portrayed him as if he had died in the line of duty: "A few months ago his dispatches on the difficulties confronting the Franco Government resulted in the withdrawal of his press credentials, apparently as a preliminary to his expulsion. But the Spanish Government, perhaps because he was known everywhere as a reliable and resourceful correspondent, restored his credentials and he had planned to return to Madrid after the expiration of his home leave."³⁵

Evoking the same heroic imagery it had used in writing about Webb Miller when he fell from a train in London at the beginning of World War II, the *Times* depicted Cianfarra as a

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Times Man Killed," *New York Times*, July 27, 1956, 1.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Camille Cianfarra," *New York Times*, July 27, 1956, 20.

saintly Galahad-type knight whose reporting was a vehicle to communicate his sense of compassion: "During his work in Latin countries he had come to realize that all of us are human, with human frailties. But instead of making him a cynic this had merely given him a happier appreciation of life and its problems. His smile was seldom absent from his lips ..." ³⁶ This theme was also explored in another story about "tributes" paid to Cianfarra after his death; one of them, from "(a) group associated with Iberica, a publication dedicated to the ideals of 'free Spain' wires as follows: 'We wish to express our profound regret over the loss of the great New York Times reporter Camille Cianfarra, who through his fearlessly impartial and intelligent reports from Spain has rendered an incomparable service to both America and the real Spain, in whose name he really spoke.' " ³⁷

The *Times* gave prominent coverage to the six U.S. journalists who were among 15 who died in the 1958 crash and explosion of a jet tanker taking off from Westover Air Force Base with the intent to set a trans-Atlantic speed record. ³⁸ In addition to mentioning them in the page-one story about the crash, the *Times* ran a separate sidebar giving biographical information on the journalists: Daniel J. Coughlin, of the Associated Press, a D-Day paratrooper; A. Robert Ginsburgh, with *U.S. News & World Report* and a retired Air Force brigadier general; James L. McConnaghey, with *Time*, a former Marine Corps captain; Norman J. Montellier, with *United Press International*, who had been in charge of the wire service's Pacific war desk; Robert B. Sibley, of the *Boston Traveler*, a former chairman of the Aviation Writers Association, and

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Colleagues Hail Cianfarra Work." *New York Times*, July 29, 1956, 36.

³⁸ "Jet Tanker on Speed Test Crashes; 15 Reported Dead," *New York Times*, June 27, 1958, 1.

Glenn A. Williams, with *U.S. News & World Report*, a former Associated Press London bureau staffer.³⁹

In 1958, Roy Edwards, with the *News of the Day*, was killed on October 12 in a helicopter crash after filming a new liner, Santa Paula, sailing under the Tappan Zee Bridge in New York while it was en route to Albany.⁴⁰ The *Times* published a photograph of Edwards behind his camera along with a story that reported how the helicopter had developed engine problems and plummeted into the Hudson River.⁴¹

George Polk and the Heroic Foreign Correspondent

One of the most publicized deaths of any fallen journalist during this entire study was that of George Polk, with CBS, who was assassinated in 1948 while covering the Greek Civil War - his body was found washed up on a shoreline with his hands and feet bound and a bullet in the back of his skull.⁴²

Polk would become elevated into the all-time pantheon of hero journalists. In *A Treasury of Great Reporting: "Literature under Pressure" From the Sixteenth Century to Our Own Time*, Herbert Bayard Swope, the first Pulitzer Prize winner for reporting, drew a connection between Polk and the heroism displayed by the great British war correspondents: "The reporter must be prepared to take risks, to stay at his post of danger, and at times to operate on his last reserves of adrenalin. From the time, in 1883, when Frank Vizetelly was cut down in the Sudan as 'Fuzzy

³⁹ "6 Newsmen Dead in Tanker Crash." *New York Times*, June 28, 1958, 3.

⁴⁰ "2 Die as 'Copter Falls in Hudson," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1958, 21.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Sedgwick, A.C., "Polk, Missing CBS Man, Is Slain; Bound Body Found in Greek Bay," *New York Times*, May 17, 1948, 1.

Wuzzy' smashed British defense, down to the recent murder of George Polk, broadcaster for CBS, killed as he tried to make contact with guerrilla forces in Greece, reporters, notably war correspondents, have found that they have chosen perilous careers.”⁴³

Polk would come to symbolize the modern heroic U.S. foreign correspondent, one who was not covering the country's great wars, but reporting on other trouble spots throughout the world. In a trend that began during the World War II era, more journalists died while on foreign assignment than on U.S. soil. Of the 46 U.S. journalists who died in the line of duty from 1946 to 1959, 35 died on foreign assignment and 11 died while assignment in the United States. The *New York Times* published articles 33 of the 35 who died on foreign assignment and all the journalists who died on U.S. soil.

Polk's death was significant in many regards. The volume of the coverage alone was noteworthy. A search of the *Times* archives reveals more than 90 references to Polk in the year after his death. He also became the most renowned fallen journalist to come from a medium other than print at a time when new journalistic mediums were emerging. Polk was working for a company - CBS - that would quickly become better known for TV than radio. For it was in this period that television began to assert itself as a journalistic medium, as the production of TV sets began again in 1946, the year after World War II ended, and the Federal Communications Commission started reissuing broadcast licenses in 1952 after a four-year moratorium .⁴⁴

⁴³ Herbert Bayard Swope, “Preface,” in *A Treasury of Great Reporting: “Literature under Pressure” From the Sixteenth Century to Our Own Time*. ed Louis L. Snyder and Richard Brandon Morris. (2d ed. New York,: Simon and Schuster, 1962), xxviii.

“Columbia Awards Pulitzer Prizes.” *New York Times*, June 5, 1917, 10.

⁴⁴ Hanson, *Mass Communication: Living in a Media World*, 308.

Print still dominated the era, which was reflected in the *Times'* coverage of the period's 46 fallen journalists. The *Times* covered 36 of the 37 print correspondents, three of the four in radio, both of those in multimedia, one of the two TV journalists, and the one documentarian.

The *Times'* tributes to fallen journalists not working for print outlets served as a virtual endorsement of the practice of journalism across new media. This endorsement came despite a more halting acceptance of these new journalistic mediums on other fronts.

In a chapter titled, "Radio-Television- A New Medium," in the 1953 edition of the textbook, *New Survey of Journalism*, James L.C. Ford, dean of the Montana State University School of Journalism, wrote: "Vital to the training of a radio journalist is the on-the-job experience which he will get working for a newspaper as a reporter or deskman. In newspaper work he forms judgments on news values, learns to collect facts and write them in presentable form, to boil down and edit copy to eliminate excess verbiage. This type of experience, or its full equivalent, is practically essential."⁴⁵ In what could be viewed as almost a rebuttal to this lingering bias, CBS News produced its own textbook, *Television News Reporting*, in 1958; in seeking to establish the journalistic bona fides of the TV journalist, the text stated that that reporter must "go where the news is, and to get the news, no matter what difficulties stand in his way ... Television news reporting belongs with the family of journalism. Often getting the news may prove more arduous physically, may demand more patience, can be frustrating because the television news team with its lights, cameras, wires, and microphones is too often in the foreground (a problem not faced by the solitary news reporter, who stands in the background with alert ears and is less apt to be seen)."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ James L.C. Ford, "Radio-Television- A New Medium," in *New Survey of Journalism*, ed George Fox Mott ([Rev.] ed. New York,: Barnes & Noble, 1953), 328.

⁴⁶CBS News. *Television News Reporting*, (New York,: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 18.

Polk's death was significant for another reason. In many ways, journalism was becoming less dangerous on the homefront. Mostly gone were the types of killings that were typical in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, where journalists were targeted because of stories they wrote or published. And yet U.S. journalists were increasingly becoming targets abroad.

Perhaps, just as significantly, none of those targeted journalists during this period were editors or publishers, as in the past. They were just reporters out in the field doing their jobs. Overall, the *Times* wrote about three of the four fallen journalists targeted abroad as well as the lone journalist based in the United States who was killed because of his work.

It could be argued that the way the *Times* covered the deaths of targeted journalists in the future was influenced by both the scope and tone of its coverage of Polk's death. The *Times* ran a page-one story following the discovery of his body.⁴⁷ A second page-one story ran the next year when three men, including a leftist Greek newspaperman, were convicted of his killing.⁴⁸ The *Times* continued its growing tradition of covering the deaths of prominent journalists not just with news coverage but on the editorial pages as well. The *Times* clearly framed Polk's death as a threat to journalistic principles:

Every possible effort must be made to clear up the murder in Greece of George Polk, Columbia Broadcasting Company correspondent, as soon as possible. Every competent agency of the United States and Greek Governments and of the United Nations should exert its best efforts to that end. For it is of great concern to everyone - as the United Nations Correspondents Association points out in its resolution - that the unsolved murder of a foreign correspondent honestly carrying out his professional duties should not be forgotten nor allowed to remain unsolved. It is especially important when the indications are that the murder is deliberate and premeditated, as apparently is true in this case. Reporters of a free press willingly accept many hazards to their person in their search for information. One they should not be asked to accept is the knowledge that if they

⁴⁷ Sedgwick, "Polk, Missing CBS Man, Is Slain; Bound Body Found in Greek Bay," 1.

⁴⁸ A. C. Sedgwick, "Greek Gets Life in Polk Slaying; Salonika Trial Is Pronounced Fair," *New York Times*, April 21, 1949, 1.

lose their lives their death will be forgotten and their murderers left unpunished, for any reason."⁴⁹

The *Times* coverage also gave broadcast journalists the opportunity to take part in the type of mediated discourse that scholars have identified in news stories after the deaths of prominent individuals. The *Times* covered the reaction among Polk's broadcast colleagues, running a story covering a CBS broadcast in which Edward R. Murrow said that "if the murderers were not discovered an invisible but inevitable pressure of intimidation will rest on every American correspondent abroad. He will be forced to limit his risks in seeking out the truth."⁵⁰

The coverage also highlighted the role of the journalistic community in pressing for justice in the cases of slain journalists and, in the process, making an argument for the indispensable value of journalism in the world. There was a story covering a move by the Overseas Press Club, headed by Walter Lippmann, to launch its own investigation "to uncover the whole truth" about the killing.⁵¹ The investigation would serve as the template for future efforts in the wake of journalist assassinations - it resembled the calling together of a posse in a western movie. Gen. William J. Donovan, head of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, was appointed special counsel to the press club in its inquiry.⁵² Eugene Meyer, the *Washington Post's* chairman of the board, was appointed chairman of a finance committee of the Overseas Writers Committee investigating the killing.⁵³ The committee included representatives

⁴⁹ "To Clear up the Polk Case," *New York Times*, May 29, 1948, 14

⁵⁰ "Polk Murder Held to Be Intimidation," *New York Times*, June 20, 1948, 47.

⁵¹ "Newsmen Inquire into Polk Slaying," *New York Times*, May 22, 1948, 5.

⁵² "Donovan Is Counsel to Polk Death Study," *New York Times*, May 24, 1948, 8.

⁵³ "E. Meyer Is Named to Aid Polk Inquiry," *New York Times*, June 10, 1948, 14.

from the *Times*, *Time-Life*, CBS, and the American Society of Newspaper Editors.⁵⁴ Meyer said, "The purpose of the Overseas Writers Committee is in fact to promote the security of the foreign correspondents of the American free press and radio. This is a purpose which merits the interest and support of the entire American press and radio, and especially of the press associations and the individual papers receiving their services, the radio networks, and publications maintaining correspondents overseas."⁵⁵

As had occurred with other prominent fallen journalists before, Polk was honored through the establishment of an award in his name; the George Polk Memorial Award for general excellence in journalism was established by the journalism department of Long Island University.⁵⁶ The university also named Polk "outstanding reporter of the year."⁵⁷ His brother, William Polk, accepted the award, saying: "My brother died trying to get facts. A man cannot be a newspaperman unless he has the principles to stand up and get the truth. I have learned a lot from my brother's murder about what a newspaperman should be and what he should stand for."⁵⁸

The Polk award was given that first year to an LIU student at his graduation.⁵⁹ However, the award would later be designated for foreign reporting and become among the most prestigious awards in all of journalism. In the process, Polk's name would live on. A search of the *Times* archives reveals more than 600 stories including his name since his death. His name

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ "Prize Set up in Honor of Polk," *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1948, 25.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

has also come to stand symbolically for the highest standards in journalism, even for those who knew next to nothing about the tale of a young reporter climbing into a rowboat on a bay in Greece and being brutally killed by the three men he thought were working to set up an interview for his story. In 2007, nearly 60 years after his death, Polk became one of five twentieth century journalists honored with a postage stamp in their image by the U.S. Postal Service.⁶⁰

The comments by Polk's brother reflected another trend in tributes to fallen journalists. Their surviving family members often figured in the coverage, so much so that they almost became characters in a running drama. Comments on the investigation into Polk's killing by his mother and other members of his family were a staple of the coverage.⁶¹ The *Times* even ran a story about how the "dark-haired young widow of George Polk, the radio correspondent who was murdered last May in Greece, is preparing for a journalistic career."⁶²

The vigilance evident in the *Times* coverage of Polk's death could be seen in the newspaper's continuing coverage of fallen journalists who were silenced because of stories they were working on. When William H. Mason, a radio broadcaster with KBKI in Alice, Texas, was fatally shot in 1949 by a deputy sheriff he had written about, the *Times* covered his death with a page-one story and included the headline: "Crusading Air Commentator Slain."⁶³ Mason, who "referred to the deputy in a broadcast as owner of a building that houses a dime-a-dance hall,"

⁶⁰ Roberto Cintli Rodriguez. "Remembering and Honoring Ruben Salazar." *La Prensa San Diego*, March 21, 2008, 5, 7.

⁶¹ "Polk's Mother Hits Inquiry into Murder," *New York Times*, June 18, 1948, 13.

⁶² "Polk's Widow Plans Newspaper Career," *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1948, 8.

⁶³ Associated Press, "Crusading Air Commentator Slain; Texas Deputy Sheriff Surrenders," *New York Times*, July 30, 1949, 1.

was shot while exiting his car.⁶⁴ The *Times* characterized Mason as a "51-year-old newspaper and crusading radio man," who had "worked on newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific."⁶⁵ He also worked as investigator for Earl Warren, who was then the California governor - before becoming managing editor of the *Alice Echo* newspaper, then taking to radio.⁶⁶ The story showed that his crusading was part of a higher purpose: A friend of the victim was quoted as saying, "He had a great deal of civic pride and always joined in any worthy civic drive. He wanted to weed out the bad element of Alice."⁶⁷

When Gene Symonds, with United Press, was beaten to death by a mob on May 13, 1955, while he was covering riots led by communists in Singapore, the *Times* responded with a tribute that at once brought attention to his journalistic mission and, as with Polk, called for a government response to his killing: "Newspaper men always feel a mixture of sorrow and pride when a colleague goes down in the ranks in the fulfillment of duty. Gene Symonds had shown brilliance and bravery, and it is a deep pity that he should have met such a horrible death, beaten down by a mob. The State Department is investigating the circumstances and seeking especially to learn how and why assistance came to him so late."⁶⁸ The *Times* added: "No correspondent worth his salt asks to be protected against danger when he must run risks to get the news, but all have a right to the customary protection that a Government provides for every law-abiding citizen ... Those who want to know what is happening in the world will honor him for paying a

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ "In Line of Duty," *New York Times*, May 14,, 1955, 18.

supreme sacrifice in line of duty."⁶⁹ The last phrase was the headline of the editorial, and, fittingly, the exact same headline of the editorial linking the deaths of the first Korean War correspondents to their predecessors in World War II.⁷⁰

The next year another U.S. journalist, David Seymour, a "Polish-born American who was president of Magnum Photos," was killed November 10 while covering the Suez Crisis in Egypt – he and another photographer, Jean Roy, of France had "tried to cross from the British-French lines to the Egyptian side with a party exchanging the wounded. The photographers were fired upon by the Egyptians and their jeep plunged into a near-by canal."⁷¹ The story noted that he had been "a lieutenant and photographer in the United States Air Force during World War II. Later he worked for several United Nations organizations."⁷²

Female Fallen Journalists

On July 12, 1949, Elsie Dick, a producer for WOR radio and the Mutual Broadcasting System, became the first U.S. female journalist to die on assignment and later have her name be added to the Journalists Memorial.⁷³ Dick was one of 13 journalists to perish in a plane crash near Bombay as they were returning from an Indonesian tour.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Associated Press, "U.S., Paris Cameramen Killed at Suez Front," *New York Times*, Nov. 13, 1956, 10.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Robert Trumbull, "KLM Ship Explodes," *New York Times*, July 13, 1949, 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Dick's death came during a time marked by vast changes in the demographics of the newsroom population. The number of women in journalism had exploded as they began to replace male journalists who gone off to fight World War II. By 1943, women comprised almost half of the staff on newspapers in smaller U.S. cities, and women who gained jobs on big papers were covering plum beats such as the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon.⁷⁵ In the post-World War II period, those same women found themselves struggling to maintain their places in newsrooms as they were quickly replaced by men when the war ended and found themselves either jobless or demoted to the “women’s pages.”⁷⁶ As James L.C. Ford wrote in the 1953 edition of *New Survey of Journalism*: “Although World War II gave new journalistic opportunities to women and proved that they could compete with men, all too seldom do the press associations give women a chance to show what they can do. Quite a number of editors still retain the city-room bias against having skirts around a city desk or sending a girl out on the police beat.”⁷⁷

That bias was reflected in a chapter from a 1959 textbook aimed at high school students, *Do You Belong in Journalism?*, in which Michael J. Ogden, managing editor of the *Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin* of Rhode Island, wrote: “Editors still have a reluctance to take women on general assignment or work that could lead them at night into dangerous territory. There are, in addition, biological factors, current and potential, that sway editors’ thinking. It

⁷⁵ Beasley, Theus, and University of Maryland College Park. College of Journalism. Women's Project, *The New Majority : A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions*, 29.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁷ James L.C. Ford, “Women ‘Arrive’ in Journalism,” in *New Survey of Journalism* ,ed George Fox Mott ([Rev.] ed. New York,: Barnes & Noble, 1953), 14.

would probably be well for the girl to have all the qualities outlined for the boy, but to have them many times over.”⁷⁸

That bias undoubtedly translated into women not being able to obtain the kind of high-profile foreign assignments that also proved to be among the most dangerous. During the immediate post-World War II period, three fallen journalists were women compared to 43 men who died on assignment. The *Times* covered the deaths of all of those women and 95 percent of the male fallen journalists.

However, when Elsie Dick died with 12 male journalists in the crash of the Dutch commercial airliner, she was accorded relatively equal status.⁷⁹ Though 45 people perished, the story focused on Dick and the other journalists who died in the crash: Nat A. Barrows, with the *Chicago Daily News*; James Branyan, with the *Houston Post*; Fred Colving, with the *Denver Post*; Thomas Falco, with *Business Week*; Charles Gratke with the *Christian Science Monitor*; S. Burton Heath, with the *Newspaper Enterprise Association*; Bertram D. Hulen, with the *New York Times*; Hubert Renfro Knickerbocker, with *WOR*, George L. Moorad, with *KGW*; William H. Newton, with the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance; and John Werkley, with *Time*.⁸⁰ Dick was identified by name in the third deck below the main headline, along with Knickerbocker and Heath.⁸¹ The only journalist to receive more prominent attention was the Hulen of the *Times*, who was named in the headline's second deck.⁸²

⁷⁸ Michael J. Ogden, “A More Informed Life, Not Tied to Conventional Office Routine,” in *Do You Belong in Journalism? Eighteen Editors Tell How You Can Explore Career Opportunities in Newspaper Work*. ed. Henry Gemmill and Bernard Kilgore. (New York,: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959), 59.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Trumbull, “KLM Ship Explodes,” 1.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

The coverage of Dick was also relatively equal to that of the male journalists. Only Hulen of the *Times* was profiled in a separate story devoted solely to him.⁸³ In a sidebar, the *Times* ran in alphabetical order brief biographical sketches of all the journalists along with their pictures - in that group included Lynn C. Mahan, the vice president of a New York public relations firm who also was a University of Missouri School of Journalism graduate and had worked for a variety of newspapers; he is not included on the Journalists Memorial.⁸⁴ Dick was described as a "widely known in radio circles in New York where she was director for WOR and the Mutual Broadcasting System of the station's public service programs in the women's religious and educational field."⁸⁵ The story also noted that Dick had "edited or produced a number of series for the station including three broadcasts on 'The Influence of Radio, Movies and Comics on Children' and more recently the 'I Was a Convict' series and 'The Atom and You.' She began her career on *The New Yorker* where she edited the art department before joining the Hearst magazine group and becoming an associate editor of *House Beautiful*. She entered radio in 1943."⁸⁶

The *Times* ran an editorial tribute to the victims as well, saying that "for those of us who work at the newspaper trade and for a very wide public throughout the country as well - this disaster is felt with an especial keenness, for it has cost the lives of some of the nation's outstanding newsmen, including Bertram D. Hulen."⁸⁷ The editorial, which did not mention any

⁸³ "Hulen a Veteran of Capital News." *New York Times*, July 13, 1949, 3.

⁸⁴ "Careers of Dead in India Air Crash," *New York Times*, July 13, 1949, 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "Disaster in India," *New York Times*, July 13, 1949, 26.

of the other journalists by name, went on to make clear that the journalists were not mere victims, but professionals who died in the line of duty.⁸⁸ It said that these "newspaper, radio and magazine correspondents were returning home after a tour through Indonesia at the invitation of the Netherlands Government," and implied that the mission had been so important that despite "recent hostilities, the Indian Government has not permitted Dutch planes to land in India, but, ironically, this rule had been waived at the special request of the American newsmen. In fact, the crash of the plane into a mountainside during a heavy rainstorm was attributed to unfamiliarity of the Dutch pilot with the lay of the land near Bombay."⁸⁹

The editorial also stated that the resulting "loss of this group of reporters and commentators is grievous not only to their professional associates but also to the public at large. Naturally, we at THE TIMES feel most personally the death of Mr. Hulen."⁹⁰ In its description of Hulen, the *Times* depicted him in a way that once again knitted together explicit journalistic values with unwritten qualities, such as emotional detachment, that had become part of the emerging persona of the hero journalist: "A man of the utmost integrity, Bert Hulen was a cool, reliable, conscientious reporter, who never violated a confidence and was never knowingly guilty of an inaccuracy. Of scholarly nature, he had an inexhaustible fund of knowledge, tempered by a dry New England sense of humor. Bert Hulen, calmly smoking his pipe, never showing any sign of stress, reporting the news with honesty and with fidelity, will be sorely missed by his colleagues and by all who knew him."⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

The second U.S. female journalist - and the first female photojournalist - to be added to the Journalists Memorial was Camilla Koffler, a freelance photographer of wide renown, known as "Ylla."⁹² Koffler died in India on March 30, 1955, after reportedly falling "from a jeep while photographing a race between bullock-drawn carts at a fair organized by the Maharaja."⁹³

Koffler, who had a New York studio, received a *Times* tribute that highlighted the type of daring portrayed in the stories about Robert Capa, though she was referred to a "camera artist," not a journalist, in the headline to the story.⁹⁴ This separate status for Koffler may be reflected in the fact that, despite the growing inclusion of women in newsrooms, prevailing attitudes were still dictated by men who dominated the managerial hierarchy. For instance, the National Press Photographers Association continued to hold a "Miss NPAA beauty pageant" as late as 1964.⁹⁵

Nonetheless, the story noted that "(m)any of her photographs appeared in the *New York Times* Sunday Magazine, and the story included vivid examples of her risk-taking: "In 1953, she made a 6,000-mile tour of Africa, taking more than 3,000 animal pictures. She was one of the few persons ever to take a close-up of the wild water buffalo, an animal noted for its ferocity."⁹⁶ Koffler, whose use of a single name would suggest the pop culture superstars in years to come, "was generally considered the most proficient animal photographer in the world, " the story said, adding that Koffler's "personal life was as unusual as her professional one."⁹⁷ Koffler, who with

⁹² "Fall Kills Ylla, Camera Artist," *New York Times*, March 31, 1955, 2.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Debra Gersh Hernandez, "NPPA Celebrates Its 50th Anniversary," *Editor & Publisher* 128, no. 30 (1995): 14.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

her parents "fled Hungary when the Bela Kun Communist Government took control" when she was a child, ended up fleeing France years later when the Nazis invaded it in 1940, leading to her escape to the United States, "thanks to the Museum of Modern Art, which interceded with the State Department to get her a United States visa."⁹⁸

The third U.S. female journalist to die in this period was Sarah Park, of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, who was killed in 1957 when she was covering tidal waves ensuing from an earthquake off the shore of Kauai, a Hawaiian island.⁹⁹ As part of a larger front-page story on the event, the *Times* noted that Park "and a photographer were aloft covering the story of the surging waves. The photographer and pilot were rescued."¹⁰⁰

The Heroic Photojournalist

Photojournalists stepped to the forefront of journalism during World II, particularly as their work was highlighted in picture magazines such as *Life*. With this acclaim, photojournalists were part of their own professionalization movement, one marked that mirrored the larger effort by the broader journalism profession at the beginning of the twentieth century. Education was a key part of this movement - "photojournalism" became a new track of study at the University of Missouri in 1942.¹⁰¹ So too were the enactment of ethics codes that were unique to

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ "2 Villages on Kauai Swept Away--3 Shocks Recorded," *New York Times*, March 10, 1957, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Hanson, *Mass Communication: Living in a Media World*, 308.

photographers. In 1946, the National Press Photographers Association held its first meeting, and the organization would go on to draft its own ethics code for photographers.¹⁰²

As would be seen after the adoption of the national journalism ethics code in the early 1920s, there would emerge a heroic figure to embody these emerging journalistic principles. So it was that the image of the heroic combat photographer would be born - most notably with the death of the legendary photojournalist Robert Capa, of *Life*, a European-born U.S. citizen who would become the first U.S. journalist to die in Vietnam, after stepping on a land mine on May 25, 1954, covering what was then the French Indochina War.¹⁰³

This image would be reinforced with the near simultaneous coverage of the death of Capa's close associate, Werner Bischof.¹⁰⁴ The initial story about Capa's passing noted that "hours after Mr. Capa's death became known here a telegraph addressed to him reached the Hanoi press camp. The telegraph reported the accidental death in Peru of Werner Bischof, a photographer associated with Mr. Capa in the Magnum agency."¹⁰⁵ The story also included a tribute to Bischof - it noted that "he was widely known as a news photographer of the explorer type and his pictures have appeared in most of the American magazines. Mr. Bischof was killed sometime last week along with a Hungarian geologist, Ali de Szpessy, and a driver when their truck fell 1,500 feet to the bottom of a canyon in the Peruvian Andes near Parcoy."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Hernandez, "NPPA Celebrates Its 50th Anniversary," 14.

¹⁰³ "Cameraman Capa Killed in Vietnam," *New York Times*, May 26, 1954, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

The story, though, would be primarily focused on Capa, pictured with a cigarette casually dangling out of the side of his mouth.¹⁰⁷ It would establish the qualities associated with the archetypal heroic combat photographer, saying that “Mr. Capa, a specialist in the shot-and-shell school of photography, was the kind of close-up lens artist who made veteran combat troops blink in uneasy disbelief.”¹⁰⁸ The *Times* added that Capa’s “hazardous brand of photographic coverage found him once in Belgium, near Bastogne, taking pictures when a G. I. patrol advancing cautiously toward the enemy spotted him directly ahead and began firing. He shouted to “take it easy!” but this simply intensified suspicions - and the shooting. He was finally permitted as a “prisoner” to approach the patrol, hands upraised, to explain that he was on the same Allied job.”¹⁰⁹ The story noted that Capa “jumped with paratroopers into Germany; he landed on the Normandy beachhead on D-Day; he was one of the advance arrivals on Anzio. And he shrugged away the risks with the remark that “for a war correspondent to miss an invasion is like refusing a date with Lana Turner after completing a five-year stretch at Sing Sing.”¹¹⁰

Capa was born in Budapest, and, at 18, left for Berlin where he studied journalism and sociology.¹¹¹ The story noted that author John Hersey had “once called Mr. Capa ‘The Man Who Invented Himself.’ He was an unknown Hungarian free-lancer in Paris, named Andrei Friedmann. In order to sell his pictures to French newspapers he submitted them as the work of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

'Capa, a talented visitor from America.' Eventually he became the Robert Capa he had thought up."¹¹²

At his memorial service in Hanoi, the French would posthumously decorate him with the "Croiz de Guerre," which would be "pinned on a United States flag covering his coffin by Gen. Rene Cogne, commander of French Union Ground Forces in North Vietnam."¹¹³

Capa would be honored by the Overseas Press Club with the dedication of an annual award in his name for "superlative photography, still or motion picture, requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad."¹¹⁴ Of all the fallen journalists in this study, Capa would become one of the most covered by the *Times* in the years after his death. More than 500 references to Capa could be found in the newspaper's archives. Some were full-blown considerations of his photography and his legend.

One story, written in 1998, said: "We regard his photographs now less as specific documents of distant events than as generalized symbols, in the same way that we tend to regard him not simply as a photographer of mid-century upheaval but as one of the twentieth century's quintessential types: the tragic hero of modern warfare, the crusading journalist, the man of the world without a home of his own. Before the Scud stud, there was Capa. He was James Bond with a Leica."¹¹⁵ He was depicted as having "skillfully played the role of the swashbuckling bon vivant," who loved poker and had relationships with many famous women, some of whom he photographed, including Ingrid Bergman, "his lover on the set of Hitchcock's *Notorious*."¹¹⁶ The

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ "French Honor for Capa," *New York Times*, May 29, 1954, 11.

¹¹⁴ "Reporters Cited on Foreign News," *New York Times*, March 11, 1960, 7.

¹¹⁵ Michael Kimmelman, "A Man Who Loved Life as He Confronted Death," *New York Times*, March 20, 1998, 2.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

story noted how he was written about by writers such as Irving Shaw; and Hitchcock was said to have modeled the main character in *Rear Window* after him."¹¹⁷ The story also noted that Capa wrote his own best epitaph when he said: "The war correspondent gets more drinks, more girls, better pay and greater freedom than the soldier, but that, at this stage of the game - having the freedom to choose his spot and being allowed to be a coward and not be executed for it - is his torture. The war correspondent has his stake - his life - in his own hands, and he can put it on this horse or that horse, or he can put it back in his pocket at the very last minute."¹¹⁸ His most famous quote was repeated again and again, often in stories about other combat photographers following in his footsteps: "If your pictures aren't good enough, you're not close enough."¹¹⁹

The Korean War and Change

Overall, 13 of the 43 of the fallen journalists during the post-World War II period died while covering foreign wars. The *Times* covered the deaths of all of those journalists. Ten of them died while covering America's next major war, in Korea, while others died covering wars and uprising in the unsettled geopolitical climate that followed World War II. Despite the coverage, none of the fallen journalists killed in Korea were the subject of tributes that followed the mythic structure of hero myths.

Months before the U.S. would become embroiled in Korea, Robert Doyle, with *Time*, died in Indonesia on April, apparently targeted along with the scholar Raymond Kennedy by

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ A.O. Scott, "Witnessing the Witness: Looking over a Shoulder at War's Deprivation." *New York Times*, June 19, 2002, 2-E1.

armed dissidents.¹²⁰ The *Times* ran an editorial paying tribute to the men it said were killed by "bandits," calling Doyle "a vigorous reporter trying to tell Indonesia's story," and also noting that the "tragedy illustrates some of the difficulties that are faced in several parts of the world in the restoration of public order after the long disruption of the war."¹²¹

Korea became the next hotspot to envelop the U.S. The war began on June 25, 1950, when North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea.¹²² Just weeks after the invasion, the *Times* reported that Ernie Peeler, with *Stars and Stripes*, and Ray Richards, with the International News Service, were killed on July 9 in battle after "they went forward to watch the first American round-the-clock bombing."¹²³ Though the tributes to the two reporters did not depict them as mythic heroes, the coverage of their deaths was reminiscent of the World War II-era coverage with reports of reaction from public officials and the publication of a *Times* editorial that commented on the role of journalists in the new war.

Peeler was identified as being employed by *Stars and Stripes*' "Tokyo edition" and was said to have been "a radio news man and publicist in San Bernardino, Calif. before and after World War II, during which he served in the Air Corps in the South Pacific."¹²⁴ His wife was quoted as saying that "she had received a letter from him just eight days ago expressing the faith

¹²⁰ "Two Americans Are Found Slain on Jeep Journey in Central Java," *New York Times*, April 29, 1950, 3.

¹²¹ "Murder in Java," *New York Times*, April 30, 1950, E8.

¹²² Mitchel P. Roth and James Stuart Olson, *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 143.

¹²³ "2 U.S. Reporters Die at War Front." *New York Times*, July 12, 1950, 7.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

that: 'I will always come back.'"¹²⁵ Peeler added: "I don't think there is a bullet made or will be made that would have my name on it."¹²⁶

Richards was described as having "spent four decades in newspaper work," having covered "the Far East since the beginning of the Japanese invasion of China in the Thirties," then remaining "in the Orient until Pearl Harbor." He had also "covered Gen. John L. Pershing's Mexican campaign against Pancho Villa."¹²⁷ The *Times* also reported that members of the U.S. Senate paid tribute to the two men, with Sheridan Downey, a Democratic senator from California saying that the deaths were a "great personal shock," adding that Richards was "a hard working conscientious journalist who enjoyed the confidence and respect of many men in public life, who will be greatly saddened to learn of his tragic death."¹²⁸

The *Times* ran an editorial tribute the next day, immediately drawing an explicit connection between those two fallen journalists and those who had given their lives during World War II: "The newspaper world must lament today the first of their fallen in the Korean war. Ray Richards of the International News Service and Corporal Ernie Peeler of Stars and Stripes join the honored list of those who died in the Second World War getting the news where the danger was greatest."¹²⁹

Less than two weeks later, the *Times* reported that Wilson Fielder Jr., a correspondent with *Time*, had gone missing, but an eyewitness reported seeing him being "hit by a burst of

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ "In Line of Duty," *New York Times*, July 13, 1950, 24.

machine-gun fire as he was leaving communist-captured Taejon."¹³⁰ Five days later, on July 27, 1950, the *Times* reported that two U.S. journalists – Albert L. Hinton, of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* and, and James O. Supple, of the *Chicago Sun-Times* – as well as two European journalists were killed along with 23 others when the C-47 military transport plane taking them to Korea crashed south of Tokyo.¹³¹ The journalists were the only victims named in the story and the subhead noted: "Four Reporters Believed Lost in Crash."¹³² The story included biographical information about the reporters, most of it involving Supple, and included a roundup of reporters dead or missing so far in the war.¹³³ The story did not note, as the Journalists Memorial did, that Hinton was believed to be the first African-American war correspondent killed in the first two World Wars or in Korea.¹³⁴ The only allusion to his racial background is the note that he worked for the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* as well as "several other Negro newspapers."¹³⁵

Three days later, on July 30, William R. Moore, a 40-year-old correspondent with the Associated Press, was reported to have been "killed on the South Korean war front while helping to save a wounded Army lieutenant."¹³⁶ Though Moore would not be officially identified immediately, the Associated Press story run by the *Times* quoted a corporal captured at the scene

¹³⁰ "Correspondent for Time Missing on Taejon Front," *New York Times*, July 22, 1950, 10.

¹³¹ "C-47 Falls in Sea with 26 Off Japan," *New York Times*, July 28, 1950, 4.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ "Albert L. Hinton,," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

¹³⁵ "C-47 Falls in Sea with 26 Off Japan," 4.

¹³⁶ Associated Press, "Missing A.P. Man Killed in Korea." *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1950, 3.

saying that he saw "his body lying in a pool of water."¹³⁷ The story noted that the "Oklahoma City newspaper man, an Army major during World War II, failed to return from a voluntary mission to the Chinju front."¹³⁸

Three more journalists covering the war were among eleven killed on Sept. 7, 1950, when the C-54 military transport plane they were in exploded on takeoff at a southern military base in Japan."¹³⁹ The story was focused on the journalists. The headline read, "3 Newsmen Killed in Japan Air Crash" and once again the story included a tally of correspondents killed, missing or wounded during the war.¹⁴⁰ The story included photographs and bios of the three journalists, whom the story noted "had been on leave in Tokyo and were returning to the front."¹⁴¹ The three correspondents were listed as Frank Emery, with the International News Service, who "had returned to Tokyo from the front to convalesce from wounds suffered during a patrol action," Ken Inouye, who "was a photographer for Telenews, an affiliate of I.N.S .which supplied photography for television," and Charles D. Rosencrans Jr., with the International News Pictures, who "during the war had been a combat photographer in the Pacific."¹⁴² Though not noted in the *Times* story, Inouye was the first U.S. TV journalist on the Journalists Memorial to die in action.

In March 1951, William H. Graham, the aviation editor the *Journal of Commerce*, became the final U.S. journalist on the Journalists Memorial to die while covering the Korean

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ "3 Newsmen Killed in Japan Air Crash," *New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1950, 9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

War.¹⁴³ The *Times* story noted that Graham, who died when the U.S. Navy plane he was in crashed into the Pacific, had been "the seventh United Nations correspondent to die as the result of plane accidents in connection with the Korea war. Six others have been killed in ground action, three are missing and presumed dead, and two have been reported captured."¹⁴⁴ The story listed biographical information about Graham that included the fact that he had been in the Army Air Forces during World War II and was an Air Force Reserve major.¹⁴⁵

Overall, the ten U.S. journalists to die in Korea were killed within an eight-month period, though the conflict lasted just over three years, ending July 27, 1953.¹⁴⁶ The *Times* dutifully covered their deaths, and the stories contained sufficient biographical information, often accompanied by pictures of the fallen journalists. But these tributes lacked any sense of narrative about what drove those journalists.

The stories - or lack of them - also conveyed another subtle change afoot in the way that the U.S. government and the greater society felt about the service of these journalists - a change that perhaps could be tied to the country's tiring of foreign war after the extraordinary sacrifice that occurred during World War II. In August 1955, the *Times* reported that photos of the U.S. journalists to die covering the Korean War had been placed in "the Defense Department honor gallery. The pictures were hung without ceremony on the same wall with those of forty-four news men who were killed during World War II."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ "U.S. Reporter Killed in Air Crash in Korea," *New York Times*, March 5, 1951, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Roth and Olson, *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*, 143.

¹⁴⁷ "Memorial to News Men," *New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1955, 17.

The gesture tied the Korea War correspondents to their heroic predecessors in World War II. And yet with that subtle phrase - "without ceremony" - the story also indicated that there were changes in the relationship between journalists and the greater society. Gone were the generals, presidents and statesmen who presided over the ceremonies honoring the World War II correspondents. And gone were the ships and planes that would be named after these journalists. Part of this could have been attributed to the fact that Korea would ultimately come to be known as the forgotten war. But the relative lack of hero worship also served as a harbinger of what would be clear in the decades to come, namely that the time when the American press and the U.S. government almost worked as one was gradually coming to an end.

Chapter 9: The 1960s and 1970s

Overview

The *Times* coverage of fallen journalists in the 1960s and 1970s shows the continuation of the mythologizing that began in the 1920s and reached its height during World War II. However, the events of the times, in particular the Vietnam War, dictated a new kind of hero journalist - an antihero of sorts - whose journalistic mission was sometimes seen at odds with the government, unlike during World War II.

A dozen fallen journalists during this period were depicted in heroic mythic terms. Eleven of those journalists died while on foreign assignment, with eight of them being killed while covering war. The lone exception was Donald F. Bolles, the victim of a car bombing in the immediate post-Watergate era while investigating organized crime in Arizona.¹

Yet, the hero myth was on display less often in this period than in the recent past. Only 14 percent of the 42 journalists who died covering the Vietnam War were depicted heroically, compared to almost all of the journalists covering World War II. Moreover, *Times* covered the deaths of fallen journalists less often than in prior periods. Of the 92 U.S. journalists who died in the line of duty from 1960 to 1979, the *Times* wrote about 71 of them.

For the first time in the period covered in this dissertation, a discernible difference was seen in the way the *New York Times* covered the deaths of journalists who died in the U.S. versus those journalists who died on a foreign assignment – namely, the deaths of foreign correspondents were more likely to be covered than their domestic counterparts. In this period,

¹ "Don Bolles Dies; Maimed Reporter," 34.

the *New York Times* published articles on 62 percent of the 21 journalists who died on U.S. soil compared to 82 percent of the 71 who died on foreign assignment. As in the immediate post-World War II period, these tributes continued to reinforce the need for foreign correspondents who would risk their lives in order to report back on what was happening in a changing world.

Television would emerge as a dominant news medium, with events such as the Kennedy assassination coverage, and then Vietnam became the first living room war.² Roughly two out of five journalists killed during this era worked for TV. In the 1970s, when the Watergate scandal and the resignation of a U.S. president became a dominant story, a new hero-journalist archetype emerged in tributes: that of the heroic investigative reporter who ignored danger in the pursuit of truth.

Foreign Wars and Vietnam

Overall, the *Times* covered 45 of the 56 of the U.S. journalists who died while covering foreign war during the 1960s and 1970s. The *Times* covered 39 of the 42 fallen journalists who died covering the war in Vietnam, which eventually spread to include Laos and Cambodia. The *Times* depicted six of those fallen journalists from the Vietnam War in stories that followed the narrative structure of classic hero myths.

In the early 1960s, U.S. journalists found themselves covering violence and insurrection around the globe, often in countries in which the U.S. or its allies had strategic interests but no overt military presence. Henry Noble Taylor, with the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, died

² Ibid., 310.

in the Congo covering the Congo Civil War in 1960.³ The lead to the *Times* story read: "Congo Government forces and Baluba tribesmen clashed near here today in a short but violent battle in which more than fifty persons were killed, including an American correspondent."⁴ The story included a picture of Taylor and focused on a first-person account of the fighting by the *Times'* own correspondent.⁵ Four years later, the *Times* made brief mention of the death in the Congo of George Clay, a South African journalist with NBC, as part of a larger page-one story about two dozen hostages killed.⁶

Though Lionel Durand, the Paris correspondent with *Newsweek*, died in Paris of health-related problems in 1961, the *Times* made a direct link between his death and his foreign reporting.⁷ The *Times* reported that, days before his death, Durand had "told friends he had inhaled tear gas during the recent disturbance in Algeria, which he covered for his magazines. He said that he experienced difficulty catching his breath."⁸ The story detailed his background as a former member of the French Resistance who was "twice arrested by the Gestapo and twice escaped," and eventually left for the U.S. where he became the director of Voice of America's French section.⁹ It noted that he then returned to a liberated France where he became the foreign editor of a French daily, and eventually joined *Newsweek*: "It was during the four years that

³ Henry Tanner, "Newsman at Battle Scene," *New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1960, 23.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Lloyd Garrison, "20 to 30 Hostages Killed as Congo Rescue Begins; Stanleyville Is Retaken," *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1964, 1.

⁷ "Lionel Durand, a Newsman, Dies," *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1961, 87.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

followed that he established his reputation as a correspondent who understood both the people he was reporting on and the people - the American people - he was reporting to. As a former member of the Resistance he knew most of the major figures of that heroic era up to and including President de Gaulle."¹⁰

Though *Life* photographer James Burke didn't die while covering war, he was the first journalist during this period to receive a tribute that reflected the hero myth after he was killed in India on Oct. 2, 1964.¹¹ Burke fell more than 800 feet while taking pictures of the Himalayas.¹² The story documented how he had given up writing for photography, and it noted that he was a "quiet adventurer" whose "success as a photographer stemmed in part from his conviction that risk was part of his profession."¹³

Five journalists died in 1965 covering the Vietnam War, which began with the official deployment of U.S. troops in March of that year.¹⁴ The beginning of the conflict in Southeast Asia lacked the clarity of the start of World War II, or even the Korean War. There was no *Times* editorial drawing attention to the first journalists who died in Vietnam, as the paper did at the start of the Korean War, nor was there any effort to draw a link to the tradition established by the World War II correspondents.

The first journalist to die in Vietnam was not even covered by the *Times* until seven months after his death. Jerry Rose, a freelancer, was killed in the crash of an Air Vietnam

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ "U.S. Photographer Dies in 800-Foot Fall in India., *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1964, 2.

¹² Ibid..

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam, a History*. 2nd rev. and updated ed, (New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1997), 16.

commercial plane that may have been shot down by the Viet Cong.¹⁵ In a 1965 listing of journalists killed in Vietnam, the *Times* identified him as "a former correspondent" who had been "working for the Vietnamese Government at the time."¹⁶ The *Times* also did not run a story about the death of Dutch-born U.S. citizen Pieter Ronald Van Thiel, a freelance photographer and writer who was found fatally shot after he drove into the central Mekong Delta.¹⁷

The *Times* would cover the death of Bernard Kolenberg, an *Albany Times-Union* reporter working for the Associated Press, when he died Oct. 2, 1965 when two U.S. Skyraider bombers collided while on a run in central Vietnam.¹⁸ He was identified as "the first journalist to be killed in combat in Vietnam."¹⁹ The *Times* included a paragraph of biographical information about Kolenberg in a much longer story that was already questioning U.S. military policy in Vietnam.²⁰ The *Times* ran a one-paragraph brief weeks later with the October 13 death of Huynh Thanh My, a Vietnamese photographer working for the Associated Press - the story only said he had been "killed by the Viet Cong in the Mekong Delta while on combat assignment" and identified him as "the second newsman to die in the Vietnamese war."²¹

The *Times* ran a four-paragraph story with a photograph when Sam Castan, a senior editor for *Look* magazine in Hong Kong, died as a result of mortar fire in Vietnam on assignment

¹⁵ Peter Arnett, "Reporters Flirt with Death in Viet Nam," *The Hartford Courant*, Nov. 13, 1965, 4.

¹⁶ Associated, Press, "Dickey Chapelle Killed in Vietnam," *New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1965, 1.

¹⁷ "A Death," *The Sun*, Nov. 4, 1965, 2.

¹⁸ R.W. Apple Jr. "Vietcong Press Mekong Raids; U.S. Alters Policy on Bombings," *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1965, 3.

¹⁹ Ibid..

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "Photographer Dies in Vietnam," *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1965, 6.

with the First Calvary Division (Airmobile).²² The story noted that Castan "had also been assigned to Cyprus and the Dominican Republic during periods of heavy fighting in those areas," and had received a Sigma Delta Chi award for best magazine reporting from Vietnam.²³ The *Times* ran a follow-up story noting that the Overseas Press Club had unveiled a plaque honoring Castan, joining an "honor roll listing 102 newsmen who have died overseas since World War II."²⁴ There was also note of a telegram from President Lyndon Johnson "praising Mr. Castan."²⁵

Those tributes to Castan - particularly the praise from a U.S. president - were reminiscent of the reaction to the deaths of war correspondents during World War II. They were also noteworthy. These types of tributes to journalists - in particular from the U.S. government - would all but vanish during the Vietnam War.

The Heroic Female War Correspondent

The death of Dickey Chapelle, the first U.S. female journalist to die in combat, would garner a front-page story in the *Times*, one which clearly evoked hero myths that has been applied to male war correspondents before her.²⁶

Chapelle would be one of four female U.S. journalists to die during the 1960s and 1970s, and all of their deaths would be covered by the *Times*. Indeed, this period would be marked by

²² "Vietnam Shellfire Kills a Look Senior Editor," *New York Times*, May 22, 1966, 7.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Plaque Honors Look Writer Who Was Killed in Vietnam," *New York Times*, July 7, 1966, 56.

²⁶ Associated Press, "Dickey Chapelle Killed in Vietnam," 1.

the gradual growth of women in journalism. By 1977, for the first time, women accounted for slightly more than half of all students in journalism schools, becoming the majority for the first time.²⁷

Though the story did not acknowledge that Chapelle, who lived in New York City, was in fact the first U.S. female journalist ever to die in combat, it clearly acknowledged her unique status: "Dickey Chapelle, a daring woman pilot, parachutist and war correspondent-photographer, died today after having been wounded by a Viet-cong land mine while covering a large-scale United States Marine operation near the Chulai air base."²⁸ Chapelle - said to be "on a news and picture assignment" on behalf of *The National Observer* and WOR-RKO General Radio - was described as "(a) strong American individualist ... who wore boots and fatigues in the field" and "wrote about and photographed a long series of war actions around the globe. She parachuted several times into the thick of the fighting here to get her story. In 1958 she plunged too far into the freedom fighters' revolt against Communist rule. She was a correspondent in Korea, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Algeria, Lebanon, Kashmir, Vietnam - all the post-World War II trouble spots."²⁹

In the story, Chapelle is portrayed as answering a call to adventure, like other traditional mythic heroes. The call came while she was mulling "over a decision about entering college," and found herself "influenced by a movie about Adm. Richard E. Byrd's first expedition to the South Pole. 'I was hypnotized,' she said. 'Like him, I was going to become an aerial explorer.'"³⁰

²⁷ Beasley, Theus, and University of Maryland College Park. College of Journalism. Women's Project. *The New Majority : A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions.*, 43.

²⁸ Associated Press, "Dickey Chapelle Killed in Vietnam," 1.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

But the story also showed that she took risks for a higher purpose. The story mentioned that Chapelle "deplored war. Yet she felt that if sheltered people were going to spend so much time talking about it, some of them should go out and see what war was like. She decided during World War II she would take such a step."³¹

As would be seen in other *Times* tributes to fallen female journalists, the story depicted Chapelle as having qualities that could be inferred as being traditionally masculine: "Her aggressiveness, her low-pitched voice and her willingness to take chances had set a pattern that she maintained all of her life."³² Chapelle's brand of courage was masculine as well, one that involved emotional detachment: " 'Everyone is afraid at some time,' Miss Chapelle once said. 'But I try to remember something a Marine sergeant once told me, that courage is simply the control of fear.' "³³ The story also noted that, though born Georgette Meyer, and divorced from her first husband, Anthony Chapelle, "she retained her married name for professional reasons."³⁴

The story mentioned that Chapelle was "the fourth member of the press to be killed in the current phase of the war in Vietnam," listing for the first time one of those victims as being Jerry Rose, "a former correspondent ... working for the Vietnamese Government at the time. In the nineteen-fifties, when the French were fighting the Communists in Vietnam, a number of photographers and correspondents were killed, among them the well-known photographer Robert Capa."³⁵

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

On Jan. 3, 1966, less than two months after Chapelle was killed, another prominent female journalist died. Marguerite Higgins, who won a Pulitzer Prize for her coverage of the Korean War and became a syndicated columnist with *Newsday* died in the United States, at Walter Reed Army Hospital, in Washington, D.C.³⁶ But her death was attributed to coverage of the war – the *Times* wrote that she "had been confined to the hospital for two months, suffering from a rare tropical ailment she picked up on a recent tour of Vietnam."³⁷

In explicitly mentioning the masculine and feminine qualities that Higgins brought to her work, the *Times* also commented on the gender divide in journalism: "Marguerite Higgins got stories other reporters didn't get. She did it with a combination of masculine drive, feminine wiles and professional pride. She had brass and she had charm, and she used them to rise to the top a profession that usually relegates women to the softie beats on cooking, clothes and society. Miss Higgins made it big in a way that any man would be proud of."³⁸ The story noted that Higgins had "won a Pulitzer Prize for her reports from the Korean warfronts for The New York Herald Tribune, after she fought her way into the war over objections of an American general."³⁹ Higgins had been "ordered to leave Korea, along with all other American women, by Lieut. Gen. Walton H. Walker," who had said, "This is just not the type of war where women ought to be running around the front lines."⁴⁰ Higgins, the story said, "was outraged," and "put her case to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and he rescinded the order the next day."⁴¹

³⁶ "Marguerite Higgins Dies at 45; Reporter Won '51 Pulitzer Prize," *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1966, 27.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The *Times* coverage at once acknowledged the gender bias in American journalism - and was reflective of it: "There was steel in Marguerite Higgins character, but it was concealed in a feminine figure, and the femininity always showed, even when she was slogging along the muddy roads of Korea in baggy pants, a man's shirt with her blond curls tucked into an Army fatigue hat. A colleague who remembered Miss Higgins as a cub reporter at The Herald Tribune said she had often endured broken fingernails, torn stockings and carbon paper smudges on her nose, but what he remembered best was her bright blue eyes."⁴²

Higgins was also lauded by the *Times* for stoic virtues common to the hero journalists, ignoring her illness and carrying on until the end: "And in the final illness of her life, despite raging fevers and a debilitating blood ailment, she continued to turn out her three-times-a-week column for Newsday and 92 other newspapers. She agreed to cut her work to one column a week only in her last two weeks of her illness."⁴³

Unlike the hero journalist of the World War II era, Higgins was gloried for her defiance of governmental authority. The *Times* noted that she had criticized President Johnson in her last column "for treating the war in Vietnam as a 'pesky but peripheral one in an atmosphere of business as usual.'"⁴⁴

Ironically, in its perpetuation of the hero myth, the male-dominated journalism industry was advancing a mythology centered on a quality that some might say is more often attributed to women - that is, compassion. As with the mythic knights, Higgins' ultimate heroic virtues were depicted as having to do with compassion and selflessness. Despite her opposition to military policies, her portrayal was not dissimilar from depictions of Ernie Pyle and his connection to the

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

common soldier. The *Times* noted that arguably "the best tribute to her came in a letter of complaint about one of her stories from Korea."⁴⁵ The Army colonel who wrote the letter complained that Higgins had failed to mention her personal involvement in a battle.⁴⁶ The *Times* said that the colonel wrote that "completely disregarding her own personal safety, (she) voluntarily assisted by administering blood plasma to the many wounded as they were carried into the temporary aid station. This aid station was subjected to small-arms fire throughout the attack ... The Regimental Combat Team considers Miss Higgins's action on that day as heroic, but even more important is the gratitude felt by members of the command toward the selfless devotion of Miss Higgins in saving the lives of many grievously wounded men."⁴⁷

Philippa Duke Schuyler, a correspondent with the *Manchester Union Leader*, died in a U.S. Army helicopter crash Vietnam on May 9, 1967, becoming the third U.S. female journalist whose death was attributed to a combat assignment.⁴⁸ The *Times* ran a page-one story about Schuler's death, though the tribute focused on her acclaim as a child prodigy pianist.⁴⁹ Schuyler was identified as a pianist in the headline, and the story included a photo of her at a performance while a child.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, the tribute to Schuyler followed the narrative structure of hero myths, in particular as it focused on her compassion for others. The story noted that she on a mission of

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ United Press International, "Philippa Schuyler, Pianist, Dies in Crash of a Copter in Vietnam, *New York Times*, May 10, 1967, 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

mercy when she died - she "had asked the helicopter pilot if he would evacuate her and a group of elementary school children to Danang."⁵¹ Her heroism was not tied to a journalistic mission. Though the story identified her as "the 10th American news correspondent killed in Vietnam," it focused less on her reporting and more on the fact that she had played concerts in Vietnam."⁵²

When Claudia Ross, a U.S. citizen working for the English-language *Bangkok Post* in Thailand, was "stabbed to death" on March 27, 1974, "by a man who broke into her bedroom," the *Times* ran an initial four-paragraph story with the headline: "American Woman Reporter Knifed to Death in Bangkok."⁵³ The story noted that Ross, who had worked for the paper since 1972, "had written several exposes, most recently one about the Children of God movement. But authorities stressed there was no indication that her killing was connected to her writing."⁵⁴ Weeks later, the *Times* ran a follow-up story on the investigation into her death, which it said came five days after "an expose of the Children of God. She characterized the sect as 'a parasitic cult of Bible-pounding automatons' whose 'dogma preaches hate.' "⁵⁵ The story detailed police denials about any involvement of the cult, which had been the target of allegations "by parents in the United States and Britain, who said the sect actively sought to cut them off from their offspring."⁵⁶ The story was not a tribute to Ross, but rather a look at the activities of the cult. However, as with stories about fallen journalists such as George Polk, the coverage served to raise questions about the death of a U.S. journalist in a foreign country.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ "American Woman Reporter Knifed to Death in Bangkok," *New York Times*, March 30, 1974, 12.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Joseph Lelyveld, "American's Death Bangkok Puzzle." *New York Times*, April 9, 1974, 7.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The Journalist as Antihero

Vietnam was an unconventional war and it demanded unconventional journalists to cover it. The battlefield was far less defined - and far more dangerous. Unlike during World War II, correspondents were not reporting strictly from the battlefield in the company of large contingents of U.S. troops. More and more, they found themselves traveling alone in less defined battlegrounds. And, increasingly, these journalists found themselves targeted because of what they did for a living.

The *Times* ran a front-page story on May 6, 1968, the day after John Cantwell, an Australian correspondent working with *Time*, and three newsmen from foreign media outlets were killed or executed by the Vietcong on a city street after the journalists had driven into the Chin section of Saigon to cover apparent fighting.⁵⁷ Photos of some of the bodies, which had been "booby-trapped," were pictured on the front page.⁵⁸

The story included an interview with a fifth newsmen who survived by playing dead - the Australian freelance journalist described the executions, including the following exchange between two soldiers before one of the journalists was killed: "Someone else got up and yelled, 'Bao chi, bao chi' (newsmen) and the officer said, very derisively, 'Bao chi.' He aimed the .45 and shot him."⁵⁹

The next day Charles R. Eggleston, a photographer with United Press International, was shot in "the streets of Saigon" as he covered "South Vietnamese paratroopers in a house-to-house

⁵⁷ Bernard Weinraub, "4 Newsmen Slain." *New York Times*, May 6, 1968, 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

struggle near Tansonnhut Airbase," the *Times* reported.⁶⁰ The story noted that Eggleston "had come to Vietnam four years ago with the United States Navy as an adviser to the South Vietnamese junk fleet" and had joined the wire service the previous October.⁶¹

Referencing the deaths of the newsmen the prior day, where "a Vietcong with a pistol executed at least two of the wounded," the *Times* wrote: "In a message of condolence to the families and colleagues of the five dead newsmen, Ellsworth Bunker, the United States Ambassador to South Vietnam said: 'War reporting has always been extraordinarily dangerous, especially for those newsmen who felt in order to tell the story they needed a first-hand look at the action.'⁶² Bunker said in that message that with "no front lines in Vietnam, because this is not a 'conventional war,'" it "has been particularly dangerous for newsmen to cover."⁶³ Bunker also said that those "circumstances under which the four young men lost their lives Sunday, their execution by the Vietcong after having been wounded, are deplorable and revolting," and that "Mr. Eggleston's death, which occurred when he was caught in a crossfire, is no less a shock."⁶⁴

The war became increasingly unconventional as the fighting spread to the neighboring countries Cambodia and Laos, and so too did the correspondents who covered it. They were forced to ride into battle on their own, and their reports often were in defiance of the U.S. military's version of events.

⁶⁰ Joseph B. Treaster, "Photographer Killed, 3 Wounded in Saigon Battle," *New York Times*, May 7, 1968, 5.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Hence, the journalists who were killed trying to cover this war began to be portrayed as embodying the qualities of the "antihero," evidenced more and more in popular entertainment of the times, such as the movie, *Bonnie & Clyde*.⁶⁵ Their tributes followed the same narrative structure of class hero myths. However, unlike traditional "virtuous heroes" - embodied by the World War II reporter - these correspondents displayed a brand of heroism that was morally complex, such as the antihero of the movies who, at least at first blush, were found to have "behaved in an aggressive way without any justification."⁶⁶

The mold for the archetype of fallen journalist as antihero was set in the coverage of the deaths of correspondents Sean Flynn, with United Press International, and Dana Stone, with CBS.⁶⁷ The imagery was even more pronounced in that Flynn was prominently identified by the *Times* as the "son of the late movie actor Errol Flynn" when, along with Stone, and Claude Arpin, a French correspondent with *Newsweek*, he was reportedly taken captive in Cambodia on April 6, 1970.⁶⁸

The initial *Times*' report hinted that in some way Flynn, initially identified as a freelance photographer, and Stone were somehow to blame: "The two United States newsmen reported missing in Cambodian have a particular reputation for derring-do among the press corps covering the Vietnamese war. Since one of them, Sean Flynn, is the mustached, strapping son of the late Errol Flynn, adjectives such as 'swashbuckling' have been used freely in the published

⁶⁵ Arthur A. Raney, Hannah Schmid, Julia Niemann, and Michael Ellensohn, "Testing Affective Disposition Theory: A Comparison of the Enjoyment of Hero and Antihero Narratives," *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association* (2009): 3.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ "Vietcong Seize 2 Japanese Newsmen in Cambodia," *New York Times*, April 7, 1970, 3.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

reports depicting their work."⁶⁹ The story said that a recent article in *Esquire* magazine had described the pair "as riding to the front lines on motorcycles, much as they did in Cambodia."⁷⁰

Yet, the narrative of their stories was still in keeping with conventional hero myths. - Flynn, 29, had appeared in films like his father, but answered the call to adventure - namely, to go cover the Vietnam War as a journalist.⁷¹ Flynn's road of trials included once being "wounded slightly by grenade fragments during a skirmish south of Danang."⁷² Stone, 25, also endured his trials - "on several occasions his cameras were blown off his back but he escaped injury."⁷³ The exploits of the pair would be covered through the years, particularly as more and more journalists began to disappear in the same fashion.⁷⁴

Unlike with George Polk's disappearance, there was not a coherent narrative to attach to the missing newsmen - and they seemed to be disappearing by the day. Days after Flynn and Stone disappeared; the *Times* reported that 25 journalists in Paris to cover the Vietnam peace talks "appealed to the four delegations ... to do what they could to establish the whereabouts and to obtain the release of 10 journalists missing in Laos and Cambodia while on assignment."⁷⁵ Those journalists were identified as "four members of a Belgian television team, two Japanese, two French photographers and two Americans" - Flynn, identified as "working as a photographer

⁶⁹ Henry Kamm, "Fighting Expands in Cambodia Area," *New York Times*, April, 8, 1970, 1.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ James S. Kunen, "Two of the Missing," *New York Times*, March 9, 1975, BR2.

⁷⁵ "Officials at Paris Talks Get Plea on Missing Newsmen," *New York Times*, April 10, 1970, 6.

for Time,' and Stone, now called "a cameraman for the Columbia Broadcasting System."⁷⁶ In the same story it was reported that Dieter Bellendorf, an NBC cameraman, had been reported as missing in Cambodia the previous day.⁷⁷

On June 2, the *Times* ran a page-one story about eight more journalists working for NBC and CBS who appeared to "vanish in Cambodia," bringing the total number of the missing journalists to 24.⁷⁸ The story ran pictures of two of the correspondents - Welles Hangen, with NBC and George Syvertsen with CBS - and identified the others: Ramnik Lekhi, a CBS cameraman from India; Jerry Miller, a CBS producer; Roger Colne, a French cameraman with NBC; Tomoharu Ishii, a Japanese cameraman with CBS; Kojiro Sakai, a Japanese soundman with CBS; and Yoshihiko Waku, a Japanese soundman with NBC.⁷⁹

The story said that the CBS journalists arrived at a government checkpoint in two vehicles, a jeep and a Mercedes Benz, were told "the road was dangerous, but they drove on."⁸⁰ The NBC crew passed by the checkpoint soon after, and soon after; the soldier then heard "an explosion and small arms fire," and later found one of the vehicles, a jeep, on fire.⁸¹ Lekhi, Miller, and Syvertsen apparently were killed when their jeep exploded, though their bodies were later found in shallow graves near their vehicle."⁸²

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Sydney H. Schanberg, "8 More Newsmen Vanish in Cambodia; Total Missing at 24," *New York Times*, June 2, 1970, 1.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ronald Sullivan, "A Journalist Killed in Cambodia in '70 Buried with Honors." *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1993, 11.

Two years after disappearance of the journalists, the *Times* published an op-ed piece by Hangen's wife, Patricia, highlighting the effort of their families to find their whereabouts.⁸³ Hangen and members of his NBC crew were later determined to have been captured by Viet Cong and Khmer Rouge guerrillas and slain three days later.⁸⁴ Hangen, then 40, was beaten to death; his remains were returned 23 years later and he was buried at Arlington Cemetery.⁸⁵ The remaining journalists were believed to have been executed as well.⁸⁶

The *Times* ran a profile of Syvertsen on June 4, 1970, in which Richard S. Salant, the CBS News president, said, "George's death is a loss to all of us in journalism and to all Americans who want to exercise their right to know."⁸⁷ CBS confirmed two days later that his body had been "found in a shallow grave."⁸⁸ The *Times* reported that CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite delivered a eulogy at Syvertsen's funeral, remembering the reporter "as a gentle man who did not fit the popular conception of a war correspondent," and that he "had hoped to prove the folly of all wars through his reporting."⁸⁹

The *Times* also published a separate story, written by correspondent Henry Kamm, on June 7, 1970, about the dangers facing journalists in Cambodia - pictured was the mangled jeep Syvertsen was in when he died.⁹⁰ Kamm wrote: "Contrary to other wars - including the war in

⁸³ Patricia Hangen, "Search for Missing Correspondents," *New York Times*, May 15, 1972, 35.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ "5 Bodies in Cambodia Said to Be of TV Men," *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1971, 9.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "Syvertsen Had Covered War since '67." *New York Times*, June 4, 1970, 13.

⁸⁸ "C.B.S. Confirms the Death of Syvertsen in Cambodia," *New York Times*, June 6, 1970, 2.

⁸⁹ "Cronkite Hails Syvertsen, Victim of Indochina War," *New York Times*, June 17, 1970, 47.

⁹⁰ Henry Kamm, "Newsmen Lead Perilous Existence in Cambodia," *New York Times*, June 7, 1970, 153.

Vietnam - in which casualties among correspondents are usually the result of enemy fire or of being in a place with a friendly military unit overrun by the enemy, the 23 newsmen missing in Cambodia have been the victims of guerilla highwaymen: They have been captured or killed, traveling all by themselves, without troops, looking for the action."⁹¹ Kamm added that the correspondents "have been helped by Cambodian permissiveness and particularly by a habit from colonial days to consider that barriers exist only for Cambodians. Any white man waving any slip of paper can cross any military roadblock in Cambodia. To their misfortune, 23 journalists found that the next barrier down the road was manned by the Vietcong."⁹²

Kamm stressed what was becoming very clear: "Compared to Cambodia, covering the war in Vietnam is like touring with American Express. Instead of traveling lonely roads in rented cars, as they do in Cambodia, war correspondents in Vietnam are taken to the scene of action by planes and helicopters and put down only where there are friendly troops."⁹³ Similarly, the calculation of risk was different for those journalists in Cambodia, according to Kamm: "Correspondents in Vietnam take chances, but only those taken also by the troops. In Cambodia, journalists have rushed in where soldiers often have feared to tread."⁹⁴

When two United Press International correspondents - J. Frank Frosch, the Phnom Penh bureau chief, and Kyoichi Sawada, a Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer - were fatally shot Oct. 28, 1970, the *Times* presented evidence that the two had been targeted.⁹⁵ The headline to the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Henry Kamm, "2 More Newsmen Slain by Reds in Cambodia," *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1970, 3.

story read: "2 More Newsmen Slain by Reds in Cambodia."⁹⁶The story said that though their car had been "riddled with bullet holes and had swerved off the road and crashed against a tree," their bodies had been found in a field and both men "had been shot at close range" and there was "no chance that they could have been mistaken for soldiers" because of their clothing and their car.⁹⁷ The story was accompanied by photographs of the two men along with Sawada's Pulitzer-winning photo of a mother and children escaping an attack on their Vietnamese village by wading through a river.⁹⁸

Five more journalists died while covering the Vietnam War in 1971. The *Times* ran a page-one story later that month when four photographers were presumed dead in Laos on February 10 after the South Vietnamese helicopter they were in was shot down in Laos: Larry Burrows, with *Life*; Henri Huet, with the Associated Press; Kent Potter, with United Press International; and Keisaburo Shimamoto, with *Newsweek*.⁹⁹ The story mentioned that both Burrows and Huet had won the Robert Capa award for courageous photography.¹⁰⁰ Burrows in particular was cast as a mythic hero. A *Life* managing editor said of him: "He spent nine years covering this war under conditions of incredible danger. We kept thinking of other, safe stories for him to do, but he would do them and go back to the war. As he said, the war was his story

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ The Associated, Press, "4 Photographers Missing as Copter Is Downed in Laos," *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1971, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

and he wanted to see it through."¹⁰¹ Burrows was part of continued coverage, including a story about the closing of *Life* magazine the next year.¹⁰²

The deaths of Burrows and the three other photographers would serve as a watershed event. It turned out that the South Vietnamese Air Force pilot had gotten "lost over a nest of North Vietnamese antiaircraft sites in Laos and was shot down in flames." The crash highlighted the reality behind the antihero persona of many of the era's war correspondents. What appeared to be a swashbuckling style - riding motorcycles to the front, or hopping in any helicopter that would take them along for the ride - was rooted in practicality. It was the only way that these correspondents could cover the war in Cambodia and Laos, mainly because the U.S. government had long refused to transport them to the front.

Two weeks later, the *Times* reported the death of *Newsweek* correspondent Francois Sully in yet another helicopter crash and also said that the U.S. had belatedly reversed the military's refusal "to permit correspondents to fly in American helicopters, because of a Defense Department regulation which bars government aircraft from competing with commercial airlines in international flights. No civilian airlines and few Vietnamese helicopters were available to take reporters to the fighting in Laos and the existing flights there were chancy. The regulation was not invoked during the American incursion into Cambodia last spring. With the deaths of the four photographers ... it became 'painfully obvious,' as one military official here put it, 'that we had to do something.' "¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Gene Thornton, "The End of a Great Era." *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1972, 1.

¹⁰³ Craig R. Whitney, "War Coverage: The High Price of Trying to Tell What's Happening." *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1971, E1.

The story about the lifting of the ban, which appeared on the front page of the paper's Sunday "Week in Review" section, was a far cry from the boosterish articles that often could be seen as part of the *Times* coverage of the military and the press during World War II. Instead, it served as a forceful indictment of U.S. policy, claiming that the old policy resulted in "chaos and needless danger," and curtailed journalists from doing their jobs: "First-hand reporting has always been the only really satisfactory way of getting facts."¹⁰⁴

The article also tied the deaths of many foreign correspondents to the thorny relationship they had with the U.S. government: "Since the craft have gunship escorts, transportation to the front should be safer than it has been. But what made it such an issue in the first place was still unchanged - the suspicion that official briefings, American or Vietnamese, in Saigon or in Washington do not give an accurate or complete picture of what is happening. The feeling has persisted throughout the Indochina war, and it may account for the fact that - through persistence or accident or imprudence - 34 journalists or film crewmen have died here since 1965 and 17 have disappeared in Cambodia since Vietnamese and American forces went in there last spring."¹⁰⁵

The article said that though some of the deaths: "such as Mr. Sully's, may have been unfortunate turns of fate ... But danger imposed needlessly - the effective result of the ban on travel on American helicopters to Laos, according to some correspondents - restricted travel and imposed censorship of a sort on reporters whose on-the-spot observations led them to conclude that the Laotian operation was in trouble, behind schedule and dangerously vulnerable, while officials in Saigon and Washington were reporting it as a limited success."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

The story said that this latest military "operation began in secrecy on Jan. 30 with an order to correspondents here not to report it at all until an embargo, which the authorities said they imposed for security reasons, was lifted. It was only after several days of Hanoi Radio broadcasts about preparations of the 'American-puppet troops' for an invasion of Laos that the embargo was lifted, on Feb. 4."¹⁰⁷ The story added:

Even then, American military officials refused to talk about what the Vietnamese were going to do - that is about the invasion - since American soldiers would remain behind in Vietnam. As one reporter said in Quangtri, "The enemy knows more about this thing than we do." He and other correspondents on the scene had the feelings that the military authorities were trying to conceal something, perhaps an announcement of American combat involvement across the border. So when the Vietnamese went across and American chopper pilots would not take newsmen along, they scrambled aboard anything they could, even unescorted Vietnamese helicopters on their way to landing zones in the middle of nests of anti-aircraft positions. The result was chaos and needless danger.¹⁰⁸

The story concluded: "First-hand reporting has always been the only really satisfactory way of getting facts in Indochina. As sparing of information as the Americans have been in this war, the Vietnamese are less forthcoming, especially about setbacks or reverses, and their American advisers can always say they can only offer advice to their allies, not control them. If the operation in Laos is any indication, then reporting on the war may become even more dangerous in the future than it has been in the past."¹⁰⁹

The *Times* story was prescient. Six more journalists were killed covering the Vietnam War in 1972. The trend of journalists being captured or going missing also continued.

Terry L. Reynolds, a U.S. citizen, and Alan Hiron, a photographer from Australia, both of United Press International, went missing after being "taken prisoner by Communist troops" at

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

a roadblock in Cambodia on April 26, 1972.¹¹⁰ Alexander Shimkin, a correspondent on assignment for *Newsweek*, was killed in Vietnam in July 1972 not far from Quang Tri.¹¹¹ For years he was among the missing journalists sought by the American Committee to Free Journalists Held in Southeast Asia.¹¹²

Terry Khoo and Sam Kai Faye, both with ABC, also died in July 1972 after they "left their jeep near Mychanh and walked 100 yards off the road, not realizing they were so close to the North Vietnamese."¹¹³ The next day, Gerard Hebert, a freelance photographer who worked with United Press International, as well as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and NBC, was killed July 22 by an artillery barrage while covering fighting in Vietnam.¹¹⁴

The next year, the Overseas Press Club would present the United States Committee of the International Committees to Free Journalists in Southeast Asia with "its rarest award, the President's Award 'in an attempt help' spur the search for 20 newsmen missing in Cambodia and Vietnam. The award, which has been given only three times in the club's 35-year history, will be a cash donation, the amount of which has yet to be set."¹¹⁵ Walter Cronkite, chairman of the U.S.

¹¹⁰ "Two Newsmen in Cambodia Apparently Captured by Foe," *New York Times*, April 27, 1972, 21.

¹¹¹ Malcolm W. Browne, "Huge Traffic Jams on Way to Quangtri Easy Target of Foe," *New York Times*, July 22, 1972, 1.

¹¹² "Hope Is Held out for Lost Newsmen." *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1974, 11.

¹¹³ Browne, "Huge Traffic Jams on Way to Quangtri Easy Target of Foe," 1.

The *Times* initially misspelled Khoo's name as Khot.

¹¹⁴ Joseph B. Treaster, "U.S. Says Planes Damage 2 Depots in Raids on Hanoi," *New York Times*, July 24, 1972, 1.

The *Times* spelled Hebert's as Herbert, which is different from the spelling of the name on the Journalists Memorial.

¹¹⁵ "Press Award Spurs Hunt for Newsmen," *New York Times*, April 15, 1973, 45.

Committee, was the master of ceremonies of the event, with Secretary of State William P. Rogers serving as the guest speaker at the dinner in New York.¹¹⁶

The Vietnam War began to wind down in 1973, beginning with a cease-fire agreement signed in January of that year.¹¹⁷ All U.S. troops had been withdrawn by August when Congress voted to halt future bombing in the region.¹¹⁸ Saigon finally fell to the North Vietnamese forces in April 1975.¹¹⁹

And yet correspondents continued to die while covering the fighting in the region. Three more journalists were killed when the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh also fell to communist backed-troops - in April 1975.¹²⁰ Saing Hel and Sun Heang, both freelance photographers who stayed in the Associated Press bureau after the evacuation of American staffers, were executed when the Khmer Rouge invaded Phnom Penh.¹²¹ Put Sophan, another Cambodian who worked as a soundman and cameraman for CBS, was also executed by the Khmer Rouge after the invasion.¹²²

The *Times* did not report on any of these journalists. A search of ProQuest did not find a single U.S. publication that covered their deaths either, though their names were later listed as

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Karnow, *Vietnam, a History*, 431.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 505.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 628.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 700

¹²¹ "Saing Hel," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

¹²² "Put Sophan," The Freedom Forum Journalists Memorial, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://www.newseum.org/scripts/Journalist/main.htm>.

being killed in action by the Cambodia Daily, a non-profit newspaper founded by a U.S. journalist.¹²³

The Heroic Investigative Reporter

In June 1976, *Arizona Republic* reporter Donald F. Bolles, died from injuries he sustained when his "car was bombed while working on an article about the Mafia."¹²⁴ The *Times* reported that paramedics who treated him at the scene said that he mentioned the word, "mafia," along with the name of a sports-racing company he was investigation.¹²⁵

Bolles would become a martyr for a new generation of journalists as investigative journalism became the rage of the profession following Watergate in the 1970s. He would also serve as the prototype of the heroic investigative reporter who was depicted as exhibiting many of the same qualities as the fallen journalists who had died while covering war.

These special qualities would be advanced by journalism educators. In the forward to the 1978 textbook, *Investigative Reporting and Editing*, by Paul N. Williams of Ohio State University, Ben H. Bagdikian focused on the noble qualities of the book's author, a legendary investigative reporter who died of a heart attack at the age of 54, four months after Bagdikian met him at the founding convention of Investigative Reporters and Editors in 1976.¹²⁶

¹²³ Michelle Vachon, "Going Back Down the Road: Correspondents Recall Their Experiences Documenting Cambodia's Civil War." *The Cambodia Daily*, April 17-18, 2010, 4-11.

¹²⁴ "Don Bolles Dies; Maimed Reporter," 34.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ben H. Bagdikian, "Forward," *Investigative Reporting and Editing*, ed. Paul N. Williams, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), viii.

Bagdikian, an esteemed print journalist then at the University of California, Berkeley, wrote: "He represented something new and different in modern American journalism. He knew that the mechanical and technical skills were important, that you must get details accurately in hand, and that you must be capable of fast work. But he also knew something far more important. You need a sense of morality about your society and you need to accept personal responsibilities for your role in that society."¹²⁷

Of course, this brand of reporting was not new - journalists such as Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell had gained fame at the turn of the century for their investigative work.¹²⁸ But Don Bolles died in the line of duty, just like those heroic war correspondents.

And the timing of his death certainly fueled that mythology. Don Mellett and other hero journalists had been killed while investigating corruption. Bolles died as those journalists were forming a stronger common identity, much like could be seen with the professionalization of photojournalists not long before the death of their heroic icon, Robert Capa. Indeed, as the *Times* reported, the Investigative Reporters and Editors organization had been just started in 1975, just a year before Bolles's death, "by reporters and editors interested in furthering the standards and ethics of investigative journalism" life."¹²⁹

A search of the *Times* archives found more than 80 references to Bolles in the two years following his death. Much as with the death of Polk, roughly 30 years before, the *Times* would closely follow every phase of the effort to bring his' killers to justice, including a series of trials.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Sloan, *The Media in America: A History*, 297.

¹²⁹ "Reporters' Group Plans Data Center," *New York Times*, June 21, 1976, 35.

Moreover, the *Times* tributes to Bolles established the importance of investigative reporting as the paper's coverage of Polk's death did with foreign correspondence.

In an editorial titled, "Don Bolles' Legacy," the *Times* made it clear that Bolles was on a journalistic mission of the highest purpose:

Mr. Bolles, who was working on a story about organized crime, was lured on June 2 to a Phoenix hotel by someone offering information about a prominent Arizona politician. The reporter was blown apart in his car, and died 12 days later. Apparently a lot of people had reason to fear Don Bolles. He had written stories about organized crime, widespread real estate swindles and questionable state government appointments ...

Now that the lid has been ripped off the Arizona cesspool, the prosecutors and the Arizona press are pursuing corruption vigorously. For any number of good reasons, and particularly Don Bolles' memory, the current investigative zeal should not stop with the solution of that one murder. Mr. Bolles seemed to be after all the elements - both the obviously corrupt and the superficially respectable - that made up the land fraud "industry" in Arizona.

It is essential that the Arizona press and public keep up the pressure on law-enforcement and prosecuting authorities to ensure that the grim trail Don Bolles pursued is followed to the end."¹³⁰

Though the editorial was designed to keep pressure on Arizona law-enforcement officials, it also established values that were not previously mentioned as being part of the heroic mission - "investigative zeal" and the notion of reporters being on the "trail" of injustice.

A crucial part of the mythology of the stories about Bolles involved a theme often seen in hero myths, according to Joseph Campbell - that is a story that involves "a death and resurrection."¹³¹ That theme - central in the story of Christ - could be seen in the efforts by journalists to resurrect Bolles's spirit by carrying on the work he was doing when he was killed.

The *Times* reported that the Investigative Reporters and Editors organization not only "voted to establish a memorial award in Mr. Bolles's name 'to keep alive the high standard of

¹³⁰ "Don Bolles' Legacy," *New York Times*, July 12, 1976, 20.

¹³¹ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

journalism to which he dedicated and finally gave his life.' "¹³² The story also noted that the organization also "supported a plan to send a committee of reporters, led by Robert Greene of Newsday, to Phoenix to study the possibility of the group's investigating the recent bombing death of Don Bolles, reporter for The Arizona Republic."¹³³

Months later the *Times* would report that 18 reporters volunteered to carry on that investigation.¹³⁴ That effort involved a five-month investigation and a 23-part series by the so-called Phoenix Project, by reporters from "two dozen newspapers and television stations."¹³⁵

The Investigative Reporters and Editors organization as well as journalists and media outlets connected with The Phoenix Project were ultimately sued for \$17 million for defamation by one of the principals identified in the series as being part of "a drug-smuggling and prostitution ring operating out of Tucson."¹³⁶ The reporters connected with the stories were found not guilty of libel, though some of them were ordered to pay a total of \$15,000 in punitive changes to the plaintiff, who was tied to the killing.¹³⁷ The Phoenix Project was ultimately credited with helping bring indictments against those central to Bolles's death.¹³⁸

¹³² "Reporters' Group Plans Data Center," *New York Times*, June 21, 1976, 35.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Robert Lindsey, "18 Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry into Arizona Crime," *New York Times*, October 5, 1976, 24.

¹³⁵ "Writers and Newspapers in Arizona Crime Series Are Sued for \$17 Million," *New York Times*, May 25, 1977, 99.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ "Reporters, Tracking Arizona Crime after Bolles Death, Cleared of Libel," *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1981, A20.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

Deaths on U.S. Soil

The volume of coverage regarding Don Bolles belied the fact that during this period the *Times* devoting increasingly less coverage to the death of journalists who died on the home front. In 1960s and 1970s, the *Times* published articles on about 64 percent of the 22 journalists who died on U.S. soil compared to 77 percent of those who died on foreign assignment. And Bolles was the only journalist to die on U.S. soil during this era to be portrayed as a mythic hero.

This disparity in coverage did not reflect that in many ways domestic assignments were becoming also increasingly dangerous. Air travel posed a greater danger to journalists in the field. Overall, 28 of the 93 fallen journalists during this era died in air crashes. Eight of those crashes eight were in the U.S and 19 were on foreign soil.

For the first time, helicopter crashes posed a significant danger to journalists. Overall, 17 journalists in the 1960s and 1970s died in air crashes involving helicopters - nine on foreign assignment, and seven in the U.S. Those numbers can partially be attributed to the growing use of helicopters for traffic reporting by TV and radio stations and as a tool to help all reporters cover large-scale natural disasters.

Yet, during the entire course of this study, not a single journalist who died in a helicopter crash on U.S. soil was portrayed as a mythic hero. In all cases, they were depicted as victims of tragic circumstances.

The *Times* covered the 1966 crash involving Max Schumacher, a traffic reporter and pilot with Los Angeles radio station KMPC, who was one of five who died on August 30 when his helicopter crashed into a police helicopter.¹³⁹ Schumacher was the first person mentioned in the

¹³⁹ "5 Reported Dead in 2-Copter Crash." *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1966, 87.

story, which focused initial on the unique news value of a collision involving two helicopters near Dodger Stadium.¹⁴⁰ The brief biographical information about Schumacher suggested that he had heroic qualities, but they were not part of a coherent narrative, nor were they tied to journalism - the story mentioned that he "was a Marine Corps fighter-bomber pilot in World II and the Korean War. In 1956 he won the Navy Air Medal for rescuing three Navy fliers whose planes had crashed 40 miles at sea."¹⁴¹ Schumacher - "Captain Max" - would be mentioned three years later as part of a *Times* story that focused on the growing trend of traffic reports on radio, and the attendant hazards of the job.¹⁴² The story began: "Helicopter traffic spotters have probably the newest and certainly the most dangerous job in the radio industry. At least 10 of the broadcasters and their pilots have been killed in the last decade."¹⁴³ The story mentioned that the discipline's "trailblazer," Schumacher, had died in such a helicopter crash.¹⁴⁴

The *Times* continued to find helicopter crashes newsworthy even if the stories failed to depict the journalists who were riding them heroically. The *Times* ran a brief when Bruce Powell, with NBC, was killed in Orange, Texas when a helicopter he was in "crashed into a concrete loading ramp" on March 30, 1968 - he was covering the "campaign swing" of Texas gubernatorial candidate Waggoner Carr, who watched the crash "in horror."¹⁴⁵ Sid Brenner and Lew Clark, with WCAU-TV Philadelphia, and Del Vaughn Jr., of CBS radio, died in another helicopter crash on June 26, 1972 while they were covering widespread flooding in

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Robert M. Smith, "At Least 10 Others Died Spotting Cars from Air," *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1969, 66.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ "Cameraman Dies in Crash," *New York Times*, March 31, 1968, 28.

Pennsylvania.¹⁴⁶ The *Times* story reported that the helicopter "crashed and exploded on a runway" at Capital City Airport not far from Harrisburg, Pa. after it "lost its rotor 300 feet above the airport as it was coming in for a landing,"¹⁴⁷

The 1977 death in a Los Angeles area helicopter crash of George Spears, a cameraman for KNBC in Los Angeles, and his pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was covered extensively by the *Times*.¹⁴⁸ But the coverage focused largely on the notoriety of the pilot, as evidenced in the lead: "Francis Gary Powers, whose U-2 espionage flight over Soviet Union and subsequent capture touched off a crisis in Soviet-American relations 17 years ago, was killed today in the crash of a helicopter he piloted as a reporter for a Los Angeles television station."¹⁴⁹ The two men were reporting on a brush fire when the helicopter ran out of fuel.¹⁵⁰

The *Times* ran a brief following the July 14, 1979, death of Dan Preuhs, a freelance cameraman with KYW-TV, who was killed when a helicopter he was riding in crashed into a river while covering a "jogging event that benefitted the American Cancer Society" - the pilot was rescued, but a soundman for the station, Bill Loomer, was also killed.¹⁵¹ Loomer is not listed as a fallen journalist on the Journalists Memorial.

Of the remaining journalists to die on U.S. soil, the *Times* ran a brief when Steve Pieringer, with KRLD-TV, died of burns suffered in the explosion of a gasoline storage tank in

¹⁴⁶ "Four Men Are Killed in Helicopter Crash," *New York Times*, June 27, 1972, 27.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Lindsey, "Francis Gary Powers, U-2 Pilot, Dies in a California Copter Crash," *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1977, 12.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ "Helicopter Crash in Philadelphia Is Fatal to 2 Television Crewmen," *New York Times*, July 15, 1979, 16.

Kennedale, a Fort Worth suburb, in 1968 - the story noted that "A newsman and an assistant fire marshal died."¹⁵²

The *Times* also depicted journalists on domestic assignment as victims even if they died covering the types of violent clashes that figured in the deaths of heroic foreign correspondents. The *Times* noted the death of Ruben Salazar, a *Los Angeles Times* columnist and Los Angeles TV station executive, as part of a larger story on a large-scale riot that stemmed from an antiwar demonstration in East Los Angeles.¹⁵³ The story noted that he was found dead in a tavern where police had fired tear gas and that the coroner believed that he was killed by a "projectile" that had "entered the head."¹⁵⁴ The *Times* published nine follow-up stories in the first year after the incident, including news that the Justice Department would not prosecute police in Salazar's death.¹⁵⁵ Salazar's widow and her family were awarded \$700,000 in damages after filing a lawsuit against Los Angeles County.¹⁵⁶ The National Association of Hispanic Journalists ultimately established the Ruben Salazar Scholarship Fund for Hispanic students.¹⁵⁷

The March 9, 1977, killing of Maurice Williams, a reporter with WHUR, the Howard University radio station, was noted in a larger page-one story about a siege involving "bands of gunmen, most saying they were members of the Hanafi Moslem sect," involving a group of Hanafi Muslims who took hostages and shot at three buildings, including City Hall, in

¹⁵² "Two Die of Blast Injuries." *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1968, 27.

¹⁵³ Robert A. Wright, "East Los Angeles Calm after Riot." *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1970, 30.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Steven V. Roberts, "6 Policemen and an Informer Indicted for Rights Violations on West Coast," *New York Times*, March 4, 1971, 24.

¹⁵⁶ "Payments Approved in Newsman's Death," *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1974, 30.

¹⁵⁷ "Benefits," *New York Times*, Feb. 16, 1997, 56.

Washington, D.C. "¹⁵⁸The *Times* ran a page-one follow two days later after the gunmen were arrested.¹⁵⁹

Foreign Correspondents in Hotspots

The Vietnam War dominated international news during the 1960s and 1970s. But journalists also died covering hostilities throughout the rest of the world. As with its reporting on the death of George Polk, the *Times* coverage of these deaths reflected a commitment to chronicling the sacrifice of foreign correspondents and, in some cases, also ensuring a degree of accountability when these journalists perished. At the same time, these stories reinforced certain qualities in these hero journalists, such as their willingness to take risks in pursuit of the story.

The *Times* ran a story about Paul Schutzer, with *Time*, and Ted Yates, with NBC, when they died in separate incidents in June 1966, while covering the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 - Schutzer being shot in Negev, Yates of wounds in the Jordanian side of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁰ The story said: "Yates, a Marine combat correspondent during the war in Korea, had covered many combat zones and had had several narrow escapes during his career as a producer of television documentaries. N.B.C. recalled yesterday that he had been fired upon by North Vietnamese in Laos, stoned by Communists in Sumatra, expelled from Cambodia and caught between rioting students and a bayonet charge by a place guard in Java."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Linda Charlton, "Gunmen Linked to a Moslem Sect Invade 3 Buildings in Washington, Kill 1 and Hold Scores Hostage," *New York Times*, March 10, 1977, 1.

¹⁵⁹ James M. Naughton, "12 Moslems Facing Kidnapping Charges after End of Siege," *New York Times*, March 12, 1977, 1.

¹⁶⁰ "U.S. TV Aide and Photographer Are Killed in Mideast Fighting," *New York Times*, June 7, 1967, 21.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

The subhead to a section of the story profiling Schutzer's life read: "Schutzer's Courage Cited."¹⁶² The story noted that "Mr. Schutzer had, in the word of a newspaper friend, "almost too much courage."¹⁶³ The *Times* reported that Schutzer's "friend said that despite the photographers' years of experience he never tired of accepting dangerous and arduous assignments. A spokesman for Life magazine said that he not only had volunteered to cover the Middle Eastern crisis, but had insisted that he would go in any case if Life did not assign him."¹⁶⁴

The *Times* ran a brief when Klaus Frings, a German native with the Associated Press, was killed in April 1969, in West Germany after being struck in the head with a stone while covering a student riot in Munich.¹⁶⁵ The *Times* also ran a follow-up story with the headline: "Germans Deplore Photographer's Death after Injury in Clash."¹⁶⁶

The initial seizure of Charles Horman, a freelancer, by the Chilean military in 1973 focused more on the arrest of a U.S. professor in what was described as a search for leftists.¹⁶⁷ Horman was identified as a New York filmmaker.¹⁶⁸ A follow-up story about the confirmation of the death of Horman and another American focused on his investigation of possible U.S. intervention in Chilean politics - Chilean President Salvador Allende had been removed from

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ "Photographer's Injury Fatal," *New York Times*, April 17, 1968, 11.

¹⁶⁶ David Binder, "Germans Deplore Photographer's Death after Injury in Clash," *New York Times*, April 18, 1968, 14.

¹⁶⁷ Marvine Howe, "Chile Seizes a U. S. Professor in Hunt for Leftists," *New York Times*, Sept. 25, 1973, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

office in a coup.¹⁶⁹ The *Times* ran a sidebar that same day about the victim's father's outrage at the quality of the U.S. investigation.¹⁷⁰

Horman's death and the subsequent investigation by his father was the basis for the film "Missing," released in 1982.¹⁷¹ The *Times* ran a page-one story in 2000 when President Bill Clinton ordered the release of classified documents that showed that the U.S. may have been complicit in the death.¹⁷² The *Times* also ran an editorial critical of the U.S. involvement in Chile and its withholding of knowledge about the circumstances of Horman's death.¹⁷³

The *Times* also ran a story about the deaths in a plane crash on take-off in Amman, Jordan, of two TV journalists in September, 1977 - David Jayne, a producer for the ABC evening news, and Larry Buchman, a field producer.¹⁷⁴ The story included biographical information and pointed out that they were on a journalistic mission. They "had flown to Amman to relay by satellite a segment of tapes of an interview Barbara Walters had conducted in Beirut Wednesday with Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In the four-minute segment broadcast Thursday night, Mr. Arafat indicated he would accept Israel's right to exist provided that an independent Palestinian state was created on the West Bank of the Jordan River, according to an ABC spokesman."¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Marvine Howe, "2 Americans Slain in Chile: The Unanswered Questions," *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1973, 20.

¹⁷⁰ "Victim's Father Is Bitter at U.S. Handling of Case." *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1973, 21.

¹⁷¹ Flora Lewis, "New Film by Costa-Gavras Examines the Chilean Coup," *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1982, 2.

¹⁷² Diana Jean Schemo, "U.S. Victims of Chile's Coup: The Uncensored File." *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 2000, 1.

¹⁷³ "The Truth About Chile," *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 2000, A26.

¹⁷⁴ Peter B. Flint, "2 ABC Producers Die in Air Crash," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1977, 19.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Three journalists died on Nov. 18, 1978 during one of the major news events of the year.¹⁷⁶ Gregory Alan Robinson, a *San Francisco Examiner* photographer, Don Harris, an NBC correspondent, and Robert Brown, an NBC cameraman, were killed in Guyana with Leo J. Ryan, a California congressman, when they were ambushed on an airstrip near Jonestown as they were en route to report on the People's Temple religious sect led by Jim Jones.¹⁷⁷ The journalists were also the subject of a sidebar, which included profiles of each of the victims along with the photographs.¹⁷⁸ The *Times* reported that *Examiner* staffers "described Mr. Robinson as a perfectionist who was willing to take risks to get good shots."¹⁷⁹ In the profile of Brown, a fellow reporter said: "He loved action."¹⁸⁰

The *Times* ran a story about the death of Joe Alex Morris Jr., a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent who was fatally shot on Feb. 12, 1979, while covering fighting between combatants near an air base in Iran.¹⁸¹ In a separate profile, Morris was depicted as the prototypical foreign war correspondent.¹⁸² The lead to the story read: "Joe Alex Morris Jr. died as he had lived for most of his adult life, rushing to report another outbreak of violence in the volatile Middle East."¹⁸³ Noting that he "came from a journalistic family," the story also said Morris had been "an award-winning veteran of more than two decades of covering wars in Israel,

¹⁷⁶ "Guyana Official Reports 300 Dead at Religious Sect's Jungle Temple," *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1978, A1.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ "The Three U.S. Newsmen Slain in Guyana Ambush," *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1978, A16.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ "American Reporter Killed by a Stray Bullet in Iran., *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1979, 4.

¹⁸² John Kifner, "An Award-Winning Reporter," *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1979, 4.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Cyprus," and his foreign editor was quoted as saying that he "never settled for less than the best information, regardless of personal risk or hardship."¹⁸⁴ The editor also said that it had been "ultimately this determination for quality that cost him his life."¹⁸⁵

The *Times* reported on the death of Bill Stewart, who was fatally shot along with his interpreter by a Nicaraguan soldier on June 20, 1979 while covering skirmishes involving government and rebels.¹⁸⁶ An ABC soundman, James Cefalo, said that members of the National Guard approached the two at a roadblock, "motioned for them to lie face down. Then one guard walked over and kicked Bill in the side," and as Stewart "started to put his hands on his head ... the guard took one step forward ... and shot Bill once in the head."¹⁸⁷

The *Times* reported that President Jimmy Carter called the murder "an act of barbarism that all civilized people condemn. Journalists seeking to report the news and inform the public are soldiers in no nation's army. When they are made innocent victims of violence and war, all people who cherish the truth and believe in free debate pay a terrible price."¹⁸⁸

The *Times* also ran a story in August 1979 about unrest in Guyana and noted that the previous month, "In one melee, a priest, the Rev. Bernard J. Darke, who is a photographer for The Catholic Standard, a newsletter critical of Government policies, was stabbed to death. A reporter for the paper was badly beaten. The Government denied responsibility, and a suspect

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Linda Charlton, "ABC Reporter and Aide Killed by Soldier in Nicaraguan Capital," *New York Times*, June 21, 1979, A12.

¹⁸⁷ Linda Charlton, "ABC Reporter and Aide Killed by Soldier in Nicaraguan Capital," *New York Times*, June 21, 1979, A12.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

was arrested in connection with the stabbing."¹⁸⁹ The *Times* noted that a suspect had been arrested in a larger story about challenges facing Guyana's president.¹⁹⁰ In a page-one story on the October 31 crash of a commercial jet that claimed 74 lives, the *Times* reported that one of the victims was Ken Lucoff, a 31-year-old ABC producer "on his way to El Salvador to report on disturbances there."¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ "Unrest Boils up in Guyana," *New York Times*, August 26, 1979, 140-E2.

¹⁹⁰ Joseph B. Treaster, "Guyana's President Facing Biggest Challenge in 15 Years," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1979, 2.

¹⁹¹ Alan Riding, "74 Die in a DC-10 Crash in Mexico as Pilot Lands on Closed Runway," *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1979, A1.

Chapter 10: The Modern Era: 1980-2012

Overview

The period stretching from 1980 to 2012 saw a resurgence of the hero mythology in tributes to fallen journalists. Despite an increasing awareness of the tie between journalism's acknowledged macho code and risk-taking among journalists, there was more heroic mythologizing during this period than in any other since World War II.

Overall, 25 fallen journalists were depicted heroically, with 19 of them dying on foreign assignment, including 15 covering foreign wars. The six journalists who died in the U.S and were depicted heroically were all assassinated because of their work. The mythologizing became even more pronounced in the post 9/11 era, when 14 fallen journalists were depicted heroically, all but one of whom died on foreign assignment. A third of the 18 journalists who died covering the Iraq War were depicted heroically.

The *Times* coverage of journalists dying on U.S. soil was proportionately lower than in any other period in this study. The *Times* published articles on 29 of the 65 journalists who died on domestic assignment compared to 51 of the 64 of those who died on foreign soil.

This era was marked by widespread changes in the practice of journalism. In 1980, CNN began broadcasting as the first 24-hour news cable channel.¹ Little more than 15 years later, most U.S. newspapers, including the *New York Times*, began publishing online.²

¹ Hanson, *Mass Communication: Living in a Media World*, 309.

² "About The Company," The New York Times Company, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.nytc.com/company/milestones/timeline_1851.html.

For the first time in this study, print reporters were no longer the single dominant media form represented on the list of fallen journalists. Of the 129 U.S. fallen journalists from 1980 to 2012, the *New York Times* published articles on 44 of 59 print journalists, 23 of 52 in television, seven out of 10 in radio, all five multimedia journalists and all three documentarians. Bradley Will of *Indiamedia.org*, a documentarian fatally shot while covering a protest against the Mexican government that turned violent, was the first fallen journalist in this study to work for an Internet site that only published online.³

The Hero Journalist as Innocent

The journalists who died on foreign assignment in the 1980s included novice reporters who set out to cover the strife in Central and South America at a time when U.S. military action was far more covert than in past periods. The lack of overt U.S. presence meant that mainstream outlets had a minimal presence in these locales. Consequently, younger reporters – sometimes freelancers - stepped in to fill that void.

This factor resulted in one crucial difference in the heroic myths – a difference also found in versions of the Grail search. Tributes to veteran fallen journalists in earlier historical periods involved a hero more in the mold of the saintly Galahad, the great battle-tested knight.⁴ The Grail search undertaken by the novice journalists in the 1980s is more like the legend involving “young Perceval,” the knight in training whose journey has more to do with coming to terms with “the dynamic of his own impulse system,” according to Joseph Campbell.⁵ The irony of

³ Marc Lacey, "3 Killed in Mexican Protest; Police Move In," *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 2006, 4.

⁴ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Perceval's hero's journey is that the one question he needed to ask of the Grail King – namely, what is ailing him – is the one he studiously avoids because he has been taught a real knight never asks "unnecessary questions."⁶ After years of failure in his quest, Perceval finally is able to capture the Grail by asking the king that question, symbolically casting aside "the rules of the society" and opening himself up to the spirit of compassion.⁷

The tribute to John Sullivan, a freelancer who died in 1980 while working on a story related to the civil strife in El Salvador, shared many similarities with the Grail legend featuring Perceval. Sullivan, according to the *Times*, was "a determined novice" who had been "described yesterday as a man with one purpose in life - to be a journalist."⁸ Like Perceval, Sullivan's answering of the call involved an impulsive move – he left a job in the composing room of *The Daily News*, the New York newspaper where his father was a photoengraver, to embark on a career as a writer – he was on assignment for *Hustler* magazine when he disappeared from his hotel, his torso eventually being found in a ditch.⁹ Malcolm S. Forbes, then the president and editor in chief of *Forbes* magazine, told the *Times* that Sullivan "was so determined to succeed as a journalist he quit a wellpaying union job to look for work as a writer ... My guess is that if he had an opportunity to see the guerrilla side down there, he would have seized it without worrying about the danger."¹⁰ One of Sullivan's sisters told the *Times* that "what my brother really wanted to do was write," adding: "He took different courses in journalism, and went to

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Edith Evans Asbury, "Young U.S. Journalist Missing in El Salvador: A Determined Novice," *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1981, A14.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Brazil and taught himself Portuguese and freelanced in Nicaragua, and taught himself Spanish, and was always writing stories and trying to get on a paper.”¹¹ In this sense, Sullivan belonged in the category of heroes who – Campbell says – undergo “the type of adventure in which the hero has no idea what he is doing but suddenly finds himself in a transformed realm.”¹²

This version of the Grail myth can be seen again in the tributes to Dan Eldon, a 22-year-old photographer who was killed in Mogadishu by a Somalis rioting after military action by the United Nations.¹³ In a *Times* tribute, Eldon – who worked for Reuters and established both British and American citizenship - was described as “the clown and the entertainer” who “always had something to give.”¹⁴ His story is about a hero stumbling onto a sense of compassion: “He took his fame with an impish grin and a shrug. Dan thrived on people, and his pictures of bodies and bombed houses haunted him.”¹⁵

New York Times reporter Nathaniel C. Nash was also portrayed as the compassionate hero when he died in a 1996 plane crash in Croatia that killed 31, including U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown.¹⁶ The coverage is similar to that when Camille Cianfarra, the Madrid correspondent with the *New York Times*, was killed in the accident involving the Andrea Doria near the Nantucket coast.¹⁷ Nash was described as "a bundle of gentle anomalies: a passionate student of the Bible and part-time missionary with a wicked backhand and a taste for fine wine

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 158.

¹³ Donatella Lorch, "End Paper," *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1993, 205.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Times Man Killed," 1.

and a talented reporter who was so accommodating and efficient in his first years on the paper that he had trouble convincing his superiors that he could handle the rough and tumble of reporting."¹⁸ The story added: "How well he succeeded became apparent yesterday when Arthur Sulzberger Jr., the publisher of The New York Times, expressed fear that Mr. Nash was the first Times reporter to die while covering a story since World War II. He hailed him as "a colleague known as much for his gentleness of spirit as for his keen journalistic abilities."¹⁹

In casting Nash as emblematic of the best in journalistic values, *Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman was also able to comment on what he felt threatened journalism in the Cable TV-era that would become the age of the Internet.²⁰ Friedman wrote that Nash was a "professional reporter and proud of it. With today's cacophony of magazine shows, Oprah-style interview sessions and talking-head commentaries, many people have lost sight of what real journalists do. Journalists do not appear on the McLaughlin show and scream at each other. Journalists don't interview mothers and daughters on daytime confession hours. Journalists don't have their own shock-jock radio shows. Unfortunately, though, these are the people many Americans see most often in quasi-journalist roles."²¹ Friedman concluded: "When I first heard the news about Nathaniel I whispered a prayer for him, but it quickly struck me that that wasn't necessary. For he was such a good soul I know that right now he is sitting at God's elbow - and probably taking notes."²²

¹⁸ Robert McG. Thomas Jr., "Nathaniel C. Nash, 44, Reporter for the Times," *New York Times*, April 4, 1996, A10.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Thomas L. Friedman, "At God's Elbow." *New York Times*, April 10, 1996, A19.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

A Wave of Assassinations

Overall, 21 journalists were assassinated during this period, and the *Times* covered all of those deaths. Nine of those journalists were the subject of tributes that depicted them heroically. Overall, 12 fallen journalists on Journalists Memorial were assassinated on U.S. soil during this time period, and six of them were depicted heroically.

Six of those journalists were Vietnamese immigrants in a variety of U.S. cities in the 1980s who were believed to have been targeted by others from Vietnam because of political beliefs expressed in their U.S. based Vietnamese-language publications. Three were Haitian radio broadcasters killed in south Florida in the early 1990s, believed to be targeted by other Haitians because of the political opinions they expressed on the air.

In 1994, the *Times* ran a story about this wave of immigrant journalists killed, noting that a report by the Committee to Protect Journalists said that police and U.S. "news organizations have often given the killings low priority."²³ Kati Marton, the chairwoman with the committee, was quoted as saying: "I have a feeling that we don't consider non-English language media of quite the same import as English media, despite that we are a national of immigrants and some of the bravest reporting is being done by these non-English-language media."²⁴

The *Times* did provide extensive coverage of one those journalists. The *Times* ran more than 50 stories in the aftermath of the slaying of Manuel De Dios Unanue, the founder of New York's largest Spanish-language daily, *Cambio XXI*, in a New York City restaurant, including an

²³ William Glaberson, "10 Immigrant Journalists Slain in U.S. Since '81, Report Says., *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1994, A19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

initial page-one story.²⁵ The headline, "Slaying of a Hispanic Journalist Silences Crusader against Drugs," cast him in the mold of Don Mellett and other crusading journalists of the early part of the century.²⁶

In a follow-up story about the memorial service, de Dios was hailed as a "fearless warrior."²⁷ An op-ed piece by a fellow journalist urged justice in the case.²⁸ Stories followed about the conviction of a teenager in the killing, on page one.²⁹ When a life sentence was handed out, the *Times* characterized the crime as a bid to silence a journalist, with the subhead reading: "Slaying Held a Threat To Freedom of the Press."³⁰

One of the assassination victims - Alan Berg, a 50-year-old Denver radio host shot to death by a white supremacist in 1984 – received by far the most coverage by the *Times*, with more than 30 stories written about his death in a two-year period.³¹ But despite his inclusion on the Journalists Memorial, the *Times* never referred to him as a journalist in its tribute.³² Instead, Berg was called an "outspoken talk-show host" in the headline that accompanied the initial report about his killing.³³

²⁵ David Gonzalez, "Slaying of a Hispanic Journalist Silences Crusader against Drugs," *New York Times*, March 13, 1992, A1

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ian Fisher, "Slain Editor Honored at Mass as Fearless Warrior," *New York Times*, March 19, 1992, B3.

²⁸ Guillermo Martinez, "Newsmen in Peril." *New York Times*, March 17, 1992, A25.

²⁹ Joseph P. Fried, "Teen-Ager Is Guilty in Slaying of Editor," *New York Times*, March 10, 1994, A1.

³⁰ Joseph P. Fried, "Life Sentence in the Killing of Journalist," *New York Times*, March 17, 1994, B1.

³¹ Andrew H. Malcolm, "Outspoken Talk Show Host Slain Outside Denver Home," *New York Times*, June 20, 1984, A14.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

In contrast, the *Times* tribute to Chauncey Bailey – the *Oakland Post* editor shot to death as he walked to work – was the only one paid to a journalist who died on U.S. soil that reflected heroic mythic archetypes usually reserved for reporters who die covering war in foreign countries.³⁴ Bailey was depicted in ways that reflected journalistic values. His publisher described him as “the James Brown of the media. He was the hardest-working man in journalism.”³⁵

Subsequent articles expanded upon that theme, making him a symbol of a type of local journalism that the *Times* believed was disappearing.³⁶ Bailey’s killing sparked the formation of The Chauncey Bailey Project, a group of reporters who carried on his work and identified a suspect who had been overlooked by police – the son of the owner of a Muslim bakery that Bailey had been investigating as being at the center of illegal activity.³⁷ The group consciously modeled itself after the team of reporters that banded together, posse-like, to finish the work of investigative reporter Don Bolles in 1976.³⁸

As with Bolles, Bailey's hero myth revolved around the classic theme of death being followed by a resurrection.³⁹ The *Times* wrote: “When Chauncey Bailey, the editor of The Oakland Post, in California, was gunned down in broad daylight on a city street 18 months ago, it was not the end of his journalism. In some ways, it was a new beginning.”⁴⁰

³⁴ Jesse McKinley, "Newspaper Editor Is Killed in Possible 'Targeted' Attack," *New York Times*, Aug. 3, 2007, A12.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Tim Arango, "Articles on Editor's Killing Made a Difference," *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 2009, B1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

⁴⁰ Arango, "Articles on Editor's Killing Made a Difference," B1.

Daniel Pearl and the Post 9/11 World

Three journalists came to symbolize journalism in the post 9/11 world. One was Bill Biggart, the 54-year-old freelance photographer who died while covering the attack on the World Trade Center.⁴¹ His tribute was one of the many hundreds the Times wrote about 9/11 victims in its “Portraits of Grief” section.⁴²

A second journalist profiled by the *Times* was also part of a much greater story. Robert Stevens, a photo editor for the *Sun*, a tabloid based in Boca Raton, Fla., died after exposure to anthrax mailed to his office.⁴³ Part of continuing stories about anthrax scares, a profile of Stevens, who was 63, downplayed his journalistic role and, as evidenced by the headline to the story – “The Victim” - portrayed him mostly as another casualty in what seemed at the time to be part of a continuation of the 9/11 attacks.⁴⁴

The death of 38-year-old *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl in February 2002, just less than six months after the 9/11 attacks, stands out from all the other journalists who perished during the 30 or so years of this period. On one hand, it was the most highly covered – more than 250 articles about Pearl were published in the *Times* during a two-year stretch following his death. Pearl’s death also marked a passage into an era when journalists were being targeted in a more conspicuous fashion on foreign soil, with his videotaped execution and beheading on display for the wired world.⁴⁵

⁴¹ “Bill Biggart, ‘I’m With The Fireman,’” B10.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Jo Thomas, “The Victim,” *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 2001, B7.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Douglas Jehl, “U.S. Is in Talks on Handing over of Suspect in Reporter's Killing,” *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 2002, A1.

In much the same fashion as during World II, the *Times* at once melded written and unwritten journalistic values, saying that his "reportorial enterprise and personal courage were admired by his colleagues," as well as defining the mission of other journalists in the field: "The terrible irony of Mr. Pearl's murder is that he and other journalists have been trying to present a detailed and informed portrait of the mindset, motives and grievances of the Islamic fundamentalists in the wake of Sept. 11."⁴⁶

The Pearl death also engendered a more self-conscious look at the notion of journalists as heroes. In one tribute, *Times* columnist Clyde Haberman was noted that Pearl's family avoided using the word "hero," adding: "They might well have used it. It applied. But the betting here, even without the benefit of having known Mr. Pearl, is that the word would have embarrassed him, as it would most journalists and others whose work sometimes involves physical peril."⁴⁷

Of course, Haberman's imagining of Pearl's stoic resolve is in itself a central quality seen in prior hero myths involving fallen journalists. Haberman associated that quality with journalistic values: "The job speaks for itself. And Daniel Pearl was doing his job. In a way, the absence of 'hero' talk was a grace note to this miserable affair. It left more room to honor Mr. Pearl for who he was and for what he did to keep Americans informed about a corner of the planet that is still a mystery to so many of us."⁴⁸ His death, Haberman continued, "also served as a subtle reminder of how 'hero' threatens to become, if it isn't already, one of the more overworked words in our vocabulary, especially after the Sept. 11 attacks."⁴⁹ As the *Times* often

⁴⁶ "The Murder of Daniel Pearl." *New York Times*, Feb. 22 2002, A24.

⁴⁷ Haberman, "NYC; Killed on Job but Spared 'Hero' Label," B1.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

did during World War II, Haberman took care to distinguish between the role of journalists and the people they cover: "For one thing, its repeated use in connection with the roughly 400 firefighters, police officers and other rescue workers who died at the World Trade Center has divided the victims into at least two classes. The point is not lost on many relatives of the 3,000 others who died that day. Some have noted that the men and women in uniform were doing their job when disaster struck, same as the stockbrokers and busboys and filing clerks who also perished that day. Same, for that matter, as Mr. Pearl."⁵⁰

The stories about Pearl were remarkably similar to those written about Webb Miller, the United Press correspondent whose fall from a moving train made him the first journalist casualty of the World War II era.⁵¹ Like Miller, Pearl would be cast in the image of the saintly Galahad, the battle-tested knight whose ultimate triumph was opening himself up to compassion. Pearl was not just known for "doggedly pursuing and explaining obscure topics," but for writing about them with "sensitivity and nuance."⁵²

In a sense, that was the call that Pearl answered – first at small papers, then working his way up through the ranks, alternately frustrating and inspiring his editors with his single-minded pursuit of the story. "He saw that as his mission, friends said, and he died pursuing it," the *Times* wrote.⁵³ Ultimately, Pearl's heroic qualities were reflective of his industry as a whole. A former editor told the *Times* that "Danny was a reporter's reporter."⁵⁴ And in the headline to Pearl's obit,

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "Webb Miller," 21.

⁵² Susan Saulny, "A Reporter's Life," *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 2002, A12.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the *Times* described him in understated almost archaic terms that suggested his devotion to core values: “Daniel Pearl, 38, Tenacious Newspaperman.”⁵⁵

From Iraq and Afghanistan to the Arab Spring

The tributes to Pearl also signaled an overall shift in the tone of the journalistic hero myths, as the young innocents stumbling to their deaths in places like El Salvador, were replaced by experienced journalists dispatched to cover official U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This was evident in the tribute to Michael Kelly, the *Atlantic Monthly* columnist, who became the first U.S. reporter to be killed following the Iraq invasion when he was involved in a Humvee accident in 2003 while traveling with U.S. Army soldiers.⁵⁶

Kelly’s story was marked by a cycle that involved working high-profile desk jobs – as editor of *The New Republic* and the *Atlantic*, and at the *National Journal* – and repeatedly being called to go off to report in war zones.⁵⁷

The call involved bestowing a certain type of boon – the kind of story that would open the senses the heart to horrors of war. A one-time colleague said, “He came back with a description of horror that was in the tradition of George Orwell and Ernie Pyle.”⁵⁸

In an editorial tribute to Kelly that, save for a few words, could have easily run during World War II after Pyle's death, the *Times* wrote: “Reporters enter combat zones aware of the dangers they face. They sign up voluntarily believe that readers deserve a view from the

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ David Carr, “Michael Kelly, 46, Editor and Columnist, Dies in Iraq,” *New York Times*, April 5, 2003, A10.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

battlefield, and they judge themselves capable of accepting the risks. Unlike soldiers, though, they haven't trained for years to defend themselves. However, well-integrated with the troops - and Mr. Kelly's columns from Iraq revealed an uncommon rapport with the fighting men and women - reporters are never truly embedded. Even the steeliest are, in the end, innocents."⁵⁹

Kelly's Pyle-like qualities of connecting to the common man were on display in a *Times* column by Maureen Dowd, who wrote that he "went to parties at his local firehouse way before 9/11. He was deeply sentimental about ordinary working-class people - and maintained an angry outsider posture in his column as he was embraced by the conservative mandarins of Washington."⁶⁰ Dowd wrote that Kelly said "war correspondents were people 'who did not want to get in harm's way but merely close enough to record the fate of those who did.' But he put himself in harm's way because he wanted to go back to Baghdad and see America kick out Saddam."⁶¹

Such themes - pitting the U.S. against an identifiable enemy such as World War II - could be seen in other tributes to journalists who died in Iraq, such as those about the 2005 abduction and slaying of Steven Charles Vincent, a U.S. freelancer, in Iraq."⁶² He had just written a *Times* Op-Ed page piece criticizing the British military for "allowing religious Shiite parties and clerics to take control of Basra and populate the security forces with their followers."⁶³

⁵⁹ "Michael Kelly." *New York Times*, April 5, 2003, A12.

⁶⁰ Maureen Dowd, "The Best Possible Life'." *New York Times*, April 5, 2003, WK13.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Edward Wong, "U.S. Journalist Who Wrote About Police Corruption Is Abducted and Killed in Basra," *New York Times*, August 4, 2005, A8.

⁶³ Ibid.

Vincent's story was the classic post-9/11 hero's journey, with the attack on the World Trade Center galvanizing him: "He had worked as an art critic in New York and socialized in the gallery world there before the Sept. 11 attacks, he said. Those attacks and the Iraq war prompted him to travel to Bagdad shortly after the American-led invasion, resulting in a book called 'In the Red Zone' and a Web log about his experiences. After a break, he returned to Iraq, this time setting up shop in Basra."⁶⁴ That theme was reiterated in a column by Clyde Haberman: "Sept. 11 changed Mr. Vincent's world. The burning towers convinced him that he had witnessed evil in the raw. The enemy was 'Islamofascism,' as he called it, and it had to be defeated. Iraq, he felt, was a good place to begin."⁶⁵

As the Iraq War evolved from an invasion to an occupation, the danger increased to the point where many U.S. news outlets began employing Iraqis to help out with translating and other aspects of newsgathering. Nine Iraqi journalists working for U.S. news organizations - including two with the *Times* itself - were killed in Iraq following the outbreak of war.

The emergence of these young Iraqi or Afghan novices, working side-by-side with some of the most experienced foreign correspondents in the news business, led to almost a modern-day coupling of Perceval and Galahad pursuing the Grail together. These tributes to these Iraqi or Afghan journalists often ascribed to them U.S. journalistic values in a wholesale fashion, while at the same time noting that it was their very affiliation with American news outlets that had put their lives in danger.

After Fakhre Haider, identified as a journalist and photographer for the *Times*, was killed in 2005 after being kidnapped and killed by masked men who said they were the police, the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Clyde Haberman, "A Casualty Whose Words Were Weapons." *New York Times*, September 23, 2005, B1

newspaper ran a story in which Executive Editor Bill Keller was quoted as saying: "This murder of a respected colleague leaves us angry and horrified. Fakher was an invaluable part of our coverage for more than two years. His depth of knowledge, his devotion to the story and his integrity were much admired by the reporters who worked with him."⁶⁶ *Times* reporter Robert Worth wrote a tribute to Haider that described him as saving the lives of numerous reporters: "It's quite unlikely that Haider had ever dreamed of becoming a journalist. But in a sense his life had prepared him perfectly to navigate and understand Iraq's lawlessness. Born into a large Shiite tribe that suffered atrocities under Saddam Hussein, he spent five years in a prison cell, where torturers ripped out his fingernails."⁶⁷

In 2007, Khalid W. Hassan, an Iraqi working for the *New York Times*, died after being shot by someone in a passing car while he was driving to work.⁶⁸ In a front-page story, veteran *Times* foreign correspondent John Burns focused on Hassan's capacity for risk-taking and an endearing self-effacing quality: "Among colleagues who reminisced about him on Friday, Mr. Hassan was remembered for a willingness to venture into some of Iraq's riskiest war zones, his occasionally imprudent enthusiasm, and a quirky humor. He suggested his colleagues call him 'Solid Khalid,' making light of his size."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Robert Worth, "The Reach of War: Rioting and Atrocity in Basra, and the Afghan Vote. Reporter Working for Times Abducted and Slain in Iraq," *New York Times*, Sept. 20, 2005, A10.

⁶⁷ Robert Worth, "The Sudden Reporter," *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 2005, ES4.

⁶⁸ Stephen Farrell, "U.S. Troops Battle Iraqi Police in East Baghdad; Rogue Lieutenant Captured, Military Says," *New York Times*, July 14, 2007, A5.

⁶⁹ John Burns, "In a Killing on a Baghdad Street, the Questions That Haunt Iraq," *New York Times*, July 14, 2007, A1.

The coverage of his death also highlighted the growing impact of online coverage of fallen journalists. A *Times* blog contained tributes to Hassan by nine colleagues and included 73 comments by readers.⁷⁰

As the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan waned and uprisings occurred in other Middle East countries, more experienced journalists died in increasingly dangerous locales. In 2011, the *Times* covered the deaths in Libya of Tim Hetherington, identified as "a conflict photographer" who had helped produce a documentary about the Afghanistan War, and Chris Hondros, a photographer with Getty Images, in Libya.⁷¹ They and two other journalists were struck by what initially was thought to be "a high-explosive mortar blast" from government forces fighting rebels."⁷²

Getty Images issued a statement saying: "Chris never shied away from the front line, having covered the world's major conflicts throughout his distinguished career and his work in Libya was no exception."⁷³ Both journalists' work was depicted as reflecting their compassion, in particular Hetherington, with the executive director of Human Rights Watch saying his death was "a devastating loss to the human rights community. His work has raised the visibility of many of the world's forgotten conflicts. May the legacy of his exceptional photographs serve to inspire future generations."⁷⁴

⁷⁰ "Memories of a Slain Colleague, 'Solid Khalid,'" *New York Times*, July 13, 2007, accessed May 5, 2013, <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/07/13/memories-of-a-slain-colleague/?scp=1&sq=Khalid+Hassan&st=nyt>.

⁷¹ C.J. Chivers, " 'Restrepo' Director and a Photographer Are Killed in Libya," *New York Times*, April 21, 2011, A12.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Times media writer David Carr wrote about meeting both men on assignment, clearly casting Hetherington in the dramatic mold of the prototypical heroic war photographer, Robert Capa: "Tim Hetherington was a war photographer in every regard. Tall, brutally handsome and modest, he had a British accent plucked from a Graham Greene novel and the body fat of a Diet Coke ... He looked like Superman and seemed just as invincible. That proved not to be the case."⁷⁵

In explaining his methodology, Hondros echoed Capa's famous quote, telling Carr that: "Unless it happens right in front of you, you can't make a picture of it."⁷⁶

Carr stressed that that the two journalists "were adventurers, but not daredevils in the way war photographers are often portrayed in movies."⁷⁷ He also captured an essential part of the hero journalist myth: the stoicism lurking beneath the panache. Carr wrote that Hetherington, while on assignment in Afghanistan, "broke his leg on one hike when the unit came under fire and walked back four hours on the busted limb."⁷⁸ Carr related that Hetherington's initial comment on the experience was: " 'That was not a very good evening,' he said, smiling and looking down at the scar."⁷⁹ Carr wrote that when he asked Hetherington about "how he kept marching while his leg was broken, he said, 'There was very little choice at the time, because you don't want to be the person that is slowing down the platoon and putting others at risk.' "⁸⁰

Carr also noted that there was a greater purpose behind that resolve, one rooted in journalism history: "Tim and Chris were very different men who died because they had something in common: each thought it important to bear witness, to make images that communicated human suffering and

⁷⁵ David Carr, "War, in Life and Death," *New York Times*, April 25, 2011, B1.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid..

send them out to the world."⁸¹ Carr also put their deaths within the context of journalism history: "The loss is large, akin in some ways to the 1971 helicopter crash in Laos that ended the lives of Larry Burrows, Henri Huet, Kent Potter and Keisaburo Shimamoto, four of the best photojournalists of their generation. Many people have died in the recent wars the two men covered, and we should not make the journalist's error of elevating the deaths of Tim and Chris above those of others. But beyond the personal loss for their families and friends, there is a civic loss when good journalists are killed."⁸² As Thomas Friedman did in his tribute to *Times* colleague Nathaniel Nash in the mid-1990s, Carr framed that loss in a way that allowed him to comment on perceived threats to journalism coverage, such as a decline of foreign reporting in an age when "news organizations have retrenched and many overseas bureaus have been closed."⁸³

The force at the root of many of those challenges to journalism - the Internet, and by extension, social media - served to enhance the mythologizing of the two hero journalists. With Twitter, the world did not have to wait 30 years to read Hetherington's notes in his last moments, such as was the case with Byron Darnton and his stirring account revealed in his missing notebook found at the *Chicago Tribune*.⁸⁴ The *Times* revealed that "Mr. Hetherington's final Twitter post, sent Tuesday, was eerily prophetic: 'In besieged Libyan city of Misrata. Indiscriminate shelling by Qaddafi forces. No sign of Nato.'"⁸⁵

In addition to allowing fallen journalists to be the recipient of tributes by colleagues and readers via social media and blogs, the Internet has allowed media organization to produce

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Arnold, "Wartime Notes Led up to Death of the Reporter," 55.

⁸⁵ Chivers, "'Restrepo' Director and a Photographer Are Killed in Libya," B1.

perhaps an even more powerful form of memorializing. Where in the past, the *Times* may have reprinted a correspondent's last dispatch, it now can - as in the case of both Hetherington and Hondros - offer vivid high-definition multimedia representations of their works. Hetherington was the subject of a complete online retrospective by the *Times*.⁸⁶ Hondros' work was given a full viewing when he was named a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize the year after his death.⁸⁷

When *Times* reporter Anthony Shadid died in 2012 while on assignment for the *Times* in Syria, the tributes from fellow journalists and readers came through Twitter feeds as well as other social media, which the *Times* assembled online.⁸⁸

CNN anchor Anderson Cooper described Shadid as “a brave and smart reporter.”⁸⁹ *Times* correspondent John F. Burns likened Shadid to heroes past: “Like Ernie Pyle, and for many of the same reasons, he’ll be remembered for as long as reporters go to war.”⁹⁰

In the tributes, Shadid is clearly cast in the mold of Galahad, with his Grail search centered around an opening to compassion: “Anthony Shadid, the two-time Pulitzer-Prize-winning foreign correspondent who died on Thursday at 43, had long been passionately interested in the Middle East, first because of his Lebanese-American heritage and later because of what he saw there firsthand.”⁹¹ The tribute made clear that this sense of compassion was achieved through a connection with people; “Much of his work centered on ordinary people who

⁸⁶ David W Dunlap, James Estrin and Kerri MacDonald, "Parting Glance: Tim Hetherington," *New York Times*, April 20, 2011.

⁸⁷ Kerri MacDonald and James Estrin, "Pulitzer Prizes: The Effects of War At Home," *New York Times*, April 16, 2012.

⁸⁸ "From Readers and Colleagues, an Outpouring of Respect for Anthony Shadid," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 2012, accessed March 19, 2012, <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/17/on-twitter-an-outpouring-of-respect-for-shadid>.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Margalit Fox, "Anthony Shadid, Reporter in the Middle East, Dies at 43," *New York Times*, Feb. 16, 2012, A24.

had been forced to pay an extraordinary price for living in the region - or belonging to the religion, ethnic group or social class - that they did.”⁹² This tribute further highlighted Shadid’s sense of compassion by quoting a letter the *Times* submitted when nominating him and some colleagues for a 2012 Pulitzer Prize: “Steeped in Arab political history but also in its culture, Shadid recognized early on that along with the despots, old habits of fear, passivity and despair were being toppled. He brought a poet’s voice, a deep empathy for the ordinary person and an unmatched authority to his passionate dispatches.”⁹³

This boon, the tributes showed, was made possible by that classic mythic journey, which - according to Campbell - is marked by a “cycle, a going and a returning,” with the hero returning with “a message” after undergoing adventures not to be experienced by most mortals.⁹⁴ The *Times* noted that “Mr. Shadid’s work entailed great peril. In 2002, as a correspondent for The Globe, he was shot in the shoulder while reporting in Ramallah, in the West Bank. Last March, Mr. Shadid and three other Times journalists — Lynsey Addario, Stephen Farrell and Tyler Hicks — were kidnapped in Libya by Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi’s forces. They were held for six days and beaten before being released. Later that year, as the Syrian authorities denounced him for his coverage and as his family was being stalked by Syrian agents in Lebanon, Mr. Shadid nonetheless stole across the border to interview Syrian protesters who had defied bullets and torture to return to the street.”⁹⁵

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 152.

⁹⁵ Fox, "Anthony Shadid, Reporter in the Middle East, Dies at 43," A24.

Implicit in this tale, is that as an asthmatic, Shadid's return always brought a degree of peril – in the end, of course, he died not from bullets, but from what may have been an allergic reaction during a journey through rural Syria.⁹⁶

Fallen Journalists on the Homefront

The *Times* infrequently wrote about journalists who died on U.S. soil. With the exception of stories about journalists who were assassinated on the homefront, the reporters who died on U.S. soil were generally portrayed as victims. Such was the case in 1986 when Jane Dornacker, a 40-year-old traffic reporter with New York's *WNBC* radio station, died when the helicopter she was in crashed in the Hudson River.⁹⁷ Dornacker was not portrayed as the type of hero who operates outside the field of normal human capacity. Rather her story follow the myth of the victim, who - Jack Lule writes - "represents society and its individuals," so consequently "we must be able to see ourselves in them."⁹⁸

Dornacker's manner of death was not uncommon for journalists – 26 of the journalists in this era died in helicopter crashes, and 19 of those crashes involved journalists on assignment in the U.S.. However, Dornacker was the only one of the local fallen journalists to receive a *Times* tribute in the form of a story. Undoubtedly, the reason for the *Times* coverage – the story ran on the front page – was that it involved a significant spot news story in the New York metropolitan area; indeed, the background biographical information about Dornacker was at the end of the

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Michael Norman, "Traffic Copter Crash in Hudson Kills Reporter," *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1986, A1.

⁹⁸ Lule, "Myth and Terror on the Editorial Page: The New York Times Responds to September 11, 2001," 282.

piece. In that, it was not so much a story about a fallen journalist than about a dramatic local helicopter crash.

The story played up Dornacker's eclectic background before becoming a traffic reporter in San Francisco, then at New York's *WNBC* radio station.⁹⁹ She had been voted a homecoming queen at San Francisco State College, worked as "a mail carrier, comedian, songwriter and actress" – she had a role in the movie *The Right Stuff* – and wrote songs for a rock band, "The Tubes."¹⁰⁰

Ironically, Dornacker's story contained the narrative that could have led to a heroic telling. She was involved in another crash of a traffic helicopter months before she died – the copter crashed in the Hackensack River, and she managed to swim ashore.¹⁰¹ It is hard to argue that the courage she fostered to get back in the helicopter was not at least equal to a combat reporter returning to cover war; moreover, it could be argued that reporting traffic news is a crucial part of local journalism – one that could conceivably affect the safety of listeners. However, instead of depicting her in heroic terms, the article portrayed Dornacker as the everyman who got back in a helicopter because – according to a friend – "she knew she had to do it."¹⁰² She was also portrayed as someone who overcame her initial fear of flying not for some higher journalistic purpose but because of aesthetic reasons; her friend told the *Times* that Dornacker "said when she first went up flying, that it was kind of scary, but she really felt it was kind of beautiful driving along the Hudson at sunset."¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Norman, "Traffic Copter Crash in Hudson Kills Reporter," A1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

The depiction of Jane Dornacker as a victim, compared to so many heroic depictions of so many war correspondents, most of them male, leads to an obvious question of whether gender may play a role in determining the mythic structure of journalistic tributes.

The post-war period would be marked by the gradual growth of women in journalism – in 1977, for the first time, women accounted for slightly more than half of all students in journalism schools, becoming the majority for the first time.¹⁰⁴ The percentage of female journalists who died while on assignment in this period increased. Overall, 12 percent of the journalists who died were women. And yet the deaths of those women were covered less than in the past. Two of the women received heroic tributes, both of them dying while covering war.

The *Times* wrote stories about seven of those 15 women. By comparison, the *Times* ran stories about 73 of the 114 male journalists. Of that number, just four women died on foreign assignments that were related to war.

It still remains very rare for U.S. female journalists to die in combat. Somewhat lost in coverage of the death of Marie Colvin, the American journalist who died in 2012 while covering the Syrian uprisings, was that she technically was the first U.S. woman in more than 27 years to die in an actual combat situation. Two U.S. female journalists - Sharon Herbaugh, a 39-year-old Associated Press reporter, and Natasha Singh, a 28-year-old freelancer from the U.S. - were both killed in the same helicopter crash in 1993 in Afghanistan, but the accident was not due to enemy fire. The last U.S. female journalist to be killed in a combat situation before Colvin was Linda Frazier, a 38-year-old Portland, Ore., native working for an English-language paper in

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 43.

Nicaragua; she was killed in 1984 when a bomb went off at a press conference in Costa Rica involving a rebel leader in the region's civil war.¹⁰⁵

Though Frazier's death was covered by the *Times*, she was only given brief mention in a story that focused on other Americans hurt or killed in the blast, as well as the country's greater role in Central America at the time. In contrast, Colvin was the subject of several tributes in the *Times*, and her story depicted the same heroic mythology that could be seen in stories about *New York Times* reporter Anthony Shadid, who had died little more than a week before her. Colvin, the *Sunday Times of London* correspondent raised in Oyster Bay, N.Y., was described as "intimately familiar with risk, wearing a distinctive black eye patch since she lost an eye while crossing battle lines in Sri Lanka in 2001."¹⁰⁶

The black eye patch - worn by a staple of modern comic-book or movie heroes - helped give Colvin an almost antihero persona. Her editor told the *Times* that "(n)othing seemed to deter her," and a former colleague talked about her 'gutsy determination, a sense of humor and 'the bravery that would mark her career.'¹⁰⁷

The cycle of going and returning involved the coverage of wars for 25 years in "the Balkans, the Middle East, Somalia, Afghanistan, Southeast Asia and East Timor."¹⁰⁸ Once again, the story revealed that the boon she delivered to society – the story – was not in service to prizes or self-aggrandizement, but a sense of compassion to others. The tribute included a quote from Colvin given in a speech she had attended that honored journalists who died in the line of duty: "We can and do make a difference in exposing the horrors of war and especially the atrocities

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Kinzer, "Costa Rica Holds Nicaraguan Rebel Wounded in Blast," *New York Times*, June 1, 1984, A1.

¹⁰⁶ MacFarquhar, "Recalling a Journalist Who Died Bearing Witness to a Siege," A10.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

that befall civilians ... Our mission is to report these horrors of war with accuracy and without prejudice. We always have to ask ourselves whether the level of risk is worth the story. What is bravery, and what is bravado?"¹⁰⁹

Fallen Journalists: The Forgotten Ones

Though a major objective of this study was to identify mythic story structures in tributes to fallen journalists, much can be learned by looking at what journalists were not written by the *Times*. In some cases, the circumstances of the deaths of some journalists were virtually identical, according to their biographies in the Journalists Memorial database, yet some received tributes and some did not.

James V. Walker, a 26-year-old reporter for the *Clarion-Ledger* in Mississippi, and Elizabeth Neuffer, a 46-year-old *Boston Globe* correspondent, died almost exactly a month apart in car accidents while working on stories related to the Iraq War in 2003. Neuffer was the subject of multiple *Times* stories, including an in-depth tribute.¹¹⁰ Walker's death received no coverage by the paper. A major difference in the two journalists' deaths was that Neuffer, an experienced war correspondent, was killed in a non-combat-related accident in Samarra, Iraq.¹¹¹ Walker's death was by the side of the road in Mississippi - his car was hit after he had pulled over to the side of the highway to check a map while on the way to interview the local family of a soldier killed in the Iraq War.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Wallace Turner, "50,000 Warned of Volcano Flood Threat," *New York Times*, May 21, 1980, A1.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "SEJ Member James Walker Killed in Traffic Accident," *SEJ Journal* 13, no. 1 (2003): 7. The Journalists Memorial listed the information about the nature of Walker's assignment when he was killed.

Similarly, two California journalists - Mark Fineman, a 51-year-old *Los Angeles Times* correspondent, and William Paul Skiba, a 43-year-old cameraman for a Santa Barbara TV station – died from apparent heart attacks months apart while on assignment in 2003. Fineman’s death was covered by the *Times* – he had been in Bagdad was about to interview an Iraqi Governing Council member.¹¹³ Skiba’s death was not – he was covering pop star Michael Jackson’s arrest on U.S. soil.¹¹⁴

The thumbnail sketches on the Journalists Memorial of the U.S. journalists who died while on assignment in the U.S. during this period also suggest hidden, almost unimagined dangers that reporters face on the job and the unimagined risks they take at work. Some of the stories suggest great daring: Reid Blackburn, a 27-year-old photojournalist for the *Vancouver Columbian*, was killed by a volcanic blast on May 18, 1980 as he was trying to document the Mount St. Helens eruption.¹¹⁵

Others suggest the implicit risk that local reporters sometimes ignore – on more than one occasion, journalists were struck and killed by cars while reporting from accidents scenes. One reporter died after falling down a steep stairway to a press box at a high school football game. Another was killed in a fall while doing a feature on hiking in rugged country. Still another was killed when he was struck in the head by an errant hammer throw at a track-and -field competition. Two cameramen died in separate incidents when they were electrocuted when their TV truck antennas accidently struck power lines. Two reporters drowned in separate incidents when they fell off fishing boats while reporting stories.

¹¹³ "Mark Fineman, 51, Foreign Correspondant," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 2003, C17.

¹¹⁴ "Fates & Fortunes," *Broadcasting & Cable* 133, no. 49 (2003): 24.

¹¹⁵ Wallace Turner, "50,000 Warned of Volcano Flood Threat," *New York Times*, May 21, 1980, A1.

In a certain sense, the circumstances of all of these deaths met elements crucial to the hero myth; these fallen journalists had been in the midst of a journey, driven by apparently noble purposes, struck down as they attempted to return to society with a boon: the news story.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

The Hero Myth and Fallen Journalists

This study asked whether *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists advanced a hero mythology. The analysis of more than 400 of those stories revealed that the *Times* advanced the hero myth with roughly one in four fallen journalists it wrote about following their deaths between 1854 and 2012.

The narrative of the tributes to these fallen journalists followed the structure of classic hero myths. Again and again, these journalists were depicted as having answered some sort of call to adventure, such as feeling compelled to become a journalist at an early age or to give up a safer job sitting behind a desk in a newsroom or covering a less dangerous beat such as sports.

They often found themselves on a road of trials, confronted by some test or setback. They may have been banned from working in a foreign country or thrown out of one. They may have been kidnapped or gravely injured in their pursuit of a story. Yet, always, like the classic mythic heroes, they overcame those obstacles and returned from the adventure with a boon for their people: in their case, the story. Very often this story was for the betterment of society and displayed a unique sense of compassion for others. And then - despite the debilitating hardships of the last adventure, or some imminent threat to their personal safety - these heroes made a final return to the threshold and made the ultimate sacrifice. This sacrifice was never made for personal glory, but in service to a higher calling: journalism.

The heroic fallen journalist in these stories was most typically one who died on foreign assignment covering war. Overall, 79 percent of those journalists whose tributes followed the narrative structure of classic hero myths were on foreign assignment. Many of those heroic

correspondents were covering war. Overall, 66 percent of those fallen journalists depicted heroically were war correspondents. Thus it is not difficult to imagine why the foreign war correspondent has come to embody the image of the courageous journalist at work, even though in reality just about half of the journalists in this study died while on assignment in war zones.

Another reason may be that when these correspondents die, their stories become public. . Overall, the *Times* published articles on 87 percent of the 223 journalists who died on foreign assignment compared to 58 percent of the 139 journalists who died in the U.S. The *Times* covered the deaths of 85 percent of the 181 fallen journalists whose deaths were tied to the war coverage. A less common but significant prototype for the heroic journalist is the reporter or editor who was assassinated while investigating wrongdoing close to home. Virtually all of the fallen journalists who were depicted heroically after dying while on local assignment were the targets of assassins. The lone exception was somewhat of an anomaly: *New York Times* reporter Camille Cianfarra, depicted heroically by his paper when he perished aboard the *Andrea Doria* when it sank near the Nantucket coast in 1956, technically died in the U.S., but he was actually returning from an extended foreign assignment as the paper's Madrid correspondent.

The Evolution of the Hero Myth

This study also asked if such a hero myth was rooted in history and had evolved through time. The analysis of the stories determined that this hero mythology first appeared in the *Times* in the 1920s, at the same time American journalism was in the midst of a professionalization movement. In fact, the first journalist the *Times* depicted in such heroic terms - the assassinated crusading editor Don Mellett - would be the first fallen journalist to die after the enactment of this first national journalistic ethics code. Accordingly, the study concludes that such a

mythology was a crucial if previously unacknowledged part of this professionalization movement. These myths worked like all mythology does, seeking to guide and inform a given society - in this case the professional community of journalists - through the tales of legends and heroes.

This hero myth was first applied to journalists assassinated while investigating wrongdoing on U.S. soil, then was quickly applied to war correspondents, from World War II to Korea and Vietnam and eventually in the post 9/11 world. The myth was also adapted to fit reporters in new journalistic mediums and formerly disenfranchised members of the profession, such as women.

Following its debut with Mellett's death, this hero mythology was applied to six of the next 10 fallen journalists the *Times* would cover in the 1920s and 1930s, first to a succession of other crusading journalists who were killed while they were investigating corruption, and then to journalists who were covering a series of conflicts that would serve as precursors to World War II.

The *Times'* application of the hero myth would reach its zenith during World War II. Not only would the *Times* cover virtually every journalist who died covering the war. Overall, roughly two out of five journalists who died during this period were portrayed as heroes. The perpetuation of the hero myth was not seen only in the narrative structure of many of the tributes. The *Times* ran stories that also told of how the greater U.S. society bestowed heroic stature on journalists, perhaps as never before. This spirit was also invoked in the *Times* editorial pages.

The hero mythologizing continued in the immediate post-World War II era, as the *Times* applied the hero myth to U.S. journalists in emerging mediums, such as radio broadcast journalist George Polk of CBS radio in Greece, and legendary photographer Robert Capa in

Vietnam, and to the first women to die on assignment. In doing so, the *Times* paid special attention to the foreign correspondents who covered the post-war trouble spots around the world. Yet at the same time, despite its efforts to establish some continuity between World War II and Korean War, the *Times* appeared as weary as the rest of the country in endorsing another U.S. war on foreign soil. Though it covered the deaths of all 10 reporters who died while covering the Korean War, none of those fallen journalists were depicted heroically. Overall, five journalists during this period were depicted in mythic heroic terms, but only two of those depictions happened after George Polk died in 1948. The image of the heroic journalist effectively disappeared in the 1950s, with only Capa and the *Times* own reporter, Camille Cianfarra, receiving this type of coverage.

The *Times* coverage of these journalists in the 1960s and 1970s shows the continuation of the mythologizing. However, the events of the times, in particular the Vietnam War, dictated a new kind of hero journalist - an antihero of sorts - whose journalistic mission was sometimes seen at odds with the government. A dozen fallen journalists during this period were depicted in heroic mythic terms. Eleven of those journalists died while on foreign assignment, with eight of them perishing while covering war. The lone exception was another crusading reporter assassinated on U.S.: Don Bolles, the reporter who was the victim of a car bombing in the immediate post-Watergate era while investigating the mafia in Arizona. Yet, though the hero myth was more often applied to war correspondents during this period, it was seen less often than in the past. Only 14 percent of the 40 journalists who died covering the Vietnam War were depicted heroically.

The period stretching from 1980 to 2012 saw a resurgence of the hero mythology in tributes to fallen journalists. Despite an increasing awareness of the tie between journalism's

macho code and risk-taking amongst journalists, there was more heroic mythologizing during this period than in any other since World War II. Overall, 25 fallen journalists were depicted heroically, with 19 of them dying on foreign assignment, including 15 covering foreign wars. The seven journalists who died in the U.S and were depicted heroically were all targeted because of their work. The mythologizing became even more pronounced in the post 9/11 era, when 12 fallen journalists were depicted heroically, with all but one of them dying on foreign assignment. A third of the 18 journalists who died covering the Iraq War were depicted heroically.

Journalistic Values and Fallen Journalists

This study also asked whether there were certain journalistic values depicted in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists. The analysis found that, in 27 percent of these tributes, the *Times* mentioned core journalistic values such as bearing witness and seeking out the truth. Some of these values almost seemed taken word for word from ethics codes, such as the need for journalists to be accurate and impartial.

The mention of these journalistic values was often included in the tributes that were emblematic of the hero myths. In particular, these values were a part of the *Times'* editorial tributes to these journalists. Thus, after its own reporter, Byron Darnton, died during World War II, the *Times* wrote that "he had been known as a man who never failed to come back with all the pertinent facts, without bias or distortion."¹ And in another editorial paying tribute to all the journalists who died during World War II, the *Times* wrote that "these men, and the other newspaper correspondents who have gone unarmed into the perils of this war, received their

¹ "'Barney' Darnton," 20.

training under an old and still vigorous tradition. They were to get the news, to get all of it, to get it accurately, to get it quickly, under war conditions as under conditions of peace."²

Risk-Taking and Detachment

This study was also interested in whether there were qualities glorified in *New York Times* tributes to fallen journalists that encouraged risk-taking and discouraged the acknowledgement of the psychological impact of that behavior.

The analysis found that in 27 percent of these tributes the *Times* espoused taking risks, mentioning qualities not seen in journalistic codes such as courage. And yet those qualities were often melded side-by-side with basic journalistic values. For example, when writing about Ralph Barnes, the first U.S. journalist to die covering World War II, the *Times* wrote that none of the American war correspondents "faced risk more willingly or more often than Ralph Barnes," and "he was intent, above all, on getting the story whatever the discomfort, whatever the danger."³ Melded together, the message was that taking risks to get the story was a journalistic value.⁴ In an editorial tribute after its own correspondent Robert Post was killed while on a bombing mission during World War II, the *Times* wrote that, in deciding to ignore warnings about the danger, Post "undoubtedly reasoned, the more dangerous the errand, the better the story."⁵

In an editorial about World War II correspondents, the *Times* noted that best journalists showed an eagerness to risk their lives, writing that "assignments involving such risks are as

² "In Line of Duty," 22.

³ "Death of a Newspaper Man," 20.

⁴ " 'Barney' Darnton," 20.

⁵ "Bob Post," 18.

eagerly sought for as golden prizes in a lottery, and accepted in the spirit of service to country. It is this spirit in American correspondents that makes stay-at-homes proud to be members of the same profession.”⁶ In an editorial after Edward Neil was killed covering the Spanish Civil War, the *Times* wrote that "there is a difference between a soldier and a reporter which demands of the reporter a different, possibly a higher, type of courage ... He risks his life, not to help one side or the other win the battle, but to let the world know what is going on.”⁷

The analysis of these tributes also found that one in 10 of those stories mentioned qualities that can be described as a form of stoicism or detachment that went behind mere objectivity and involved ignoring the personal consequences of dangerous assignments. As with the mention of risk, these qualities were also melded together with basic journalistic values.

In its description of Bertram D. Hulén, the *Times* reporter who died along with a dozen other journalists in a 1949 air crash, a *Times* editorial said that he "was a cool, reliable, conscientious reporter, who never violated a confidence and was never knowingly guilty of an inaccuracy," also describing him as "calmly smoking his pipe, never showing any sign of stress, reporting the news with honesty and with fidelity.”⁸

Sometimes this sense of self-sacrifice translated into overt descriptions of reporters shrugging off personal injury. So it was that the *Times* reported that the "last story" filed by *Chicago Tribune* correspondent Wilfred C. Barber, who died from malaria in 1935 while

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "Journalism's Roll of Honor," 22.

⁸ "Disaster in India," 26.

covering war in Ethiopia , was “dictated from his sickbed,” and Barber was quoted as saying just before his death: “I am going to get better because I have to. I have to cover the war.”⁹

Included in the story about Edward Neil's death are quotes from hero himself about covering war – quotes that are emblematic of a certain machismo that was becoming part of the war correspondent's persona: “One nice thing these wars do teach you ... when your number comes up you grin, shrug and make the best of it. No one has time to listen to a bleat.”¹⁰

And more than 70 years after Neil's death, a *Times* tribute after the death of photographer Tim Hetherington in Libya reports that, while on assignment in Afghanistan, "he broke his leg on one hike when the unit came under fire and walked back four hours on the busted limb."¹¹ Hetherington's explanation of this act was: “There was very little choice at the time, because you don't want to be the person that is slowing down the platoon and putting others at risk.”¹²

And with Hetherington and other fallen journalists these mythic qualities are often related through comparisons between them and other mythic heroes, real and imagined. Hetherington "looked like Superman and seemed just as invincible."¹³ Robert Capa "was James Bond with a Leica."¹⁴ Slain *Oakland Post* editor Chauncey Bailey was described by his publisher as “the James Brown of the media. He was the hardest-working man in journalism.”¹⁵ After his death,

⁹ Special Cable to The Chicago, Tribune. "Chicago Reporter Dies in Ethiopia." 8.

¹⁰ Carney, "Edward J. Neil Dies of Wounds in Spain," 10.

¹¹ Carr, "War, in Life and Death," B1.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Kimmelman, "A Man Who Loved Life as He Confronted Death," 2.

¹⁵ Jesse McKinley, "Newspaper Editor Is Killed in Possible 'Targeted' Attack," *New York Times*, Aug. 3, 2007, A12.

Ernie Pyle was hailed as being "as much a part of America as Mark Twain."¹⁶ And then numerous fallen journalists after him were described as being just like Ernie Pyle.

The Function of Hero Myths

The analysis of the *Times* tributes to fallen journalists clearly shows an evolving hero myth that often explicitly links core journalism values with risk-taking qualities like courage and stoic virtues that discourage reporters and photographers from acknowledging the psychological impact of their work.

As noted earlier, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to determine how these myths cause journalists to act. However, the relevance of these myths would not be clear without some attempt to draw broader conclusions from the study's findings, if only to help raise questions and suggest future research or possible types of action by the news industry.

The study of journalism practice is largely about how a group of people learn shared values and implement them in the workplace. Institutional theory suggests that myths serve an important function in the conveyance of such values for members of a profession. According to this theory, competing organizations, such as disparate news outlets, often establish common professional codes and rules in an attempt to obtain greater legitimacy in the eyes of the public.¹⁷ This could be seen in the professionalization movement in U.S. journalism in the early twentieth century, particularly through the enactment of the first national ethics code.¹⁸

¹⁶ "Ernie Pyle Laid to Rest under Fire; Funeral Party on Ie Dodges Shells," 8.

¹⁷ Peters and Heusinkveld, "Institutional Explanations for Managers' Attitudes Towards Telehomeworking," 107.

¹⁸ "A Newspaper Code," 2.

Institutional theory also posits that these institutional codes can come to serve as powerful myths in organizations.¹⁹ Yet scholars of mythology have made it clear that true myths and the messages they convey can only be taught through stories - it is why, when teaching the Ten Commandments, clerics tell us the story of Moses. So it was that these institutional codes in journalism - steeped in ethical principles like truthfulness and impartiality - could only become powerful enough to guide journalists if there was a more elaborate and compelling mythology, one replete with legends and heroes: journalists like George Polk and Ernie Pyle and Daniel Pearl, and, most recently, Marie Colvin and Anthony Shadid.

At the same time, there is no evidence there was a conscious choice by journalists to develop this mythology. A more likely explanation is that, as journalists established a shared sense of professional values, they began to see themselves reflected in the lives of their fallen colleagues. Newspaper tributes to these journalists allowed the greater journalism community to find meaning in their deaths and to carry on their mission.

These tributes also served another almost evolutionary purpose, if one can view the modern foreign correspondents as serving the same function as the native drummers who once alerted tribesmen of impending attack.²⁰ As a matter of survival, the tribe relied on a select group of brave individuals to go out into the wild and provide the most accurate information about potential threats from the outside world. This form of self-sacrifice would seem counterproductive if the goal of human behavior is to survive and reproduce, according to Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection.²¹ And yet even Darwin himself was awed by the

¹⁹ Meyer and Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," 340.

²⁰ James Gleick, *The Information : A History, a Theory, a Flood*. 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2011), 15.

²¹ Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, (London,: J. Murray, 1859).

self-sacrifice of certain insects such as ants who worked for the greater good of the colony in which they lived.²² Newspaper tributes to fallen journalists again and again reinforce the sanctity of self-sacrifice as part of a profession that sees itself as in service to the betterment of the greater society. Evolutionary theory might also explain why, according to Jung, hero myths date back to primitive man.²³

How people learn from myths can be explained through social learning theory, which holds that people learn not only as a result of the consequences they directly experience as a result of their own behavior; they also learn vicariously by observing the consequences of other people's behavior.²⁴ Social learning theory also holds that this learning can involve not just direct observation of others, but as a result of "symbolic communication" that can include exposure to mass media, such as books and television.²⁵ Accordingly, people can learn how to behave through exposure to myths because – as the scholar Joseph Campbell said – "mythology is an organization of symbolic narratives."²⁶

The narrative of the hero myth in tributes to fallen journalists teaches their peers that taking risks is a vital part of the profession, that courage and daring are just as important as seeking out the truth and reporting it accurately. At the same time, emotional detachment - not just as part of a journalistic method, but also as a way to avoid dealing with the adverse effects of

²² Robert Wright, *The Moral Animal : The New Science of Evolutionary Psychology*. 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 164.

²³ Jung and von Franz, *Man and His Symbols*, 78.

²⁴ Maisto, Carey, and Bradizza, "Social Learning Theory," 110.

²⁵ Bandura, "Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication," 265.

²⁶ Campbell, Cousineau, and Brown, *The Hero's Journey : Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work*, 135.

traumatic assignments - is a crucial aspect of being a journalist. And the most hallowed job in the profession is the reporter who embodies all of those mythic qualities: the war correspondent.

Hero Myths and Dysfunction

The hero myth is what Anthony Shadid's cousin talked about when criticizing the stories that romanticized the *New York Times* reporter's death in Syria - the myth that great journalists always go. The power of that particular myth can be explained by the notion that an individual's behavior is tied to his or her drive to enhance expectations of "self-efficacy."²⁷ Based on prior learning, that individual will make an estimation of whether a certain behavior will lead to a desired outcome and whether he or she can successfully perform that task.²⁸ The end result is a sense of "self-control," a driving force in life which is generally reinforced by tangible rewards and a diminishment of anxiety and dread.²⁹

The desire to exercise personal control over one's life is typically viewed as being synonymous with preventing undesired outcomes. In other words, the so-called "control freak" is viewed as one who overly controls his or her environment, eliminating factors that could conceivably be harmful. However, in reality, a healthy sense of self-efficacy can be due to the capability to produce valued outcomes – and sometimes producing those outcomes can only come as a result of taking risks.

²⁷ Bandura, "Self-Efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioral Change," 193.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Bandura, *Self-Efficacy in Changing Societies*, 1.

Hero myths teach journalists that a certain type of glory awaits those who take the greatest risks. These myths also serve to reinforce certain principles that journalists have learned in newsrooms or perhaps before that at journalism schools. Some of these principles are learned from written ethics codes. Some of them are taught through unwritten rules that are never explicitly taught - learned by a process that sociologist Warren Breed famously described in his study of newsroom culture as “osmosis.”³⁰ It was in those same newsrooms that journalists were taught how to behave in a macho culture that demanded they be tough, not soft.³¹ Toughness was positively reinforced by promotions, awards and higher profile, albeit sometimes dangerous, assignments. Not being tough could result in outright punishment such as dismissal when journalists complained about stories or failed to deliver.”³²

The macho nature of the hero myths should be no surprise since they were crafted in newsrooms where men had traditionally outnumbered women.³³ Nor should it be surprising that the macho culture in newsrooms has been found to be so steadfast that female journalists have been found to be more in step with that macho ethic than men.³⁴

Gender was found to be a factor in this study in so as far as the analysis of tributes to women who have died on assignment are concerned. Of the 362 U.S. journalists on the Journalists Memorial who from 1954 to 2012, 340 of those fallen journalists were men and 22 were women. The *Times* wrote stories about 64 percent of the female fallen journalists

³⁰ Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces* 33, no. 4 (1955), 328.

³¹ Elmore, "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," 21.

³² Fred Fedler, *Lessons from the Past : Journalists' Lives and Work, 1850-1950*, 86.

³³ Elmore, "Recollections in Hindsight from Women Who Left: The Gendered Newsroom Culture," 21.

³⁴ Cassidy, "Traditional in Different Degrees: The Professional Role Conceptions of Male and Female Newspaper Journalists," 114.

recognized on the Journalists Memorial. By comparison, the *Times* ran stories about 76 percent of their male counterparts.

Those numbers undoubtedly speak to historical barriers that kept women from working in newsrooms and, later, getting the most high-profile assignments, particularly the kinds that were advanced by the hero mythology. Of the U.S. fallen journalists on the Journalists Memorial, 174 U.S. male journalists died covering war, while eight women died while on combat-related assignments. Yet perhaps the most telling statistic of all is that 63 percent of those women who died covering war were given tributes that depicted them as mythic heroes. By comparison, about 23 percent of the male journalists who died covering war were depicted heroically. The message seems to be that newsrooms are equal-opportunity employers at least in this basic sense: Women learn if they follow the most demanding aspects of this macho code they will not only enhance their journalism careers. Members of the brotherhood will sing songs of them when they die.

Those results are consistent with research that shows that men traditionally display more overt signs of fearlessness than women. This maybe more a result of "sex-role typing" than some innate quality based on gender.³⁵ In fact, women exposed to "masculine" experiences become more fearless in the same way that men become more fearful when exposed to experiences judged to be "feminine"³⁶

It seems clear that journalism is a macho business and those journalists who don't take risks will lose out on the types of assignments that lead to greatest success. There are the coveted journalism prizes, many of them explicitly predicated on taking risks and named after the hero

³⁵ Kathleen M. Dillon, Edward Wolf, and Helen Katz, "Sex Roles, Gender, and Fear," *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied* 119, no. 4 (1985): 358.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 358.

journalists who have gone before. And then there are the elite jobs and financial remuneration. Witness Christiane Amanpour, one of the most famous modern foreign correspondents who has spent more than 20 years in dangerous war zones and has been rewarded with prizes, acclaim, and, ultimately, a \$2 million contract to host ABC's Sunday morning talk show, *The Week*.³⁷

Hence, it is no surprise that the journalists who have the healthiest sense of self-efficacy are the war correspondents: those who have taken calculated risks on the job and have received their just rewards for doing so. That reality also can mean that journalists who have been rewarded for taking calculated risks find a need to continue taking calculated risks – either to maintain their status or continue to keep on building their reputations. Of course, that pattern of behavior can have dangerous consequences.

Viewed through the framework of social learning theory, behavior that is motivated by a drive for a sense of self-efficacy – such as the risk-taking of journalists – can amount to what is commonly called a double-edged sword. This is reflected by Bandura when he wrote that "a strong sense of efficacy" was "not an unmixed blessing," in that some people who overcome "seemingly insurmountable obstacles" discover that their reward is "to be catapulted to new social realities over which they have lesser control."³⁸ Hence, Bandura said, they can become "architects and victims of their destinies."³⁹

The roll call of heroic fallen journalists is full of those who became "architects and victims of their destinies."⁴⁰ This is not to say, of course, that these journalists wanted to die or

³⁷ "Christiane Amanpour a budget buster for ABC," *New York Post*, March 25, 2010, accessed May 1, 2013, http://www.nypost.com/p/pagesix/budget_buster_FmXLRCYahCI2TOXh9Ki5eP.

³⁸ Bandura, *Self-Efficacy in Changing Societies*, 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

be attacked – or even that it was their fault. It is to say that, through the lens of social learning theory, they were engaged in patterns of behavior that they had learned in the past would help them gain more control over their lives not less. It is that control they sought with each new call to adventure, no matter how risky the new trials they would face, no matter if all around them actually saw their lives spiraling out of control.

Hero Myths and Destiny

Most myths are not inherently good or bad. That's why when Jung advocated that people understand the myths that are informing their lives, the goal was not to eradicate them, but to understand them, so that individuals could use the myths to serve them, rather than be in blind service to these hidden forces.

This study shows that the hero myth as it relates to fallen journalists is directly tied to certain types of assignments, most particularly covering war. In that way, this mythology helps provide direct feedback to reporters about what is valued in the profession and, along with tangible rewards like prizes, promotions, and high-profile assignments, suggests the behavior that best leads to career advancement.

A young journalist taking on a risky job as a war correspondent is engaging in a form of “delay discounting,” which explains why individuals might take huge chances for lesser short-term rewards that might not seem worth the risk in the long term.⁴¹ A slower, steadier path involves working at smaller newspapers, or at bigger ones on less prominent beats, steadily

⁴¹ Bickel, Jones, Landes, Christensen, Jackson, and Mancino, "Hypothetical Intertemporal Choice and Real Economic Behavior: Delay Discounting Predicts Voucher Redemptions During Contingency-Management Procedures," 546.

proving one's abilities until a fixed reward can be reached: either a job at a bigger paper, or a better beat, or a move from reporting to management. War correspondents eschew that slower, steadier path and, in a sense, jump start their careers, working high-profile - albeit dangerous - beats that can gain them immediate rewards.

We can see these journalists in the form of the inexperienced freelancers who were killed after rushing into war zones like young Percevals on the Grail search. It is no coincidence that these young reporters are considered impulsive, just like the addicts who have a tendency to take lesser rewards sooner rather than wait for more valuable rewards later.⁴² These rewards that await war correspondents can also be notoriously short lived and, in the long view, not as valuable as the acclaim given to seasoned journalists who, by spending years in apprenticeship developing necessary reporting skills, have worked themselves to a position of great reportorial or managerial authority.

Research also suggests another view concerning the risk-taking of these successful journalists. What sets them apart from most people is not that they take too much in the way of risk. It's just that they stand apart from the majority of people who don't take enough risk at all. Unlike many of those who behave too cautiously in laboratory experiments involving the inflating of a simulated balloon on a computer screen, these young war correspondents - at least in the beginning - know that a healthy amount of risk is vital to their success.⁴³

Many young war correspondents use that immediate acclaim as a springboard to become one of the profession's great authority figures. David Halberstam, who won a Pulitzer Prize for his war reporting in Vietnam for the *New York Times*, eventually left newspapers to write for

⁴² Ibid., 546.

⁴³ Pleskac, Timothy J., Thomas S. Wallsten, Paula Wang, and C. W. Lejuez, "Development of an Automatic Response Mode to Improve the Clinical Utility of Sequential Risk-Taking Tasks," *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 16, no. 6 (2008): 555, 556.

magazines, then proceeded to write more than two dozen books, some of them acclaimed as among the most influential of their time.⁴⁴ Halberstam was no less immune to hero myths than the next reporter. As Halberstam would note, Vietnam was an especially important assignment for him, in part, because he replaced another legendary *Times* war correspondent: "The man I replaced, Homer Bigart, great, great reporter, legendary reporter, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in World War II, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in Korea. And I was honored to replace him."⁴⁵

And yet after winning his own Pulitzer in Vietnam, Halberstam was able to let go of the myth, or at least pursue it in settings that ostensibly were less risky. Halberstam never spent time in war zones again and died fifty years later engaged in behavior that some journalists would find at least as dangerous as covering a war: riding as a passenger in a car on an American roadway.⁴⁶

Halberstam's ability to put war reporting behind him, while Colvin and Shadid could not, points out that even reporters with a common approach to taking on risk as young reporters can have different ways of perceiving risk after they spend extended time in the field. This might be understood by viewing those reporters as having what Kahneman and Tversky call a different "reference point" in framing information to make a decision.⁴⁷ They give an example of a person who has lost \$140 at the racetrack and is deciding to whether to bet \$10 on a 15:1 shot in the day's last race.⁴⁸ Unlike those who learn to cut their losses, and refuse to bet any more money,

⁴⁴ Clyde Haberman, "David Halberstam, 73, War Reporter and Author, Is Killed in a Car Crash." *New York Times*, April 24, 2007, C14.

⁴⁵ David Halberstam, interview with Deborah Leff, "Keynote Address: David Halberstam," *Vietnam and the Presidency*, American Public Media, March 2006.

⁴⁶ Haberman, "David Halberstam, 73, War Reporter and Author, Is Killed in a Car Crash," C14.

⁴⁷ Tversky and Kahneman, "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice," 457.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 456.

risky gamblers view themselves as being "\$140 down for the day" and a \$10 bet will either lead to them recouping those losses or increasing them to \$150.⁴⁹ The lesson, Kahneman and Tversky noted, is that "people who do not adjust their reference point as they lose are expected to take bets that they would normally find unacceptable. This analysis is supported by the observation that bets on long shots are most popular on the last race of the day."⁵⁰

In this sense, war correspondents are somewhat like gamblers at the racetrack. For some of them, their reference point allows them to see time away from the front as analogous to missing a great story. Rushing back to the front, as Colvin and Shadid did, even after surviving near misses on past assignments, can be seen as an attempt to double down and recoup one's losses. Risk has served their careers well in the past. Why wouldn't it serve them the same way again?

The compromised decision-making of some career war correspondents could also be viewed within the framework of the "addiction cycle" described by George Koob, one in which compulsive behavior is prompted by various forms of reinforcement.⁵¹ Some war correspondents such as Halberstam are able to walk away, in much the same way that some people can enjoy a drink or two and not overindulge. Others - perhaps suffering from undiagnosed or untreated PTSD or other stress-related disorders - find themselves in a state of "allostasis," where chronic physical and psychological demands result in a recalibration of their sense of "needs and

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid..

⁵¹ Koob and Le Moal, "Drug Addiction, Dysregulation of Reward, and Allostasis," *Neuropsychopharmacology*, 98.

rewards."⁵² These journalists could find them in the state that Koob describes, one where they have no ability to relax let alone respond to new problems.⁵³

Indeed, many have accused war correspondents of being adrenaline junkies.⁵⁴ Recalling his days covering the violence in South Africa in the apartheid era, Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer Greg Marinovich, wrote: "Each day I tried to control my fear and sought out access to the township clashes – I was becoming hooked on the adrenaline and the notion that I was photographing the final push for liberation as it was happening."⁵⁵

Jon Steele, a British TV combat cameraman, described his eventual mental breakdown in a memoir titled, "War Junkie."⁵⁶ It is easy to imagine Koob's description of the nadir of an allostatic state in Steele's remembrance of suddenly being unable to board a flight at Heathrow Airport: "The world fell out from under my feet. I knelt, shattered, on the floor of Heathrow's Terminal Four. My eyes were burning with tears and I was babbling words that made no sense and strangers were looking through my pockets to find out who I was."⁵⁷ On the floor, Steele said, he saw "faces and voices and sounds and noise and blurs of bodies speeding past me too fast and too loud. Shapes and sizes warping into a maze with no way out. Bullets and blasts exploding in my brain. Baggage and legs surrounding me like a prison, my heart pounding and screaming, *Run, goddamit! Run!*"⁵⁸

⁵² Ibid..

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Christiane Amanpour, Interview with Piers Morgan. *Piers Morgan Tonight*. CNN, June 22, 2011.

⁵⁵ Greg Marinovich and João Silva, *The Bang-Bang Club : Snapshots from a Hidden War*, 20.

⁵⁶ Jon Steele, *War Junkie*, (London: Corgi Books, 2003), 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Chris Hedges, a *New York Times* reporter who spent many years cover war, described a similar breakdown in another airport as he was trying to leave El Salvador after being tipped off that death squads planned to kill him.⁵⁹ Hedges wrote that his "last act" before boarding his plane was "in a frenzy of rage and anguish, to leap over the KLM counter in the airport in Cost Rica because of a perceived slight by a hapless airline clerk. I beat him to the floor as his bewildered colleagues locked themselves in the room behind the counter. Blood streamed down his face and mine. I refused to wipe the dried stains off my cheeks on the flight to Madrid, and I carry a scar on my face from where he thrust his pen into my cheek. War's sickness had become mine."⁶⁰

Myths and the Grail Search

In the forward to the Dr. Anthony Feinstein's 2006 text, *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*, Chris Hedges put the blame for what has happened to him and other war correspondents on the journalism industry.⁶¹ The problem, he wrote, "is not simply about the trauma of covering war. It is also, although this is often unstated, about the callousness and cruelty of news organizations, which crumple up and discard those who return to them in pieces. It is about a news culture that does not take care of its own."⁶²

And it was Feinstein himself who pointed to that more elusive culprit: the "public myth" that the war correspondent is "someone who can confront war with impunity."⁶³ This is the myth

⁵⁹ Chris Hedges. *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*. 1st ed. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6

⁶¹ Chris Hedges, "Forward," in *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*, ed. Anthony Feinstein, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), ix.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, x.

supported by Martha Gellhorn when she wrote of a career in which she had become "an unscathed tourist of wars."⁶⁴

This study determined that this hero myth continues to be advanced despite the advent of research that questioned whether journalism's so-called macho code discouraged journalists from seeking treatment for occupational mental health risks such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.⁶⁵ The *New York Times*, which produced the tributes that were the subject of this study, has been at the forefront of the effort to provide counseling for its own journalists, as far back as 1995.⁶⁶

The *Times* has also been keen to acknowledge the dangers that journalists can face in the field, with former Executive Editor Bill Keller writing in 2012: "On the 15th floor of *The New York Times* Building, the meeting rooms are named for *Times* journalists who died pursuing news. We are running out of rooms."⁶⁷ In the same column, Keller mentioned one of those journalists: Anthony Shadid, whom he described as "a passionate correspondent, fluent in the language, culture and history, a voracious listener, a beautiful writer. Careful, but impatient to see for himself. Anthony's death earlier this year - after a severe asthma attack while on a surreptitious reporting trip in Syria - was a freakish horror."⁶⁸

And yet, despite such health concerns - and a history of trauma, including being shot and kidnapped - Shadid set out on his last assignment in Syria, with the aid of smugglers on horseback, apparently following a powerful myth that the *Times* itself advanced: "Personal

⁶⁴ Gellhorn, *The Face of War*, 16.

⁶⁵ Depalma, "Suffering in Silence," 46.

⁶⁶ Himmelstein and Faithorn, "Eyewitness to Disaster: How Journalists Cope with the Psychological Stress Inherent in Reporting Traumatic Events," 553.

⁶⁷ Bill Keller, "Being There." *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 2012, A28.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

travail," the *Times* wrote in its tribute to him, had been just "part of the business for him, as it is for many of our colleagues. He kept going back."⁶⁹

That myth - that great journalists always go - undercuts the philosophy behind the treatment programs that the *Times* and other media outlets ostensibly support.

In urging that people come to understand the mythology that informs their lives, Carl Jung gave a prescription that could help the news industry.⁷⁰ However, too often the interpretation of myths are done in a literal fashion – or, as Campbell said, "reading the words in terms of prose instead of terms of poetry," which is meant to be "metaphorical."⁷¹ Journalists appear to have largely made the same mistake - reading their hero myths as literal guides as to how to behave, ignoring the deeper lessons within.

On deadline, with another great story on the horizon, news outlets focus on the basic questions of journalism involving who, what, where, why, when and how. In the crunch, though, newsroom leaders apparently still fail to ask the essential question taught in one of the central hero myths that they advance.

As Perceval eventually learned, the Grail can only be captured by displaying compassion – the young knight had to cast aside his macho notions and finally ask the Fisher King what ailed him.⁷² This question is what journalists need to ask of each other. It is, of course, at the heart of the hero's journey.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Campbell, Cousineau, and Brown, *The Hero's Journey : Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work* , 46.

⁷¹ Campbell and Moyers, *The Power of Myth.*, 68.

⁷² Ibid., 152.

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