UNIVERSIDAD MIGUEL HERNÁNDEZ DE ELCHE

Programa de Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas

FEMALE CORRESPONDENTS COVERING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. ASSESSMENT OF JOURNALISTIC QUALITY AND PARTIALITY FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

TESIS DOCTORAL

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Female Correspondents Covering the Spanish Civil War. Assessment of journalistic quality and partiality from a comparative perspective.

Abstract

During the Spanish Civil War, female war correspondents became visible as a professional group for the first time. In this doctoral thesis, we examine their role and contribution to war reporting.

Firstly, we provide a comprehensive overview. 70 female war correspondents from 17 countries could be identified during our research. Among them were renowned staff journalists and prominent authors, as well as freelancers and newcomers. Few female reporters were sent by editorials, most came out of political interest and concern. Their reporting was often framed by human interest. This subjective view was chosen by the female reporters themselves, as an autonomous agenda and counterweight to classic war reporting. On the other hand, editors demanded a “woman’s angle” that emphasised the personal context of a woman reporting from a war.

Secondly, we assess their reporting, drawing on different concepts of objectivity, journalistic quality, and partisanship. The coverage of five case studies, the US-Americans Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn, the Irishwoman Gertrude Gaffney, the Englishwoman Hilde Marchant, and the German Maria Osten, was examined in separate analyses for partiality and for journalistic quality. The evaluation showed that, as generally assumed, partisanship does have an impact on journalistic quality. Bias, however, does not simply equal low quality. To a certain extent, an empathetic, subjective view can be beneficial to the quality of a story because it opens up perspectives that a distanced approach does not have.

Key words: female war correspondents, Spanish Civil War, objectivity, journalistic quality, Virginia Cowles, Gertrude Gaffney, Martha Gellhorn, Hilde Marchant, Maria Osten.

Resumen

Durante la Guerra Civil española, las mujeres corresponsales de guerra se hicieron visibles como grupo profesional por primera vez. En esta tesis doctoral, examinamos su papel y su contribución al periodismo de guerra.

En primer lugar, ofrecemos una visión general. Durante nuestra investigación pudimos identificar a 70 mujeres corresponsales de guerra de 17 países. Entre ellas había periodistas de plantilla de renombre y autoras destacadas, así como otras periodistas freelancers y recién llegadas. Pocas reporteras fueron enviadas por medios de comunicación, la mayoría acudió por interés y preocupación política. Sus reportajes solían estar enmarcados por el interés humano. Esta visión subjetiva fue elegida por las propias reporteras, como su propia agenda autónoma y como contrapeso al clásico reportaje de guerra. Por otro lado, los editores exigían un “ángulo femenino” que enfatizara el contexto personal de una mujer que informaba desde la guerra.

En segundo lugar, evaluamos sus reportajes, basándonos en diferentes conceptos de objetividad, calidad periodística y partidismo. La cobertura de cinco mujeres, las estadounidenses Virginia Cowles y Martha Gellhorn, la irlandesa Gertrude Gaffney, la inglesa Hilde Marchant y la alemana Maria Osten, se examinó en análisis separados sobre la parcialidad y la calidad periodística. El análisis mostró que, como se supone generalmente, la parcialidad tiene un impacto en la calidad periodística. Sin embargo, la parcialidad no equivale simplemente a una baja calidad. Hasta cierto punto, una visión empática y subjetiva puede ser beneficiosa para la calidad de un reportaje porque abre perspectivas que un enfoque distanciado no tiene.

Palabras clave: mujeres corresponsales de guerra, Guerra Civil Española, objetividad, calidad periodística, Virginia Cowles, Gertrude Gaffney, Martha Gellhorn, Hilde Marchant, Maria Osten.

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1 Introduction

The Spanish Civil War was the beginning of war coverage by women to a significant extent. At the intersection of communication studies and history, this thesis examines the role of these early female war correspondents in Spain and systematically analyses their reporting in the context of partiality, objectivity, and journalistic quality. We understand this work as a contribution to two larger fields of research – to the historiography of the Spanish Civil War, with a focus on the gender perspective and the international dimension, and to the academic debate on journalistic quality standards.

1.1 The beginning of war coverage by women in the Spanish Civil War

The international dimension of the Spanish Civil War attracted enormous media attention worldwide. Hundreds of foreign correspondents went to Spain, among them at least 70 women.

In its origin, the conflict was national. In July 1936, four generals led a military coup against the government of the Spanish Republic. It failed in wide parts because of civilian resistance, organised mainly by trade unions, and resulted in a civil war with significant repercussions for the whole world (see e.g. Beevor 2006; Graham 2008; Juliá 2019; H. Thomas 1986). It was a battle between ideologies with many different nuances on both sides, the opponents consisted of very heterogeneous groupings. On the one hand, there was the democratically elected Republican side and its Popular Front government, supported by Liberals, Anarchists, Socialists, Basque nationalists, and Communists, the latter becoming more and more powerful during the war; on the other hand, the reactionary union of conservative, Catholic, monarchist, Carlist and fascist groups under the leadership of Francisco Franco. Put simply, the two Spanish fronts represented the major lines of conflict that ran through Europe.

Outside Spain, it was understood as a proxy war, "a world war in miniature" (H. Thomas 1986), and thus, a potentially decisive prelude to an imminent new global conflict: progress, democracy, freedom on the side of the Republic against reaction, Catholicism, fascism on the side of the insurgents, with the emphasis on one or the other term depending on the world view of the observer. There was general agreement that the outcome of this conflict on the fringes of Europe was important for the entire Western world. Both sides received help from outside, but only Franco from

the start and in total he received significantly more. Hitler and Mussolini sent the first soldiers and warships to the rebels just a few days after the uprising, and sent substantial help such as modern equipment, fighter aircraft and troops throughout the war (Beevor 2006; Graham 2008; Juliá 2019).

In contrast, the Republic initially had no support from governments of other countries (apart from rather insignificant aid deliveries from Mexico), but thousands of volunteers from all over the world made their way to Spain immediately after the coup, acting on their own initiative to defend the Republic. It was not until September 1936 that the Comintern decided to become involved in Spain (e.g. Berg 2005), even though the Soviet government had already sent "observers" and propagandists like the highly influential *Pravda* journalist Mikhail Koltsov, who arrived in Madrid in early August 1936 (Preston 2008; Beevor 2006; see also Kolzow 1986). From autumn 1936 onwards, most of the volunteers on the Republican side were then organised in the Communist-led International Brigades. It is estimated that in total 35.000 to 40.000 international volunteers came to defend the Republic (Beevor 2006, 177), among them at least 600 women (Lugschitz 2012, 2018)[1]. In addition, Stalin sent food, weapons, planes, technicians, military advisers and secret police (Beevor 2006; Berg 2005; Juliá 2019).

Knightley states on the dimension of the Civil War: "No other war in recent times, with the possible exception of Vietnam, aroused such intense emotion, such deep commitment, such violent partisanship as the Civil War in Spain" (Knightley 2003, pos. 4050). This interest continues to this day, Graham (2008, 9) estimates the number of publications on the Spanish Civil War at more than 15,000. The conflict raised fundamental questions that are still being discussed today. On the national level, many issues are still unresolved, and the dividing lines of that time are still perceptible in Spain's society and politics today. Referring to the international dimension, the lines of conflict are not exactly the same and communism and fascism no longer have the significance they had then, but in the course of globalisation and big migration movements the divide between nationalism and populism with authoritarian tendencies, on the one hand, and cosmopolitan liberal democracy, on the other hand, became again virulent, not only in Europe (Applebaum-Sikorska 2020; Götz, Roth, and Spiritova 2017; Mounk 7 January 2021, 2018), centre-right and centre-left parties lose support in favour of the right and left fringes of the political spectrum (Vries and Hobolt 2020).

[1] Other estimates amount to more than 1,000 women, which is possible, but not all names have been verified so far (Schiborowski and Kochnowski 2016).

Also, in the context of journalism, the Spanish Civil War coverage touches on many issues that arise in the current debate. The question of detachment or attachment, of neutrality or bias, is still particularly significant in war reporting. “The existence or possibility of objectivity and impartiality in journalism has long been debated, but it seems to have most pressing relevance in the reporting of war and conflict” (McLaughlin 2016, 33).

More than eight decades ago, the ideological fight was also led by the foreign press. “From the outset, it was recognized as a battle of ideas, ideals and ideologies, which meant that issues of mediation and representation assumed crucial importance”, Deacon (2008b, 393) notes. The interpretations were widely divergent. While journalists of the left political spectrum such as the war correspondent Maria Osten saw a struggle for freedom of the Spanish people against the “faschistische Barbarei”, fascist barbarism (Osten 14 October 1936), right wing correspondents like her Irish colleague Gertrude Gaffney reported on a “fight to preserve Spain for Christianity” (Gaffney 3 November 1937).

The media interest was enormous. Research assumes around 1,000 foreign correspondents (Armero 1976; Chomón Serna 2018). Every major press house from *Pravda* to Hearst sent its reporters. The French philosopher and Civil War militiawoman, Simone Weil, criticised the fact that it became fashionable to travel to Spain to pay a visit on war and return with a handful of articles (Enzensberger 1977, 185). Most of the male and female journalists took clear position, not because they were closely related to Spain, but because they considered the Spanish Civil War as decisive for the whole continent. As observers of European and world politics, they assumed that this was not only a battle over the fate of a rather poor country on the edge of Europe, but that the end of this war would also have consequences for their own future. The American journalist Josephine Herbst wrote, “I suspect that it was the question of my own fate that took me to Spain as much as it was any actual convulsion going on in that country” (Herbst 1991, pos. 1566).

It is widely unknown that in the Spanish Civil War for the first time in history women could establish themselves as a professional group of war reporters among male colleagues. This group “has received very little critical attention”, though it was the one “that paves the way for the journalistic activities of women during the Second World War” (E. C. Murphy 2016, 4). Until today, the beginning of female war coverage is usually set with World War II. There were some exceptions during World War I like the Galician writer Sofía Casanova reporting from Poland for the Spanish newspaper *ABC* or the Austrian correspondent Alice Schalek covering the Tyrolean front between Italy and Austria (Krasny, Patka, and Rapp 1999; Martín 2016), there were some other instances even earlier as described by

Sebba (2013) but they were rather isolated cases, quite different to Spain after the coup d'état in 1936. The findings of a previous research project already showed that several dozen women reported from the Spanish Civil War for international media from 1936 to 1939 (Lugschitz 2016; Karmasin, Kraus, and Lugschitz 2017). Up to date we have registered 70 female journalists who reported from Spain (see list in Annex 1). This figure makes the Spanish Civil War the first conflict in which female war correspondents seriously competed with their male colleagues.

Why does gender matter in this context? Gender relations, both at the level of the observers and at that of those to be observed, are an essential part of the social reality of war reporting. According to the former Austrian war correspondent Sybille Hamann, "even wars, crises and social upheavals can hardly be made understandable in journalistic terms if one is blind to gender issues" (Hamann 2010, pos. 3508).[2] Gender, in the sense of social construction and culture-specific role negotiation, can influence the analysis of and reporting on conflicts and wars. This has to do with self-images as well as with external attributions. Gender roles open – or close – different possibilities and approaches in research.

From its origins, war correspondence was a profession reserved for men and shaped by male stereotypes. "The male journalist is designed as an adventurer, a courageous globetrotter for whom no effort is too great to report from the bloody scenes of the era" (Lünenborg and Bach 2010, pos. 3579).[3] Men set the norm for war reporting. In Spain, women entered this highly male-dominated field and looked for their place in the world of war correspondents. To put it bluntly, two gender role clichés met: on the one hand, the daring type of the adventurer who delivered his reports from the battlefield at all costs, and on the other hand, the female journalist who was traditionally expected to write reports for other women about the 4-fs: "food, fashion, family and furniture" (Geertsema-Sligh 2019).

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[2] Original: "So kann man auch Kriege, Krisen und gesellschaftliche Umbrüche kaum journalistisch verständlich machen, wenn man für Gender-Fragen blind ist" (Hamann 2010, pos. 3508).

[3] Original: "Der Journalist wird entworfen als ein Abenteurer, ein mutiger Weltenbummler, dem keine Mühe zu groß ist, von den blutigen Schauplätzen der Epoche zu berichten" (Lünenborg and Bach 2010, pos. 3579).

1.2 State of research

The immense presence of media in itself has been an important subject of Spanish Civil War research (see Armero 1976; Knightley 2003; Preston 2008; Deacon 2008a, 2008b, 2012). However, female journalists and their war coverage have played a minor part in it, as have (foreign) women in general in literature on the Spanish Civil War. Despite the immense interest in the Spanish Civil War, only since the end of the 20th century, sixty years after the end of the conflict, the female – Spanish and foreign – commitment in the Spanish Civil War has gradually become the center of academic research (Ackelsberg 1999, 2018; Bianchi 2003; Flynn 2020; Jackson 2010; Lugschitz 2012, 2019; Nash 1999; Pastor Garcia and González de la Aleja, Manuel 2017; Martínez Rus 2018; Schiborowski and Kochnowski 2016). Previously there had mainly been reports and memoirs by female correspondents themselves, some of which have recently been reissued (e.g. Davis 1940; Cowles 2011b; Gellhorn 2016a; Herbst 1991; Stridsberg n.d.). Texts by female reporters have also been published in anthologies on the Spanish Civil War (Hanighen 1939; Fyrth and Alexander 1991; Hackl 2016). Due to growing interest, a number of detailed studies from the gender perspective deal with the documentary character of the reporting of individual female correspondents (Bogacka-Rode 2014; Hartmann-Villalta 2016). Nevertheless, to date, there has been no profound work on the particular role and experiences of the first female correspondents in the conflict in a general context, and there has been no qualitative analysis of their media coverage.

Most general studies on the foreign press in Spain focus on male war correspondents and their coverage. Armero provided his first listing of war reporters in the Spanish Civil War already in 1976, also naming female reporters. Preston presented the most comprehensive descriptive work on the foreign press in the Spanish Civil War (Preston 2008), also referring to women but in an anecdotal way, without delving deeper into their work. Deacon analysed the role of the British media in detail (Deacon 2008a, 2008b, 2012), with many references to female reporters throughout his study, dedicating a chapter to them (Deacon 2008a), and focusing exclusively on them in a contribution to another book (Deacon 2009). In her research on British women and the Civil War, Jackson (2010) referred to some aspects of their reporting. Monographies on the Spanish Civil War (Beevor 2006) and on war reporting (Knightley 2003) addressed the role of the foreign correspondents in Spain. In her book “Battling for News” on the history of “women reporters”, Sebba (2013) also described the experience of some female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War coverage.

Knightley, Deacon, and Preston have taken up the question of the ideologization of reporting and have dealt with the foreign correspondents' understanding of objectivity and whether they sacrificed the search for truth to their own partiality. Knightley (2003) argues that the partiality of the foreign correspondents in Spain distorted the truth. In his view, good war reporting must leave behind sympathies, regardless of good and bad:

> *The drawback of reporting with heart as well as mind is that if the cause is basically just, as the Republicans one undoubtedly was, the correspondent tends to write in terms of heroic endeavour, rather than face unpalatable facts, and to mislead his readers with unjustified optimism*. (Knightley 2003, no. 4583)

Knightley does not so much criticize the partisanship itself – he himself considers the Republican cause to be just – but that these sympathies have led to presenting the reader with an embellished version of what happened. In contrast to Knightley, Preston (2008) stresses the important point that "unpalatable truths can be dismissed as bias" (Preston 2008, pos. 105). Using particularly the example of the prominent *New York Times's* correspondent Herbert Matthews who advocated an open bias, Preston argues that to express partiality means to be honest, as long as the journalist is committed to the truth (Preston 2008, pos. 605-612). Also in contrast to Knightley, Deacon illustrates in his work on the British press and the Spanish Civil War how media "neutrality" in the Spanish Civil War supported the official British non-intervention policy, a policy that favoured the Nationalists with their German and Italian allies, and caused significant weakening of the Republican side (Deacon 2008a, 2008b).

Neutrality is usually equated with a matter-of-fact language that avoids emotionality because it is considered to be bias (Schudson 2008; Bentele 2008). That is the point where female journalists appear in the partisan discussion.

> *The debate usually focuses on two aspects: are women more emotionally biased than men and therefore partisan, and is this necessarily a bad thing? And do women report, especially in wartime, so-called soft news, oriented towards people rather than statistical facts?* (Sebba 2013, 4)

The Spanish Civil War is a particularly good example to discuss such issues in depth. Some studies point out that in Spain female war correspondents did not do classic war coverage but reporting with a human touch (Deacon 2008a). This distinction is often made for war reporting in general. Several

scholars such as Deacon (2008a) and McLaughlin (2016), however, have already stressed that this is not an absolute rule but a tendency. But in the case of the Spanish Civil it seems that this distinction is clearly applicable, which is one of our starting points.

> *"[T]he tendency for male correspondents to focus on dramatic military events and high-altitude political manoeuvrings in their coverage of the Spanish Civil War and for female correspondents to concentrate on the war's impact on ordinary lives behind the lines is so obvious that it cannot be ignored"*. (Deacon 2008a, 79)

This observation was also supported by our previous research where we observed a strong focus on the impact of war on the civilian population, while stories by female reporters with a military-political focus were the exception. However, comprehensive, systematic analyses of war reporting by women in the Spanish Civil War that could confirm these assumptions did not exist.

The attribution of human touch reporting implies a devaluation. As mentioned, emotional reporting is usually seen as contradictory to the classical principle of objectivity, which has been understood for more than a century, albeit in different cultural forms, as the key to the quality of journalism (see e.g. Bentele 2008; Chalaby 1998; Kaplan 2002; Mindich 1998; Schudson 2008; Ward 2005). This means that war reporting by female journalists which does not correspond to fact-centred news reporting has not been considered as equal from the outset, but as reporting from a partisan "woman's angle". Bogacka-Rode (2014, IV) criticizes that this "patronizing and denigrating label [...] dismissed the documentary value of [...] their human experience record, as an affectation of uninformed and class biased women writers".

Similarly, Jackson points out that this label is a misinterpretation:

> *Women's writing on Spain frequently allowed space for the personal, and empathy, in many cases, overrode detachment. This should not be dismissed as a mere trick for propaganda purposes, aiming to obscure objectivity by an appeal to the emotions. It was, in many cases, a reflection of a different agenda.* (Jackson 2010, 132)

Whether female war correspondents were more partisan or approached the war in a way that men had previously attached little importance to, the scholars are still not in agreement, not even in the case of the probably best-known female war reporter in Spain, the US journalist Martha Gellhorn. For war reporters of today, she is still a role model. In an interview with McLaughlin (2016), war correspondent Lindsey Hilsum said she believed that most reporters like her wanted to see

themselves in the tradition of correspondents such as Spain and World War II correspondent Martha Gellhorn (and Vietnam war reporter James Cameron) “because those are journalists who are honourable, those are journalists who wrote incredibly well and were able to convey things” (McLaughlin 2016, 51). Hartmann-Villalta (2016, 3) highlights that female war correspondents like Gellhorn contributed with their “gendered witnessing” significantly “to craft a human rights discourse”.

The interest in Martha Gellhorn is evident in the (recent) academic studies about her and her work. Apart from the extensive biography on Gellhorn by Caroline Moorehead (2004), the most detailed study on Gellhorn’s reporting is that of Kate McLoughlin (2017). Emphasising on Gellhorn’s reporting of World War II (but also referring to her works before and after), she examined in particular how “[s]tance (physical involvement, emotional engagement, political inclination) affects standing (knowledge and hence authenticity and authoritativeness)” (McLoughlin 2017, 226) and comes to the conclusion that “Gellhorn went where she did to get it right” (McLoughlin 2017, 228). Aguilera-Linde (2017) and Palau Sampio (2020) analysed selected Spain reportages by Gellhorn, others discussed her work in comparison with other correspondents (E. C. Murphy 2016; Valis 2017). Murphy notes with reference to Gellhorn and the Canadian civil war reporter Jean Watts: “We may begin to see a trend in women’s journalism, whereby war correspondence offers to women a means of politically motivated participation in international politics” (E. C. Murphy 2016, 29). Our pre-research also showed that, because only a few female journalists were sent by a publishing house, many, like Martha Gellhorn, came on their own initiative. Almost all female journalists who worked from the side of the Republic considered themselves anti-fascists and supported the Republic, even though to different extents (Karmasin, Kraus, and Lugschitz 2017).

Based on the image outlined here of female war correspondents who probably had a more human interest agenda differing from that of their established colleagues, albeit with a clearly identifiable political standpoint, we formulated our hypotheses and objectives.

1.3 Hypotheses and objectives

In the centre of the research are foreign female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War, and their perception and coverage of the conflict. These women were outsiders in a double sense: as strangers in a conflict which did not directly affect their own people and as professional newcomers in a highly male dominated field.

Our starting hypotheses are:

1. *It was much more difficult for female than for male reporters to gain a foothold in Spanish Civil War correspondence. As women, they stood outside military contexts and were often considered second-class war reporters, not as able as men to analyse the political and military background. In accordance with the traditional attribution of a so-called "woman's angle", female reporters chose and were assigned human interest reportages. From the outset, we consider this another agenda (Jackson 2010) to widen the view on war and not a deliberate strategy to make propaganda for one side.*

2. *Women were usually not asked to go to Spain by the news companies, but it was a decision that came out of personal interest. This approach, sometimes more emotional than professional, meant that they did not consider themselves neutral observers and most of them clearly took sides in this conflict – which is reflected in their coverage.*

3. *This sympathy/partiality had, in general, nothing to do with a close relationship with Spain but with the socio-cultural background of the reporters themselves which had a strong impact on the coverage of the war.*

4. *This bias does not necessarily mean coverage of poor journalistic quality. Just as political balance and/or neutrality do not automatically make valuable coverage.*

This thesis has two main objectives:

1. The first aim is to give a comprehensive picture of the special role of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War. Nonetheless, it cannot be entirely complete. Most female correspondents came from Central and Northern Europe and North America, but we have also found references to some female reporters from Eastern Europe and Russia, in this field our investigation was limited due to access to sources and language problems.

Drawing on international research on the foreign press in the Spanish Civil War and our own research, this study describes the commitment of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War and their experiences as female newcomers in a male-dominated professional field. The exploration of motives, professional and personal background, political attitudes, and working conditions in the environment of established colleagues, press and propaganda offices, and editorials, for which female war correspondents were something completely new, provides a broad historical background for the following content analysis.

2. The main objective is to evaluate the reporting of female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War in terms of bias and journalistic quality. The in-depth content analysis carried out for this purpose is intended to reveal discursive patterns and strategies as well as journalistic concepts of female reporters, who marked the beginning of modern female war reporting in a highly ideologized conflict, and thus contribute to an understanding of the impact of partiality, personal background and journalistic quality. At the same time, this analysis aims to illustrate the different narratives of the conflict and ideas about Spain that have been communicated by female correspondents to an international audience.

Ideally, this work can provide some aspects for further discussion in two different fields of research: on the one hand, in the historical research about the international dimension and the gender aspect of the Spanish Civil War and, on the other hand, in the communication science debate on objectivity and journalistic quality.

Accordingly, we put our key research questions:

a) How did female foreign reporters experience their role in the Spanish Civil War, what strategies did they use, what opportunities did they find to establish themselves as war correspondents?

b) What kind of stories, what image of Spain and the conflict did they transmit to their respective audiences? What were their specific interests?

c) How are their political attitude and individual background reflected in the Civil War coverage?

d) Which features of journalistic quality can be identified in their reporting?

e) Did partisanship take influence on the journalistic quality of their war coverage? In which ways?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

After this section **1 Introduction,** where we justify our research subject, briefly explain the state of research, and put the starting hypotheses and objectives of the thesis, the thesis is structured as follows:

2 Methodology gives account of the origin and nature of the sources, listing archives and libraries consulted on-site and via desktop research. Then, the design of a general content analysis searching for main characteristics in war reporting by female Spain correspondents in total and a qualitative in-depth content analysis of five case studies are presented in detail.

3 Theoretical Framework deals extensively with the academic debate on objectivity, partiality, and journalistic quality from a historical and contemporary perspective, with a special emphasis on war reporting. Based on international research, the parameters, which were to be applied in the in-depth analysis to identify partiality, on the one hand, and to evaluate journalistic quality, on the other hand, were elaborated.

Chapter **4 On the Ground** is divided into three sections. The first part provides a historical background by outlining the conflict and its international dimension, as well as the propaganda and press policy of both sides. The second part examines the Spanish Civil War coverage by female correspondents in general, exploring origin, motives, and professional experience of female war reporters in Spain as well as identifying main features of their reporting. The third part deals with the political commitment of female correspondents as activists beyond reporting, and as victims and collaborators in political surveillance.

Chapter **5 Profiles of Five Case Studies** illustrates in detail the professional and personal background of **Virginia Cowles**, **Gertrude Gaffney**, **Martha Gellhorn**, **Hilde Marchant**, and **Maria Osten**.

6 The **In-depth Content Analysis** of the selected case studies was carried out in two parts. The first part examines the partiality of the reporting according to several criteria. The second part assesses journalistic quality based on widely accepted core values. In the discussion of the results, also the mutual impact is examined.

7 Based on the findings of the in-depth analysis of each case study, the **Comparative Analysis** assigns Virginia Cowles, Gertrude Gaffney, Martha Gellhorn, Hilde Marchant, and Maria Osten to different understandings of journalism distilled in the Theoretical Framework from international debates, comparing the extent of partiality, the journalistic quality and the related discursive strategies and journalistic approaches in their coverage. Finally, we summarize the different views on Spain and the conflict.

8 Conclusions stress the most important results and contrast them with the initial hypotheses, also pointing to necessary limitations of this project and to possible further research.

2 Methodology

2.1 Sources

As described above, the aim of this doctoral thesis is to examine the role and reporting of female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War. The main focus is on an in-depth content analysis of the coverage of five case studies in terms of partisanship on the one hand and journalistic quality on the other, as well as the connection between them.

The starting point were the results of a previous research project, carried out by the author under the direction of professor Matthias Karmasin for the Austrian Academy of Sciences/University of Klagenfurt.[4] In the context of this project, we had already registered some foreign female correspondents with first biographical details (Karmasin, Kraus, and Lugschitz 2017; Lugschitz 2016). Based on these findings, the first focus of this thesis was completing the research on the historical context which meant the obtaining and evaluating of:

a. Further literature about the role of the media and the international dimension of the conflict.

b. Biographical sources about foreign female correspondents covering the conflict.

The second emphasis was put on the Theoretical Framework and the material for the content analysis, which meant the search for:

c. Studies dealing with the concepts of journalistic quality.

d. Copies of newspaper articles from Spain during the Civil War, written by female correspondents.

The research for articles published by female reporters was made by starting with the relevant information regarding newspapers included in the biographical dates of the correspondents acquired during the historical research. In some cases, there were articles in personal papers held by different

[4] Jubiläumsfondsprojekt (Project of the Anniversary Fund, Oesterreichische Nationalbank) No. 16092: „Die ersten Kriegsberichterstatterinnen: Die neue Rolle von Journalistinnen im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg“ (The First Female War Correspondents: the new role of female journalists in the Spanish Civil War); Project management: Univ. Prof. DDr. Matthias Karmasin; Project executing institution: Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna / University, Klagenfurt. Project period: from September 2014 to November 2016.

institutions, as in the case of Kitty Bowler in the London King's College or Gusti Jirku-Stridsberg and Ilse Barea-Kulcsar in the Spain archives in Vienna. The Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica in Salamanca also offered valuable material: 68 boxes contain British press articles on the Spanish Civil War, which had been collected by the Spanish embassy in London. These have already been evaluated by the University of Salamanca (Celada, González de la Aleja, Manuel, and Pastor Garcia 2006; Pastor Garcia and González de la Aleja, Manuel 2017). In her on-site research, the author focused on the most essential boxes regarding the coverage by women.

In principle, only articles published in the international press were included, one article by a German correspondent in *La Vanguardia* was taken into account as a report from the perspective of a foreigner. Media published by one of the warring parties as an internal organ or PR product, such as the International Brigades media *Il Voluntario della Libertá* and *Ayuda Médica Internacional*, were not incorporated in the evaluation.

The 166 copies of articles signed by women or clearly attributable to them, which could be collated in the context of this doctoral thesis, come from the following media: *The Atlantic* Monthly, *Belfast Telegraph* (the articles had been published before in the *Daily Telegraph*), *Cedar Rapids Gazette, The Christian Science Monitor, Collier's, Daily Express, Daily Herald, Daily Mail, Daily Worker, Deutsche Zentral Zeitung, The Fight, Harper's Bazaar, Irish Independent, The Manchester Guardian, The Nation, The New Republic, News Chronicle, New York (Sunday) American, The New Yorker, The New York Times* (and *Magazine*), *The New Masses, Nova Svoboda, Pariser Tageszeitung, Peninsular News Service* (the article had been originally published in *La Revue de Paris*), *People's Press, The Sign Magazine, Social Justice, The Sunday Times, La Vanguardia, The Washington Post*.

The search for literature, biographical sources, and newspaper articles was carried out through desktop research, contacting international libraries and archives, as well as through on-site research in archives, especially in Spain, Austria, and the United Kingdom, with important collections about the Spanish Civil War and the international coverage of the conflict. For the most important archives used for the research, see Table 1.

Table 1. Research in international archives.

Desktop research and correspondence
Anne-Frank-Shoah-Bibliothek, German National Library, Leipzig
Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, Limerick
Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin
Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford
Institut für Zeitungsforschung (Institute for Newspaper Research), Dortmund
International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
Library of Congress, Washington DC
Russian State Archive for Socio-Political History (RGASPI), Moscow
Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Moscow
Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Harvard
On-site research
Austrian National Library, Vienna
Austrian State Archives, Vienna
Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
The British Library, London
Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca
Imperial War Museum, London
Library of the Miguel Hernández University, Elche
Liddell Hart Military Archives – King's College, London
Spain archives – Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance, Vienna
University of Warwick Archives and Library, Warwick
Newspaper archives online (if not available via libraries or at the newspaper itself)
gale.com
irishnewsarchive.com
newspaperarchive.com
proquest.com
ukpressonline.co.uk
unz.org[5]

Source: author's own research.

[5] With regard to the website unz.org, one remark should be made. This website makes available free of charge the digitised versions of some American magazines of left and right political orientation. For the present work, articles from *Collier's* and *New Masses* magazines, which were discontinued a long time ago, were used in particular. Beyond that, however, the website is highly problematic, as it promotes articles with anti-Semitic and racist content.

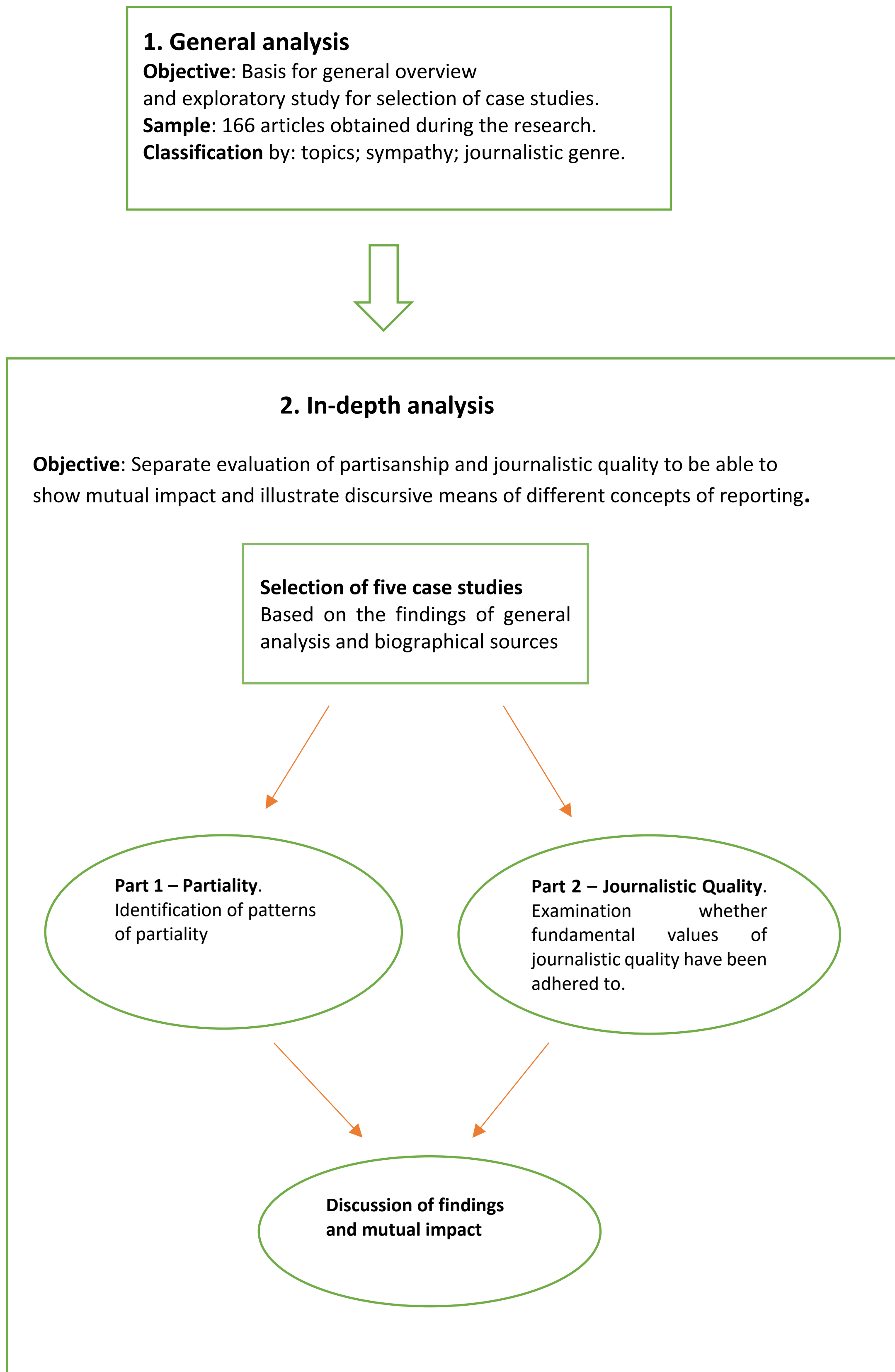
2.2 Content analyses

Two text analyses of different dimensions were conducted, as it is shown in Figure 1.

In a first general analysis, all press reports by female correspondents on the Spanish Civil War that could be obtained in the course of this study, 166 in total, were evaluated applying a combination of quantitative and qualitative criteria: topics, basic assignment to a war party (neutral, Republican, Nationalist), journalistic genre. This exploratory study does not claim to be comprehensive but provides a representative sample in order to be able to identify trends and compare findings with other works such as those by (Deacon 2008a), considering the diverse samples and methods.

For the subsequent in-depth qualitative content analysis, five case studies were selected based on the results of the general analysis and on the research on the biographical background of the war correspondents. The coverage of these case studies was then analysed in two independent parts: Part 1 examined the bias, part 2 evaluated the journalistic quality.

Figure 1. Scheme of contents analyses.



2.2.1 Exploratory study: design of the general analysis of main features in women's Civil War reporting

The objective was to establish the basic parameters of the work of female journalists in the Spanish Civil War, with particular interest in the thematic focuses, the basic attitude towards the warring parties, and the journalistic genre. This initial work provided an essential reference for the general historical overview in Chapter 4 and served as an exploratory study for the selection of case studies for the in-depth analysis (see Chapter 6, 7).

Starting hypotheses

1. Women very rarely wrote classic war reporting with focus on military and political events, above all they produced human interest reportages about the civilian population.

2. Most of the articles show support for one or the other warring party.

Research questions

a) Which were the main topics in the articles written by female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War?

b) Does the article in its basic message convey support for one of the two warring parties or is it rather neutral?

c) To which journalistic genre can the article be assigned?

Selection of the articles to be analysed

This part examines all the articles written by women correspondents which could be obtained within this research. In total: 166 articles by 42 different authors.

Theoretical approach and outlining of the coding

a) Listing of main themes: The categories identified by Deacon (2008a) as the most important in his analysis of the Spanish Civil War coverage by different British media served as a starting point to

provide a basis of comparing general coverage and coverage by female war correspondents. Some categories were overtaken, some adapted, as for example "impact on British interests" was substituted for "international impact and politics". Other categories which were relevant to the war coverage by female correspondents were added (such as "(air) attacks with special reference to women/civilians", "role of women in society"), based on a first sifting of the material. The list of categories is shown in Table 2. Up to three themes could be coded per article.

Table 2. Categories of themes used for the coding.

Civil issues in Spain (when not mainly dealing with the role of women)
Warfare, battle stories
(Air) Attacks with special references to women/civilians
Role of women in society, especially in wartimes (not mainly referring to air attacks)
Important personalities/prominent war heroes
Republican politics (motives, origin, consequences of war)
Nationalist politics (motives, origin, consequences of war)
International impact and politics
Foreign allies in Spain
Personal experiences with little reference/relevance to conflict

Source: author's own research.

b) Classification by support for the warring parties

This classification is based on a careful reading by the author, not on a systematic analysis applying different criteria. The question was: Does the reading give the audience the impression that one side has to bear more responsibility for the war and its consequences or deserves more sympathy than the other side?

A detailed discussion of the different manifestations, patterns, strategies and dimensions of partisanship is then carried out on the five case studies in the in-depth analysis. Here, the aim was to determine how the article was presumably perceived by the reader, with certain limitation: It is clear that the author cannot replace a diverse audience and, moreover, probably had more prior knowledge than the majority of readers at the time. Nevertheless, we consider a rough assessment oriented on the basic message to be permissible.

The articles were accordingly divided into:

• neutral,

• support for the Republicans,

• support for the Nationalists.

c) *Recording of the journalistic genre*

The term *journalistic genre* refers to the different journalistic modes of presentation, which in turn require different techniques or emphases in research. The following main categories can be distinguished in international literature (Meier 2019a; Schlüter 2004; Yanes Mesa 2004; El País 2002; Haller 2013, 2008; Armañanzas and Díaz Noci 1996):

• News

• Reportage

• Chronicles / Background / Analysis

• Interview

• Opinion article

Even though there are various subcategories and interpretations of the individual genres, it is possible to distil common basic lines out of international literature. These characteristics are outlined below and served as a basis for the classification of the articles available for this study by genre:

• *News* is the journalistic construction of an event whose novelty, unpredictability and consequences are relevant to society (García-Avilés 2015, 228). Its construction follows the so-called *inverted pyramid* from the most interesting information downwards to the least relevant and should provide clarification on who – when – what – where – why. While for scholars like Chalaby (1998) the news is the pure form of objective journalism, other researchers see this more pragmatically, but insist on the factuality of the presentation: "Even the news cannot be objective in the end, but the language must be fact-based and distanced" (Schlüter 2004, 141).[6]

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[6] Original: "Auch die Nachricht kann letztendlich nicht objektiv sein, aber die Sprache muss nüchtern und distanziert sein" (Schlüter 2004, 141).

• Of all journalistic forms of representation, *reportage* allows the greatest formal freedom and the most personal coloration, it contains other journalistic genres and combines news with elements of literary journalism (Yanes Mesa 2004). Reality shall be perceived beyond mere facts and news by on-the-scene reporting, personal experience and emotions (Meier 2019a). It interweaves facts, personal experiences and impressions. Popular, desirable stylistic devices in reportage are, for example, changes of close-up and overall view; changes of times; changes of formal means such as experience report, quotations, mood pictures and documentation (Schlüter 2004, 149). This genre also includes the *literary reportage*, whose classic maxim is: "Show, don't tell" (Hartsock 2009, 121). Comprehension of the events is to be conveyed through techniques considered fictional such as the careful description of details, and dialogues, as Vanoost (2013) stresses. In a similar way, the genre of reportage was already being discussed in the 1930s, especially in politically left-wing circles in Europe and the USA (see Chapter 3). For the communist philosopher György Lukacs, as he wrote in 1932, the reportage represented "el caso individual, el hecho, en una segunda vivencia completamente sensible, concreta e individualizada, y en ocasiones incluso se configura" (Lukács 2002, 209).

Some scholars consider the *feature* to be a kind of a reportage (Schlüter 2004), others advocate a narrower definition of reportage (Pürer 1996). In contrast to the reportage, however, it does not follow specific events. While the reportage invites to experience, the feature invites to think (Schlüter 2004, 152). The reportage offers a snapshot without generalizing, whereas the feature includes more analysis, reflection, and background knowledge. It presents general information by giving an example. The boundaries between reportage and feature are blurred, so for this study the feature is evaluated as a type of reportage.

Travel reportage which describes the events against the background of the reporter's trip is also counted in this category.

• *Chronicles / Background / Analysis* puts together a whole from many different pieces of information, checks sources for their truthfulness and establishes connections between news items. It helps the audience to find their way around complex topics in a mass of information and disinformation. It requires critical distance, political judgement, good contacts to relevant authorities and comprehensive knowledge (Schlüter 2004; El País 2002).

• The *interview* is both the most important journalistic research tool and thus the basis for many other genres as well as a form of presentation. An interview as a separate article can be published

either in question-answer form or processed as narrative text, for example as a "entrevista-perfil" (El País 2002, 42).

• *Opinion articles* usually include *commentary*, *editorial*, *column*. Editorials and columns were rarely products of on-site war reporting. The commentary seemed more relevant to our context. It analyses and interprets complex processes in politics and economics. Starting from a thesis, the situation is presented before discussing it. We also included *poems*, a common style used at the time to transmit personal views on current events.

2.2.2 Partiality and journalistic standards – design of the in-depth analysis of five case studies

The aim of this in-depth analysis was to examine the correlation between partisanship and journalistic quality. Therefore, the separation of partiality and journalistic quality was essential for our study. This division posed some methodological and theoretical challenges because neutrality/impartiality, often understood as objectivity, are considered a prerequisite for journalistic quality in many definitions. In contrast to this, we do not consider neutrality to be an indispensable fundamental value of journalism quality in the context of Spanish Civil War reporting if other prerequisites such as relevance, factuality, and independence are met. The necessary background and conceptual knowledge for the development of this analysis and the establishment of the corresponding core values and criteria was gained through the elaboration of the Theoretical Framework, discussing the concepts of journalistic quality in general, and specifically for war reporting, with a special focus on the different attitudes towards partiality in this context in the academic debate (see Chapter 3). We were aware that there could be possible overlaps and even apparent contradictions between the two parts of the in-depth analysis. These were discussed after carrying out the analysis.

In a first step and based on the findings of the general analysis and the biographical research, we selected five female journalists and their war coverage as case studies in order to determine the dimension of partiality and the reflection of their socio-political background in reporting on the one hand, and to examine compliance with standards of journalistic quality on the other. Finally, the results of both parts were juxtaposed to discuss their mutual impact.

The in-depth analysis was carried out in two parts:

Part 1. Discursive patterns and strategies in the articles by which bias was expressed and the social political background reflected were identified.

Part 2. The articles were checked for compliance with generally accepted journalistic core values. The aim was not elaborating a ranking but the identification of strengths and deficiencies.

The theoretical draft and the structure of the content analysis follow primarily the guidelines provided by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, 1285)[7], Stemler (2001, 1)[8], and Gaitán Moya and Piñuel Raigada (1998, 283)[9] and were adapted to the research questions of this study.

The evaluation of the coverage was carried out applying the method of qualitative content analysis as a "research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1278). For the assessment of partiality, analysing explicit and implicit expressions of sympathy, the study also drew on theoretical approaches of the ideological discourse analysis, which tries to relate structures of discourse with social structures (van Dijk 1996).

The coding was entirely carried out by the author. A pre-test of the coding analysis was done with 10% of the sample, in order to validate the categories and detect possible doubts or coding errors.

Starting hypotheses:

1. Almost all female war correspondents showed a certain degree of partiality in their coverage, closely linked to their socio-political, ideological background.

[7] The "seven classic steps" that qualitative content analysis "require" are: "formulating the research questions to be answered; selecting the sample to be analyzed; defining the categories to be applied; outlining the coding process and the coder training; implementing the coding process; determining trustworthiness; analyzing the results of the coding process" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1285).

[8] "[T]he six questions" that "must be addressed in every content analysis" are: "Which data are analyzed? How are they defined? What is the population from which they are drawn? What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed? What are the boundaries of the analysis? What is the target of the interferences?" (Stemler 2001, 1).

[9] The four steps "que un análisis de estándar incluiría necesariamente" are: "Selección de la comunicación que será estudiada; Selección de categorías que se utilizarán; Selección de las unidades de análisis; Selección del sistema recuento o de medida" (Gaitán Moya and Piñuel Raigada 1998, 283).

2. Having a bias does not necessarily have to be coverage of poor journalistic quality. In the same way, neutrality, detachment, and/or political balance do not mean necessarily coverage of good journalistic quality.

Research questions

The key questions of the content analysis were:

Part 1: Which discursive patterns and strategies expressing sympathy for one of the warring parties, with consideration of the personal socio-political background, can be identified in the coverage of the five case studies?

Part 2: How were the standards of journalistic quality met in the war reporting of the five selected female reporters?

Selecting the sample

Based on biographical sources and the findings of the general content analysis, five female war correspondents were chosen for our sample, in order to examine in-depth their Civil War coverage. These women were the North Americans Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn, the Irish Gertrude Gaffney, the English Hilde Marchant, and the German Maria Osten.

The five protagonists were selected for different reasons (for a closer look on their biographies see Chapter 5). These were:

1. The background: Due to the findings of the general analysis and the biographies, it was supposed that the five female correspondents represented a broad range of political positions. With the conservative Catholic Gaffney and the exiled German Communist Osten, there were two women who could be clearly assigned to one of the two warring parties. The other ones held less obvious partisan views on the conflict but showed (more or less clear) preferences: According to Gellhorn and her biographer (Gellhorn 2016a; Moorehead 2004), Gellhorn had from the beginning sympathies only for the Republic; Marchant was considered a fierce Anti-Nazi and opponent of Hitler (Sebba 2013), who was an important ally of Franco, but, to our knowledge, Marchant did not openly take a political stand in the Spanish Civil War. Cowles can

be regarded as the most neutral; when leaving for Spain, she wanted to refrain explicitly from political judgements and report on both sides (Cowles 2011b).

2. The professional standing: Gaffney, Marchant and in a way Osten[10] were no freelancers as many of their colleagues but were sent by their respective newspapers as (special) correspondents to Spain. Though Cowles was a freelancer, she wrote for high impact media, e.g. *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*. Also, she was the only one who reported from both sides.[11] Gellhorn was a freelancer and rather newcomer at that time but should become one of the most renowned female war correspondents in the 20th century already writing for renowned media such as the US magazine *Collier's* from Spain.
3. The number of articles: Each of them wrote at least five extensive articles from Spain.

All the articles by these five women which could be obtained in the context of this study have been analysed. In total, these were 68.

This figure represents most, but not all of the articles written by these journalists from Spain. Virginia Cowles wrote a three-part series for the US paper *The New York Sunday American*, of which only one article is available here despite our research in various archives and the attempt to contact her daughter and her grandson who did not answer to our inquiry. Maria Osten was mainly a correspondent for the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* (*DZZ*), but some of her texts were also published in the *Wetschernaja Moskwa*, translated into Russian. These are only partly available to us; the obtained copies are very similar to articles in the *DZZ* and were, also due to translation problems, not included in the analysis. According to Voith (2010), Osten also wrote one article about the singer, and then Osten's partner, Ernst Busch in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, of which no copy could be found.[12] Martha Gellhorn published most of her reportages in *Collier's*, these texts were available, as was one reportage published in *The New Yorker* and another text that appeared first in *Harper's Bazaar* and could be retrieved from the later published collection of reportages, *The Heart of Another* (Gellhorn 1946a). To our knowledge, one more text by her was published in the *Story* magazine (Weintraub 1968, 282); unfortunately, it was not possible to get a copy despite all efforts. According to her biographer, Caroline Moorehead,[13] this would only have been possible via the Gellhorn papers at

[10] Although Osten was not an employed editor, she was a regular contributor to the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*.
[11] Deacon (2012) also names Eleanor Packard who worked with her husband for the *Associated Press* to have reported from both sides. She covered in the name of her husband, so they could give report from various conflict zones (Davis, 198). But, within the limits of this study, it was not possible to obtain material clearly attributable to her.
[12] An article about the singer Ernst Busch on his Spain tour, was attributed to her Voith (2010, 146).
[13] Mail to the author, 22 July 2020.

Boston University. At the time of our enquiry, however, the archive had been closed for several months due to the Corona pandemic. However, we have included another text by Gellhorn, which was only later published in the anthology *The Face of War* (Gellhorn 2016a). She had offered it to *Collier's*, but at that time, November 1938, they were no longer interested in the Spanish Civil War and preferred to send her to France and on to Central Europe. Although the text could not influence public opinion at the time, we consider it relevant for the analysis, since it was later selected by Gellhorn herself, meaning that she considered it important and it was not reworked by editors in the home editorial office. To the best of our knowledge, the coverage of the Spanish Civil War by Hilde Marchant and Gertrude Gaffney analysed here is complete. In these two cases, however, we would like to mention that they also referred to the Spanish Civil War in other articles. Under the name of Marchant, an article appeared in the *Daily Express* on 12 March 1937 which, however, did not deal with her own journey, but referred to greetings from British nurses in Spain which another correspondent had sent from Spain to London. In her regular columns, Gaffney made several references to the Spanish Civil War among other topics (19 February 1937, 6 June 1937). These contributions were not directly a product of their actual war reporting and were therefore not included in the analysis.

The coverage of the case studies varies in number of articles as shown in Table 3. When comparing the five journalists, the different extent is considered and contextualised accordingly.

Table 3. Number of articles analysed.

War correspondent	No. of articles	Media
Cowles, Virginia	8	Daily Express, The New York Sunday American, The Sunday Times, The New York Times
Gaffney, Gertrude	23	The Irish Independent
Gellhorn, Martha	6	Collier's, Harper's Bazaar, The New Yorker, The Face of War (book)
Marchant, Hilde	5	Daily Express
Osten, Maria	26	Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung

Source: author's own research.

After the selection of the five correspondents, the two parts of the analysis were carried out:

Part 1. Dimension of partiality.

Part 2. Examination of whether fundamental values of journalistic quality have been adhered to.

The first part of the evaluation of the articles of the five female correspondents chosen as protagonists emphasises the partiality and the reflection of the individual background, that means the framing (Entman 1993), and how they are manifested in the texts. The qualitative content analysis also draws on the analysis of the ideological discourse which is not just a question of discovering ideologies and bias, but of systematically linking the structures of discourse with the structures of ideologies (van Dijk 1996, 23) and partisanship.

The second part evaluating journalistic quality then examines journalistic professionality, focusing on diligence in the enquiry, handling, and processing of information as far as perceptible in the articles. The findings of these two parts and their mutual impact as well as points of contact and possible contradictions were discussed first for each journalist individually. The results of all five case studies are then discussed in a comparative analysis.

In-depth analysis. Part 1. Partiality & Background: Theoretical approach and outline of the coding and measuring process

As discussed in detail in the Theoretical Framework (Chapter 3), we consider the possibility of "unbiased" crisis reporting, as in journalism in general, to be a chimera. Drawing on Kovach and Rosenstiel, we understand bias in a "broader sense that covers all the judgements, decisions, and beliefs of those who gather and report news" (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014, 128). Even war correspondents who do not take explicitly side for one political party make decisions and put focus – thoughtfully – according to their own values (e.g. Karmasin 2007). Bias and background are closely linked to each other, that means "that structural and cultural factors have a far more significant role in this construction process than deliberate political bias" (Deacon 2008a, 8).

This also reveals apparent contradictions between the assessment of partiality and that of journalistic quality. Proximity to the audience (and, in the context of war reporting, usually to one's own ideological and cultural background) is on the one hand a component of positively perceived relevance, but on the other hand it can be interpreted as bias that is often negatively connotated. It

is similar to the description of individual fates of people who are suffering. On the one hand, the evocation of empathy is interpreted as partisanship, in the case of the Spanish Civil War reporting this refers especially to reportages on the population of Madrid, on the other hand, both narration and specificity can win through details and examples.

Summarizing, it is to state that partiality can have many shades and forms, from more or less conscious setting of emphasis based on individual values to the intended strategy of persuasion on behalf of one warring side. This is also to distinguish in the case of the so ideologically loaded Spanish Civil War. Accordingly, war reporters adopted the propaganda of the respective side to very different degrees. An overview on the propaganda of both sides in the Spanish Civil War and how Nationalists and Republicans tried to pass on their respective messages to the foreign press is given in the general overview in Chapter 4.

We supposed that each journalist's reporting mirrors her own world view in some way. This world view, the specific knowledge and beliefs, are made up of experiences of general character, due to the belonging to various social groups (defined for example by language, gender, nation, age, political party, religion, education, profession, family) and their ideologies[14], as well as personal ones. These individual cognitions in turn control and shape discourse, for example in the account of personal experiences, or in the argumentation around personal opinions (van Dijk 1996). A complex structure of ideologies and individual background provides the frame for the perception and procession of information, drawing on a functional definition of framing which "includes defining problems, making moral judgements, and supporting remedies" (Entman, Matthes, and Pellicano 2008).

There is a wide range of discursive possibilities to shape information according to own preferences. Adapting interpretive patterns to the respective needs is a main strategy. "Los significados están manipulados, estructuralmente, por el principio del favoritismo hacia el ingroup y la descalificación del outgroup" (van Dijk 1996, 27). The representation of certain concepts and ideas (the narrative) of one warring party and the misrepresentation of the other is a basic tool for political control (Pasitselska 2017). Referring to the coverage of the Spanish Civil War, it was a tool also used by journalists to convey their own point of view.

[14] Following van Dijk (1996, 18), ideologies are defined here as "sistemas que sustentan las cogniciones sociopolíticas de los grupos" (18).

Based on these considerations, we draw on theoretical approaches of ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk 1996) and framing (Entman 1993), carried out by meticulous reading, in order to discover the presence of bias, and to show how, by which discursive means and "patterns of interpretation" (Entman 1993), the coverage was framed.

> *"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation."* (Entman 1993, 52)

A scheme with selected criteria oriented on other studies (van Dijk 1996, see also Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden 2018; Pasitselska 2017) was designed. We put four categories: *Agenda setting*, *Framing*, *Evaluation*, *Personal involvement*. To each category different patterns were assigned based on a first sifting of the articles, see Table 4.

Table 4. Criteria for identifying partiality.

AGENDA SETTING	FRAMING	EVALUATION	PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT
Focus: expressing sympathies by emphasising on one side and/or special topics evoking emotions (bombing of civilians; volunteers from own country). **Personalisation/ Individualization:** Portraits of/focus on war personalities or individual fates to arouse sympathies/rejection.	**Narrative**: explicit takeover of official propaganda**.** **Own background:** as explicit context to present the Spanish conflict (for example, Communism, Catholicism).	**Title/subtitle**: evaluation through pejorative and/or positively noted terms. **Labelling:** positive or pejorative naming of the warring parties. **Blaming:** directly for outbreak/duration/terror/ consequences of war or indirectly by victimisation of one side. **Generalization:** idealisation of one and/or demeaning of the other side by generalizing assessment, stereotypes, comparisons etc.	**Identification:** with one of the warring parties; implicitly from the context and explicitly (we, our, the other, the enemy). **Campaigning/Solidarity actions**: calls for support and/or taking action or references to taking action of the journalist herself (helping civilians and refugees, collecting money, propaganda actions).

Source: author's own research.

• ***Agenda setting***: By setting topics and emphasising selected accents, the journalist decides not only on the report value of a subject as a whole, but also on the relevant aspects of it (Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Baden 2018). Taking this into account, the close look at the selection of topics and aspects, and the highlighting of prominent personalities or fates of (suffering) individuals in the Civil War coverage should identify sympathies and ideologies that resonated with it.

• ***Framing***: This category refers to explicit and obvious framing drawing on the concept given by Gamson and Modigliani of a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (quoted in Matthes and Kohring 2004, 57). In our context, these evident frames could be the narratives of the warring parties and/or explicit references to one's own political or religious background.

This rather pragmatic framing criterion was very useful for our analysis but must be distinguished from the more comprehensive theoretical concept of Entman (1993, see also Entman, Matthes, and Pellicano 2008) referred to above, to which all the categories listed here can be assigned.

• ***Evaluation***: This includes direct and indirect evaluations. An essential direct judgement could be made through the designation of the warring parties. This point needs some clarification. The different application of labels for the respective warring party revealed a lot about the author's standpoint and/or sympathies. Usually the articles from Spain tended not to differentiate between the different parties forming one side. So, the Republican side which consisted of Liberals, Socialists, Communists, Marxists, Anarchists, and conservative Basque Nationalists were usually referred to as one party; as were the different groups gathered under the command of Franco: Falangists, Carlists, Monarchists, and Catholic church. "All newspapers preferred labels that had a generic and collective quality", states Deacon (2008a, 130) in general for the British press. He compared the principal labels used in news headlines and texts in British newspapers and concluded that the terms *Republican* and *Nationalist* which are "the labels most frequently used today, only gained media currency in the latter stages of the war" (Deacon 2008a, 129). According to his analysis, in British media throughout the war *Government*, *Republican* and *Loyalist* were the most important terms for the Republican side, while *Rebel*, *Fascist* and *Nationalist* were the most used ones for describing the Nationalist side. None of the used labels is completely free of ideological weight (Pizarroso Quintero 2005), but with very different degrees. There were names which showed a clear bias to one side such as "Reds", a term that negates the heterogeneity of the Republican side implying that they were all Communists, in contrast to the "Whites" on the other side of the front (to understand as the clean Spain as opposed

to disorder on the Republican side, Beevor 2006), the “Anti-Reds” or “Patriots”. There were much more accusatory and pejorative terms on both sides as “murderers”, “assassins”, “barbarians”, “demons” or “monsters”. It also plays a role at what time and in what context which designation was used. For example, if the term “Insurgents” was used for the Franco troops immediately after the coup, this was not necessarily due to partiality, but was a factual description of the events. If the same term was used later, after the formation of a government in Burgos and its partial international recognition, it is much more likely to express a political position. All terms for both warring parties and the frequency of their use were recorded for each article. Nevertheless, only expressions that refer to the entire side, to large groups of all political shapes of this side (civilians, women, soldiers) or to a not further specified group there (demons, murderers) but not expressions to individual political groups were recorded. If, for example, the term “fascists” only referred to members of the Phalange or to Franco’s allies from Italy or Germany, this was not registered; if it was used to describe the whole Nationalist side, it was counted. If the terms were used in quotations, this was not counted.

Other, indirect evaluations in this category could be generalization by giving persuasive statements about broader groups and categories of people (van Dijk 1996, 39), using archetypes and/or stereotypes (Sevillano Calero 2014; Gutiérrez Palacio 1984), and generalizing individual cases.

• ***Personal involvement***: Many reporters did not always draw a clear line between themselves and the warring parties, and between observation and intervention (see Chapter 4). In this category, we examined the personal perception, either as an observer from outside, as part of a war side, or even campaigning for one side and searched for references to calls for support and/or solidarity actions.

According to this scheme, the individual features of partiality were identified and recorded for each article, assigning them to the side they were favouring. The results were then evaluated qualitatively and discussed in terms of their intensity and strategy.

<u>In-depth analysis. Part 2. Assessment of the journalistic quality: Theoretical approach and outline of the coding and measuring process</u>

In this context, “journalistic quality” should refer to the level of the article and the journalistic diligence of the author and not to the level of the medium, which could then also include other aspects regarding for example diversity of approaches. According to the findings in the Theoretical

Framework, this means that the question of quality focuses on the efforts made by the journalist to convey reality in a sincere, transparent, and attractive way.

The research questions were:

1. With which journalistic investigative and narrative techniques did the five female war correspondents present their perception of the Spanish Civil War?

2. To what extent were they able to distance themselves from official positions and show autonomy in researching and editing the article?

In a normative understanding, journalistic quality is defined on two levels (see Chapter 3): first, the values of journalism, and second, the criteria for the journalistic practice. Such values and criteria were summarized very clearly in a matrix designed by Meier (2019b) for *The international encyclopedia of communication* (see Table 5).

This systematisation served as model and starting point for the template of our content analysis (see Table 6). The values set by Meier were taken over, the order was changed setting the value of relevance first and independence last. We did not do this because we consider independence to be less important, but because this value is, in our understanding, the most comprehensive, it is also reflected in relevance and facticity, and should therefore be discussed concludingly. The concepts of these three quality standards were adapted to the context of conflict reporting in the Spanish Civil War. They are to be understood as collective terms, cluster values, to which other key elements of journalism discussed in the Theoretical Framework can be assigned; their exact meaning in the context of this study was defined (see below).

Based on these definitions, criteria and indicators were assigned to each value to evaluate the quality of female war correspondents' contributions. In establishing these criteria and indicators, we considered the fact that almost all the texts to be analysed were reportages, the genre to which a large part of the reporting from the Spanish Civil War can be attributed (Deacon 2008a) and that offers, as previously noted, greater freedom, particularly in the integration of elements of opinion or personal experiences (Schlüter 2004; Yanes Mesa 2004). In the context of our quality analysis, we define reportage as a text that is longer than a usual news item and that refers to concrete situations in the Spanish Civil War of which the reporter was an eyewitness, at least in part. It may contain opinion elements and the information in it should be based on different, recognizable sources.

Table 5. Quality criteria of journalism, matrix by Meier (2019b).

Value	**Quality criteria related to *journalistic action***	**Quality criteria related to the *journalistic product***
independence	*organisational independence* from economic and political influences; *personal independence* from own attitude, opinion or involvement	*impartiality*: balance (as opposed to one-sidedness); separation of news/facts and comment
truth/facticity	*accuracy* and "in-depthness" in the process of enquiry *fairness* in the process of enquiry ("audiatur et altera pars")	*diversity*: from diversity of the overall editorial offering (range of topics) to diversity in an individual story (different perspectives and sources); avoidance of stereotypes *transparency* in the product (e.g. revealed sources, correction of errors) *interactivity* as a possibility for the audience to add to or comment on stories or participate in programmes *clarity* (appropriate language, concise and vivid style, clear organisation)
relevance/context	*significance* of topics and facts from the point of view of the audience/society (criteria of news selection as well as due to the watchdog role) *originality/context:* exclusiveness in finding topics, intellectual aspiration, variability and appropriateness of role perception: from detached (e.g. news selection) to active (e.g. watchdog) *timeliness* (also: novelty, relevance to the present time) *transparency* of editorial processes and decisions *interactivity* in the meaning of a dialogue (possibilities for the audience to participate in editorial processes, e.g. in topic identification, topic selection, and enquiry)	*attractiveness* (attracting attention, appropriate addressing of the audience, suitable genre selection, tension and dramaturgy, gripping heading, teaser, trailer, etc.) *usefulness* (useful in the everyday life of the audience – as orientation, advice and assistance in decision-making, e.g. in lifestyle journalism) *perspectives/prospects* (solutions, hope for social problems: "What now?")

Source: Meier (2019b)

Drawing on this matrix, and considering the findings from the Theoretical Framework, we defined the values for the content analysis as follows:

1. ***Relevance***. This comprehensive value refers to the perspective of the recipients: What (new, important, comprehensive, interesting) insights could the audience draw from the article? How engaging is the reading? As the articles are all reportages or major reports, the demands go beyond those of a short fact-centered news report. Thus, the evaluation of this cluster term referring as well to contextualisation, originality, public service, and attractiveness, examined the originality of the story angles, the importance and the embedding of the information in a context as well as the efforts of attractive storytelling according to widely accepted guidelines such as gripping teaser, engaging introduction, comprehensibility, lively presentation (Haller 2008; Yanes Mesa 2004; El País 2002). In any case, the narrator should not limit herself to transcribing the sources, but process the information, add other elements (Teramo 2006, 70) and raise her own voice as a distinction from the uniform propaganda discourse. Clarity is essential: "El sentido del lenguaje sencillo, natural y genuino debe ser el punto de partida para la expresión del pensamiento en el periódico" (Gutiérrez Palacio 1984, 77).

We were flexible in our assessment of relevance, depending on the context and topic. For example, background information was not indispensable if other conditions such as an original angle or special proximity to the audience were met.

The category also examines an appropriate positioning of the journalist in her story. In principle, we consider both the role of the "detached observer" and that of the "attached observer" (see Chapter 3) to be adequate. In our opinion, however, the role of the journalist becomes problematic if she makes herself the protagonist; it is only in exceptional cases and in special situations, such as when her personal experience is unique but of general interest, that it may be justified.

2. ***Facticity***. This collective value, which includes truthfulness and factual accuracy, evaluates the efforts of enquiry and transparency following criteria such as the quality and diversity of sources as well as their verification, and specificity when describing situations and protagonists (in contrast to stereotypes) as well as transparency on the circumstances of the research. In contrast to Meier (2019b), we did not include fairness (similar to balance above), because in the situation of the Spanish Civil War we consider it legitimate to report from only one side, as it was usually hardly possible for one journalist to do so from both sides. The question of "audiatur et altera pars" would be more relevant in an analysis at the level of the overall reporting of a news outlet. However, a certain

autonomy in research and thus diversity of sources, which does not only consider official authorities, are positive.

3. ***Independence***. According to the usual definitions, this category would include often claimed values such as non-partisanship, impartiality, neutrality, balance or the often very misleadingly used objectivity (see Theoretical Framework, Chapter 3). However, we understand it to be first of all open-mindedness referring to the personal autonomy to set topics, form thoughts, articulate opinions, which are emancipated from official positions or at least discuss them before they are possibly adopted. It focuses on the transparency of the formation of opinion and demands criteria such as the ability to be self-critical and to question one's own attitude; to show diversity representing different perspectives on the conflict such as civilians and military, foreign allies and Spanish people/politics, or even Nationalists and Republicans; and to show partiality in a transparent way.

In order to determine quality, in our analysis we coded for the existence of positively evaluated characteristics for each value (see Table 6).

Table 6. Evaluation of journalistic quality.

Value RELEVANCE **Criteria: Originality, contextualisation, and attractiveness of the story**

Does the audience benefit from reading the article in terms of knowledge enhancement, orientation and engaging, comprehensible narration?

a. Focus & embedding. Is the article characterised by a special approach that goes beyond a mere news report? Such as background information on military/civilian aspects, international dimension, consequences of war etc. and/or a special, interesting, original angle and/or proximity to the readers?

o Yes/predominantly o Partly o No

b. Attractive narration. How was the information presented?

- Is the language adequate for a reportage (as opposed to exaggerations, superlatives, overloaded with adjectives)?
- Is there an individual voice perceptible (instead of unified, stereotype narrative)?
- Does the article have a comprehensible structure?
- Is the reading stimulating and does it meet widely accepted requirements such as a gripping teaser, an engaging introduction, anecdotes, lively presentation?
- Does the length of the article seem adequate in relation to the information presented (as opposed to lengthy)?

o Yes/predominantly (at least 4 of 5) o Partly (2-3) o No (0-1)

c. Adequate position journalist. Does the journalist stay in the background as a narrator or does she use personal experiences in a decent way to illustrate the war and its consequences to her readers? (In contrast to playing the role of a protagonist in her own story.)

o Yes/predominantly o Partly o No

Value FACTICITY **Criteria: Reliability and transparency of enquiry**

How well is the presented information documented?

d. Sources. Are there references to different and diverse (official, independent, eyewitness) sources, and/or is the number of sources adequate for the journalistic genre (e.g. reportage, interview)?

o Yes, diverse/adequate for the topic o Partly o No

e. Placing into perspective: Are sources/interview partners sufficiently contextualised and/or is their reliability/possible partiality discussed?

o Yes/predominantly o Partly o No

f. Specificity. Do data/information refer to concrete situations, persons (with some detail); are research circumstances transparent? (in contrast to stereotypes, vague information)

o Yes/predominantly o Partly o No

Value INDEPENDENCE **Criteria: Open-mindedness and autonomy**

Are there any clear efforts to distance herself from the official narrative and the personal bias, and to develop independent perspectives/considerations?

g. Independent topics. Is it possible to recognize independent choice of topics and of research in the article (in contrast to an officially accompanied trip without recognizable attempts to distance herself)?

o Yes o Partly o No

h. Diversity – different perspectives. Are there any attempts at a differentiated representation of the events of the war from different perspectives, such as referring to Nationalist and Republican side; to civilian and military aspects; to the heterogeneity of the Republican side/ the Nationalist side; to different front sections telling different stories; to the range of gender roles, etc.

o Yes, various from own enquiry and witnessing o Partly o No

i. Distance to propaganda. Is independence from official narration recognizable (either no reference to it or critically discussed, in contrast to adopted without reflection)?

o Yes o Partly o No

Source: author's own research.

As mentioned, the purpose of this analysis was not to establish a ranking of female journalists, but to identify strengths and weaknesses as well as common and special characteristics in the covering. According to the identified features, journalistic quality and the extent to which these might be related to bias and individual background were discussed for each case study. For a better presentation, all the results of a journalist, both in the partiality analysis and in the evaluation of journalistic quality, were collected in a personal result sheet, as shown in Table 7 on the next side with fictitious examples.

In the concluding, comparing analysis the findings of all five case studies were juxtaposed, discussed, and evaluated to identify mutual impact and correlation between partiality, individual background, and journalistic quality.

Table 7. Result sheet template with fictitious examples.

NAME Journalist																					
DATE	**TITLE** **Newspaper**	**CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY**											**JOURNALISTIC QUALITY. (Yes X; Partly /; No -)**								
		AGENDA SETTING		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**			**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Indepen-dence**		
		Focus, **P**ersonalisation/ **Individualization** *favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling , **B**laming, **Generaliz**ation (Idealisation/ Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling* Republican side	Labelling* Nationalist side	**I**dentification, **C**ampaining/ **S**olidarity actions *favouring*			a=contextual -isation b=attractive narration c=pos. journ.			d=sources e=placing f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
		Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.		**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
Feb 22 1937	Spanish Civil War *Newspaper*		F				L, B, G	Republicans	Patriots		I		**X**	**-**	-	**X**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**/**	**-**
April 4 1938	In Madrid *Newspaper*	F				T, L, G		Republicans	Fascists	C/S			**X**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	-	**/**	-

Source: author's own research.

* includes combined terms such as Red troops (=Reds); Patriot territory (=Patriots); Franco soldiers (=Francoists) etc.

3 Theoretical Framework: the evolution of journalistic quality and its standards in a historical context

The key part of this thesis is the assessment of female correspondents' coverage of the Spanish Civil War. The aim is not only to show the main themes, tendencies, and differences in female war reporting but, in particular, to identify partiality patterns and to evaluate the journalistic quality of their contributions.

This objective leads to some relevant questions to be answered a priori:

- What do we mean by journalistic quality? Which standards may be applied?
- How is partiality considered in the context of journalistic quality?

In this chapter, we look at the viewpoints of international research on these questions.

3.1 The normative understanding of journalism as a starting point

With the development of the internet and digital media in the 21st century, the debate on journalistic quality has become a key topic in media research. The first systematic examinations of journalistic quality go back to the 1960s (J. C. Merrill 1964; J. C. Merrill 1969), in Spain to the 1980s (García-Avilés 2015, 214). However, a broad international academic discussion about its definition and its measurement started only in the 1990s (McQuail 1992; Schatz and Schulz 1992; Ruß-Mohl 1992). Since then, two main approaches may be identified:

<u>Normative definitions</u>: They emphasise the role of journalism and its specific values for democracy (see e.g. Christians et al. 2009; Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014; McQuail 1992; Schatz and Schulz 1992). The focus was always on the search for truth which is the fundamental claim of journalism (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014). Meier summarizes the purpose of journalism in *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication*: "[T]he central role of journalism in pluralistic, open societies is and remains to give orientation to a spatially and functionally differentiated society" (Meier 2019b). While conditions, frames, working and production processes of journalism may have evolved, this normative

understanding of journalism as a guardian of democratic freedom has not changed in its basic meaning during the last century.

Research today differentiates between different levels to identify and measure quality: firstly, the definition of journalism and its role in society; secondly, the standards, values or realities, and thirdly, criteria of journalistic excellence to apply these standards to the journalistic product (García-Avilés 2015; Meier 2019b; Kaltenbrunner et al. 2019) to guarantee that the information is presented in an adequate context to reduce society's complexity and provide guidance to the audience (Meier 2019a; Rámirez de la Piscina et al. 2014).

<u>Non-normative or pragmatic definitions</u>: They refer in a multidimensional way mainly to the journalistic practice (Bammé, Kotzmann, and Reschenberg 1993; Ruß-Mohl 1992; Bucher and Altmeppen 2003) and, depending on the researcher, they put their emphases for example on structures and economy (Altmeppen 2003), on economy and ethics (Karmasin 1996), circulation (Lacy and Fico 1990), type of media or genre (Bucher and Barth 2003; Wallisch 1995), journalistic skills (Weischenberg 1990, 2003), or audience (Arnold 2009). There are very different models which have one claim in common: diversity of quality – die "Vielfalt der Qualität", first formulated by Ruß-Mohl (1992, 1994; Vlasic 2004). However, this is by no means a declaration of arbitrariness, but rather points to the necessity of a permanent, evolving discourse on the quality of journalism in dynamic societies.

For this study rooted in the historical context of the Spanish Civil War, the normative approach with its focus on democratic society is particularly relevant. Even though at that time there was no academic debate about quality in journalism as we have it today, the roots of this discussion, its ethics, purpose, and its standards go back to the 19th century (Dicken-Garcia 1989). The understanding of journalistic quality and its main values is shaped by history, social conditions, and geographical circumstances. "Over time, discussions of the press reflected cultural changes" and "changing perceptions of the press's roles, purposes and functions" (Dicken-Garcia 1989, 224).

The different concepts that were relevant in America and in Europe in the early 20th century are reflected in the coverage of the Spanish Civil War, where journalists from all over the world came together. If we compare the values of today and back then, they seem quite similar. When the American Society of Newspaper Editors issued its *Code of Ethics* for the first time in 1923, the key terms were "factuality, independence, impartiality, and public service" (quoted in Kaplan 2006, 181). Schudson points out the then leading principle of "sincerity, truthfulness, accuracy" (Schudson 2008, 297). Also "immediacy" was already an issue in the debate of this time (Bücher 1926, 21, 30-31). These

standards were in line with the new principle of objectivity. Today, the main values are public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics, as summarized by Deuze (2005), who also refers to earlier works by Golding and Elliott, Merritt, and Kovach and Rosenstiel. German-language research also identifies similar values that would be emphasised consistently, despite all controversy: "Unabhängigkeit, Überparteilichkeit, Aktualität, Relevanz, Richtigkeit, Kontrolle, Allgemeinverständlichkeit" (Arlt and Storz 2016, 13) – independence, impartiality, immediacy, relevance, correctness, control, and comprehensibility.

In 1975, Saalberg (1975, 33) was one of the first scholars to set appliable criteria for assessing "news story quality": articles should be accurate, clear, complete, objective, concise and appealing. Depending on the political system and a country's understanding of democracy, it can vary which quality criteria are considered to have priority (Gerard-Wenzel 2017; Kaltenbrunner, Lugschitz, and Gerard-Wenzel 2018). In general, however, it can be stated that "the ways in which journalists frame professionalism, professional values and professional authority have been remarkably resilient and consistent over time" (Örnebring 2013, 38).

As we will argue in detail below, we consider the three main values *relevance*, *facticity*, and *independence* to be appropriate for our analysis of journalistic quality, both in order to do justice to the historical context and to take into account current concepts of quality journalism. These values have also been defined as key values in *The International Encyclopaedia of Journalism Studies* (Meier 2019b), in contrast to which we see independence as not necessarily synonymous with impartiality, but in the sense of individual approach and open-mindedness, authority and authenticity, as we will also explain. Furthermore, we would like to point to another value here – transparency. Its potential and limitations have been increasingly discussed in recent years (Karlsson and Clerwall 2018; Karlsson 2020), it has been recognized as a central quality standard (Wyss, Studer, and Zwyssig 2012) and has also been applied as a criteria for assessing the quality of journalistic performance (Seethaler 2015). Considered as an overriding journalistic principle (Perdomo and Rodrigues-Rouleau 2021), it can be helpful in a historical context as used, for example, by Esser and Umbricht (2014) for a comparison of press systems since the 1960s.

This approach does not correspond to the classic understanding of objectivity as the dominant quality principle with its focus on impartiality and neutrality, but can, we argue, be adequately justified with reference to other concepts of journalistic quality such as those coined in Europe, but also in the USA.

For over a century, the principle of objectivity has played a key role in the debate on journalistic quality. In the 1920s, just a decade before the Spanish Civil War, it became the guiding idea for professional journalism in the USA. Since then, it has been, on the one hand, the dominant, omnipresent, though not only, quality concept in journalism. On the other hand, many different meanings have been attributed to it (non-partisanship, impartiality, neutrality, factuality, detachment, balance, and journalism quality in general), which we will discuss more in detail below. Established as a standard to ensure journalistic quality, it has also been the subject of much controversy. Scholars like Kovach and Rosenstiel (2014, 10) state that over time "the concept of objectivity became so mangled it began to be used to describe the very problem it was conceived to correct". Other researchers such as Lichtenberg, however, defends its existence: "Most people have a crude picture of what objectivity means, and this partly explains its bad name" Lichtenberg (1991, 223). She upholds the principle in the awareness that even if ideology-free reporting is not possible, "the aspiration to objectivity can contain biases of its own" (Lichtenberg 1991, 229).

To be able to establish a theoretical basis for the evaluation of journalistic quality of reporting on the Spanish Civil War, it seems important to us to outline the emergence of professional journalism, its different concepts of quality and the formation of journalistic values in America and Europe till the 1930s, and to put them in relation to the values that are still applied today. Western democracies share the normative understanding of journalism, yet different concepts of journalistic quality can be distinguished during their development. Even if the journalistic standards of today and back then in America and Europe sound similar, they do not necessarily mean the same thing. "Their meanings are tied to the concepts of the press's role and the cultural values that prevailed when they emerged" (Dicken-Garcia 1989, 98).

Therefore, we first go back to the roots and briefly describe the different processes of professionalisation and autonomy of journalism as well as the self-perceptions of journalists from the 19th to the early 20th century. To compare different regions and highlight essential differences, we use the three models established by Hallin and Mancini (2004) as point of departure. We then give an overview of the complex debate on objectivity and journalistic quality. Finally, we discuss the standards of and claims about war reporting in a historical and contemporary context.

3.2 Professionalisation processes of journalism in the 19th century in the USA and in Europe

Already very early on, periodic news press committed to the truth. Ward identifies first forms of journalistic ethics in the 17th century referring to English newspapers who claimed that their "reports were impartial 'relations' of the truth and based on 'matters of fact'" (Ward 2005, 90). Despite this affirmation, journalism was long closely linked to politics, in America as well as in Europe. According to Requate (2002), during the time of the American and the French Revolution, journalism actively participated in the conflict through its reporting. Even though impartiality was the "primary journalistic issue discussed", it had a different meaning and "seems to have referred to equal treatment of opposing parties and whether this was desirable" (Dicken-Garcia 1989, 98).

The self-understanding of the press began to change in the course of the 19th century. An emancipation process started in which the press shifted its role from a part "that has degenerated into an appendage"[15] of politics to an observer of politics (Requate 2002, 431). At the same time, the relationship to society also changed, as Dicken-Garcia (1989, 225) notes for the USA. With the rise of the mass press, political debates and historical events were no longer the only topics of reporting, but increasingly also the living sphere of the growing audience such as family and household.

The speed and character of this professionalisation, in which the press detached itself from politics and turned towards society, went through different phases of development, and varied from region to region.

Ortega and Humanes (2000, 176) establish six criteria that constitute a profession:

- systematic knowledge, transmitted through an academic institution,
- a high degree of autonomy in the exercise of professional activity,
- a specific mechanism that regulates the profession internally (Code of Ethics),
- its own culture internalised in the process of socialisation,
- the performance of an essential service to society,
- a certain recognized social and legal prestige.

Nowhere has journalism fulfilled these six criteria at once. It is a dynamic process in which journalism has to define its character constantly and which even today cannot be considered complete. Requate

[15] Original: "ein zum Anhängsel verkommener Teil der Politik" (Requate 2002, 431).

(2002, 432–33) identifies four decisive factors for the way and the velocity of the development: the degree of press freedom, the commercialisation of the press, the process of the emergence of political parties, and the development of a journalistic self-perception. The different socio-political starting conditions led to the formation of different systems of journalism, which Hallin and Mancini (2004) classified into three groups according to their connection to politics. They still shape the Western media landscapes today. This categorisation cannot reflect the full complexity of media systems but is a simplification, as Hallin and Mancini also point out. Nevertheless, they provide a good orientation and starting point (see also Esser and Umbricht 2014). The origins of all systems lie in partisan journalism, and the development of the relationship between politics and journalism is the determining factor in the categorisation by Hallin and Mancini (2004).

The *North Atlantic or Liberal Model* originated in America and has been "commonly taken around the world as the normative ideal" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 247). For America, Schudson (2008), Bentele (2008) and Ward (2005) identify journalistic movements towards independence and objectivity since the 1830s. Other scholars like Kaplan set the end of partisanship in American journalism not before the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. While Ward points out the role of the "egalitarian popular press" in the USA as "the impartial provider of news for the masses" during the 19th century, Kaplan states that the two-party system was reflected in the newspapers which belonged ideologically either to one camp or the other. "First and foremost, a journal was obliged to endorse the party's 'men and measures' without expressing any qualms or quibbles" (Kaplan 2002, 178). Even though journalism preferring one or the other party still played an important role in the USA and liberal papers only started to gain importance, the detachment process was already in progress with a growing focus on facts. In 1835, in the first issue of the *New York Herald*, the editor announced his intention to "record facts on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and coloring" (quoted in Mindich 1998, 5). This detachment process was completed by the end of the 19th century. Economic, political, and social characteristics such as "early industrialisation, limited government, strong rational-legal authority, moderate and individualized pluralism" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 246) led to a separation between media and political parties and other organized social groups. The faith in facts which were considered to transmit the truth marked the understanding of American journalism.

In England too, journalism pressed for independence early on. "Elitist, middle-class, liberal" newspapers, in contrast to the popular US press, initiated this process from the 1820s onwards (Ward 2005, 174). Already around the mid-19th century, much earlier than in continental Europe, the English

press had begun to claim the role of the "Fourth Estate" for itself, and with it journalistic independence (Requate 1995). Although the idea of fact-centred reporting has dominated in the whole Anglo-Saxon region, within this system there have always been numerous contradictions and other concepts that can also be identified on the European continent.

The *Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model* includes, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), Spain, Portugal, and Greece, which became democracies in the 1970s, as well as Italy and – as a special case – France. What distinguishes these countries, to varying degrees, from the other models is the stronger reverberation of the *ancien regime* and its institutions: the landholding aristocracy, the absolutist state, and the church, which leads to a "tendency for the media to be dominated by the political sphere" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 90). Liberalism "triumphed only after a protracted political conflict that continued in many cases well into the twentieth century" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 89). In Spain, for example, scholars date the process of professionalisation to the beginning of the 20th century (García-Avilés 2015, 214), even though steps towards an independent journalistic culture can be identified in earlier liberal phases such as the First Republic, where a new fact-centred form of journalism began to develop, "en el que prima la información" (Seoane and Saiz 2007, 121; see also Fuentes and Fernández Sebastián 1998, 121). The steps towards professionalisation in the era of the First Republic and the first decades of the 20th century were largely revoked by the following authoritarian regimes. Only after the end of the dictatorship in 1975 and despite an ongoing polarisation, we can speak of a separation of politics and journalism in a modern understanding. A key element in this context was "the integration of journalism studies into universities' curricula in the 1970s" (Alsius, Mauri, and Rodríguez Martínez 2011, 158).

The third model that Hallin and Mancini (2004) identify is the *North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model*. The common features of this geographically vast zone from Scandinavia to Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria are rooted in the religious wars triggered by Luther's challenge to the Catholic Church. This not only shaped the regions' creeds, but also their political structures and media practices. "[T]hree sets of media system elements that in other systems do not appear together" (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 144) distinguish this model from the other two. Firstly, a high degree of political parallelism together with a strongly developed mass-circulation press. Secondly, a high degree of political parallelism together with a high level of journalistic professionalisation, including a high level of consensus on professional standards and a notion of commitment to a common public interest. Finally, an early liberalisation (except for the former

empires Austria and Germany) including press freedom together with strong welfare state politics and other forms of active state intervention.

As articles by correspondents from the Anglo-Saxon region as well as articles from German speaking reporters are included in the content analysis, the comparison of the developments in these two areas are of special importance. Even though Germany and Austria are, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), both assigned to the Democratic Corporatist Model, the professionalisation processes in the two empires were different.[16] For Germany, for example, Requate (2002) names the severely restricted freedom of the press as decisive for a late development process. In Austria, however, at that time still the powerful centre of the Habsburg Monarchy, the beginning of a professionalisation of the press can be dated back to the middle of the 19th century. In 1859, the first journalists' association, the Concordia, which still exists today, was founded, leading to an early formation of professional norms and standards (Seethaler 2009, 70). At the first general assembly of this representative body, it was already emphasised that "the profession of the journalist" – "der Beruf des Journalisten" – could not be done on the side, but would take all the time and energy of a man (Eppel 1984, 43). At that time, it was still unusual internationally to employ journalists full-time (Høyer and Lauk 2003). The tasks of the Concordia were primarily aimed at providing legal and social protection for journalists, including the demand for greater freedom of the press, the fight against corruption, and the establishment of an honorary court to preserve journalistic dignity (Eppel 1984). As a professional institution, journalism in Austria thus developed already in the mid of the 19th century.

We see that the professionalisation processes and concepts of journalism have taken very different forms. In general, although one system was dominant, this approach was never exclusive. Despite all the differences within the models, there is a dividing line between the two models of the Central/Northern and Southern European zone, on the one hand, and the Anglo-Saxon area, on the other, – the focus on facts. This was also manifested in role models of journalists at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. In the USA and in Britain reporters running for the facts became increasingly important and recognized, reflected also in the "culture of the newsroom and the desire for 'scoops'" (Hampton 2008, 482). In continental Europe, however, there was a clear two-class society in journalism. An intellectual upper class who explained the world in a literary writing style looked down

[16] We do not refer further to Switzerland here, as there is no evidence of a female war correspondent from there so far, although at least 28 female volunteers (Huber 2009) were active on the side of the Republic.

on little respected “shoe-leather reporting” (Esser and Umbricht 2014, 231) henchmen who gathered equally unrespected information. Journalists wanted to remain close to the intellectuals and writers (Requate 2002, 442). In Spain, too, it was above all the pens of writers and intellectuals – “las plumas de las escritores e intelectuales” – on which journalism thrived (Seoane and Saiz 2007, 157–58). However, the Spanish politician and later head of government Alejandro Lerroux, known for his populism, considered journalists on the whole as failed existences. “Suele ser el periodismo”, Lerroux stated, “refugio de fracasados en la literatura, hospital de inválidos de otras carreras, o camino por donde marchan en carrera desenfrenada las ambiciones políticas” (quoted in Seoane and Saiz 2007, 161).

French journalism served in many ways as a model for Central and Southern Europe. In France, political careers remained closely linked to publicist activity (Requate 2002, 444–45): journalists saw themselves as politicians, and politicians acted as journalists. There was no clear separation. In contrast to Germany, however, the press in France, although weak as an independent institution, was a political forum for, and directly involved in, political changes (Requate 2002, 442). The press played a similarly important political role in Austria, for example, where important daily newspapers were party-owned until the middle of the 20th century (Karmasin and Oggolder 2019; Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008; Kaltenbrunner et al. 2020). The image of the journalist remained for a long time that of a brilliant, academically educated writer, many editors held a doctorate. Requate (2002, 442) states, that in continental Europe it was precisely the journalistic focus that was marginalised, which in England and the USA significantly shaped the profile of the profession and constituted the strength of the press. Nevertheless, the example of the French press shows that liberalism is not to be equated with non-partisanship. Ward (2005) emphasises the great contribution of the French liberal press, together with that of the USA and Britain, to the successful struggle for free speech and fewer social restrictions.

Summarizing these different processes of professionalisation, a fundamental difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the continental European understanding of journalism quality can be derived: French, Spanish, German, Austrian journalists who often came from an academic background and considered themselves intellectuals and writers, regarded it as their task to supply their audience with their worldviews (Requate 2002, 440) and saw it beneath their dignity to compete for the latest information. Therefore, in Central and Southern Europe, fact-centred journalism was less important for journalists than in the USA and in the UK (Requate 2002, 440; Seoane and Saiz 2007, 157). To varying degrees, this is reflected in the journalistic role models to the present day. While in the Anglo-Saxon world the

watchdog role is in the foreground, in Central Europe journalists consider themselves much more as critics and interpreters of the system. This role is far more pronounced in Austria today than in Germany, which oriented itself more towards the USA after World War II (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2020; Loosen, Reimer, and Höli 2020; Weaver et al. 2007; Weischenberg, Malik, and Scholl 2006; Bentele 2008; Høyer and Lauk 2003). The different historical processes of professionalisation are important prerequisites for the further development of the diverse understandings of quality in journalism up until today.

3.3 Objectivity as the guiding principle of American journalism since the 1920s

3.3.1 Professional legitimation: reflection of a new self-perception

Thinking about the problem of a media representation that is accurate existed long before the term objectivity. Bentele (2008, 81), like Ward (2005) cited above, places it at the latest with the emergence of the periodical press in the 17th century. Important for our modern understanding are the developments of the 19th century. At that time the "social conditions that made possible, desirable, and convenient the occupational practices that could be understood as 'objective reporting'" emerged (Schudson 2008, 302).

Nevertheless, the term *objectivity* did not appear in US journalism until the 1920s. In her research of news agency texts of the late 19th and early 20th century, Stenvall found the first evidence of intentionally objective writing style in *Reuters* telegrams on a progrom in 1906 (Stenvall 2017, 1). Five years later, in 1911, according to the state of research today, the term objectivity was first mentioned in connection with journalism in an American textbook on journalistic studies, *The Writing of News*, published by Charles Ross. On page 18, Ross stipulates that the "ideal" news story should be written "from an impersonal and objective point of view" (quoted in González Gorosarri 2017, 832). From then on it became the dominant principle for professional journalism, particularly on the American continent (see e.g. Chalaby 1998; Kaplan 2002; Mindich 1998; Schudson 2008; Ward 2005).

The conscious turn to fact and the insistence on objectivity were, on the one hand, consequences of the professionalisation of the 19th century and the beginning of a "process of thought, discussion, and activity that culminated in various changes in journalistic practices during the early twentieth century" (Dicken-Garcia 1989, 183). Firstly, with the detachment from political parties, the obligation towards

the parties was replaced by the obligation to provide public service (Kaplan 2002). From then on, the press emphasised that it was above all the political wrangling. A publisher wrote in 1915, "[o]ur policies in the conduct of the News are not private policies. […] We have no ulterior motive, no private axe to grind" (Booth quoted in Kaplan 2006, 181). Secondly, the fast-growing need for newsgathering required better organisation. The rules established to achieve objectivity were an effective means of controlling reporters. "Objectivity as ideology was a kind of industrial discipline" (Schudson 2008, 297). In the 1930s, the principle was also used against unionisation in the newsroom – unionised reporters, publishers argued, could not be objective (Schudson 2008, 299). The claim to objectivity was an essential step in the professionalisation process.

On the other hand, the claim for objectivity was encouraged by other societal changes, particularly the Progressive Movement and the rise of science at the beginning of the 20th century. "[O]bjectivity seemed a natural and progressive ideology for an aspiring occupational group at a moment when science was god" (Schudson 2008, 297). The faith placed in objectivity was also a reaction to World War I and its nationalist propaganda. With the independence movements of the press, public relations had emerged as an interest-driven industry, which received a great boost from the government at the time of World War I, "to sell the war" (Schudson 2008, 298). According to a journalism critic of that time, this PR boom brought about nearly "a thousand bureaus of propaganda" in Washington at the time of World War I (quoted in Schudson 2008, 298), which were intended to close the gap between politics and journalism or, rather, take influence on journalism in favour of their respective political clients. American journalists "felt a need to close ranks and assert their collective integrity" as defence against "the publicity agents' unembarrassed effort to use information (or misinformation) to promote special interests" (Schudson 2008, 298). Professional distinction meant existential justification. "Journalism's preference for 'objectivity' represented a fundamentally reformulated basis of legitimacy" (Kaplan 2006, 181). This new legitimacy also included the American Society of Newspaper Editors' Code of Ethics, introduced in 1923.

Referring again to Ortega and Humanes (2000), we can state that in the USA with the establishment of objectivity, various criteria of professionalisation – such as autonomy, a Code of Ethics, and the performance of an essential service to society – were fulfilled, or at least a serious claim to it was made.

3.3.2 Controversial term: outline of the debate

Truth has been the fundamental claim of journalism. *Objectivity* has been seen to be the right way to ascertain it: “Our most fundamental interest in objectivity is an interest in truth” (Lichtenberg 1991, 218). Since approximately a century ago, objectivity has been praised as the decisive quality of journalism. Mindich (1998, 1) wrote in the introduction to his history of objectivity, “if American journalism were a religion, as it has been called from time to time, its supreme deity would be ‘objectivity’”. Still today, it is an issue of high interest, “becoming increasingly important for journalism studies” (Steensen and Ahva 2015, 12), but it has been interpreted in many different ways. “What is ‘objectivity’ anyway?”. “That depends on whom you ask” (Mindich 1998, 1).

Numerous studies tried to give an answer. Theoretical core literature as well as empirical field research and comparative studies, focus on objectivity and its different aspects and meanings (e.g. Bentele 2008; Blaagaard 2013; Boudana 2014; Carpentier and Trioen 2010; Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser and Umbricht 2014; González Gorosarri 2017; Kaplan 2002; Lane 2001; Lichtenberg 1991; Mindich 1998; Patterson and Donsbach 1996; Schudson 2008, Sponholz 2009, Tuchman 1972; Ward 2005; Westerståhl 1983; Zhang 2014). In the debate, objectivity appears in many forms, it can be an intellectual construct, such as an “ideology”, “a moral code” (Schudson 2008, 297–98), or a “cultural concept” (Lane 2001, 53); it may be considered “a cluster of discursive norms” (Chalaby 1998, 130); or it may have the functional character of a manual – as a professional set of rules and a “strategic ritual” to protect journalists and publishers against possible lawsuits (Tuchman 1972). Often it is used as an attribute – objective reporting – and is as such opposed to narrative, partisan, subjective writing, and opinion journalism (see e.g. Bentele 2008; Schudson 2008; Stenvall 2017). Schudson explains: “Partisan journalists, like objective journalists, typically reject inaccuracy, lying and misinformation, but partisan journalists do not hesitate to present information from the perspective of a particular party or faction” (Schudson 2008, 287).

Bentele provides a broad definition of objective reporting, which represents a basic consensus and therefore serves as a basis.

> *Objective reporting is [...] understood as reporting that is “in accordance with the object”, i.e. adequately describes events in the world and does not distort them. This rules out lies or*

unintentional misreporting, event-distorting omissions and the subjective distortion of understandings or interpretations.[17] (Bentele 2008, 81)

The relationship between reality and its representation in the media is not only created by the individual work of the journalist but is subject to different preconditions. According to Bentele, the interpretation of the objectivity norm, that means the desirable attitude and way of acting, depends on social influences as well as on the respective context of interpretation (Bentele 2008, 80). What exactly then "adequately" or "distorting" means must be defined by more precise criteria. Brajnovic's analysis of information provides important clues for distinguishing between adequate and inadequate representations of reality. According to him, any information, to be true, must have a material content, "la realidad de un objeto", which can be "suceso, dato, hecho o saber" (Brajnovic 1991, 72). Journalists' interpretation of reality must also be based on a number, a fact, or an event, otherwise it is not objective (Brajnovic 1991, 75). However, information is not only defined by the truth, the object reality, but must also be communicated in a clear language that is understandable to the audience (see also García-Avilés 2015, 76–77). In journalistic terms, objective reporting is generally characterised as fact-oriented, and avoiding emotions and opinions (Schudson 2008; Stenvall 2017).

Even though objectivity was and still is the guiding principle of journalistic quality in the USA, different viewpoints can be identified in the discussion. Put simply, we distinguish three basic attitudes:

a. The *traditionalists* are unconditional proponents, who see the role of journalists exclusively as detached, neutral observers, who only represent facts without having an opinion on them and avoiding any contextualisation. The most cited author in this context is Chalaby (1998). He equates objectivity with journalism, turning it into its very nature. In a positivist view, he demands that "reporters step back from mediation between readers and reality", the facts would be sufficient, at most quotes from by-passers would be allowed (Chalaby 1998, 129). Chalaby claims that journalism was an invention of the Anglo-Americans and is mere fact-based news reporting "in sharp contrast with the opinion-oriented practices of publicists and the personal narratives of literary authors" (Chalaby 1998, 130;

[17] Original: Unter objektiver Berichterstattung wird […] eine Berichterstattung verstanden, die "objektgemäss" ist, d.h. die Ereignisse in der Welt adäquat beschreibt und sie nicht verzerrt. Ausgeschlossen sind damit Lügen oder unabsichtliche Fehlberichterstattung, ereignisverzerrende Auslassungen und subjektiv-verzerrende Deutungen oder Interpretationen" (Bentele 2008, 81).

similarly arguing Figdor 2010). This approach excludes emotions: "Objective reporting is supposed to be cool, rather than emotional" (Schudson 2008, 287).

b. The large group of the *pragmatists* recognizes that the ideal of complete objectivity can never be achieved. They claim that the pursuit of it defines good journalistic craftsmanship (see for example Carpentier and Trioen 2010; Donsbach and Klett 1993; Lichtenberg 1991; McNair 2013; Neuberger 2017; Patterson and Donsbach 1996; Tuchman 1972; Ward 2005; Zhang 2014). Ward coined the term "pragmatic objectivity" as an alternative concept to "traditional objectivity". According to his definition, they share the focus on factuality and fairness, but in contrast to the traditional understanding, which forbids any interpretation, the pragmatic approach "sees all forms of journalism, from straight reports to editorials, as interpretations" (Ward 2005, 22). This flexible concept also allows "varying degrees of journalistic detachment" according to circumstances. "That reporters be strictly neutral, across the board, is neither possible nor desirable" (Ward 2005, 22). Research is the key factor. What counts is that "an honest attempt has been made to ensure that a given journalistic text can be trusted as a source of accurate information" (McNair 2013, 84). Carpentier and Trioen (2010, 325) believe that it is exactly the invincible gap between the theory and practice of objectivity – between value and working methods – that is the "generated driving force and an absolute requirement for the production of mediated meaning".

c. The *sceptics* argue the fundamental impossibility of neutrality and freedom of value, because the selection of facts can only take place on the basis of value attitudes, object and subject are always connected with each other (Muñoz-Torres 2012; Kaplan 2002). Even though the boundaries between pragmatists and skeptics are blurry, the latter question not only neutrality as a component of objectivity, but the principle in general. This is a question that is discussed in particular in the context of crisis and war reporting (see 3.6). The sceptics doubt that neutrality or non-partisanship would be desirable at all (e.g. Kaplan 2002; McManus 2009; Muñoz-Torres 2012; see also Boudana 2014), for, according to their criticism, not taking a stand is inherently subjective and always helps the powerful: "The concept of objectivity has been viewed as inauthentic and illusory, masking a deeper ideological subjectivity linked to the maintenance of elite interests" (McNair 2013, p. 84). Viewed in this way, objectivity puts the democratic task of journalism at risk. McManus (2009) states that objectivity is not only "unachievable", but "undesirable" in the normative understanding of journalism because "it rejects biases that are necessary if news is to be useful in a democracy – biases for the common good, for brevity, for making what's important interesting". Kaplan argues along similar lines, seeing a

"putatively impartial" press as non-representative of a society, because it "possesses only a highly circumscribed authority for publicizing the views of the controversial, the provocative, or the marginal" (Kaplan 2002, 193) and would allow political infiltration "in a more disguised and unimpeded form" (Kaplan 2002, 185). The tenor of the criticism is that objectivity has a tendency towards self-referentiality and looks primarily at the elites. Seib (2005b, 223), for example, notes how general reporting in US media completely ignores major international humanitarian crises.

In this very brief outline of the discussion on objectivity, we see that the different levels of the term – theory construct, norm, set of practices – are often used without demarcation, as are the various notions of non-partisanship, impartiality or neutrality attributed to it without distinguishing between them. This reveals a fundamental problem of objectivity: This complex, strained term is difficult to define concisely and has many meanings but is so common and often claimed that it does not seem to need further explication. "The use of the undifferentiated collective concepts of everyday speech is always a cloak for procedures. It is, in brief, always a means of obstructing the proper formulation of the problem" (Weber 1949, 110). The complexity grows when researchers systematically register the different significances as did Lane (2001): She could identify 23 distinct concepts or variations of journalistic objectivity based on 262 definitions she had gathered in a survey of books in the field of journalism studies. Donsbach and Klett (1993, 79) concluded from their data collected in a survey of journalists from five countries (Germany, UK, Italy, Sweden, and USA) regarding their attitude towards objectivity, that there was "a variety of different notions of objectivity" even within each country. "[N]either journalists nor the public can agree on what it means", states McManus (2009).

Therefore, for the following section, we ask the fundamental question and try to approach it systematically. What does objectivity mean in a journalistic context?

3.3.3 Complex concept: a theoretical approximation

According to the idea of Popper's "falsification" theory, truth is what we assume to be true until its refutation. Thus, it is not possible to know the absolute truth but only to come nearer to it (Popper 2002). When applying this philosophical point of view to the media, journalists have to follow the asymptotic line of objectivity towards truth, being aware that they will reach it only in infinity. This leads to the "journalistic objectivity dilemma" – "journalistisches Objektivitätsdilemma" as identified by Bentele (2008, 80). On the one hand, objectivity is recognized as the dominant value and key point

in journalists' search of truth, on the other hand completely objective reporting is not possible, there will always be a gap (Carpentier and Trioen 2010).

González Gorosarri (2017), drawing on Schwer, distinguishes three dimensions of journalistic objectivity to bring clarity to the concept in a systematic way[18]:

1. The *theoretical dimension* analyses the relationship of reality and media reality by comparing reality and its perception through journalistic mediation. It defines the reference framework, "el cuadro de referencia de actuación de la objetividad" for journalists (González Gorosarri 2017, 833; see also Bentele 2008) negotiating such fundamental questions as how to deal with subjectivity.

2. The *normative dimension* is the result of accepting the journalistic method aiming at objectivity as a professional principle. "[T]he objectivity norm became a fully formulated occupational ideal, part of a professional project or mission" (Schudson 2008, 298f.). In Europe, however, objectivity was understood less as an overarching norm than as one standard for journalistic quality among several (González Gorosarri 2017; see also Schatz and Schulz 1992).

3. The *operational dimension* of objectivity is defined in terms of daily journalistic work and practices. Thus, objectivity is the journalistic method.

The concept of journalistic objectivity encompasses these three dimensions. However, they do not explain the overarching meaning. For our approximation, we consider it useful to illustrate the semantic range of journalistic objectivity. Bentele (2008, 80) speaks of "semantischen Ungereimtheiten", semantic inconsistencies.

In the following, we briefly summarize these multiple meanings and the underlying ideas in a historical context. Referring to the USA, these concepts have been dealt with systematically by Mindich (1998) in his doctoral thesis and by Lane (2001) in her Master's thesis. The following overview starts from their works. Mindich (1998) identified out of widely used journalism textbooks the five components of objective reporting – detachment, non-partisanship, the inverted pyramid, facticity, and balance – and embedded them in the political and social evolution of the 19th century. Lane (2001) distinguished in her survey of textbooks on Journalism studies four historical stages in the development of objectivity from the first half of the 19th century on, which were decisive for the main perceptions of objectivity

[18] Similarly Ward (2005, 18) who identifies three – ontological, epistemic, and procedural – senses of objectivity.

up to today: non-partisanship, neutrality, focus-on-facts, and detachment, which we will use in the following classification as main categories. These historical objectivity components and interpretative approaches are important for the notions of core values such as facticity, impartiality, non-partisanship, balance, and fairness that are still applied today.

• *Non-partisanship*: With the growing emancipation[19] of the newspapers from political parties from the 1830s on, an ethic of non-partisanship arose. The first independent penny papers were created. They survived thanks to circulation and advertising, and not through "party patronage" (Mindich 1998, 19). The editors "pledged *Nonpartisanship* – freedom from economic and political control by a formal authority such as church, a government, a political party, or business interests" (Lane 2001, 28–29). They did refer to "common sense", "public morality", "truth" and "justice". It was no austere based-on-fact reporting, but left "plenty of room for commentary" and "the use of color words" (Lane 2001, 31f.). This new concept of non-partisanship was, as mentioned, "practiced unevenly" (Mindich 1998, 19) and has to be seen more as an exception than as a norm for the next three decades or even longer according to Kaplan (2002), who emphasises how much newspapers were still under the influence of political parties until the end of the 19th century (see also Schudson 2008). Furthermore, non-partisanship is also associated with different ideas. Mindich (1998, 40–63) refers to three editors of the 19th century assigning them to different "shades" of non-partisanship – a centrist non-partisan keeping the same distance to all parties, an anti-partisan who rejected all politics, and a political activist against slavery without being attached to a party. Non-partisanship does not mean unbiased reporting, but a growing independence from political parties.

• *Neutrality*: In the second half of the 19th century the concept of *non-partisanship* – "journalistic rationalisation that does allow journalist judgment" – evolved into *neutrality* – "journalistic rationalisation that does not allow journalist judgment" (Lane 2001, 33). Linked to this, are the notions of balance and fairness, which require both sides to have a voice. The concept has been criticised for leading to passiveness, as it relies mainly on statements from different parties and stakeholders which should give account of all positions without comment (Mindich 1998, 7; see also Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014). Furthermore, reproducing different points of view does not have to mean getting closer to the truth.

[19] Mindich calls this process *detachment*. We did not use this term here as we applied it in the context of Lippman's idea of objectivity in the 1920s.

The distinction between non-partisanship and neutrality is essential, as we will see later in the discussion in Europe on objectivity.

• *Focus-on-facts – facticity*: At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, different societal and political factors favoured the faith in facts. Kaplan (2002) sees the first big push towards non-partisanship and factuality only at that time. Furthermore, the growing belief in science with its empirical evidence ("naive empiricism" Schudson 2008, Mindich 1998) as well as in the power of economy (Kaplan 2002) contributed essentially to the development. Using Detroit as an example, Kaplan describes how journalists and citizens in the early 1900s "subscribed to the Progressive program of a new virtuously independent political stance" declaring the press "to be an impartial expert recorder of the day's most important events" (Kaplan 2002, 191). An indication of this focus-on-facts is also the gradual application of the inverted pyramid from the end of the 19th century onwards, which sets the most important information at the beginning of the article and gradually replaced "classical storytelling" with the introducing intriguing lead but revealing the most important facts often only at the end of story (Mindich 1998, 64–65).

• *Detachment* and *balance*: The journalist Walter Lippmann developed the concept of detachment. He saw the need to strengthen journalism against the new field of public relations and gave probably the first of what we would today call a functional definition of journalism: "It is unity of method, rather than of aim; the unity of the disciplined experiment." Journalists should receive training "in which the ideal of objective testimony is cardinal" (quoted in Schudson 2008, 298). This was the beginning of the "strategic ritual" described by Tuchman (1972).

To be able to avoid inaccurate stereotypes and individually limited frames, Lippman turned to science as methodology. Applied to journalism, the scientific way of ascertaining truth was detachment. American journalists followed Lippmann's claim and abandoned the focus-on-facts "premise of positive scientific empiricism, with its strategy of consensual validation", and replaced it with "the premise of negative scientific empiricism, with its strategy of avoidance of personal distortion" (Lane 2001, 46). Similar to the idea of neutrality, the concept relies on balanced reporting, but requires a more active role of the detached journalist, who, based on scientific method, is supposed to select facts in a completely value-free way.

This understanding corresponds most closely to that of the traditionalists as we have described them before. The process of the separation between parties and politics was largely complete. In 1927, the US journalist Fitzgibbon praised the "impartial" press, which, though not completely bias free, "reflects

a spirit of political independence in striking contrast to the old two-fisted fighting organs" (quoted in Kaplan 2002, 191). Detachment, however, goes even further. It includes not only non-partisanship and independence as distance from parties and a stand against political corruption and nepotism, but also strict neutrality by avoiding any judgement, and the focus-on-fact by renouncing to any contextualisation. Detachment also drew a strict line between the public, professional life of the journalist and their private personal commitment and attitude towards politics (Boudana 2014, 137). Thus, detachment is in the final consequence not only the distance to the object to report on, but the distance to oneself. Chalaby uses the example of Helen Hughes, who, in 1940 during World War II, referring to pressmen who are often "nauseated at a hanging or an electrocution", claimed that journalism under any circumstances should stick with strict based-on-fact reporting and under no circumstances show any sympathies: "[I]f 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" (quoted in Chalaby 1998, 129). Emotions must be completely suppressed. "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" (quoted in Chalaby 1998, 129).

This strict interpretation of detachment was considered to be for "the public good". The "supreme end of the press is the public good", Joseph Pulitzer stated in the 1920s (quoted in Dovifat 1927, 170). Detachment became the dominating perception of journalistic objectivity for the next decades in America. It seemed to be the "sacred doctrine" which made American journalists feel superior to their colleagues in other countries (Lane 2001, 46f.).

These four main concepts, which constitute the American idea of objectivity, did not replace each other. They exist up until today in different forms, they overlap and have developed new closely linked concepts.

If we now try to filter out of all these ideas and research approaches an answer to the question posed above – What does objectivity mean in a journalistic context? – we believe that this can only be a very general definition, which inevitably remains incomplete:

In the American context, objectivity has been the leading, even though controversially discussed, quality principle for a century, which on several dimensions – as a theoretical framework, as a rule-claiming norm and as an operational set of practices – and in spite of all its different connotations and semantic inconsistencies, basically argues for journalism that is, in the today dominating pragmatic

view, as impartial and unemotional as possible, fact-based, and always oriented towards the public good.

3.4 Objectivity and subjectivity in Europe since the 1920s

As shown, the professionalisation processes in continental Europe were different from those in America and in the beginning of the 20th century large parts of Europe still held the tradition of press owned by or closely linked to political parties. Newspapers not attached to a party were still a "durchaus neuzeitliches Gebilde", a quite new phenomenon (Bücher 1926, 23). Nevertheless, the development of journalism in America was watched and discussed in Europe, and the question of the "Amerikanisierung" of the press was raised (Dovifat 1927, 9). In his work *Der Amerikanische Journalismus* (The American Journalism), published 1927, the German "Zeitungskunde" (newspaper studies) scholar Dovifat compared the news system of the USA, "where the reporter has long defeated the editorial writer"[20], with that of Germany. Due to other traditions and structures, however, the principle of objectivity has never achieved the same widespread acceptance as in the USA (Bentele 2008; Donsbach and Klett 1993; Schudson 2008) but the difference between the models, on the one hand, the focus on dissemination of worldviews, on the other the focus on dissemination of news, was noted. Max Weber compared in his lecture on the sociology of newspaper publishing the French who wanted to read a "Tendenzblatt" (quoted in Requate 2002, 425) – a "tendency paper" –, and the Americans who first and foremost demanded facts.

About a decade after the term objectivity was first mentioned in the context of journalism in the USA, it was also used in Europe, but mainly in connection with public broadcasters (Bentele 2008; González Gorosarri 2017). Even "among British journalists", Hampton (2008, 477) states that objectivity was "never accepted as a generalized ideal". In European journalism, at least until after World War II, objectivity was primarily a standard for news agencies and public broadcasting.

The longer-lasting close connection between politics and the press in Europe caused not only a certain restraint in using the objectivity term but also different notions in the understanding of independence and impartiality (as pointed out for example by Frey 2017; García-Avilés 2015; Kline 1981; Requate

[20] Original: "... wie in den Vereinigten Staaten, wo der Reporter den Leitartikler längst besiegt hat, ..." (Dovifat 1927, 9).

2002). Taking Germany as an example, but in a comparative perspective, Requate shows that the concepts of “Unparteilichkeit” (impartiality) and “Unabhängigkeit” (independence) also played a role in Europe early on, starting in the 18th century and especially in the 19th century, but were often no more than hollow phrases (see also Bentele 2008; Melischek and Seethaler 2016). Towards the end of the 19th century, the first *Generalanzeiger* appeared in Germany, a type of newspaper which was (comparable to the penny press) less opinion-oriented than fact-oriented and defined itself as non-partisan or independent, which meant above all independent of the government, and thus became synonymous with liberal. However, due to strict censorship, this claim all too often became a farce in Germany until after World War I (Requate 2002, 435). Bentele (2008, 87), referring to Koszyk, notes that almost 50 per cent of German newspapers in 1911 considered themselves non-partisan or independent. In general, however, there were clear dependencies on political or economic interest groups. At the beginning of the 20th century, the emergence of the boulevard press, mass media sold on the street, changed journalistic self-awareness. The changing readership through street sales required not only less partisan allegiance, but also a new kind of journalism, oriented less towards the intellectual bourgeoisie and more towards the growing audience of workers and craftsmen. Bentele (2008, 88) states that an underlying political tendency was still present, but not primarily expressed through commentaries and editorials as in the USA, but rather through headlines, placement, and layout. For Spain, Seoane and Saiz (2007, 157–58) also state that, for the first three decades of the 20th century, compared to Anglo-Saxon journalism, little value was paid to fact and journalism shone at an “extraordinaria altura en el aspecto intelectual y literario”. Politics and journalism were also intertwined here. In 1916, the Spanish magazine “España” wrote of the two great “grúas políticas: nepotismo y periodismo” (quoted in Seoane and Saiz 2007, 160). Distinguished journalists from practically all the newspapers in Madrid would stand for parliamentary election, a custom that was still cultivated in the Second Republic. In general, journalists in Southern and Central Europe played a more politically active role than their Anglo-Saxon colleagues (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Requate 2002). A counter-example to this, however, is Ireland, where the lines between press and politics were blurred. In 1931, Eamon de Valera, one of the leaders of the Irish independence movement and later president of Ireland, founded the daily newspaper *The Irish Press*. For the publisher, intense political activism and a commitment to truth were not at odds with each other. “To give the truth in the news, that will be the chief aim of *The Irish Press*”, Eamon de Valera was quoted in another paper (Galway Observer 8 August 1931). Valera’s biggest competitor, the *Irish Independent*, was considered to be the mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, which was an important political actor (McGarry 2002).

The commitment to truth was given by partisan press as well as by non-partisan newspapers. Using German journalists as an example again, which we assume to be comparable to other countries such as France or Austria with a press strongly influenced by politics, Requate (2002, 439) states that they often had a different understanding of truthfulness than their American colleagues and did not agree among themselves. An example of this was provided by the two very well-known journalists and writers Egon Erwin Kisch and Kurt Tucholsky. In 1925, the Czech-Austrian reporter Egon Erwin Kisch vehemently advocated for the new style "Neue Sachlichkeit" (new objectivity): "The reporter has no bias, he has nothing to justify and he has no standpoint"[21] (Kisch 1925 quoted in Tucholsky 1975, 48). The German writer Kurt Tucholsky contradicted him immediately in the magazine *Die Weltbühne*: "That is not possible. There is no human being without a standpoint. Even Kisch has one"[22] (quoted in Tucholsky 1975, 49). Tucholsky did not believe in a possible detachment of professional journalism from personal attitude. The later commitment of Kisch showed that Tucholsky had been right: Kisch became war correspondent in the Spanish Civil War explicitly supporting the Spanish Republic. In connection with the "Neue Sachlichkeit" and Kisch as its most vehement representative, Hartsock emphasises that "[u]nlike the concept of journalistic 'objectivity' as it took shape in the United States at the same time, the German version emphasized first-person witness as the only kind that could make a claim to epistemological integrity" (Hartsock 2009, 117).

Many journalists in Europe considered impartiality to be hypocritical because journalists had to deny their convictions which for them did not contradict independence. Around the time that independence and impartiality were defined as key values in the Code of Ethics in the USA, conscience clauses for journalists were being discussed in Austria, Germany, Italy, and France which was the first country to implement them in law in 1935. According to this, journalists were entitled to stop working, if the line of the newspaper changed in such a way that it violated the journalist's honour and individual moral convictions (Fuentes-Cobo and García-Avilés 2014; Barroso 2009). In Central Europe, a tradition of independent partisanship, "unabhängiger Parteilichkeit" (Requate 2002, 436), developed, which liberal journalists in particular claimed for themselves. Liberal newspapers, which neither followed a clear line nor unreservedly supported a particular parliamentary party, were guided by the *Times* (Melischek and Seethaler 2016, 181), which advocated a concept of political engagement while

[21] Original: "Der Reporter hat keine Tendenz, hat nichts zu rechtfertigen und hat keinen Standpunkt" (Kisch 1925 quoted in Tucholsky 1975, 48).
[22] Original: "Das gibt es nicht. Es gibt keinen Menschen, der nicht einen Standpunkt hätte. Auch Kisch hat einen" (quoted in Tucholsky 1975, 48).

remaining independent by claiming that “editors were free to criticise their own parties’ political leadership and policies” (Sloan and Startt quoted in Melischek and Seethaler 2016, 181). British journalism had much in common with American journalism, such as fact-centred reporting and a critical eye for propaganda in newspapers. Nevertheless, “despite this clear insistence on truthfulness”, the UK perspective “differed considerably from American-style ‘objectivity’” (Hampton 2008, 483). Renowned journalists such as the writer and Spain volunteer George Orwell did not see any “contradiction between truthfulness and commitment to specific principles” (Hampton 2008, 483). It seems that they were closer to the professional self-image of their colleagues in Central Europa than to those in the USA. Esser and Umbricht (2014, 231) come to a similar conclusion, characterising the UK as “a mixed type combining Anglo-American and European traditions”. Moreover, European newspapers, more so than in the USA, have been assigned to one political party or the other, according to their values, without (necessarily) being beholden to one of the parties. In 1923, the *Daily Express* defined itself as “an independent organ tied neither to the Conservatives nor to the Liberal party but opposed to socialism” (quoted in Hampton, 483).

Thus, independence is not the same as not being in line with a party or an institution (González Gorosarri 2017). It means being able to report without intervention from the state, and without pressure from any political party or other stakeholders. That, in turn, the insistence on detachment and neutrality, can mean the loss of autonomy has been emphasised by the US-scholar Kaplan who reproaches American reporters that in “their passion for rigorous objectivity” they lost “the ability to independently set the news agenda”.

Researchers also point out in this context that transparent bias can be less dangerous and distorting as long as it feels obliged to report even inconvenient facts, rather than neutrality which does not disclose its values (Bentele 2008; Patterson and Donsbach 1996). While, as González Gorosarri (2017, 830) points out, independence entails adopting a specific ideological position based on information, neutrality advocates for not having a personal opinion. Thus, it negates the fact that the selection and interpretation of information is always based on values. “[P]artisanship can and does intrude on news decisions even among journalists who are conscientiously committed to a code of strict neutrality” (Patterson and Donsbach 1996, 466). Truthfulness and subjectivity are not mutually exclusive. This realisation is more accepted in Europe than in America. While objectivity has often been equated with good journalism in the USA, in Europe it has mainly been understood as only one part, one standard of several that make up journalistic quality, as we described above (Schatz and Schulz 1992; González

Gorosarri 2017). In Europe, other terms for good journalism are often applied, such as “professionality” (Schudson 2008), or “journalistic quality” (Rámirez de la Piscina et al. 2014; González Gorosarri 2017) with its German equivalent “Journalismusqualität” which is used in German speaking countries (Meier 2019b).

Nevertheless, the truthfulness of subjectivity is also an issue in the USA, especially in questions of crises and war coverage, as we will show in Sub-section 3.6. From a historical perspective, this understanding is essential in the reporting of female journalists.

Before looking at early 20th century journalism from the gender perspective, we want to briefly summarize different journalistic understandings at the time of the Spanish Civil War as presented here for the USA, Great Britain, Central Europe and Spain.

1. In the USA, the principle of objectivity clearly prevailed, which, with regional and temporal deviations, was understood mainly as non-partisanship, neutrality and/or detachment. Any proximity to political parties was frowned upon. Nevertheless, reporting never took place in a politically value-free space.

2. Although the Anglo-Saxon world is in general associated with the American understanding of journalism and its focus on facts rather than on views, the British press showed some characteristics that were more common in continental Europe. For example, although the British press was formally separate from political parties, it did not see its proximity to political movements and social institutions as contradictory to its independence.

3. In Central and Southern Europe, the principle of objectivity was discussed, and some ideas were incorporated, but it was only adopted as a guiding principle after World War II, and never to the same extent as in the USA. At the time of the Spanish Civil War, the links with politics or newspapers owned by political parties were more common than in the Anglo-Saxon region. Moreover, reporting was considered to be a profession for intellectuals who did not see themselves as fact writers but argued their world view. Liberal journalists who wanted to emancipate themselves from the direct influence of political parties can be assigned to the concept of independent partisanship (Requate 2002). This can be understood as, similar to the British approach, an agreement of fundamental values with certain political parties, but not necessarily with their policies.

3.5 Journalism in the early 20th century from the gender perspective

The history of journalism is male dominated and male framed (Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998; Ross and Carter 2011; Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Klaus and Wischermann 2013; Kinnebrock 2005). As various studies emphasise, there is no clear-cut boundary between "feminine" and "masculine" journalism, but there are tendencies or ways of reporting which are assigned more to women or to men, especially in the early decades of professional journalism (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Klaus 2005). Historical research suggests that the principle of objectivity and its values tended to play less of a role for female journalists than for their male colleagues (Klaus and Wischermann 2013) and has been attributed to "masculine, European, bourgeois values" (Frey 2017, 43 drawing on Harding).

At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, female journalists, in Anglo-Saxon regions as well as in continental Europe, were not held to the same standards as male journalists. They were considered inferior, as can be seen, for example, in the booklet *Journalism for Women*, published 1898 by Arnold Bennett, the editor of the British magazine *Woman*.

> *In Fleet Street there are not two sexes, but two species – journalists and women journalists, and we treat the species very differently. Women are not expected to suffer the same discipline, nor are they judged by the same standards. In Fleet Street femininity is an absolution, not an accident.* (quoted in Adburgham 1972, 272*)*

Female journalists were by then no longer an exception in Fleet Street. The evolution of the popular press had "helped to create an expanding sphere of public discourse which, of necessity, involved increasing numbers of women" (Holland 1998, 19), in the audience and in the newsroom. According to Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming (2004), the entrance of female journalists was also due to the increasing importance of advertising. In the last decades of the 19th century, for the first time "women were actively sought as journalists to produce articles that would appeal directly to women readers" and could be placed next to advertisements "targeting women consumers". Already in 1889, a British newspaper had mocked the "invasion of Fleet Street's sanctity [by] journalists damsels everywhere taking their place at the reporter's table" (quoted in Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998, 13). Female journalists were seen and judged first as women – *damsels* – and by their appearance, and only then recognized in their professional role. This kind of discrimination is still perceptible to this day, albeit more subtly (Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998; Sebba 2013). Moreover, issues and

topics that are relevant for women were and are often still considered secondary (Ross and Carter 2011), even though the definition of relevant news has broadened with the gradual equalisation of the gender ratio in the newsroom (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004). This has always influenced the attribution of competence.

In the early 20th century, female journalists were primarily instructed to report for women: for women's magazines or women's pages in newspapers that dealt mainly with matters of daily life, cultural events and literature at most (see e.g. Conboy 2011; Kinnebrock 2005; Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998; Geertsema-Sligh 2019). Research, however, shows that from the beginning of professional journalism there were also women who dedicated themselves to political topics, albeit less frequently in the general press than in a political women's press such as magazines of the women's or peace movement (Klaus and Wischermann 2013; Spreizer 2014; Ross and Moorti 2005; Krainer 2016).

Human interest issues as assigned to female journalists were supposed to have a certain degree of subjectivity and emotion – and thus inevitably put female journalists in opposition to objectivity. This also affected women journalists in Europe, although subjectivity was more accepted here. In 1930, media researcher Otto Groth wrote that women were not very suitable for the "pure news service", "since their emotional character has little taste for the impersonal, factual reproduction of facts and observations"[23] (quoted in Klaus 2005, 151). Women, because they were women, were considered incapable of news reporting.

Especially in connection with female journalists, but also in war reporting (as we will see below), the aspect of emotion moves to the centre of the debate. For a long time, its role in journalistic narratives has been underestimated by the historical allegiance to the ideal of objectivity. Unlike a century back, however, emotionality is often no longer seen as necessarily contradictory to objectivity, but as a valuable complement, "a central resource in journalistic work practice" (Glück 2016, 893). In view of the general social trend of emotionalization, scholars like Glück (2016), drawing on McQuail, argue that empathy can be beneficial not only at the level of research in relation to sources and interviewees, but also for "a qualitative and ethically sensitive news coverage" (Glück 2016, 901). It is also about reflection on what the story means for others – protagonists, sources, audience – and possible consequences for those affected. Agreeing with this, we want to emphasise that journalists

[23] Original: "Der reine Nachrichtendienst liegt der Frau wenig, da ihr gefühlsbetonter Charakter kaum Geschmack an der unpersönlichen, sachlichen Wiedergabe von Tatsachen und Beobachtungen findet" (quoted in Klaus 2005, 151)

who are aware of their emotions may reflect more on their own motives and sympathies than those who insist on the pure facts and do not allow feelings. Lichtenberg (1991) saw the admittance of individual subjectivity as an important step in detaching from it. Rather than negating emotions, journalists should be trained to deal with them professionally, as Richards and Rees (2011) argue for emotional literacy. Emotions and subjective feelings cannot and should not be avoided in truthful reporting, as especially the objectivity sceptics argue.

Drawing on Tuchman's (1972) "strategic ritual of objectivity", Wahl-Jorgensen (2012) identified the "strategic ritual of emotionality" in her study on Pulitzer prize awarded stories, and she argues that emotion has always been an important factor in journalism. Just as Tuchman (1972) showed that opinion found its way into "objective reporting" through the quotes of interviewees, Wahl-Jorgensen illustrates how emotions are let in through the feelings attributed to sources. The analysed articles used emotional storytelling "with the aim of drawing the audience's attention to complex topics of social and political import" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2012, 141).

Whether the admission of emotions compromises objectivity in any case is assessed differently. While Stenvall (2014), in a meticulous analysis of different types of emotions (experienced, observed, constructed, and interpreted) in news agency reports, concludes that all the categories have "inherent features that might put objectivity at risk", Wahl-Jorgensen states that emotions do not contradict the objectivity norm if they rely "on evidence in the form of quotes from sources" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2012, 142). In this context, however, we consider Wahl-Jorgensen's finding, which points out the large gap between theory and practice in the American understanding of objectivity and questions the claim to renounce emotion, to be even more relevant.

> *"If journalism has been conventionally understood as a fact-centered discursive practice, and the classic 'objective' way of framing the facts in question has been the inverted pyramid lead, characterized by a dispassionate, distanced narrative style, the Pulitzer Prize-winning stories examined here put a lie to this received understanding."* (Wahl-Jorgensen 2012, 136–37)

Even in the USA, emotion has always been an important component, and "central to the most highly valued forms" of journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen and Schmidt 2020, 265). Thus, we consider for the assessment of journalistic quality, the presence or absence of it not in itself a criterion (as implied by the classical understanding of objectivity), but only how it is handled. There is a wide range between empathy and sensationalism.

The rigorous rejection of emotionality, emotion being primarily attributed to women, was a practical argument to keep female journalists at low prestige level. The fact that women were increasingly reporting on socially relevant topics in the general press and in political magazines is closely connected to the emergence of *New Journalism* (Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998), which also appeared in related forms as *New Reportage* in the beginning of the 20th century, in the USA, in the UK, and – in a comparable form as "Sozialreportage" (social reportage) – in German-speaking countries, where the Austro-Hungarian journalist Max Winter established this special genre (Riesenfellner 1985). Certainly, not everything that fell under New Journalism was to be understood as high-quality reporting, the "sensationalism" and preference "for scandal and drama on its front page" in the "yellow press" for which increasingly also female journalists signed on, was the subject of criticism (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004). Alongside this, however, with progressive movements in the USA and Europe, a socially critical form of reportage emerged that corresponds to a modern understanding. This was dedicated to those marginalised population groups and topics that were often overlooked by mainstream journalism. Here, the capacity was required that Kaplan (2002, 193) diagnosed as lost with objective reporting: "to interject their own evaluations and judgements; provide overarching interpretations; and explore controversial or, controversely, taken for granted social viewpoints".

Journalistic genres also play a role in the question of subjectivity and emotion. Short reports for daily newspapers set stricter limits than longer stories with narrative elements. Reportage is the most important journalistic genre for eyewitness reports (Haller 2008) and human interest issues and as such was also a cornerstone in Spanish Civil War reporting (Deacon 2008a). It offers the greatest freedom and the best possibility of creativity of all journalistic forms, as it can contain opinion elements as well as information and emotion.

There has always been a complicated relationship between objectivity and storytelling journalism. Wahl-Jorgensen and Schmidt (2020) distinguish three groups of scholars in this context: "[l]iterary-minded theorists" who questioned "the very possibility of a verifiable reality", other researchers who focused "on literary journalism as a social practice", and the third group who maintained that "truth in literary journalism was a matter of accurate reporting" (Wahl-Jorgensen and Schmidt 2020, 265). Agreeing with the third group, we believe that adherence to transparency and to quality standards that emphasise journalistic authority and authenticity makes reportage one of the most attractive forms of journalism. This was also pointed out by Schmidt (2 October 2019) in the media debate on the Relotius scandal questioning reportage as a journalistic genre after it had been discovered that

the prominent and award-winning German correspondent had invented sources and events in his reportages.

In standard works on journalistic practice, the essential characteristics of the reportage are defined as on-the-ground research, human interest and a lively narrative style that combines personal experiences with facts (Meier 2019a; Schlüter 2004; Yanes Mesa 2004). It can be based more on figures and data (objective), look at past events (retrospective), look at news in depth or be investigative (Yanes Mesa 2004), or be of a literary style, which primarily uses narrative, pictorial techniques of fiction (Hartsock 2009).

Looking back on the New Reportage, it was by no means a genre only for women. Nevertheless, it opened opportunities for female journalists that they did not have before. Referring especially to Germany and Austria, Klaus and Wischermann (2013) state that female journalists reported on socially relevant and sensitive issues that concerned all citizens but affected particularly women such as prostitution, female employment and working conditions, as well as gender violence. The selection of what is considered relevant and the way it is presented are closely linked to individual socialisation (Rodgers 2003) and therefore always have a subjective component.

Storytelling journalism is often labelled as *literary journalism* or *narrative journalism*. For our context, we prefer narrative journalism as the term literary journalism tends to disguise the investigative character and the relevance of the content of such reportages. By contrasting "literary journalism", which upholds the ideal of the "story", with classical news reporting, which focuses on the ideal of "information" (Stenvall 2017, 2 referring to Hartsock), the claim of relevance gets lost. The New Reportage or Sozialreportage, however, was a form of investigative journalism (Klaus and Wischermann 2013) with a social concern that, as described by Wahl-Jorgensen in the case of the Pulitzer prize stories, used narrative storytelling to draw the audience's attention to misery and socio-political injustices.

Researchers repeatedly point out that the New Reportage had a political bias to the left. This is hardly surprising, since it focused on social grievances that socialist groups saw it as their task to eradicate, primarily those affecting marginalised groups such as working-class people and working-class women in particular. "From the Marxist perspective, a dispassionate 'objective' journalism was an ideological ruse for concealing the true depths of the miseries" (Hartsock 2009, 119–20). To some extent, such a viewpoint would be consistent with literary journalism theory (Hartsock 2009, 120). The position of the proponents of New Reportage was that truth did not only lie in the one-dimensionality of facts. At the American Writer's Congress in 1935, Joseph North, editor of the US magazine *New Masses*,

which was close to the Communist Party, described reportage as “three-dimensional reporting. The writer not only condenses reality, he helps the reader feel the fact” (quoted in Hartsock 2009, 120). In 1932, the communist philosopher Georg Lukács justified the reportage as “una forma absolutamente justificada e indispensable del publicismo. En su verdadera altura crea una verdadera unión – ajustada a sus fines especiales – entre lo general y lo especial, entre lo necesario y lo casual” (Lukács 2002, 208). Certainly, the New Reportage considered the journalist in a subjective advocacy role. Not to perform this role, but to insist instead on detachment and neutrality would, according to the objectivity sceptics as described before, have contributed to the preservation of existing power structures. It requires a certain degree of empathy to focus on these marginalised groups. It would be, however, far too simplistic to call all representatives of the New Reportage Marxists. There is again a broad spectrum of approaches, from biased yet information-based stories to political (communist, socialist) propaganda.

The idea of New Journalism, which sought to expose social problems from a subjective perspective, was clearly opposed to the American principle of objectivity. Accordingly, the criteria for this kind of journalism would have been less “Objektivität und Ausgewogenheit” – “objectivity and balance” – , but more “Unabhängigkeit, Wahrheit und Wahrhaftigkeit, auch Parteilichkeit” – “independence, truth and truthfulness, also partiality”, as Klaus and Wischermann (2013, 357) point out, referring to female journalists in Austria and Germany. In this case too, the claim to independence and truthfulness does not necessarily contradict partisanship.

Concluding, we can state that before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, women journalists in Europe and America were already established in the profession, both in the writing for women by women and increasingly in socio-political reporting, even though their professional standing was less valued than that of their male colleagues. In 1936, British journalist Emilie Hawkes Peacocke predicted in her book *Writing for Women* that “[t]he story of modern journalism is that of the rise of the Woman’s Story” (quoted in Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998, 1). This became true in the same year in the case of war reporting, which, apart from isolated cases, had not yet become part of the agenda of women journalists.

3.6 The field of war correspondence

Especially in crisis and war reporting, the questions of objectivity and subjectivity, non-partisanship and partisanship are intensively discussed. “The general view is that it is difficult and nearly impossible for journalists to be a ‘neutral observer’ or ‘bystander’ especially during wartime” (Zhang 2014). This is emphasised by war correspondents from various journalistic cultures and times. In her study on French war correspondents, Boudana, for example, came to the conclusion that objectivity “has not only been rejected as an unattainable standard, but also as an undesirable norm” (Boudana 2014, 138).

Referring to the Spanish Civil War, objectivity proponents such as Knightley (2003) argue that partiality, neglecting detachment, would have distorted the truth. Preston (2008, pos. 93) contradicts, as previously noted, and points out that “unpalatable truths” are often dismissed as “bias”. Knightley draws on the traditional notion of objectivity derived from science for journalism. In its scientific origins, the idea was that human deficiencies and prejudices could be corrected by rules of good practices. But journalism is not science: “En la ciencia, este problema se soluciona con la verificación y la repetición de pruebas; en el periodismo, la verificación se traduce en un acto personal y subjetivo” (García-Avilés 2015, 246). One of the fundamental differences between science and journalism is the factor of time: the pressure for immediacy simply does not allow journalists verification in a scientific meaning. As Deacon says, to treat journalism as “bad history” is a misunderstanding. “Journalism contributes to historical understanding but that is not its principal raison d’être. Journalisms seeks to engage with the here and now” (Deacon 2008a, 2). Spanish Civil War correspondent Josephine Herbst (1991, pos. 1987) referred to the experiences of International Brigades soldiers as “the fact of the now”, an expression that also seems appropriate to describe the professional nature of journalism.

In war reporting today, the two opposing positions are discussed as “Attached or Detached?” (Sjøvaag 2005) as the title of a master thesis summarizes. Detached generally means classical reporting according to the principle of objectivity – neutral or impartial, emotionless. Attached refers to a more subjective perspective that also allows for emotion, especially empathy. It was claimed by the American war correspondent Martin Bell after the Bosnian war (McLaughlin 2016; Zhang 2014) and is what Knightley dismisses as “reporting with heart”. In contrast to this, Rosen warned against the “overriding rule of detachment” and pointed out that if “the journalist’s mind is separated from the journalist’s soul” (quoted in Lane 2001, 53), this would not lead to justice but potentially to

laissez-faire and indifference. “Professional objectivity and telling the truth [...] are not always the same”, is how McLaughlin (2016, 43), himself a proponent of impartiality, describes the discomfort of many war correspondents.

The American principle of objectivity has been shaken, it seems, when the USA as a nation itself experienced traumatic events. In the 1960s, the principle of objectivity came “under attack” in the course of the Vietnam War and since then, reinforced by the Watergate affair in the early 1970s, took on “more advocacy roles” (Donsbach and Klett 1993, 55; see also Bentele 2008; Esser and Umbricht 2014). Since the early 2000s, after the terrorist attacks in the USA, today often referred to as “9/11”, a paradigmatic shift in American journalism can be observed, as Tumber and Prentoulis (2003, 228) suggest, which leads “from detachment to involvement, from verification to assertion, from objectivity to subjectivity”. A comparable shift of perspective is also perceptible in Europe as “teilnehmende Beobachtung” (Lünenborg and Bach 2010) – attached observation, which describes the war reporter as a “spectateur engagée” (Boudana 2014).

3.6.1 Role models and gender perceptions

The spectateur engagée or attached observer is clearly different from the “tough guys” (Knightley 2003, 45), who were almost indistinguishable from soldiers. This is a shift in the role perception. The war correspondents had been wrapped in clichés and portrayed as a “ruggedly masculine” individual (Palmer and Melki 2018, 126), an “adventurer” and “brave globetrotter for whom no effort is too great to report from the bloody scenes of the era” (Lünenborg and Bach 2010, pos. 3579)[24]. This long-held swashbuckler image dates back to the 19th century. At that time, with the professionalisation of journalism, the sub-group of war correspondents had also emerged. Their first appearance is usually dated back to the Crimean War in the mid-19th century. Three men, William Howard Russell for *The Times of London*, Edwin Lawrence Godkin of the *London Daily News* and G. L. Gruneisen of the *Morning Post* reported from there (Ness 2012, 6). Russell forged the first image of his guild, characterised by heroic, tragic understatement, and described himself as a “miserable parent of a luckless tribe” (McLaughlin 2016, 1). The first decades of war reporting are considered the “Golden

[24] Original: “Der Journalist wird entworfen als ein Abenteurer, ein mutiger Weltenbummler, dem keine Mühe zu groß ist, von den blutigen Schauplätzen der Epoche zu berichten“ (Lünenborg and Bach 2010, pos. 3579).

Age” of war reporters (Knightley 2003). World War I correspondent Philipp Gibbs described it as the “age of chivalry and of opportunities for genuine adventure” (quoted in Mathews, 242). With the experience of World War I, Mander (2010, 105) identifies a new type of journalist emerging from years of gruelling battles – “trench coated [...], cynical in outlook, suspicious of the powers that be, and usually a little drunk”. Adventurousness turned into cynicism. First after Vietnam, then in the course of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, and particularly after 9/11 this role model has taken on different contours again, which increasingly refer to the stresses and strains of the war correspondent, and not only focus on the large, much cited, alcohol consumption, but also on the psychological long-term consequences (Richards and Rees 2011; Tumber and Prentoulis 2003). A Nieman report from 2011 found in data collected from a group of 218 frontline journalists a five times higher rate of Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than in the

general population, and depression and alcohol abuse were also more common (Feinstein and Sinyor 2009).

Even though, the war correspondents’ images have become more differentiated over time, they are all of men. Women have been reporting on crises just as long as men, even if in the first decades there were only a few, individual cases. As early as 1846, the US-American Margaret Fuller reported from Italy on the Garibaldi-led revolution for the *New York Tribune* (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004). Nevertheless, women are still the other, the second sex, in war reporting, despite their increasing presence (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Fröhlich 2002; Palmer and Melki 2018). Being accepted into the male “tribe” of war correspondents had been difficult for women. In the 1950s, according to Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming (2004), only four per cent of war correspondents were female. Female correspondents were not taken seriously, they were denied access to the front because of their gender and with body-related arguments, such as menstruation and the lack of toilets (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004).

Even though much has improved, they still encounter sexism and discrimination (Tumber and Prentoulis 2003), also because “they disrupt still-lingering stereotypes of women’s conventional roles” (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004). In contrast to men, they are often accused of failing their partners and children with their dangerous job (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Palmer and Melki 2018). According to Nieman’s database, female war correspondents are less often married, better educated and not more prone to PTSD than their male counterparts. The tendency to abuse alcohol can be observed to the same extent (Feinstein and Sinyor 2009). Male and female war

correspondents are therefore not only subject to numerous health risks from military operations, but (like soldiers) to long-term suffering because of what they have experienced. War correspondents, this realisation emerges from the debate, cannot be considered detached observers but are – depending on the person, to varying degrees and in different ways – emotionally affected.

3.6.2 "Attached or detached" – positions on how to report on war

To be able to fulfil the claim to truthfulness, correspondents increasingly question the rejection of emotion (McLaughlin 2016; Tumber and Prentoulis 2003). "The traditional ideological framework of journalism is breaking down as a new culture of journalism, one that embraces emotion and trauma, develops" (Tumber and Prentoulis 2003, 228). In their interview-based study on emotional literacy, Richards and Rees (2011) point to the dilemma and internal conflict of war correspondents who cannot align the theoretical – constructed – claim to objectivity with their own – experienced – feelings. "Confusion and ambivalence about objectivity" result in a "particular danger" in the "emotional domain" (Richards and Rees 2011, 863).

However, war correspondents could learn to reflect their own emotions and those of others, which would improve the quality of reporting. "A more self-reflective and consistent understanding of its emotional dimensions can only help journalists report the world more clearly" (Richards and Rees 2011, 865). War correspondent Patrick de Saint-Exupéry, an indirect descendant of the writer, aviator and Spanish Civil War correspondent Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, admits emotion in an interview with Boudana (2014). As a "spectateur engagé", he sees "a need for the participation of the journalist, which is not neutral, but can be objective in the sense that the journalist is a committed witness" (Boudana 2014, 146). For French war correspondents, as the interviews conducted by Boudana (2014) show, this often means insisting on political detachment while admitting emotional involvement and empathy.

This empathy leads to other central issues in war coverage. Lünenborg and Bach (2010) diagnose that during the last decades the war correspondence's focus has changed from battlefield stories towards "teilnehmende Beobachtung", empathetic observance of the consequences of war for civilians. Also, Tumber, Prentoulis and Webster see a shift to "human face" stories. On the one hand, this would offer women many new opportunities, on the other hand, it would be a "rebuttal of an old culture of newsgathering and war reporting" (Tumber and Prentoulis 2003, 227) and would allow male

journalists to respond to the intensity of the war without the "'macho' bravado" traditionally associated with male war correspondents (Prentoulis, Tumber, and Webster 2006, 376). This also calls into question classical standards associated with the principle of objectivity such as impartiality, neutrality and balance (McLaughlin 2016; Seib 2005a; Tumber and Prentoulis 2003). During wartimes, "there are always complex relationships between journalism and patriotism in which objectivity and conventional journalistic standards are often skewed to serve partisan ends" (Zhang 2014, 182) .

The new concept of the war reporter, with its admittance of emotional involvement and empathy to a certain degree, echoes human interest stories traditionally attributed to women in journalism. The accompanying thematic shift from the actual battle stories to the effects of war on soldiers and the civilian population is explained, on the one hand, by the totalitarian nature of modern wars where new technologies have devastating consequences for the civilian population, and, on the other hand, by the growing number of women in the profession (Palmer 2018; Lünenborg and Bach 2010; McLaughlin 2016; Mathews 1957). Both circumstances already apply to the Spanish Civil War: it is considered the first total war in which the civilian population was the strategical target of bombardments, and it was the first conflict in which women war reporters stopped being an exception and became a professional group.

War reporting by women was not only driven by professional interest, but often by political commitment just as in the Spanish Civil War. The first accredited Austrian war correspondent in World War I, Alice Schalek, was caught up in the same nationalist war fever as most of her male colleagues (Klaus and Wischermann 2013; Krasny, Patka, and Rapp 1999). Other women, in turn, designed counter-concepts to mainstream journalism, especially in the political press of the anti-war movement, and the women's movement (Klaus and Wischermann 2013; Wachtell 2005). Women, without necessarily being on site, commented on wars, because they considered the media coverage to be one-sided and discriminatory (Ross and Moorti 2005). As females in a male-dominated public sphere, they had different perspectives on war reporting. At the time of the Spanish Civil War, suffragette and political activist Sylvia Pankhurst founded the magazine *New Times & Ethiopia News* covering the Ethiopian-Italian War (1936-1941). The aim of this "partisan and passionate" (Woldemariam 2005, 363) magazine was to create an anti-racist and anti-sexist counter-discourse to the discriminatory, colonialist discourse in the mainstream media. In its endeavour "to bring

alternate cultural constructions to the analysis of war", it achieved a circulation of 40,000 copies per week at its peak (Woldemariam 2005, 363).

The polarisation in journalism between partisan and non-partisan, attached and detached in today's terminology, was already very present at the time of the Spanish Civil War. War correspondents at the time criticised detachment, balance and neutrality, rather than subjectivity, as distorting. Herbert L. Matthews from *The New York Times*, for example, saw it as a journalist's obligation to raise their voices in the face of injustice, such as the bombing of civilians. In his book *The Education of a Correspondent*, published after the Spanish Civil War and World War II, he opted for honest, open bias, because "in condemning bias one rejects the only factors which really matter – honesty, understanding and thoroughness" (Matthews 1946, 69). Decades later, he described the editorial bias of neutrality in his Spain coverage:

> *The publisher laid down a mechanical, theoretically impartial, plan of operation – print both sides, equal prominence, equal length, equal treatment. This often meant equality for the bad with the good – the official handouts hundreds of miles from the front lines with the eye-witness stories, the tricky with the honest, the wrong with the right. I say that not only I, but the truth suffered.* (quoted in Deacon 2008a, 65)

War reporting has always been subject to special rules. Even in the early heyday of objectivity it signified not only facts but also interpretation. The standards far away from the editorial office were not the same as at home, editorial supervision was often impossible and the situation at war too complex to be properly evaluated by editors-in-chief. War correspondents had not only more freedom to decide on their movements (as far as permitted by war restrictions), but also to choose topics and interpret what they saw: "the further a reporter is from the home office, the greater that reporter's freedom to violate objectivity norms" (Schudson 2008, 299).

Even though this contextualising role "as an interpreter becomes more pronounced and recognized" (Tumber and Prentoulis 2003, 228) today, it had always been part of war correspondence. But to which extent contextualisation and interpretation seem acceptable and desirable depends on the journalistic traditions in different countries. In France, for example, with the understanding of journalistic quality being so different to the USA, war correspondence is "much more rooted in political and literary traditions" (Boudana 2014, 137). Already in 1938, Spanish Civil War reporter Virginia Cowles distinguished between "special correspondents" from newspapers like herself, and her colleagues from news agencies: The agency reporters would try to get the mere news through as fast as possible

to be the first ones, the special correspondents however "have an even greater responsibility, inasmuch as they must sum up the day's news and interpret the meaning of it" (Cowles 30 October 1938). The correspondent's obligation to contextualize is also recognized by journalists demanding detachment: In 1972, Drew Middleton, a war correspondent of *The New York Times*, wrote in a letter to Knightley about a war correspondent's duty, "to get the facts and write them with his interpretation of what they mean to the war, without allowing personal feelings about the war to enter in the story" (Knightley 2003, 4075).

War reporters may have different levels of knowledge about and associations with the country they are reporting from. In some cases, special correspondents spend months in a conflict zone, in other cases they go for some weeks or even days. In this context, researchers point out the importance of the individual background of the correspondent. In the "filtering of reality", Hummel (2013, 327) identifies a "power triangle" of working conditions, news values and "framing such as it results from the personal and collective learning process needed for interpreting reality". A journalist will more easily accept the warring parties' claims to legitimacy when they (seem to) correspond to personal values. The less a correspondent knows about a country and a conflict, the more the framing will refer to the reporter's sociocultural background to explain a situation. On the one hand, this makes audiences at home comprehend more easily; on the other hand, the focus on personal moral concepts may hinder the understanding of other world views and may lead to the oversimplification of a complex situation. From a pragmatic point of view, journalistic war reporting cannot be expected to be more than "the representation of a particular cultural perspective which has to stay necessarily particular in spite of all professional diligence, care and self-criticism" (Karmasin 2007, 25)[25]. Markham, who analyses war reporting drawing on Bourdieu from the approach of political phenomenology, emphasises the individual authority of the journalist far from home. Control and reflection mechanisms, as they exist in editorial among colleagues in the same environment, are absent abroad. The journalistic authority is based on the journalist's background and their professional understanding, which are related. Thus, journalistic output and behaviour are not subject to an "unequivocal structural determination", but should be seen as "manifestations of a finite range of possibilities" (Markham 2012, 176).

[25] Original: [...], dass "von journalistischen Berichten über den Krieg auch nicht mehr erwartet werden [kann] als eben die Repräsentanz einer je bestimmten kulturellen Perspektive, die trotz aller professioneller Sorgfaltspflicht und aller Vorsicht und Selbstkritik notwendigerweise partikulär bleiben muss" (Karmasin 2007, 25).

Besides geographical origin and other social factors such as education, the personal background of course also includes gender. The question "Schreiben Frauen anders?" – "Do women write differently?" – is a stupid question, the former Austrian war reporter (and now politician) Sibylle Hamann states, but the question "Schreiben Frauen Anderes" – "Do women write different things?" is another matter (Hamann 2010, pos. 3438). Female journalists emphasise that they often have access that is denied to men, such as to women in Islamic countries (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Hamann 2010). This argument also applies to a certain extent to the Spanish Civil War, where women in traditional, conservative environments were hardly allowed to have any contact with men outside the immediate family. Gender does not determine social or professional action, but it structures, frames and shapes the repertoires and options for action (Lünenborg and Bach 2010).

The boundaries between male and female war reporting could never be precisely drawn, women were also at the front, men also wrote human interest stories. Mathews, for example, refers to the World War II correspondent Ernie Pyle who "rarely wrote about battles; if he did, he wrote about individual participants, about the personal and human aspects of fighting" (Mathews 1957, 3). However, tendencies that correspond to traditional attributions can still be seen, even though the "culture of masochism characteristic of war reporting has subsided" (Ross and Moorti 2005, 360; see also Mander 2010). Kennard and S. T. Murphy (2005), for example, found gender-specific differences in their study on American war correspondents from various TV stations: female correspondents put the victims of a war much more in the focus than their male colleagues. This interest in victims corresponds to a holistic view on the effects of certain phenomena that has been perceived as typically female in general reporting. In this context, van Zoonen (1998, 36) states that female journalists, for example in stories about unemployment, would claim to also include the consequences on the family, while men would focus much more on those directly affected and general employment patterns.

The "new paradigm of journalism of attachment" (Ross and Moorti 2005, 360) has created a "new environment for women correspondents" which, "alongside more general cultural changes within the profession, appears to be altering the landscape" (Prentoulis, Tumber, and Webster 2006, 376; see also Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004). With the beginning of the 21st century, reinforced by the terror attack of 9/11, human interest stories about the impact of war seem to have the same importance as battlefield accounts. This admission of subjective components of reporting also leads to a stronger emphasis on the person of the reporter and their individual authority.

3.7 Relevance, facticity, and independence as the main values for qualitative war reporting

The starting point of this historical account was the commitment to truth as the very task of journalism in a Western normative understanding as a guardian of democracy. This claim, as can be deduced from the debate, is in principle made by all journalists in the Western world examined here. However, they follow different principles, which were shaped due to different regional, political and sociocultural conditions and are still subject to a constant process of change. Also, from a gendered perspective, different tendencies can be clearly identified, even if there is no such thing as "male" and "female" journalism (Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998; Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Klaus 2005). Essentially, the debate on journalistic quality circles around the old opposites of detachment/neutrality/fact-based versus attachment/emotion/interpretation focused. Historically, men have been associated more with the former concept of emotionless, fact-based reporting, and women with the latter concept emphasising human interest issues.

In war reporting, this dichotomy gains particular relevance: Is a reporter allowed to show sympathies with one side? Yes, we argue, if certain prerequisites are met. Between propaganda and neutrality lies a long, complex path that, as Deacon (2008a, 65) points out, does not simply lead from "vice to virtue".

Drawing on Bentele (2008) again, the core of good reporting is about "sachadäquate Berichterstattung", reporting that is adequate for the object. This is similar to the "pragmatic objectivity" defined by Ward, who regards subjectivity as a deficiency that cannot be avoided, while other approaches recognize a certain degree of bias as constructive and, possibly more truthful than neutrality (Kaplan 2002; McManus 2009; Muñoz-Torres 2012). Unlike Lichtenberg, who said that "we can escape our own point of view sufficiently to recognize the extent to which it imposes a structure or slant of view on events that could be seen differently" (Lichtenberg 1991, 222), we believe a personal standpoint or sympathies should not be avoided but disclosed. Only when bias is admitted, it can be checked and, if necessary, put into perspective and corrected. The willingness to do so is a sign of the effort to achieve truthfulness and journalistic quality.

From both a historical understanding from the 1930s and a modern concept of war reporting, it can be argued that an evaluation of the quality of war reporting does not need to be primarily based on ideas associated with the traditional principle of objectivity, such as impartiality, non-partisanship or neutrality.

A qualitative assessment of the Spanish Civil War coverage demands an approach that does not define partisanship as a deficiency from the outset. The new paradigms of attached journalism and transparency seem more useful and adequate here. They bring a different notion to the core journalistic values of relevance, facticity and independence.

War reporters have greater freedom than their colleagues in the home offices, and thus greater personal responsibility for their product. This demands transparency regarding personal standpoints, sources and conclusions. Instead of detachment, neutrality and mere focus-on-fact reporting which negate feelings, attachment and transparency refer to criteria which focus on open-mindedness, empathy, self-reflection, and "authenticity-related practices" (Esser and Umbricht 2014) such as autonomous enquiry, specified sources, and traceable decision-making. The authority of the reporter is at the centre.

The way of reporting also has to do with the genre. For foreign and war correspondence, reportage has a special significance that gives the journalist far more scope than a news report (Haller 2008; Yanes Mesa 2004). This does not change anything in terms of the mandate to truthfulness, but the key words are transparency and enquiry (Sponholz 2009), for example by comprehensibly integrating research circumstances into the story. Reportage as a narrative form does not mean sacrificing facticity which does not have to refer to numbers and dates only, as Brajnovic (1991) stated. Knowledge, events, incidents also represent material value of information. Specificity, relying on concrete references to events, sources, incidents and, of course, numbers, can be useful here as the decisive criterion for facticity.

This study does not assume that partisanship has nothing to do with journalistic quality. Nevertheless, this does not mean that partisanship equals poor journalism, any more than neutrality equals good journalism. It depends on how it is managed. This study will therefore examine on two separate levels the extent of partisanship, on the one hand, and adherence to journalistic key values on the other (see Methodology). It makes a difference whether a war reporter is guided by sympathy for a party because they belong to it or are so closely associated with it that they have to represent its interests, or whether this partiality or sympathy is based on assessment, consideration and reflection. Here we draw on the journalistic concept of independent partisanship identified by Requate for Central Europe, which implies that sympathies with a party do not mean unconditional endorsement of its policies. Agreeing with Spain correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, an open bias can lead to more truthfulness than forced neutrality.

“From our contemporary vantage point, claiming a moral equivalence between the antagonists seems specious”, Deacon (2008a, 9) states about the Spanish Civil War. As previously noted, he also illustrates how media neutrality supported the official British non-intervention policy, a policy that favoured the Nationalists with their German and Italian allies, and caused significant weakening of the Republican side (Deacon 2008a). In our understanding, it would be at least equally specious to demand this moral equivalence from those who were on the ground at the time. What we can demand from female as well as male war reporters, however, is the comprehensible interpretation and contextualisation to the best of one’s knowledge and conscience – *relevance* –, the individual effort for enquiry as well as the transparent presentation of origins of information – *facticity* –, and an open-minded selection of topics and presentation that makes underlying beliefs transparent – *independence*. All this requires a commitment to precise and attentive – *attached* – observation, leaning on an honest interest in the people and the effects of war on them.

4 On the ground: A general overview of foreign female war correspondents in Spain

This section deals with war reporting in Spain as a new professional field for women. First, an outline of the war and its international dimension, and of the press and propaganda policies of both sides gives the historical background. The subsequent overview of women's journalistic contributions to Civil War reporting and their experiences on the ground provide a broader context for the case studies and the content analysis in Chapter 6.

To examine the role of the female correspondents, we addressed the following research questions: Where did the war correspondents come from and why did they decide to go to Spain? What did they write about? What were the working conditions like? What opportunities and freedom of action did they have? What was their relationship to authorities and editors? To what extent were they politically involved apart from their journalistic work?

4.1 Historical background

4.1.1 Outline of the conflict and its foreign dimension

On 17 July 1936, a military coup was initiated at the Spanish colony in Morocco and spread from there over the whole of Spain in the following two days. Even though only four of Spain's sixteen most senior generals took part in the uprising, among them Francisco Franco, the majority of the officers supported the revolt. With the help of the "moros", some 50,000 soldiers from the Spanish colony, the insurgents had expected a quick victory, but the rebellion was only successful in parts of Spain due to massive resistance from the population. From the beginning, the putschists gave the conflict an international context, declaring it the salvation of the fatherland, *la patria*, from an alleged Bolshevik conspiracy. "La lucha definitiva entre Rusia y España" was how Franco defined the conflict in the newspaper *ABC* in Seville on 23 July 1936 (quoted in Juliá 2019, 18).

The fact that the coup turned into a civil war can be attributed to weakness on both sides. The government did not have enough forces to fend off the revolt, the rebels were not able to enforce it nationwide. Geographically, Spain was divided into a Republican Zone and a National Zone. On an

intellectual level, the "two Spains", a term that had been coined mainly by the Nationalist side (Saz 2003; Juliá 2019; Pérez Ledesma 2006), were opposed: the elected government represented the liberal, urban, anti-clerical, republican, democratic camp; the insurgents the monarchist, rural-feudal, Catholic, reactionary opposite side.

The most important area that the rebels were able to occupy in the first two weeks was the north-west of Spain: Galicia and parts of Castile from the Portuguese border through Salamanca, Ávila, Valladolid, Burgos, Segovia to Aragón in the east. In addition, the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, a small part in the south around Granada, Seville, Cádiz, and Córdoba were also in their hands. The Republic was left with most of the Basque Country including Bilbao, central Spain, and the entire Mediterranean coast, as well as the important cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Thus, they had control of the major economic centres, while the insurgents had superior military strength.

The Government side could not sufficiently use the resistance against the coup, as they lacked the necessary armed forces and unity among the various groups: there was no regular army, and in the first few weeks, militias of the workers' parties and trade unions defended the country. They felt primarily committed to their respective organisations. The workers' outrage and spontaneous commitment had to replace military experience and order. Additionally, there were too few weapons, no coordination, and a lot of mistrust between the different parties of the Popular Front, in particular between communists on the one hand and anarchists and supporters of the Marxist POUM on the other. In this first phase of the conflict, women, *milicianas*, also took part in the armed combat (Nash 1999; Martínez Rus 2018). It was not until autumn 1936 that the People's Republican Army was officially founded, but the incorporation of all militias into the new army encountered resistance and took months. The Popular Front was unable to put aside the differences in order to defeat the great political opponent together. This gave the putschists around General Franco a substantial advantage.

From the beginning of the civil war, foreign forces played an essential role in this originally national conflict. After only a few days, the rebels had already received support in the form of fighter planes and soldiers from Italy and Germany (Beevor 2006; Bernecker 1997; Graham 2008; Juliá 2019). The world's attitude towards the civil war in Spain was a disaster for the democratically elected government. Already in August 1936, at the instigation of Great Britain and France, an international non-intervention pact was concluded. Germany and Italy officially joined this pact, but nevertheless continued to support the putschists on a large scale. The German Reich sent a total of 600 to 700

aircraft and around 19,000 soldiers during the war years (Bernecker 1997, 55). The war in Spain served as a training ground for the air force of the National Socialist Germany. In quantitative terms, the Mussolini regime provided Franco with even more help than Germany: Italy sent around 80,000 combatants and 1,000 aircraft (Bernecker 1997, 72). Franco's African Legion was later also joined by volunteers from other countries. The largest group was the Portuguese with 12,000 men, there was a detachment of French volunteers, and about 700 Irish under General Eoin O'Duffy, but the latter were hardly in action (Beevor 2006; regarding the Irish see also Convery 2012).

At the same time, the legitimate government of Spain was de facto embargoed by the "neutrality" of Europe, and the USA, which had not signed the non-intervention agreement but nevertheless remained neutral. Mexico sent some aid shipments out of loyalty, the only country that provided significant aid was the Soviet Union. Estimates of Russian aid cite some 400 aircraft, as well as 2,000 pilots, technicians and secret police, and mainly non-war goods such as food, which Russia sent to Republican Spain (Bernecker 1997, 105). Stalin, according to Beevor, sent "little more than the necessary minimum", meaning that "he would neither frighten the British government […] nor provoke the Germans" (Beevor 2006, 156). It was important for the Soviets to be the only country providing aid to increase the influence of the communists in Spain. Stalin received a large part of Spain's gold reserves in exchange for this help. 518 million dollars' worth of the precious metal were shipped to Moscow via Paris (Beevor 2006).

However, the first and most sincere support for the Republican side came from thousands of volunteers who, in contrast to their governments, openly took sides. They arrived long before the International Brigades were founded. The first volunteers, including women like the Swiss Clara Thalmann, were athletes who had travelled to Barcelona for the Workers' Olympics, which were supposed to take place at that time, as a counter-event to the Munich Olympics, and had to be cancelled because of the coup. For the foreign fighters, the Civil War seemed to be the chance to stop fascism, it was considered the "worldwide decisive struggle of our century between the rise in socialism and the fall in barbarism", as the communist, writer and Interbrigadist Alfred Kantorowicz put it (Kantorowicz 1966).[26] Many volunteers came from countries where socialist and communist parties were already banned, such as Germany or Austria, and where they had had to live in illegality.

[26] Original: Der "weltweite Entscheidungskampf unseres Jahrhunderts zwischen Aufstieg im Sozialismus und Untergang in der Barbarei" (Kantorowicz 1966).

The International Brigades (IB) were officially founded in October 1936. In the first weeks of the war, the uprising in Spain had been a minor matter for the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties in the individual countries, and the actions remained limited to propaganda (for the history of the origins of the International Brigades, see for example Berg 2005). The exact number of foreigners organised in the IB varies widely. Hugh H. Thomas (1986) estimates the number of volunteers at around 40,000, Castells (1974) assumes a good 59,000. More recent works estimate the number of Interbrigadists at just over 35,000 from 60 different countries (Tremlett 2020; Beevor 2006). The French formed the largest group within the IB with not quite 10,000 volunteers, but Italians, Poles, Germans, US-Americans, British, Yugoslavs, Austrians, and Belgians also provided large contingents. At no time were 35.000 volunteers deployed at once. Firstly, they arrived in Spain at different times. Secondly, the casualties among the internationals were extremely high: 17 per cent of the internationals were killed, 13 per cent were seriously wounded and declared unfit for service, and 50 per cent were lightly wounded (Bernecker 1997, 113). With the defeats, the numerous dead and the wounded, optimism and commitment among the internationals decreased significantly.

The IB were the largest and best-known organisation of foreign volunteers, but there were also volunteers who were integrated into other Popular Front groups, such as the POUM or the Anarchists. The vast majority of the foreign volunteers were men, but there were also at least 600 women who worked in the hinterland and at the front as doctors and nurses, translators, militia women, in the administration, as drivers and in propaganda (Lugschitz 2012, 2018; Tremlett 2020; Schiborowski and Kochnowski 2016). According to national or linguistic aspects, the International Brigades were divided into a total of five brigades, from the 11th to the 15th Brigade. Formally, the International Brigades were subordinate to the People's Army, but in many aspects, they led quite an independent life. The brigadists received 10 pesetas a day as their wage, just like the Spanish soldiers. In addition to these brigades, which were mainly made up of foreigners, there were four mixed brigades made up of Spaniards and foreigners.

For the foreign press, the International Brigades were an essential point of contact, and the boundaries between journalists and militants were not always clear. There were numerous writers and publicists in the brigades, who knew many journalists personally and moved in similar circles, or who themselves reported for international media. Through IB representatives, correspondents gained access to front lines, and the language difficulties that were otherwise constantly present as few reporters spoke Spanish were also largely eliminated in the international environment, even if

the International Brigades themselves were a “Babel” (Kölbl, Orlova, and Michaela Wolf 2020; Michaela Wolf 2019).

From the outbreak, the two sides waged a propaganda battle on an international level in which Nationalists and Republicans accused each other of terror. There had been atrocities and mass executions on both sides (Beevor 2006; Juliá 2019). Nevertheless, the terror of Republicans and that of Nationalists differed: the Government and leading Republicans condemned attacks such as murders, lynching and looting – with varying degrees of success – for law and order, while the leaders of the insurgents called for acts of violence (Bernecker 1997, 209). According to Beevor (2006, 90–106), the murders committed by the Nationalists far surpassed those of the Republicans.

Looking back today, the international sympathies for the Republic probably predominated. At the time, however, the Government side failed in allaying the concerns of the major Western powers and dissuading them from their policy of neutrality – though many more intellectuals who openly took a stand supported the Republic. It was not only the rejection of reported atrocities and the growing influence of the Soviet Union that restrained the United Kingdom, France, and the USA from taking sides, but also the strong influence of the Catholic Church, economic interests and the fear of a confrontation with Hitler.

This allowed the Nationalists and their allies to advance unchallenged by international politics. In the north, the city of Irún had already been taken in summer 1936. In autumn, the Franco troops were pushing in their “March on Madrid” from the southwest towards the capital. The poorly organised militias often offered little resistance. The Nationalists reached the south-western outskirts of the capital on 6 November 1936.

The battle for Madrid played a dominant role in international reporting. It is considered the “central epic of the Spanish Civil War” (Esdaile 2019, 126). The fall of the capital would have signified the victory of fascism. As *The New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews put it, Madrid had become “the hub of the universe” (quoted in Bogacka-Rode 2014, 184). While the government immediately left Madrid and moved to Valencia, the population prepared for defence. The remaining correspondents were already describing “the last hours of Madrid” (Beevor 2006, 197; see also Preston 2008, pos. 795-802). On 8 November 1936, militias, regular soldiers, and volunteers held the well-trained Franco troops at the western edge. The same day, after this important fight, the XI International Brigade arrived for reinforcement and the self-confident march of the 1,900-strong Interbrigadists through the Gran Vía had “a powerful effect on the population” and “was to have a

good influence on the militias" (Beevor 2006, 199). A few days later, the XII International Brigade was also deployed.

The will of the people of Madrid to resist, and their support by the International Brigades became legendary. The Republican forces' participation disappeared almost behind this narrative. This was a PR coup by the communists, who claimed the glory of the successful defence of Madrid for themselves and the International Brigades. The Interbrigades' fight, who suffered high casualties, was unquestionably of "almost suicidal bravery" (Beevor 2006, 200), but nevertheless exaggerated. They made up no more than five per cent of the Republican forces in Madrid (Beevor 2006, 200; for a demystified account of the role of the International Brigades in Madrid, see also Tremlett 2020). Nevertheless, their discipline, organisational ability, and their PR skills, as well as the support from the Soviet Union, increased the communists' power in Spain. "A partir de la batalla de Madrid, los comunistas adquirieron un mayor peso político" (Juliá 2019, 52). Other historians are closer to the Nationalist version of events and see no heroism at all in the defence. According to Esdaile (2019), Franco did not succeed in taking the capital at that time simply because he knew that he had neither the numbers nor the resources that he needed to take the city before the onset of winter and did not insist. The capital was attacked for years and defended with great sacrifices of the population. Madrid was to withstand the Nationalist troops until the end of March 1939.

While Madrid was under siege, the Nationalists advanced in other regions of Spain. At the beginning of 1937 the Franco troops were able to take the city of Málaga in the South. In the course of the year, they succeeded in conquering the entire North, including the rich Basque country. On 26 April 1937, the small Basque town of Guernica was attacked by the German Condor Legion in an area bombardment. It was market day, and many civilians were on the streets. How many people actually died in this attack is not certain. Casualty figures range from 1,645 claimed by the Basque government to 250-300 or even as few as 126 (Esdaile 2019, 195). What is certain, however, is that this city, the cultural and religious centre of the Basques, was almost completely destroyed. The Nationalists would have liked to blame this on the "Reds" who would have set the town on fire, but they did not get away with it. Journalists, first of all George Steer of *The Times* and Noel Monks of the *Daily Mail* (Preston 2008, pos. 1399-1412), but also Elizabeth Wilkinson reporting for the *Daily Worker* (e.g. Elizabeth Wilkinson 29 April 1937), made it clear in their reports who had bombed whom. Why the Condor Legion chose this civilian target is not entirely clear. Research largely rejects the thesis that it was an accident and that a bridge should actually have been hit. On the other hand, however, it is

doubtful whether the superiors of Manfred von Richthofen, the leading German aviator in charge, had prior knowledge of the planned attack (Beevor 2006; Bernecker 1997; Esdaile 2019).

During the advance of the Nationalists, the Republican side got caught up in internal conflicts. The climax was a civil war in the Civil War in Barcelona in May 1937. Anarchists and supporters of the Marxist POUM, on the one hand, and communists, on the other hand, fought fierce power struggles and street battles. These ended with a victory for the communists, who were supported by the central government. Anarchists and supporters of the POUM, among them also foreign volunteers, were arrested, many “disappeared” in jails of the secret police and the Communist party. The POUM as an organisation was de facto destroyed.

The great front line of the Civil War ran until April 1938 from Huesca to Zaragoza in North-eastern Spain, from there further south via Teruel, north and west past the capital Madrid, further south in the western part of Castile-La Mancha, from there via Córdoba and Granada to the south coast. In April 1938, the Francoists managed to break through to the Mediterranean coast. This was a decisive blow since Catalonia was now separated from the rest of the Republican territory.

The International Brigades were in action on almost all of these fronts – in central Spain, in Teruel, on the Jarama, near Guadalajara, but also in the south at Córdoba, Jaén, Málaga, Granada, in Brunete near Madrid, and in Aragón. The Republic’s last major attempt to defeat Franco’s troops was the offensive on the Ebro in the summer of 1938, also reinforced by the International Brigades. It was a disaster, with 30,000 men killed on the Republican side alone. In September 1938, the International Brigades had to leave Spain by order of the Republican government. It was a futile attempt to nationalize the conflict and perhaps force Franco to renounce Italian and German support. Only about 2,000 volunteers who could not return home for political reasons, such as Germans, Czechoslovakians, Yugoslavs, Italians, Poles, Romanians, and Austrians, remained in Spain up until the first months of 1939, many of them joining the fight again. The Republic was able to resist few more months but finally Barcelona fell in January 1939 and Madrid on 28 March 1939. On 1 April 1939, Franco declared that the Civil War was over and made himself a dictator for life.

In Table 8 we have briefly summarized the military chronology of the war and referred to women correspondents who reported on specific events.

Table 8. Brief chronicle of the Civil War referring to articles by female correspondents.

July 36	On 17 July the garrisons in Spanish Morocco rise up against the Spanish Republic. In the following days the coup spreads through the country. Militias of trade unions and workers' parties defend the Republic against the insurgent military. The Cabinet of the newly appointed Prime Minister José Giral orders the dissolution of the army and the issue of weapons to the workers' militias. The insurgents take the cities of Valladolid, Salamanca, Burgos, Àvila and Segovia. In Catalonia, in the Land of Valencia and in central Spain the rebellion has failed. In Burgos, the putschists set up a national Defence Council. By the end of July, Seville is controlled by the insurgents. German and Italian planes support the rebels.	First days in Catalonia reported by Muriel Rukeyser, Jose Shercliff.
August 36	The putschists take Badajoz.	
September 36	Socialist Francisco Largo Caballero becomes Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic. The rebels take Irún and San Sebastián. Italian planes land on Mallorca. The "Committee for Non-Interference in Affairs Spain" meets for the first time in London. At the end of September, the putschists take Toledo. The Communist Party begins organising the first foreign volunteers who had joined the war on their own initiative.	Irún reported by Frances Davis.
October 36	General Franco is appointed Head of State in Burgos for the "National Spain". Creation of the People's Army: the militias are to be integrated into the Republican army. The outermost line of defence around Madrid is breached by the Nationalists. The first Soviet arms shipments arrive in Republican Spain. By mid October the first volunteers for the International Brigades arrive in Albacete. The Republican government gives its agreement to the establishment of the International Brigades.	
November 36	The Republican Government leaves Madrid and goes to Valencia. Franco troops occupy the university grounds in Madrid. The first divisions of the International Brigades are based on the Republican side.	
February 37	The insurgents take Málaga. Battle of the Jarama River near Madrid.	
March 37	Offensive of the putschists against Madrid. Victory of the Republicans against Italian troops near Guadalajara.	Guadalajara reported by Maria Osten.
April 37	The Basque town of Guernica is attacked by an air raid from German Legion Condor.	Guernica reports by Elizabeth Wilkinson, and Fifi Roberts.
May 37	Street fighting in Barcelona between parties of the Popular Front, a civil war within a civil war: the supporters of the Marxist POUM and the anarchists are defeated by the communists and the central government. In the following weeks POUM sympathisers and anarchists are arrested and the POUM is destroyed.	Reported by Elizabeth Deeble.
May	Resignation of Prime Minister Largo Caballero. New Government under the Socialist Juan Negrín.	
June 37	Bilbao is occupied by Franco troops.	
July 37	Battle of Brunete ends with a heavy defeat of the Republicans.	
October 37	The Nationalists occupy Gijón. All of Northern Spain is now in the hands of the Nationalists. The central government leaves Valencia and moves to Barcelona.	Northern front reported by Gertrude Gaffney.
December 37	Mid December, the Battle of Teruel starts.	
January 38	Franco forms a provisional government.	
February 38	After initial Republican successes, the Nationalists win Teruel back.	
March 38	Start of the Franco offensive in Aragón.	
April 38	Franco's troops break through to the Mediterranean coast, Republican Spain is thus divided into two parts. As a result, administration and medical services of the International Brigades are evacuated to Catalonia.	
July/ August 38	Republican Army offensive on the Ebro river ends in defeat, with large losses.	
September 38	The International Brigades are told to withdraw from the front, most foreign volunteers leave in the following weeks.	
December 38	Franco starts an offensive against Catalonia.	
January 39	Barcelona surrenders to the Nationalists.	Reports on refugees by Nancy Cunard.
March 39	Coup d'état within the Popular Front: Under the leadership of the Republican Colonel Casado, a National Defence Council is formed as a counterjunta to the Negrín government. On 28 March, Madrid falls.	
April 39	On 1 April, Franco declares the Civil War over.	

Source: author's own research.

4.1.2 Propaganda and press policy

As a powerful weapon to fight for public approval (see e.g. Hallin 2013), propaganda played an essential role in the Spanish Civil War. In the international context, it was about finding alliances for political support as a prerequisite for material and financial aid. To do this, both sides endeavoured to legitimize their standpoint and document the illegitimacy of the other side. Technological progress opened up completely new possibilities in mass propaganda (Beevor 2006).

At about the time of the Spanish Civil War, mass propaganda was scientifically defined and researched for the first time. In 1928, Edward L. Bernays' book *Propaganda*, a kind of theoretically founded manual for mass manipulation, was published in the USA. There Bernays, a nephew of Sigmund Freud, referred to the essential importance of "creating or shaping events to influence" the public in all areas of life (Bernays 1928, 19). "[I]n its sum total [modern propaganda] is regimenting the public mind every bit as much as an army regiments the bodies of its soldiers" (Bernays 1928, 19). A decade later, in 1938, the US Institute for Propaganda Analysis published the definition of Violet Edwards, which is still frequently quoted today:

> *"Propaganda is expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups to predetermined ends."*[27]

Thus, it is from the perspective of Social Sciences a process of disseminating ideas through multiple channels with the aim of promoting the objectives of the sender in the target group. The message includes information and persuasion in order to direct public opinion, manipulate behaviour and shape role models (Pizarroso Quintero 2005, párr. 12). Since World War I, the term has also had a negative connotation, but not as much as today. In the 1930s, it had an "ambiguous quality" (Deacon 2008a, 14) and was also still quite commonly used to describe promotional communication in no pejorative sense. To eliminate the increasingly negative connotation of propaganda, Bernays advocated later the term *public relations*.

Referring to the Spanish Civil, propaganda means that each party tried to enforce its respective narratives as the valid one, not only among their own people, but also transmitting it to an international audience through mass media such as the then relatively new media film, newsreel, and radio as well as books and, first and foremost, newspapers and magazines.

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[27] From her book *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938. Quoted in https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/1250053.

The narratives of the Republicans and the Nationalists in their different versions, which were later often criticised for their black-and-white painting, were very influential and formed "las dos visiones más poderosas sobre el enfrentamiento" (Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 3), not only during the war but also decades later. The effects of the propaganda of that time remain today (Pizarroso Quintero 2005, párr. 1).

The Narrative of the Republicans

As Iglesias Rodríguez (2002) points out in her analysis, it was the Communist Party who determined the direction of Republican propaganda throughout the war, emphasising key issues such as the "Partido Unico", defence of the Republic, unified command, and discipline, which they used as "maestros" of propaganda to expand their power base within the Republican forces (Iglesias Rodríguez 2002, 649–50). From the beginning, the Republicans, guided by the Spanish Communist Party closely linked to the Comintern, placed a stronger focus on propaganda abroad than the Nationalists and tried to influence international opinion in its favour with global values.

In the context of journalism, we can refer to the three basic readings as identified by Pérez Ledesma (2006), all aimed at the struggle for freedom of an oppressed people. First, it was the resistance against foreign occupiers, evoking memories of the Spanish people's War of Independence against the French (Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 5). Second, there was the socio-economic interpretation of a struggle of the poor against the privileged. The third interpretation considered it the fight of democracy against fascism. Through these interpretations, the Republicans presented themselves "como los verdaderos defensores de ideales elevados, en especial de la democracia y la igualdad social" (Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 6).

On an international scale, the perspective on the struggle against fascism was the most successful one, among the foreign volunteers on the Republican side as well as in sympathetic foreign media. The commitment to anti-fascism was the lowest common political denominator between socialists, communists, Marxists, liberals and the numerous non-party volunteers. "It provided a common ground for radical and liberal opinion to unite in support of the Republican cause" (Deacon 2008a, 18). This common ground was stressed for example by propaganda leaflets of the International Brigades that tried to unify the political heterogeneity of foreign volunteers on the Republican side

(see e.g. Jirku 1938). The anti-fascist issue was decisive for foreigners, particularly for women without any party affiliation (Lugschitz 2012).

The Communist Party was the driving force in this international emphasis on a common, anti-fascist commitment that was in line with its international popular front policy. By creating "anti-fascist" institutions and unified political parties such as the Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña, founded on 23 July 1936, which were not supposed to be seen as a communist party, but were nevertheless dominated by the Communists, they exercised control over other left-wing groups without the connotations of Stalinism. An example of this is the communist-led *Asociación de Mujeres Antifascistas* which tried to convince the anarchist *Mujeres Libres* to join forces. The anarchists refused, they were afraid of being absorbed and muted by the communist association (Ackelsberg 1999; Bianchi 2019). They were probably right. The social revolution driven by the anarchists, which in the wake of the coup, especially in Catalonia but also in other parts such as Aragón or Valencia, transformed estates and enterprises into collectives and established grassroots democratic political institutions, was concealed from the world as best as possible. Deacon quotes a former minister on this:

> *"During the three months that I was director of propaganda for the United States and England under Alvarez del Vayo, then Foreign Minister for the Valencia Government, I was instructed not to send out one word about this revolution in the economic system of loyalist Spain. Nor are any foreign correspondents in Valencia permitted to write freely of the revolution that has taken place*." (quoted in Deacon 2008a, 17)

A social revolution seemed counterproductive to the government in several ways. On the one hand, all forces were supposed to be bundled internally against the Nationalists in order to win the war. On the other hand, they feared, probably not without reason, that revolutionary unrest would additionally deter Western powers from becoming involved on the side of the Republic. Moreover, the concealment of the revolution was also in the self-interest of the Communist Party, which regarded the anarchists as political competition and then largely disempowered them after the May riots in Barcelona in 1937. At the beginning of the war, the government had tried to keep the anarchists in line by including them in the government and promising reforms after victory.
Prospects for a better future characterised the propaganda of the various groups on the Republican side, although specific ideas about that future certainly differed. The Nationalists, on the other hand, as Beevor (2006) points out, evoked a great common past.

The Narrative of the Nationalists

The Nationalists presented the conflict not as a civil war, but as a struggle between Spain and anti-Spain: "la verdadera [España], representada por Dios y la Patria y, otra, la que sale derrotada, marcada por la 'descalificación de la raza', el caos y la influencia extranjerizante." The key terms of the discourse were *patria*, religion and family (Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 5). At the same time, the propaganda was strongly focused on the figure of Franco, and one of the most frequently used slogans was: "Una patria. Un Estado. Un Caudillo" (Pulpillo Leiva 2014, 118).

In nationalisation, Catholicism played a key role in unifying social and political attitudes and thus became inseparable from the concept of *patria* (del Arco Blanco 2018). Right after the outbreak of the conflict Cardinal Gomá summarized the view of the Catholic Church on the two warring sides sententiously: "España y la Anti-España, la religión y el ateísmo, la civilización cristiana y la barbarie" (quoted in Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 4). The involvement of religion was in no way contradictory to the fascist features of the Nationalists' policy. "Catholicism [...] was in fact an essential ideological component of the Spanish fascist movement, with clear potential as a mobilizing force" (del Arco Blanco 2018, 233).

The Catholic hierarchy endeavoured to present the cause of the rebels as "sacred" before international public opinion and established *Oficinas Católicas de Información Internacional* (Moreno Cantano, 37). According to Sevillano Calero (2014, 235), the Franquist "cultura de guerra" based its idea of a Catholic nation on three strategies: creating an enemy image, glorification of the person of Franco and the cult focused on the "caídos". The historical-transcendental significance of Franco should be that of a "Mesías, encarnación del Dios-Patria, el Sacerdote supremo de la religión del Estado acompañado por el Espíritu Sagrado de la Hispanidad" (Laura Zenobi quoted in Sevillano Calero 2014, 231).

In international reporting, the first two strategies in particular served their purpose. The Nationalists not only tried to portray themselves as a close-knit, homogenous community, but also to attribute the blanket term "Reds" to all their opponents. This label was readily adopted by Franco-friendly media like the English *Daily Mail* or the *Irish Independent*.

From the very beginning, the Nationalists attached much greater importance than the Republic to the unification of the various movements in their ranks and suppressed, especially in public discourse, the large discrepancies between allies as diverse as the fascist Falange and Conservative

Catholic circles. So, even if the religious component was from the outset less important for partners like the Falange, it was used as link and international legitimation. The enemy image was the same for all: It was about defending the *patria* against the "Reds" – Socialists, Marxists, Separatists, Anarchists, Liberals, and most of all Communists and the Soviet Union.

The memory of the great days of Hispanidad linked with the Spain of the Nationalists, which was repeatedly evoked, received much attention in South America. However, the much more important attitude of the major Western powers was determined by the apocalyptic scenario of a struggle of Christianity against the godless "Reds". Just as anti-fascism was the best argument internationally for the Republicans, for the Nationalists it was the defence of religious and traditional values, which clearly resonate in the term *patria*.

The Nationalists claimed a communist conspiracy to increase their legitimacy. However, this was a myth that they themselves had created (see e.g. Beevor 2006, 267; Deacon 2008a; Pérez Ledesma 2006, párr. 7). This alleged threat caused more concern among the major foreign powers than Hitler and Mussolini did by supporting Franco. They did not rush to the aid of the legitimate government but tried to wriggle themselves out of the delicate situation with the Non-Intervention-Agreement.

Two different attitudes towards the foreign press

Dealing with the foreign press seemed crucial in this international propaganda war, it depended on the correspondents how successfully official narratives were spread. The basic political attitudes of the two warring parties are reflected in their dealings with the press. In brief: the Republicans were committed to a rather liberal relationship with the press, the Nationalists to surveillance and control. "El bando rebelde enseguida comprendió que el control de la prensa era determinante para el buen desarrollo de la guerra" (Martínez Saez 2018, 286). The treatment of journalists was characterised by a military and fascist understanding of the press. Pulpillo Leiva (2014, 125–26) points out that the concept of the journalist as a servant of the "Nación" y the "Patría" whose activity should be controlled by the state was introduced by the Falange. International communication was declared to be a key matter, therefore, from October 1936, the affairs of the foreign press were no longer the task of the "Oficina de Prensa y Propaganda", but were part of the "Secretaría de Relaciones Externas" and directly subordinate to Franco's headquarters (Carro 2018, 54).

As we will show in Sub-section 4.3, there were also tight limits to the camaraderie of the Republicans, and surveillance was pervasive, albeit covert. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus in international research that, on the whole, the Nationalists were far stricter and more authoritarian in their behaviour towards the foreign press than the Republicans (Preston 2008; Deacon 2008a; Beevor 2006). A fact that contemporary journalists also emphasised (Davis 1940; Cowles 2011b; Taylor 1939) and not even Franco's press officers denied (Bolín 1967).

Luis Antonio Bolín was head of the foreign press office until May 1937. After the bombing of Guernica and the fall of Málaga, he fell into disgrace because of intimidating foreign correspondents (Deacon 2008a). Bolín had been a correspondent in the World War I, and he made this experience the guiding principle for his task in the Civil War (Bolín 1967, 158–59). His treatment of the press was correspondingly authoritarian. Trips to the front, according to Bolín in his memoirs, were strictly controlled. From the outset, only journalists who were considered trustworthy had access to Franco's territory, there was a general distrust of the foreign press and female reporters were even more unwanted, as Cowles (2011b) and Davis (1940) point out. An internal report determined how to deal with suspicious foreign journalists. Particularly suspicious journalists, such as the Englishman Hubert Knickerbocker, should ideally be expelled:

> *A los demás periodistas es necesario someterles a una vigilancia eficaz, la cual solo puede efectuarse si están concentrados en hoteles determinados. En estos hoteles deben encontrarse al mismo tiempo personas de confianza, los cuales deben tratar de hacerse amigos.* (quoted in Chomón Serna 2018, 40)

Only correspondents who came from allied countries, Germans, Italians and also Portuguese, were allowed to move freely (Martínez Saez 2018; Chomón Serna 2018). Another instruction specified:

> *Aparte de los periodistas italianos provistos por salvoconducto expedidos por este cuartel general, solo los periodistas alemanes y españoles que además de este documento posean una autorización especial para visitar el sector del digno mando de V.E. podrán hacerlo. Los de otras nacionalidades tendrán necesidad de ir acompañados por un Oficial de Prensa [...]. No se permitirá la estancia en ese sector de cualquier periodista a falta de dichos requisitos.* (quoted in Chomón Serna 2018, 39)

On the Nationalist side, about a dozen journalists were imprisoned and at least one male journalist, the Frenchman Guy de Traversay of *L'Intransigeant* (Preston 2008; Deacon 2008a, 28), and one

female reporter, Frenchwoman Renée Lafont (see e.g. *La Vanguardia* 8 October 1936, 13) were shot. One illustrative example of the Nationalists' rigidity towards journalists and details of reporting is the labelling of the warring parties. Frances Davis (1940) recounts in her memoirs an outburst of rage by Captain Ignacio Rosales, a Franco censor, when he found the phrase "rebel armies" in a story by *New York Herald* correspondent John Whitaker.

> *In fury Rosales tells him, he will not stand for it. He will forbid the word "rebel" to be used in stories hereafter. "Patriot" armies, "Nationalist" armies, "White" armies – any man who used the term "rebel" will have his passes revoked and will leave the country*. (Davis 1940, 131)

Terms were also defined for the opposing side; under no circumstances were they to be called "loyalists", "governmentals", or "republicans", but were to be labelled "Reds" (Taylor 1939, 66). The cruelty and cynicism, demonstrated by Franco's press officers, repelled many correspondents (Cowles 2011b; Davis 1940; Deacon 2008a; Preston 2008; Taylor 1939). *Daily Express* correspondent Noel Monks recalled boasts by Franco press officers about what the Nationalists would do if only they finally came to power. "But they weren't *atrocities*. Oh no, señor. Not even the locking up of a captured militia girl in a room with twenty Moors. No, señor. That was fun" (quoted in Deacon 2008a, 25). Nevertheless, the Nationalists also realised that it would sometimes be advantageous to keep journalists in good humour. At the start of 1939, for example, when victory was already foreseeable and international recognition imminent, José Antonio Giménez Arnau, Jefe del *Servicio Nacional de Prensa*, promised in a letter to apply "criterio más benévolo" and "espíritu más amplio" in the future (quoted in Chomón Serna 2018, 41).

Certainly, there was also censorship on the Republican side. Sensitive military information and social-revolutionary movements were not allowed to be published, report on defeats were prohibited only in the beginning. Then the pragmatic assumption prevailed that it was better to allow such unpleasant truths, which the Nationalists would spread anyway, to be reported in international media (Preston 2008). Within Spain, however, they were concealed. Purposeful optimism was, if not demanded, then nevertheless welcome. Republican propaganda endeavoured to portray itself as democratic anti-fascists fighting fascists (Pérez Ledesma 2006). References to the heterogeneity of their own side as well as the other were undesirable but it was apparently largely left to the journalists what they called the parties. The Republic also carried out systematic press work abroad. The press office of the Spanish embassy in London collected reports on the Civil War, the copies of which are now stored in more than 30 boxes in the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica in

Salamanca (Celada, González de la Aleja, Manuel, and Pastor Garcia 2006; Pastor Garcia and González de la Aleja, Manuel 2017). In Paris, the *Agence d'Espagne* was founded, an organisation of the Communist Party that collaborated with the government authorities.

Not only the atmosphere, but also access to communication for journalists was better on the Republican side. There were Republican press and censorship offices in Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona (until January 1939) for the entire duration of the war, and in Bilbao until the occupation by Nationalist troops in June 1937. The prestigious building of Madrid's Telefónica was the most important contact point for the foreign press. International telephone lines, telephone operators, and office infrastructure were available to the foreign press there, and the censorship office was also located there. Nearby, up the Gran Vía, was the Hotel Florida, where a large part of the correspondents were housed. In Barcelona, the foreign press could also broadcast from the central Telefónica building.

The Nationalists set up press and censorship offices in Salamanca, Burgos, and Zaragoza. However, these were far away from international dispatch points, which meant that journalists had to rely on unreliable local telephone and telegraph lines, delaying the transmission of manuscripts (Bolín 1967, 221). A very useful summary of international communication resources is provided by Deacon (2008a, 18–40). In terms of the overall communications infrastructure, the Republic had a considerable lead in the beginning, which diminished as the war progressed. In 1936, the main international telephone connections ran via Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona. Two of the three main cable heads in Málaga and Bilbao were still in Republican territory, and it had the most powerful radio transmitters until December 1936, when the Nationalists obtained a German transmitter with which they could broadcast in the whole of Spain (Deacon 2008a, 20). Radio and wireless telegraphy were already possible, but still played a comparatively minor role in the transmission of reports by foreign correspondents. To Russia, at least in part, reports were sent via wireless telegraphy as "Radiogramm", as noted in the subheading of stories by Maria Osten for the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* which was published in Moscow (see e.g. Osten 26 October 1936). However, the telephone was far more common.

On Nationalist territory, correspondents had to pass their manuscripts over the border to Gibraltar, Portugal or France and from there by telephone in the first weeks of the war (Davis 1940). This was also a way of sending uncensored texts, which the authorities soon tried to make impossible through

controls, but never fully succeeded in doing. *Chicago Tribune* correspondent Edmond Taylor described the joy with which he tricked the censors:

> *I was sending my copy out to France by car or going out to file it myself, and the stories which the censors blue-penciled for me in Burgos were seldom the ones that were being cabled to my paper. Still I could not resist the temptation to put unwholesome things even into the dummy copy, though I knew that I was going out of my way to arouse suspicion.* (Taylor 1939, 66)

Taylor's sense of gallows humour would not have been met with understanding in the case of discovery. There was a "systemic" intimidation of foreign journalists, Deacon (2008a, 28) identifies in particular but not only for 1937, ranging from "reprimands to execution threats, expulsion, imprisonment and worse".

The Republican side, on the other hand, welcomed journalists with open arms from the beginning, even those who had already covered the Nationalists' side with Franco-friendly reporting. Personalities such as Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo whose office included the foreign press and propaganda issues abroad, and Press Bureau Chief Rubio Hidalgo had been journalists themselves and were sympathetic to the concerns of the press in many respects. They tried to get sympathetic coverage primarily not through pressure and intimidation, but through support.

On the Republican side, too, journalists needed *salvoconductos* to move around. Nevertheless, these were much easier to obtain, as Cowles (2011b) notes, for example, and journalists could move relatively freely without an escort. Certainly, there were also complaints from journalists when there were too few cars available, not enough petrol and preference given to established colleagues. The latter was probably to the disadvantage of female journalists, who rarely had a high professional status. For instance, Josephine Herbst (1991) complained that Hemingway always had two cars at his disposal while it was hard for others to get a ride. "It didn't always make for good feeling among some other correspondents, particularly those who were not on regular assignments" (Herbst 1991, pos. 1630). In principle, however, most recognized the efforts and women also knew how to help themselves. An example of how they dealt with each other is an anecdote about the photographer Gerta Taro which Valencia chief censor Constancia de la La Mora (1977) recalls in her memoirs the days before the Brunete offensive in the summer of 1937. The press knew that the Republican troops were about to attack Madrid and besieged the Valencia press office to get lifts to the capital and *salvoconductos* to the front. Mora writes:

> *Taro se cargó de lo ocupada que yo estaba y en vez de insistir, como muchos otros [...], me dejó una nota escrita con un ramo de flores sobre mi mesa de trabajo. "Siento tener que molestarla ahora que la veo tan agobiada por las mismas peticiones de todos los periodistas, pero es necesario que yo llegue a Madrid antes de que termine nuestra ofensiva."* (La Mora 1977, 353)

Taro left for the capital that same evening. Remarkable here is the possessive pronoun "our", which shows how much the German-Polish photojournalist Taro identified with the concerns of the Republic (Schaber 1995; Lugschitz 2012). A subsequent insertion by de Mora is possible, but it is quite plausible that Taro formulated it this way.

Such charming handling of each other would hardly have been possible on Franco's side. Deacon (2008b, 395) states that in general, "Republican news management was framed by a political rather than military culture, which offered a more conducive environment for news-gathering". Republican surveillance of the press, which did exist, albeit to a lesser extent than on the Nationalists' side, was concealed or not taken seriously. For example, the US journalist Virginia Cowles was almost arrested on both sides for being too independent, but she only felt threatened on Franco territory (Cowles 2011b; see also Chapter 5).

A significant contribution to this non-military, largely relaxed setting on an eye level between the press and propaganda was made by Spanish and foreign women who, unlike on the Nationalists' side, worked in the press offices and had important functions in providing press material and looking after foreign journalists (see Sub-section 4.3.2). Moreover, an equally important reason for their employment were their language skills which enabled them to control texts in other languages.

With its progressive strategy, the Republic had been able to win numerous battles for public opinion, and to convince people of the moral legitimacy of its position in the long term. However, it failed to gain the decisive political support of powers such as the USA and Great Britain in the short term. This failure is not only due to the stoked fear of a communist takeover by the Nationalists, but to the long reluctance of the Western democracies to oppose Hitler and his allies. Beevor (2006, 267) sums up the propaganda battle by concluding that "the Republic may have won many battles for international public opinion, but the nationalists won the key engagement by concentrating on a select and powerful audience in Britain and the United States" (Beevor 2006, 267).

4.2 Civil War coverage by female correspondents

4.2.1 Starting point: origin, motives and professional experience

The interest of the international media in the Spanish Civil War was immense. Until then, war reporting had almost exclusively been a male domain. However, the hundreds of male reporters were now joined by several dozen female war correspondents. We found evidence of 70 foreign women from 17 countries reporting on Spain for international media though not all of them were professional correspondents as we will explain below.[28]

Even though this means that they only made up a small proportion of the estimated total of around one thousand war reporters (Chomón Serna 2018; Armero 1976), for the first time they were visible as a female sector in the professional group of war correspondents. This can be attributed to general socio-political changes in Europe and America as well as special characteristics of the Spanish Civil War.

First, the international emancipatory movements allowed women to play a more public role and take an active and visible part in political life. This development is also reflected in the number of female volunteers who took part in the Spanish Civil War. In total, at least 600 foreign women came to Spain as doctors, translators, nurses, militia women, administration staff, and propaganda; most of them supporting the Republican side (Lugschitz 2012, 2018), other work estimates more than a thousand women, although not all names could be verified (Schiborowski and Kochnowski 2016).

Second, there was also an important change in the standing of war reporters which favoured the entrance of women in this professional field: In World War I, correspondents had been embedded in the army, they were part of military press corps. Women were not allowed to join the army, so they were, apart from very few exemptions, excluded from war correspondence. In the Spanish Civil War however, correspondents were independent. Even though they had to get along with the military and the press offices, they were no longer part of them. This official barrier for women fell.

Third, technical progress and new infrastructure made it easier to bring journalists into the country, even by plane, and to send texts abroad. Freelancers who did not arrive via official channels and with accreditation benefited from this. Technical innovation also played a role for photojournalism. New,

[28] See Annex 1 for a full list of female war correspondents who covered the Spanish Civil War.

small cameras such as Rolleiflex or Leica that were easy to carry around facilitated the work of photo-reporters.

Fourth, it was the new dimension of the Civil War which made women frontline reporters. The front ran through cities: Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia were military targets for the Franco troops. Being in Madrid already meant being on the front lines. It was simply not possible for the military to keep female reporters away from the fighting lines, at least from those in the cities.

Fifth and of particular importance, there was the international ideological dimension of the conflict, which anticipated belligerent operations of a possible second world war and provided a military training ground for Franco's Italian and German allies. As it was widely considered not to be a mere Spanish cause but a proxy war for the whole continent of, depending on the point of view, fascism against democracy, or fascism against communism, or Catholicism against barbarism, international journalists had the feeling that this conflict affected them directly. The French journalist Jeanne Stern, for example, later recalled in an interview that she and her husband went to Spain because they thought they had no other choice (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 146).

Due to this personal concern that many reporters felt, journalism and activism often merged in the coverage of the Spanish Civil War (see Sub-section 4.3); this is true for both male and female correspondents, but maybe even more for the latter, since unlike many male colleagues, few female reporters were sent by the media with a clear mandate. Many of them came out of political motivation, the role as a reporter justified the stay in Civil War Spain.

The female reporters came from many countries: from the USA, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, France, Sweden, Russia, Norway, Canada, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and more. At least one correspondent, the Argentine writer and journalist Maria Luísa Carnelli (see e.g. Girona Rubio, 67), came from South America. By far not all these women were professional journalists before their trip to Spain, meaning reporters who came with official accreditation and experience in this field. Some of them became female war correspondents more by accident than on purpose and made their first journalistic steps in Spain.

Nevertheless, there were also women who already had a solid professional reputation as journalists, though not as war correspondents. To our knowledge, only two female correspondents had gained at least some experience as war correspondents: These were the US-Americans Paula Lecler and Jane Anderson. In World War I, Jane Anderson had reported for the English newspapers *Daily Mail* and

the *Daily Express* (Edwards 1991). In the Spanish Civil War, the US-American, meanwhile married to the Spanish nobleman Eduardo Alvarez de Cienfuegos, played a very dubious role as a correspondent and alleged Nationalist spy in Republican Spain (see Sub-section 4.3). Her compatriot Paula Lecler had reported from Ethiopia on the Italian attack and invasion in 1935 that resulted in the Abyssinian War.

According to their professional background and assignment in Spain, we can roughly divide the 70 female correspondents in seven groups, which may overlap in some cases:

• *Staff members as correspondents*: Only very few female reporters in Spain belonged to the permanent staff of a newspaper and were sent by their media as correspondents. These specific cases who already had a professional reputation as journalists were the English Hilde Marchant, from the *Daily Express*; the English Rose Smith, from the *Daily Worker*; the Irish Gertrude Gaffney, reporting from Franco's side for the *Irish Independent*. The German Maria Osten did not have the standing of her colleagues, but she also was a permanent correspondent (though not employed) of the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*, the organ of the German communists in Soviet exile published in Moscow.

• *Freelance reporters*: This category refers to those who had already earned a living as journalists before and came as freelancers with more or less fixed agreements with newspapers and magazines, such as the US-American Virginia Cowles. She had started her career with stories from US high society for the *Harper's Bazaar* and the *Collier's* magazine but had already drawn attention with a Mussolini interview (Cowles 2011b). The Canadian Jean Watts also falls into this group. She had experience as a correspondent for small newspapers in Canada and came to Spain with an assignment from the *Daily Clarion*. It was so narrow, however, that it left her little room for manoeuvre (E. C. Murphy 2016). Martha Gellhorn too was one of these freelance reporters, although she described herself as a newcomer (Gellhorn 2016a). On Franco's side there was the US-American Frances Davis, who worked for small US local newspapers and, after some initial difficulties, was offered a contract as an assistant to Harold Cardozo, the *Daily Mail*'s chief correspondent. Furthermore, this list also includes foreign photographers such as the German-Polish Gerta Taro, the Austrian Margaret Michaelis and the Hungarian Kati Horna.[29]

[29] This work focuses on the written reports, the female photographers such as Gerta Taro, Margaret Michaelis-Sachs, and Kati Horna will not be discussed in detail here. There is an excellent biography on Gerta Taro (Schaber 1995); for the Austrian born Sachs-Michaelis see, for example, DÖW Spain archives, Vienna.

Many of them were involved in activities beyond journalism, as we will describe in more detail later. One example was Nancy Cunard, who not only covered for the *Manchester Guardian* but also helped refugees (Gordon 2007). As noted previously, other freelance reporters combined journalism with jobs in the Republican press offices.

• *Occasional reporters:* This category includes women who had actually come to Spain with a different assignment, but who took the opportunity to write articles for the international press. An example of this is the English teacher Francesca R. Wilson, who was in Spain as a social worker and refugee helper on behalf of the Quaker organisation American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). She organised children's colonies and at the same time wrote several reports about the population for the *Manchester Guardian*. The Austrian writer and journalist Gusti Jirku (see also Sub-section 4.3) had started as a nurse in the Medical Services of the International Brigades. After a period of illness she switched to the propaganda office of the Servicio Sanitario Internacional and, according to her autobiography published under her later surname Stridsberg (n.d.)[30], she was also writing for the international media. Women who came without having any idea what to do in Spain also belong to this group; they became war correspondents more by accident than on purpose. For example, the Swede Kajsa Rothman, who had been working in tourism in Spain since 1934 (Viedma 2002). During the Civil War, she worked first for the Medical Services, then in the Republican press office, where she interpreted for Virginia Cowles among others, and finally she herself wrote reports for Swedish local newspapers. Later she became involved in refugee aid. Another example is the US-American Kate Mangan (Kurzke and Mangan n.d.) who went to Spain because of her boyfriend who had been injured fighting with the International Brigades. Some of the newcomers such as Rothman and Mangan also worked at the Republican press office.

Ilse Kulcsar (later Barea-Kulcsar) did it the other way round. The Austrian socialist came as a freelance journalist and then became a censor for the Republic. At least in her initial phase as a censor at the Madrid Telefónica, she still wrote articles for international media (Barea 2014).

• *Correspondents' wives*: Some male correspondents came to Spain with their wives, who then supported them in the field, for example the American Eleanor Packard who reported under the

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https://www.doew.at/erinnern/biographien/spanienarchiv-online/spanienfreiwillige-m/michaelis-sachs-margaret; for Kati Horna see, for example, Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/116999?nm; https://unitednationsofphotography.com/2014/06/18/review-kati-horna-jeu-de-paume-paris/.

[30] On her later role as Soviet agent "Klara" in Sweden, see Scholz, n.d.; Agrell 2018.

name of her husband when he was on a trip to another part of the front (Davis 1940, 198). Likewise, the US writer Melanie Pflaum, who was married to the *United Press* correspondent Irving Peter Pflaum and lived with him in Mallorca at the time, seems to have worked with her husband, although it is unclear to what extent. Later she published a novel playing at this time where the blurb refers to both her and her husband, as a correspondent (M. Pflaum 1957). Armero (1976) also listed her as a correspondent (though he must be regarded with caution as a source). In a text by her husband referring to the final phase of the war, she only appears as a visitor (I. Pflaum 1939). Deacon (2008a, 2009) also names Helen Seldes, the wife of freelance correspondent George Seldes as a reporter for *The New York Times*, but no articles were published under her name.[31] The case of the poet and writer Lorna Wood, who was in Barcelona with her husband, *Reuter*'s chief correspondent Joseph Swire (Hanighen 1939, 162), is clear: She published stories under her own name (see e.g. Wood 13 December 1938).

• *Poets and writers*: This group is made up of rather prominent women, most of them came only for a visit. The American poet and political activist Muriel Rukeyser happened to be in Catalonia at the time of the military coup. She actually wanted to report on the Workers' Olympics, which were to be held there as a counter-event to the Olympic Games in Munich. She delivered a reportage from the early days (Rukeyser 1 September 1936), but then had to leave the country.

Other writers such as the US-American Dorothy Parker, the Germans Ruth Berlau and Anna Seghers, as well as the English Valentine Ackland and Sylvia Townsend Warner who had both also worked as nurses with the Medical Services of the IB, came in 1937 for the Writers' Congress in Valencia. Some of them took the opportunity for a trip and published articles in magazines and newspapers afterwards.

One of the most prominent authors in Spain was the German Erika Mann, the daughter of Thomas Mann. Together with her brother Klaus, she travelled through the Republican territory, their experiences were published in the series "Spanisches Tagebuch" (Spanish Diary) in the *Pariser Tageszeitung* (see e.g. K. Mann 3 July 1938; E. Mann 17/18 July 1938).

• *Politicians and Committee members*: Female politicians from abroad also undertook fact-finding missions on behalf of aid committees to see for themselves the reality on the ground. For example, British MPs Charlotte Haldane and Ellen Wilkinson published articles in the *Daily Worker* and the

[31] At least according to the search in the digital archive of nytimes.com.

Daily Mail (see Deacon 2008a) and the *Daily Herald* (Ellen Wilkinson 29 April 1937) after their trip to Madrid as emissaries of the *Spanish Medical Aid Committee* and *the Committee for the Co-ordination of Spanish relief*. The Belgian Martha Huysmans, daughter of the then mayor of Antwerpen and later Prime Minister Camille Huysmans, travelled through Spain on behalf of the *Women's World Committee against Fascism* and additionally reported for the Belgian newspaper *Peuple* (Osten 26 September 1936; Stridsberg n.d., 452; Deacon 2008a, 69).

• *Reporters of personal accounts*: In newspapers and magazines of the time, there are also some personal accounts of women who happened to be in Spain at the time and, on one occasion, described their own fate during the Civil War in a newspaper (see e.g. Laird 1936; H. Beck 7 February 1939). Although these women do not belong to the professional group of female journalists, we included their articles in our study as part of the reporting and contribution to shape the image of Civil War Spain worldwide.

We have listed all the female journalists we were able to verify in the Annex. Certainly, this list of 70 names is not complete, we suppose that there are still some female reporters, especially from Eastern Europe and Russia, who could not be identified yet. Nevertheless, it is representative of the involvement of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War and it is a comprehensive continuation and addition to Deacon's list of 23 names from more than a decade ago (Deacon 2008a, 69).

The female journalists were a rather heterogeneous group, not only regarding their professional experience and assignment. Deacon (2008a, 69) identifies a "high profile – low status paradox" in women reporting from Spain but this is not universally applicable and needs some differentiation. He argues that the women generally came from a privileged background but received little recognition as female war correspondents. We will deal with the low recognition in the following point, here we first explore the women's background.

Some of them came from very wealthy families as the English women he lists, Shiela Grant Duff or Nancy Cunard. The high status may also apply to the US-Americans Martha Gellhorn and Kitty Bowler, as well mentioned by Deacon, who had an upper middle-class background, and to some other female correspondents as for example Erika Mann, Thomas Mann's daughter, or on Franco's side the Frenchwoman Edmée de la Rochefoucauld. Many other female war correspondents had a far less privileged background. The German-Polish photographer Gerta Taro, who is also named by Deacon, received a good education thanks to an aunt. Nevertheless, her Jewish family had an egg wholesaling

business and had to deal with major financial problems and antisemitism (Schaber 1995). Gerta Taro had already lived, almost penniless, in exile in Paris before the Civil War. Many female reporters came from middle-class families who invested in education for their children though they did not belong to high society circles. The US-American Anna-Louise Strong was the daughter of Congregational Church missionaries. She enjoyed a good education and, like her colleagues Kitty Bowler and Martha Gellhorn, attended the progressive Bryn Mawr College near Philadelphia. The well-known English *Daily Worker* correspondent Rose Smith was a teacher's daughter and had been a teacher herself as was the English Quaker Francesca Wilson. But there were also some female reporters who came from tradesmen's or workers' families. The English Hilde Marchant, one of our case studies and already a star reporter at the time, was the daughter of a butcher as Deacon also mentions. Little is known so far about the background of journalists who came from Eastern European countries. We assume that among them were women from Jewish, rather (upper) middle class families like the Hungarian photographer Kati Horna, who may have received a good education but certainly did not have any "high status" in their countries of origin for political reasons and the prevailing antisemitism. Some of the female correspondents from totalitarian countries already had experience in the resistance and/or lived in exile like Ilse Kulcsar, Margaret Michaelis, Kati Horna or Gerta Taro. Thus, overall, an educated but not necessarily upper-class background of female correspondents can be observed.

At least equally diverse were the political stances of the female reporters. Among the female correspondents there were members of different political parties or movements which were in a state of tension with each other: the communists Anna-Louise Strong, Rose Smith, and Maria Osten were just as present as the Austrian socialist Ilse Kulcsar, and anarchists such as the Brit Ethel MacDonald or the Austrian photographer Margaret Michaelis and her Hungarian colleague Kati Horna. But there were also women who were no party members at all: for example, Martha Gellhorn, Gerta Taro, Francesca Wilson as well as the Swedish Barbro Alving, also known under her pseudonym Bang, and Kajsa Rothman.

Nevertheless, at least one characteristic applies to almost all female reporters covering the Republican side. In all their diversity, there was the common belief of the necessity to resist fascism which brought them first of all to Spain – they considered themselves anti-fascists (Lugschitz 2016, 2020; Karmasin, Kraus, and Lugschitz 2017). What E. C. Murphy (2016) notes for the commitment of the United States correspondent Martha Gellhorn and the Canadian journalist Jean Watts in Spain

applies to numerous female Civil War correspondents. "Women find journalism a particularly available means of politically committed participation in the war" (E. C. Murphy 2016, 29).

The self-conception as anti-fascists united these different political, often opposing views. It was in line with the Republican propaganda efforts described above to give the various political groups a common goal. However, it cannot be seen as a mere success of Republican propaganda, but mainly as political consciousness many female journalists developed long before the Civil War.

On the Nationalist side, there were only a few foreign female journalists who also came from different political backgrounds. The US-American Aileen O'Brien and the Irish Gertrude Gaffney (as well as Jane Anderson, defending the Nationalist's cause working from the Republican side) argued from a conservative Catholic point of view, while the Frenchwoman and feminist Edmée de la Rochefoucauld[32] showed above all sympathy for the fascist Falange and its women's organisation. An exception on Franco's side was the US-American Frances Davis. The freelancer ended up in the Nationalist zone rather by chance, but had sympathies for the Republic (Davis 1940, 1981).

Overall, there were many more female journalists working on the side of the Republic than on the side of the Nationalists. This decision was taken mainly because of sympathies, but it would have also hardly been possible for journalists critical of Nationalists to get accreditation on their side, and even less for female journalists.

4.2.2 Main characteristics of the work of female war correspondents

One of our initial hypotheses was that the strong political commitment which motivated women to cover the Spanish Civil War as correspondents was reflected in the reporting and sympathies were clearly recognizable. A second assumption was that the female reporters focused mainly on human interest topics which largely corresponded to the traditional understanding of the so-called woman's angle (Deacon 2008a, 2009; Jackson 2010; Karmasin, Kraus, and Lugschitz 2017; Pastor Garcia and González de la Aleja, Manuel 2017).

Before we examine these initial hypotheses in-depth by a content analysis focusing on the journalistic quality of the war coverage by five case studies (see Chapter 6), we carried out a more simple evaluation for the female Spain correspondents in general drawing on the question posed by Kate

[32] For her short biography see https://www.arllfb.be/composition/membres/delarochefoucauld.html.

(McLoughlin 2017, 145) in the context of Martha Gellhorn's World War II reporting: "If masculinity had a well defined place in the war text, what place was there for femininity?" Put this way, however, the question implies that women and men write differently because of their gender. We consider gender as a social construct, which is now the consensus in feminist and gender studies (see e.g. Bussey 2011; Lindsey 2015). The concept of femininity and masculinity in this context is based on attributions that in many cases reflect stereotypes of typically male and typically female attitudes, so we have rephrased the question in a more pragmatic way, asking: What topics did women write about as newcomers in a field traditionally occupied by men?

To establish the basic parameters of the work of female journalists, we carried out a general analysis of the articles we were able to collect during our research. The collection of these texts was not subject to a strict system, but we tried to get copies of as many articles as possible. This explorative study of a large sample examined overt sympathies, main topics and the journalistic genre to identify main characteristics of the coverage by female correspondents. Out of this large sample we selected our five case studies. Certainly, there were linguistic, organisational, time, and financial limits to the research. Nevertheless, the final sample of 166 articles written by 42 women from 7 countries (see Table 9) provides sufficient representativeness due to the number and internationality of the sample to be able to draw valid conclusions.

Table 9. General analysis of articles by women correspondents in the Civil War.

Number of articles analysed	Number of different newspapers	Countries of publication (media)	Number of different correspondents	Countries of origin (journalists)
166	31	7	42	7

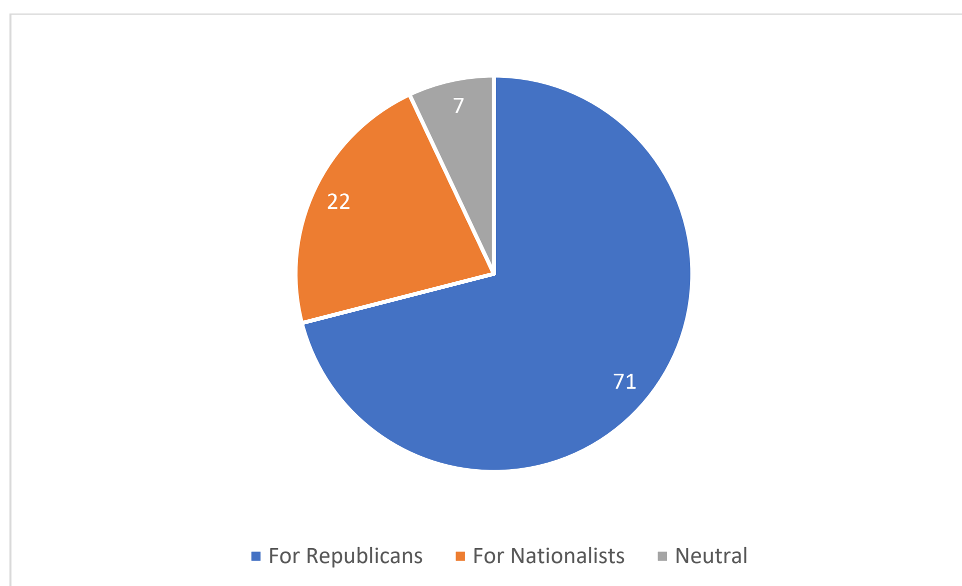
Source: author's own research.

There were 123 articles reporting from the Republican side and 39[33] articles reporting from the Nationalist side. Only 4 articles by Virginia Cowles who was selected as one of our case studies deal with both sides in the same text based on her own on-the-ground research. The location of the

[33] Edna Ferber is included here as she wrote one article on the Nationalist side from the French border but actually may never have entered Spain.

reporter on one side or the other is largely but not entirely in line with the sympathies that almost all articles clearly show: 118 articles, that means 71 % could be assigned to the Republican side, 36 contributions (22 %) to the Nationalist side (including 23 texts by our case study Gertrude Gaffney), and only 12 articles (7 %, including 7 by Virginia Cowles) were classified as neutral (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. From articles identifiable sympathies for one side, in % (n=166)



Source: author's own research.

This rough classification is only intended to show the basic tendency. No further distinction has been made here between weak and strong sympathies. The range of partisanship is extremely wide. It ranges from empathetic stories focused on the humanitarian aspect about the situation of refugees and food shortages to polemic horror stories. There were only a few female journalists who did not report from the side they sympathised with. One example is the right-wing US correspondent Jane Anderson, who wrote hardly credible articles about crucifixions of children, mass rapes of nuns and other Republican atrocities from their territory. The politically left-wing English author and journalist Shiela Grant Duff, on the other hand, reported on Malaga, occupied by the Nationalists, where she had been sent to find out more about the fate of the writer and journalist Arthur Koestler, who had been arrested as a spy (on Anderson and Duff see also Sub-section 4.3). The different degrees of partisanship and how they manifest themselves in the text will be analysed in the in-depth analysis of the case studies.

Reportage was by far the most important journalistic genre for female war correspondents. About three quarters of the articles can be assigned to this format that offers the possibility to include opinion elements and some personal context, in addition to facts and experience on the ground. We have used a broad definition here, as explained in the Methodology. The proportion of opinion, personal context, facts, and information-based contextualisation can vary greatly. There are features enriched with background information, such as those by Virginia Cowles, as well as texts more in the style of a travel diary as written by Erika Mann (e.g. 17/18 July 1938) or Gertrude Gaffney (see Chapter 6), or more personal accounts of everyday experiences as those by Lorna Wood (e.g. 24 January 1939) and Lillian Hellman (11 October 1938).

Other contributions, such as those by Gusti Jirku, have a strong literary component and resemble short stories in their dramaturgical structure with plot, setting, and character. The articles assigned to other genres were (featured) interviews, news reports, two poems (that were included because they were directly related to a trip to Spain), one opinion article, and several letters to the editor that were sent from Spain. Some of these letters were rather short appeals for help with a brief account of the emergency but they could also have the character of longer reports with title and subtitle like the one from Cunard (19 November 1936). The preference for reportage is in line with Spanish Civil War reporting in general, as previously noted, it was also an essential genre for male correspondents (Deacon 2008a).

In the evaluation of the main content areas, according to the 10 categories set in advance, 257 topics in the 166 articles were counted (a maximum of 3 was possible per article). By far the most frequent topic was “civil issues” (see Table 10), which was the subject of 87 articles. In second place, albeit at a great distance, was “warfare/battle stories”, which was registered 54 times as a relevant issue in the article. In third place, with 32 mentions, were stories highlighting attacks on the civilian population. In fourth place, 29 times “foreign allies” were identified as an essential part of the story. “Personal experiences” follow in fifth place. Only in the lower half are the political topics to be found. If we group them together (Republic, Nationalists, International), politics in general would ascend to the fifth place with a total of 21 mentions. Viewed individually, “Nationalist politics” and “International impact and politics” have hardly any relevance (penultimate and last); ahead of them are contributions that focus on the “role of women” and contributions that place individual personalities at the centre.

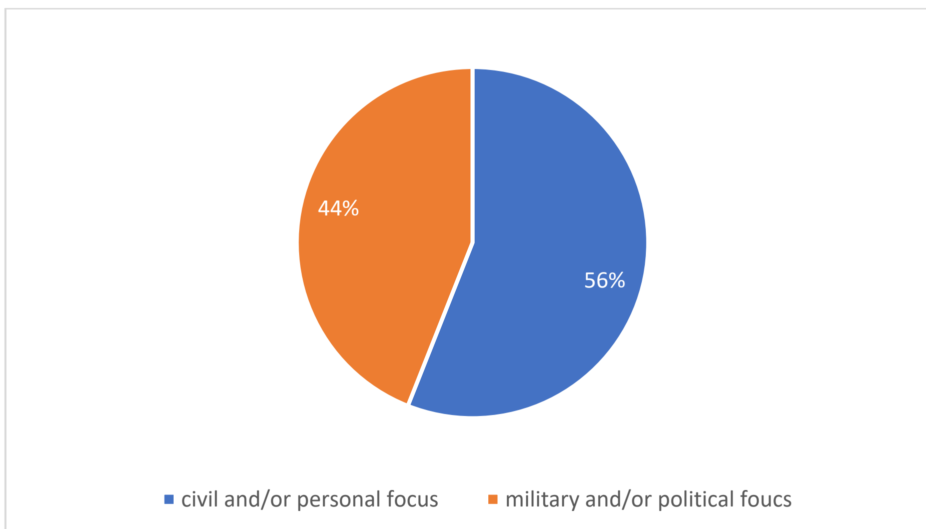
Table 10. List of categories to which the topics have been assigned.

	Topic	**Frequency**
1	Civil issues in Spain (not mainly dealing with the role of women)	87
2	Warfare/battle stories	54
3	(Air) Attacks with special references to women and/or civilians in general	32
4	Foreign allies in Spain	29
5	Personal experiences with little reference/relevance to conflict	15
6	Republican politics (motives, origin, consequences of war)	13
7	Role of women in (wartime) society (not mainly referring to air attacks)	10
8	Important personalities/prominent war heroes	9
9	Nationalist politics (motives, origin, consequences of war)	5
10	International impact and politics	3
	Total number	257

Source: author's own research.

For a better overview, the topics can be clustered into two areas: (1) *civil and/or personal focus* – civil issues, attacks on civilians, role of women, and personal experiences; (2) *political and/or military focus* – warfare, foreign allies, Republican/Nationalist/international politics, and important personalities/war heroes. The results show (see Figure 3) that significantly more than half the articles by female correspondents (56 %) deal with civilian and personal topics, while 44 % of the articles have a military-political focus.

Figure 3. Share civil/personal focus, and military/political focus, in % (n=257).



Source: author's own research.

With caution, some comparisons can be drawn with Deacon's (2008a) thematic evaluation of British media and their coverage of the Spanish Civil War. In his evaluation of *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror*, *News Chronicle*, *Daily Herald*, and *Daily Worker*, he referred not only to the contributions of correspondents on the ground, but to the entire coverage of the Civil War. Furthermore, although we were guided by the categories he set, we adapted them where it seemed appropriate for our context.

In the media Deacon analysed, "battle stories" and "non-intervention" are almost always found in the first two places in either order.[34] In other words, the overall focus was clearly on military and political issues. For a closer look, we selected two media out of his case studies for which several female correspondents worked as well, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Worker*, and compared the two most important topics of war reporting in general with those of the female war correspondents (see Table 11). For the *Manchester Guardian*, the female war correspondents Kitty Bowler, Nancy Cunard, Elizabeth Deeble[35], Lorna Lindsley, Francesca Wilson, and Lorna Wood wrote a total of 21 articles dealing with 27 topics: 15 on "civil issues"; 4 on "(air) attacks on civilians"; 4 on "personal experience"; 2 on "warfare", as well as "role of women" and "foreign allies" on one occasion each. In the *Daily Worker,* Valentine Ackland, Shiela Grant Duff[36], Margaret Powell, Rose Smith, and Elizabeth Wilkinson published a total of 14 articles dealing with 18 topics: 10 on "civil issues"; 5 on "warfare"; and 3 on "(air) attacks on civilians".

Table 11. Most important topics in Manchester Guardian's articles on the Spanish Civil War.

	Manchester Guardian, Spain coverage in total	**Manchester Guardian by female war correspondents**	**Daily Worker, Spain coverage in total**	**Daily Worker by female war correspondents**
1	Warfare	Civil issues	Non-intervention	Civil issues
2	Non-intervention	(Air) Attacks on civilians; Personal experience	Warfare/battle stories	Warfare/battle stories

Source: Deacon (2008a) and author's own research.

[34] The main issues identified by Deacon (2008a, 134) were "Battle stories", "Non-intervention", "Air attacks on civilians", "Impact on British interests", "Republican politics", "Republican failings" as well as "Nationalist politics", "Nationalist failings", "British public opinion", "Refugees", "Other international diplomacy".
[35] No byline, but clearly attributable to Deeble based on her other articles for *The Washington Post*.
[36] Signed by "a woman journalist" but clearly attributable to Grant Duff, see Sub-section 4.3.

In both cases, military-political issues are the most important ones in general reporting, while the female correspondents focus first on the concerns of the civilian population. Warfare, however, was identified as a theme in as many as five out of 14 *Daily Worker* stories, and we have seen above in Figure 3 that 44 % of the contributions by female war correspondents deal with military-political topics.

We will discuss the content of the articles in detail in the analysis of the case studies. At this point, however, we would like to give a brief insight in the topics in general in order to put these figures into context.

Three of the five warfare stories in the *Daily Worker* were written by Elizabeth Wilkinson, journalist and member of the *British Women's Committee Against War and Fascism*. They are not long stories, but they deserve special attention. As one of the first correspondents, Wilkinson was in Guernica. As early as 28 April 1937, two days after the attack by the German Legion Condor, her article on how "Fascist Bombers Blot Out Unprotected Basque Town" appeared in the *Daily Worker*. The first articles on the attack had appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Glasgow Herald* on 27 April 1937 by Reuters correspondent Holme. A detailed article by George Steer, considered one of the most important in all Civil War reporting, was published on 28 April 1937 in both *The Times* and *The New York Times* (Preston 2008, pos. 6133-6206), the same day of Wilkinson's report. Steer, Holme, and Monks of the *Daily Express* had followed the bombing from close by and their articles were of great impact. Wilkinson was also in Guernica (though it is not known where exactly she was during the attack). Her articles (Elizabeth Wilkinson 28 April 1937, 29 April 1937, 1 May 1937) are by far not as detailed as Steer's long article but she was among the first to report from the scene on the "Fascist bombers" and "German airplanes" and contributed to expose the Nationalists' version of a fire set by the "Reds" as a lie.

Another female reporter was also in the immediate vicinity: Fifi Roberts, a 20-year-old woman who accompanied her father W. H. Roberts, captain of a British food ship. She published brief news stories about "Ruined Guernica" in the *News Chronicle* (Roberts 29 April 1937, 30 April 1937).

The example of Guernica shows particularly well that a strict separation between civil and military/political topics is hardly possible. Attacks on civilians are just as much a military and political issue. In our categorisation, however, it is a matter of which dimension was focused on by the

respective correspondent. When, for instance, Gertrude Gaffney tells of successful air raids by the Nationalists (see Chapter 6), we have assigned this to "warfare/battle stories". When, for example, Nancy Cunard denounces air raids on a busy marketplace in Barcelona, this has been assigned to the category "attacks on civilians" (Cunard 28 September 1938). When Cunard also describes the systematic nature of these attacks on frontline ambulances, we have considered the story as civil issue as well as warfare related (Cunard 19 November 1936) as we did also with Wilkinson's Guernica reports that address both the attack and the consequences for the locals.

Few stories by female correspondents related exclusively to warfare. Some of them were written in the early days of the uprising and were thus related to current events and could not yet be about long-term consequences for the civilian population. Later stories, despite a focus on current war events, do not necessarily emphasise the combat aspects, but they deal with individual fates, medical services, and personal experiences. Female correspondents hardly ever reported timely on the military course of the war, i.e. victory or defeat in actual battles. This can also be seen from the chronological presentation of the course of the war and the few references to reports by female correspondents we put above in Sub-section 4.1 (see Table 8). There is a clear effort to explain war by focusing on the humans involved. It is not only about topics, but about the approach as a whole.

Journalistic frames are defined as the "particular way in which journalists compose a news story to optimise audience accessibility" (Valkenburg, Semetko, and Vreese 1999, 550). A human interest frame places events, issues and problems in the context of human impact (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, 95). In women's Spanish Civil War reporting, a human interest frame can be clearly identified. This applies not only to the numerous reports that focus on the civilian population, and on the attacks on them. It also refers to stories on political and military issues. They also do not usually correspond to the traditional idea of war reporting as a matter-of-fact assessment of events. It therefore makes sense to speak of a human interest frame rather than human interest topics.

We would like to illustrate this conclusion with the example of the US magazine *New Masses* which was published from 1926 to 1948. It belonged to the Communist Party environment but also attracted authors who were not party members. The publication was very popular and influential in left-wing intellectual circles, and its authors included John Dos Passos, Dorothy Parker, Josephine Herbst, Ernest Hemingway, Rex Stout and Eugene O'Neill. The weekly magazine dealt regularly and extensively with the Spanish Civil War.

During the period of the Civil War, *New Masses* published a total of nine contributions by eight women on the Spanish Civil War:

• A report by the poet Muriel Rukeyser (1 September 1936) from Catalonia about the coup in July 1936 and the first days after. Rukeyser had travelled to cover the Workers' Olympics, which should have started in Barcelona at that same time. She had to leave after a few days.

• Two poems by Valentine Ackland (24 November 1936, 26 January 1937)[37], who had travelled to Spain with Sylvia Townsend Warner to help in an International Brigades hospital and to attend the 1937 Congress of Anti-Fascist Writers in Valencia.

• A contribution by Sylvia Townsend Warner (24 November 1936) was actually a letter to a friend, the poet Jean Starr Untermeyer.

• A contribution by the artist Angna Enters (5 January 1937), who spent several years in Spain and reflected on "Spain and the Artist", the artist's responsibility in the struggle for freedom.

• A reportage by the US playwright Lillian Hellman (11 October 1938) about her experiences on a trip through Spain.

• A reportage by Dorothy Parker (23 November 1937), who travelled to Valencia for the International Writers' Congress and on to Madrid to see for herself.

• An exclusive interview by Gina Medem (7 September 1937), who was in Spain as a correspondent for US Yiddish newspapers, with the communist leader Dolores Ibárruri.

• An article entitled "People of Spain" by Anna Louise Strong (26 January 1937), an experienced US communist journalist.

Like the coverage in the daily newspapers as noted above, the example of the *New Masses* confirms some basic features of women's war coverage. There was no female correspondent who reported on a regular basis on the Civil War and the majority of the texts are of a narrative (reportage) character. Furthermore, they are a good example of the human interest twist given to stories by women. Two stories deal with political leaders, those by Gina Medem and Anna Louise Strong. The headline "People of Spain" and the subheading "An internationally famous journalist sketches a series of vivid pen-portraits of some outstanding personalities" of Strong's article did not highlight

[37] In total, there are four poems by Valentine Ackland in this period that have war as their subject matter, but only two explicitly refer to Spain.

the fact that she conducted interviews with four of the most important politicians of the Spanish Republic. This only becomes clear by reading. Her featured talks with the Socialist foreign minister Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the Communist Dolores Ibárruri, the Catalan head of government Lluís Companys of the Republican Left and the Anarchist minister of justice Juan García Oliver sketched the political spectrum and the shaky construction of the heterogeneous Spanish Popular Front. This political dimension of the story was concealed in the headlines.

Medem's interview with Ibárruri, in turn, is an example of propaganda style reporting addressed to a female audience giving space to the human side of the Communist leader, with her "very feminine, charming figure, with a fascinating smile, with tenderly, motherly arms" (Medem 7 September 1937). In this "exclusive interview" with the corresponding title "A Message from La Pasionaria", Gina Medem left the text after having introduced Ibárruri with such admiring words to the communist leader who appealed to "the women and mothers of North America" to support the "[f]ight to prevent our children, our men of tomorrow, from suffering hunger or being ferociously murdered" (Medem 7 September 1937, 9).

One can argue that women journalists were then hardly in a professional position to do critical interviews with important politicians. This was a journalistic approach that was much less accepted by politicians at that time. Nevertheless, other female interviewers showed more detachment as did Strong, despite her also being a communist. While leaving space for personal observations on the "briskly efficient" del Vayo, the "idealistic mystic" Companys, on Ibárruri with her "deep, passionate love for human beings", and García Oliver, "one of the gentlest beings", she concentrated on describing features of the political landscape in Republican Spain (Strong, 26 January 1937, 5).

The example of the *New Masses* reveals that political topics did not necessarily imply political analysis and that personal issues were strongly accentuated. On the other hand, the political character of stories by female journalists was not always recognized by the editors but presented as non-political and human interest reporting.

The human interest character of women's reporting also includes the representation of female journalists in their stories. This took on very different dimensions and could lead to the only element of human interest in the story being the author herself. There are often only very nuanced differences between making oneself the protagonist of adventure stories and using one's own experience to make the experience of others comprehensible. Lillian Hellman (11 October 1938) and Lorna Wood (13 December 1938), for example, succeeded in conveying insights into life in war in their very

personal stories about seemingly trivial things like the lack of hydrogen peroxide or the feeling of going shopping. In other cases, the emphasis on the person of the female reporter served to alert readers to the unusual circumstance that a woman had made it to the front. This was part of the publisher's policy which we will look at in more detail in the following sub-section.

As noted, the human interest aspect is undoubtedly an essential feature of Spanish Civil War reporting by women. It was, however, not the exclusive domain of women. Male journalists also dealt with the effects of the war on the people. Political analysis and military assessments, on the other hand, were almost exclusively the preserve of male journalists. Nevertheless, the discussion on the human interest frame is not meant to obscure other types of reporting by female journalists that also existed. Paula Lecler, for example, conducted interviews with the Catalan president Lluís Companys and the Spanish prime minister Juan Negrín, published in the *Daily Telegraph* and reprinted in the *Belfast Telegraph*, which focused solely on politics (Lecler 13 August 1937, 6 September 1937). Here, too, the politicians can deliver their statements and phrases but there is no particular human interest angle, just as in the interview of the German Ilse Wolff with the leader of the Socialist party Ramón Gonzalez Peña (Wolff 31 December 1937). There are some more examples, but they stand out as exceptions in female journalists' reporting.

Concluding, we would like to emphasise once again that it is important to understand this human interest focus as a frame that extends across the entire coverage. On the one hand, women's issues were too diverse to be confined exclusively to non-military, non-political reporting; on the other hand, seemingly non-political, non-military, human interest issues about the effects of war can have a political, war-relevant scope. Cunard (19 November 1936, 28 September 1938, 2 February, 1939), for example, placed the misery of civilian and military refugees in the context of international (non-intervention) politics, pointing out that the war in Spain is of international interest. The pigeonholing of female war reporting as merely human interest risks obscuring the political aspect of their reporting.

4.2.3 Women about women: one topic, two worldviews

The role of women as war correspondents was new. The role of women in war in general took on many new facets in the Spanish Civil War. On the Republican side, Spanish women took an active part in the armed conflict as militia fighters, they played an increasing role in politics, and replaced

men in factories and business (Nash 1999; Martínez Rus 2018). They were the basis of the resistance in the cities and as such became military targets. On the Nationalist side, they were far less visible in public life though their support in traditionally female fields, for instance as nurses or seamstresses, was also in demand. They also took active roles in the conflict, driven by the women's organisation of the Falange or by Catholic Nationalist women who mobilised against the Republic in Madrid, something that has long been overlooked in historiography (Flynn 2020, 2018). How did the foreign journalists reflect on Spanish women?

Going through the articles written from the Republican side, one scene is repeated: the long queues of women in Madrid or Barcelona, waiting to buy food, often braving air raids (e.g. Cunard 28 September 1938; Smith 3 December 1938; Wilson 4 May 1937). These women confronting imminent danger became protagonists of the female journalists' reportages on the Republican side. They stood for the new dimension of war, which had turned vital civilian meeting points into military targets.

Rose Smith, for example, reported in the *Daily Worker* about women in Barcelona waiting for food: "Most of them had left their homes before daybreak, knowing full well that the early morning food queues are the special object of the German and Italian bombs" (Smith 26 October 1938). Nancy Cunard wrote after such an air raid on the Barceloneta Market in *The Manchester Guardian* that "[a]ll of us here know, of course, that today a market ranks as such [a military target], – a place full of people, nearly all of them women – exclusively working women" (Cunard 13 October 1936).

Some of the female war correspondents on the side of the Republic, such as Rose Smith, had distinguished themselves journalistically with their commitment to women's rights, but in general the war correspondents were not determined fighters for emancipation. Nevertheless, they did represent a progressive image of women and their right to emancipation. The Spanish women were valued because of their resistance, their courage and their independence, in short, their ability to survive on their own. Francesca Wilson probably summed up the feelings of many of her colleagues in her reportage on the "Women of Madrid". "It was not their courage in the battle against the enemy that surprised me, but in the unceasing and inglorious battle against hunger and cold" (Wilson 4 May 1937). As a politician, Dolores Ibárruri embodied the concerns and the perseverance of the working-class women and was a heroine for communist journalists (see Medem 7 September 1937; Osten 26 September 1936; Strong 1937). Militia women, on the other hand, were a less common topic, but this can simply be explained by the fact that they were only admitted in the first months of the war, after which they were almost completely withdrawn from the front. Most of the stories written by women appeared in 1937 and 1938.

The image of women on Franco's side is, unsurprisingly, more conservative. In the coverage they appear as elegant upper-class women, dedicated to charitable work. Not only Frances Davis and Gertrude Gaffney, but also the French journalist Edmée de La Rochefoucauld, owner of and writing for the *Revue de Paris*, traveled through Franco's territory to write her reportage "Spanish Women" in 1938. The three journalists met, on their respective trips, primarily wealthy women of high Spanish society, waiting in the quarters of Franco's troops in northern Spain for their husbands, who were fighting with the Nationalists. All three of them praised these women for doing social work and stressed their attitude of devotion and "feminine self-sacrifice" (La Rochefoucauld 1938, 8). They evoke pictures of women sewing banners and bandages or feeding orphans (Davis 22 August 1936; La Rochefoucauld 1938, 6, 8; Gaffney 24 February 1937). Davis gives a dramatic account of a woman who just discovered that her husband, a pilot, has been killed: "The Countess replied: 'Here is my cheque book. You cannot replace my husband. Replace the plane'" (Davis 22 August 1936).
La Rochefoucauld, a strong admirer of Pilar Primo the Rivera, leader of the women's section of the Falange and sister of the Falange founder Antonio Primo de Rivera, "was astounded by the great social role played by women in Nationalist Spain" (La Rochefoucauld 1938, 5). "Social role" in this context meant charity work and commitment to women's organisations.
Gertrude Gaffney, however, considered them rather useless in public life compared to Irish women: "Spanish women have never worked outside their homes as we do" (Gaffney 22 February 1937). Therefore, they could not substitute men in war. There were more diverging views on women between La Rochefoucauld and Gaffney. The heterogeneity of Franco's allies, from the Catholic, monarchist Requetés to the fascist Falangists, is perceptible in their articles. La Rochefoucauld had a fascist-oriented image of modern Spanish women and wanted to "see them hatless, energetic, generous, enrolled in various organizations" (La Rochefoucauld 1938, 20) in the near future, whereas Gaffney put her hopes in God and government. In her view, women are not deciding on their own fates, but are "subjected" or "permitted" to take a position in society. This is actually in contrast to her position in Ireland, where she was known to stand up for women's right to work (see Chapter 5).
There is one fundamental difference in the perception of Spanish women between the Republican and the Francoist sides. For the female reporters on the Nationalist side, women were heroines because of their devotion to others (husband and family, God and patria, social work and organisations), for the ones on the Republican they were heroines because they took over a leading role in the resistance, fighting not only for their country and families but also for their own freedom.

The devotion to conservative values, on the one hand, and the struggle for autonomy, on the other, not only shows opposing images of women, ranging from the duty of subordination to the right to self-determination, it also reflects the previously noted orientation of the Nationalists towards a great past and the Republicans' belief in a better future.

4.2.4 Agenda and attribution: the standing of "female observers"

To make the impact of gender in the reporting of these early female correspondents visible, we want to examine their working conditions and decision-making authority on the ground.

The concept of *agency* offers a good approach for this historical analysis because it emphasises the relationship between individual action and social structures. Agency means the ability of individuals "of effectively acting in the world" (Isaacs 2013, 132). "Women's agency" in particular draws on Margaret Archer's (2000) "primacy of practice" in interpreting historical processes. The close look at women's possibilities to act is intended to highlight "the ways in which women have been both 'partly formed by their sociality' yet have at the same time demonstrated 'the capacity partly to transform' the social structures in which they have lived" (Lee and Logan 2017, 1). In our context, the question is: To what extent were women war correspondents able to set their own priorities?

The female correspondents entered a professional field where they had to compete with established colleagues who had been there long before. Women who came as employed correspondents or with formal agreements were exceptions. As shown above, most of them came on their own. They were often confronted, as many sources like letters or memoirs let us know, with prejudices and economic problems: As women they were considered unable to cover a war – a prejudice with a lasting effect. In the Spanish Civil War, women were pioneers in this professional field, but "there are certain commonalities that are shared" among all generations of female correspondents, as Ness notes for US female war reporters.

> *First, each had to prove to a man, whether in the military or even her own editors, that she was capable of the job. In addition, there seems to be a pushback from editors, officials and soldiers that women will not be safe and cannot handle the work being a war correspondent.* (Ness 2012, 81)

The example of the two US journalists Elizabeth Deeble and Kitty (Katherine) Bowler gives an idea of the difficult situation in the Spanish Civil War. Deeble worked both as a correspondent for *The*

Washington Post and as a censor for the Catalan *Comissariat de Propaganda*. Her two jobs give an indication, firstly, of how little not only partisanship but the renunciation of independence as a whole was perceived as a problem by the journalists themselves and, secondly, how precarious her financial and professional situation was. In Deeble's letters to her friend and freelance colleague Bowler, she repeatedly mentioned money problems (e.g. 22 April 1937, Bowler/Wintringham papers 1-2-7-001). The twelve articles she published in *The Washington Post* were usually signed as E. O. Deeble. Thus, it was not recognizable that a woman was reporting. Bowler was struggling even more, her hope of also getting a permanent job in the press office was not fulfilled and she had no contract with a newspaper either. In a letter from 14 January 1937, Deeble recommended to Bowler to only sign her "stuff" with the gender-neutral surname (Bowler/Wintringham papers 1-2-7-001). Deeble used her own position and professional contacts to sell Bowler's stories. On 29 January 1937, Deeble wrote in another letter to Bowler: "Got your stuff the 27th, transcribed it and cut out one or two things that can't be told yet, sent to Manguard [Manchester Guardian] yesterday, got wire from them today simply hysterical with joy, and they are giving you a BY-LINE?" (Bowler/Wintringham papers 1-2-7-001). On 30 January 1937, Bowler's article "The Bombing of the Prado" was published in *The Manchester Guardian*.

Bowler was delighted about her co-operation with the *Guardian*. In a letter from 5 February 1937, which was kept in the Spain Fund of the Comintern Archives, Bowler reported to her boyfriend, the well-known communist and British interbrigadist Tom Wintringham, about a permanent offer by this newspaper: "I have carte blanche to write up to 1200 words any day I like and this for a woman and you know how they feel about women reporters" (RGASPI 545-6-216). But her above-mentioned Prado-article and a letter to the editor about "Relief work in Spain" (8 July 1937) were the only ones, at least under her name, published in the *Manchester Guardian* during the Civil War. She also wrote for other British newspapers, according to Preston (2008), some of the articles appeared under the name of her boyfriend Tom Wintringham.

The lack of respect for women journalists was common internationally. The well-known French journalist Geneviève Tabouis, for example, reported on the difficulties women in France had in being taken seriously as political correspondents in the 1930s. According to Armero (1976), Tabouis was in Spain herself as a correspondent. We could not find any proof of this, but she was journalistically committed to the side of the Republic. In a *BBC* broadcast, which was taken over by *The Living Age* magazine, she explained, among other things, that she had been employed by a newspaper as a

League of Nations correspondent only on the condition "that I signed my articles G. R. Tabouis, and always wrote in the masculine" (Tabouis August 1939). As these cases show, it is also quite conceivable that other female journalists published on the Civil War unrecognized, under a different name, anonymously or with only initials.

Only prominent writers like Dorothy Parker managed to sell more or less the same Spain-story three times, in the *New Masses*, as a broadcast, and in the *News Chronicle* (Parker 23 November 1937, 16 December 1937). Cowles was able to sell almost the same story twice to papers as prestigious as *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Times* (Cowles 10 April 1938b, 10 April 1938a) because she reported as one of very few reporters from both sides. Nevertheless, there are many references to the difficulty to gain a foothold in war reporting as a woman and to the rejection by editors and military in memoirs of female reporters: The US-American Virginia Cowles was confronted on both sides of the front with prejudices against women (see Chapter 5). Republican press office member Kate Mangan explains her difficulties to push through her admission for going on a front tour with journalists (instead of her male colleague Coco) in an unpublished manuscript: "Males were generally considered more suitable for trips to the front, but as I pointed out, I could write a story about it myself whereas Coco would not remember anything of vital interest" (Kurzke and Mangan n.d., 300).

The reports make it clear that female journalists, like Spanish women (Nash 1999; Ackelsberg 1999; Martínez Rus 2018) and other female foreigners in the International Brigades (Lugschitz 2012), had to battle gender prejudice. This applies to female reporters on both sides as we see looking at the case of the US freelance journalist Frances Davis working from the Nationalist side. Davis (1940) writes in her memoirs that she tried to join a group of journalists on Franco's side which was led by the *Daily Mail* correspondent Harold Cardozo. Initially she was turned away by the colleagues because Cardozo "just doesn't believe in girls at a war" (Davis 1940, 60). Finally, after having risked a lot by smuggling her companions' (and her own) articles over the border to France, her perseverance was rewarded. Davis was not only admitted to the group but even got a contract with the *Daily Mail* as Cardozo's assistant and "only woman correspondent with the anti-Red armies" (e.g. Davis 25 August 1936).

This reference is an example of a general ambivalence in the attitude towards female war reporters: On the one hand, women were not welcome at the front and not considered able to cover war. On the other hand, whenever they made it to the front, this was already news in itself. To raise curiosity, newspapers stressed the point that it was a woman reporting.

Nevertheless, the emphasis on being on the ground, on "I-witnessing" (Deacon 2008a), is also a feature of men's war stories, as *Daily Express* correspondent Noel Monks later described:

> *These were the days in foreign reporting when personal experiences were copy, for there hadn't been a war for eighteen years... We used to call them "I" stories, and when the Spanish war ended in 1939 we were as heartily sick of writing them as the public must have been of reading them.* (quoted in Deacon 2009, 70)

However, there was a qualitative difference between the genders. The announcement of a female correspondent not only focused on the closeness to the front of the reporter but also on the gender. This had a patronising connotation. "A Woman Describes Irun Battle", is the title of a *Daily Mail* article published by Davis on 28 August 1936. *The Washington Post* correspondent E. O. Deeble (4 July 1937) had her outing as "Elizabeth Deeble" emphasised as being the "First Woman Observer To Inspect Trenches".

This highlighting of women makes them stand out; on the other hand, it classifies them as second-category reporters apologising in advance for any possible shortcomings in their reporting. This "low status" (Deacon 2008a) has at least two implications. When women focused on the so-called "woman's angle", they were certainly believed to be competent. However, the "woman's angle" in itself was considered secondary, not "real" war reporting. Although this was primarily a devaluation of women's reporting as irrelevant, it was not necessarily a devaluation of human interest stories as a whole. When men wrote human interest stories, they did not receive a similar pejorative label (Bogacka-Rode 2014).

If women then interfered in the domain of traditional military war reporting, it was made clear that this was not to be taken too seriously. When Frances Davis' was accepted as Cardozo's assistant, her articles were defined to be "color stories" – embellishment for his reporting (Davis 1940, 103). For her reporting, this meant that she either wrote stories that were clearly assigned to the woman's angle such as the one about the self-sacrifice of wives of high-ranking military officers on the Nationalist side who "pay the price of loyalty" (Davis 22 August 1936) or that she gave stories in a more military context a coquettish girly touch. This was, for example, the case, when she reported on how she climbed onto the hotel roof in her pyjamas to get a better view of the battle of Irún (Davis 25 August 1936). In a manuscript dated 24 August 1936, she critically addressed this outlook on the war "from a grandstand seat" (Frances Davis papers), but she complied with the editorial instructions. Her position in the small group of correspondents she travelled with, which defined

itself as a small army, was also subordinate: “It is decided that the Major [her boss Cardozo] is the Major, that Bertrand and John and Ed are all officers and I am the army’s private”[38] (Davis 1940, 73).

In the case of Frances Davis, it could be argued that she was the least experienced of all the journalists in the group, hence her position as an ordinary private. Nevertheless, the initial rejection was not because she had little experience, but because she was a woman.

This can be generalized: Female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War were first perceived as women and only then as journalists. Irrelevant aspects such as their appearance also played a role (Palau Sampio 2020), not only in a contemporary context but also in later research. As Bogacka-Rode (2014) points out, Preston (2008), who wrote the standard work on the foreign press in Spain, does mention one or the other female war correspondent such as Gellhorn, Cowles or Herbst, but is less concerned with their work and more with their appearance, “their presence is rendered superficial and sensational” (Bogacka-Rode 2014, 9). Martha Gellhorn is the “beautiful American correspondent” (Preston 2008, pos. 1209), Virginia Cowles looks like Lauren Bacall (pos. 3825), and the volunteer and freelance journalist Kajsa Rothman was a “striking Swedish redhead” (pos. 2650). Josephine Herbst would have been the ugly duckling in between, and Preston attributes her remarks mocking the elegant appearance of Cowles and Gellhorn to a woman’s envy of other “women prettier than herself who got more attention than she did” (Preston 2008, pos. 1886). The Austrian censor Ilse Kulcsar (later Barea) is presented by Preston as “short, plump and altogether unprepossessing” (Preston 2008, pos. 892).

Similarly, just as female war correspondents were perceived at the time and in later research primarily as women rather than in their professional capacity, so too were Spanish women and the female volunteers on the side of the Republic. For example, foreign male doctors and paramedics in the International Brigades were “Spanienkämpfer” – Spain fighters, while foreign female doctors and nurses were considered relief workers who provided humanitarian aid supporting their fighting men (Lugschitz 2012, 2019). Professionality in a war context was denied to them. The photographer Gerta Taro, who took openly side for the Republic and understood her work as political resistance and as an anti-fascist commitment, was killed at the Battle of Brunete. Fleeing enemy planes, herself and others squeezed into an ambulance to reach safety which collided with a tank and Taro succumbed to her injuries at the hospital. The German interbrigadist and writer Alfred Kantorowicz, himself of

[38] Harold Cardozo, *Daily Mail*; Betrand de Jouvenel, *Paris Soir*; John Elliott, *New York Herald Tribune*; Ed Taylor, *The Chicago Tribune*.

bourgeois origin, remembers her in his *Spanisches Kriegstagebuch* (*Spanish War Diary*) benevolently and at the same time condescendingly: it would not only have been her professional eagerness “that made her put her life on the line”, Taro, “the politically inexperienced young woman coming from the bourgeois world” would have been inspired “by our sacrificial struggle” and “the spirit of self-confident voluntarism of our fighters” (Kantorowicz 1966, 280).[39] He did not consider Taro to be part of this fight.

How did the women deal with open and subtle derision? The three basic strategies of “shape shifting” that Palmer and Melki (2018) identify today among English and Arab women war reporters as “reactions to a male-dominant context” can also be identified back then.

Firstly, female correspondents try to behave like their male colleagues by “bracketing difference” (Palmer and Melki 2018, 140) downplaying their femininity and showing that they were in no way inferior to male journalists. “Playground taunts of being ‘like a girl’, instead of like a man, still clearly rang in women journalists’ ears”, Mander (2010, 142) characterised such efforts of female reporters in World War II. In the Spanish Civil War, female correspondents were careful not to show any weakness, but to stay cool. Frances Davis tried to demonstrate special courage by smuggling manuscripts across the border (Davis 1940). Gertrude Gaffney, on the occasion of a climb with one of Franco’s press officers and other men, described how she tried not to look too exhausted because “one does not wish to draw attention to oneself by appearing less hardy than the men” (Gaffney 2 November 1937). Gerta Taro never showed fear and was the last to seek protection (Schaber 1995).

This effort to show equality is also reflected in the reporting. Concern for the personal well-being was masked with sarcasm, such as when Martha Gellhorn writes during an attack on her Hotel Florida in Madrid, “we took our wineglasses next door, on the agreeable [...] theory that if a shell came in the front room it would not bother to come as far as the back room” (Gellhorn 2 April 1938). Others emphasised professionalism. In an article headlined “How a Woman Reporter Sent the News From Spain”, Jose Shercliff in the *Daily Herald* described the situation shortly after the coup in Barcelona.

> *The first two days passed under constant fire. We were almost at the corner of the Plaza Cataluna where the battle raged for hours. The telephone building just behind us was shelled*

[39] Original: “Es war nicht nur der Berufseifer, der sie ihr Leben aufs Spiel setzen ließ: sie, die aus der bürgerlichen Welt kommende und politisch unerfahrene junge Frau hatte sich begeistern lassen durch unseren opfervollen Kampf, durch die Kameradschaft und den Geist der selbstbewußten Freiwilligkeit unserer Kämpfer“ (Kantorowicz 1966, 280).

> *heavily. The church adjoining us was sacked and burned. There were bullets through our windows. Dead men lay in the street before us.*
>
> *Perhaps the worst feeling all this time was that from being isolated from the outside world, I began to wonder how I could get news out of the country.* (Shercliff 14 August 1936)

A second strategy is to deploy femininity "in order to establish camaraderie" embracing "feminine 'accessibility' and 'intuition'" (Palmer and Melki 2018, 140). This is a strategy for dealing with sources who would not be as comfortable talking to men, such as women in private settings. In 1930s Spain, women, not only in conservative families, often had little interaction with men outside the household. Here, women journalists had the advantage of easier access. These open doors for women, the rather informal contact between female journalist and family, is expressed, for example, in stories like the one by Lillian Hellman (11 October 1938) about the "Bleached Lady" or by Gusti Jirku (23/24 October 1938) about a killed cat that was "not a military object".

Thirdly, in order to avoid possible restrictions as women, for example in censorship or military controls at the front, they accentuate "feminine 'vulnerability'" (Palmer and Melki 2018, 131), ignorance, insecurity, but also attractiveness, for instance by wearing make-up and high heels. Gerta Taro, for example, deliberately used coquetry and cold-bloodedness in her work at the front, initially appearing there in high heels with the intention of uplifting the soldiers' spirits, and later staging herself in a suit of milicianas (Schaber 1995; Lugschitz 2012). Frances Davis also emphasised her femininity to a border official in order to get her own manuscripts and those of her colleagues to France to phone them to the editorial. "I do a little of journalism. But I have had enough. I do not understand these things. I have been very frightened", she assured him (Davis 1940, 89).

A certain accentuation of ignorance can be observed in dealing with editors and in the texts themselves. Nancy Cunard, an urbane, self-confident Baronets' daughter, great-granddaughter of the founder of the Cunard Line, travelled to Spain at her own expense. On her visit towards the end of the war in February 1939, she wrote in a letter to William P. Crozier, the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*: "Now, I really would feel relieved to know if the articles I have sent are suitable. Give me some criticism, some suggestion – are they too long or too much about refugees?" (quoted in Deacon 2008a, 71). Deacon attributes the request for feedback to her uncertainty and inexperience alone. We also consider this a component of professionalism, although the term "relieved" sounds indeed very defensive here. Crozier reassured her that her articles were admirable and of the right length (Gordon 2007, 324).

Hiding the light under a bushel is a recognizable strategy in the texts of female correspondents. It is similar to the "false naïvety" that McLoughlin (2017) identifies in Gellhorn's World War II coverage. The female writers strive not to appear smarter than their audience (and editors) and to address them directly at eye level. Dorothy Parker, for example, presents herself in her reportage as an ignorant visitor before emphasising her authority as an eyewitness:

> *I was puzzled, as you may have been, about Spain. I read in our larger newspapers that there was a civil war, with the opposing factions neatly divided into Reds and Whites – rather as if they were chessman. Even I could figure out that there is something not quite right when Moors are employed to defend Christianity. Since I have been here, I have heard what the people in the streets say.* (Parker 23 November 1937, 15)

Female reporters thus reflected both their own inexperience as war reporters and the inability attributed to them to report on military-political contexts. They tried to take away arguments of criticism from the outset.

The human interest frame, however, cannot be seen only as gendered attribution of journalistic skills by editors but also as a decision made by the women, as agency. This confirms Jackson's (2010) finding referring to the different agenda of British female journalists, as quoted in the introduction.

We may speak of a *gendered attribution as editorial policy* and a *gendered agenda as determined by the journalist*. On the one hand, this focus was desired by editors, since women were generally not considered competent for classic political-military reporting. On the other hand, women themselves chose this context because it seemed necessary to them as a counterweight to traditional war reporting. In their insistence on the independent interpretation of a new professional role, traditional structures have been overcome. This shall be illustrated by some examples.

Gendered attribution as an editorial policy: Deacon (2008a, 2009) relates the choice of topics to the "junior status" of female reporters. Due to their lack of experience, they would not have been given assignments for daily news. This is only one (important) part of the reality and corresponds to journalists like Kitty Bowler or Frances Davis, whose only chance to get some kind of a contract were the "color stories" as Cardozo's assistant, a task which she was unhappy with after a couple of weeks. Yet, it was not only the "junior status" but the "female status", the gender in general, that their acceptance as war correspondents was hampered.

Some women did have many years of experience as political journalists (though not war correspondents) and/or a reputable professional standing as reporters, and still did reporting marked by human interest, such as Hilde Marchant of the *Daily Express*, whom Deacon mentions, but also her compatriot Rose Smith of the Communist *Daily Worker* and the Irishwoman Gertrude Gaffney of the *Irish Independent* (for Gaffney and Marchant see Chapter 6). During a six-week stay in Spain, the prominent staff reporter Smith wrote almost exclusively about the civilian population, about starving women and children. This is an essential topic, but she did not embed it in a larger context, so it seems redundant and is obviously primarily intended to attract pity. This one-sided determination of Rose Smith corresponds to the cliché of the woman's angle but not to her career: she was a highly active communist, to be found at the forefront of strikes and in prison herself for several months. Political issues such as labour movement and women's rights were her journalistic and personal themes. One reason for this, however, may have been the *Daily Worker's* tendency towards communist propaganda (Deacon 2008a; Preston 2008), which made it seem more opportune to focus only on the message of humanitarian misery.

Josephine Herbst, a well-known political left-wing writer and journalist was also advised by several editors before her departure for Spain "to get the women's angle". In Spain, she felt useless and superfluous being one more foreigner to be fed from already scarce supplies and no editorials interested in articles (Herbst 1991).

Due to the general attitude of the newspaper editors, women could hardly sell other topics even if they wanted to or, as previously noted, they had to hide their gender. Kitty Bowler's legacy, kept in the Liddell Hart Military Archives in London's King's College, includes some, seemingly unpublished, manuscripts, among them texts on the front in Aragón and reports on Spanish politicians. Articles which were published under her name dealt with art treasures, coins and the civilian population in Barcelona (e.g. Bowler 30 January 1937, 8 August 1937).

Gendered agenda as determined by the journalist: Women journalists also deliberately chose this focus. Nancy Cunard was deeply concerned to point out the effects of the war and the international non-intervention policy. This was certainly in line with the editorial interest of the *Manchester Guardian* but she did not do so because of it. Also, the case studies Cowles, Gaffney, Gellhorn, and Marchant, whose reporting is analysed in depth in Chapter 6, as well as writers like Erika Mann, Lillian Hellman or Dorothy Parker set their focus themselves.

Commercial interests of the editorials to open up new (female) audiences, pragmatic considerations on saleability and propaganda purposes of politically strongly biased media contributed to the human interest focus. To a significant extent, however, it was a decision made by the female correspondents themselves and was in line with their socio-political background. As we will then argue in detail in Chapter 6 and 7, this is not to be understood as war reporting of a secondary category but as an expression of a holistic view on the phenomenon of war. The problem with the human interest frame is not its focus, but the fact it was understood as lower ranking than the traditional reporting exercised almost exclusively by men.

4.3 Political involvement, propaganda, and control

In this sub-section we look at the political involvement of women reporters beyond journalism. We show, on the one hand, the activities of female journalists themselves, and on the other hand, how the surveillance apparatus, under the leadership of the communists, monitored them.

4.3.1 Commitment and activism

We already determined above that reporting was an opportunity for women to stand up for their political ideas in a conflict, which they would not have been able to do in a military context. Many correspondents did not limit themselves to reporting but were also involved in other activities. To a certain extent, journalism and activism merged. This was in the tradition of the political women's press linked to peace, women's rights, and human rights movements (Klaus and Wischermann 2013; Woldemariam 2005; Ross and Moorti 2005; Spreizer 2014).

To serve their favourite side, some women got involved in propaganda and lobbying. One successful lobbyist was allegedly the Irish Catholic journalist Aileen O'Brien. She saw the civil war as a crusade in which the "holy army" of the Navarrese followed their leader Franco (A. O'Brien 1938). O'Brien initiated, according to Armero (1976, 16), a protest campaign with the Catholic Church in the USA in the course of which more than a million protest telegrams against possible support of the Spanish government were sent to the White House. A shipment of ammunition to the Republic was stopped as a result.

Mostly the propaganda was limited to smaller, less sensational acts. On the Republican side, the press offices were important in this context, offering women journalists not only the opportunity to put their work to the service of propaganda, but also financial support. Their specific roles will be discussed in more detail in the next sub-section. Some female reporters worked for the propaganda in other places, especially with the International Brigades (IB) and their medical services. The Austrian writer Gusti Jirku (later Gusti Stridsberg) first worked as a nurse in the IB, then she switched to the propaganda of the IB, was in charge of the IB's journal *Ayuda Médica Internacional* and published propaganda brochures about the international solidarity and self-sacrifice of doctors, nurses, carers, and patients (Jirku n.d., 1938; Stridsberg n.d.). In her memoirs, Jirku (Stridsberg n.d.) points out her political distance from the Communist Party, but in contemporary reports she appears as a "propaganda leader in the sanitary service" ("Propagandaleiterin im Sanitaetsdienst") and collaborator with the communist secret service (see below 4.3.3). She wrote PR texts with great anti-fascist-communist pathos, one of her reportages for the *Ayuda Médica Internacional* ends with the lines: "Soviet-Union! Of you dream our wounded in their sleep of pain, of you the fighters on all fronts of freedom, of you the enslaved women and the mothers of hungry children. [...] The darkest paths are enlightened by your star" (Jirku 15 November 1937)[40]. Jirku herself chose to go into exile in Sweden after the Spanish Civil War, rather than the Soviet-Union. From there she worked as a spy for the Soviet secret service (Scholz; Agrell 2018).[41]

The Polish, US-based, freelance reporter Gina Medem also wrote a brochure for the International Brigades. "Los judíos voluntarios de la libertad (Un año de lucha en las Brigadas Internacionales)" was published in 1937, at about the same time of her *New Masses* interview with Dolores Ibárruri (Medem 7 September 1937, 1937). Other women worked directly with the International Brigades. The writer Sylvia Townsend Warner and her partner, the poet Valentine Ackland, not only attended the Second International Congress of Antifascist Writers 1937 in Valencia, but also helped in the administration of the IB hospital in Grañen (Ackland 21 July 1937; Townsend Warner 24 November

[40] Original: "Sovjet-Union! Von Dir träumen unsere Verwundeten in ihrem Schmerzensschlaf, von Dir die Kämpfer an allen Fronten der Freiheit, von Dir die versklavten Frauen und die Mütter hungriger Kinder ... Die dunkelsten Wege erleuchtet Dein Stern" (Jirku, November 15, 1937).

[41] Her revelation as agent "Klara" came in the wake of the publication of the so-called Venona Protocols in the 1990s. On the Venona-project in general see https://www.nsa.gov/news-features/declassified-documents/venona/, O'Sullivan 2000; Benson, n.d.; on the identity of the agent Klara https://www.nsa.gov/news-features/declassified-documents/venona/assets/files/undated/kgb_sf_moscow.pdf, and Scholz, n.d.; Agrell 2018.

1936). Canadian journalist Jean Watts first worked as a correspondent before joining the IB as an ambulance driver (E. C. Murphy 2016).

Additionally, on their own initiative and outside the International Brigades, female journalists also produced propaganda for the Republic. In 1937, the US communist journalist Anna Louise Strong published the booklet *Spain in Arms*, dedicated to the "heroes who gave their lives in Spain for the liberty of the world" (Strong 1937). The commitment of the English artist and Spain correspondent Nancy Cunard attracted particular attention. She described the plight of the civilian population in *The Manchester Guardian*, appealed for donations and gave money and clothes herself (e.g. Cunard 19 November 1936, 28 September 1938; Gordon 2007). Just as she openly supported the Republic, she was also convinced that writers should generally take side. She initiated the campaign "Authors Take Sides" and sent out questionnaires on the position in the Spanish Civil War to writers in Britain and Ireland. She received 148 responses, of which 127 declared their support for the Republic, among them Sylvia Townsend Warner and W. H. Auden who both were involved on the Republican side in Spain; five took Franco's side, the most prominent among them being Evelyn Waugh, and sixteen were neutral, including H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw (Gordon 2007, 304–5). From the answers she wrote the booklet *Authors Take Sides*. The first 3.000 copies published by *Left Review* were sold immediately.

Other female correspondents such as Martha Gellhorn or Rose Smith gave lectures and/or participated in fundraising campaigns after their travels or during home stays. Prominent names supporting such campaigns were particularly sought after. A list of the *Medical Bureau and North America Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy* includes personalities as famous as Albert Einstein, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, Edna St. Vincent Millay, along with Dorothy Parker and Lillian Hellman (Spanish Civil War collection, University of California).

The Swedish Kajsa Rothman was active in almost all these areas. She worked as a nurse for the IB, wrote articles for the newspaper *Karlstads-Tidningen*, spoke on the propaganda station *Radio Madrid*, was involved with refugee children, published a book with drawings of these children and promoted the Republic on a tour of Sweden with great media success as she wrote in a letter to her colleague Milly Bennett in various letters (see Milly Bennett papers, box no. 0005, accession no. 82073-28.07; Viedma 2002). Furthermore, she worked with the press offices in Madrid and Valencia which we will look at in detail in the following sub-section.

4.3.2 The role of the Republican press offices

Like the above mentioned Milly Bennett and Kajsa Rothman, numerous other female freelance reporters worked in the Republican press offices as censors, editors, translators, and in the administration (Lugschitz 2016, 2020). The jobs there were attractive for freelance correspondents as they guaranteed a basic income. Moreover, and this certainly was an additional motivation for politically committed journalists such as Bennett or Deeble, it gave them the opportunity to combine political engagement with journalism by preparing information for other journalists, in other words, making propaganda for the Republic. The US-American Kitty Bowler, who co-operated with the press offices in Valencia and Barcelona, wrote in a letter to the editor of the British paper *Daily Worker* referring to her work in the sphere of the British communists in Spain:

> *I am working very closely here with Al Edwards and Tom Wintringham. They are both working very hard at other things so that I am doing most of the dirty work of getting out propaganda and also articles for the bourgeois press.* (quoted in Preston 2008, pos. 2445)

A special case in the Republican press office was the Austrian socialist Ilse Kulcsar (later Barea) who had come to Spain as a freelance reporter writing for English newspapers and the Swedish *Arbeterbladet* (Barea 2014; Kirsch 1967). Using her example, we can outline the main features of Republican press policy in the daily work and how the press offices dealt with foreign journalists but also how thin the line was between recognition and disgrace. Kulcsar was an experienced political activist, who had also been in prison for a short time in Austria (see personal dossier Spain archives, DÖW; Pichler 2019; Pichler and Halbrainer 2017). In the late autumn of 1936, Kulcsar had come from Prague, where she was in exile, to Madrid via Valencia. On a visit to the Telefónica, where the Republican press centre was housed, she noticed that the chief censor Arturo Barea, like most of his colleagues, hardly spoke any foreign languages. Against Barea's (her later husband) initial resistance, but at the request of his superiors, Kulcsar got a job as a censor at Telefónica. In a compilation of eye-witness reports (Kirsch 1967), she writes about life during war in the Telefónica building:

> *[The Telefónica] had thirteen floors and two basements. Deep underground were the refugees from the outskirts and the villages surrounding Madrid. On the thirteenth floor was the artillery observation post. Between them, crammed into the spaces of twelve floors, the machinery of the telephone network for the whole of Spain and at the same time a cross-section of Madrid under siege: other refugees, workers, policemen, militia posts, first-aid stations, civil servants; fearfully cordoned off from all traffic, the observation officers of the General Staff; isolated as*

foreign bodies, the functionaries of the American capitalists who owned "Telefónica" and the telephone monopoly in Spain; the military office [. ...]; a dining hall; in all sorts of rooms, emergency beds for the people on night duty; an army of telephone operators, some of whom slept indoors so as not to have to go to and from work in the rain of shells; on the fourth floor, the journalists of the foreign press; on the fifth floor, the press censorship, department of the Foreign Ministry [...] In between, machine guns and machine guns again, precious and almost irreplaceable.[42] (quoted in Kirsch 1967, 199–200).

Kulcsar's skills were highly in demand: she spoke several languages and had a lot of experience in editorial work and dealing with journalists. She prioritised politics over her profession and had come to Spain primarily out of political commitment. "Yo he venido aquí como una socialista y no como corresponsal de un periódico," she is quoted by Arturo Barea (2014, pos. 14553).

At the time of her entry, the central press and propaganda office had already moved to Valencia with the government. The head of the press offices, subordinated to the Foreign Ministry, was Luis Rubio Hidalgo, and his main collaborator in Valencia (and later successor) was the cosmopolitan Spanish communist Constancia de la Mora. Arturo Barea ran the censorship office in Madrid with Ilse Kulcsar. As seen above, the Republicans broadly favoured a friendly, non-military relationship with journalists, influencing them by sympathetic treatment, while also employing numerous foreign women (and men) for censorship and press relations.

Constancia de la Mora gives an impression of the daily routine describing her first days in the Valencia press office as a new censor:

Mi trabajo consistía en permanecer sentada ante aquella mesa durante seis horas diarias, esperando a que los periodistas me trajesen los mensajes que deseaban cursar al extranjero y, después de leerlos cuidadosamente, si no había nada "censurable", dejar que los enviasen por

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[42] Original: Die Telefónica "hatte dreizehn Stockwerke und zwei Kellergeschosse. Zutiefst unter der Erde waren die Flüchtlinge aus den Außenbezirken und den Dörfern der Umgebung Madrids untergebracht. Im dreizehnten Stock war der Artilleriebeobachtungsposten. Dazwischen in den Räumen von zwölf Stockwerken zusammengepresst, die Maschinerie des Telefonnetzes für ganz Spanien und zugleich ein Querschnitt durch das Madrid der Belagerung: andere Flüchtlinge, Arbeiter, Polizisten, Milizposten, Erste-Hilfe-Stationen, Beamte; von jedem Verkehr ängstlich abgesperrt, die Beobachtungsoffiziere des Generalstabs; als Fremdkörper isoliert, die Funktionäre der amerikanischen Kapitalisten, denen die "Telefónica" und das Telefonmonopol in Spanien gehörten; das Militärbüro [...]; eine Ausspeisungshalle; in allen möglichen Räumen Notbetten für die Leute vom Nachtdienst; ein Heer von Telefonistinnen, die zum Teil im Haus schliefen, um nicht im Granatregen von und zur Arbeit gehen zu müssen; im vierten Stock die Journalisten der ausländischen Presse; im fünften Stock die Pressezensur, Abteilung des Aussenministeriums [...]. Dazwischen Maschinengewehere und wieder Maschinengewehre, kostbar und fast unersetzlich. (Kirsch 1967, 199–200)

teléfono o cable; para lo cual teníamos un servicio de ciclistas en la misma oficina. Los periodistas llamaban constantemente desde nuestros teléfonos a Londres y Paris, y podían hablar con cualquier país del extranjero, excepto Alemania, Italia y Portugal. (La Mora 1977, 313)

The foreign media needed infrastructure, which the press offices provided, and the Republican government wanted to control the reporting. This way, both sides were served, as Barea states referring to the work of Ilse Kulcsar: "[M]anejando la censura con mucha imaginación y criterio; mejoró las relaciones con los corresponsales extranjeros e influyó en su manera de informar" (Barea 2014, pos. 14852).

After many journalists in Madrid had previously complained about censorship and lack of support for the press, the relationship improved with Kulcsar's entry. She held the most important position among the female foreigners in the press office. In the press offices there were both experienced journalists, such as the US-American Milly Bennett and complete newcomers, like the Englishwoman Kate Mangan. Mangan had come to Spain in search of her boyfriend and got a job in the press office because she spoke Spanish (Kurzke and Mangan n.d.). The women supported each other. Bowler shared her tiny hotel room with Mangan, Bennett her experience. In a letter, Mangan thanked Bennett for this: "I shall always be grateful to you for all you taught me which is, in fact, all I know about journalism" (see Milly Bennett papers, box no. 0003, accession no. 82073-28.07).

In her memoirs, written with her partner Jan Kurzke, Mangan describes her duties in the press office. She translated, for example, the newspapers orally into English for Bennett, who did not understand Spanish, after which Bennett decided which stories should be translated for the foreign press. Mangan also translated the speeches of Spanish politicians into English, she looked after journalists and soon took on editorial tasks and wrote her own texts. The economic situation was not easy, despite her stable job. Mangan, an employee in the Valencia press office of the Spanish Republic, therefore took over as a stand-in for *The Times* correspondent Lawrence A. Fernsworth for a few weeks, while he himself reported from Barcelona (Kurzke and Mangan n.d., 365).

This case of blurring borders also shows how comradely the relationship between the press office and journalists was. Nevertheless, there were limits to this informal interaction. Journalists were allowed to move around freely and were provided with cars and translators – but too much deviation from predetermined paths was not tolerated. If journalists went off on their own, like the US-American Virginia Cowles, who could not be found for a few days (see Chapter 5), this aroused great

suspicion and could lead, in exceptional cases, to expulsion or even arrest as we will illustrate in more detail in the following sub-section.

Nevertheless, willingness and (apparent) openness gave correspondents the feeling of freedom of movement. The employment of foreign women journalists in the press offices contributed to the good relationship between propaganda and foreign press and at the same time ensured the livelihood of freelancers. For reporting in international media, the job in the press offices meant a limitation of the freelancers' independence. Employment in the propaganda bureau presupposed desirable coverage in foreign media. This (economic) dependence on Republican propaganda, however, mostly were consistent with the political ideas of the female correspondents anyway.

This also applied to correspondents of the news agency *Agence d'Espagne*, managed by the communist Otto Katz, at the time known as André Simon, who sent correspondents from the headquarters in Paris to Spain. Among them was the communist Frenchwoman Jeanne Stern, wife of the German journalist, writer and political commissar in the International Brigades, Kurt Stern. In an interview in the 1980s, she said: "If I am honest, I have probably never again stood up for anything as I did for the Spanish Republic"[43] (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 247). In the six months she spent as a correspondent in Spain, she used the press offices in Valencia and Barcelona as her base. Her task consisted first of all of passing on reports by telephone, if possible before the "bourgeois agencies" such as the *Agence Havas* sent their articles; a colleague in Paris then wrote a text which was to ensure the biggest possible headlines (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 249–50). The *Agence d'Espagne* was only allowed to take on official statements. Stern emphasised the very friendly way in which all correspondents dealt with each other, among which there would have been no opponents of the Spanish Republic (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 250). The press offices organised trips to the front for the foreign press, but usually only after the battle had been won. Interviews with prisoners of war were also offered from time to time. Stern recalled an Italian prisoner who complained about the mass rush of journalists who kept asking the same "stupid" questions (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 253).

There was no comparable involvement of foreign journalists in propaganda work on Franco's side. Foreign women as collegial press supervisors were hardly desired there. However, there was at least one exception: the German writer and journalist Arthur Koestler remembered a US American female

[43] Original: Wenn ich ehrlich bin, habe ich mich wahrscheinlich nie wieder für etwas so eingesetzt wie für die Spanische Republik" (Lataster-Czisch 1990, 247).

Nationalist press officer, called Helena, who was also a correspondent for the Hearst press (Koestler 1983, 308–10).

4.3.3 Political surveillance: victims and collaborators

As journalists and activists, the female war correspondents were also targeted by the surveillance apparatus, on both sides. On the Nationalist side, as described, the controls were so strict from the outset that the foreign press had little room for independent ventures anyway and the dangerous consequences of insubordinate behaviour and deviant reporting were rather obvious. The relationship between journalists and press offices had a very different, much stricter character from the outset. Frances Davis described the often-threatening atmosphere due to general suspicion, as, for example, at the Hotel Norte y Londres in Burgos: “I never come into the lobby of the Hotel Norte without a sense of danger. It is a dangerous place. A place in which to handle yourself careful” (Davis 1940, 134). Virginia Cowles almost got arrested because of her lack of enthusiasm for the Nationalist propaganda, the general distrust of journalists and, even more, the dislike that the press officers showed towards female correspondents (Cowles 2011b; and see Chapter 5). Even in the very sympathetic stories, written by supporters of the Nationalists, it becomes clear that the female journalists hardly ever travelled alone, but were almost always accompanied by press officers (see Chapter 5 on Gertrude Gaffney; La Rochefoucauld 1938).

Nevertheless, a female journalist whose sympathies were clearly on the side of the Republic also ventured into Southern Spain, already conquered by Franco, on a secret assignment. The Englishwoman Shiela Grant Duff was sent to Málaga in 1937 to find out more about the fate of the writer Arthur Koestler, who, as a declared left-wing correspondent, had been researching in National territory, had been arrested and was to be executed. The communist *Agence d’Espagne* and the *Chicago Daily News* correspondent, Edgar Mowrer, both Paris-based, for which Koestler had travelled, had asked Grant Duff to do so. As an unknown female correspondent whom no one took seriously (Grant Duff 1978, 203), the danger of being recognized was smaller than for established male colleagues. She made her way from Gibraltar to Málaga, got in contact with Nationalists and was even offered the opportunity to watch an execution of Republican prisoners (Grant Duff 31 March 1937). On the occasion of this invitation, she reflected on her various roles:

> *For a journalist it would be a sensational coup; for a spy it would really be seeing what Franco's men were at; for a human being it would be to stand and watch people whom I regarded as friends and allies being put to death in cold blood. I knew I would not be able to live with it. I did not go*. (quoted in Deacon 2008a, 74)

According to her own account, she did not find out too much and soon aroused suspicion herself. Fearing arrest for herself, she returned via Gibraltar after a few days. At home, Grant Duff wrote down her impressions anonymously for the *Agence d'Espagne* which were published in a slightly shorter version as "Malaga from Inside" in the communist *Daily Worker*. There, she reported as an unnamed "woman journalist" on the "Fascist occupation", describing food queues and the constant controls in the city, which was in a "systematic stranglehold". There "are so many guards in rebel Spain that other people are unnoticeable" (Grant Duff 31 March 1937, 1937).

The fate of the French journalist, translator and Spain expert Renée Lafont shows how dangerous the journalistic mission could be. On 29 August 1936, the correspondent of the Socialist paper *Le Populaire* on the battle of Córdoba was captured and few days later shot by the Nationalists. The Austrian writer Franz Borkenau who came to Córdoba some days after she had been killed mentions her death in his book on the Civil War (Borkenau 1986, 195). Only in October 1936, national and international newspapers such as her editorial *Le Populaire*, *La Vanguardia* (8 October 1936, 13) and *The New York Times* (7 October 1936, 19) informed about her death

On the side of the Republic, control was less strict, but also less obvious. The surveillance apparatus, and in particular the intelligence service of the International Brigades, the SIM, kept a close eye on women journalists and their relationships. The German historian Werner Abel has studied the tasks and structure of those IB institutions that controlled the attitude of their members (Abel 2017, 2018). The *Kommission für ausländische Kade*r, Commission for Foreign Cadres, was supposed to select the most reliable International Brigadists for transfer to the Spanish CP. For the personal files created for this purpose, it received information from the IB's intelligence service, the Servicio de Investigación Militar (SIM). In a letter dated 26 March 1937, for instance, the SIM requested information on a female journalist and justified its mistrust of an IB comrade "because of his connections with English journalists in Valencia, which cannot be controlled by English friends" (RGASPI 545-2-148). There was also a *Ausländerkommission* – Commission for Foreigners – of the Catalan communist party PSUC with its own Servicio Especial. In addition, there was the Department of Counterintelligence of the German Communist Party, which took over the intelligence surveillance of Germans, Swiss, Austrians,

Dutch and Scandinavians. In this context, the names of female journalists and their relationships also appeared in numerous reports (Lugschitz 2016). For example, in a compilation of material "Concerning Trotskyists / Poum" from 1937, both "Kajsa Helin Rothmann", who also spoke German, and "Else Kulcer" (Ilse Kulcsar), the closest collaborator and partner of the chief censor Arturo Barea, as well as their mutual friend "Ilse Wolf" are placed in the vicinity of Trotskyists and fascists (RGASPI 545-2-146 and 147). Wolff reported, among other media, for the trade union radio station *Radio Madrid* which broadcast propaganda programmes in many languages to the world during the Spanish Civil War and for which Ilse Kulcsar also worked. Kajsa Rothman, who could not be pressed into any party-political mould, is portrayed as an easy-going, therefore unreliable, person with numerous affairs – "went on short trips as the girlfriend of captains"[44] (RGASPI 545-2-146 and 147). Apparently, her boss in Valencia, Constancia de La Mora, was also asked for a report on Rothman. De la Mora described her as an extremely committed personality, successful in public appearances, self-sacrificing, but politically ignorant, who would be a very useful propagandist if "well managed and strictly controlled"[45] (RGASPI 545-6-1511).

However, women were not only victims of surveillance, but also supplied information to the Secret Service themselves. The Austrian writer, journalist and propaganda employee of the IB's Medical Services, Jirku (later Stridsberg) passed on letters that a disgraced, arrested friend had entrusted to her to the SIM of the International Brigades, as a report from the time notes (RGASPI 545-2-145). Jirku knew that with this breach of trust she was getting both this friend and the German doctor Max Hodann (to his person see Abel and Hilberth 2015), into big trouble. Perhaps it was also an attempt to divert suspicion from her own person because she herself was under observation by the SIM because of her friendship with the Yugoslav journalist and writer Theodor Balk, who was allegedly a Trotskyist (RGASPI 545-2-145).

The sources show that love was not a private matter. The British Communist Party also pulled its strings in the International Brigades, and women war correspondents were actively involved in spying. Sylvia Townsend Warner and Valentine Ackland informed the Communist Party about the relationship between Tom Wintringham and Kitty Bowler: "He is largely occupied with personal affairs and side issues of journalism" (quoted in Preston 2008, pos. 2461). This relationship displeased

[44] Original: "... ist als Freundin von Kapitaenen auf kurze Fahrten mitgegangen"(RGASPI 545-2-146 and 147).
[45] Original: "bei guter Führung und strenger Kontrolle" (RGASPI 545-6-1511).

the party: Kitty Bowler was a committed politically left-wing but non-communist American from a bourgeois and wealthy family. Furthermore, Tom Wintringham was married to a respected communist (in more detail see Preston 2008, pos. 2655-2764). The Commission for Foreigners of the PSUC was also interested in the couple. In January 1937, a report on Bowler from the Departamento de Información in Barcelona to the Foreigners' Commission mentioned that her application to join the Communist Party had been rejected. She would be "unreliable due to stupidity", "unzuverlässig aus Dummheit" (RGASPI 545-6-109).

Bowler worked as a messenger for Wintringham and went on his behalf to the British Communist Party Headquarters in London which gave a bad impression of both. When Kitty Bowler travelled to the vicinity of the IB headquarters in Albacete to visit Tom Wintringham and provide information he had requested, she was arrested. According to her friend and colleague Kate Mangan, she had warned her before: "Women and journalists are forbidden there, and you are both" (Kurzke and Mangan n.d., 111–12). Bowler was subjected to lengthy interrogations, including by André Marty himself, the head of the Supreme War Council of the International Brigades. She was close to being tried as a spy. Tom Wintringham wrote to her in a letter during her arrest:

> *You impressed Marty as "very, very strong, very clever, very intelligent". Although this was said as a suspicious point against you – women journalists should be weak, stupid – I got a jump of pride from the words.* (quoted in Preston 2008, pos. 2739)

Bowler was released and finally expelled from Spain in July 1937. Wintringham was excluded from the Communist Party in 1938 because of his relationship with Bowler, which he refused to give up.

Bowler was not the only female correspondent to be arrested and expelled. The US-American Jane Anderson was also imprisoned as a spy. As above mentioned, she had already worked as a correspondent for the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* during World War I and belonged to the circles of the English literary scene for several years afterwards, even though she was not a successful literary figure herself. Among her closest acquaintances were Joseph Conrad and the Polish writer and political activist Józef Retinger. Writer and journalist Rebecca West had known her at this time and remembered her as a nice but "simple-minded" person. She doubted that Anderson "knew one belligerent side from another" (quoted in Edwards 1991, 44). According to Edwards, Anderson was already causing trouble with all kinds of intrigues among friends and colleagues in her time as a correspondent in World War I. Her friendship with Retinger and his hatred of the Bolsheviks would

have had a decisive political influence on her. In the early 1930s she married the Spanish Marqués Alvarez de Cienfuegos and lived in Spain until the autumn of 1936. The exact circumstances of her role in Republican Spain are not known, but the accusation was probably not unjustified: After the coup, she joined the milicianas on the Republican side, according to her own, not very concrete and equally not credible statements in her articles, because she thought that the Spanish people were fighting for their freedom, although she then says she had to realise that everything was only happening on the orders of the Russians in order to annex Spain to the Soviet Union. After her detention as a spy she spent some weeks in prison (two weeks according to *The New York Times*, 11 October 1936, 35; 43 days according to herself, Anderson 16 May 1937) and was then deported.

Anderson's subsequently published a short series in the Hearst paper *The New York American* called "My Days of Horror in War-Torn Spain" that exceeded all the expectations of Nationalist propaganda to an almost ridiculous extent. It consisted of nothing more than atrocity stories about crucified, stabbed and lynched children and mass-murdered nuns after "the people ... had risen against the army" while the Russians were bragging with their takeover of Spain, Portugal, and France only a few days after the rebellion (Anderson 16 May 1937; see also Anderson 30 May 1937, Anderson 13 June 1937). A short version of her account was also published in the arch-conservative Catholic media *Social Justice* (Anderson De Cienfuegos 9 May 1938). As some of her colleagues on the Republican side, Anderson campaigned for Franco on a tour through the USA. The *Catholic Digest* labelled her as "the world's greatest woman orator in the fight against communism" (Edwards 1991, 51). Joseph Goebbels quoted her in a speech at the Reich Party Congress 1937 as a testimony for the atrocities of bolshevism (Goebbels 1937). During World War II, Anderson gained fame as a propaganda radio announcer for the National Socialists broadcasting to the USA (Edwards 1991).

Not only such dubious characters, but also sincere friends of the Republic were branded as enemies. The Austrian censor Ilse Kulcsar eventually had to leave the country, together with Arturo Barea. Barea provides a good account of this "lucha sorda e intangible" in which Ilse Kulcsar was "rechazada por todos los que temían contagiarse de la infecciosa enfermedad de caer en desgracia" (Barea 2014, pos. 16799). On the one hand, she was under surveillance by the IB's secret service, and on the other, a complaint had been filed against Kulcsar by colleagues for letting critical articles through. Barea himself was in constant conflict with his superior Rubio Hidalgo. Kulcsar and Barea were finally sent on holiday by the press office, which the German IB Counterintelligence department also reported on 31 July 1937: "At the moment she [Kulcsar] is in Valencia with her husband and on holiday.

Whether this is true I do not know, in any case she had gone away."[46] During the holiday, Kulcsar and Barea were removed from their posts at Telefónica, but on their return they continued their work in the radio censorship department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An English correspondent warned Barea and Kulcsar that a German communist journalist would tell foreign reporters to stay away from them because Ilse was a Trotskyist and a spy (Barea 16799). In November 1937, on the advice of their friends, the two left Madrid for Altea, near Alicante. There, a few weeks later, they were picked up by intelligence officers who had orders to take them to Ilse's husband Leopold Kulcsar, who worked for the IB's intelligence service and was in Barcelona at the time. There, the three of them met and Ilse and Leopold agreed on their divorce. Shortly afterwards, at the end of January 1938, Leopold Kulcsar died of illness. A few days later Arturo Barea and Ilse Kulcsar married, left Spain and went into exile in England.

The meeting with Leopold Kulcsar in Barcelona is also interesting in connection with the Austrian publicist Katja Landau, who had written booklets in Spain on the role of women in the revolution: she and her husband Kurt Landau were close to the Marxist POUM. During the persecution of the POUM by the communists, Katja Landau was arrested in Barcelona in June 1937 and only released seven months later and expelled from Spain; her husband Kurt Landau was deported in September 1937 and, in all probability, murdered by the communists (see personal dossiers Kurt and Katja Landau, Spain archives, DÖW; Schafranek 1988). In a pamphlet published in Paris in 1938, Katja Landau (1938) accused Leopold Kulcsar of interrogating and threatening her during her imprisonment. That may be true. She also accused Ilse Kulcsar of being present during interrogations. This is, however, unlikely (though not impossible) and may have arisen from Katja Landau's understandable anger and bitterness. Ilse Kulcsar certainly did not have the trust of the CP and was lucky to be able to leave the country herself, without any obstacles.

Like many of her colleagues, Kulcsar also worked for the media during World War II, although not as a journalist. In her English exile, she worked for the BBC's wiretapping service. Others, like Lecler, Strong, Cowles or Gellhorn were on the road as war correspondents, Marchant reported on the home

[46] Original: "Augenblicklich ist sie [Kulcsar] mit ihrem Mann in Valencia und in den Urlaub gefahren. Ob das stimmt, weiss ich nicht, jedenfalls war sie weggefahren"RGASPI 545-2-145. It is signed by "Willi", probably Wilhelm Schumann, directed to Fritz V. (= Wilhelm Tebarth), according to Werner Abel in an e-mail to the author, 8 May 2015, see also Abel and Hilberth 2015.

front, Cunard stayed in France for a few months to report on the fate of the Spanish refugees in the camps.

If we look at the experiences, activities and possibilities of the female war correspondents summarized in this chapter in their entirety against the background of the agency concept, we can conclude that women had difficulties being recognized as equal war correspondents due to traditional gender norms. The so-called woman's angle and the emphasis in the article on the fact that a female correspondent was reporting, however, was an approach commissioned by editors that defined women's reporting as secondary. Nevertheless, some of the female war correspondents found opportunities to gain a long-term foothold in this professional field. They also developed strategies for dealing with authorities and institutions in order to assert themselves as correspondents and to actively shape their role. In many cases, women journalists set their own priorities in reporting, which was often characterised by a human interest frame.

5 The Profiles of the Five Case Studies

Based on our biographical research and the identification of key characteristics in the reporting of female reporters in Chapter 4, we have selected five case studies. These are the US-Americans Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn, the Irishwoman Gertrude Gaffney, the Englishwoman Hilde Marchant, and the Russian-based German Maria Osten.

All of them were on the ground and, based on their time in Spain, wrote at least five longer texts on the Civil War in relevant media. Despite all differences, this establishes a basic comparability. Moreover, they represent different personal attitudes to the Civil War and diverse styles of news coverage, the influence of which on the reporting we will then examine.

In the following sections, we will first describe the professional and personal background of our case studies. These personal profiles will serve as reference to identify possible connections between journalistic understanding, partisanship and biography.

5.1 Virginia Cowles: professional and personal background

Virginia Cowles was born 1910 into a wealthy family of the Boston society, her mother was Florence Walcott Jacquith, at that time a housewife, and her father Edward Spencer Cowles, a well-known psychiatrist. Virginia's sister Mary had been born one year before. The favourable conditions of a prosper and stable family soon changed. Shortly after Virginia's birth, her mother divorced her father. The marriage had been a disaster from the start, as Virginia Cowles' daughter, Harriet Crawley, tells in a preface to a book about her mother's reportages on the Spanish Civil War (Cowles 2011a). The separation caused a scandal in Boston society that psychiatrist Cowles never forgave his ex-wife. He did not pay the pension Virginia's mother was entitled to. Thus, the childhood of their two daughters was marked by poverty. Florence Walcott Jacquith raised her daughters alone and was working hard but could barely make a living as a society columnist for the *Boston Herald*. These precarious circumstances not only created a strong bond between the three women, but made Virginia Cowles a self-confident young woman who knew what she wanted and that money was important to make it happen: "When people say that money is not important, they don't know what it is like not to have it," Virginia's daughter recalls a frequently quoted comment by her mother (Cowles 2011a, 12).

Virginia Cowles' childhood, according to her daughter Harriet, left her with an intense desire to triumph in life, and to follow her mother's example who marched through life with her head held high, without allowing herself to feel self-pity (Cowles 2011a).

Virginia Cowles succeeded in this. She left school when she was 16 years old and started writing in the advertising department of *Harper's Bazaar* with such capabilities that the Hearst editorial offered her a permanent position. She moved to New York and wrote for the March of Events-sections of the various Sunday newspapers of the Hearst group, as well as for *Harper's Bazaar*, *Collier's*, and the *Boston Post*.

Meanwhile, her father also lived in New York as a highly successful psychiatrist. According to her daughter, Virginia and her father maintained a friendly relationship though she never forgave him for his behaviour towards her mother. After the early death of Florence Walcott Jacquith in 1932, Virginia and her sister Mary used the life insurance money to make a world tour. From all over the world Virginia sent articles for the March of Event-sections of the Hearst group. From Burma she reported on the surprising independence of women, from India both on the effects of purdah on Muslim women (Sebba, 94), and on the "splendors of India's ruling princes" (Cowles, newspaper clippings, Dolph Briscoe Center), the articles were signed "By Virginia Cowles", with the sub-line "Daughter of Dr. Edward Spencer Cowles and New York Social Registerite", pointing out social prominence. Her less known mother was not mentioned.

Upon return, Virginia Cowles wrote her first book "Men are so friendly", a cheerful-trivial book about her journey, under the pseudonym Nancy Swift. In March 1935, a summary article about her world trip with photos taken by herself was published in *Harper's Bazaar*. She gave it the title "The Safe Safe World", which she regretted very much shortly afterwards in view of the Abyssinian war and the putsch in Spain (Cowles 2011a, 14).

Virginia Cowles achieved her first major journalistic coup in 1935. After the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, she convinced her editor to send her to Rome as a correspondent. Within a week she had arranged an exclusive interview with Mussolini. "I hadn't the faintest idea how one went about an interview" (Cowles 2011b, 253). She made up for her lack of experience with attitude. Not only in this case, it was the characteristic "combination of coincidence and her skill of working up mere acquaintances until they became useful contacts" (Sebba 2013, 99) that made her succeed. By chance she had met the Minister of Propaganda Dino Alfiero at a dinner and "begged him to arrange" (Cowles 2011b, 253) an interview for her. Already the next day she met Mussolini. In her memoirs

she describes Mussolini's aggressive appearance and how the young correspondent tried unsuccessfully to take the lead in the conversation (Cowles 2011b, 253). The article was nevertheless a success and gave her a new level of reputation. Shortly afterwards she flew with Italo Balbo, the Italian Air Marshall and Governor of Lybia, in a two-seater to Tripoli. She liked Balbo's enthusiastic manner and "spontaneous humor" (see clipping in Cowles 1934-37) much better than Mussolini's "fierce patriotism" (Cowles 2011b, 256).

Cowles was a "newshound" driven by the motivation to "investigate what was the biggest world story" (Sebba 2013, 95). In the male-dominated world of war correspondents, she found it an advantage to be a woman; she deliberately used feminine charm and youth when it came to achieving something in important contacts, or even having a colleague carry her bag. "[W]hat a fine thing it was to be the female of the species" (Cowles 2011b, 259).

In 1936, the Spanish Civil War became the biggest story, and Cowles persuaded her editor at Hearst to send her to Spain as Special correspondent. Unlike many of her colleagues, it was professional interest rather than political commitment that brought her to Spain. "When the war broke out in Spain, I saw an opportunity for more vigorous reporting; I thought it would be interesting to cover both sides" (Cowles 2011b, 8). This formulation in her memoirs is also an indication that she was not a partisan of the Republicans – then she would have spoken of a coup and not of the outbreak of war, which leaves the question of the guilty party open.

In March 1937, she flew to Valencia (to the dates of her different Spain trips, see Table 12) at the end of this Sub-section). In her book "Looking for troubles", she gives account of this trip and her initial ignorance. While searching for the best hotel, she wondered about the unfriendly looks of passers-by, until she noticed that her suitcase was of Franco's colours and that no one but her was wearing a hat, and that possibly her fur jacket she had brought with her from Paris was also to blame.

Virginia Cowles was often labelled as a "N. Y. Society Girl" and "glamorous" writer, both in the by-lines of her articles (see e.g. Cowles 4 July 1937, 26 October 1937) and in the biographical literature (Sebba 2013). These attributes were based on her self-confident attitude and her appearance. Nevertheless, for all her insistence on elegant looks, etiquette, and masculine chivalry, she did not shy away from any adventure and let her journalistic instinct guide her, no matter where it took her. Right from the start as a Spain correspondent, Cowles was determined to contact with colleagues who were also happy to help her find hotel rooms and transport. After a short stay of only two days in Valencia, including a visit to a bullfight, she got a place in a car to Madrid, together with the

American journalist and collaborator of the Press and Propaganda Office Millie Bennett. In Madrid she found a room at the Hotel Florida, where many colleagues such as Martha Gellhorn, Josephine Herbst, Ernest Hemingway, Sefton Delmer lodged. She stayed for more than two months. The shell-holes and the barricades seemed to her as unreal as "stage props; the sun was too warm, the people too nonchalant for war. Only the queue lines carried a sense of tragedy," she later recalled Madrid at war (Cowles 2011b, 17–18). For Cowles, who came from a poor but nevertheless bourgeois background and who had made it into New York society, the casualness of the "camarada spirit" with unshaven waiters, "officials in sweaters and leather jackets" who issued permits to journalists, was initially like a "strange carnival" (Cowles 2011b, 21). She arrived in Madrid shortly after the Republican victory at Guadalajara. The atmosphere was optimistic at that time, but Cowles soon discovered that despite the cheerful bustle, hunger was omnipresent.

Her book *Looking for Trouble* (Cowles 2011b) provides information about her everyday life and with which journalists she went on the road together and about their working conditions. Many passages from her articles can be recognized, such as the episode in a perfumery, in which, according to the book, she sought refuge during a shelling together with *Daily Express* correspondent Defton Selmer, in her articles she only mentions herself (Cowles 2011b, 19, 10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b). According to Cowles, it had been very easy to get to the front on the Republican side. Journalists needed a "proper authorisation", but since only a few of the Spanish sentries could read, almost any piece of paper would have been enough (Cowles 2011b, 25). She went to the Casa del Campo and the University campus, the nearest front with colleagues such as Sefton Delmer, Martha Gellhorn, and Ernest Hemingway, but as well with the eccentric, renowned evolutionary British biologist J. B. S. Haldane, a convinced Marxist. She also made trips to the fronts of Guadarrama, Guadalajara and Morata. Often, she went on research with her colleague and newfound friend Martha Gellhorn, they visited hospitals and collected data together.

Sharp-tongued colleagues mocked her elegant appearance in war-torn Madrid. So Josephine Herbst wondered, how the "young and pretty" Cowles, "with heavy gold bracelets on her slender wrists" navigated on her "incredibly high heels" over the rubble of Madrid (Herbst 1991, pos. 2041). Hemingway was delighted to tell how Cowles, on a trip to the front, enjoyed the beautiful melody of singing milicianos. He would have pointed out to her that it was the International. Cowles always denied this anecdote (García Santa Cecilia 2011).

In her book, Cowles tells with dry humour of the clash of international benevolent ignorance and revolutionary rebellion of parts of the Popular Front and their allies. For example, when the Duchess of Atholl is served chicken, a luxury in Madrid, the anarchists – after the Duchess left the place – complain about the preference for the high visit. The manager disagrees, saying she is an influential friend of the Republic. "Then let her go hungry so that she can tell them better how we live", is the anarchists' striking argument (Cowles 2011b, 30).

Cowles herself became a victim of revolutionary ardour. On a trip to the Morata front with a colleague and the Swedish translator and freelance journalist Kajsa Rothman, they were rudely rejected by a Hungarian-Russian General. A few days later a chauffeur came to Cowles in Madrid with an apology from the General and an invitation to the front. Cowles agreed, was actually given the opportunity to visit the soldiers of the International Brigades on the Morata Front together with the General (Cowles 2011b, 46, 4 July 1937). When she wanted to return to Madrid the same evening, the General declared that she had to stay for a few days, he wanted to teach her, the bourgeois journalist, about communism. After three days of revolutionary training, she was indeed brought back.

This episode also shows how suspicious journalists, especially those without a clear political preference for the Republic and/or the Communist party (see also Chapter 4), were: the first rejection to go to the front the General had made after a call from the press office warning against Cowles, who was not loyal to the line. His invitation of Cowles that followed shortly after was made without the knowledge of the press office, and after Cowles' return she received a furious call from the Austrian censor Ilse Kulcsar (later Barea-Kulcsar), who threatened her with consequences. Cowles did not take this very seriously and travelled on to Valencia as planned to go from there to France. In Valencia, however, she was picked up for a serious conversation in a coffee house by "a German agent who worked for the secret police" (Cowles 2011b, 56), probably the SIM of the International Brigades. But the next day she could leave Spain without troubles. How close she had actually escaped arrest, she only found out later. The press office had been convinced that she was a spy, according to Cowles (2011b, 56), but decided not to arrest her because of the expected negative international publicity.

Actually, she was very critical of the role of the communists. "Anyone who really did believe in a republic and was hostile to a dictatorship of the proletariat was instantly branded as Fascist" (Cowles 2011b, 31). In her memoirs, in contrast to her articles, she also mentioned the "secret police" of the

Republican side, about whose activities nobody knew exactly. She herself had never seen "atrocities", but she had no doubt that in the desperate fight against the Fifth Column, "thousands of innocent persons" (Cowles 2011b, 33) had been killed without trial.

Virginia Cowles was one of those journalists who take time and weigh things up. This corresponded to her journalistic self-image as she also described in the article "Getting the News in Foreign Crisis" (Cowles 30 October 1938). She wrote her first stories from Republican Spain for the *New York Sunday American* in Paris at a friend's house. At that time, she still considered herself a neutral observer. "I had no 'line' to take on Spain as it had not yet become a political story for me. I was much more interested in the human side" (Cowles 2011b, 61). This journalistic self-image required to give both sides a voice, and she decided to try to get accredited for the Nationalist side. In making this decision, she reflected, despite all political distance, her sympathies for the people on the side of the Republic, which she had won over the past weeks.

> *Although it was not my war, I dreaded the thought of visiting the Franco side and plunging into an atmosphere where triumph meant disaster for the people I had left. On the other hand, I was curious to hear the Nationalist point of view and felt that until I did I would not have a proper perspective.* (Cowles 2011b, 61)

Although she knew that her chances of getting accreditation for the Nationalist Zone were low, especially after her stay in Republican territory, she wanted to try. In late summer 1937 Virginia Cowles travelled, together with her sister, to the French coastal town of Saint Jean-de-Luz, not far from the Spanish border. There Cowles joined the waiting crowd of influential Spaniards and international diplomats. Through the British Ambassador to Spain and his daughter, an old acquaintance, she met Franco's agent, the Conde de Mamblas. Because of her friendship with the ambassador, the latter probably assumed that Cowles was trustworthy and promised his intervention for her accreditation.

After three weeks of waiting, however, Cowles lost patience and, in her mixture of journalistic ambition and naivety, she accepted the offer of the young English adventurer and aviator Rubert Belville, who had joined the Falangists for some time, to fly her to San Sebastián without a visa. Immediately after their arrival there, they were first arrested and then placed under strict surveillance. Only with the help of a friend from the British Embassy was she able to return to France safely. There she indeed received her visa and accreditationand entered again the Nationalist zone.

At the first sight of Franco's army, Cowles gives an insight into how inevitable a certain identification with a warring side was:

> *These were the people that I had thought of for three months as 'the enemy'. These were the people whose machine-gun fire we had ducked, whose shells we had cursed, and whose planes we had run from.* (Cowles 2011b, 64)

Again, the reluctance is not based on opposing ideologies but on very pragmatic human reasons, Cowles perceived Franco as an enemy primarily because of the attacks on herself. Politically, Cowles belonged to the centre, she avoided political exposure. Accordingly, during the Spanish Civil War she was equally averse to the radical manifestations of both sides and considered the "supporters of Bolshevism and Fascism" equally as "extremists". Nevertheless, she felt more comfortable on the Republican side, the atmosphere among Franco's followers seemed threatening to her. Any non-accusatory remark about the other side was suspicious. Despite her sympathy for the people who had fled Republican territory or mourned for fallen loved ones, she observed in the vicinity of Franco's headquarters in Salamanca: "The vilification of the enemy, even by responsible officials, [...] was almost a mental disease" (Cowles 2011: 77). Bolshevism, she realised, was "an elastic word, for it included democrats as well as Communists; in fact everyone who did not support a totalitarian régime was lumped together as Red" (Cowles 2011b, 78).

After several weeks in Salamanca, Cowles travelled north to Ciudad de León. In her hotel there she met numerous colleagues who made daily trips to the front, always escorted by officials. The head of the foreign press office Luís Antonio Bolín described in his memoirs trips like those. The correspondents, "elementos no siempre dóciles y disciplinados" (Bolín 1967, 159), were driven in convoy, with a car with an official representative of the press at the head and at the end. Cowles remembered such excursions with horror in her memoirs. They seemed to her like a "mad tea party" from a warlike version of Alice in Wonderland, lavishly filled food baskets "gave the outing a picnic air and everyone set off in holiday spirits" (Cowles 2011b, 90).

To get to Oviedo, which she wanted to compare with Madrid, Cowles joined a group of colleagues, under the supervision of the suspicious, especially towards female reporters, press officer Captain Aguilera. Aguilera and she already knew each other and their "relationship was far from friendly" (Cowles 2011b, 94). After this trip on their return to Salamanca, according to Cowles, Aguilera accused her to have "insulted the Nationalist cause" (Cowles 2011b, 96) by acting too independently, and she was deprived of all support. They came back to Salamanca from where she wanted to return

to France. But she was no longer provided with a car and was to stay in Salamanca. With a lot of luck, and once again the help of old friends, she made it to San Sebastián. The colleagues she met there were surprised to see her in freedom, they had already heard rumours of her arrest. Her friend from the British Embassy, who had already saved her after her flight with Belville, finally brought her back across the border to France without permission and at great personal risk. Cowles attempts to go her own way in her research had almost put her in prison on both sides.

Cowles went on to London where she wrote her first stories for the *Daily Express* and the *Sunday Times*. Her coverage of the Nationalist Zone and of the important role played by the Italian and German allies in it caused a great stir and earned her an invitation from Sir Robert Vansittart, the British Under Secretary in the Foreign Office. This was not only a professional success. The friendship with Vansittart and his wife that resulted from this meeting also meant Cowles' entry into London society.

After her return to the Nationalist zone, she had finally formed a political opinion. In principle, her sympathies were with the Republic and its fight against "military and landlord class", wrote Cowles (2011b, 104), but the communists had become too strong, so democracy was no longer possible. Once more, she returned, though briefly, to Spain. In February 1938 she travelled for about a week to the Republican zone in Barcelona and on to Alicante.

After that, the political events in Central Europe were the main focus of attention. As correspondent for the *Sunday Times,* she covered the events leading up to the war. In 1938, she wrote about the Sudenten crisis from Prague, travelled through England with Martha Gellhorn to capture the mood of the population on the eve of war, and reported from Nuremberg on Hitler's war preparations. In her memoirs she recalled meetings there with her English acquaintance Unity Mitford, a friend and admirer of Hitler, who offered her insights into the inner life of the Führer. After having been told by Unity Mitford that Hitler "says it's very exciting to have the whole world trembling before him," Cowles noted: "Somehow, it was profoundly disturbing to hear that Hitler was actually enjoying himself while people all over Europe tossed in their beds" (Cowles 2011b, 157).

In 1939 she spent six weeks in the Soviet Union, where "the contempt for intellectual and moral values and the ruthless disregard of the individual" would cut her off, as in Spain and Germany. "It was evil" (Cowles 2011b, 216). Then, she covered World War II from Finland, France, and England. Already 1941, she published her first years as war correspondent in the book "Looking for Trouble". With the entry of the USA into World War II, Cowles ended her career as a war correspondent. She

became the adviser of the US ambassador in London. 1943 she reported for him from North Africa about the war. When she, now in US uniform, was forbidden access to the front in Tunisia without further explanation, she promptly wrote a telegram to General Eisenhower. She succeeded: Eisenhower answered that Miss Cowles could go everywhere, there would be no discrimination of race, sex or gender (Cowles 2011a, 21).

After the war, she remained in contact with her friend Martha Gellhorn for some time. Together they wrote the comedy "Love goes to Press" about war correspondents (Gellhorn and Cowles 1995), which was performed with some success in London 1946 (see e.g. C. W. 19 June 1946) but failed in New York. In 1945, Virginia Cowles married the English journalist, documentary filmmaker and war pilot Aidan Crawley. Two years later, in 1947, Cowles was awarded the Order of the British Empire. Her husband became a member of parliament for several years for the Labour Party, later the Conservative Party. In professional matters, Virginia Cowles went her own way. Though she gave up travel-intensive jobs because of her three children, she was very successful with writing biographies, her work on Churchill, and her family histories of the Romanovs and the Rothschilds being among her most famous books.

Virginia Cowles died in 1983 in a car accident in France, on the way home from a vacation in Spain.

Table 12. Virginia Cowles: key data to the Spain trips.

Virginia Cowles travelled to Spain three times during the Civil War. Between March and autumn 1937 she spent a total of about five months in Spain, divided between two trips. From March to May/June 1937 she worked on the side of the Republic. Based in Madrid she visited several fronts such as Guadarrama, Guadalajara and Morata. From presumably September onwards, she spent about two months or somewhat more in the Nationalist zone, where she first stayed several weeks in Salamanca and from there made trips to places such as Ávila, Talavera de la Reina, and to the outskirts of Madrid. She then made a tour of the north from Santander to León and on to Oviedo, before returning to France via Salamanca, Burgos, and San Sebastián. In March 1938 she travelled again to the Republican zone for about a week, staying in Barcelona for a few days and then continuing to Alicante. Her Spain reportages were published in the *New York Sunday American*, a weekly Hearst paper (https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/NYJAdc/index.cfm), *The New York Times*, and the London papers *The Sunday Times* and the *Daily Express*.

Source: author's own research.

5.2 Gertrude Gaffney: professional and personal background

Gertrude Gaffney was born in Middletown, County Armagh, in what is now Northern Ireland on the border with Ireland. The exact date is not known but according to a newspaper article listing the results of intermediate examinations of the Convent of St Louis school (Irish Independent 12 September 1912), she passed her middle grade in 1912. Therefore, we assume that she was born around 1896. The only biographical source available to our knowledge so far is an entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Maume 2009). Apart from this, her articles, reports and comments, together with a few short newspaper notes after her death, give some additional information. That is somewhat surprising because she must have been a well-known person in Ireland, her position as (political) commentator and foreign correspondent was unique at that time for a woman.

Gaffney was educated at the Catholic St. Louis convent in Carrickmacross, County Monaghan. She probably finished in 1914, two years after her middle grade. In 1919, according to Maume (2009), she published several stories and the novel *Workers towards the dawn* (1919) under the pen name “Conor Galway”. In the 1920s she was living in London from where she occasionally wrote for the *Irish Independent* on Irish political demonstrations, while also working for other Catholic media. She commented on contemporary phenomena and trends, in 1920, for example, she made fun of “The Woman Smoker” and recommended smoking only for “dainty, fairy-like young things” because other girls would draw the attention of their surroundings to themselves and their unfavourable physical characteristics (Gaffney 16 October 1920). Appearance also played an important role later in her reporting on Spain, as we will show in Chapter 6.

In the late 1920s, she returned to Dublin to work for the *Irish Independent* but left again in the early 1930s to become the editor of the women’s magazine *Queen* in London. It was a weekly magazine, focused on fashion and British high society and aristocracy.[47] According to Maume (2009), the new *Irish Independent* editor Frank Geary, who became a close friend, offered her a job as a columnist and she returned again to Dublin in 1935. However, it is also possible that she returned earlier (possibly going to London earlier), as her column “Leaves From a Woman’s Diary by G.G.” appeared from 1931 to 1937, only followed by the column “I Sketch Your World by Gertrude Gaffney” (1938-1946), mentioned by Maume. Her columns covered social gossip, fashion, but also political issues. Gaffney not only reported and commented on Irish and foreign affairs in the *Irish Independent*, she

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[47] See https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/the-queen.

was also “afforded of roving brief”, an honour that even male colleagues rarely received at the time (Horgan 2011, 116).

At that time, the *Irish Independent* was the largest nationwide Irish newspaper with 123,000 (1935) copies sold daily (M. O'Brien 2017). According to M. O'Brien (2017, 347), it was “the mouthpiece of the conservative, Catholic Ireland – a policy that reached its political and commercial zenith during the Spanish conflict”.

In order to get at least somewhat closer to Gertrude Gaffney biographically, we have looked, if only in broad outline, at her reporting for the *Irish Independent*, for which she wrote from 1920 to 1958, more regularly from 1931 to 1946. It seems that her career as a political commentator and correspondent was at its peak in the 1930s. Two main features can be discerned in her reporting: Gaffney’s close association with the Catholic Church and her commitment to women’s right to work.

Already in her early years with the *Irish Independent*, Gaffney argued with clear sympathy in an article entitled “Women Like to be on Their Own”, drawing on the Irish Census results which showed men far outnumbering women in the Irish population, that “[o]ut of all the women of Europe the Irishwoman can now pick and choose a husband at leisure”. Further, she quoted a “modern Irish woman” who said “that if all women could earn as good a living as I do . . . not five out of ten would get married” (August 30, 1926). In an Irish newspaper that considered itself the voice of the Catholic Church, that was a remarkable issue as also Ryan, who examined the female presentations in Irish newspapers, confirms: “[S]uch positive affirmation of career minded, independent womanhood was rare in the newspapers” (Ryan 1998, 192). Gaffney’s attitude was not always so progressive.

1937, the year she made two trips to Spain, was a significant year for the journalist Gaffney. We assume that her appointment as the first woman to be elected vice-chairman of the Irish Press Fund Committee was a personal distinction for her that was also noticed in the media world. The *Irish Independent* quoted the English journal *World’s Press News*, which had commented enthusiastically on Gaffney’s appointment: “[W]hat a woman is this history-maker” (Irish Independent 3 April 1937).

That year, she also gained a special reputation as a campaigner for women’s rights. In April 1937 Gaffney published a series and a booklet of “harrowing stories of the dangers that best Irish girls emigrants to Great Britain are related” as an advertisement in *The Evening Herald* promoted (14 April 1937). The issue of female emigrants, who would be exploited in Great Britain, triggered a great

debate (Ryan 2003). According to Gaffney, young Irish women were forced to leave because Ireland offered them neither economic nor social prospects. She also took up this topic in the following years.

Only a few weeks later, the debate on women's rights took on an even greater dimension. Ireland was a very young state at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, marked by long-standing conflicts between supporters and opponents of independence from the United Kingdom. It was not until 1921/22 that the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty ended the Irish War of Independence and founded the Irish Free State, which from then on belonged to the British Empire as a self-determined territory. In 1937, a new constitution was adopted, and the Irish Free State became Ireland, Eire in Irish. The country was defining and consolidating its identity, a search that was also reflected in Gaffney's coverage of Spain (see Chapter 6). The Catholic Church had a significant influence on all concerns of the young state, 93 percent of the population were Catholic (O'Brien 2017). The relationship with the United Kingdom was still divided, on the one hand Ireland wanted to emphasise its independence and autonomy, on the other hand it tried not to jeopardize the fragile balance between the two countries. Furthermore, many Irish set their hopes for a prosperous future in emigration to England (and to the American continent).

Gaffney, like many women activists (see e.g. Luddy 2005; Ferriter 12 December 2012), strongly criticised the new Irish Constitution adopted under Prime Minister Eamon De Valera in 1937. Small but important changes compared to the 1916 constitution would put women in a significantly worse position. She protested in a column: These "reactionary clauses" were "clearly designed to deprive women of their right to work for their living". Nevertheless, there is a clear Catholic undertone in her argumentation. So, she reproached De Valera, "who dislikes and distrusts us as a sex", that he would not know that most women only worked because they would have to for economic reasons. Most of them would have preferred to stay at home after their marriage to look after their family, Gaffney wrote in the *Irish Independent* on 7 May 1937.

The tone and content of the article that appeared the next day in de Valera's organ *Irish Press* in response to Gaffney's commentary proved her right in her accusation that his attitude was misogynistic:

> *On Miss Gertrude Gaffney's competence to chronicle the movements, the vagaries, and the tittle tattle of what is called Society, or to deal with the nuances of fabrics, the fashion of garments, the models of hats, or the style and ensemble which constitute the last word in chic, we are not qualified to express an opinion, but at the risk of being unpolite we must tell her that*

> *she makes a sorry exhibition of herself when she ventures on an incursion into politics, of which she has yet to learn the rudiments.* (Irish Press 8 May 1937)

Despite this harsh, chauvinist rebuke, Gaffney's columns are likely to have "played a significant role in stirring up female voters against the constitution" (Maume 2009). Her stance between Catholic traditionalism and progressivism seems to have been characteristic of Ireland. Many Irish women vehemently demanded their right to work, while at the same time they welcomed the "constitution's attempts to reinforce the status of women as wives and mothers" (Luddy 2005, 176–77).

Gaffney and the *Irish Independent* were also openly opposed to the government's line on the Spanish Civil War. The Irish Government's commitment to a good relationship with Great Britain was reflected in its attitude towards the conflict. De Valera signed up to the Non-Intervention plan early on, a decision that earned him the criticism of other political parties. Although Dublin endeavoured to show a performance profile different from that of Great Britain "no llegó a permitir que la cuestión española abriera ninguna brecha de disentimiento profundo entre ambos países" (Soler Parício 2013, 9).

The *Irish Independent*, which was hostile to all socialist movements but not averse to fascism (McGarry 2002), had adopted a militant partisanship for Franco from the beginning of the conflict. Already on 22 July 1936, a few days after the coup, the largest Irish daily newspaper warned that a Republican victory would turn Spain into a "Soviet State" (McGarry 2002, 70). In particular, the reports of attacks on churches, fuelled by Franco's propaganda, had resulted in a media campaign, "led particularly by the Irish Independent", highlighting "atrocities such as the desecrating of churches and the raping of nuns" (Convery 2012, 215). The Catholic Church joined this campaign nationwide and included in its sermons the Spanish Civil War, "attacking the atheistic reds and praising the insurgents who were fighting for the survival of Catholic Spain" (Convery 2012, 215).

In the autumn of 1936, Eoin O'Duffy, a former general of the paramilitary ultra-right Irish nationalist Blueshirts, went with 700 volunteers, the so-called Irish Brigades, into the Nationalist zone to support Franco. However, the troops were hardly involved in combat, were conspicuous for their lack of military experience and heavy drinking, and were sent home by Franco in June 1937 in disgrace and divided among themselves (Convery 2012; McGarry 2002; M. O'Brien 2017).

Already at the end of January 1937 or the beginning of February 1937, Gaffney had been sent to Spain as a special correspondent to give a "first-hand, authentic account of conditions behind the

war-fronts” as the *Irish Independent* (19 February 1937) advertised (to the key data of her Spain trips see Table 13 below). She crossed the border at Irún and went from there to San Sebastián, then on to Salamanca, Cáceres, finally she tried to get close to Madrid, and her journey ended in Pozuelo de Alarcón, about 15 kilometres from the capital. In autumn 1937, Gaffney came back to Spain and again crossed the border at Irún and went to San Sebastián, then made her way to Burgos and Palencia to get to León and from there on to the Asturias front. After each journey, upon her return to Ireland, she published a series of articles.

In her texts, Gaffney gives little information about her travel companions, but it is clear that she travelled with a driver, “[o]ur Basque friend” in the first series, who though he was a “voluntary driver” (Gaffney 26 February 1937) presumably also exercised a kind of control function over her radius of action. There was also often official company, i.e. a press representative of the Nationalists as she repeatedly refers to “the Captain” or “the Requeté” without giving more detail, especially on the last leg of her first trip, which took her near Madrid, and on her second trip along the Asturias front.

On her first trip, she spent several days visiting the Irish Brigades in Cáceres, whose dedication and radiance she praised. She had thought, she wrote, to come across “adventurers”, instead she found a “Bandera of Crusaders”, who “fight for Christianity and all that it stands for against a Bolshevism that would rob the world of the inspiration of Christ, and rob man of the right to his own religious belief”. In Cáceres, she met Tom Gunning, a former *Irish Independent* colleague and now O’Duffy’s right-hand man (Gaffney 2 March 1937). As an anonymous “Special Correspondent”, Gunning also supplied the *Irish Independent* with eulogies for the Irish Brigades (McGarry 2002).

The Irish volunteers had only one complaint to make to Gaffney regarding their commitment in Spain, “they had received practically no letters or newspapers since they left Ireland until the time I had arrived in Caceres” (Gaffney 2 March 1937). Gaffney had made enquiries at Franco’s headquarters and was able to reassure her compatriots that the letters were “mislaid en route” (Gaffney 2 March 1937) and had been found in Lisbon, from where they were now being sent on. She had already prepared this intervention in Ireland, as M. O'Brien (2017) reports, and had handed the letter from a wife of an Irish Brigade volunteer to a press officer at Franco’s headquarters, as the official noted. “Miss Gaffney stated that this is just one of a multitude of similar letters that have been received” (quoted in M. O'Brien 2017, 353).

Before Gaffney's first trip to Spain, the *Irish Independent* had published Civil War stories by Irish freelance war correspondent Francis McCullagh. McCullagh, a roving experienced journalist, was in principle a supporter of Franco, but in his articles he was not uncritical both of Franco's press officers and of the Irish Brigades, which he regarded as very expensive and highly incompetent, and stated that they had never seen the enemy (Soler Parício 2013, 323). When McCullagh left Spain in spring 1937, he found that all his articles on the Irish Brigades were stuck in the office of Franco's then press officer, Luís Bolín, whereas Gertrude Gaffney had published three reportages on them in the meantime. Bolín justified this preference for Gaffney to the enraged McCullagh, that she had no longer been in his jurisdiction when she wrote the articles. That was correct, Gaffney penned her articles upon her return. They did not have to go through the censorship process.

In his critique of Gaffney's first series from Spain, McGarry (2002, 81) writes that she tended to write more about hotels and restaurants and high society than about the actual events of the war. We will discuss this tourist facet of her reporting in the following chapter, but it should be noted here that this was probably what the *Irish Independent* was looking for. The story "The Trials of War Correspondents in Spain" by McCullagh, which appeared in the *Irish Independent* on 6 February 1937, was not about the persecution of reporters critical of Franco, but was exclusively about the "long search for a place to sleep".

We know little about Gaffney's personality apart from her Catholic, nationalist attitude, her interest in fashion closely linked to her professional career, and her importance in the fight for women's right to work. As a foreign visitor, she kept a distance from the Spanish population, commenting sometimes patronisingly on their way of life and even cynically on the war (see Chapter 6). At one point she describes herself as a "cynic" (Gaffney 2 March 1937), which in this context is to be understood in the sense of hard-boiled and not gullible. From time to time, traces of dry humour and self-irony appear, for example, when she regrets that her male travel companions do not want to translate "remarkable swear words in Spanish and Basque", which "were the object of such envy by all the persons en route who heard them, including a bearded Jesuit provincial" that "I felt I was missing something unique" (Gaffney 26 February 1937).

As "special representative of the Irish Independent", Gaffney not only travelled through Spain, but also made various trips to Central Europe in 1938 and 1939, from where she returned with three series: one on Austria after the "Anschluss" which was published in July 1938, another about

Czechoslovakia in August 1938. In her third series about Poland in August 1939, some weeks before Hitler's attack, she described how she saw German lorries arriving in Danzig (Gaffney 2 August 1939).

For Gaffney, as for the majority of Irish people, the Catholic Church was a fundamental social institution. Her religiosity, it seems, also determined her view of fascism. This can be traced from Gaffney's reporting, which, however, could only be roughly cited for some biographical context. Catholicism was in the foreground for her. She had no problem with regimes close to fascism, such as Franco's or Admiral Horthy's in Hungary, as long as they remained closely connected to the Catholic Church. In May 1938, for example, she reported from Hungary on a Catholic congress at which the Spanish Cardinal Goma also celebrated a mass (Gaffney 29 May 1938). In Spain, she had not explicitly condemned Hitler's politics, with the exception of his women's politics. Furthermore, her reporting also had anti-Semitic undertones. A strict anti-Zionist (Maume 2009), she commented on the Palestine question several times in the 1930s (e.g. Gaffney 27 January 1939). In her series on the emigration of Irish girls to England, she lamented their poor treatment in Jewish households. Nevertheless, she distanced herself from Hitler during her Europe travels in 1938 and 1939 as is evident in her series on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland (see e.g. Gaffney 24 July 1938). At Corpus Christi 1945, just after the end of the war, she recalled the persecution of priests in Nazi Germany (Gaffney 8 June 1945).

After her trips in the eve of World War II, she commented on the world, it seems, from Ireland. Her journalistic importance as a commentator on international events declined. After 1946, at that time she was probably around 50 years old, articles by her appeared only rarely, the last one in 1958.

Little is known about her after that. She had never married, she may have been involved for a time with *Irish Independent* editor Frank Geary, as Oram (1983, 188) suggests, but to our knowledge there is no evidence of this. Her plan to write the history of the Fine Gael party was not realised (Maume 2009). Apparently in her last years, she owned the Mad Hatter Café, presumably named after the Hatter's character in *Alice in Wonderland*, in the Irish coast town of Dun Laoghaire. This is according to a newspaper article that reported an inheritance dispute between Gaffney's co-director of the café and a second cousin after her death (Irish Press 19 April 1961).

Gertrude Gaffney died on 9 December 1959 in a nursing home (Maume 2009). In view of her exceptional professional position, the obituaries after her death are remarkably few and short. They do not go beyond a few lines, as in the *Irish Examiner*, which praises Gaffney as "one of Ireland's best-known lady journalists" (10 December 1959). As quoted above, she was once labelled as a "history

maker". Nevertheless, historical research has up to today forgotten this certainly not uncontroversial star journalist.

Table 13. Gertrude Gaffney: key data to the Spain trips.

From the end of January 1937 on, Gaffney spent three weeks as a special correspondent for the *Irish Independent* in the Nationalist zone in Spain. Crossing the border at Irún, she went from there first to San Sebastián, on to Salamanca, and Cáceres, where she stayed with the Irish Brigades for a few days. Finally she travelled towards Madrid, and got as far as Pozuelo de Alarcón, about 15 kilometres from the capital. In autumn 1937, Gaffney came back to Spain. This time, again crossing the border at Irún, passing San Sebastián, and Burgos she went to Palencia, on to León and from there on to the Asturias front. After each journey, upon her return to Ireland, she published a series of articles in the *Irish Independent*.

Source: author's own research.

5.3 Martha Gellhorn: professional and personal background

Martha Gellhorn was born on 8 November 1908 in Saint Louis, Missouri. After two sons, she was the third child of Edna and George Gellhorn; the only daughter was followed five years later by another son. Her father was a renowned gynaecologist in Saint Louis, which was flourishing at the time, and her mother was an equally well-known activist. A suffragist and social reformer, Edna Gellhorn campaigned for women's rights, "wrapped bread, free clinics, smoke abatement, tuberculosis-screened milk, improved divorce laws and stricter child-labour laws" and against racial discrimination (Moorehead 2004, pos. 375), "inspired by the message that women had something to contribute", as she said about herself (quoted in McLoughlin 2017, 20).

Their daughter Martha Gellhorn became known worldwide as a war correspondent. She is the most prominent of the five case-studies, and there is already considerable research on her life and work. A few years after her death in 1998, an in-depth biography was published by Caroline Moorehead (2004), who had been part of her circle of friends. This chapter is largely based on that biography and on autobiographical passages in compilations of her articles edited by Gellhorn (2015, 2016a), but also refers to published letters (Moorehead 2006) and some other works on her (e.g. McLoughlin 2017).

Both George and Edna Gellhorn were half-Jewish. For their children this hardly mattered in their youth, they were brought up atheists. Martha's father was born near Breslau, then Germany, now Poland, and had studied medicine in Vienna and Berlin, among other places. In 1900, at the age of 31, he emigrated to the USA. In St. Louis he met the doctor's daughter Edna Fischel. Edna's mother would have had better matches in mind for her daughter, but Edna told her, according to a family legend, that she was absolutely sure George would never bore her. There were no objections after that: boring people was considered a sin in the Fischel-Gellborn house (Moorehead 2004, 301). Accordingly, talking and storytelling were highly valued in the family. The child who managed to make the parents laugh at dinner with an account of their daily adventures was rewarded with a penny. Martha received the most coins, her youngest brother Alfred recalled.

The Gellhorns' house was open, visitors and colleagues were often invited to discussions and dinners, in which the children from the age of twelve were also allowed to participate. There were clear rules for debates: Gossip and hearsay were unacceptable, all reports had to come from personal observation or experience, and referring to people by their race or colour was forbidden (Moorehead 2004, pos. 277). However, the children also learned that discussion alone was not enough. In one letter, Edna wrote to Martha, who was about seventeen at the time, apparently in response to a report in which the daughter had become agitated about miserable conditions: “Learn all you can about the system that produces unjust poverty and find out how to go about working for a change” (Moorehead 2004, pos. 481). About a decade later, in the summer of 1935, the father wrote to the daughter: “Show the world, show your mother and your father that you can do more than merely talk about the things you can do” (quoted in McLoughlin 2017, 20).

In retrospect, three essential stages in Martha Gellhorn's life can be identified that determined her self-image as a war correspondent. The first, the fundamental one, was her family home. The critical, independent spirit of this open-minded, socially engaged, energetic and ambitious family accompanied her throughout her life.

This spirit was also reflected in Martha's school education. Initially she had attended a public school for girls until her father flicked through the biology book, which concealed more than it explained. Edna and George Gellhorn immediately founded the progressive and coeducational John Borroughs School, named after a well-known naturalist. Among the first students were Martha and her younger brother Alfred. Martha took on leading roles in the debating society, the school council, the theatre association, and the school newspaper.

On the one hand, Martha had been brought up to be independent; on the other, her father in particular expected the children to make their parents proud. Martha had internalised this. It was her dilemma that the desire for her own way on the one hand and for recognition by her parents on the other kept coming into conflict with each other. This was also the case with her education. Actually, the parents had expected Martha to pursue an academic education, but she lacked the patience for that. After graduating from John Borroughs School in 1926, Martha went to the progressive Bryn Mawr College, where her mother had already studied. But she left after her junior year.

She went to New York, and her first short time jobs as a journalist at the *New Republic* and the *Albany Times Union* were the "proof that I could make my way and pay for it if I didn't mind a diet of doughnuts" (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1050). With her parents worried about her, she returned to St. Louis. By now, her hometown seemed unbearably provincial and boring to her. She decided, against her parents' wishes, to go to Europe, where she had already spent several summers as a teenager. From New York, Martha Gellhorn took a ship to Europe. She received her third-class ticket in return for a PR article about the shipping company. "My life began in February 1930," she wrote about the new phase in her life (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1050). At the age of 21, she arrived in Paris, where she knew no one.

"[T]he years in France and adjacent countries were never easy" (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1074), she recalled more than half a century later. To survive, she took various jobs, first in a beauty shop, then at the *United Press*. The news agency fired her after she complained to her boss about an attempted sexual assault by a tycoon close to the agency. Martha Gellhorn was never a feminist in the sense of an activist for women's rights; she saw no need for a collective struggle for emancipation. She herself felt always more comfortable among men than women. "I only loved the world of men – not the world of men-and-women", she said (quoted in Moorehead 2004, pos. 2862). Yet it was no question at all for her that she had the same rights and freedoms as a man.

After her first disappointing job experiences, Martha Gellhorn travelled and wandered around France, earning money writing fashion articles for US magazines. In July 1930, her lonely life suddenly changed. Back in Paris, she met Betrand de Jouvenel and an intense, complicated relationship began that was to last, with interruptions, for four years. Already a successful journalist, he was the son of the influential Henri de Jouvenel, politician and editor of *Le Matin*. Bertrand's mother, Claire Boas, ran a well-known salon in Paris where politicians and intellectuals met. Bertrand, five years older than Martha, was not only married, but was also considered one of the most sought-after lovers in

Paris. A few years earlier, the relationship of the then teenager with his then stepmother, the writer Colette, had caused a scandal. The young man accustomed to success from Parisian society and the young woman from the south of the USA seeking her first successes would live on different levels, he wrote to her. “You live impulsively, I calculatingly. You deliciously overturn everything that you lay hands on, while I force myself, small-mindedly to re-arrange things that look to me untidy” (quoted in Moorehead 2004, pos. 755). However, his assessment might apply more to their professional life, in relationships, according to Moorehead, Martha remained more deliberate and controlled than Bertrand, who was head over heels in love.

Professionally, the first major assignment loomed in autumn 1930: As a correspondent for the then quite renowned *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Martha Gellhorn travelled to the League of Nations in Geneva with the assignment to write a series on the most prominent female delegates. For all her delight at the assignment, however, she was not interested in any woman’s angle since she refused to highlight women just because of their gender. “[S]he deplored the way that enterprising women were discussed rather as if they were performing dogs” (Moorehead 2004, pos. 804). In an admiring article about the first female delegate to the League of Nations, the Dane Henni Forchhammer, Gellhorn wrote: “It would not occur to Mlle Forchhammer to make an issue of herself as a woman: she is a human being, living in the twentieth century, with certain obligations and certain abilities” (quoted in Moorehead 2004, pos. 810).

Unlike the Americans and the British, who lived in a “cosy literary world” (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1078) in Paris at the time, Gellhorn recalled, she herself moved in the real world, the highly politicised circles of French politicians and journalists who knew about real life. Money was a question of age, the old often had heaps of it, the young nothing. “Real life” – in contrast to ponderous prosperity in safe homes – meant for Gellhorn, social injustice and misery: “protest marches broken up” by the French police, “English mill towns, the terrible mining towns in northern France, slums, strikes” (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1080) and, of course, bombed civilians in Spain.

In the autumn of 1930, Martha Gellhorn separated from Bertrand de Jouvenel. In December 1930, she returned home alone and pregnant. A serious conflict arose with her father over her relationship with the married Bertrand. In January, Gellhorn had an abortion in Chicago. An event that the prolific writer did not deal with further. It seems, according to her biographer, that she dealt with the abortion in her usual matter-of-fact way: “It had to be done” (Moorehead 2004, pos. 874). Self-pity was not permitted; she threw herself into work on a novel about a young woman correspondent.

In April 1931, Gellhorn signed another contract with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and an agreement for PR articles with the Missouri Pacific Railway in return for a Pullman pass and travelled around the US for several weeks. It was a journey, Moorehead says, on which she developed her "lively journalistic eye" and her critical sensibility "of any tendency, in herself or anyone else, to rewrite history, or avoid facing the truth, however unpleasant" (Moorehead 2004, 952). Finishing the contract, her last destination was Mexico. She credibly assured the border officials, who would not let her pass without her parents' permission, that she was the fiancée of the American ambassador's son. The country and its people inspired her. She travelled by train and mule to see Sergei Eisenstein in the desert, the Russian filmmaker who was at the time making a film about Mexico's history, and she interviewed Diego Rivera, whom she found painting a mural in the National Palace in Mexico City. According to Moorehead, that is when her particular style began to take shape: "the subject picked out by the memorable and seemingly insignificant detail", noted in notebooks or on scraps of paper (Moorehead 2004, pos. 979).

In September 1931, there was a reconciliation with Bertrand de Jouvenel, who had come to New York, and they explored the south of the USA together for half a year. Then Bertrand and, a little later, Martha returned to France in the spring of 1932. Gellhorn found a job as a helper at *Vogue* and also worked as an unofficial model for fashion brands such as Chanel and Schiaparelli, who lent evening gowns to young women of good background to promote their collections (Moorehead 2004, pos. 1148). She also continued to write her novel and occasionally published as a journalist. As a freelancer she went to the World Economic Conference in London in 1933.

In January 1934, upon invitation and together with Bertrand and other journalists, she took part in a trip to Germany, naively assuming that it was a purely friendly meeting of organisations of young French and Germans. It was a propaganda campaign in which the young Germans, among them Baldur von Schirach, then leader of the Hitler Youth, the youth organisation of the NSDAP, spoiled the visitors who were not used to luxury with generous invitations. On the way back, the French group split into two parts, some wanting to continue to believe in the possibility of close relations, others, among them Martha, were ashamed and tried to forget this trip as quickly as possible (Moorehead 2004, pos. 1273).

In the autumn of 1934, the French years were over. Martha and Bertrand had finally separated, and she returned to the USA. Thus, the second phase of her life that had shaped her concept of journalism and its responsibilities ended. The French journalists in whose circles she had moved had a very different conception of it from their US colleagues. While the latter upheld the principle of

objectivity, the French saw it as the task of journalism to argue and to defend one's own point of view (see e.g. Requate 2002). To deny one's own view would have been hypocrisy, Martha Gellhorn was convinced, dismissing the highest precept of American journalism as "all this objectivity shit" (Moorehead 2004, pos. 180). At a round table at an advanced age, she said, "[t]he assumption being that the reporter is made of plastic or something of the sort, and has no reaction to anything […]. I find that absolutely mad" (quoted in Palau Sampio 2020, 128).

After her return from France, the now 26-year-old decided to put herself at the service of her country. She had proven to herself and to her parents that she could go her own way. Her novel *What Mad Pursuit* had just been published. However, it had not found favour in the eyes of her father. According to Martha Gellhorn, he said to her "that he could not understand why anyone had published it" – an opinion that she herself eventually came to agree with (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1085). He must have liked her next job better. Martha hired on at the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the first national organisation to help the unemployed. The head, Harry Hopkins, was looking for staff to travel the country and report back to him on how FERA worked in practice. Martha Gellhorn showed up at the job interview dressed in an elegant suit from her modelling days, heavily made up in Parisian fashion "which was not at all the style for American ladies then and certainly not for social workers", Martha Gellhorn remembered, "Mr. Hopkins may have been entertaining himself" (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1113). He took her on despite her outfit. She travelled criss-crossing the USA for almost a year, writing her reports to "My dear Mr. Hopkins". She reported on the poor state of health of the people, the bad working conditions, and the miserable dwellings. Sarcasm was already a feature of Gellhorn's writing.

> *I have a seen a village where the latrines drain nicely down a gully to a well from which they get their drinking water. Nobody thinks about this, but half the population is both syphilitic and moronic; and why they aren't all dead of typhoid I don't know.* (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 267-273)

The daughter of a doctor and a human rights activist did not see it as her task to write impersonal, bureaucratic reports, but to forcefully point out the misery. She was emotional, but not sentimental. The influences of the New Reportage are clearly perceptible. This journalistic genre, characterised by literary stylistic devices, comparable to the German and Austrian "Sozialreportage", had emerged in the beginning of the 20th century as a counter-concept to the principle of objectivity as discussed in the Theoretical Framework, certainly linked to the New Deal programs like FERA of the Roosevelt administration but also in the tradition of the muckrakers. Social problems and misery, according to the approach of the representatives of the New Reportage, could not only be presented objectively,

but also required a subjective point of view, self-reflection driven by the need to find out and to know (see McLoughlin 2017). In addition to a “carefully constructed objectivity”, McLoughlin (2017, 30) states that Martha Gellhorn also has “a personal, emotional response which strikes a more spontaneous note. This response is recreated by the writer’s eye for the telling individual detail”. This was the time when she found her “writing voice”: “spare, clean, a careful selection of scenes and people, set down plainly and without hyperbole, the tone one of barely contained fury at the injustice” (Moorehead 2006, 29).

When Gellhorn, angry at the dismal living conditions she saw, wanted to give up a few months later, Hopkins asked Gellhorn to talk to Eleanor Roosevelt, the president’s wife and a friend of Martha’s mother’s from college days (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1123). This meeting not only resulted in an invitation to dinner at the White House, but also in a close friendship that lasted for many years, as evidenced by extensive correspondence between Martha Gellhorn and Eleanor Roosevelt (see Moorehead 2006). At the first dinner Eleanor Roosevelt stood up, Gellhorn recalls, and shouted across the long table: “Franklin, talk to that girl. She says all the unemployed have pellagra and syphilis” (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1127). Gellhorn remained at FERA until she was fired a few months later. She was proud of this dismissal, as she wrote to her parents: She had advised some workers who were being cheated by a corrupt contractor to break the windows of the FERA office to draw attention to their situation. The action succeeded, and Gellhorn had done enough duty for her country. “Being fired was an honourable discharge in my view, not like quitting; and I was very happy to work on fiction again” (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1154). She processed her experience at FERA literarily in her next book, *The Trouble I’ve Seen*, which was published in 1936.

We consider her time at FERA as the third crucial factor that shaped her understanding of reporting (see also E. C. Murphy 2016). She had been brought up by her parents not just to comment on injustice but to do something about it, she had learned in France that journalists stood up for their worldview, and she had gained insight into severe poverty travelling for FERA – an insight into “real life”. Journalism should become the “forum for her message of protest” (Kale 2010, 162).

On 25 January 1936, Martha’s father died after a surgery. The relationship with his daughter had improved after her separation from Bertrand de Jouvenel, but he had still accused her of frittering away her life. “If you really *want* to write, write by all means, but do it NOW […] instead of capitalising your yellow hair and your lively, spicy conversation” (quoted with these highlights in Moorehead 2004, pos. 1773). It must have been a relief to her that he had liked the manuscript for *The Trouble I’ve Seen*. The book was a success and was very well received by critics. In June 1936, Martha travelled

to London at the invitation of H. G. Wells, whom she had met at the White House and who had become a close friend. Around this time, an article of hers was published more or less unintentionally (sources differ on this, see Moorehead 2004, pos. 1912), in which she described a lynching that she had not actually seen, but whose publication caused a great stir. According to her biographer, this episode shows the way how "Martha blended fact and fiction all her life. It is not possible to say whether she saw things so clearly before her mind's eye that imagination and reality blurred" (Moorehead 2004, pos. 1912).

Gellhorn herself always emphasised her unconditional sincerity as a reporter. She later said of herself as a war correspondent: "In war, I never knew anything beyond what I could see and hear, a full-time occupation" (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1161).

After a detour to Paris and Stuttgart, around the time of the military coup in Spain, Gellhorn returned home. She spent Christmas 1936 with her mother and youngest brother in Key West. There, by chance, she met the then 37-year-old Ernest Hemingway, who was already considered one of the best writers of his time. He invited her to stay with him and his second wife Pauline for some time. He had by then decided to go to the Spanish Civil War as a correspondent for *NANA* (North American Newspaper Alliance). In a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, Gellhorn described her host as an "odd bird, very lovable and full of fire and a marvellous story teller" (Moorehead 2006, 45). She also decided to travel to Spain (to the dates of her Spain trips, see Table 14 at the end of this Sub-section). "I had stopped being a pacifist and become an anti-Fascist", she wrote about her motives (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 64). Although Martha Gellhorn did not have a precise idea of what she would do in Spain, she at least had a non-binding letter from the *Collier's* magazine that identified her as a special correspondent.

She arrived in Spain in March 1937. From Barcelona, where the revolutionary atmosphere excited her, she travelled to Madrid, where the ambience was very different. "It was a feeling I cannot describe; a whole city was a battlefield, waiting in the dark" (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 78). An image that shaped her later reportages. At first, she "tagged along behind the war correspondents, experienced men who had serious work to do" (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 92). Finally, "a journalist friend" advised her "to write; it was the only way I could serve the *Causa*, as the Spaniards solemnly and we lovingly called the war in the Spanish Republic" (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 94). The friend, presumably Hemingway, suggested she should write about Madrid. Why should daily life interest anyone, she would have asked. "He pointed out that it was not everybody's daily life" (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 99).

Martha Gellhorn was probably not quite as naive and inexperienced as she depicted herself – "I believed that all one did about a war was go to it, as a gesture of solidarity, and get killed, or survive if lucky until the war was over" (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 85). She had never reported from a war, but she had travelled as a correspondent and had already shown, not only at FERA, with what verve, with what eye for detail she could peel stories out of the mundane. E. C. Murphy (2016, 15) believes that this understatement was probably the better narrative for the transformation from naive young novelist to anti-fascist participant.

From Spain, Martha Gellhorn worked mainly for *Collier's* magazine. Renowned authors such as John Steinbeck, Pearl S. Buck, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Jack London wrote for this US-American politically left-wing magazine, which was published from 1888 to 1957. It accompanied world political events in long narrative reportages, often with a focus on the human interest angle, and also had numerous literary elements such as short stories or serials. At the time of the Spanish Civil War, *Collier's* was a highly respected, influential magazine with a circulation of 2.4 million (McLoughlin 2017, 43) and nearly ten million readers (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2913)

During her total of four stays in Spain, Gellhorn reported mainly from Madrid and the surrounding fronts, and in 1938 she also travelled to Barcelona again. She never concealed the fact that she had taken sides with the Republic.

> *I have praised the Causa of the Republic of Spain on the slightest provocation for twenty years, and I am tired of explaining that the Spanish Republic was neither a collection of blood-slathering Reds nor a cat's-paw of Russia.* (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 106)

She found colleagues in Spain who shared her views, such as the *New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews and the Hungarian-French photographer and later co-founder of the Magnum photo agency Robert Capa, who became her closest friend. "As a reporter", he said, "you must have a position or you cannot stand what goes on" (quoted in Moorehead 2004, pos. 2855).

Like most of her colleagues, Martha stayed at the Hotel Florida on the Gran Vía in Madrid. She and Hemingway soon began a love affair in Madrid. The happy couple seemed out of place in this atmosphere. Hemingway's "love affair was not exactly a benign influence in a wartime hotel", recalled the writer Jospehine Herbst. "The corks popping were not for you" (Herbst 1991, pos. 1796). From the hotel, Gellhorn set off with Hemingway, or her new friend Virginia Cowles, in groups of colleagues or often alone. She visited hospitals, the nearby trenches, or roamed the city – and she learned Spanish, which she already spoke "adequately" in 1938 (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2910). Real

life, her subject, in this case consisted of people whose houses lay in ruins, “so that the very notion of home comes under attack” as Valis (2017, 552) distils from Gellhorn’s reporting.

In early January 1938, Martha Gellhorn travelled to the USA to give 22 lectures within one month to raise help for Spain, the reports in the newspapers were full of praise. In early March 1938, she met up with Hemingway in Florida, where he was visiting his wife Pauline, who had threatened suicide because of the impending separation. Shortly afterwards, Hemingway and Gellhorn went back to Spain.

To Gellhorn’s disappointment, the war in Spain disappeared from the front pages of the international newspapers. *Collier’s*, too, was by now more interested in what was going on in Central Europe and did not want to publish a story by Gellhorn about the refugees streaming into Barcelona. For each accepted reportage she received 1000 US dollars, she could not afford to turn it down. Nevertheless, she still believed, “that what happened in Spain was the affair of us all, who do not want a world whose bible is Mein Kampf” (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2908).

From May 1938, Gellhorn observed from various locations in Europe how the world was heading towards war. She returned to Spain once again in autumn. From the last two Spain journeys, she wrote her reportage “The Third Winter” which only appeared in a collection much later (Gellhorn 2016b). The stories she wrote after Spain were different from her Civil War articles, in which she had focused almost exclusively on the suffering of the population and the injured. She advanced to commentator, gave assessments of the political situation. She described, for example, the attitude of the French, who saw the disaster coming and could do nothing about it. “And they know there is neither victory, nor defeat; there is only catastrophe” (Gellhorn 8 October 1938). Together with Virginia Cowles, she travelled through England and was outraged by the way the English ignored the danger of war. She went to the Czechoslovakia, where she met among others Mikhail Koltsov, the once powerful *Pravda* correspondent and partner of Maria Osten, when they both unsuccessfully tried to get an interview with the then President Edvard Beneš (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2980).

Even when looking at the powerful, she did not forget the view from the ground. “The Big Picture always exists, and I seem to have spent my life observing how desperately the Big Picture affects the little people who did not devise it and have no control over it” (Gellhorn 2015, pos. 1161). During World War II, Martha Gellhorn became one of the most famous war correspondents. She also travelled for *Collier’s* to China and the Caribbean. The US army did not allow women reporters in war zones; theoretically they would have been allowed to go where nurses were allowed. But even that was denied, “an injustice” that Martha Gellhorn protested against for herself and 18 other accredited

female colleagues in at least one preserved letter (Moorehead 2006, 166). Such regulations could only keep her away to a limited extent. She covered the Allied landings in Normandy by smuggling herself onto a hospital ship. She arrived at the Dachau concentration camp a few days after the US troops and wrote a report for *Collier's* entitled "Dachau: Experimental Murder", in which the author, as always armed with sarcasm, struggled to find her own composure, and did not only blame the Germans. "We are not entirely guiltless, we the Allies, because it took us twelve years to open the gates of Dachau" (Gellhorn 23 June 1945, 30).

In 1940, she married Ernest Hemingway. The marriage was difficult and marked by competition, it lasted only a few years.

Martha Gellhorn worked as a war correspondent throughout her life and became a role model for female war correspondents (see e.g. Mander 2010; McLaughlin 2016). She reported from Africa, Cuba, Mexico, Vietnam, Israel and Europe. Still in Vietnam, she was known for not being interested in military strategies, "much less ordnance" (Mander 2010, 120). One of her few fixed points was London, where she later lived with her adopted son Sandy when she was not travelling. She died, almost ninety years old, in London on 16 February 1998. It was her last act of independence – nearly blind, and sick, she herself had chosen the day and took a pill.

Table 14. Martha Gellhorn: key data to the Spain trips.

Martha Gellhorn was in Spain four times during the Civil War, for a total duration of at least ten months. The first time, she travelled to Madrid via Barcelona in March 1937 and stayed until May 1937. She returned to Madrid in September 1937 and stayed until shortly before Christmas. After that, Gellhorn toured the USA and promoted the "Causa" with lectures. She returned to Spain in March 1938 and stayed until May 1938. Her last stay in Spain at the time of the Civil War lasted, according to Moorehead (2004), probably from September to mid-December 1938.

Source: author's own research.

5.4 Hilde Marchant: professional and personal background

Hilde Marchant was born in Hamburg in 1916, the daughter of an English butcher, and a German housewife. After World War I, the family moved to Hull, England, where Marchant gained her first journalistic experience with a local newspaper, but soon after she was hired as a junior reporter in the London office of the tabloid paper *Daily Sketch*.

Little is known about her youth. Only a few articles in regional newspapers hint that her growing up was not so easy. In 1936, Hilde and her father Walter sued a young author – and former partner of the then 18- or 19-year-old girl – for libel because his book about a young woman with a dissipated lifestyle and her violent father clearly referred to them. They won the lawsuit, the book was withdrawn, the publishers were acquitted of guilt, they had been convinced that the book was pure fiction (Yorkshire Post 15 October 1936).

According to the interviews Sebba (2013) did with former colleagues from the *Daily Express*, Marchant was a talented, self-confident, resolute, and ambitious young woman who cared little for conventional ideas of young women's behaviour. Thus, she showed similarities to her colleagues Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn, who also managed to establish themselves in the male domain of (war) reporting with these qualities. This also included camaraderie with male colleagues at eye level; Marchant liked to drink with them in the pub, invited them home – indecent at the time –, was considered a buddy, helpful and reliable, with a great journalistic instinct. "She could write like a saint, would always dig out the unusual and get down to the human basics of a story," said a former colleague in an interview with Sebba (2013, 161).

A report about a model train exhibition made Hilde Marchant the star reporter on Fleet Street. The *Daily Express* editor-in-chief was so enthusiastic about her story published in the *Daily Sketch* in which Marchant had made an engine driver visiting the exhibition the protagonist that he immediately poached the 20-year-old. This "focusing on people rather than things" (Sebba 2013, 160) and the switching between the individual and the general marked Marchant's articles.

Her first article in the *Daily Express*, signed by name, appeared on 13 June 1936 on page three: In the section "News for and about Women" Hilde Marchant presented the new food combining diet of the American doctor W. Howard Hay, which is still popular today. Under the adjoining full-body photo of the journalist, the reader learned that Miss Marchant hoped "to have lost that waistline tyre" after this treatment (Marchant 13 June 1936). The self-experiment was editorially accompanied, and on

17 June 1936 she wrote in the characteristic laconic style: “The tyre is going down. So are my spirits” (Marchant 17 June 1936). From her first day at the *Daily Express*, Marchant was being paid very well (Sebba 2013), her articles had by-lines, at a time when that was a distinction. In this prestigious professional position, Hilde Marchant, like Gertrude Gaffney, was one of the few exceptions among the female war correspondents in Spain.

Nothing is yet known about her origins in Germany, but Marchant was considered a vehement Nazi opponent as her later coverage of World War II also showed. Besides the professional challenge, this may have been one of the reasons for her wish to go to Spain. Like Cowles, as a note in the *Daily Express* said, Marchant approached her editor with the request to go to Spain to cover the non-political side of the story:

> *Last Friday Hilde Marchant, Daily Express woman reporter, went to the editor and said – “No one has yet told the story of women and children in Madrid, how they are living, and dying, too. Can I go?”*
>
> *She set off the same night with a small grip and a big resolute smile.* (Daily Express, February 11, 1937)

With this patronising note titled “Daily Express Girl Reporter in Madrid” the paper highlighted her trip on page one a few days after her departure (to her Spain trip see also Table 15 at the end of this sub-section).

A division between male and female stories can be observed in the Spain coverage of the *Daily Express* as announced in the same note: When Marchant is sent to cover women and children, Noel Monks “follows Franco’s legions into Malaga” while D. Sefton Delmer “sees the tide of war sweep over Madrid” (Daily Express 11 February 1937). In her two weeks in Spain, Marchant concentrated mainly on the inhabitants of Madrid, a short trip took her to Valencia and Alicante. Little is known about the exact circumstances of the trip, how she travelled to Spain, where she lived, which colleagues she met there. The only explicit indication that she was in contact with colleagues is the mention of a coffee house visit with an “American journalist” in her article from 5 March 1937

Marchant’s focus on women and, to a lesser extent, on children was probably not just the typical women’s angle that editors demanded from their female correspondents, but a focus Marchant herself chose. According to Sebba (2013) and Marchant’s articles in the *Daily Express* theoretical analyses did not comply with her self-image as a journalist. On the contrary, she was proud of her

down-to-earth attitude and reminded her editor that she had never been to a university and neither had most of the *Daily Express* readers: "I write as I talk and as people talk to me" (Sebba 2013, 160). When her editor advised her not to use too many prepositions in her reports from the Spanish Civil War, she replied: „If you want that sort of prose, get the Sunday Times literary critic to go to Spain and see what happens to the circulation" (quoted in Sebba, 160).

Heroes did not only exist for her in times of war. In her stories she sought contact to ordinary people coping with threats to their everyday life and gave them a voice, there was, for example, the mother of twelve children who had to move out of a dilapidated house with her family (Marchant 21 January 1939). But the standing she had in her own editorial office can also be seen in stories from the world of the high nobility. She covered, among others, the abdication story of the Duke of Windsor, she was part of the three-person "World's Finest Team of Reporters" at the coronation of George VI (Daily Express 8 May 1937; Marchant 13 May 1937), and finally was sent to Tours as the correspondent for the wedding of Wallis Simpson and the Duke of Windsor (Marchant 4 June 1937).

World War II was Marchant's most successful professional period, gaining reputation for her commitment and courage. Among her best stories were those from Finland where she went once again "to report the war from the standpoint of the women and children" (Marchant 1 February 1940).[48] The *Daily Express* was happy with its female war correspondent: "The stuff she sent us back from Finland was brilliant", a former news editor remembered (Sebba 2013, 161). However, Marchant gained the highest recognition with stories from the home front. Maybe when Marchant watched the terrible effect of the German air raids, the "Blitz", in London and the Midlands, she took chewing gum just as she had done during her first air raids in Madrid to keep her teeth from chattering. When she reported on the bombing of Coventry, she did not leave the place despite instructions from her editor. Her emphasis was the same as always: The *Daily Express* made her the "Women at War-reporter", illustrating the role of women in World War II not only praising

[48] But the *Daily Express'* pompous announcement that Marchant was the only female reporter in Finland as well as in Spain was not entirely correct. Even if they did not know that Virginia Cowles came to Finland only shortly after her, though it was already reported in advance (Daily Worker, 05 February 1940, 1), in Spain there were several female colleagues who were already there before her, which could hardly have remained hidden from her in Madrid. And the *Daily Express* must have been aware that Marchant had not been the only female war correspondent in Spain, Virginia Cowles had also published about Spain in the *Daily Express* (Cowles 20 October 1937, 26 October 1937).

perseverance in the government's interest, but also showing the great misery. She wrote about the winner of the *Daily Express* competition of the ideal woman factory worker (Marchant 20 September 1941), at the same time she criticised the lack of nurseries for even these "factory mothers" (Marchant 19 January 1942) and supported their claims for equal pay (Marchant 2 September 1941, 19 January 1942). In 1941, she published reportages of this time in England in her book *Women and Children Last: A woman reporter's account of the battle of Britain*. Again, her heroes came from everyday life and could also be males in spite of the title, for example Mr. Brown, a night watchman on the shabby south bank of the Thames at the time of the London bombings (Marchant 1941). The New York newspaper *P.M.* named her not only the "best newpaperwoman in England" but also one of the six bravest women in London at that time, along with a chambermaid and a cleaning lady from the Waldorf, the Queen, a general's wife and Marchant's American colleague Helen Kirkpatrick (Daily Express 12 December 1940).

Marchant's last stories in the *Daily Express* were published in January 1942. After a longterm relationship with managing editor Herbert Gunn had ended in the summer of 1941 (Sebba 2013, 164), she did not want to stay, despite all her professional successes. The relationship with Gunn, who had also protected her professionally and ensured "that she was given top-class assignments" (Sebba 2013, 161), had caused much resentment and envy among colleagues. Journalist Mea Allan wrote in a letter to a friend after having heard rumours that Marchant would join her at the *Daily Herald*: "If there's a brass-necked way of getting a story she'll do it that way because it's easier and her first step in a job is to fasten her claws to the man whose voice is authority and if a happy home is broken up in the process well that doesn't very much matter to her" (Sebba 2013, 164). Others admired her: Around the year 1941, the young American reporter Kathleen Harriman Mortimer from a very wealthy family was introduced to "top reporter" Hilde Marchant by William Maxwell Aitken, the owner of the *Daily Express*. Harriman Mortimer noted in her diary after a meeting with Marchant: "She's scathing, cynical, a disapproving socialist. I'll learn a lot from her" (M. Brenner November 2011).

After leaving the *Daily Express*, Hilde Marchant joined the *Daily Mirror*, for which she continued to report from World War II and the Home Front. After the war, she became staff writer for the magazine *Picture Post*. In 1957, the magazine had to close down, and it seems that Marchant lost her professional connections and reputation. At some point she had married a colleague, but no more is known about the relationship. Marchant died in 1970 at the age of 54, marked by alcohol excesses

and completely impoverished. Former *Daily Express* colleagues collected for her funeral (Sebba 2013, 238–39). The obituary for the death of the former star reporter was a single-column of five lines (Daily Express 7 February 1970).

Table 15. Hilde Marchant: key data to the Spain trip.

Of the five female reporters selected in this study, Marchant spent the shortest time in Spain. According to the *Daily Express*, she arrived in Spain on February 10, 1937 and returned to London on February 26, 1937 (Daily Express 11 February 1937, 27 February 1937). During this journey of just over two weeks, Marchant first spent several days in Madrid, then travelled to Valencia and Alicante. She then published a series in five parts.

Source: author's own research.

5.5 Maria Osten: professional and personal background

Maria Osten was born in 1908 as Maria Greßhörner in Westphalia, Germany. After a difficult childhood with a violent father on the family estate in the countryside, she was sent to a grammar school in Berlin. She quickly joined the bohemian circles in Berlin and soon after her arrival she secretly left the school, initially to become a painter. She had to earn her living and began working as a volunteer at the age of sixteen at the well-known, politically leftist Malik Verlag. Through her contacts in this publishing house, she became involved with the Communist Party, which she joined at the age of 18 in 1926.

Various works have traced her life. The German historian Reinhard Müller had access to the N.K.V.D. interrogation transcripts and kindly provided us with the draft of his Osten biography. His published and unpublished works on Osten were very important sources for this biographical sketch (Müller 2007, 2019). Other scholars such as Abel and Hilberth (2015), Barck (2010), and El-Akramy (1998) also did research on Osten's life and work. In addition, Osten has been the subject of some literary works. She was the model for Maria in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, many decades later she appeared in Cohen's *Exil der frechen Frauen* (2009)[49] and Mensching's *Schermanns Augen* (2018). A comprehensive academic biography is pending.

[49] Also published in Spanish. Cohen, Robert (2018). El exilio de las mujeres atrevidas. La Oveja Roja: Madrid.

Maria Osten remained a communist throughout her life, but also an intellectual and artist. She did not participate too much in the usual party work such as copying leaflets or theoretical discussions in conspiratorial meetings. This caused her enemies and critics within the Communist Party, but within the circle of the Berlin artist scene (as well as later in the Moscow meeting points of exiled intellectuals) the fun-loving young woman was very popular and made friends with numerous prominent writers and artists such as Bertolt Brecht, Helene Weigel, Margarete Steffin, Ilja Ehrenburg, Kurt Tucholsky, Egon Erwin Kisch and Ernst Busch. In 1929 her first short story was published by the Berlin publisher Kiepenheuer Verlag and she also wrote for party papers. In 1930, the well-known German artist John Heartfield used her portrait for the cover of Ilja Ehrenburg's novel *Die Liebe der Jeanne Ney* (The love of Jeanne Ney). In that year, Osten visited the Soviet Union for the first time with her then partner, a Russian director.

In 1932, Maria Osten fell in love in Berlin with the prominent and powerful Pravda chief editor Mikhail Koltsov and moved to Moscow with him. This relationship marked her future life even though Koltsov continued to be in close contact to his wife Yelisaveta Koltsova, also a journalist and Spain correspondent, and despite Osten's own affairs. At this time, the young writer changed her name from Greßhörner to Osten. It was a political statement: The German word means "East" translated into English and was a homage to her country of exile, the Soviet Union, located far to the east of her native Germany.

In Moscow, she started working for the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*, a daily paper in German language, and other magazines, and she published a narrative in Koltsov's Jourgaz publishing house. Thanks to Koltsov's influential position, she was able to travel abroad with him, including to Paris and the Saar region, something that German-speaking migrants in Moscow could rarely do otherwise. These privileges and her preference for elegant clothing aroused much envy and slander in this scene. The writer Willi Bredel, Osten's close colleague, who like many others turned away from her later after Koltsov and Osten had fallen from grace, accused her of having played an undeservedly large role despite her poor literary achievements.

Osten's Moscow apartment was a meeting place for many German emigrants; she was a kind of salon communist who took luxurious vacations at the dachas of functionaries, as she herself described (quoted in Müller 2007, 80). Osten's extravagant lifestyle in the empire of the working class certainly obstructed the view on her merits: Apart from her work as a writer, she was very successful in international literary and journalistic projects between Paris, London, Prague and Moscow, for which

she was able to win renowned emigrated writers such as Lion Feuchtwanger, Bert Brecht, Andre Gide and Heinrich Mann. Koltsov's support was certainly essential, but without Osten's literary instinct and her ability to attract people, her network of exiled antifascist writers would not have been so successful. She also had a lot of admirers such as the writer and companion of Bert Brecht, Ruth Berlau, who met her again in Spain and considered her to be the most beautiful woman in the world (Barck 2010). And Osten was also a helpful friend: she took care of her friend Margarete Steffin infected with tuberculosis in the time immediately before Steffin's death in 1941. Steffin had also been a writer and, like Berlau, one of Bert Brecht's partners.

Osten showed a special affection for children: On their trip to the Saar region, Koltsov and Osten had taken a foster child. Hubert L'Hoste was the son of a communist couple and was to get to know the promised land, the Soviet Union. In 1935, Osten published her book *Gubert w strane tschudes. Dela i dni nemezkogo pionera* (Hubert in Wonderland. Deeds and days of a German pioneer) based on his story. The book was a propagandistic fairy tale (Müller 2007, 78), lovingly and elaborately designed (Barck 2010, 339), in which the Soviet population showed its own achievements from the perspective of the astonished, happy young foreigner; the foreword was written by Georgi Dimitroff, the powerful General Secretary of the Comintern, and edited by Sonja Prokofieva, the wife of the Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Osten's own motifs of taking Hubert with her were probably not only propagandistic but as well due to a romanticized longing for children. A few years later, she adopted an orphan in Spain, and described her search in an article giving the impression that it was as much a desire to help as to have a child, without weighing the consequences (Osten 29 October 1936; see also Chapter 6).

At the beginning of May 1935 Koltsov and Osten went to Paris for the first International Writers' Congress. In August 1935 after her return from Paris, she was sent to the VII World Congress of the Communist International as a correspondent, a prestigious task. She was also instrumental in the development of a new German-language literary journal *Das Wort* (The word), published by Koltsov's editorial conglomerate Jourgaz.

In the summer of 1936, Osten travelled to London as a correspondent, where she attended another writers' congress. From there she went on to Paris, where she corresponded and negotiated with potential authors for the first issue of *Das Wort*. On July 26, after the first news of the generals' uprising had already reached France, she still went to see Lion Feuchtwanger in southern France to work with him on the concept for the magazine (Müller 2007, 2019). In Paris, she probably met up

with Koltsov and flew with him to Spain on August 8, 1936 in a private plane provided by André Malraux (Müller 2019). From Spain, she worked as a correspondent for the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* (*DZZ*), at least some articles were also published in the *Wetschernaja Moskva* (to the data of her Spain trips, see Table 16 at the end of this Sub-section). Koltsov played an important, if not entirely transparent, role in the Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War as Pravda correspondent and powerful advisor (see e.g.Preston 2008). Koltsov (Kolzow 1986) published his own harmonised version of his role in his *Spanish Diary*.

According to the stories Maria Osten sent from Spain, her first stay lasted at least until the end of October 1936, her first article from Spain in 1936 was published in the *DZZ* on September 20, her last one on October 29. The exact dates of her next trip to Spain are given slightly different in the sources: Abel and Hilberth (2015) date a second stay from February 1937 (this date is also given by Müller 2019, 80) to early 1938; according to Barck (2010, 345), Osten stayed in Spain from February 1937 to October 1937 and came back from March to April 1938. This time, however, she was only able to work for the *DZZ* for a few months. Her last story appeared, to our knowledge, on May 17, 1937. In May 1937, Stalin's terror had reached the editorial office of the *DZZ* and on the 27th of that month *DZZ* editor-in-chief Julia Annenkova, Osten's boss and close friend, and other members of the editorial staff were arrested. After this, Osten also fell from grace, and contributions by her were no longer accepted in Moscow which she complained about in a letter from August 9, 1937. There, after urging to pay her the outstanding fees, she emphasised her role as a "loyal party member" (treues Parteimitglied) and "honest collaborator" (ehrliche Mitarbeiterin) (Müller 2019, 82–83). Apart from her work as a correspondent for Moscow papers, she also published three texts (versions of her newspaper stories) in the German edition of the *Volontaire de la Liberté*, the official organ of the International Brigades (IB).[50]

Maria Osten's private relationships are not entirely clear at that time, during her first stay in Spain she was still Koltsov's partner. In his memoirs, Heinz Hoffmann, later Minister of Defence of the German Democratic Republic, recalls visits by the couple during his stay in a hospital in Madrid; for him, the warm and likeable young journalist was Koltsov's wife (quoted in La Biblioteca Fantasma

[50] According to research by the German historian Werner Abel (mail to the author on 28 March 2020), the journal had a circulation of between 12,000 and 15,000 copies at the time. However, these articles were not included in the content analysis, as the "Volontaire de la Liberté" was not an international mass medium, but, despite all the journalists who published there, a PR product of the IB whose only focus and purpose was the presentation of the civil war in the interest of the IB.

2009). The American correspondent Martha Gellhorn remembered meetings with "Koltzov's mistress …, an 'ominous' German with long, almond-shaped eyes" (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2550). However, at this time Osten was already close friends with the well-known German singer Ernst Busch, who became her new life partner. In February 1937, she returned to Spain with Busch. Koltsov himself later stated in prison that he had ended the partnership in the summer of 1937 after he learned of Osten's new relationship (Müller 2019, 28).

In Spain, apart from her own correspondent activities, she helped both Koltsov and especially Ernst Busch. She transcribed Koltsov's Russian telegrams into Latin letters (Barck 2010, 340). For Busch, she was instrumental in organising his big tournee through Spain from March 1937 to July 1938 (Abel and Hilberth 2015, 97). Koltsov, in turn, pushed through Busch's recordings with the Communist Party in the IB (Abel and Hilberth 2015, 98); his songs from the Spanish Civil War such as "Mamita Mía" ("Los Cuatro Generales") or "Los Campesinos" are still popular today. In 1937, Osten wrote in a letter to a friend that, like in Moscow, a small family has formed again, with Ernst Busch, the Czech war correspondent Egon Erwin Kisch, and the German writers and Interbrigadists Erich Weinert and Gustav Regler (Barck 2010, 340). In July 1937, Osten and Busch participated together in the writers' congress in Madrid, where Osten also gave a speech.

Osten's close and long-term relationship with Koltsov was important, on the one hand, but very sensitive on the other. She did not have the trust of the leadership: Maria Osten had already been suspicious to many in Moscow because of her international contacts. In Spain, she was considered a central person in the circle around the German communist Willi Münzenberg, suspected of Trotskyism (RGASPI 545-2-147, 308). Osten was tightly controlled by the intelligence service of the German Communist Party because of her alleged contacts with known Trotskyists as says her brief description in the so-called Gustav List[51] (RGASPI f. 545-6-352, 162). It is very likely that already at that time an "Amalgam" was prepared for possible later use against Osten, as Abel (2018, 13) assumes. Maria Osten did not see the catastrophe coming. Apparently still looking for a family of her own and driven by the desire to help, she set out to find an orphan. Finally, she adopted the two-year-old Chemino, whom she called Justik. As she described in her reportage "Ich suche ein spanisches Kind" (I am looking for a Spanish Child, Osten 29 October 1936), she was only allowed to

[51] After the Spanish Civil War, the personnel files of the International Brigades and their associates were evaluated and turned into *characteristics* by the leading Political Commissar of the IB André Marty and Gustav Szinda from the Commission for Foreign Cadres of the Central Committee of the PCE.

take him in after initial reservations on the part of the institutions through the mediation of Dolores Ibárruri.

Osten left Spain sometime in the spring of 1938, Justik came with her. First, they went to Paris where Osten worked for the magazine *Das Wort* again. Busch joined them after the end of his tour in July, but the couple separated in autumn 1938. At the latest after her return to Paris, the situation became seriously threatening for Maria Osten, which she obviously underestimated for far too long. Already in autumn 1937, Koltsov had been ordered back to the Soviet Union. At first everything seemed to go well, he was able to write his *Spanish diary* and in 1938 he was even elected to the Supreme Soviet. At the end of 1938, however, he was arrested, a few weeks later convicted and executed in early 1940. Before his imprisonment Koltsov had warned Maria Osten to follow him, she should stay safely in Paris.

In Paris, too, there were clear warning signs for Osten. Texts by her, in particular a novel about Spain, were rejected by *Das Wort* editors as not sufficiently in line with the Communist party. Her boss Bredel clearly distanced himself from her, the salary payments were stopped in early 1939 (Abel and Hilberth 2015, 375). She became dependent on the financial help of friends like Feuchtwanger. Nevertheless, Maria Osten went, taking Justik with her, back to Moscow in May 1939 to help Koltsov. The US-American war correspondent Martha Gellhorn, who had met Osten and Koltsov in Spain, sent her the money for the railway ticket (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2993).

From today's point of view, this was an unbelievable naivety, which she shared at the time with many who were more willing to believe Stalin's abstruse accusations than to trust old friends. "I simply cannot imagine what he could have done, I have seen him work tirelessly for the Soviet Union," Bert Brecht replied to Maria Osten in a letter after she had asked him to help Koltsov (quoted in El-Akramy 1998, 262). "is maria [sic] involved in this or whatever you call it" (El-Akramy 1998, 263),[52] asked Brecht's companion and Osten's friend Margarete Steffin in a letter to the philosopher Walter Benjamin. Almost all her friends in Moscow avoided Osten, her 16-year-old adopted son Hubert did not let her in in her apartment and she had to stay in a modest hotelroom (on Hubert's unhappy short life see W. Brenner 2012). Osten's party membership was initially suspended, later she was expelled from the Communist party. Shortly before Osten herself was arrested, she looked after the

[52] "Ich kann mir einfach nicht denken, was er getan haben könnte, ich habe ihn wirklich unermüdlich für die Sowjetunion arbeiten sehen" (quoted in El-Akramz 1998, 262). „ist maria [sic] mit hineinverwickelt oder wie man das nennt" (quoted in El-Akramy 1998, 263).

terminally ill Margarete Steffin, who had been left behind in Moscow by Bert Brecht. On 24 June 1941, Maria Osten was arrested, in December 1941, she was charged with espionage. On 8 August 1942, she was shot. In 1957, she was rehabilitated (Abel and Hilberth 2015, 375).

Digression: the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*

The *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* is hardly known internationally and there is also no digital archive for it. To better understand the reporting of Maria Osten, we would like to take a brief look at this newspaper, which has been discontinued for a long time. The *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* was the organ of the German section of the Comintern. Founded in 1925 and published in Moscow from 1926, the daily newspaper was mainly staffed by intellectuals, writers and journalists from the Russian-German milieu (Dorlin 2003). It can be clearly assigned to the party press. Today, it would be debatable whether a newspaper owned by a party without a corresponding statute guaranteeing independent reporting to the editorial staff could be counted as a journalistic medium. However, from a historical perspective, we consider it legitimate to include a correspondent of this newspaper in this analysis of partiality and journalistic quality. The party press still played an important role in Europe and, despite all the criticism, was not considered as non-journalistic. Secondly, in our view, other media were also closely linked with powerful (socio-)political institutions, such as the *Irish Independent* with the politically extremely influential Irish Church. Independence was only formal there. Thirdly, we want to examine the effect of partiality and background on journalistic quality, so it would make little sense to exclude a newspaper that was influential at the time because of its partiality.

The *DZZ* was not a big newspaper. At its peak in the 1930s its circulation was around 40,000 copies but it was a representative forum of German anti-fascist writers and artists, among them Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Arnold Zweig, Anna Seghers, Bertolt Brecht, Lion Feuchtwanger (Jarmatz, Barck, and Diezel 1979) . As the organ of the German section of the Comintern, it played an important role among the German exiles and immigrants in the Soviet Union, many of whom were also involved in the Spanish Civil War, as for example the Interbrigadist Erich Weinert, the singer Ernst Busch who toured through Spain or the writer Anna Seghers, who attended the 1937 Writers' Congress in Spain. In her day, Maria Osten was the only “special correspondent” of the *DZZ* in Spain, but there were also contributions from other authors and Spanish politicians, for example, greetings and texts by

Dolores Ibárruri. Also, a reportage by the German socialist journalist Ilse Wolff (also known as Wolf de Rivera) was published (Wolf de Rivera 21 September 1936).

Authors and members of the editorial staff were particularly at risk of arrest, as many emigrants and anti-fascists from Germany and Austria wrote for the newspaper. From May 1937 the N.K.V.D. came to the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* several times and arrested a total of more than forty members of the editorial office (Dorlin 2003). In 1939, the newspaper was shut down.

Table 16. Maria Osten: key data to the Spain trips.

Articles by Maria Osten were published in the *DZZ* between 20 September 1936 and 17 May 1937. However, the exact dates of her trips to Spain vary in different sources: She entered Spain for the first time, together with Mikhail Koltsov, on 8 August 1936 (Müller 2019) and stayed at least until the end of October as her last story in 1936 was published on 29 October 1936. Abel and Hilberth (2015) date a second stay from February 1937 to early 1938; according to Barck (2010, 345), Osten stayed in Spain from February 1937 to October 1937 and came back between March and April 1938. Osten reported mainly from Madrid, but during her first stay she went on a trip to the south, which took her as far as Alicante. In 1937, her base was also Madrid, from where she visited nearby front sections such as Brihuega and Guadalajara. A total of 26 texts signed with her name from Spain were published.

Source: author's own research.

6 In-depth Content Analysis: evaluation of the reporting of the case studies

This chapter presents all the results of the individual content analyses regarding partisanship and journalistic quality of the five case studies and points out possible correlations.

6.1 Evaluation of Virginia Cowles' reporting

6.1.1 Genre and topics

Eight extensive articles by Virginia Cowles have been analysed in this study. They were published in the Hearst paper *The New York Sunday American*[53], in *The New York Times* and the British papers *The Sunday Times* and *Daily Express* (see Table 17). All stories belong to the genre of reportage, half of them (17 October 1937, 9 January 1938, 10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b) include a large part of analysis and political discussion, thus corresponding to the characteristics of a feature that has been classified here as a type of reportage (see Chapter 2). What is special about these features is the comparison between Nationalists and Republicans based on Cowles' own research on site. Cowles wrote all articles from outside Spain, so they did not have to go through censorship.

Table 17. Spanish Civil War articles by Virginia Cowles.

Date	**Newspaper**	**Titel**
4 July 1937*	New York Sunday American	N. Y. Society Girl Sees Americans Fighting in Madrid's Front Trenches
17 October 1937	Sunday Times	Realities of War in Spain
20 October 1937	Daily Express	"Who's running this country anyway?"
26 October 1937	Daily Express	Not Front Page News, but…
9 January 1938	New York Times	Catalan Morale Held Crumbling
16 March 1937	New York Times	Behind the Fighting Fronts
10 April 10 1938	Sunday Times	Spain's Life Goes on Amid Grim Desolation
10 April 10 1938	New York Times	The Agony of Spain

Source: author's own research.
* Some words are illegible.

[53] In *The New York Sunday American* appeared, as described in Chapter 2, a total of three articles, of which only one "N. Y. Society Girls Sees Americans Fighting in Madrid's Front Trenches" was available as a copy for this thesis.

After Cowles' first stay in Republican Spain during spring/summer 1937, her three-part mini-series appeared in *The New York Sunday American*, of which "N.Y. Society Girl Sees Americans Fighting in Madrid's Front Trenches" was analysed here. She wrote it in Paris, where she stayed with a friend (Cowles 2011b). After Cowles' following trip to the Franco zone her first article was published in *The Sunday Times* in the fall of 1937, which already reported on her experiences in both zones. The article was not signed, the author was presented as an "experienced observer who has had opportunities of studying conditions in both Government and Franco territory". The text can be clearly attributed to Cowles, firstly by the information given by her daughter (Cowles 2011a), and secondly by text passages that are repeated in later articles. Why Cowles' article was published without a by-line was probably due to a still ongoing agreement with the Hearst publishing house as her daughter states (Cowles 2011a), but only a few days later two articles signed by Cowles were published in the *Daily Express* about her tour through Nationalist territory.

On 16 March 1938, immediately after her third, short trip to Spain (the second to the Republican zone), three more articles appeared: "Catalan Morale Held Crumbling" in *The New York Times*, and the two large stories "Spain's Life Goes on amid Grim Desolation" (10 April 1938a) in *The New York Times Magazine* and "The Agony of Spain" (10 April 1938b) in *The Sunday Times*. These two detailed features on both sides of the front, both published on 10 April 1938, are identical for the most part. In other articles, too, sections are occasionally very similar.

Cowles looked for her themes mainly in her two trips to Spain in 1937. Also a large part of the stories that appeared in 1938 were based on this research in the Republican and Nationalist zones. In her first articles in *The New York Sunday American*, she reported on Madrid and the nearby front. These articles, as can be seen from the titles[54], emphasised the fact that a young American woman was reporting from the Spanish Civil War. In most of her articles she took up different topics and aspects. She reported on everyday life in the capital, and the resistance and the hunger of the population. She wrote about the poor equipment and the disorder in the Republican troops and about the General of the International Brigades at Morata, where she was grounded for a few days (4 July 1937), as well as about the German and Italian allies of Franco and the numerous swastikas in Salamanca (e.g. 20

[54] The titles of the two missing *New York Sunday American* articles were taken from the book *Desde las trincheras* (Cowles 2011a), which was published only in Spanish. This means that the titles of the newspaper articles were also translated into Spanish, the original English version was not given: "Chica americana cuenta que la vida sigue plácidamente en el Madrid arrasado por las bombas" (27 June 1937). "Virginia Cowles dice que las Brigadas Internacionales están en la vanguardia de la lucha Española" (11 July 1937).

October 1937, 9 January 1938). She stressed that Guernica was bombed by the Germans and not burned by the "Reds" as Franco's press officer had told her (17 October 1937, 10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b). She reported on Nationalists' fast-track courts as well as the bitterness of shop owners in Barcelona, who had lost so much in the Civil War and secretly hoped for an early victory for Franco. She wrote with a touch of irony about the cheerful side of everyday Spanish life, the dance at the Ritz, the full cinemas, and the crowds at the bullfight.

> *Everyone seemed in high spirits except the man who sat next to me. He grumbled consistently because the bulls were only small ones. The big bulls, he explained, were bred in the South, and the South belonged to Franco. "Curse the war," he said*. (10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b)

The quote reflects one of her core statements: The war is being waged against the will of the people.

Cowles found recognition for her coverage at a high political level. The story "Realities of War" in *The Sunday Times* of 17 October 1937 emphasising the international intervention on Franco's side earned her an invitation from Sir Robert Vansittart, the British Under Secretary in the Foreign Office.

> *When Franco organised his rebellion, it is doubtful that he ever envisaged the international complications that would ensue, but the fact remains that he is neither strong enough nor clever enough to maintain a balance against Hitler and Mussolini. And to-day he no longer wishes to. In Spain it is openly stated the most important payment Italy and Germany will receive for their assistance will be a strong Spanish alliance, with the use of strategic ports and gun positions placed at the disposal of these Powers.* (Cowles 17 October 1937)

Her further assessment that the story spread by the Nationalists of the impending "Bolshevik revolution", which should have been prevented by the rebels, was probably greatly exaggerated, and that "Franco was in hands of German and Italian allies" who had sent 10,000 German "technicians and air pilots" and 80,000 Italians to support him, had caught attention in British political circles. She emphasised the German and Italian support again in a *Daily Express* story three days later, with the headline "'Who's running this country anyway?' German and Italian flags fly from one end of Insurgent Spain to the other" (20 October 1937).

6.1.2 Dimension of partiality

Virginia Cowles was certainly not a supporter of the Spanish Republic, much less a sympathiser of the Nationalists. In Cowles' articles in *The Sunday Times*, *The New York Times* and *Daily Express* there are a few signs of sympathy or evaluation favouring one warring side but no clear patterns that suggest a conscious, definite partisanship (see Table 18).

Agenda setting and framing: Cowles' distributed her attention evenly. Four of her eight articles analysed are characterised by the juxtaposition of life and politics in Republican and Nationalist Spain. Two stories are dedicated only to the Franco side (20 October 1937, 26 October 1937) and two mainly to the Government side (4 July 1937, 16 March 1938). Her two stories about the Nationalists in the *Daily Express* (20 October 1937, 26 October 1937) did not favour the Franco side. In "Who's running this country anyway" on 20 October 1937, she emphasised the military presence of the Germans and Italians, and quoted a Nationalist officer who, with German help, was already making claims on British Gibraltar. The second story is a reportage of a less than successful trip to the front with a Nationalist cavalry officer, who finally considered the reporter a "Government supporter". Her stories, which only deal with the Republican side, sound more sympathetic or at least show empathy with the demoralised people on the Republican side before the inevitable defeat.

In all her reporting, there are few explicit references to the narratives of the warring parties and when she did refer to them, they were put into perspective, as shown above in the context of the Nationalist myth of a Bolshevik revolution. This applies to her reporting on both sides. On 4 July 1937, the narrative of international anti-fascist solidarity, stressed by the International Brigades and the Republic, sounds through: The volunteers from around the world "had poured across the French border with the same fanatic idealism that had sent the Crusaders riding through Europe. They had come to fight Fascism." At the same time, she distanced herself by adding "fanatic" and differentiating slightly: "Some were fighting under the banner of democracy, others under the banner of Communism."

Evaluation: In her memoirs, Cowles wrote that she came to Spain without a line, "as it had not yet become a political story for me" (Cowles 2011b, 61). She continued, "I wrote about the things I had seen and heard but did not try to interpret them"(Cowles 2011b, 61). Thus, she stressed authenticity

and impartiality of her coverage and seemed not to reflect about the fact that her conclusions were based on interpretation of what she had seen and heard. Certainly, she did not take a political side, but empathy for the people in the Republican zone who would suffer hunger and terror at the hands of the Nationalists is evident in almost all the stories.

At the same time, an effort to achieve balance is identified. Cowles used to substantiate general statements with the help of anecdotes and individual fates, a journalistic routine. However, it is less about generalizing and generating empathy from pitiful individual fates than about strengthening the journalist's rather matter-of-fact assessment as the following episode shows, which appeared almost identically in three stories.

> *"A Girl in a calico dress came round the corner carrying a bucket of water. I asked her what she thought of it. What she thought of it, she repeated, a puzzled look in her eyes – thought of what? "The armies," I said. "One army moving out, the other moving in." "Oh," she said, "that. Well, we haven't had much food." Food. That was to the point. That's what war meant. Lack of food and loss of cows, and houses with bomb-holes in them.* (Cowles 26 October 1937, 10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b)

Comparing the two sides, however, she also stressed how "orderly" the Franco regime would be, how "well fed" the population and how much more professional the troops (17 October 1937, 9 January 1938). On 17 October 1937, the sub-headlines of her article in *The Sunday Times*, which accurately reflect the story were: "Military Odds on Franco" and "Valencia's Army Muddle".

Her labelling of the warring parties, in turn, expresses a basic attitude in which the Republican side, referred to as "Government", "Republic" or "Loyalists", is seen as the legitimate political force despite all its shortcomings, while the "Rebels", "Insurgents" and "Francoists", more rarely "Fascists" (also more strongly as "fascist régime", e.g. 20 October 1937), would have instigated the Civil War through a "right wing uprising". Regarding the labelling of the warring parties, however, it must be noted that it was not always the freelance journalist who decided on the label. This becomes obvious when comparing the almost identical articles in *The Sunday Times* and in *The New York Times* of 10 April 1938. In *The New York Times* the press officer who accompanies Cowles to Guernica is a "Rebel lieutenant" and in *The Sunday Times* a "Fascist lieutenant", just as two other "Rebel officers" in *The New York Times* are called "Fascist officers" in *The Sunday Times*. While in *The New York Times* an old man in Guernica proudly explains how he made his money making bombs for the "Loyalists", the same old man in *The Sunday Times* made bombs for the "Reds". The term "Reds" was probably not

Cowles' choice of words, because neither in her articles nor in her memoirs did she simplify or denigrate the Republican side with the term "Reds", but at best quoted Nationalist sources who used the term.

Cowles reported and evaluated, she never became loud but was explicit, for example when it came to Franco's persecution of potential opponents.

> *The "denouncing" system continues to operate with full force. The most innocent remark may be interpreted as "unsympathetic" and with little explanation the indiscreet one will find himself in jail. The close co-operation in which Italy and Germany are working with Spain is revealed by the fact that several correspondents were placed under arrest, then asked to leave the country, because they had written several years ago against the Mussolini and Hitler régimes.* (Cowles 17 October 1937)

However, immediately afterwards she awarded "Air Laurels" for Franco's Italian allies, "the best fighting pilots in Spain to-day" (17 October 1937).

Despite all efforts of balancing, the terror Franco exercised on the population increasingly took Cowles against him. With a certain pleasure, she told an anecdote from the heavily destroyed Guernica: the press officer with whom she is travelling is trying hard to present the attack on the city as a fire devastation caused by the Republicans and not as a bombing raid by the Nationalists and their allies. Eyewitnesses questioned by the press officer in front of Cowles who claim the opposite are dismissed as "Reds". Finally, they meet a staff officer from whom the press officer hopes to get the appropriate confirmation. But the staff officer says, according to Cowles: "Of course it was bombed, we bombed it, and bombed it, and bombed it, and, bueno, why not?" (17 October 1937).

In general, her reporting shows less of a clear sympathy for the political groups of the Republic than an obvious rejection of the Nationalists' politics in many ways. Cowles' real sympathy was with the civilian population on the Republican side. "The courage with which the civilian population has struggled to carry on its life is incredible" (10 April 1938b).

Personal involvement: Cowles showed the greatest proximity to one of the warring parties during her visit to the Morata front. The commanding Hungarian-Russian general did not allow her to return to Madrid for three days because he wanted to give the US journalist an idea of communism (Cowles 2011b; see also Chapter 5). Cowles dealt with this experience in her reportage on 4 July 1937. She

highlighted the comradely atmosphere in the International Brigades and explained how she met American, German, and British volunteers on the Morata Front. Apparently, the Communist general and the U.S. society girl met each other with not unfriendly irony. Maybe Cowles was even more delighted about the journalistic coup of being the only reporter there than furious about being grounded. At the end of the article, the general sends for champagne and says: “Did you ever think that you would be sitting in Spain drinking champagne with the Red Army?” “No, I never did”, answered Cowles.

Even in this situation close to American volunteers there is only slight evidence of a “we” and the “others” group feeling. “The enemy lines were two hundred yards away across a green waving field” (4 July 1937). But Cowles was a stranger to both the general’s world and that of her countrymen. “They were nice looking boys; workers from the shoe factories of Massachussetts, the farms of Mississippi, and the coal mines of Pennsylvania”. For her, the “N. Y. Society Girl” (4 July 1937), both sides of the front are “others”.

Table 18. Results of Virginia Cowles' content analysis.

COWLES, Virginia.																				
		PART 1 **CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY**										**PART 2** **JOURNALISTIC QUALITY**. (X =Yes; =Partly; -=No)								
Date	**Title Newspaper**	**AGENDA SETTING**		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**		**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Indepen-dence**		
		Focus, , **P**ersonalisation/ **I**ndividualization *Favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling, **B**laming, **G**eneralization (Idealisation/Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling* Republican side	Labelling * Nationalist side	**I**dentification, **C**ampaigning/ **S**olidarity actions *favouring*		a=contextual-isation b=attractive narration c=role journ.			d=sources e=placing sources f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
		Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
4 July 1937	*New York Sunday American*	F, P/I ·		N		L		Government, Loyalists	Rebels	I		X	X	/	X	X	X	/	-	/
17 Oct 1937**	*The Sunday Times*					B	T	Government, Republic, Valencia, Reds	Francoists			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20 Oct 1937	*Daily Express*		F ·			L, B		Government, Valencia	Francoists, Fascists, Insurgents			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
26 Oct 1937	*Daily Express*		F					Government				-	/	/	/	X	/	/	/	X
9 Jan 1938	*The New York Times*					B		Loyalists, Republic, Government	Nationalists, Insurgents, Whites, Francoists			X	X	X	X	X	/	X	X	X
16 March 1938	*The New York Times*	F				L		Republic, Government	Insurgents			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10 April 1938	*The Sunday Times*					B L		Republic, Government	Fascists, Francoists			X	X	X	X	X	/	X	X	X
10 April 1938	*The New York Times*					L		Republic, Government	Rebels, Insurgents			X	X	X	X	X	/	X	X	X

Source: author's own research.

* Includes combined terms such as Red troops (=Reds); Patriot territory (=Patriots); Franco soldiers (=Francoists) etc.

** Without naming of the author, but clearly attributable.

6.1.3 Evaluation of journalistic quality

As stated previously, the basic task of journalism is to give orientation to its audience, to illuminate complex topics and present them in a comprehensible way. Virginia Cowles fulfilled this claim in many ways. She described political ideas and consequences of the conflict on both sides. In some places this can be attributed to "balancing" out of a concern to not favour one side. In most cases, however, it is the credible attempt to listen to different sides, to classify what has been said, to question and evaluate it, and to form an independent opinion from it, which is passed on to the audience as transparently as possible.

Relevance: Cowles' reporting was relevant (see Table 19). One restriction must be made. The articles were each evaluated individually. However, they are similar in some passages, and the two articles of 10 April 1938 are identical for the most part. All in all, the information value of the eight articles is therefore not as great as it would be with completely different stories but not to be underestimated either. Her reports on the Italians and Germans and the appreciation they received from the Francoists (17 October 1937, 20 October 1937) concerned the whole of European politics, as the reaction of the British Under Secretary Vansittart also showed.

In almost all her stories, Cowles succeeded in linking her own experiences to the conflict and embedding it in background information. She explained the heterogeneity of both sides, provided figures, for example on the extent of foreign support, gave examples of statements that could be generalized and drew memorable conclusions from her research. "One learns that to the civilian population of a country war seldom interprets in terms of military and high-sounding 'isms'. War means soaring prices, lack of food, and houses with bomb-holes in them" (10 April 1938a, 10 April 1938b).

The change of perspectives and rhythm between individual experiences and general knowledge, between numbers and anecdotes makes the reading of her often long stories entertaining. Cowles' articles are almost always written in the first person; however, she took a role more in the background as an observer and enquirer. The exception is the report in the *Daily Express*, published on 26 October 1937 under the patronising but accurate title "Not Front Page News, but ...", in which a rather irrelevant trip to the front with a Nationalists cavalry officer makes the whole story. But in general, despite all sympathy, she keeps her distance.

Facticity: In all her articles Cowles cited various sources, official and unofficial – the hotel owner, the press officer, the Russian prisoner, the girl in a calico dress, the staff officer, American soldiers, the old man from Guernica, the Hungarian general and his translator. The selection of her sources was therefore almost always answered with "yes/predominantly". A limitation must be made. Although Cowles seems to present her personal experiences and interlocutors transparently and repeatedly refers to official sources, she does not always give the origin of numeric data. Information about the number of troops or the number of Italians and Germans does not even include an "according to official sources". She also hardly gives any information about how she communicated considering her lack of Spanish language skills. From her memoirs we know that she was sometimes on the road with the Swedish Kajsa Rothman, who worked for the Republican press office as a translator. There we also learn the names of the "press officers", who were her official companions on the Nationalist side. These were Captain Gonzalo Aguilera and Captain Ignacio "Rosalles" (correct: Rosales) (Cowles 2011b), a Barcelona millionaire, who both spoke English fluently.

Her reluctance to name her sources cannot be attributed solely to the protection of the informants. Perhaps it was a result of her deliberate distancing from both sides. Nevertheless, her sources were also consistently put into perspective. It is clear from the context who is saying something from which situation and what the background could be, whether it is the small shop owners in Barcelona who, because of their large losses, finally want a proper (Franco) government, or the Hungarian general who wants to bring communism closer to the young American journalist. On several occasions, Cowles questions official information. For example, she could "scarcely believe" an official bulletin of the Franco administration, according to which out of 4,000 prisoners tried only thirty-five had been condemned to death. According to her own source, a lieutenant of the Nationalists, 14 out of 16 accused Republicans had been sentenced to death at a war tribunal she visited. When she asked him what the standard for the death penalty was, the lieutenant answered, "[a]ll officers, all Government servants and all men and women who have denounced Whites" (17 October 1937; see also 9 January 1938). Specificity, as in this episode, gives her stories credibility.

Independence: Cowles did her own independent research as much as possible. She almost always reported from different perspectives, Nationalists and Republicans, military or politics and civilians, city and countryside. She was concerned with the two sides of the same thing. For example, she discussed the question of guilt:

> *Although it is true that before the Franco uprising the Republic was unable to maintain discipline, and that there were many outrages and shootings, the fault must not be wholly attributed to a bad Republican Government. From the first day the Republic came in in 1931, Right wing groups began to plot its downfall.* (Cowles 17 October 1937, 30)

Everything to her had reverse and averse, even the civilian life in times of war.

> *[O]ne can write of ruined towns, prisons, tribunals and the tragedies of smashed lives. But to give an accurate picture of Spain one must also write of the cafés, the crowded squares, the operas, the tea dances at the Ritz in Barcelona.* (Cowles 10 April 1938a, 15, 10 April 1938b, 25)

When she wrote about heroism in Madrid in the same texts, she also stressed the insistence of the people of Oviedo on the Nationalist side. Despite her balancing, she showed more distance to the people with Franco: "On the Nationalist side this spirit of vindication in many cases approaches fanaticism" (10 April 1938b, 24). Cowles' sympathies with the population on the Republican side emerged during her research in Spain. They are what Deacon (2008b) defined as "experiential affinities".

Nevertheless, Cowles was largely unaffected by the official narration of the two sides but referred to it to put it in perspective. Thus, she not only pointed out the "active terror of Fascist rule" in the Nationalists zone, but also that it was "fanned by Valencia propaganda" (17 October 1937, 30). The most successful war propaganda launched on both sides was directed against foreigners, she diagnosed. "The Republic is fighting the Italians and the Germans, while the Nationalists have created the myth of a Russian army and 'the hordes of Marx'" (10 April 1938b, 25, almost identical in 10 April 1938a, 15). When she used the generally strongly negative term "Fascists" for the Nationalists' side, this is not a reflection of Republican propaganda, but justified by the context – for example, by explaining the presence of the Italian and German allies. Cowles preserved an independent view which focused not on ideologies but on the struggle between privileged and less privileged classes. Although the Republican narrative of the struggle of the poor against the rich resonates here, her view is far more pragmatic and lacks the heroic spirit of resistance of the population propagated by the Government side.

> *Although the army air force are under the control of Soviet leaders, the majority of working class people in Government Spain are not fighting for Communism, but for the ten pesetas a*

day they are paid under the present Republican régime, as compared with the Franco wage of one peseta. (Cowles 17 October 1937, 21, see similar 9 January 1938, 13)

The case of Cowles is an example of how it is possible to show sympathy and still remain independent. This attitude requires extensive research in advance and transparent argumentation in the text. Her interpretation of the conflict as a struggle between rich and poor and the exclusion of any ideology admittedly simplifies the complex conditions of Spanish society. As a possible journalistic analysis of the Spanish Civil War, we consider this to be permissible. Cowles was a journalist, not a historian.

6.2 Evaluation of Gertrude Gaffney's reporting

6.2.1 Genre and topics

All 23 articles written by Gertrude Gaffney as "Special Correspondent" after her two trips to Spain during the Civil War were analysed (see also Lugschitz and García-Avilés 2020). They had been divided into two series and published daily (with the exceptions of Sundays) from 22 February to 8 March 1937, with the title of the series being "In War-torn Spain," and from the 25 October to 4 November 1937. The articles followed her journey chronologically and have the character of travel reportages. Therefore, we assigned almost all texts to the genre of reportage, only the last article on 4 November 1937 was explicitly a personal summary and assessment of the situation in Spain, it was categorised as an opinion article. For a complete list of the articles, see Table 19.

The articles were based on the journalist's personal experiences on the road which is also illustrated by many titles: "We are attacked by Reds" (27 February 1937); "I Reach the Suburbs of Madrid" (6 March 1937), "I Cross the Frontier at Irún" (25 October 1937). Based on her day-to-day experiences, Gaffney gave account of what she saw of the Civil War and of what she was told, mixing themes of personal, civilian, and military facets. She described "villages of wrecked and burned houses" (5 March 1937) as well as the "colourful medley" of the "picturesque uniforms" (22 February 1937) of the different political groups in the Nationalist army. As a former fashion journalist, she was particularly taken with these uniforms, and in ten articles, almost half of her total coverage, she talked about them (e.g. 22 February 1937, 4 March 1937, 25 October 1937). She explained Franco's strategies (22 February 1937, 24 February 1937) and why "Red Soldiers Failed to Stop Advance" (30

October 1937). She reported on the presence of German soldiers in Franco's headquarter (25 February 1937) and she observed prisoners of war building roads (29 October 1937).

The randomness of topic selection, depending on what happened on the road, shows a certain diversity on the one hand, and arbitrariness and redundancy on the other. A good part of the stories leads the readers along dangerous roads, destroyed bridges to small villages recently taken by the Nationalists. A special focus was put on Gaffney's visit to the Irish Brigades of volunteers in Cáceres. As previously mentioned, three full articles (1 March 1937, 2 March 1937, 3 March 1937) deal with her stay there.

The arbitrariness of her choice of topics could have been attributed less to a lack of preparation and concept than to open-mindedness and an attempt at authenticity of her travel report. However, this is not reflected in the coverage.

Table 19. Spanish Civil War articles by Gertrude Gaffney.

Month day 1937	***Irish Independent*** **Title**
22 February	In War-Torn Spain (I.). Over France's Frontier
23 February	In War-Torn Spain (II.). Charms of Beautiful Basque Country
24 February	In War-Torn Spain (III.). Flight from Fury of Reds
25 February	In War-Torn Spain (IV.). Historic Salamanca Visited
26 February	In War-Torn Spain (V.). A Motor Break-down
27 February	In War-Torn Spain (VI.). We are attacked by Reds
1 March	In War-Torn Spain (VII.). With the Irish Brigades in Caceres
2 March	In War-Torn Spain (VIII.). Spirit of the Irish Brigade
3 March	In War-Torn Spain (IX.). Irish Brigade's Day of Joy
4 March	In War-Torn Spain (X.). A Struggle to the Death
5 March	In War-Torn Spain (XI.). General Franco's Motto is Business as Usual
6 March	In War-Torn Spain (XII.). I Reach the Suburbs of Madrid
8 March	In War-Torn Spain (XIII.). In a Land the Godless Left Desolate
25 October	I Cross the French Frontier at Irun
26 October	Peace and Plenty in Nationalist Spain
27 October	Up to the Front Line among the Mountains
28 October	Nationalist Guns Go into Action
29 October	Prisoners of General Franco
30 October	Ruined Bridges of War-Torn Spain
1 November	Flag that Marked Army's Drive
2 November	A Narrow Escape from Red Fire
3 November	Unpleasantly Close to the Reds
4 November	A War to Save Spain for Spain

Source: author's own research.

6.2.2 Dimension of partiality

Gaffney's articles are characterised by her partisanship for the Nationalists (see Table 20).

Agenda-Setting: As described, the focus was on her own journey, which she dedicated almost exclusively to reporting on the Nationalist Zone and its issues. In her emphasis on the Francoists, their warfare, and allies, she hardly ever focused on specific individuals. However, she showed great admiration for General Franco to whose abilities she attributed all the Nationalists' successes, from stressing the "abundance of food" in "Franco's territory" (26 October 1937) to the pleasing sight of his soldiers, "General Franco shows an eye for picturesque effect in choosing his guards from the Moroccan Civil Guard; but, no doubt, his stronger motive is appreciation of their loyalty and devotion" (25 February 1937). In 18 of her 23 articles the person of the General appears at least once.

In her concluding opinion article "A War to Save Spain for Spain", she honoured his merits in detail.

> *"Early there were speculations as to whether Franco will make as good a statesman as he is a soldier. You have only to go through the two-thirds of the country which is under his command to find the answer to this."* (Gaffney 4 November 1937)

Gaffney was also impressed by other Nationalist high-ranking officers and alleged war heroes, such as General Aranda, whom she met by chance. "As he talked, his good-humoured courtesy gave place to a keenness that bordered on sharpness; once more you received the impression of big business in action" (1 November 1937).

Framing: The Nationalists' strategy of "la exaltación del 'Caudillo' providencial" (Sevillano Calero 2014) is evident in her reporting. In general, the Nationalist narratives served as a framework for Gaffney's argumentation. Even though they are not always explicitly reproduced, they are often reflected in Gaffney's choice of words. For example, she never spoke of an uprising of the generals, but of a war in which "the Reds entered ... with every advantage" (30 October 1937). The Nationalists would now liberate the cities from "red occupation" (27 October 1937, see also 22 February 1937). In other passages, she simply repeated myths of the Nationalists. Thus, Gaffney justified the presence of the Italians and Germans by stressing that Franco "steadily refused to accept proffered outside help until he was finally forced to by the numbers of French and Russians" who came to support the

Republic (24 February 1937). In reality, only few days after the coup, the rebels had asked for and received help from Mussolini and Hitler (Beevor 2006, 152–55; Graham 2008, 45).

This black and white pattern is even reinforced by the religious context in which Gaffney placed the conflict. While discovering a "biblical flavour" in Nationalist street life (24 February 1937), the Republicans are titled "Godless" and "mad demons" (8 March 1937) who let their rage of destruction run free. Here, the Nationalist message, as identified by Pulpillo Leiva (2014, 135), clearly resonates: "Los nacionales construyen, los rojos destruyen." Her own background, Ireland, Catholicism, and their attachment to Spain, is also emphasised explicitly. In the three articles about her visit to the Irish volunteers in Cáceres, the commitment of her fellow countrymen and their faith are almost exclusively the subject. „Here were, actually, men who had come to Spain to fight for Christianity – and for nothing else" (Gaffney 2 March 1937).

Evaluation: In not a single one of her texts did Gaffney even mention a possible question of guilt, not even responsibility of Franco and the Nationalists, but she repeatedly blamed the Republicans and their allies for the continuation of the war and for terror and atrocities. The systematic depreciation, even demonization of the Republican side on the one hand and idealisation of the Nationalist side on the other hand can be identified already by browsing the titles. Numerous headlines and sub-titles such as "A Struggle to the Death. Peace with Reds is Impossible" (4 March 1937), "Havoc Wrought by the Retreating Reds" (5 March 1937), "In a Land the Godless Left Desolate" (8 March 1937), "Unpleasantly Close to the Reds" (3 November 1937) and "A War to Save Spain For Spain" (4 November 1937) unmistakably conveyed this message to the audience in Ireland. It is a story of good and evil. On the Nationalist side, "Charms of Beautiful Basque Country" (23 February 1937), "Business as Usual" (5 March 1937) and "Peace and Plenty" (26 October 1937) prevail.

The vilification, on the one hand, and heroization, on the other hand, continue as a constant feature in the texts. They manifest themselves in the labelling of the warring parties as well as in the attribution of blame in specific situations and as a general depreciative characterisation of the "Reds". In almost all of her articles, Gaffney referred to the Republicans as "Reds". This is a clearly pejorative term mainly used in the beginning of the war by other journalists (Deacon 2008a, 129). Gaffney often used it in connection with the term "regime" (e.g. 22 February 1937, 24 February 1937, 29 October 1937), which implies authoritarian rule. For Franco's side, she primarily used the rather neutral "Nationalists" and sometimes the strongly positively connoted terms "Whites" and "Patriots"

implying innocence and legitimacy, without further argumentation being necessary. For Gaffney, the Nationalist side was embodied by the person of Franco. Thus, she often wrote of “Franco’s army” or “Franco’s territory” (24 February 1937) (which we have not included in the sub-category Labelling) and not “Franco territory” as it was more often used.

In many articles Republicans are associated with devastation and/or looting (e.g. 22 February 1937, 24 February 1937, 2 March 1937, 29 October 1937, 30 October 1937). This may have been correct in one case or another, but nevertheless was only half the truth, as can still be seen today in the example of Irún. Right in her first article Gaffney stresses that the “Reds” set Irún on fire, not only by the content, but also by the highlighting in bold letter.

> *[We] climbed the steep hill into the town of Irun, past white-balconied villas, standing so serenely in their gardens in the warmth of the day that they only emphasised the nightmare that was to meet our eyes at the top of the hill. Here we turned and drove through street after street of gaunt skeletons that a few months ago were the homes of Irun; tall house after house gutted to a blackened framework pierced by holes that were windows.*
> ***This is the Irun that the Reds burned as they were being driven out by Franco’s troops, and the sight of it clouded the sunshine that lay so gently on those gaunt skeletons.***
> *There were few signs of the short Red regime in San Sebastian except the bullet-riddled huge Hotel Maria Cristina, and the jagged cups hewn out of the walls of a few public buildings by machine-gun bullets.* (Gaffney 22 February 1937)

Irún was indeed torched in part by anarchist militias (Esdaile 2019), but after weeks of defensive fighting, which also contributed to the devastation of the city. Gaffney told the story as if Irún had been briefly occupied by a “Red regime”; that this had been a democratically elected government, she never mentioned. Black and white painting is to be taken literally here – the white-balconied villas contrast with the black burned ruins. Another evident tool often used in Gaffney’s coverage is also seen here: the use of bold letters to heroicise the Nationalists and/or demean the Republicans.

Furthermore, Gaffney accused the Republicans of cowardice. “Twice I missed seeing a battle because the Reds made no attempt to hold their positions,” she began her reportage on 1 November 1937. While in her first series the “Reds” were regularly “driven out” (see e.g. 23 February 1937, 26 February 1937), in the second series they were on the “retreat,” often without a fight (e.g. Gaffney

29 October 1937, Gaffney 30 October 1937, 3 November 1937). In contrast, she stressed the unity of the different Nationalist groups.

> *There is a wonderful spirit of camaraderie between men of all ranks in the Spanish army […]. It is no wonder that the Moors give their officers such loyalty, so deeply do they appreciate their treatment at the hands of the latter.* (Gaffney 30 October 1937)

Personal involvement: In her reporting, Gaffney does not draw a strict line between herself and the Nationalists, she is an ally. Even if she does not always explicitly write about the "enemy" (e.g. 4 March 1937), the context often reveals an identification, an in- and out-group in her self-perception. This othering is evident in almost all her stories, sometimes already through the headlines. On 27 February 1937, she cries out in the headline "We are attacked by Reds", on 8 March 1937 she reports a "Peep into the Territory of the Reds," and on 28 October 1937 she feels "Unpleasantly Close to the Reds". Her reporting was dominated by this "us-them" pattern which makes the out-group "them" a problem, dehumanises "them" and raises its own voice propagandistically for "us" (Galtung 2003). Whereby "us" are the Spanish Nationalists with whom the Irish journalist herself identified. This becomes particularly explicit, for example, when she points to the absence of the "saorstat flag" among the other flags of Franco's allies, "yet for a small and poor country we have until now done in our own way a great deal for Nationalist Spain" (Gaffney 23 February 1937, see also Gaffney 24 February 1937). The ties between Ireland and Spain are not only addressed in a political context; Gaffney often compares the Spanish landscape to her homeland. From her first reportage, she points out such similarities: "One dragged one's eyes from contemplation of the great river winding its way through fields as green as any in Ireland (22 February 1937).

Looking at Gaffney's reporting as a whole, not only a fierce partisanship for the Nationalists, but also the self-interest of the correspondent and her newspaper in highlighting the role of the young Irish nation in the final battle between Christianity and godlessness, civilisation and barbarism is clearly visible.

Table 20. Results of Gertrude Gaffney's content analysis.

GAFFNEY, Gertrude. The Irish Independent																			
Date	**PART 1** **CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY**										**PART 2** **JOURNALISTIC QUALITY.** (Yes X; Partly /; No -)								
	AGENDA SETTING		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**		**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Indepen-dence**		
	Focus, **P**ersonalisation/ **Individualization** *favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *Favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling , **B**laming, **Generaliz**ation (Idealisation/ Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling* Republican side	Labelling* Nationalist side	**I**dentification, **C**ampaigning/ **S**olidarity actions *favouring*		a=context/ angle b=narration c=position author			d=sources e=placing sources f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
22 Feb 1937		F				L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists, Patriots			/	/	-	/	-	X	/	/	-
23 Feb 1937		F				T, L, G	Reds	Nationalists, Patriots			/	/	/	/	-	/	-	/	-
24 Feb 1937		F		N		T, L, G	Republicans, Reds	Nationalists		I	/	/	-	/	-	-	-	-	-
25 Feb 1937		F		N		L, G		Nationalists, Patriots		I	/	/	-	/	/	/	/	-	-
26 Feb 1937		F									-	/	-	/	-	X	-	-	X
27 Feb 1937		F				T, L	Reds	Nationalists		I	-	/	-	/	-	/	/	-	X
1 March 1937		F		N, B		T, L, G	Reds	Nationalists		I, C/S	X	/	/	/	-	X	/	-	-
2 March 1937		F		N, B		T, L, G	Reds			I, C/S	/	/	/	/	-	X	/	/	-
3 March 1937		F, P/I		N, B		L, G	Reds			I, C/S	-	/	-	/	-	/	/	-	-
4 March 1937		F				L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists		I	/	/	X	-	-	-	-	/	-
5 March 1937		F		N		T, L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists		I	/	/	-	/	-	/	/	-	-
6 March 1937		F				L, G	Reds	Nationalists		I	/	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	/
8 March 1937		F		N, B		T, L, B, G	Reds, Godless	Nationalists		I	-	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-

Date	Agenda Setting *favouring*		Framing *Favouring*		Evaluation *favouring*		Labelling Rep.	Labelling Nat.	Identification, Campaining/Solidarity			Relevance			Facticity			Independence		
	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
25 Oct 1937		F		N		L, B, G	Reds	Whites, Francoists				/	/	/	/	-	/	-	-	-
26 Oct 1937		F				T, L, G	Reds	Nationalists				-	/	/	/	-	/	-	-	-
27 Oct 1937		F				L, B, G	Reds	Whites, Francoists		I		-	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-
28 Oct 1937		F				T, L, B	Reds	Nationalists		I		-	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-
29 Oct 1937		F		N		T, L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists, Whites		I		-	/	/	/	-	/	-	-	-
30 Oct 1937		F		N		L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists, Whites				/	/	X	/	-	/	-	/	-
1 Nov 1937		F, P/I		N		L, G	Reds	Nationalists		I		/	/	/	/	-	/	-	-	-
2 Nov 1937**		F				T, L, G	Reds	Nationalists, Whites		I		/	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-
3 Nov 1937		F		N, B		L, B, G	Reds	Nationalists, Francoists		I		-	/	-	/	-	/	-	-	-
4 Nov 1937		F, P/I		N, B		T, L, B, G	Reds	Whites				X	/	X	-	-	/	-	/	-

Source: author's own research.

*Includes combined terms such as Red troops (=Reds); Patriot territory (=Patriots); Franco soldiers (=Francoists) etc.

**Two short paragraphs are illegible.

6.2.3 Evaluation of journalistic quality

The evaluation of Gaffney's texts reveals partiality on many levels and gives a rather mediocre result regarding journalistic quality (see Table 20). Hardly any of the quality criteria examined here could be identified as a consistent feature in Gaffney's reporting.

Relevance: Gaffney sought proximity to her readers, actually a characteristic of journalistic quality (Teramo 2006). She tried to attract her readers' interest with her own adventures on the road and descriptions of the Spanish way of life: "The Spaniards dine at the most ungodly hours" (Gaffney 23 February 1937). Nevertheless, too much proximity can lead to triviality. This is illustrated by her three articles from her first series, which were dedicated exclusively to her visit to the Irish volunteers on the Nationalist side who were stationed in Cáceres (1 March 1937, 2 March 1937, 3 March 1937). Of course, the Irish had an understandable and legitimate interest in the fate of their compatriots, but the descriptions of the good living conditions, "pleasant evenings at the café" (Gaffney 2 March 1937), and the praise of their military discipline and piety were not only lengthy but bore "little resemblance to contemporary accounts of the Irishmen in Spain" (McGarry 2002, 81). In terms of the Spanish Civil War the Irish volunteers were a rather insignificant group (Soler Parício 2013). The extensive coverage in these three articles was more likely aimed to show the strong faith and the unity of the young Irish nation by highlighting how Irish volunteers who belonged to different political groups reconciled in Spain, as well as a strong bond between the two countries, rather than a complex picture of the Civil War.

In the other stories, she backs up her own experience with some background on Franco's politics and his allies now and then, but it remains very superficial and broader context is missing. The reportages have little of the combination of styles that actually makes this genre stand out (Meier 2019a; Yanes Mesa 2004). The stories are strictly chronological, there are hardly any changes in rhythm and perspective, few anecdotes, few facts, and she rarely quotes people in direct speech. This diary-like nature would more likely be expected with daily reporting. However, Gaffney wrote her articles after her return and would have had plenty of time for reflection and deepening. The superficiality and partiality of Gaffney's first series is also emphasised by McGarry (2002) and M. O'Brien (2017). "Gaffney's articles shed more light on the Independent's outlook than on the complexities of the war" (McGarry 2002, 81).

Another problem related to the relevance of Gaffney's reporting is her position in the stories: she was not only the observer and narrator, she was often the protagonist. This is also evident from the introductions to her stories, nine out of 23 articles begin the running text with the first person singular, e.g. "I don't think I have ever spent a more tiring day in my life" (3 November 1937), or plural, "[w]e left Salamanca for Talavera de la Reina" (26 February 1937). In another four contributions the first person comes as the second word. Sometimes she spoke mainly about her personal experiences and made little reference to the war (26 February 1937). The editorial mandate had been to give an account "through a woman's eye"[55], which gave a soft edge to the coverage. Gaffney implemented this through touristic chit chat, "but I make no apology," she wrote, "for going into what may seem to many trivial details" (22 February 1937). In her reporting, war became a kind of travel destination and her tone inappropriate, almost cynical, for instance describing the variety of uniforms which were for the foreigner the "most picturesque and astonishing aspect of this Civil War" (22 February 1937). Another story, in which women told her how they just managed to save a few belongings from the Republicans who took the men of the village, concludes with the words "I said to myself, 'Well, at least they have their lives'" (30 October 1937).

Facticity: The main source of the journalist Gertrude Gaffney is Gertrude Gaffney, the eyewitness. Otherwise, she often remains very vague, sources are rarely specified, and assertions often poorly founded. Phrases such as "I was told", "you hear", "the man in the street", "a person of some authority" were repeatedly the most important reference regarding her sources (22 February 1937, 23 February 1937, 24 February 1937, 6 March 1937, 26 October 1937). These unspecified sources make unspecific statements. Under the caption "Deeds of Bravery," Gaffney reports that "[y]ou hear of the tenacity of the Falange on the Madrid front, officered, of course, by officers of the Regular Army, or of the Foreign Legion". Generalized idealisation replaces concreteness: "I was told that the people in Franco's territory were extremely kind to the refugees" (24 February 1937).

Her official escorts were probably very important sources, but she introduced them only as "a Requete" or "the Captain" with no more detail and she hardly quotes them at all, although many of her statements were probably based on their information. This may have been following the orders

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[55] So her series were promoted by the Irish Independent in advertisements in other newspapers, see e.g. Evening Herald, 23 February 1937.

of the Nationalist Press Office, even though she wrote her articles in Ireland. On the other hand, she did not follow Franco's instructions not to write about foreign allies. Among the few sources mentioned by name was the Nationalist war hero General Aranda, who – according to Gaffney – took time to explain his strategy in detail to her (1 November 1937). In this case, the information was so confidential that the reader learned little about it. Moreover, she never seemed to question or to re-check her sources' statements.

Although the focus was on her own tour, Gaffney only partly explained the exact circumstances of her journey. She often used "we" in relation to herself and her travel companions but gave only vague hints as to who they really were. "I was given a lift with a gentleman to present Red Cross ambulances given by Catholics" was the description of her travel companion to Salamanca on her first trip (22 February 1937). Her restraint was probably due to language problems. When she did interview people on the road from time to time, she gave no indication of who was translating for her. A difference can be seen in the reporting on the Irish volunteers. In Cáceres she could do research in English, she spoke to her countrymen and quoted them (although not always by name) (see e.g. 2 March 1937).

Only once Gaffney complained about the difficulty in getting "authentic news" (25 February 1937). In part, this lack of sources was mitigated by her status as an eyewitness, but she could not replace qualified and diverse sources, a circumstance which she did not recognize in her texts. Consequently, her conclusions followed official explanations or repeated stereotypes. When Gaffney, for instance, saw destroyed houses, which were a recurring image in her stories, these devastations were exclusively attributed to the "Reds" on the retreat (see e.g. 5 March 1937, 6 March 1937, 8 March 1937, 27 October 1937, 30 October 1937). It is never at least suggested that both sides could have been involved. On 6 March 1937, she wrote from Pozuelo near Madrid that she had an "opportunity of seeing something of what their reign had meant in the way of destruction; the awful desolation they had left in their wake". However, she never watched any Republicans burning or plundering houses. The only Republicans she saw were "contented prisoners" of Franco, looking "bronzed, healthy, well-fed" (29 October 1937). Without citing a source she stated that, depending on their extent of commitment on the Republican side, the prisoners were either released immediately or sent to prison, or in case of "clear evidence of the terrible crimes that have been perpetrated under the Red regime" received a public trial with "able counsel for the defense" (29 October 1937).

Without questioning anything, she accepted both the murders of "so many innocent people" by the Republicans and the fairness of the trial they received as proven.

Independence: We have illustrated above that Gaffney's reporting took a clear stand for the Nationalists. There is no willingness recognizable to reflect on this partiality, to show different perspectives and to distance from official propaganda. The story Gaffney told about the war was simple: order and chaos, good and evil, God and demon faced each other in Spain. Thus, she exclusively followed the narratives of the Nationalists (Pérez Bowie 1988; Pérez Ledesma 2006; Pizarroso Quintero 2005). This dichotomy of dark and light, black and white, was systematically perpetuated in the articles without relativizing or changing the perspective. The characteristics of the Nationalists' discourse, disguising rhetoric and simplifying stereotyping of reality (Pérez Bowie 1988, 364) are clearly perceptible in her coverage.

There would have been opportunities to reflect on her own position on the basis of personal observations. Gaffney, who had been a strong advocate for women's rights in her reporting in Ireland, noted in Spain: "In this land, where women have only in recent years broken away from their centuries of carefully guarded seclusion, convention still hedges their social life" (2 March 1937). The idea that the breaking of this seclusion was due to the Republic and that the Nationalists continued to cultivate a very traditional image of women did not occur to her. In other places, too, where she compared women from both countries and noted how little Spanish women participated in business life compared to Irish women, she did not link this to the conservative politics of the Nationalists (22 February 1937).

Gaffney argued only from the point of view of the Nationalists in which the "Reds" were the enemies. It is also clear from apparent side issues that she judged only from their standpoint. When describing the misery of refugees coming from the Republican area who had to leave everything behind, she praised "some of the wealthier" who "had the foresight" to take their money out of the country already one or two years ago as soon as they noticed "how the wind was blowing" (24 February 1937). She never asked how the people on the other side might feel, what their motives might be for supporting the Republic. At no point does she show any attempts to break through this dichotomy, to put it into perspective or to lead open-minded argumentation. Her "us" and "them" pattern is characteristic, according to Galtung (2003), of warmongering "war journalism" (in contrast to "peace journalism"). Only on one point, as already noted in the previous chapter, did Gaffney not follow the

lead of Franco's propaganda. She discussed the foreign support he received at length. Not only did she exaggerate the share of her own countrymen, but she also reported the presence of German and Italian military in Franco's territory.

That Gaffney herself was aware of the basics of journalistic work is shown by a passage from one of her regular "Leaves from a Woman's Diary" columns, which was published a few days before her first series on Spain started. There she referred to an English report that was very sympathetic to the Spanish Republic. She criticised it vehemently of being not reliable and demanded independent research and questioning of the propaganda as she herself would "avoid official sources of information" (Gaffney 19 February 1937). Unfortunately, she rarely made her alleged other sources transparent.

Judging her reporting as a whole, it must be noted that Gertrude Gaffney clearly subordinated journalistic values to her own partiality and the line of her newspaper. Nevertheless, despite all the deficiencies, journalistic approaches and concepts are discernible. On two major trips, she did research on the spot travelling through the country, she gave her readers an image, albeit very limited and partisan, of the Nationalist zone and, she raised her own voice, even if framed by Nationalist narration, describing the people and Spanish lifestyle.

6.3 Evaluation of Martha Gellhorn's reporting

Martha Gellhorn criticised the principle of objectivity, her credo was sincerity (see Chapter 5). In Gellhorn's understanding, this claim to truthfulness often demanded partisanship. There are various studies on Martha Gellhorn's war reporting (e.g. Bogacka-Rode 2014; McLoughlin 2017; Mulligan 2010; E. C. Murphy 2016; Palau Sampio 2020; Valis 2017). Her concept of journalism is judged very differently. For some, "the intense sense of personal involvement, and of political commitment" is "one of the main qualities of her writing" (Mulligan 2010, 95), for others she is "unapologetically partisan in her coverage" (Deacon 2009, 72). In these cases, the assessment of quality was based on partiality. What picture emerges when partiality and journalistic quality are viewed separately?

6.3.1 Genre and Topics

All six texts by Martha Gellhorn examined here (see Table 21)[56] can be clearly assigned to the genre of reportage. Three stories were published in the US-American magazine *Collier's*, a fourth one was not accepted by the magazine but chosen by Gellhorn for her anthology *The Face of War*, another article appeared in *The New Yorker* and one in *Harper's Bazaar* (and later in her anthology *The Heart of Another* from which we have taken it). The style of the long-disappeared *Collier's* and the still existing *New Yorker* can be classified as narrative journalism, which also corresponded to Gellhorn's journalistic approach. *Harper's Bazaar* is until today primarily a fashion magazine.

Table 21. Spanish Civil War articles by Martha Gellhorn.

Date	Newspaper	Titel
Spring 1937	Harper's Bazaar *	Zoo in Madrid
17 July 1937	Collier's	Only the Shells Whine
31 July 1937	The New Yorker	Madrid to Morata
15 January 1938	Collier's	Men Without Medals
2 April 1938	Collier's	City at War
November 1938 (dated by Gellhorn)	not accepted by Collier's, published first in 1959**	The Third Winter

Source: author's own research.
*Retrieved from *The Heart of Another* (Gellhorn 1946a).

[56] As mentioned in Chapter 2, one more text by her was published in the *Story* magazine (Weintraub 1968, 282) of which no copy could be obtained.

** retrieved from *The Face of War* (Gellhorn 2016a).

During her four trips to Spain between March 1937 and autumn 1938, Martha Gellhorn reported from the Madrid area and the surrounding war zones. In spring 1938, Gellhorn wanted to send a story to *Collier's* about Barcelona and the refugees coming from the southern regions where the Nationalist troops had advanced to the Mediterranean coast at the level of the Ebro. But *Collier's* rejected the story because Spain was no longer of interest, they wanted Gellhorn to cover the events in other parts of Europe on the eve of World War II (Moorehead 2004). In the anthology *The Face of War* (Gellhorn 2016a)[57], first published in 1959, Gellhorn then included the story "The Third Winter" about Barcelona, dated November 1938, which was based on the trips in spring 1938 and her last one in the fall of 1938.

The *Collier's* stories "Only the Shells Whine" (17 July 1937) and "City at War" (2 April 1938) as well as her unpublished manuscript were dedicated, almost exclusively, to her major theme, the life of the civilian population in war times. "Men without Medals" (15 January 1938) described mainly a visit to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on the Madrid front and in her *New Yorker* article (24 July 1937) she travelled with the Canadian doctor Norman Bethune from "Madrid to Morata" to bring blood reserves to the International Brigades. In the "Zoo in Madrid", Gellhorn walked together with Ernest Hemingway, as communicated encrypted in the text,[58] through the Retiro park and the zoo which was then located there. With the exception of the "Madrid to Morata" story, she referred in all her texts to the suffering of the population and their stoic perseverance.

> *A mud road, behind the bull ring on the other side of Madrid, led into a square where there was a trough for the women of that place to wash clothes. There were ten little houses, huddled together, with cloth tacked over the windows, and newspaper stuck in the walls to keep the wind out. It was very quiet. Women with quiet, pale faces and quiet children stood by the trough and looked at one house, or what was left of it. They did not move and they did not speak.* (Gellhorn 2 April 1938, 19)

A recurring image are the houses destroyed by shells, spreading out their inner life to strangers, as she depicted it for her readers. For example, of the houses on the Belchite front near Madrid she

[57] She also included other civil war reportages which had been published by *Collier's* but changed the titles: "Only the Shells Whine" became "High Explosive for Everyone" and "City at War" was titled "The Besieged City".
[58] She tells how "we" walked through the zoo, only once she mentions "Rabb" as her companion, a name she used for Hemingway (Aguilera-Linde 2017).

wrote: “In what was once the dining-room, the china is miraculously intact in neat piles, and there are pictures of the disappeared owners as a very stiff bride and groom” (Gellhorn 1946b, 112).

The war penetrates the furthest corners of the private sphere, that was the message to her audience that could not be missed. The focus of her interest was on the less privileged. *The View from the Ground* as she titled a collection of articles published in 1989 (Gellhorn 2015) was already characteristic of her reporting in Spain. She interpreted this very literally in the story of the janitor Pedro, who, with his wife and two little daughters, lived in the basement of a destroyed multi-storey building, of which only the outer walls remained. “In time of war a basement is more desirable than in time of peace”, Gellhorn concluded (17 July 1937, 64). This laconicism, as well as sarcasm and dry humour are Gellhorn’s signature features, behind which she also hid her own fear. When her hotel is hit by an attack and large clouds of dust enter from outside, she writes, “I went downstairs into the lobby, practicing on the way how to breathe” (17 July 1937, 9).

6.3.2 Dimension of partiality

Agenda Setting: As described above, the focus of Gellhorn’s reporting is on the people and their daily life and struggle in and around Madrid. She reports without further explanation from the side of the Republic, there is hardly any reference to the Nationalists. When she mentions them, they are mainly undefined “fascists” shelling from somewhere.

This strong sympathy expressed through focus is reinforced by the individualization of fates (results see Table 22). She did not describe people in long portraits, but she sketched out personal stories in a few lines. There is, for example, the Municipal architect “wrapped in a newspaper, his day’s ration of bread. He was very careful, all morning, climbing through ruins, jumping flooded gutters, not to drop the bread: he had to take it home: there were two small children there” (2 April 1938). She often visited hospitals and described wounded people like this patient on the Morata front:

> *He was crying very hard, but very silently, and twisting his body slowly, as if he wanted to get out of it. He had the dark beginnings of a moustache, the kind of down that comes before shaving, and long, wet eyelashes, and his aviator’s cap had skewered over one ear as he moved his head.* (Gellhorn 24 July 1937, 38)

It is precisely this seemingly casual glimpsing on fates found on her forays through Madrid and the surrounding area that creates an artfully arranged, touching mosaic of everyday life during the war.

An important stylistic means Gellhorn used to give authenticity to her story is her interaction with the protagonists and the reproduction of their stories in form of dialogue, as fragment or as indirect speech.

> *So we climbed to the top floor, moving gently into a room where half the floor hung in space. We shook hands with all the friends and visitors who had come to see also. Two women lived here, an old woman and her daughter. They had been in the back of the apartment when the front of it blew out. They were picking up what they could save: a cup that had no saucer left, a sofa pillow, two pictures, with the glass broken. They were chatty and glad to be alive and they said everything was quite all right: look, the whole back of the apartment could still be lived in, three rooms, not as bright or as nice as the rooms that had been destroyed, but still, they were not without a home. If only the front part didn't fall into the street and hurt someone.* (Gellhorn 2 April 1938, 19)

Kate McLoughlin has already pointed out using the same (but more briefly quoted) text passage as an example, that Gellhorn "could not be more closely allied with their points of view" (McLoughlin 2017, 44). Examples like these, McLoughlin continues, show the "partisan nature of Gellhorn's own political sympathies". Gellhorn certainly pulls the reader to the side of the affected people. But: Is it really inadmissible as a journalist and eyewitness to feel empathy for the civilian population affected by bombings? This will be further discussed in the assessment of journalistic quality.

Framing: Gellhorn's stories are marked by her sympathy for the people on the Republican side, but not explicitly framed by the narrative of the Republican side. She did not engage in political discussions and did not repeat the slogans of political leaders. Nevertheless, in her two front-line stories, the International Brigades' narrative of selfless international solidarity clearly resonates. In "Men without Medals", Gellhorn shows big admiration for the "boys" as the title already indicates. "The men who came all this distance, neither for glory nor money and perhaps to die, knew why they came, and what they thought about living and dying, both" (15 January 1938, 49).

Through her protagonists and the sparse references to the "fascists" of the opposite side, the war is rather implicitly drawn as the resistance of a people against fascism, supported by international volunteers. Apart from the story about the American volunteers, where her origin is the reason for the story, her own background – a comparatively wealthy and peaceful Western democracy – is

explicitly used as a contrast to the war but not as a frame for interpretation. Nevertheless, we will go into this briefly here since there is a consistent pattern of referring to her origin to justify her stance.

> *And so, to fill the days, we went visiting at the nearest fronts (ten blocks from the hotel, fifteen blocks, a good brisk walk in the rain, something to circulate your blood with). […] No matter how often you do it, it is surprising just to walk to war, easily, from your own bedroom where you have been reading a detective story or a Life of Byron, or listening to the phonograph, or chatting with your friends.* (Gellhorn 2 April 1938)

These references to her own world, addressing the reader, are intended to illustrate the immediacy and incomprehensibility of war to her audience, and make them feel affected. She tried to get her readers' attention by emphasising how "surprising" or "strange" this experience was. She also used this tool in her reportage in the *Story magazine* (which was not included in this analysis) as Weintraub (1968, 282) quotes: "[I]t is really too strange. I walked from my hotel to the front as easily as you could walk from the Metropolitan Museum to the Empire State Building."

According to McLoughlin (2017, 45–46), Gellhorn applied this "normality trope" firstly to suggest "war's closeness through familiar comparisons" and, secondly, particularly in her visits to the front, to point out "American's involvement in the conflict" despite the "official policy of non-intervention".

> *It was a strange thing, walking through that olive grove, bending your head against the dusty wind, and seeing the faces from Mississippi and Ohio and New York and California, and hearing the voices that you'd heard at a baseball game, in the subway, on any campus, in any hamburger joint, anywhere in America. They said we could find Bob Merriman, the Chief of Staff, down there somewhere. We found him, and he took us to a lean-to, built of reeds, that rattled in the wind. He explained the offensive to us, drawing the plan of it on the dirt of the floor, going over every point carefully as if we were his freshmen class in economics back in California.* (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 10)

As we described in the introduction, the Spanish Civil War was considered a proxy war between the two main ideologies of the time, and many journalists wanted to show their readers this international dimension and that this conflict also affected them. The official non-intervention policy was denounced by many and considered to help Franco's side. Gellhorn saw it exactly this way. By referring to Merriman's economics classes, she also stressed the point that the International Brigades were not made up of suspicious adventurers, but that a US university lecturer was in command. Even

though she obviously avoided open political discussions, she articulated some underlying criticism in the direction of her own country and the allied European powers who wanted to stay out of the conflict, such as in this sarcastic story about a US volunteer.

> *He started to come to Spain last spring to drive an ambulance, but the French nonintervention authorities arrested him with other volunteers at Perpignan and he spent a month in jail, which he said was a very interesting and instructive experience and he was glad to have had it.* (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 49)

She showed an urgent need for the audience to understand what it was all about – or at least that they understood how important it was. In "City at War" she wondered how she would ever be able to explain, "what this is really like?" The admiration and anger contained in this question is a running theme throughout her stories.

Evaluation: Despite her clear sympathies, Gellhorn was remarkably reserved in her explicit assessment of the war as Palau Sampio (2020, 129) pointed out:

> *La conciencia de la propia subjetividad no se traduce, en el caso de Martha Gellhorn, en una presencia explícitamente valorativa en los textos sino todo lo contrario, en un ejercicio de contención, de pulso inmutable para narrar aquello que ha visto, la experiencia en primera persona, sin añadidos".* (Palau Sampio 2020, 129)

Gellhorn's evaluation is subtle. With the exception of "Men without Medals" her titles, both the original titles in the *Collier's* editions and the self-chosen ones in *The Face of War*, are kept neutral, although the suffering of the population resonates in "Only the Shells Whine" (titled more sarcastically as "High Explosive for Everyone" in *The Face of War*) and "City at War" ("The Besieged City"). She did not blame the Nationalists explicitly for the conflict, she did not accuse them of atrocities, and she did not argue for the policies of the Government side either. She hardly mentioned the warring parties by name. In three stories, the noun "Fascists" or the adjective "fascist" as a label for the Nationalist side appear exactly once in each article.[59] Used this sparingly, they are precisely placed pinpricks in direct relation to attack and mortal danger.

[59] Once more as a direct quote in "City at War" (April 02, 1938).

"At first the shells went over: you could hear the thud as they left the Fascists' guns, a sort of groaning cough, then you heard them fluttering toward you" (Gellhorn 17 July 1937, 12) .

The term "rebels" only appears in Gellhorn's two front stories (24 July 1937, 15 January 1938), where "Fascists/fascist" are also used more often. The person "Franco" is only mentioned at one point, when the Republicans in the Casa de Campo are being bombarded with propaganda via loudspeakers from the opposite side.

To the Republican side as such Gellhorn rarely referred at all. She only spoke of the "Government troops" twice (24 July 1937, 2 April 1938), the term "Republic" is only used in the later published "The Third Winter" (2016b) and once quoting the janitor Pedro's wife (17 July 1937). This side of the front is embodied by civilians and soldiers, not only as individual fates but also more generally as a group, but without any political assignment and differentiation, highlighting their moral, as she did, for example, while strolling through the Retiro park with Hemingway.

We talked of the way the people of Madrid take what comes with a serenity that passes belief, and we talked of boys in the trenches who had had twelve hours of military training and got further lessons in the midst of an attack. (Gellhorn 1946b, 112)

Identification: Madrid and its population were the most important reference, the self-evident starting point and centre of her attention. "How can you explain that you feel safe at this war, knowing that the people around you are good people?" (2 April 1938, 59). Despite this closeness, Gellhorn saw herself as an observer. Although she mingled with people and identified with their concerns, she kept distance as an outsider inside. She had turned into "a walking tape recorder with eyes", Gellhorn later wrote about her role in World War II (Gellhorn 2016a, pos. 643). McLoughlin criticises in this context that although this position "encapsulates the idea of mechanical, emotionless, unmediated transcription", Gellhorn never fulfilled this claim (McLoughlin 2017, 59). Nevertheless, the concept of a walking tape recorder, already discernible in the texts about the Spanish Civil War, provided a certain detachment. This distance almost disappeared when she visited the front. With the international volunteers, especially the Americans, she almost considered herself part of the group, though still in the role as a reporter. In "Madrid to Morata" she took part in the distribution of blood reserves, in "Men Without Medals" she met the boys from home: "I thought:

I’m proud as a goat that the Americans are known in Spain as good men and fine soldiers. That’s all there is to it: I’m proud” (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 10).

It is mainly this positioning and her focus that gives the people of Madrid and their resistance, and thus the Republic, moral superiority over the undefined enemy without discussion. Gellhorn’s reporting clearly shows characteristics of the in- and out-group scheme – detailed description vs. vague description and illustrative narrative vs. no narrative as defined by van Dijk (1996). In Gellhorn’s case, it is precisely by not mentioning the others that the “our” is emphasised. The people of Madrid, as individuals and as a whole, are portrayed with affectionate detail. The others, the “Fascists”, remain a hostile, anonymous and featureless mass.

Table 22. Results of Martha Gellhorn's content analysis.

GELLHORN, Martha																				
		PART 1 **CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY**										**PART 2** **JOURNALISTIC QUALITY** (X =Yes; /=Partly; -=No)								
Date	**Newspaper**	**AGENDA SETTING**		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**		**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Indepen-dence**		
		Focus, **P**ersonalisation/ **I**ndividualization *Favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling, **B**laming, **G**eneralization (Idealisation/Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling* Republican side	Labelling* Nationalist side	**I**dentification, **C**ampaigning/**S**olidarity actions *favouring*		a=context/angle b=narration c=position author			d=sources e=placing sources f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
		Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
Spring 1937	*Harper's Bazaar*	F				L, G			Fascists			/	X	X	/	X	X	X	-	X
July 17, 1937	*Collier's*	F, P/I				L			Fascists			X	X	X	X	/	X	X	X	X
July 31, 1937	*The New Yorker*	F				L		Government	Rebels	C/S		/	X	X	X	/	X	X	/	X
Jan 15, 1938	*Collier's*	F, P/I		N, B		T, L, G			Fascists, Rebels	I		X	X	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
April 2, 1938	*Collier's*	F, P/I				L			Fascists	I		X	X	X	X	/	X	/	/	X
Nov 1938	(Not accepted by *Collier's*, published first in 1959)	F, P/I						Republic				X	X	X	X	/	X	X	X	X

Source: author's own research

*Includes combined terms such as Republican troops (=Republicans); Fascist trenches (=Fascists) etc.

6.3.3 Evaluation of journalistic quality

Gellhorn's individual articles were rated very highly, using the criteria of journalistic quality applied here. Almost all criteria could be evaluated as, at least partially, fulfilled (see Table 22).

Relevance: Martha Gellhorn was more successful as a journalist than as a writer, but her literary power had a decisive influence on her journalistic texts. Her articles on the Spanish Civil War were her first ones as a war correspondent and reflect the influence of Hemingway. Gellhorn perfected in her own way Hemingway's iceberg principle, meaning that a writer should not reveal all the details of the protagonists, but the tension of a story consists in showing only about 20 percent. "Gellhorn's writing method exemplifies this ability to reveal through concealing much of the story's meaning" (Aguilera-Linde 2017, 144). Her reportages captivate through their language and narrative skills applying different techniques of reporting as claimed by the proponents of the New Reportage, selecting "recursos que trasladan la tridimensionalidad al texto, con la presentación de escenas y el registro del diálogo para mostrar los efectos de la destrucción" (Palau Sampio 2020, 124). The news value, in the sense of numbers and data, is low. The audience gains qualitative knowledge, "conocimiento cualitativo" (Palau Sampio 2020, 132), instead: an understanding and feeling for what war means to normal people.

We consider this aspect relevant and most of her stories were evaluated positively in this category. It is her "view from the ground", her own agenda compared to traditional reporting that opens up new perspectives. Gellhorn had gone to the hospitals, and she had visited and talked to families in destroyed homes, and she very skilfully translated her experiences into reportage. Dialogues, essayistic reflections, and staccato rhythm alternate and grip the reader in her rather long texts. Gellhorn's stories take the reader to Madrid, mediating between the world at home and a city at war. Under the aspect of journalistic quality, the "normality trope" described above as a form of partiality, and criticised as such by McLoughlin (2017) and Aguilera-Linde (2017), may be considered as contextualisation and as proximity to the reader to give orientation. Seen in this light, it is a quality feature.

Gellhorn was not the narrator in the off but always made herself a part of the story. She changed narrating perspectives between slightly ironic self-observation and "faux-naïveté" (McLoughlin 2017,

153), on the one hand, and empathetic observation of the people in the city, on the other hand. By stressing being a stranger, she also kept the distance to her subjects.

> *It seemed a little crazy to me to be living in a hotel, like a hotel in Des Moines or New Orleans, with a lobby and wicker chairs in the lounge, and signs on the door of your room telling you that they would press your clothes immediately and that meals served privately cost ten per cent more, and meantime it was like a trench when they lay down an artillery barrage. The whole place trembled to the explosion of the shells.* (Gellhorn 17 July 1937, 12)

First the events are described focusing on her own person, then the scene changes. The war reporter has left the hotel, her own environment, and inspects the damage in the city:

> *An old woman, with a shawl over her shoulders, holding a terrified thin little boy by the hand, runs out into the square. You know what she is thinking: she is thinking she must get the child home, you are always safer in your own place, with the things you know. […] She is in the middle of the square when the next one comes. A small piece of twisted steel, hot and very sharp, sprays off from the shell; it takes the little boy in the throat. The old woman stands there, holding the hand of the dead child, looking at him stupidly, not saying anything, and men run out toward her to carry the child.* (Gellhorn 17 July 1937, 64)

Though the first person plays an important role in the reporting, this does not make her the protagonist but is used to give authenticity. The story is still primarily about the people she met. As a journalist she distinguished between herself and the people who really had to suffer. "I ashamed of my health and not finding any words you could say to people like this, because all words are very silly before pain, and what can you say to a man who will never walk again" (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 49).

<u>Facticity</u>: The questions referring to the compliance with the criteria assigned to the value of "facticity" in Gellhorn's reporting were answered with "yes, fulfilled" 13 times and only five times with "partially fulfilled". This may seem a little surprising at first, as she hardly gives any figures or data. Her stories convey authenticity through the strong emphasis on eye-witnessing and her encounters with the local people. She let her sources speak for themselves, in direct or indirect speech.

Gellhorn made it clear where she researched, who she spoke to and how her sources were affected, as on her visit to carpenter Hernández and his family:

> *It wasn't much of a home but they looked very handsome in it. A wick floating in a cup of oil lighted the place. There were four chairs and a big Tableand some shelves tacked on the wall. The ten-year-old grandson was reading close to the burning wick. The daughter-in-law, the wife of their youngest son, played quietly with her baby in a corner. Old Mrs Hernández had been working over the stove, and the room was smoky. What they would have to eat would be greens, a mound of cabbage leaves the size of your fist, and some dry bread.* (Gellhorn 2016b, pos. 424-430)

After setting the scene (several generations share a smoky room and a meagre dinner) Gellhorn takes her time (and space) to talk to the family members, as here with the grandchild.

> *"I want to be a mechanic," the child said, in a voice that was almost weeping. "I want to be a mechanic."*
> *"We do not let him go to school," Mrs Hernández said. "Because of the bombs. We cannot have him walking about alone."*
> *"The bombs," I said, and smiled at the boy. "What do you do about the bombs?"*
> *"I hide," he said, and he was shy about it, telling me a secret. "I hide so they won't kill me."*
> *"Where do you hide?"*
> *"Under the bed," he said.*
> *The daughter-in-law, who is very young, laughed at this, but the old people treated the child seriously. They know that you must have safety in something; if the child believes he is safe under the bed it is better for him. (Gellhorn 2016b, pos. 455-462)*

By letting her sources speak for themselves, she made them not only to her protagonists but also to the voices of the truth. This approach is regarded as problematic in research, as it equates the experience of being an eyewitness, of *being there*, with truth. McLoughlin (2017, 40) emphasises this point in connection with Gellhorn's speech on the Spanish Civil War at the Second American Writers' Congress in June 1937 in New York. Aguilera-Linde (2017, 151), referring to McLoughlin, considers "the truth" in Gellhorn's reporting as "a code based upon the first-person account, the verbatim transcription of the protagonists' lines and dialogues, the overloaded sensory information".

However, this sensory information which "helps the reader feel the fact" is, as the previously quoted *New Masses* editor Joseph North in 1935 claimed (quoted in Hartsock 2009, 120), what "literary journalism" is about. More than six decades later, García Galindo (2020, 3) explains it more academically as the loss of objectivity due to a strong subjectivity – "subjetividad militante" – that enriches the story by showing aspects of reality that could not be told otherwise but without abandoning the task of the journalist and the commitment to the truth.

Starting from her experience as FERA correspondent, Gellhorn developed her journalistic concept against the background of the New Reportage. Factuality, in this context, is not data, but details on the protagonists, specificity in the circumstances, and a certain diversity by change of scenes.

Independence: Gellhorn's coverage is shaped by her sympathy for the Republic. Nevertheless, this sympathy was her – independent – view on the conflict. She had come to Spain out of solidarity with the Republic, but she did not act, and this is crucial, as a member or even sympathiser of any party or institution. She maintained autonomy in deciding on her topics. She had arrived without a contract with a newspaper (apart from the non-binding letter from *Collier's*) and only tried her luck at *Collier's*, and before that at *Harper's Bazaar*, on Hemingway's advice. First, there was her decision to write about the civilian population on the Republican side and only then she sent a text to a magazine. Her look at the ground required empathy, without which her attention would not have fallen there at all. Gellhorn's "well-tested method of wandering and talking to whoever she came across" (Moorehead 2004, pos. 2916), which is clearly reflected in her texts, show journalistic curiosity and open-mindedness. Of course, this open-mindedness had its limits, it only affected the Republican side.

However, in the overall very high assessment of the fulfilment of the criteria of the three main values, "independence" scored the lowest in comparison. On the already discussed example of her visit to the International Brigades in "Men without Medals", where the propaganda of the International Brigades resonates, we can see why. The commitment of the volunteers did indeed exist, as the abundant memoir literature on the Spanish Civil War shows. However, despite all solidarity, not everyone was excited about the prospect of dying for the cause. Gellhorn did not put the commitment of the volunteers into perspective. Still, her narrative differs from loud propaganda by telling in her restrained manner stories between the lines, as in this visit to the hospital Villa Paz, which was run by the North-Americans:

The boy was shy, with young brown cheeks and brown eyes, and a crew haircut. He said he was the hospital publicity agent, and would be delighted to show me around or tell me anything I wanted to know. He said, on the other hand, it was a new job and he didn't actually know much about it. It came out slowly that he was a graduate student at Harvard and had been in Spain since last spring. He had come in time for Brunete. It seemed he was now the hospital publicity agent because he couldn't walk very fast. He didn't want to go home, and he had been 'a guest in this hospital' for a long time (and he said it with such style, such modesty), so they gave him a job. […] He had thirty-eight stitches across his stomach where a fragment of a bomb had torn it open. He said they just lay there and watched the bombers coming over, and heard the pursuit planes dive on them, and there was nothing much to do except lie there and pray. He told it as plainly as that, when at last he talked.

Did he know Evan Shipman? Sure, he knew Evan. Evan was a great friend of his; Evan had been with him on that road. All the rest of them got it from bombs, but Evan got it when the pursuit plane swooped and machine-gunned them. Evan was a fine boy and he was all right now, the publicity agent said; he was in the south, doing some administrative work because he couldn't walk very fast either." (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 49)

Perhaps she herself had doubts about her distance to the volunteers in this story. In contrast to her other *Collier's* reportages, she did not include "Men without Medals" in her anthology *The Face of War*.

Some of what Galtung's (2003) model of "peace journalism" calls for can be seen in Gellhorn's coverage. Especially the demand for reporting that is oriented towards the people and not the powerful. Nevertheless, looking at her Spanish Civil War coverage as a whole, she has completely neglected another essential principle of this approach – the view of the people on the other side. Even though it may have been practically impossible for her to direct her gaze to the ground on Franco's side, she could have reflected this in her reporting at least at one point. Nevertheless, the question of the view to both sides should not only be discussed on the basis of the articles of a special correspondent on a freelance basis, who occasionally provided stories in one magazine or another. This question should be debated, above all, at the level of the medium that may have different correspondents on the ground or also other contributors to cover the conflict.

Gellhorn's biographer Moorehead (2004) blamed her, as well as Hemingway and *New York Times* correspondent Matthews, for not reporting on the darker sides of the Republic, which she must have known about. Deacon considers this to be "sins of omission, rather than commission" due to the journalist's emotional connection to the Republic (Deacon 2008b, 402). As noted above, Gellhorn had a different agenda. Besides, and nobody accused her of this, she did not report on the dark sides and the terror on the side of the Nationalists either.

Gellhorn did not pretend to be objective, but she insisted on being honest and that she, as an eye-witness, had reported truthfully. War correspondents make this distinction to this day, claiming that neutrality and balance are not always the way to the truth. "The truth is not objective sometimes," says the Irish war correspondent Maggie O'Kane (quoted in McLaughlin 2016, 46). The American New Reportage refers to this subjectivity just as much as the European Sozialreportage as it was shaped by Max Winter (Riesenfellner 1985). Up to today, it is coverage of a certain subjectivity, following a "strategic ritual of emotionality" which is still awarded the Pulitzer Prize (Wahl-Jorgensen 2012).

Gellhorn reported what she had seen and did not pretend otherwise. She made no claim to completeness with her coverage, but merely to looking where others were not. "I never knew any men reporter who ever went near a hospital and I was a great frequenter of hospitals because that's where you really see the price of war" (quoted in Palau Sampio 2020, 126). She did not praise the politics of the Republic, and certainly not the communists, even though a moral superiority of the Government side is implied. With her focus on the civilian population and the consequences of war, Gellhorn shunned sensitive, political issues, and, maybe because of this limitation, was able to remain truthful.

6.4 Evaluation of Hilde Marchant's reporting

6.4.1 Genre and topics

The *Daily Express* correspondent Hilde Marchant wrote five reportages about the Spanish Civil War (see Table 23). Out of the five case studies, she is the one with the least reporting in terms of quantity and the briefest research period on site of little more than two weeks in February 1937. Her articles were published after her return from Spain, from 1 to 5 March 1937, initially under the series title

“Newsgirl back from Madrid”, which was emblazoned in large letters. While this headline was much bigger than the actual title “Breadline Women” on the first day, it became smaller from day to day and was no longer there on 4 and 5 of March.

Marchant’s assignment had been to report on “the women and children” in Madrid (Daily Express 11 February 1937). Accordingly, this was the focus of her coverage from Spain, although not the only topic. Her first story “Breadline women” (1 March 1937) reported on the scarcity of food and the perseverance of women in the daily queues. In “The Bombers are here ...” (2 March 1937) Marchant described various scenes in Madrid, from the trenches and medical care in the Casa de Campo, to the bombing of the Telefónica building and other places in the city, seeking shelter for herself and bringing children in safety. Afterwards she visited the front at Vallecas, at that time still a suburb of Madrid, where a looted church had been converted into a defence post (“Cartridges on the altar”, 3 March 1937). The excursions to the Casa de Campo and to Vallecas were probably coordinated with official authorities, and Marchant was, as she reported, accompanied by soldiers.

But at times she was on her own. Thanks to a new acquaintance, introduced by Marchant as Commander Vincente Lazarro (probably Vicente Lazaro), she managed to get a seat in an evacuation convoy that took women and children from Madrid to Valencia. The experiences of this journey, a feast with meat, a car breakdown and an improvised party, made it into the reportage “They drove the women out with Bayonets” (4 March 1937). Lazarro, who was also travelling with her in the convoy, became the protagonist of her last Civil War story, “Portrait of the Bravest Spaniard of them all” (5 March 1937), where she wrote about her short stay in Valencia strolling with Vicente Lazarro, “a Basque, a poet, a bullfight critic” through the streets. But she did not go into detail about the reasons for this detour to the south, nor why she went straight on to Alicante (4 March 1937). It is possible that she returned from there by ship, but that is a guess. Perhaps from the outset, more articles had been planned. Marchant’s last Civil War article ends with the farewell of Vicente Lazarro, who wants to find his wife and child and bring them to safety. But Marchant is certain: “He will be shot” (5 March 1937).

Table 23. Spanish Civil War articles by Hilde Marchant

Date	Newspaper	Title
1 March 1937	Daily Express	Breadline Women
2 March 1937	Daily Express	The bombers are here
3 March 1937	Daily Express	Cartridges on the Altar
4 March 1937	Daily Express	They drove the Women out with Bayonets
5 March 1937	Daily Express	Portrait of the Bravest Spaniard of them all

6.4.2 Dimension of partiality

The results of the partiality analysis, as shown in Table 24, show only very few identifiable patterns. Even the characteristics that could be identified are of low intensity, as detailed below.

Agenda Setting and Framing: Her choice of topics is the most important indicator of her sympathy for the people on the Republican side. The breadline women, children who must be protected from bombs, and civilians who must be forced with bayonets to be evacuated rouse empathy. Marchant also went to the Hotel Palace, transformed into a hospital.

> *There was an old man whose legs had been shot, clean from the hips; a woman slowly dying while the doctor tried to get round to her, and a child with her hair draped over a shattered face.* (Marchant 2 March 1937)

Individual fates such as that of Petra (1 March 1937), whose queuing for food is often in vain and with whom Marchant stands for coal one night, give a face to the misery of Madrid. The person of Vicente Lazarro is presented as a hero. But he does not serve to show the side of the Republic as a whole in a better light. On the contrary: “Commandante Vincente Lazarro is one of the few brave Spaniards” (5 March 1937). Heroes of everyday life – not only in Madrid, but later also on the home front – were the focus of the reporting of the prominent young English journalist, who herself came from a rather humble background.

The Nationalist side was hardly ever mentioned; even during the air raids Marchant did not ascribe these to any more precisely defined group. This marginalisation (van Dijk 1996) increases the focus on the people of the Republican side.

Nevertheless, Marchant gave the war neither legitimacy nor a deeper meaning. A superordinate concept such as the narratives of the warring parties, or any other explicit pattern of interpretation shaped by her background, is not discernible. In view of the people who were dying in the hospital at the Palace Hotel in Madrid, she wrote, "[a]nd if I had any objective ideas about this war they dissolved into one great ache … there is no cause worth such death" (2 March 1937).

Evaluation: Marchant was not in Spain to evaluate the events, but to describe them. Her protagonists may have caused empathy for the people of Madrid among her readers, but they were not necessarily intended to turn them into partisans. Marchant did not heroize one side, nor did she demonize the other, she did not blame at all. The rare references to the two warring parties, however, show that for her the legitimate "Government" (two mentions, 2 March 1937, 5 March 1937) opposed the "insurgents" (3 March 1937, 5 March 1937). Although this expresses a certain basic attitude, it was rarely used.

The fact that she did not have too much sympathy for the Nationalists and their leader is illustrated by an anecdote. She mentioned Franco only once in the five reportages. In her first story about the starving population of Madrid, she told that the General used hunger as a weapon and announced that he would starve Madrid and bring his own food.

> *With defiant humour a group of women swept the garbage from the main square, plied it on a huge dish, set it on the steps of the city hall, and labelled it "Franco's lunch".* (Marchant 1 March 1937)

Personal involvement: The *Daily Express* special correspondent was not afraid to mingle with people. She did not speak Spanish but talked to Petra and other women for a night. She was as excited as the other women from the convoy about an unexpected portion of meat on the way and sang songs with them. Marchant wanted to share the experience of the people of Madrid – to a limited extent, because the English reporter was aware of being an outsider and of her fortunate position of being able to leave the country at any time. Even though, Marchant joined the people on the street she

showed almost no “we”-feeling in a strictly political sense. There is one exception on her trip to the Casa de Campo. Describing the work of German prisoners, captured by the Republic, Marchant referred to the other side as the opponent. “Thorough in all things, the Germans had built them [trenches] as a solid, lasting defence against the enemy” (2 March 1937).

Her way of approaching stories shows a professional attitude as a journalist, but also a certain amount of solidarity and empathy. However, this sympathy – with the exception of Comandante Lazarro – was almost exclusively for civilians.

Marchant’s bias can be classified as a pronounced sympathy for the people on the Republican side, which she placed at the centre of her reporting. A clear partisanship for the Republic is not discernible, however, much less for the Nationalists side, which is almost absent. Marchant wanted or had to keep out of political discussions about the Spanish Civil War.

Table 24. Results of Hilde Marchant's content analysis.

MARCHANT, Hilde. Daily Express.																			
	PART 1 CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY										**PART 2 JOURNALISTIC QUALITY**. (Yes X; Partly /; No -)								
Date	**AGENDA SETTING**		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**		**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Indepen-dence**		
	Focus, **P**ersonalisation/ **Individualization** *favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *Favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling, **B**laming, **Generaliz**ation (Idealisation/ Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling Republican side*	Labelling Nationalist side*	**I**dentification, **C**ampaigning/ **S**olidarity actions *favouring*		a=context/ angle b=narration c=position author			d=sources e=placing sources f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
	Rep.	Nat.	Rep ..	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
1 March 1937	F, P/I								C/S		**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**/**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
2 March 1937	F						Government		I		**/**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**-**	**X**	**X**	**/**	**X**
3 March 1937	F				L			Insurgents			**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**X**
4 March 1937	F								I		**/**	**X**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**X**	**X**	**/**	**X**
5 March 1937	F, P/I				T, L		Government	Insurgents			**/**	**/**	**X**	**X**	**-**	**X**	**X**	**-**	**X**

Source: author's own research

* Includes combined terms such as insurgent planes (=Insurgents).

5.4.3 Evaluation of journalistic quality

In Spain, Marchant was a short-term special correspondent alongside the two permanent correspondents, Sefton Delmer and Noel Monks, who took over military and political reporting on both sides of the front. As announced, Marchant's focus was on the population of Madrid, which she then expanded by going to Vallecas and travelling to Valencia. Nevertheless, the first two stories, those emphasising Madrid, are her best, as can be seen in Table 24.

Relevance: The first two stories are vividly written atmospheric images of life in the Spanish capital, in which she pragmatically highlighted the role of the women in Madrid during the war without idealizing them.

> *Four other women were given ten days in prison for violence. A militiaman was shuffling them into place. They hit him on the head with his rifle.*
> *These were the first cases of their kind since the siege began. The ding-dong battles at the front, with a trench lost one day, won the next, can go in for many months, with a background of silent, uncomplaining women.* (1 March 1937)

Laconically, without dramatizing, she wrote about women fighting for a portion of potatoes, of dead dogs sold as lamb, she observed children searching for food in destroyed houses, and interviewed the director of a market that supplied militias and hospitals, while women outside beat their fists on the iron rails begging for oranges. Lobsters were served for dinner at the hotel.

Marchant did not like long descriptions but led the reader right into the middle of the story. "The front line around Madrid begins at 124, Fernandez de los Rios. Numbers 125 to 140 have been shelled", she began her second article on 2 March 1937. "I took a penny tube to the front", she continued, and the reader, who might be sitting on the London Underground at that moment, understood that for Madrid war was not a phenomenon on distant battlefields, but determined everyday life.

Marchant used figurative language, for example, when she described two scenes of a visit during an air raid on Telefónica, where injured residents from the surrounding area were also given medical care.

A porter came in and casually drew the black shutters – a gesture so rehearsed that I shuddered when I saw its easy familiarity duplicated later in the evening.

That was when a doctor went round the people brought from broken houses, and with his first two fingers slid their eyelids over dead, glassy eyes. (Marchant 2 March 1937)

Many snippets of stories, cleverly and quickly arranged, create a context, a mosaic of everyday life in war. Even though Marchant did not provide background information on the causes and course of the civil war, her audience got an impressive feeling of what it must be like to live in the midst of it.

Marchant's stories then lose something of their flow and liveliness when she can no longer jump between different locations with her snapshots but would have to go deeper into a conversation. This can be seen in the portrait of Vincente Lazarro. In comparison, this is rather lengthy and in spite all efforts the hero remains colourless. This may be attributed to Marchant's lack of Spanish knowledge, due to which, despite all the "common language of hands and gesture" (5 March 1937), mutual exchange remained limited.

Her own role also changes over the course of the series. All stories are very personal, but at the beginning she acts as an empathetic observer and tells the story of the people she meets. On the journey to Valencia on the evacuation truck and in the portrait of Vincente, the person of the journalist herself became more important as part of the story.

Facticity: The question of the diversity or adequacy of sources was answered with a "yes" for almost all of Marchant's reports. It was one of her strengths that she was obviously interested in people's living conditions and was not afraid to start conversations even if she did not speak the language. At the same time, however, her non-existent knowledge of Spanish was a problem, but one which she was at least partially transparent about. Nevertheless, the question arises as to how exactly she communicated with her conversation partners when she was travelling alone, or who told her the anecdotes. On several occasions she had official accompaniment which she either explained herself, for example at the beginning of the article on 2 March 1937, or which can be assumed from the context as on 3 March 1937 when she visited the Vallecas front. In these cases, it is likely that it was translated for her, or that her interlocutors such as a Canadian doctor, probably Norman Bethune, spoke English.

Also, words were not always necessary to understand. Marchant did research by sharing her experiences. Sometimes involuntarily, as in the bombing, where she pulled children into a shelter. Other times, she used it deliberately as a method of research, as in queuing for coal or riding on the evacuation lorry (although it is true that she did not have many other possibilities of transport).

Marchant did not engage in political debates, did not accuse anyone, did not give an assessment of the situation in general, and therefore did not discuss possible bias of her sources. However, she did not simply accept information either and blamed, for example, the person responsible for the evacuation in Vallecas for the fact that the explanation he had just given about the lack of trucks for the evacuation could not be mathematically correct.

Independence: Marchant chose her topics autonomously, without being close to any party. For this reason, all articles were given a "yes" rating in the evaluation of this criterion. She often strolled through Madrid alone, but was accompanied by soldiers on the trip to the trenches of the Casa de Campo. It is possible that her trip to Vallecas was arranged, perhaps on the suggestion of the press office. It is also this story where the circumstances of the research are least transparent. But she kept a view of things that was largely unobstructed by propaganda. For example, not only did she describe the burning of church paintings, altar cloths and effigies during her visit to the church, which had been converted into the central defensive structure of Vallecas, but also how much the soldiers were afraid of the air raids. "Bitterly the commandant explained that a Spanish soldier running from the front was their surest alarm" (3 March 1937). As mentioned above, even her heroic story of Vincente Lazarro did not favour the Republicans, as he, in contrast to most others, is characterized by bravery.

A shortcoming in the evaluation of this main value is, however, her narrow perspective on the people of Madrid or her own journey. Apart from the one anecdote about Franco's lunch, the Nationalists are almost non-existent. She never asked even a rhetorical question about the people on the other side of the front. There are many scene changes in her stories, which allow for a certain diversity within the theme. On the other hand, she also abstains from any reference or concession to the narrative and propaganda of the Republican side. There is no fight for freedom, democracy, against fascism and dictatorship. These words do simply not occur.

6.5 Evaluation of Maria Osten's reporting

6.5.1 Genre and Topics

Of the 26 articles by Maria Osten in the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* (*DZZ*) as shown in Table 25, 25 were analysed in depth, a short news item about the arrival of antifascist writers (24 Oktober 1936) was only included for general evaluation. 23 articles were assigned to the category reportage and its sub-category feature, one text was an interview that was not presented in question-answer form but as a narrative text (20 September 1936), one contribution was considered a background analysis (22 October 1936).

The articles appeared in two blocks, from September to October 1936, and from March to May 1937. Even though Osten remained in Spain until 1938 her articles were only published until May 1937. At that point, in the course of Stalin's "purges", there were arrests in the Moscow editorial office of the *DZZ* and Osten as close associate and confidante of the arrested editor-in-chief also fell from grace (for more information on the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* see digression at the end of this sub-section).

Although Maria Osten was the only special correspondent of the *DZZ* in Spain at that time, her texts were often part of a larger reporting, the articles were accompanied by greetings, speeches of Spanish, communist politicians, or agency reports (24 September 1936, 26 September 1936, 5 May 1937a, 5 May 1937b).

Maria Osten, who was based in Madrid, focused most of her articles on a delimited topic which was already made clear in the headline. During her first stay, these were mainly groups of the resistance, the contributions highlighted the "Heroic Struggle of Spanish Women" (Heroischer Kampf der Spanischen Frauen, 26 September 1936), the suffering and courage of "Spanish Children", (Spanische Kinder, 18 October 1936), "Spanish Youth" (Spanische Jugend, 14 October 1936) and "Spanish working-class girls" (Spanische Arbeitermädchen, 24 September 1936). The Soviet Union's relief actions for Spain were also an important part of the reporting (20 September 1936). Therefore, Osten went to Alicante to report on the arrival of the Soviet steamer "Newa" with relief supplies (28 September 1936). She also went on a "Journey through the Spanish Countryside" (Reise durch Spanisches Land, 8 October 1936) from Madrid to Valencia and Barcelona. The article "Who leads the Spanish Insurgents" (Wer führt die spanischen Aufrührer, 22 October 1936) dealt with the role of Franco's German and Italian allies.

In her articles from 1937 the topics were also clearly outlined: She presented the “Spanish Front Newspapers” (Spanische Frontzeitungen, 5 May 1937b) as well as the “Diary of a German Aviation Officer” (Tagebuch eines Deutschen Fliegeroffiziers, 9 May 1937). She used the Republican victories in Guadalajara and Brihuega for reportages from the front, each of which was placed on page 1 (15 March 1937, 18 March 1937, 21 March 1937). As in her 1936 contributions, she evoked as the most impressive image that of “The Shining Example of Madrid” (Das Leuchtende Beispiel Madrids), whose population withstood bombing and hunger (29 March 1937, see also 3 April 1937, 1 May 1937, 5 May 1937a).

Table 25. Spanish Civil War articles by Maria Osten.

Date	Title
20 September 1936	Unsere Hilfsaktion für die spanischen Frauen und Kinder (Our relief campaign for the Spanish women and children)
21 September 1936	Madrid heute (Madrid today)
24 September 1936	Spanische Arbeitermädchen (Spanish working-class girls)
26 September 1936	Heroischer Kampf der spanischen Frauen (Heroic fight of the Spanish women)
28 September 1936	Alicante empfängt den Sowjetdampfer “Newa” (Alicante receives the Soviet steamer “Newa”)
8 October 1936	Reise durch spanisches Land (Journey through the Spanish Countryside)
14 October 1936	Spanische Jugend (Spanish Youth)
18 October 1936	Spanische Kinder (Spanish Children)
22 October 1936	Wer führt die spanischen Aufrührer (Who leads the Spanish Insurgents)
24 October 1936	Antifaschistische Schriftsteller (Antifascist Writers)
26 October 1936	Jose Diaz spricht (Speaking Jose Diaz)
29 October 1936	Ich suche ein spanisches Kind (I am looking for a Spanish child)
15 March 1937	Der Vorstoß der Regierungstruppen an der Guadalajara-Front (The Advance of Government Troops on the Guadalajara front)
18 March 1937	Guadalajara
21 March 1937	Der Sieg bei Brihuega (The Victory at Brihuega)
23 March 1937	Spanien einst und jetzt (Spain then and now)
29 March 1937	Das leuchtende Beispiel Madrids (The shining Example of Madrid)
3 April 1937	Die kampfbereite Jugend Madrids (The combat-ready Youth of Madrid)
15 April 1937	Von den Kämpfen in Casa del Campo (About the Fighting in Casa del Campo)
29 April 1937	Drei Überläufer (Three Defectors)
1 May 1937	Frühling in Madrid (Spring in Madrid)
4 May 1937	Der erste Mai in Madrid (The First May in Madrid)
5 May 1937	Spanische Frontzeitungen (Spanish Front Newspapers)
5 May 1937	Madrid – Bilbao
9 May 1937	Das Tagebuch eines deutschen Fliegeroffizier (The Diary of a German Aviation Officer)
17 May 1937	Die Schulung der Volksarmee (The Training of the People’s Army)

Source: author’s own research.

6.5.2 Dimension of partiality

Osten's reporting shows an extremely high degree of partiality. Characteristics expressing bias cannot only be found almost consistently in all the categories examined here (see Table 26), they are also strongly pronounced.

Agenda Setting: The focus is almost always on issues concerning the Spanish Republic and its supporters, women, children, youth, or the People's Army. Important emphases within these topics are the attacks on Madrid, its civilian population, especially women and adolescents, and their unbroken resistance. If the Nationalist side is taken up, then first of all it is about the German and Italian allies, the Spanish "reaction" is only marginally referred to (22 October 1936), the Nationalist leader Franco is mentioned a total of three times in all 26 articles (28 September 1936, 23 March 1937, 29 April 1937). When Franco's allies are the focus of attention, it is a matter of proving their moral depravity (e.g. 23 March 1937, 9 May 1937).

In order to justify sympathies or rejection, individual persons are highlighted. These are prominent leading figures as Dolores Ibárruri or the Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) Jose Diaz, as well as victims of the civil war presented as martyrs of the people like the young militiawoman Lina Odena. "Such characters only come from the people" (Solche Gestalten gehen nur aus dem Volke hervor, 26 September 1936). She dedicated large parts of her texts to the stories of unknown fighters like the seamstress Christine, who exchanged the needle for the machine gun, and the 14-year-old orphan Domingo, a "class-conscious pioneer" (klassenbewußter Pionier), whose resistance against fascism is all the more bitter after the murder of his parents. Fates such as Domingo's are immediately generalized and brought into connection with international fascism.

> *His horrible experiences are the experiences of hundreds, even thousands of children, whose parents were murdered in the most bestial way by the fascist bandits, who are supplied with weapons, ammunition and money by international fascism."* (18 October 1936)[60]

[60] Original: Seine grauenvollen Erlebnisse sind die Erlebnisse von hunderten, ja tausenden Kindern, deren Eltern von den faschistischen Banditen, die von dem Internationalen Faschismus mit Waffen, Munition und Geld versorgt werden, in bestialischster Weise ermordet wurden. (18 October 1936)

Framing: Maria Osten looked at the Spanish Civil War through a Communist lense. Throughout the entirety of Osten's coverage, the narrative which Pérez Ledesma (2006) considers to have been the most successful in international propaganda is unmistakably present. It was the struggle of a freedom-loving (26 September 1936) people for democracy and against international fascism (17 May 1937) or "fascist barbarism" (faschistische Barbarei, 14 October 1936), with special emphasis on the role of the Communist Party. Osten does not see the civil war as a Spanish conflict in its origins. The communist correspondent emphasises the communist perspective of the international final struggle between freedom and fascism, hence her focus is on the Nationalists' foreign allies and not the Nationalists themselves. In the article "Who Leads the Insurgents" (Wer führt die Aufrührer) she accuses Hitler Germany of being the initiators of this conflict.

According to Osten, it is mainly the Communists who oppose international fascism. The highlighting of the Communist party is done, for example, through frequent references to Spanish politicians of the PCE, especially Dolores Ibarruri, (e.g. 20 September 1936, 14 October 1936, 4 May 1937) and its institutions, such as the pioneers (18 October 1936, 29 October 1936). Representatives of other parties, however, do not have a say. In addition, several articles emphasise the close connection with Osten's own background and highlight the friendship with the "brothers" (Brüder, 28 September 1936) and "sisters" (Schwestern, 20 September 1936) in the Soviet Union who only send humanitarian aid and moral support (22 October 1936); military aid is not discussed. A glaring example of the glorification of Russian-Spanish friendship is the story of the Soviet steamer "Newa" (28 September 1936), which in September 1936 brought sugar, cocoa, jams, eggs, butter and other food to Alicante. "Never before in Spain has a ship been unloaded with such love".[61] The lounges are transformed into a "sea of flowers" (Meer von Blumen), mothers with babies, children, workers, women and men, climb onto the ship from morning to night. "Tender looks" of the grateful people "stick to the portrait of Stalin" (28 September 1936).[62]

Evaluation: Given Osten's clear bias, it is remarkable that many of her titles are rather neutral. If headlines such as "Spanish Children", "Spanish Youth", "Madrid – Bilbao" had appeared in the *New York Times*, for example, they would be considered value-free. In the communist *DZZ*, however, it had a connotation that became an open statement in other headlines such as "The Heroic Fight of

[61] Original: "Noch nie wurde in Spanien ein Schiff mit solcher Liebe ausgeladen." (September 28, 1936).
[62] Original: "Zärtliche Blicke … bleiben haften am Porträt Stalins." (September 28, 1936).

Spanish Women" (26 September 1936), "Combative Youth" (Die kampfbereite Jugend Madrids, 3 April 1937) and "The Shining Example of Madrid" (29 March 1937). In addition, some of her articles appeared as one of several contributions, such as her story "Spanish working-class girls" (24 September 1936), which was part of a larger coverage with the unmistakable headline "Solidarity with the Spanish people" (Solidarität mit dem spanischen Volk). Overall, however, it must be noted that the titles themselves contain little explicit assessment of the warring parties.

The situation is different with the labelling of the warring parties, a certain pattern is evident in almost all texts. The Spanish "Republic" (Republik) must defend itself against "insurgents" (Aufrührer) and "fascists" (Faschisten) (see Table 25), which implies the justified struggle of democracy and legality against totalitarianism and illegitimacy. However, these are all usual names for the warring parties, but in the case of Osten they have been reinforced by combined terms such as "fascist insurgents" (faschistische Aufrührer, 20 September 1936, 18 October 1936). In individual cases she also used significantly stronger terms for the opposite side of the Republic.

> *[E]ven girls lined up to defend the Spanish Republic against fascist barbarism."* (14 October 1936)[63]
>
> *The political commissars Gustav and Kurt ... want to go to the battalions and explain why the Republican army treats the prisoners completely different than the fascist hangmen.* (18 March 1937)[64]

This labelling with adjectives leads to the feature of generalization in order to either idealize or demean one side. Osten shows a strategy which is typical for the communication of totalitarian ideologies such as fascism as well as communism (see Gutiérrez Palacio 1984 referring to Hannes Maeder). It is a form of abstraction that relies on archetypes, in Osten's case these are collective such as the "organised workers" (organisierte Arbeiterschaft, e.g. 21 September 1936a) versus the "fascism" and the "barbarism" (20 September 1936, 26 September 1936). Already the introduction to her first article from Spain gives a good insight into this scheme:

> *In the struggle of the Spanish people against the rebels supported by international fascism with arms and ammunition, the working women of Spain and all progressive women take an*

[63] Original: "[A]uch Mädchen stellten sich in Reih und Glied, um die spanische Republik gegen die faschistische Barbarei zu verteidigen." (Osten, October 14, 1936).

[64] Original: "Die Politkommissare Gustav und Kurt [...] wollen in die Bataillone fahren und erklären, warum die republikanische Armee die Gefangenen ganz anders behandelt als die faschistischen Henker." (Osten, March 18, 1937).

> *outstanding part. They know that a victory of the fascist insurgents over the Republican Spain brings terror, outrageous exploitation, destruction of all cultural goods and misery for the new growing generation, for the Spanish children.* (20 September 1936)[65]

The teaser of the Spanish youth article is written in a similar tone:

> *In the struggle of the working people and progressive Spain against the fascist insurgents, the working youth is in the first place".* (14 October 1936)[66]

It is the "working" and "progressive" Spain that faces the "fascist insurgents" and "barbars". In her "Journey through the Spanish Countryside", it is then the "peasants" (Bauern) who oppose the "fascist insurgents", the "blacks" (Schwarze) as they are allegedly called in the countryside. "Today the farmer is the master here", she writes.[67] Like "the workers", "the peasants" remain an undefined, anonymous collective with a common goal. "The land that they have taken from the fled or expropriated fascist agitators, they defend with their blood and will not give it back" (8 October 1936).[68]

The two sides were repeatedly compared. The moral superiority of the Republicans was highlighted; this is expressed, for example, in the articles about three defectors (29 April 1937), who had been forced to join the fascists. In the reports on the victories in Guadalajara and Brihuega, Maria Osten wrote about the cowardice of the Italian officers and how they left their own wounded, who were then medically treated by the Republicans as if they were their own people (18 March 1937, 21 March 1937).

The positive and negative ascriptions are underlined by Osten with superlatives, all-encompassing and evaluating expressions. The article "The Training of the Republican People's Army" (Die Schulung der republikanischen Volksarmee) is an illustrative example of this: "Everywhere" (überall) one can see eagerly training soldiers, whose equipment is lacking "nothing" (nichts). "With meticulous precision" (mit peinlichster Genauigkeit), the exercises were carried out, thanks to which they had

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[65] Original: "An dem Kampf des spanischen Volkes gegen die vom internationalen Faschismus mit Waffen und Munition unterstützten Aufrührer nehmen die werktätigen Frauen Spaniens und alle fortschrittlichen Frauen hervorragenden Anteil. Sie wissen, daß ein Sieg der faschistischen Aufrührer über das republikanische Spanien Terror, unerhörte Ausbeutung, Vernichtung aller kulturellen Güter und Elend für die neue heranwachsende Generation, für die spanischen Kinder bringt." (20 September 1936)

[66] Original: "Im Kampf des werktätigen Volkes und des fortschrittlichen Spaniens gegen die faschistischen Aufrührer steht die werktätige Jugend an erster Stelle." (14 October 1936)

[67] Original: "Heute ist der Bauer hier der Herr." (8 October 1936)

[68] Original: "Das Land, das sie den entflohenen oder enteigneten faschistischen Aufrührern abgenommen haben, verteidigen sie mit ihrem Blut und werden es nicht wieder geben." (8 October 1936)

"already" (schon) won at Guadalajara. Osten stresses the heroisms of the young People's Army compared to the much more experienced opponents.

> *Before, the preparation of the Spanish army took only a few days, and already it went to the most dangerous front sections into the first lines, exposed to the troops of international fascism trained for years.* (17 May 1937)[69]

While the expression "Spanish army" highlights the legitimacy of the Government side, the word "exposed" (ausgesetzt) emphasises their disadvantage compared to Franco's international allies. Although this assessment of the balance of power was realistic in principle, the language was pathetic.

Similarly exaggerated sounds the description of the fighting in Casa del Campo (15 April 1937), where, according to Osten, the Republican army had "distinguished itself particularly" (hat sich besonders ausgezeichnet). She had had the opportunity to follow every single salvo and to see how "unprecedentedly accurate" (beispiellos genau) they hit the target. These are all not very meaningful phrases. Exact descriptions and details are missing.

Personal Involvement: Maria Osten's personal political commitment determines her professional self-image. There is virtually no distance, she sees herself as part of the Republicans, as a communist ally of the Government. Thus, the journalist becomes an observer from within and not from outside. At some points, this is explicitly expressed. In "Three Defectors" (Drei Überläufer, 29 April 1937) she distinguishes between "us" and the "others".

> *Three defectors came to the front line at night. The one, the leader of the three, stands before us. It is a strange feeling, nothing distinguishes him from us on the outside. He is of the same small stature, has the same colour eyes and hair. Only his skirt and trousers are shabbier and his feet are not in leather shoes. What brought him to our lines.* (29 April 1937)[70]

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[69] Original: "Vorher dauerte die Vorbereitung der spanischen Armee nur wenige Tage, und schon ging es an die gefährlichsten Frontabschnitte in die ersten Linien, ausgesetzt den jahrelang geschulten Truppen des internationalen Faschismus." (17 May 1937)

[70] Original: "Drei Überläufer kamen nachts in die vorderste Linie. Der eine, der Anführer der drei, steht vor uns. Ein seltsames Gefühl, es unterscheidet ihn äußerlich nichts von den unseren. Er ist vom selben kleinen Wuchs, hat dieselbe Farbe der Augen und Haare. Nur der Rock und die Hose sind schäbiger und seine Füße stecken nicht in Lederschuhen. Was hat ihn in unsere Reihen getrieben." (29 April 1937)

In other texts it becomes clear from the context or her position, for example, when she is in the bushes on the Republican side in Casa de Campo (15 April 1937) and anxiously watches the attacking Republican soldiers, she desperately wants to shout "caution" (Vorsicht) at them. In Guadalajara and Brihuega she is with the staff of the International Brigades, from which she does not distance herself in any way as an outsider but takes her stay there for granted.

How much she was personally involved and how little she reflected on her own role as a foreigner is shown by her article "I am looking for a Spanish Child" (Ich suche ein spanisches Kind) from 29 October 1936, in which she describes the difficulty of finding a Spanish orphan for herself, due to the resistance in the orphanages, where they would have preferred to keep them in Spain. Through the intervention of the Passionaria, she was finally allowed to take a child, Chemino, with her.

This story is problematic in two ways. On the one hand, Osten's romantic, unreflective, and selfish desire for a child prevails here, without thinking carefully about whether help could not be better provided in another manner and whether she really can offer the child a secure home. Even the resistance in the orphanage does not make her question her motives. On the other hand, she makes her personal issue, in which she lets Dolores Ibárruri intervene, the only topic of this article.

Table 26. Results of Maria Osten’s content analysis.

OSTEN, Maria. **Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung**																			
	PART 1. **CHARACTERISTICS EXPRESSING PARTIALITY**										**PART 2** **JOURNALISTIC QUALITY**. (X=Yes; /= Partly; -=No)								
Date	**AGENDA SETTING**		**FRAMING**		**EVALUATION**				**PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT**		**Relevance**			**Facticity**			**Independence**		
	Focus, **P**ersonalisation/ **Individualization** *favouring*		**N**arrative, **B**ackground *favouring*		**T**itle, **L**abelling, **B**laming, **Generaliz**ation (Idealisation/Demeaning) *favouring*		Labelling* Republican side	Labelling* Nationalist side	**I**dentification, **C**ampaigning/**S**olidarity actions *favouring*		a=context/angle b=narration c=position author			d=sources e=placing sources f=specificity			g=topics h=diversity i=distance to propaganda		
	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
20 Sep 1936**	F, P/I		N, B		T, L, B G		Republic (Republik)	Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S		**/**	-	-	**X**	-	**/**	-	-	-
21 Sep 1936			N, B		L, G		Republic (Republik), Government (Regierung)	Mutineers (Meuterer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S		**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-
24 Sep 1936	F, P/I		N		L, G			Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S		**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	-	-
26 Sep 1936	F, P/I		N, B		L, G		Republic (Republik)	Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I		**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**X**	-	-	-
28 Sep 1936	F		B		L, G			Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S		-	-	**X**	**/**	-	**X**	-	-	-
8 Oct 1936			N		L, G		Republic (Republik)	Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)			**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**X**	-	**/**	-
14 Oct 1936	F, P/I		N, B		L, G		Republic (Republik)	Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I		-	-	**/**	-	-	**/**	-	-	-
18 Oct 1936	F, P/I		N, B		L, G		Government (Regierung)	Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S		**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-

Date	Agenda Setting *favouring*		Framing *favouring*		Evaluation *favouring*		Labelling Rep.	Labelling Nat.	Personal Involvement *favouring*			Relevance			Facticity			Independence		
	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.		**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
22 Oct 1936	F, P/I		N, B		T, L, B, G			Insurgents (Aufrührer), Fascists (Faschisten)	I			**X**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	**/**	**/**	-
24 Oct 1936	No evaluation as only short notice																			
26 Oct 1936	F, P/I		N, B		T, L			Fascists (Faschisten)	I			-	-	**/**	**/**	-	**X**	-	-	-
29 Oct 1936***	F		N, B		G				I, C/S			-	**/**	-	**X**	-	**X**	-	-	-
15 March 1937	F		N, B		T, G		Republic (Republik)		I, C/S			**/**	-	**/**	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-
18 March 1937	F		N, B		L, G			Fascists (Faschisten), Hangmen (Henker)				**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-
21 March 1937	F				T, L, G		Republic (Republik)	Fascists (Faschisten)	I			**/**	**/**	**X**	**X**	-	**/**	-	-	-
23 March 1937**	F, P/I		N		L, G			Fascists (Faschisten)	I			**X**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	-
29 March 1937	F		N, B		T, L, G		Republic (Republik)	Fascists (Faschisten)	I			-	-	**/**	**/**	-	-	-	-	-
3 April 1937	F, P/I		N, B		T, G				I			-	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	-	-	-	-
15 April 1937	F				L, G		Republic (Republik)	Fascists (Faschisten), Insurgents (Aufrührer),	I			-	**/**	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-
29 April 1937	F, P/I		N, B		L, B		Republic (Republik)	Francoists, Fascists (Faschisten)	I			-	**/**	-	**/**	-	**/**	-	-	-
1 May 1937	F		B				Republic (Republik)		I, C/S			**X**	**X**	**X**	**/**	**/**	**/**	**/**	-	-
4 May 1937	F		N, B		T, L		Republic (Republik)	Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S			-	**/**	**X**	-	-	**/**	-	-	-
5 May 1937	F		B		G		Republic (Republik)					**X**	-	**X**	**/**	-	**/**	**/**	-	-
5 May 1937	F		N, B		G			Fascists (Faschisten)	I, C/S			**/**	**/**	**/**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Date	Agenda Setting *favouring*		Framing *favouring*		Evaluation *favouring*		Labelling Rep.	Labelling Nat.	Personal Involvement *favouring*			Relevance			Facticity			Independence		

	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.	Rep.	Nat.			Rep.	Nat.		**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**
9 May 1937****	F, P/I											**/**	**/**	**X**	**/**	**X**	**X**	-	-	-
17 May 1937	F		N		G		Republic (Republik), Spaniards (Spanier)	Fascists (Faschisten)				**/**	-	**X**	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: author's own research

* Includes terms such as Republican territory (= Republicans); Fascist soldiers (= Fascists).

**A few words are illegible.

***About seven lines are illegible.

****About ten lines and some words are illegible.

6.5.3 Evaluation of journalistic quality

The extreme extent of Maria Osten's partisanship has a strong impact on the journalistic quality of her reporting. As shown in Table 26, hardly any of the features of journalistic quality in question here could be clearly identified.

Relevance: The topics chosen by Osten certainly had relevance and sometimes originality, but the problem is presentation and contextualisation. This is evident right from the first story. On 20 September 1936, an "interview" with the secretary of the Women's Committee against War and Fascism was published as part of the humanitarian relief action of the Soviet Union. Even though the committee was a communist-led organization, this could have thrown an interesting perspective on the war and its consequences. But it is not an interview with embedding, questions, and remarks of the journalist, but a monologue of the representative of the committee about the merits of the committee. Similar objections apply to the contextualisation of Maria Osten's reportages, which rarely fulfil the requirement of combining personal experiences, documentation, facts and impressions (Schlüter 2004), but remain very general, often commentary-like, and at best embed individual fates in communist jargon in the narrative of the struggle of the working people against fascism without further differentiation (24 September 1936, 18 October 1936). This abstraction of individuals into collectives, also described in the previous section, leads to a phrase-like, lifeless language that is not very attractive to the audience, probably not even to communist readers in the 1930s.

Osten also raised questions of broader interest, albeit from a communist point of view. In the article "Who Leads the Spanish Insurgents" from 22 October 1936, she took a closer look at the role of the Germans and at why they would know about the movements on the side of the Nationalists before they actually took place. Unfortunately, this article also became more of a commentary than a background report.

Nevertheless, it is in the relevance category where Osten performs quite well. This is mainly due to the question of the author's position in relation to the genre and content of the article. Osten sees herself mostly as an observer, hardly a protagonist, the exception being her story "I am Looking for a Spanish Child" (29 October 1936) and in some other cases where her role was not considered adequate for the genre. For example, in her interview with the secretary of the Women's Committee

against War and Fascism the interviewer does not appear at all and plays no other role than to reproduce a monologue. In the story of the three defectors, her explicit identification with the Republican side makes it impossible to separate the journalist from the International Brigades right from the start.

Facticity: The question about the adequacy of the number of sources was answered with "partly" for most of Osten's stories. This is mainly due to her being an eyewitness to the events she described. However, the circumstances of her research often remain unclear, and she does not give any information about her accompaniment. "We drove 1.500 kilometres through the Spanish province ... to Valencia", is the introduction to her "Journey through the Spanish Countryside" (8 October 1936).[71] She does not give more details about her travel companions.

Two of the few cases that were answered with "yes" were the interview of 20 September 1936, where the source is her interviewee, and Osten's search for a Spanish child from 29 October 1936, where she is the protagonist of the story but she also mentions official and unofficial sources. These two articles are a good example of the fact that a value must always be considered in the context of others (see e.g. Mauro Wolf 1987), for these two stories were among the few in which the journalist's positioning was not assessed as adequate, nor were any independent considerations on the conflict identified (see Table 25).

Stories such as "Spanish Youth" (14 October 1936)or "Madrid – Bilbao" (5 May 1937a), which list as "partly" in the facticity category, refer to concrete events to glorify the Republican's resistance, sometimes even citing figures, but the journalist was not present herself and gave no other sources. She only dissociated herself from possible sources when it was information from the other side, such as the "Diary of a German Aviation Officer". Names and dates appearing in this diary are given concretely to underline the depravity of German officers.

Yet even here there is no factual placing or relativization of the source, but only a sarcastic reproduction of text passages. Thus, she points out how, after a successful air raid, a "casino evening is celebrated by the group in their fine airfield house with all the chicanery", and quotes the officer, saying "22 officers, love, love, booze, really cosy, slightly puked, after midnight with wife in bed" (9

[71] "Wir fuhren 1500 Kilometer durch die spanische Provinz … nach Valencia." (08 October 1936)

May 1937).[72] The sarcasm cannot entirely be blamed on her, but facticity and relevance of this reportage would have benefitted from an embedding of the officer's diary entries in the context of the actual war.

Independence: In the analysis of this value, which asks for open-mindedness and self-initiative in research and topics, Ostens' partisanship is the most defining factor. In most cases, not even a rudimentarily independent choice of themes is discernible, just as there is no attempt to illustrate the conflict from different perspectives. At best, half-hearted attempts can be noticed in the story of the worker girls, where she roams with one girl through Barcelona and with another through Madrid (24 September 1936). In her journey through Spain there are at least changes of location, but this is the only diversity.

There is, however, one text that stands out from the mass of propaganda-coloured articles, which we shall therefore use to conclude the discussion of Osten's journalistic quality. In the article "Spring in Madrid" (Frühling in Madrid, 1 May 1937) Maria Osten, the writer, shines through:

> *It is not an accusation. It is not an outcry. The pen could hold out for both. What is difficult is the truth, to bring reality on paper so close to the people that they wage war.* (1 May 1937)[73]

Even if she puts these words at the beginning, it is exactly that: an accusation. She describes the bombings in Madrid in a rather literary way. At least once, there are no fascists, no Communist party, no organised workers and labourers, only people between life and death.

If we look at the article from the point of view of journalistic quality, the result is still rather mediocre, though better than most of her other stories. What is special about the text is the approach, the immediacy with which the author reports as an observer. After a grenade attack, Osten takes the audience by the hand and leads them through Madrid. The strength lies primarily in the narration:

> *On another street. Four men are holding a man. [...] He knows these are her shoes, her legs, but he still lifts the bloody cloth that covers her head. He has become very calm. The four of them let him go. He looks for a long time into what was once her face. All the others have stepped aside. It is very quiet. Even on the control car for the tram network, it has been torn apart by*

[72] "Kasinoabend für die Gruppe in ihrem prima Flugplatz-Haus mit allen Schikanen." "22 Offiziere, Liebe, Liebe, Sauferei, urgemütlich, leicht gekotzt, nach Mitternacht mit Frau ins Bett." (09 May 1937)

[73] Original: "Es ist keine Anklage. Es ist kein Aufruf. Beides hielte die Feder aus. Was schwer ist, ist die Wahrheit, die Wirklichkeit auf Papier den Menschen so nahezubringen, daß sie den Krieg führen." (01 May 1937)

the grenade, the ladder is raised silently. And two mechanics pull the wire back together again. Suddenly a bicker, boys [...] quarrelling about who gets the biggest splinter. Then he puts the cloth back on the familiar head. The two paramedics lift the stretcher into the car – then he gets into it. And in front of the entrance, the concierge woman wipes the blood off like a stain of dirt. And the little girls are already back with the rope, two turn and the third one jumps in. (1 May 1937)[74]

Even though she almost never names people or streets, the situations are so concrete that this story seems credible, it touches the reader. Precisely because she does not explicitly accuse or speak of the fascist barbarians in communist pathos, this story sounds much more truthful than any of her others.

But the last sentence brings the reader back to the ideological world of real socialism. "And the bloody spring sowing in Madrid will rise as the victorious harvest of the Spanish Republic" (1 May 1937).[75] We cannot verify if Osten added it herself or whether it was added in the editorial office, in any case it does not fit in with the rest of the story and damages its authenticity.

Considering her war reporting as a correspondent of the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* as a whole, Maria Osten was first a communist and then a journalist, in service of the Communist party. The editorial line of the party newspaper may have allowed little else, but perhaps there would have been room for some nuance, concretisation, or citation of sources.

[74] Original: "In einer anderen Straße. Vier Männer halten einen Mann. [...] Er weiß, das sind ihre Schuhe, ihre Beine, aber er lüftet doch das blutige Tuch, das ihren Kopf verdeckt. Er ist ganz ruhig geworden. Die vier ließen ihn los. Er blickt lange in das – was ehemals ihr Gesicht war. Alle andren sind beiseite getreten. Es ist ganz still. Auch auf dem Kontrollwagen für das Netz der Straßenbahnen, denn es ist durch die Granate auseinadergerissen, wird die Leiter lautlos hochgerichtet. Und zwei Monteure ziehen den Draht wieder zusammen. Plötzlich ein zänkisches Geschrei, Jungens wühlen in den Granattrichter und streiten sich, wer den größten Splitter bekommt. Da legt er das Tuch wieder über den vertrauten Kopf. Die beiden Sanitäter heben die Bahre in den Wagen – dann steigt er zu ihr ein. Und vorm Hauseingang wischt die Portierfrau so wie irgendeinen Schmutzfleck das Blut von ihr auf. Und schon sind die kleinen Mädchen mit dem Seil wieder da, zwei drehen und das dritte springt ein." (1 May 1937)

[75] Original: "Und die blutige Frühjahrssaat in Madrid wird aufgehen als Siegesernte der spanischen Republik" (1 May 1937).

7 Comparative analysis of the case studies

The comparative analysis of the reporting of Virginia Cowles, Gertrude Gaffney, Martha Gellhorn, Hilde Marchant, and Maria Osten intends to highlight the similarities, and the differences in their Spanish Civil War coverage and how these are shaped by differing world views and journalistic standards.

To accomplish our objective, we first briefly recall the five professional mandates and corresponding thematic priorities, followed by a comparative qualitative and quantitative summary of the findings in Chapter 6 to illustrate the link between partiality and quality.

Some relevant features and strategies only become clearer in the direct comparison, and different professional concepts take shape. Therefore, based on the results in Chapter 6 and the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 3, we derive general journalistic types from these professional concepts and illustrate, using similar or comparable text passages, their different ways of dealing with the warring parties and constructing the stories. Finally, we explore the connection between personal background, professional understanding, and interpretation of the conflict in all five case studies.

7.1 Different points of departure: professional mandates and thematic priorities

As indicated in the Methodology, the selection of the case studies was based on two prerequisites: on the one hand, the journalists had to represent a broad political spectrum, i. e. different attitudes towards the warring parties, and on the other hand, they had to be comparable in their journalistic work. This meant that all the selected war correspondents had to have written at least five long reportages inserted in the tradition of narrative journalism. Based on the analysis of their working conditions, as well as biographical research we have summarized the different preconditions of the five selected correspondents, see Table 27.

Table 27. Preconditions of the five case studies.

	Virginia Cowles	**Gertrude Gaffney**	**Martha Gellhorn**	**Hilde Marchant**	**Maria Osten**
Home country	USA	Ireland	USA	United Kingdom	Germany, living in Soviet Union
Party affiliation; ideological orientation before departure for Spain	Neutral according to self-definition	Irish nationalist, conservative Catholic; supporting Nationalists	Left leaning, no party affiliation; supporting Republicans	Not known; no explicit political positioning but sympathies with the Republicans	Member German Communist Party; supporting Republicans
News outlets	Daily Express; The New York Sunday American; The New York Times; The Sunday Times	The Irish Independent	Collier's; Harper's Bazaar; The New Yorker	Daily Express	Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung
Relationship to the news outlets	Freelance	Staff member	Freelance	Staff member	Regular contributor
Number of articles analysed	8	23	6	5	26

Source: author's own research.

Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn were freelance correspondents who had to find their topics on their own and balance their personal preferences with the saleability of the stories. Cowles, however, had an agreement with the Hearst editorial, at least in the beginning, while Gellhorn travelled to Spain with a non-binding letter from *Collier's* which then developed into a long-standing collaboration. From the Spanish Civil War, she wrote three long reportages for the influential, politically left-leaning weekly magazine, in addition to publishing one story in *Harper's Bazaar*, one

in *The New Yorker*, and one in *Story* magazine which was not available for this study.[76] Cowles, after her first short series in Hearst's *New York Sunday American*, was able to dock as a special correspondent at the high-ranking quality papers *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Times*, as well as publishing in the *Daily Express*.

The other three reporters had a more solid professional situation from the outset. Hilde Marchant, Gertrude Gaffney, and Maria Osten had been sent as correspondents for their respective newspapers. Osten, unlike the other two, was not employed on a permanent basis at the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* (DZZ) but was a regular contributor. Osten's fixed income ended abruptly, however, when her chief editor in Moscow was arrested under Stalin's terror regime. Marchant was the one with the most clearly defined task: she was to report on the fate of women and children in Madrid as a short-term special correspondent, while at the same time two male long-term correspondents followed military and political events. Gaffney's and Osten's potential range of topics was much broader than Marchant's. They were the only regular correspondents of their newspapers on site at the time of their reporting, even though *The Irish Independent* as well as the *DZZ* also published other reports on Spain (by agencies, volunteers, or prominent visitors). However, in Gaffney's case, the perspective on the Spanish Civil War was advertised as "through a woman's eyes" (e.g. Evening Herald 23 February 1937), which meant apparently putting the focus on personal observations during her trip. In the case of Maria Osten, we could not find any explicit reference to her mission as the *DZZ* "Sonderkorrespondentin" (special correspondent).

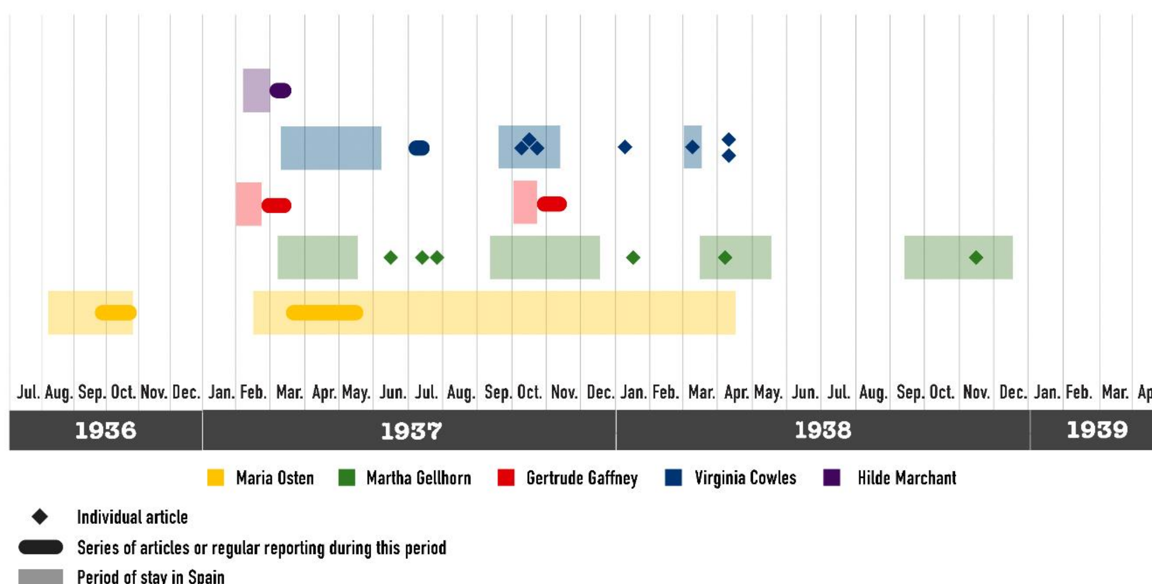
In all these case studies, the women reported in line with their newspapers and magazines. Cowles changed her style of reporting depending on the medium. Her major stories for *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Times* were detached and analytical, representing both sides, with slight sympathies for the Republic and certain dislike for the Nationalists, argued on the basis of her research. In her article in the less serious *New York Sunday American*, however, she humorously described a visit to the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigades, and in the *Daily Express* she gave account of an unsuccessful attempt to reach the front with a gruff Franco officer.

As shown in Figure 4, at no time were all five in Spain, but all were there at some point in February or March 1937. From a military point of view, the most significant events at this time were the Battle of the Jarama river, the fall of Málaga, the Republican victories at Guadalajara and a Nationalist

[76] Despite all efforts, it was not possible to obtain a copy of the article.

offensive on Madrid. Only the situation in Madrid played a role in the reporting of all five correspondents. While Cowles, Gellhorn, Osten, and Marchant were in the Republican part of the country in early 1937, Gaffney reached the suburbs of Madrid from the Nationalist zone in the west in February 1937 and described the desolation and devastation of the villages around the capital.

Figure 4. Periods of stays and publications of the five case studies[77]



Source: author's own research.

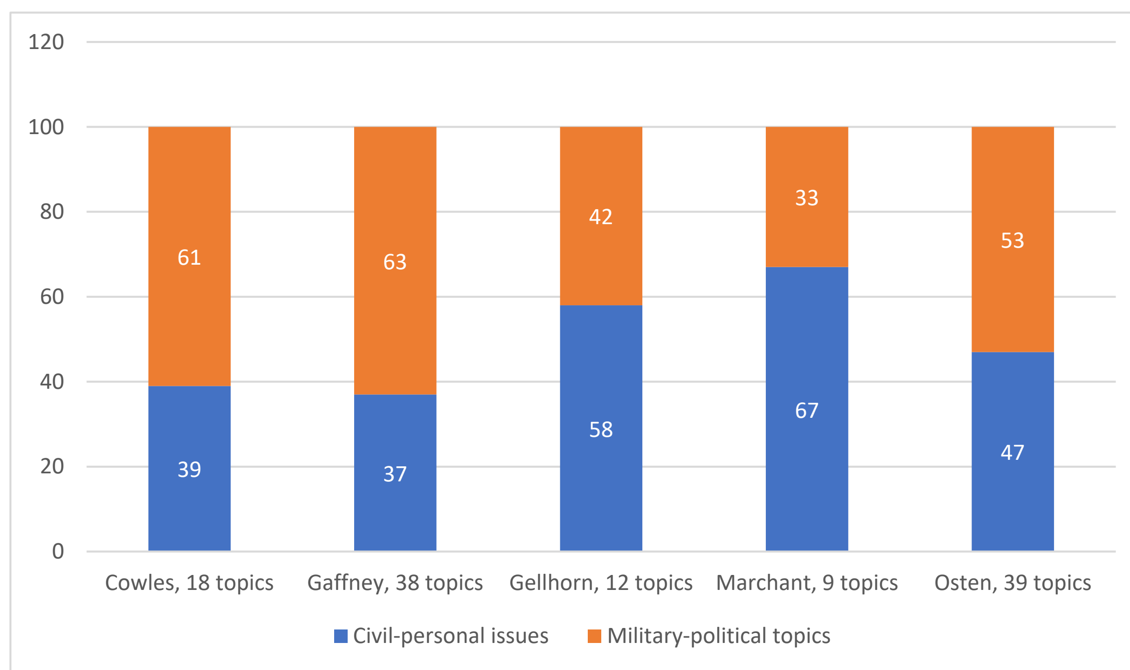
We also evaluated the main topics specifically for the case studies. In the 68 articles, 117 themes according to the ten defined categories[78] were registered. The most important were the two major themes of "civil issues" with 35 mentions (approximately 30 %), followed by "warfare/battle stories" with 28 references (24 %). This is consistent with the analysis of all the reporting, of which the stories of the case studies make up 40 per cent. If we again cluster the ten categories into a civilian/personal area and a military/political area as in the general analysis and look at them individually for each

[77] Figure 4 is illustrative, as the exact arrival and departure days of the five case studies could not be determined in all cases.

[78] The ten topics were (see Methodology and Chapter 4): civil issues; warfare/battle stories; air attacks with special reference to women/civilians; role of women in society, especially in wartimes; important personalities/prominent war heroes; Republican politics; Nationalist politics; international impact and politics; foreign allies in Spain; personal experiences with little reference/relevance to conflict.

journalist, there are, however, deviations from the overall picture with its predominance of civilian/personal issues (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. The main topic areas of the five case studies (in %).



Source: author's own research.

In Cowles', Gaffney's and Osten's coverage, the military-political themes were prevalent. On the other hand, Gellhorn and Marchant put the concerns of the civilian population clearly in the foreground. The higher military-political focus compared to the general evaluation in Chapter 4 can be explained by the rather high professional status of the three women and their professional assignments. Gaffney and Osten were not freelancers like many of their female colleagues who had to find niches alongside strong male competition. Gaffney, as an experienced commentator, had the *pouvoir* to touch on military-political issues (though through a woman's eye), visiting Franco's headquarters and the Irish Brigades in her first series, and giving her impression on the Northern front in her second series. Osten as *DZZ*'s only female correspondent at the time had to provide convenient stories for the Communist Party, as her choice of subject suggests. This included, for example, reports of victorious battles in Guadalajara and Brihuega. Cowles, although freelance, had acquired the competence to assess the military-political situation with her research on both sides.

Even though the quantitative data in this analysis has no general significance because the number of cases is too small, it does show that the spectrum of female journalists was wider than often assumed. Women did not always write primarily about civilian topics. But even in the case of more military-political topics, as with Virginia Cowles, a human interest in the fate of the civilian population is perceptible, even if it is not in the foreground. In Marchant's and Gellhorn's case, this human interest is the focus, it should be understood as their own agenda to show the other, civilian side of the war. It was their own choice. In this way, women journalists have broadened the view of the war and described it as a holistic phenomenon that permeates all corners of everyday life.

The journalist's gender only plays a role in the coverage in so far as the hardships of women were easier to comprehend for female journalists and they attributed great relevance to them. Although Marchant's reporting was billed by the editor as "Newsgirl back from Madrid", we could only recognize the so-called woman's angle, understood as an accentuation of the femininity of the journalist, in Gertrude Gaffney. In her case, her gender and personal experiences played an important role throughout the reporting.

7.2 Partiality and Quality: comparison of the main findings

In Chapter 6, we analysed the reporting of the five case studies on the one hand according to patterns of partisanship in the categories of agenda setting, framing, evaluation and personal involvement, and on the other hand for journalistic quality alongside criteria assigned to the values of relevance, facticity and independence.

Put simply, the five journalists can be divided into two groups according to the findings in the individual content analyses. In the first group, there are Virginia Cowles, Hilde Marchant and Martha Gellhorn, for whom, despite possible partisanship, journalistic standards are paramount. The second group, consisting of Gertrude Gaffney and Maria Osten, however, used journalism mainly for propaganda in order to convey messages favourable to their own interest groups.

It was not our aim to establish a ranking, but to show weaknesses and strengths in the reporting on the Spanish Civil War. Nevertheless, a comparison in figures seems useful here. Though the relatively small number of cases does not allow generally valid statements here either, the numerical representation serves to illustrate the relationship between partisanship and journalistic quality for

our case studies and provides a valuable reference for the qualitative comparison and the subsequent definition of general journalistic types derived (see Sub-section 7.3). For this quantitative comparison we calculated (1) the average number of discernible partiality patterns per article, and (2) the percentage of identified and at least partly identified features to all possible quality features. The results are shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Partiality and quality: identified level of partisanship and fulfilment of quality features.

Partisanship identified patterns/text, average, ranked from lowest to highest partiality.	Favouring Rep.	 Nat.		Quality features fulfilled “yes”, in % of all possible features, ranked from highest to lowest percentage			Quality features, at least partly fulfilled “yes” and “partly”, in % of all possible features, ranked from highest to lowest percentage	
Cowles	1.8	0.4		Cowles	80.6		Gellhorn	98.1
Marchant	2.6	-		Gellhorn	74.1		Cowles	97.2
Gellhorn	3.7	-		Marchant	60.0		Marchant	93.3
Gaffney	-	5.6		Osten	13.8		Gaffney	51.2
Osten	6.0	-		Gaffney	5.3		Osten	48.5

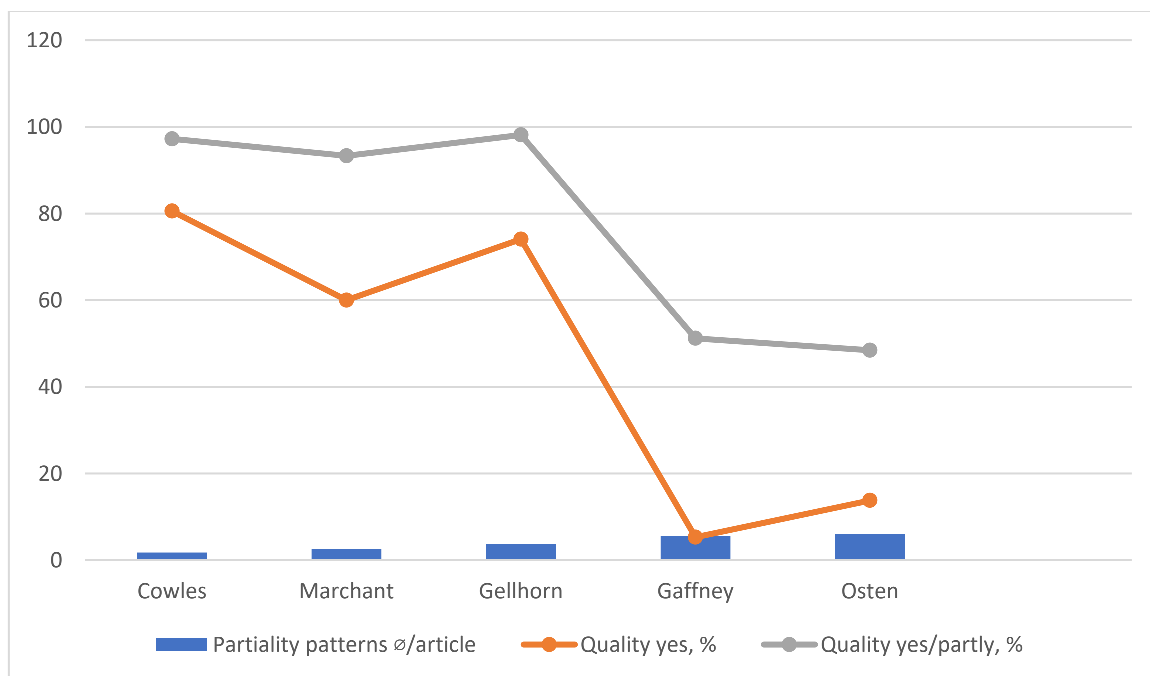
Source: author’s own research.

The graphical representation of these data, see Figure 6, highlights that the case studies with a comparatively high degree of partisanship are those with the lowest values for journalistic quality. The differences between the two groups are clearly discernible. While Cowles, Marchant, and Gellhorn show comparatively high-quality scores and rather low patterns of partiality, the reverse is observed for Gaffney and Osten.

Virginia Cowles reported with the least degree of bias. She is the only one to find patterns of partiality both for the Republic and, though barely perceptible, for the Nationalists. This reflects her approach to balancing. At the same time, she has the highest number of completely fulfilled quality features. Marchant’s sympathy for the Republic is, compared to Cowles, more pronounced. In terms of quality, she ranks third behind Cowles and Gellhorn. Gellhorn’s partiality score is above that of her two colleagues (but still clearly lower than that of Osten and Gaffney), in our assessment of completely fulfilled quality features she is in second place. Despite some weaknesses in the value of

independence, she is ahead of Marchant because she took interesting, relevant points of view, researched extensively, and was specific in her presentation and a highly talented writer. Osten's and Gaffney's quality scores are clearly lower, this applies to all three quality standards set.

Figure 6. Partiality and quality: identified level of partisanship and fulfilment of quality features.



Source: author's own research.

Of course, it would be too simplistic to attribute the low figure for journalistic quality solely to the high degree of partiality. Poor journalistic craft such as lack of interest, longwindedness, or a focus on oneself are not necessarily linked to bias. Nevertheless, the connection is evident. The ability to take on new perspectives, to perceive nuances and express them in the text, to search for diverse sources, must at some point inevitably suffer from partisanship.

Gaffney and Osten have reached the point where partiality seriously affects quality. Cowles, Marchant, and Gellhorn fulfilled a large part of the quality criteria examined in their work completely (Cowles at 80 %, Gellhorn at over 70 % and Marchant at 60 %) and almost all (over 90%) at least partially. In Osten's coverage, however, less than half of the possible quality characteristics were

even “partly” identified, more than half of the features looked for could not be found at all. In Gaffney’s case, it was slightly better.[79]

How are these differences expressed in the text? An essential feature that distinguishes Cowles from the others, and which finally accounted for the highest rating in the quality-assessment, is the comprehensiveness of most of her articles. She was the only one to report from both sides from first-hand experience. Her cautious sympathies for the Republican side, and her aversion to the politics of the Nationalists, arose from the context of the research and were not given from the outset. This reflection is missing in the reportages of the other case studies.

The main differences can be described along the journalistic standards assessed. For the criteria on relevance, Gellhorn and Cowles have particularly good ratings, Marchant’s are quite similar. All three told their stories in a more attractive way and from a more interesting angle than Gaffney and Osten. This has a lot to do with talent to begin with, but also with partisanship. A genuine voice, as defined by Gutiérrez Palacio (1984) as a quality feature, is hard to find in Osten’s work. It was obscured by communist platitudes. The criterion of journalistic positioning can indicate strong partisanship. The decisive factor for our quality assessment in this context was the importance attributed to the journalist herself in the story. Was she an observer or did she make herself the protagonist?

Here, a common feature of all five case studies must be noted: they all wrote in the first person. Nevertheless, the “I” was used very differently. Cowles was restrained about this, using the first person mainly to indicate that she had done research on the ground. She was watching from outside and distancing herself from both sides. Though Gellhorn and also Marchant liked to mingle with people, shared some of their experiences for their investigation on site (distributing blood conserves, queuing for coal) and appeared more often themselves as characters in their stories, they were aware that they were outsiders and that they were in the fortunate position of being able to leave the war behind at any time. Compared to Cowles they did not maintain the same distance but reported on eye-level. Gaffney and especially Osten saw themselves much more in the role of allies. While Gaffney still drew a certain line to the Nationalists with her focus on Irish interests and herself, Maria Osten observed the struggle as an affected and involved party.

[79] However, Osten fulfilled more quality criteria completely. This was mainly due to her position as a journalist in the background which was considered to be more adequate than Gaffney’s.

However, this difference between Gaffney and Osten was not reflected in the evaluation of the quality standard relevance. Gaffney scored significantly lower here, the decisive factor being her role as protagonist of her own story. However, if we consider the question of journalistic positioning together with the personal involvement of the partisanship assessment, it becomes clear that Osten's political activism in her stories went beyond Gaffney's.

In the value of factuality, we emphasised the selection and placing of sources, meaning transparency in the origin of information, and specificity in the presentation. Virginia Cowles cited sources from a variety of backgrounds in her stories, from the general of the International Brigades to the Franco press officer, from shop owners in Barcelona to an old man in Guernica. Gertrude Gaffney's main source, however, was herself, the eyewitness. She was vague about where the information came from. "I was told" and "you hear" were the main references regarding her sources. Maria Osten mostly quoted representatives of communist organisations, whose statements she accepted without relativization, or she used sources from the other side, such as the diary of a German officer, which was taken as proof of the other side's depravity without further classification. Hilde Marchant and Martha Gellhorn proceeded in a different way. Their sources were in very few cases official representatives of political parties or military units, but mainly civilians and (wounded) soldiers from the International Brigades. They were almost always authentic sources who gave information about their own situation and did not make assumptions or overgeneralizations. Gellhorn often reproduced this information verbatim, emphasising the unbroken will of the population despite all the misery. Marchant was more relative. For her, not all the soldiers were heroic, the women were dull rather than tenacious, the spirit of resistance and solidarity began to crumble.

While Cowles abstracted the essentials from a wealth of information from named but rarely detailed sources, Marchant and Gellhorn made the many individual sources their story (see also Sub-section 7.5). The factuality of their articles emerged from these many small scenes, which also always let the reader know the circumstances of the research, for example, when Marchant researched with the market manager at the municipal market or Gellhorn visited families in bombed-out flats with a municipal architect. Gellhorn in particular paid attention to small details such as photos on a board.

The sources cited by Gaffney, Osten and Gellhorn never questioned the political leadership of the side they were on. Marchant was more restrained in direct quotations and put things in context. But only in Cowles' work did people also contradict or criticize the war side with which they were associated, such as the shop owners in Barcelona who hoped the Republic would soon be defeated,

and the old man in Guernica who insisted to a Franco press officer that the Germans had bombed the city. But even if Gellhorn's sources did not have this critical dimension, they do reveal the journalists' concern for an authentic image of her topic.

When discussing the connection between partisanship and quality, the value of independence takes on a key role. The classical understanding of objectivity, as we have argued in the Theoretical Framework, rejects any partiality and insists on independence in the sense of neutrality. We have defined independence, however, as open-mindedness, autonomous setting of priorities and efforts to achieve a certain diversity, which is distinct from war propaganda and party interests, but does not exclude sympathies for one side. Despite this deliberately moderate interpretation of independence, it remains the value where the link between quality and partisanship is most direct, as our case studies show.

Virginia Cowles was most committed to the principle of objectivity, at least in her stories for *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Times*, news outlets that were also committed to neutrality. The perspective on the Republican and the Nationalist zone brought a diversity to her writing that the others lacked. The effort to give both sides a voice, the critical examination of their propaganda enabled the journalist to keep a clear distance from the warring parties. Accordingly, a direct identification with a warring party was recognized in her reporting only once, which was in her story for *The New York Sunday American*, for which she visited the International Brigades.

The contrast between Cowles, on the one hand, and Gaffney and Osten, on the other, is striking. While Gaffney and Osten showed signs of personal involvement and explicit framing with the warring parties' narratives and the personal background in almost all of their stories, their reporting hardly met the quality criteria in the assessment of the value independence. Nevertheless, in Gaffney's case journalistic routines such as a self-set focus (albeit regarding personal interests), research on the way, a personal view of events and persons, and individual considerations can be detected at least to some extent. Osten, on the other hand, was hardly distinguishable from the communist allies of the Republic. All her themes seem to have been predetermined by the Communist Party and were also only presented from that perspective.

Marchant and Gellhorn again are in between. Their focus on the victims of this war was directed exclusively to one side. The importance of the issue potentially justifies this one-sided attention and was considered an autonomous choice of focus in our evaluation. Neither pretended to provide a complete picture of the war, neither advocated the political goals of the Republic in their reporting.

Nor did they demonize the other side, as Gaffney and Osten did. The others, the out-group, were not on their agenda. At the level of individual articles examined here, which were not claiming to be comprehensive, we consider this legitimate. On the level of the entire reporting of a medium, the exclusive focus on one side of the front would have to be assessed differently.

The comparison of the case studies shows that partisanship influences journalistic quality. However, partisanship cannot simply be equated with poor journalism. It is a question of the extent to which one is biased and how one deals with it. We know from Martha Gellhorn that she toured the USA and called for support for the Spanish Republic. She kept this political activism out of her reporting. This distinguished her from Gertrude Gaffney and Maria Osten. Moreover, Gellhorn was not concerned with serving the interests of political stakeholders, but with adherence to personal values and a fundamental empathy towards victims of injustice and violence. In such cases, we argue, it is precisely this sympathy, supported by journalistic professionalism, that can make for quality.

In the Theoretical Framework, we defined commitment to truth as the fundamental claim of journalism. Accordingly, the concern for truthfulness has formed the basis for the selection of our criteria for journalistic quality. This is what makes the essential difference in the findings of the individual analyses. In Cowles' as well as in Gellhorn's and Marchant's reporting, a credible concern for truthfulness is recognizable. Depending on the author, each approach to the facts can be based on a more objective or more subjective perspective. In Osten's and Gaffney's coverage, this visible strive for sincerity is often missing.

7.3 Derivation of general journalistic types

To illustrate the different understandings and working methods, we have elaborated general journalistic types regarding partiality and quality, based on our content analyses as well as on biographical research (see Table 29). In doing so, we were guided by the role models of the detached and attached observer presented in the Theoretical Framework (see Chapter 3).

Table 29. The case studies assigned to general journalistic types.

Journalist	Level of partiality[80]	Bias based on	Level of empathy (towards civilians regarding consequences of war)	Defined mainly by journalistic or propaganda approaches	Journalistic quality	Journalistic type
Cowles	neutral to sympathiser	experience on the site	Low	journalistic	high	detached observer
Marchant	sympathiser	personal convictions	Reserved	journalistic	high	attached observer
Gellhorn	partisan	personal convictions	clearly perceptible	journalistic	high	committed observer
Gaffney	propagandist	national / institutional interests	Low	journalistic and propaganda	poor	detached to committed propaganda correspondent
Osten	propagandist	party interests	High	propaganda	poor	committed propagandist

Source: author's own research.

In detail, the categorisation was based on the following considerations:

1. *Virginia Cowles – detached observer.* Cowles corresponds most closely to this type of Anglo-American reporter, which is widely consistent with the traditional principle of objectivity obliged to neutrality (see e.g. Schudson 2008; Bentele 2008). She is the only one who looked with an analytical eye on both sides and tried not to get too close to anyone. Sympathies only develop from her stay on site, they are "experiential affinities" (Deacon 2008b) and are discussed in the text. Other characteristics of her reporting that correspond to this journalistic understanding include balancing both sides, and pragmatism instead of empathy towards the civilian population. Also, her focus on the general picture and not on

[80] Drawing also on Deacon (2008a) who has divided war reporters in the Spanish Civil War, referring to political commitment and publications, into agnostics, sympathisers, partisans, and propagandists.

the fate of individuals is in line with this labelling. In her texts, her sympathies for the Republic are mainly based on a dislike for the Nationalists and their policies.

2. *Hilde Marchant – attached observer.* Marchant showed compassion through her focus on women, children, and other victims of this war in Republican Spain – thereby expressing sympathy for this side. She kept out of any political discussion. We therefore assign her to the concept of the attached observer. There are clear parallels between Marchant's approach and those discussed by scholars and practitioners today, for example, referring to the "spectateur engagé" who advocates the admittance of emotional involvement and empathy to a certain degree while insisting on political detachment (Boudana 2014; see also e.g. Tumber and Prentoulis 2003). Unlike Gellhorn, her sympathy does not extend unreservedly to the entire Republican side. At several points, for example, she relativizes the courage of the Republican fighters. Unlike Cowles, her affinities are "elective" (Deacon 2008b) that means already determined in advance, before her arrival in Spain.

3. *Martha Gellhorn – committed observer:* Gellhorn's attachment clearly goes beyond that of Marchant. Even though she largely avoided political discussions, there are more patterns of partiality to be found in her reporting. We understand the word committed as an enhancement to attached, it is comprehensive and in Gellhorn's case also includes a politically unambiguous position. In her understanding, this was sincerity and, as previously noted, is most closely associated with the concept of independent partisanship as identified by Requate (2002) for liberal journalists in 19th and 20th century Europe. Deacon (2008a, 63) describes partisans, among whom he counts Gellhorn, as journalists who no longer distinguish between "professional practices and political sympathies". Political sympathies quickly take on the connotation of party-political sympathies, which result from a striving for the expansion of the party's power. Deacon (2008a) draws the dividing line between partisans and propagandists at this party affiliation, both groups would act similarly, one out of personal conviction, the other out of party loyalty. At least in our case studies, this essential difference between partisan, on the one hand, and propagandist or in its more journalistic manifestation as propaganda correspondent, on the other hand, is clearly perceptible in the writing. Unlike Osten and Gaffney, Gellhorn

saw herself as an observer, as an outsider in this conflict and, despite all her empathy, kept a certain distance in her texts. She did not always do this consistently; in her interaction with the International Brigades, she crossed this boundary. On the trip to the front to help to distribute blood reserves, she became part of the international medical aid team. McLoughlin (2017, 152) refers to this process as becoming "one with the experience – the high point of assimilation". Mostly, however, Gellhorn remains an observer and chronicler, a walking tape recorder as she called herself. With this image, McLoughlin (2017) objects here, she negates her role as mediator between reality and history.

4. Gertrude Gaffney – between detached and committed propaganda correspondent: Gaffney's role as an observer was always subordinate to propaganda, meaning the mission to convey the predetermined message. Hence, her articles were mostly limited to confirming the *Irish Independent's* line of reporting: legitimacy of the Nationalists and Franco's moral sanctity. There is no evidence yet that she herself belonged to a party. Nevertheless, in every respect she represented the political line of the *Irish Independent* as the mouthpiece of the Catholic Church and a loyal ally of Franco. As a commentator, she not only adhered to this line but also propagated it. It is more difficult to define her in terms of detached, attached or committed. She was certainly a committed Franco partisan. However, if we consider detached and attached in terms of empathy for the civilian population, as described in the Theoretical Framework, Gaffney would rather be described as detached. While the "attached observer" allows for an emotional attachment to the population but insists on political independence, the opposite was the case with her. Gaffney showed great distance to the population. She was emotional when it came to pride in her own countrymen, admiration for Franco and other war heroes, and her own security. Here, an orientation towards the Anglo-Saxon detached observer is recognizable, corrupted, however, by an unconditional partiality that exists from the outset and in which everything is embedded. Unlike Osten, we did not label her only as a propagandist although she acted in many ways as such. Nevertheless, and in contrast to Osten, there is a certain claim to journalism and authenticity through research on the ground by giving account of her travels and keeping her eyes open, even if she saw everything through Nationalist-tinted glasses.

5. Maria Osten – committed propagandist: Although Osten and Gaffney were on opposite sides, their way of reporting was similar in many ways. Just as Gaffney did with the Nationalists, Osten blocked everything but the communist perspective from her field of vision. Both worked with generalizations that tended to the heroization of friends and the demonization of enemies. Their language was not moderate, unlike the other three, they wrote of "barbarians" and "demons". Osten, however, was much more committed to the concerns of the (communist) population than Gaffney. She sought contact, often showed dramatically exaggerated admiration for their spirit of sacrifice and, unlike Gaffney, drew less of a line between them and herself as a journalist. Even though Maria Osten was probably the more talented writer (which, however, is obscured by communist pathos), Gaffney was more concerned with journalistic reporting than Osten. Gaffney's observations, though partisan and often trivial, gave the stories more authenticity than the party-centred coverage of Maria Osten. Gaffney gave more details about the events witnessed by her and was more transparent about the circumstances of her reporting. The activist dimension (as a campaigner for help, or in search of an adoptive child for example) is also more accentuated in Osten's texts than in Gaffney's. Maria Osten, however, was not a callous, cynical propagandist who cold-bloodedly used journalism for her own power-political purposes but was herself strongly involved emotionally as can be discerned in her reporting and is confirmed by her biography. This gives her writing more credibility in its sincere concern for Spain than Gaffney's, but not in her accurate account of events.

The stylistic form (e.g. skeptical or convinced, cynical and decadent, or cheerful and uplifting) bears the ethical imprint of the writer, as Gutiérrez Palacio (1984, 78) noted. We have chosen here the first lines of a story of each case study to show how the style reflects the different general types from the start (see Table 30). This selection of first lines is for illustrative purposes only, but in each case, it is a good representation of the style that each journalist gave to her article.

Table 30. Different styles of the general types in the introduction of their articles.

Detached observer	**Attached observer**	**Committed observer**	**Detached to committed propaganda correspondent**	**Committed propagandist**
Virginia Cowles 10 April 1938a	Hilde Marchant 1 March 1937	Martha Gellhorn 2 April 1938	Gertrude Gaffney 27 October 1937	Maria Osten 24 September 1936
The end of the war in Spain will be welcome, for the people are weary of conflict. Many times recently I have traveled through the country, on General Franco's side and in Loyalist territory, and every where I have seen a growing desire for peace.	*The Miracle of Madrid's five loaves and two fishes is over. They have nothing to eat. Real starvation has begun.* *Since the siege opened the city has multiplied its one month's reserve of cereal and oil to cover half a year. Women have stood day and night for a canful of beans, a handful of cabbage leaves.*	*At the end of the day the wind swooped down from the mountains into Madrid and blew the broken glass from the shelled houses. You could hear the glass tinkling, and the wind going narrow and strong through the dark streets. It rained all the time, and the streets were mustard-colored with mud. It rained and everyone waited for the offensive to begin.*	*Leon, the capital of the Province of that name, a charming old town with one of the most beautiful cathedrals in Spain, was the base for visiting the Leon portion of the Asturias front. A drive of two hours brought me the first morning to the village of Villamanin, which had just been taken from the Reds.*	*The sixty-year-old mother grabbed her rifle and stormed the barracks with the others – and found her own son inside, silently embraced him and returned him to the people. The hundreds who built the first barricades became thousands. It was the inhabitants of whole streets who marched against the enemy – and often the thresholds and entrances were covered with their corpses.*

Source: author's own research.

The first sentences of Virginia Cowles' reportage (10 April 1938a) already refer to both sides, balancing them as morally equal in their longing for peace and highlighting the reporter's authority who had travelled "many times" through both zones. This introduction then leads to a factual, informative feature that weighs both sides and interweaves political assessment with personal experiences on the ground. Cowles used the first person sparingly and mainly to illustrate specifics of the war through her own experience, never making herself the protagonist. The pragmatic view and balancing of both sides is characteristic of her reporting, at least after her first, more personal series for the *New York Sunday American.*

The detached observer became an analyst of the Civil War. Thus, she was among the early war correspondents who tried to implement the then still new role of the objective observer (see e.g. Schudson 2008; Ward 2005; Cowles 30 October 1938) in the field of war reporting, although detachment and neutrality are always to be regarded as an ideal that could never be fully met, at least in the Spanish Civil War (Deacon 2008a). Her style also reflects the orientation of objective journalism towards science. First, a thesis is presented, in this case that people are longing for the end of the war, which is then subsequently substantiated with sources and their own experiences. To this end, Cowles repeatedly points out in this story for *The New York Times* the similarity of the two sides, the people in Oviedo being just as brave as those in Madrid, the hotel owners here and there equally distressed at the shell holes in their buildings. This may have been dictated by the editor, for it recalls *The New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews, quoted above, who complained about the hypocrisy of this forced equal treatment of both sides (see Chapter 3).

Hilde Marchant begins describing the suffering of Madrid in a rather cool tone, referring to the people of Madrid as "they". This distance shall emphasize the authority as an objective witness from outside, strengthened by a headline saying that she had gone to Madrid "to find the story of women and children in wartime". The biblical allusion stresses hopelessness and abandonment. It was her laconic way to get the audience's attention and empathy. Only after an introduction of several paragraphs in which she writes that hunger was taking its toll on the resistance, making women fight for food and pointing out that Franco used this as a weapon, the journalist herself appears on the scene. The hardships described at first give the audience some orientation and simultaneously act as the author's legitimization of a solidary approach to queue up with one woman for bread. This is not to be understood as assimilation, as becoming one with the experience of the population in the sense that McLoughlin (2017) describes, but as a kind of research based on empathy. This was part of

Marchant's character and journalistic style as a whole. She was proud of not belonging to an intellectual upper class, but to the common people, for whose concerns she had particular sympathy.

In Martha Gellhorn's entry there is nothing of Marchant's coolness and distance. While Marchant led her audience gradually to the waiting queues, Gellhorn put her readers right in the "dark streets" listening to the "glass tinkling" by using the second person ("You can hear…"). The audience should hear and see what the inhabitants of Madrid heard and saw. It is a different level of emotionality than in Marchant's reporting and characteristic of Gellhorn's Spain coverage. Not all entrances are so sensory, but she always began as an observer right in the middle of the city. Thus, her position with the Republic became a matter of self-evidence, without explaining why and almost not referring to the other side. While Cowles becomes an analyst out her detached position, both Marchant and Gellhorn implement their journalistic role as empathetic observers as storytellers. The difference between attached and committed lies in the level of emotionality.

Gertrude Gaffney's opening could be from the *Baedeker* travel guide. The quoted passage, however, contains much that is evaluative, without arguing it as such, but rather presupposing it. The trip to Villamanin, which has just been taken from the "Reds", after the reference to Leon's "beautiful cathedral" in the previous sentence, sets peaceful Christianity (on Franco's side) in contrast to godless communism (the "Reds" on the other side) right from the start. The genre of the travelogue makes this assessment even more subliminal, since it is disguised as touristic chit-chat. In this case, the journalistic approach, the description of the surroundings, meets a propaganda mission, based on the consistent evaluation of what is seen without argumentation.

Maria Osten provides a dramatic introduction about the resistance struggle, but without describing a specific scene. The sixty-year-old mother is an archetype, symbol of many mothers, and is not elaborated on afterwards. This introduction does not refer to any concrete event or person, thus has no informative content (Brajnovic 1991) and is inappropriate from a journalistic point of view. Only after this propaganda entry Osten got more specific and presented two militiawomen and the self-sacrificing struggle of these "Spanish working-glass girls" (Spanische Arbeitermädchen), as the title labels, in more detail. Yet these are not simply two interview partners, but friends or at least good acquaintances. "Often, when I sat together with Marina, who knew every street, every corner in

Barcelona [...]" (24 September 1936)[81], Osten introduced one of the girls in the story. As a propagandist, we note, Osten is only concerned with the message, not the actual circumstances.

7.4 References to the warring parties as an expression of sympathies

Deacon diagnoses that the heterogeneity of the two sides was not taken into account in the reporting, and that female correspondents in particular did not spend much time differentiating between the factions, "they seemed to connect with a broader and undifferentiated conception of the Republic and its values" Deacon (2008a, 74). This can be deduced from the strong political motivation that led women more than purely professional interest to go to Spain (see Chapter 4).

Cowles is the only one of our case studies who came to Spain as a reporter exclusively for professional reasons. In Marchant's case, empathy may have been the motivation, along with professional interest. In the case of the other three, partisanship predominated, Gellhorn came out of a feeling of solidarity, Osten and Gaffney out of political calculation. These different attitudes can be illustrated with the different ways the five dealt with the warring parties in the text.

All case studies used simplistic labels that encompassed all groups of one side. This had to be done for practical reasons, to a certain degree. Constantly listing the different factions would have hindered the flow of the articles. The simplistic labels, however, were also, as stated before, a strategy of emphasising partisanship without revealing it. In Table 31, we have registered for each of the five war correspondents the three most frequently used terms for each side (they have to be used at least twice as a minimum requirement), if there were as many.

[81] Original: "Oft, wenn ich mit Marina, die jede Straße, jede Ecke in Barcelona kennt [...], beisammensass, [...]" (24 September 1936).

Table 31. The most frequent labels for the warring parties.

Correspondent	Labels Republican side*	Labels Nationalist side*
Cowles	**1. Republicans** **2. Government** **3. Loyalists**	**1. Franco-ists** **2. Nationalists** **3. Insurgents**
Gaffney	**1. Reds**	**1. Nationalists** **2. Franco-ists** **3. Whites**
Gellhorn	**1. Republicans**	**1. Fascists** **2. Rebels**
Marchant	**1. Government**	**1. Insurgents**
Osten	**1. Republic** **2. Government**	**1. Insurgents /Fascists**

Source: author's own research.

* Evaluation by counting all mentions in all articles that refer to a warring side as a whole; includes combined terms such as Republican army; Government troops; Nationalist territory; Franco soldiers etc.

Cowles as the correspondent with the lowest bias preferred comparatively neutral terms for both sides and incorporated the most variety. She used "Republicans" and "Government" for one side, and "Franco-ists" and "Nationalists" for the other. "Loyalists" and "insurgents" which indicate sympathies were more rarely used. The journalists who were closer to the Republic favoured "insurgents" and the similar "rebels", as well as "fascists" for the Nationalist side. Cowles also applied the term "fascist" on rare occasions, but mostly in an argumentative context (only in "Agony in Spain" it is used as a mere label, maybe put by the editor), whereas Gellhorn did not explain it at all. The following examples show the difference in applying the fascist label between Cowles and Gellhorn:

> *They remembered how it was when 450 of them formed the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and were rushed to the front above Morata, in February, to help hold back the Fascists from the main Madrid-Valencia road.* (Gellhorn 15 January 1938)

> *[T]here is little doubt as to the Fascist régime which has been imposed upon the country. Officials state that Spain is anti-democratic, anti-Liberal, and anti-parliamentarian, while the "denouncing" system takes care that those of other opinions are confined to jails.* (Cowles 20 October 1937)

It is significant that, unlike the others, Gaffney used no term that would in any way point to insurrection or fascism, she preferred "Nationalists", "Franco-ists" or even "Whites". For the

Republican side, on the other hand, she used “Reds” exclusively, and did so 52 times, i.e. more than twice per article. Considering the slapdash nature of the expression, which is significantly stronger than, for instance, insurgents for the opposite side, and that it was used daily in her two series, this is beating the propaganda drum. It is similar to Osten, the propagandist counterpart to Gaffney. Osten uses the word “fascists”, which is most comparable to the “Reds” on the other side, 36 times in 26 shorter articles, as often as “insurgents”. However, she often combined the two terms to “fascist insurgents” and reinforced through this doubling the negative labelling. The neutral “Nationalists” does not appear at all in her reporting. The other side is named with the terms “Republic” and “Government”, the latter emphasising legitimacy.

In accordance with their propaganda mission, Osten and Gaffney made little effort to portray the warring sides in a differentiated way. For Osten, the Spanish parties were rather unimportant. As a communist, she had no interest in highlighting the various factions on her own side but to point out the own role; in her portrayal of the opposing side, she was concerned with denouncing the leading role of the German and Italian allies.

In Gaffney’s reporting, there is only one reference to the various factions of the Republican side, to make a rather crude point that was presumably based on an official Nationalist source. In the first article of her second series, she justified the heavy traffic near the border with masses of anarchist refugees fleeing from Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona to escape the communists and “give themselves up to enter concentration camps in White Spain” (Gaffney 25 October 1937). The May fighting in Barcelona had been over for months by then, and even if POUM supporters or anarchists still wanted to leave Catalonia, they would certainly have gone towards France and not in droves into Franco’s territory. When Gaffney pointed to different groups on the Nationalist side (which she repeatedly did), the fashion journalist kept coming through and she referred more to the “variety in their uniforms” (Gaffney 23 February 1937) than to the diversity of their political aims. In her last article, a commentary in which she portrayed Franco as the unifying figure of the various factions on the National side (without elaborating on their political aims), she made a grave mistake. “For a couple of weeks consternation reigned among the Carlists (the Falange) and the Fascists (the Requetes); their leaders demurred” (Gaffney 4 November 1937). It was sloppiness rather than ignorance that caused her to confuse Falange and Requetés here, but nevertheless this error does scratch the authority of the contribution as a whole.

Gellhorn and Marchant were the most restrained in labelling the warring parties. Purely quantitative comparisons are of limited use here because the story lengths varied, but the difference is so marked that the main feature can be seen: Cowles, the analyst of both sides, labelled the two warring sides a total of 139 times in her eight stories, Gellhorn 16 times in her six stories, and Marchant, though in shorter reportages, just six times. In Gellhorn's and Marchant's reporting, the political debate was deliberately not the point, even though both made a basic political statement about their own stance in their choice of, sparingly used, labels. This is a point of distinction: While Marchant and Gellhorn barely touched on the subject, Gaffney and Osten dealt with political aspects a lot without differentiating between the different factions of the warring sides. They used the labels to reinforce the enemy image and stigmatise opponents. Regarding Gellhorn, there is one more observation to be made: While Marchant's sparingly used "insurgent" label would not necessarily have needed further explanation because the term is explained by the historical event of the coup d'etat, Gellhorn's "fascists" would have required at least a brief comment.

In this context, another comparison between Gaffney and Cowles is interesting. Both repeatedly juxtaposed the two sides. Cowles was able to compare Republicans and Nationalists from her own experience. Gaffney relied on information from others and her own assumptions about the Republican side. Both used the dichotomy of order and chaos in their comparison, a reflection of Nationalist propaganda. Even though they agreed on where order (Franco's territory) and where chaos (the Republic) prevailed, they told different stories. Both were in Nationalist territory in the autumn of 1937. We have compiled a few text examples from this period in Table 32.

Table 32. The dichotomy of order and chaos.

Virginia Cowles	**Gertrude Gaffney**
Hotels [on the Republican side] *are overcrowded, there is a shortage of food, and petrol is so scarce that traffic is confined to army trucks, evacuation lorries and Ministry of War cars blazing with official stickers. […] To travel from this world to Nationalist territory is to find strikingly different conditions. […] It is Nationalist Spain's proudest boast that except for frontline sectors one would not even know that a war was going on. Villages are quiet and orderly, […].* *In following the campaign that is now taking place in the Asturian mountains, it is pitiful to witness the terror of the civilian population fleeing before the Franco advance. Upon entering many villages only a few hours after the Government troops had retreated there was often not a sign of life stirring; even the children and the old people had left with the retreat.* [...] *The terror, of course, is not merited. When Franco's troops enter new towns they bring truck-loads of food for the civilian population, and immediately set up an orderly regime – more orderly than under the authority of the Republic.* [...] *Although the civilian population is well fed and well treated in the towns occupied by Franco, those persons who have held positions under the Government meet with a different fate.* (17 October 1937)	*In the third of Spain under the Red regime you have disunion, discord, chaos, rank starvation, yet sufficient of the machinery of war to win the conflict.* *In the Nationalist territory, a hundred miles behind the front the country is as normal as it is here, save that you cannot enter or leave a town or village without a special pass, a necessary wartime measure.* (4 November 1937) *Where they had time they had burned every village they evacuated, and sometimes they had herded the entire population before them in their retreat. But always they took with them all the men between the ages of 16 and 60. In the places from which the Reds had just been driven I never saw a man, only women and children. (27 October 1937)* *Without exception, they* [war prisoners working on the road] *looked bronzed, healthy, well-fed, and quite content, chatting among themselves and with the soldiers. One dashing-looking fellow strode by wearing an elaborate wrist-watch and swinging his tin. Even as a prisoner he had the air of a dandy.* (29 October 1937)
Aside from the fact that they [Nationalists] *have united to win the war in a common determination to set up an anti-parliamentarian government, their views are stubbornly placed at opposite poles.* (9 January 1938, 9)	*So-called government has succeeded government on the Red side, the domination of faction succeded faction, whereas since the beginning of the war there has been only one moment of disharmony on the White side.* (4 November 1937)

Source: author's own research.

Although both correspondents agreed on order and chaos, the tone is quite different. While Gaffney reproduces the construction-destruction dichotomy of the Nationalists (Pulpillo Leiva 2014), Cowles was concerned with describing the differences, weighing them up, showing appreciation for the order on Franco's side, but equally regret for the plight on the other. This compassion, and this is

what makes Gaffney's writing seem cold-hearted, is completely lacking in the Irish correspondent. A certain degree of empathy for the population would have been appropriate here. Cowles was also the only one who took a more nuanced view of the political warring sides and at some points addressed their heterogeneity. The quote referring to the opposite poles of the Nationalists is the introduction to an analysis of the different objectives of Requetés and Falangists.

Gaffney's sole effort was to portray Franco's side as good and the "Reds" as evil. Her description of the prisoners of war is more reminiscent of a scene from the zoo. She systematically interpreted what she observed as malicious towards the Republicans (see also Sub-section 7.5). This is evident here in her reasoning of why hardly any people, in particular men, are to be found in the village. While Cowles put this down to fear of Francoist revenge, for Gaffney it was the fire-raising Reds who drove the men out. Gaffney never saw this with her own eyes and only ever relied on what her official companions told her. Cowles, on the other hand, questioned information from Franco's press officers, and she actively investigated. In the same story from 17 October 1937, she recounted her already quoted experience of the trials in which almost all the accused Republicans were sentenced to death within 15 minutes. Such effort of research had not been made or even attempted by Gaffney.

To make unsubstantiated interpretation occasionally is poor journalistic craft. To make unfounded allegations systematically at the expense of one party could be considered to give up journalistic care for partisanship.

From a suburb of Madrid occupied by the Nationalists, both Gaffney and Cowles looked out at the emblematic Telefónica building.

> *Indeed, it seemed to me as if every window in Madrid, from those of the tall telephone building towering from the very heart of the city, was malignantly glaring down at us on our exposed perch.* (Gaffney 6 March 1937)

> *I stood on a hill and saw with a startle how large and white the telephone building looked and what easy targets the streets were we had wandered about so freely.* (Cowles 2011b, 81)[82]

[82] In our version of Cowles' 'Looking for trouble' it reads "I stood on a hill and saw with a start how large..." we considered "start" to be an error and changed it to "startle" (Cowles 2011b).

The perspectives are opposite: for Gaffney, Telefónica is an image of threat, from which danger looms. On the other hand, for Cowles, it is a piece of freedom that is threatened. Here, however, not only sympathy for different sides becomes evident, but also the difference between the propaganda correspondent and the detached observer. Gaffney's view of Telefónica was taken from one of her articles, Cowles saved this little sentimentality for her memoirs published a few years later.

7.5 Composing the story: individual fates and the big picture

Both individualization and generalization can be used as a means of generating sympathy for one side or the other, as we examined in our partiality analysis. However, they are not acts of partisanship per se, but approaches that different journalistic types apply differently. Changing these perspectives is one of the stylistic devices of reportage (Meier 2019a). Journalists sometimes focus on individual persons, events, details, then again, they try to generalize and capture the bigger picture. In our case studies, this can be summarized as follows: Both Marchant and Gellhorn sought contact with people struggling with the everyday life of civil war. These encounters make up the bulk and the appeal of their articles. General assessments of the war are derived from these individual stories. Osten, Gaffney and Cowles generalized much more.

Osten was indeed interested in the people on the Republican side, moving around the city with (communist) friends, including Spaniards. But every experience, every observation, every formulation had to be dressed up in the language of communism. The above quoted entry to the "Spanish working-class girls" (24 September 1936) is a good example of Osten's style. In almost all of her stories, propaganda platitudes come first, possibly directly dictated by the party. In the cited example, it was the struggle of the mothers, in her first story (Osten 20 September 1936) it was the "working women" (werktätigen Frauen), who took an "outstanding part" (hervorragenden Anteil) in the struggle against international fascism, in the story of 29 March 1937 the "workers in the factories converted to war production" were "in closest contact with the fighting brothers at the front".[1] This focus on collectives as archetypes and individuals as representatives of these archetypes, such as the working-class girls Marina and Christina, is, as mentioned before, an abstraction typical of totalitarian ideologies (Gutiérrez Palacio 1984).

In Cowles' and Gaffney's reporting, however, there are hardly any individual protagonists. While Cowles, as she herself pointed out, repeatedly summarized many conversations, Gaffney obviously had hardly any long conversation with locals. As a detached observer striving for a general contextualisation of the war and avoiding calling for empathy, Cowles did not want to place individual fates in the foreground. Gaffney, on the other hand, the propaganda correspondent, detached from the people, committed to the Nationalist cause, was not really interested in what the local people had to say. If she put people centre stage, it was war heroes or her own compatriots from the Irish Brigade in Cáceres. It would certainly have been more difficult for her, in official company, to address people on the road but it was not in her interest either. There are no perceptible attempts to get in contact with people on the road at all in her reporting.

In relation to journalistic quality, the question of the connection between individualization and generalization is of relevance. In which way is one evidence of the other? Using the examples of Gellhorn, Gaffney and Cowles, we illustrate the differences between journalistic and propaganda approaches (see Table 33).

Table 33. Individualization and generalization.

Martha Gellhorn (24 July 1937)	Virginia Cowles (16 March 1938)	Gertrude Gaffney (25 October 1937)
We drove very fast, coughing on the yellow dust. There were still some bottles of blood to deliver. It was a lovely day. You had to keep reminding yourself of where you were and why, and then every once in a while you'd hear the noise of the guns hammering against the mountains. [...] One of the men had a brown, chapped face and black eyes, and he was cursing very well and noisily in French. He was from Marseille and had got a bullet through his leg that morning, but the way he talked was the way a taxi-driver talks when someone edges him into the curb. His wound did not bother him; he was only furious as having been done this way, as if he had been cheated of made a fool of. He had been in the war four months and this was the only thing he'd got, [...]. Beside him was a boy with a soft, brown face and one of those artificial-leather aviators' cape which children wear to school in America, and a sweater, and a dirty handkerchief with which he was wining his eyes. He had been in the war a month and fought in two big battles, and now he had a terrible, very painful wound. He had pushed the blanket from his body because any weight hurt him and his body was slight, young, and unsuitably tender. He was crying very hard, but very silently, and twisting his body slowly, as if he wanted to get out of if. [...] There were three other hospitals. In the wards, you could see rows of dark, anonymous stretched faces: men being quiet and waiting. They all seemed desperately tired. You knew there were thousands you had not seen, who had been in hospitals before and got well or died, and there would be thousands	The collapse of the Republican army in Catalonia is not merely a military collapse; it is a collapse of morale which has spread from the army to the rear areas. This demoralization has been caused by two things: An acute shortage of food and consistent aerial bombardments. On a trip this correspondent took through Catalonia and along the Mediterranean coast ten days ago the beginning of this demoralization was apparent. Coastal villages were undergoing continous bombardments both by Italian planes from Majorca and German aircraft from the Aragon front. [...] The lukewarm morale in the rear areas of republican Spain has made it increasingly different for the government to obtain new conscripts. A week ago new classes were called, and when this correspondent talked to two men who had received their orders, one a chauffeur and the other a hotel porter, both expressed the vehement hope that they would escape conscription. From the beginning Barcelona's attitude toward the war has been markedly lukewarm. During the week this correspondent spent in Barcelona, more than 1,500 so-called Fascists were rounded up and imprisoned. Barcelona's indifference to the republican government is due to the fact that [...] it is bourgeois to the core. [...] This is due to the fact that under the present Republican government, small shop owners have been deprived of their profits and have received salaries of only ten pesetas a day, equal to their employees' salaries. I talked with many of these small shop owners, who were	In my hotel, while I waited for dinner a little boy playing around was perplexed because I could not respond to his chatter, then he burst into the song of the Falange, and standing in the middle of the floor his chest thrust out, his head back, he sang verse after verse with strange passion for a child. A gentleman sitting near said in French: "His father was murdered in Madrid." The hotels in San Sebastian are full of such as he, living on the generosity of White Spain until the War is over. The little boy went out and a few minutes later the door opened to admit another boy and two little girls. [...] The boy was about eleven, and he had a small, serious, unprepossessing face. He clutched a small, shabby patent leather hat-box and an attached case in one hand, and in the other a parcel of clothing and an old torn coat. [...] Then a group of white-faced women came in. They looked as if it had been weeks since they had had a good wash, and they were poorly clad, but they had none of the lost uncertainty of the small boy; they looked happy, if weary. **They took no notice of the children who obviously had none belonging to them**. Two efficient-looking women entered and interviewed the woman in the bureau, and in a few moments the group of women were being taken upstairs in the lift. As she went one of the ladies looked back and saw the children and returned to speak to them. Then they, too, were ushered into the lift. Later, when I was on my way to bed, I met the ugly little boy wandering about

afterward. You knew that pain was as solid as rock, for instance; that it had weight and shape. You knew, too, that someday the newspapers would announce peace instead of war, but that the pain would have been there, like mountains, and that it could not be denied or disappear quickly, and that it would form all these men and through them Spain and whatever happens next.	*outspoken in their criticism of the regime.* *It had never been expected that Barcelona would put up much of a fight against General Franco. Indeed, one can expect a rising within the city and, with the collapse of Catalonia, the end of the Spanish war.*	*the corridor, the hat-box and attached case still in his hand, wearing that queer, uncertain expression, and the sight of him almost made me weep; but I could hear the little girls laughing and jumping in a room as I passed.* *What can the Spain of the future hold that will make up for the experience of these refugee children orphaned by the Red Terror?*

Source: author's own research.

In the story "Madrid to Morata" quoted above, Martha Gellhorn changes between first, second and third person in her characteristic manner. The first person, "we", established journalistic authority as an eyewitness, and in this case also as an activist delivering blood conserves, switching to "you" both to address the reader directly and to give general meaning to the individual experience. The "second person slips between a generalizing gesture equivalent to 'one,' and a pointed invitation for the reader to imagine herself as 'you'", E. C. Murphy (2016, 21) analysed Gellhorn's reporting. The third person, several patients visited in several hospitals, doctors and nurses appearing in the margins, are then the legitimization, Gellhorn's facts to draw general conclusions. She again addresses these to her readers in the second person to create more forcefulness.

Virginia Cowles did things a little differently. Like Gellhorn, she invoked her authority as an eyewitness using the first person. As a detached observer, however, she presented herself (in most of her stories) with the distance of the expert. As such, she first gave a general observation, which was only then substantiated. With Gellhorn the people are the story, whereas with Cowles it is the assessments. For her, people appeared almost only in groups, but unlike Osten's collectives, they had different interests. This was not an abstraction into archetypes, but an abstraction of research to illustrate and embed. From many conversations with shop owners, their general bitterness about the government was deduced. The self-image as an expert was then sometimes replaced with sources. With the claim that 1,500 "so-called Fascists" were arrested, it would have been interesting to know where this information came from. Even if it had only been rumours on the street, it would at least have been an indicator of the reliability of the information.

The passage from Gertrude Gaffney's text quoted here is one of the few where she went into some detail about specific people in her environment. In the process, observations she made led to assertions. At first glance, this is similar to Gellhorn. However, Gaffney was a traveller who waited

for her dinner and then went to bed. It was during these private activities that she happened to see these children. She took no initiative in finding out anything more. This is passive research at best. Gellhorn, on the other hand, visited various hospitals, she spoke to patients and doctors and concluded that whatever the outcome of the war, pain and suffering will continue to shape the country for a long time. This is not a very original finding, but it is a coherent one. Gaffney, on the other hand, had no idea about the children she was writing about. She heard from a boy that his father had been murdered in Madrid and in her story, a couple of children she briefly saw, became multitudes of orphans, victims of the "Red Terror", who would fill the hotels of San Sebastián and live off the "generosity of White Spain". This claim is not supported by her story. She gives the desired meaning to the observation. This is a manipulative discourse strategy in favour of her own group (van Dijk 1996). Thus, detached observation is used for propaganda. From a journalistic perspective, however, this text is credited with the transparent, credible portrayal of this scene, which would have made it possible for critical audiences to doubt the validity of this unfounded generalization.

A certain restriction must be made here: We cannot verify how many shop owners Cowles actually spoke to, and whether Gellhorn put a touching sentence into the mouth of one or the other of the wounded. It is evident, however, that Gellhorn and Cowles did not write everything they knew. Both, as mentioned, had knowledge of the secret service or secret police, which was responsible for the disappearance of people. To this day, much is still unknown, and certainly less was known at the time. Nevertheless, it was obvious that not everything was always done transparently. In the case of Gellhorn, we argued that she had another agenda and never pretended to provide a complete picture of the Civil War, but focused on civilians and the wounded, and refrained from political assessment of both sides. Cowles, on the other hand, wanted to present an overall picture. In her memoirs, she describes how she herself was interrogated by secret police (Cowles 2011b, 56), and how Hemingway introduced her to the "chief executioner" of Madrid (Cowles 2011b, 34). In an unpublished manuscript of hers (see Bogacka-Rode 2014), there is a scene in which a secret policeman arrests an officer, which, however, Bogacka-Rode (2014, 93) assumes due to the dramatically set plot, was probably fiction. Neither secret police nor executioners appear in Cowles' reporting. However, Cowles did not present the Republic in an unqualifiedly positive light either, also referring to the arrest of alleged fascists in Barcelona, as mentioned (Cowles 16 March 1938).

Our study focuses on the newspaper articles and examines features of the text that reflect efforts of remaining truthful. Despite the restrictions mentioned above, these are much more credible in Cowles' and Gellhorn's reporting than in Gaffney's.

Cowles provided a well-rounded big picture, an abstraction of detailed research. Gellhorn a deliberately incomplete, fraying collage; the result of recording individual experiences. Gaffney, in contrast, forced everything observed into a prefabricated red and white template.

7.6 The view of the Civil War and its connection to the individual background

None of the women had a close relationship with Spain before the Civil War. Gaffney had probably spent a holiday here once. All the others were, as far as we know, in the country for the first time. They knew little about Spanish society and the deep gaps that ran through it. Spain had been a marginalised country on the edge of the continent until then. "Having tended to ignore Spain, Europe did not understand the turbulent cycles of repression and revolt which had now built up to an explosion" (Beevor 2006, 90). The five women became interested because of its interpretation as a proxy war and the international dimension that this civil war had taken on.

The Spanish cause became a projection surface of the journalists' own hopes, fears, and interests. Accordingly, the stance in this conflict was moulded much more from the personal background than from Spanish circumstances. We have seen in the Theoretical Framework that a war correspondent's attitude to a conflict is always shaped also by the own culture (Karmasin 2007; Hummel 2013). This was particularly pronounced in the Spanish Civil War, because a largely isolated, unknown country suddenly became the centre of international power interests. The foreign intervention obscured the view on the internal Spanish causes and conflicts. The emphasis on the universality of the Spanish Civil War was also in the interest of the war propaganda on both sides, in order to attract international aid.

In the following we compare which basic messages our case studies conveyed in their reporting and how they reflected propaganda narratives, for an overview see Table 34.

Table 34. Basic message of the five case studies regarding the nature of the Spanish Civil War.

	Cowles	Gaffney	Gellhorn	Osten	Marchant
Basic interpretation	Struggle between rich and poor	Patria and Christianity vs. Communism	Democracy against fascism	Antifascist working classes vs. international fascism	Futile fight, tragic and not worth the cause
Reflects	Republican socio-economic interpretation	Nationalist crusade narrative	Republican antifascist narrative	Communist antifascist narrative	Human tragedy; not clearly attributable

Source: author's own research.

This does not mean that our case studies simply adopted the propaganda arguments without reflection. We defined independence as open-mindedness and autonomy to distinguish oneself from propaganda and to set personal accents. This can overlap with propaganda interpretations. Propaganda narratives were not all just made up out of nothing, but selected certain aspects of the conflict, which were presented in a highly simplified, exaggerated way as the only essential ones in order to create the greatest possible impact. Depending on the journalist's background and professional understanding, propaganda narratives found more or less resonance.

The interpretations of the Spanish Civil War can clearly be linked to the reporters' background. Of course, there was not only one predetermined path from the cradle to the civil war. Nevertheless, as we described in Chapter 3, origin and socialisation (culture, upbringing, social status of the family, gender) shape the worldviewand form the framework for understandings of the role of journalists and patterns of interpretation (Hummel 2013; Lünenborg and Bach 2010; Markham 2012).

When comparing these case studies, it is first noticeable that Marchant and Cowles did not interpret the nature of the war in its international context. Marchant's narrative of the resistance of a people, in some respects similar to Gellhorn's, did not draw on the fight against fascism. "Fascists" did not appear in her whole coverage. She referred to the foreign intervention, visited the International Brigades, and told at one point that she saw how Italian airmen were brought down (Marchant 3 March 1937), but this was not commented on further. What Gellhorn understood as the perseverance of the population in the face of (foreign) fascist bomb attacks was seen by Marchant as rather dumb fatalism in the resistance against the Spanish "insurgents". "They have no real fear.

They say, if the bombs come, they come; if they are killed, it is inevitable. Which is a very passive bravery" (Marchant 3 March 1937). Marchant credibly cared little for what perhaps the Republic (much less the Nationalists) would have liked to hear. Her essential message of the senselessness of the war, "there is no cause worth such death" (Marchant 2 March 1937) would have pleased neither side.

The reference to Marchant's own background must be made with some caution, because the sources are limited, and the *Daily Express* cannot be assigned to a world view as clearly as *The Irish Independent* in the case of Gaffney. Nevertheless, what little we know about Marchant is consistent with her view of the Spanish Civil War: as we have described in Chapter 5, she came from a humble background and was proud to be one of the common people and to speak their language. Her reluctance to give more interpretation to the conflict may also have been due to the mandate of her newspaper, which at the same time had two other correspondents in Spain, each covering one side.

Cowles did not interpret the Civil War as a proxy war either. Quite pragmatically, she considered it a struggle between the rich and the poor:

> *In spite of numerous and conflicting political terms used to classify the Spanish conflict, the fundamental issue lies neither between republicanism and fascism, nor between communism and monarchism. Mainly and simply it is a war between the proletariat and the upper classes.* (Cowles 9 January 1938, 9)

For Cowles, this economic contextualisation of the conflict that was also propagated by the Republic (Pérez Ledesma 2006) seemed the most plausible. Coming from the (poor) US middle class ascending to the New York Society, Cowles had kept distance to any ideology. She did not allow it to be used as a justification for any side. Uncomfortable with communism as well as with fascism, she generally considered "isms" to be a luxury indulged in by aloof elites, as she suggested in another article. "One learns that to the civilian population of a country war seldom interprets in terms of military strategy and high-sounding 'isms'" (Cowles 10 April 1938a, 4). Cowles, whose childhood had been marked by money worries, considered the financial argument to be crucial. She repeatedly addressed the issue of money and material hardship concluding, as cited previously, that the "majority of working class people in Government Spain" were fighting for "the ten pesetas a day they are paid" by the Republicans whereas Franco would pay only one peseta (Cowles 17 October 1937, 21). Though Cowles also clearly pointed out the international help for both sides and described Spain as a training ground for the great adversaries, the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Italy and Germany, on the

other, she did not follow the interpretation of a final battle on international level stressed by both. It was for her in its causes and effects first of all a Spanish conflict, a civil war between privileged and less privileged people, albeit with an international dimension.

Unlike Cowles, both Gaffney and Osten are easy to assign ideologically. However, it is remarkable in their reporting that they did not refer to the "isms" for themselves but blamed them on the opposing side.

In Gertrude Gaffney's "War to Save Spain for Spain", Franco appears as the guarantor of historical greatness:

> *He has consistently maintained that this war is being waged to save Spain for Spain, and not for the supremacy of any ism. He is a Nationalist in the most profound sense of the word, and he has brought back Spain to a consciousness of her great traditions, and imbued her people with a desire to evolve a country that will be worthy of them.* (Gaffney 4 November 1937)

Gaffney's true Spain was also defined by the connection to God. That it was a "fight to preserve Spain for Christianity" (Gaffney 3 November 1937) had been unmistakably drilled into the readers of the Catholic and Franco supporting *Irish Independent* in the 23 articles of her two series. These were not only the essential arguments for the legitimization of Franco, but also for the legitimization of her own country. Nationalism and Christianity were the ideological basis for nation building for the young Ireland, which had just seceded from the United Kingdom. Gaffney, however, did not see them as ideologies, she dismissed the "ism" of nationalism by not referring to it. For her, Christianity and nationalism were the foundations of civilisation.

Unsurprisingly, Maria Osten took the opposite position to Gaffney. Here, the working class was fighting for its freedom against international fascism. The connection with her background as a German communist in voluntary exile in the Soviet Union is evident. However, she was also careful with the "ism":

> *And Spain did not remain a Spanish affair – what started here was directed against the international proletariat, against international democracy, because the Spanish people had to fight against international fascism from the very first day.* (Osten 4 May 1937)[83]

[83] Original: "Und Spanien blieb nicht eine spanische Angelegenheit – was hier losbrach, richtete sich gegen das internationale Proletariat, gegen die internationale Demokratie, denn das spanische Volk mußte vom erste Tage an gegen den internationalen Faschismus kämpfen." (Osten 4 May 1937)

This depiction of the conflict as a "struggle of the working-class people and of the progressive Spain against the fascist insurgents" (Kampf des werktätigen Volkes und des fortschrittlichen Spaniens gegen die faschistischen Aufrührer, 14 October 1936) was the unmissable feature of all her stories. She was, however, very anxious not to describe the struggle as fascism against communism. The term "Kommunismus" does not appear in her 26 articles. There is indeed the Communist Party and the Communist Youth, all of which have an outstanding part in the struggle of the proletariat or democracy against fascism. Osten does not express it as explicitly as Gaffney, but the "ism" is, here as fascism, only on the enemy side. This observation is in line with the described propaganda work of the Communist Party, which was keen to present itself as a united antifascist movement in order to control other Marxist or anarchist organisations.

Just like in Gaffney's case, Osten's emphasis on the international dimension of the conflict, Red barbarism vs. Christianity, proletariat vs. fascism, is intended to strengthen and at the same time to conceal the own, national, Catholic or party-political interests.

Martha Gellhorn also placed the conflict in an international context, but subliminally. By emphasising the concerns of the Spanish people while repeatedly addressing her readers directly with "you", she indicated that this conflict also concerned the USA (see also McLoughlin 2017). At many points, her narrative of an unbroken resistance of a people defending their democratic rights against fascists was told by the protagonists themselves:

> *Mrs. Pedro said it was wonderful now, women could have careers in Spain, did I know about that? That was since the Republic. "We are very in favor of the Republic," she said. "I think Maria may be able to get training as a doctor. Isn't it fine? Can women be doctors in North America?* (Gellhorn 17 July 1937)

Here Pedro's wife addressed North America explicitly; Gellhorn called directly on her readers with "you" about 70 times in this story. This is clearly about building an emotional relationship between US-Americans and Spaniards, but it has none of Gaffney's fierce national pride or Osten's communist zeal.

Gellhorn also left the interpretation of the international nature of the conflict to her interlocutors, such as the two US-American volunteers she met on one of her visits to the International Brigades:

> *Andy and Sailor remembered how they held their lines on that smooth, brown ridge, and dug in for the winter; how they built a small cemetery a hundred yards behind the front and put up a*

> *wooden marker saying, "These men died that democracy might live."* (Gellhorn 15 January 1938, 9)

Here, too, when two volunteers speak of the struggle for democracy, the connection between the USA and Spain was evident. Gellhorn left it to the protagonists and their wooden sign to express sympathies for the Republic and to define the nature of the conflict. McLoughlin (2017, 43) criticized that Gellhorn's way of "'letting the people speak' has a tendency to become 'accepting unquestioned what the people say'". Depending on the situation, this may be justified. When, as in the case above, a family spoke about the opportunities available to that family under the Republic, we consider this to be an authentic, competent source that was also well-founded. Women's rights to autonomy, education and equality in every respect were clearly better under the Republic. This was no secret at the time either. To leave the definition of the civil war as a fight for democracy only to the two volunteers from the USA is another matter. That would have required some relativization, classification or at least explanation by the author.

Gellhorn's characteristic empathy with local civilian population and the wounded foreign volunteers is clearly comprehensible from her biography. Taking sides with the needy and the unjustly treated, not remaining uninvolved and objective, but taking on an advocacy role was a maxim given to her by her parents from an early age. Her time in France and her work at FERA reinforced this live-long attitude. She remained a partisan, but never in her own interest, and she stayed away from party political polemics, but represented the view from the ground.

Neither Martha Gellhorn's nor Virginia Cowles, nor Hilde Marchant's reporting was in any way connected to personal benefits (other than professional recognition), as an expansion of their own power base or that of a party to which they belonged. Of the three, Martha Gellhorn has positioned herself most clearly in a political sense. She was concerned with democracy, a political system that the Republic embodied far more than its counterpart and to which journalism has an obligation.

Both Maria Osten and Gertrude Gaffney were primarily concerned with their own interests. Both women expected the victory of their preferred side to bring power to the party or institutions to which they belonged. The Communist Party would have been a major power factor in a Republican Spain and thus a Communist base in Europe. In Ireland, it was mainly powerful interest groups around the Catholic Church that lobbied for Franco and whose interests Gaffney represented as the *Irish Independent* correspondent. Furthermore, she repeatedly linked Christian Spain to the legitimization of the young Ireland.

We argued in Chapter 3 that the principle of objectivity has been dominant in journalism but never universal or unchallenged. As shown in this analysis, Cowles clearly belongs to this classical understanding of detachment and balancing. Marchant and especially Gellhorn had a far more subjective understanding of journalism, which finds its counterpart and justification in European concepts of independent partisanship, but also in North American New Reportage. Gaffney, on the other hand, advocated a dependent partisanship that is not argued for in any concept of journalism in democratic countries. In doing so, she certainly exploited journalistic approaches in a propagandistic sense. This did not meet the criteria of journalistic quality. In Osten's reporting, there are hardly any journalistic approaches to be seen. This was pure propaganda in the guise of journalism.

We can assign Osten, but also Gaffney, to the fierce party-press understanding of journalism of the 19th century, from which, however, established democracies had increasingly moved away since the turn from the 19th to the 20th the century and especially after World War One. It is evident that there could be no journalism independent of the Communist Party during Stalin's terror regime in the Soviet Union, which Osten had voluntarily chosen as her home and political affiliation. Ireland, on the other hand, was a democratic Republic, but a young one that had yet to define itself. This is an explanation, but not a justification, for the *Irish Independent*'s unconditional support of Franco. Unlike in the Soviet Union, a more moderate view as presented by other Irish media (McGarry 2002), would not have caused immediate danger to the journalist's life.

Women's reporting in the Spanish Civil War reflects the various concepts of journalism that have been increasingly and fundamentally discussed since the 1920s, as described in the Theoretical Framework. The range here goes far beyond what was considered typical female reporting at the time. Cowles, Marchant, and Gellhorn represented rather progressive approaches at the time, closely linked to the values of democracy. In reporting for *The New York Times* and *The Sunday Times*, Cowles adopted the stance of the objective, detached observer which at that time and under these circumstances was anything but self-evident. Cowles contributed to shaping this new, impartial, rather cool than audacious image of the war correspondent, which became a role model. With her sympathies, she was not a detached observer in a very strict understanding as demanded by Chalaby (1998) while being denounced by Rosen as indifferent (see Lane 2001).

Nevertheless, the bias for the powerful or for those who exercise injustice, as pointed out by objectivity critics (e.g. Kovach and Rosenstiel 2014), can be seen in Cowles' efforts to be balanced.

Cowles argues her dislike for the Franco side from the behaviour of the Nationalists after the revolt. That means that her balancing of the two parties assumes a fundamental ethical equivalence, and she gives no moral weight to the fact that the military had conducted a coup against a, despite all its weaknesses democratically legitimate, government.

Using her example, the detached observer is not only politically neutral, but also gender neutral. Cowles did not particularly address the role of women, nor did she herself emphasise her position as a woman in her articles or choose topics traditionally attributed to women.

The roles of Hilde Marchant and Martha Gellhorn, as attached and committed observer, are to be understood in the context of New Journalism and social reportage, which at the same time represented a counter-project to the objectivity principle. This approach too was an emancipation from classical party press journalism but took a subjective position in order to highlight social problems. As shown in the Theoretical Frame, this kind of journalism offered important professional possibilities for female journalists, who advocated with the “view from the ground”, as coined by Gellhorn, an independent standpoint and truthfulness, which also allowed for a certain partiality for the less privileged, in contrast to objectivity and balance of the detached reporter. This perspective does not correspond to a “woman’s angle”, but it refers to problem situations that have been addressed by women in particular and have been neglected as secondary by a classic male-dominated journalism (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004).

The different perspectives of detachment and attachment are also expressed in writing styles. While Cowles leads through her stories as an analytical expert, Marchant and Gellhorn are storytellers who communicate at eye level not only with the people on the ground but also with the audience.

The manifestations of the attached and detached observer still have their place in academic discussion today, not only but especially in the context of conflict reporting (McLaughlin 2016; Zhang 2014; Sjøvaag 2005). Also, commitment, as we have established here for Gellhorn and which is only a gradual difference from attachment, seems to still be a part of conflict reporting, not in a party-political attitude, but in an advocacy role of crisis reporters. Up until today, Gellhorn is a role model for journalists (McLaughlin 2016) and empathy and emotionality are increasingly discussed, albeit controversially, as a component of quality journalism (Glück 2016; Stenvall 2014; Wahl-Jorgensen 2012).

As previously noted, war correspondents have always had a special role (Schudson 2008). The greater distance from the home country and the lower level of editorial control required more interpretation and contextualisation than classical news reporting and gave more professional freedom from the principle of objectivity, in which the individual authority of the reporter became crucial (Esser and Umbricht 2014). At the latest since the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 2001, a paradigm shift in crisis reporting from an objective to a more subjective point of view has been debated (Tumber and Prentoulis 2003). Some scholars argue that this paradigm shift had already begun in the 1960s with the Vietnam War (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser and Umbricht 2014).

In conclusion, if we look at the various concepts of journalism presented in the Spanish Civil War, just 30 years before the Vietnam War, it seems reasonable to assume that the detached observer has always existed only as one of many versions of the war correspondent. It may be considered as an idealized image that outshined but did not supplant more subjective manifestations of war and crisis reporters.

8 Conclusions, limitations, and future lines of research

In this concluding chapter, we summarize the main findings of our research. We then refer to the limitations of this doctoral thesis and point out research desiderata.

8.1 Conclusions

This study pursued two objectives. Firstly, we wanted to provide a comprehensive, general overview of the role and reporting of female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War. Secondly, through five case studies analysed in-depth, we tried to show the connection between partisanship and journalistic quality, and the influence of the personal background on the professional approach and view of the conflict.

Starting from these objectives, we first tried to get an overall picture of the involvement of female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War, based on historical, biographical and newspaper research. In the following conclusions, we juxtapose our initial hypotheses with our main findings.

> *Hypothesis 1: It was much more difficult for female than for male reporters to gain a foothold in Spanish Civil War correspondence. As women, they stood outside military contexts and were often considered second-class war reporters, not as able as men to analyse the political and military background. In accordance with the traditional attribution of a so-called "woman's angle", female reporters chose and were assigned human interest reportages. From the outset, we consider this another agenda (Jackson 2010)* to *widen the view on war and not a deliberate strategy to make propaganda for one side.*

1. We could identify 70 foreign women from 17 different countries who reported from the Spanish Civil War for international media (see Annex 1). The large majority covered the Republican side, but there were also a few female correspondents on the Nationalist side. To our knowledge, only two of these women had already gained some experience as crisis reporters, but some had already been on the road as foreign correspondents. The heterogeneous group of female war correspondents in Spain included experienced journalists, some staff reporters but mainly freelancers, prominent writers, and also some newcomers making their first steps there. Our five case studies, the US-Americans Virginia Cowles and Martha Gellhorn, the Englishwoman Hilde

Marchant, the Irishwoman Gertrude Gaffney and the German, Russian-based Maria Osten, represent the diversity of this group, even though none of them was a true newcomer to the journalistic field. Their different political stances from the outset reflect the broad ideological spectrum of the foreign press. From the outset, Cowles took a neutral stand, Marchant and Gellhorn showed varying degrees of sympathy for the Republic. The communist Osten, on the one hand, and the strict Catholic, nationalist Irishwoman Gaffney, on the other hand, represented the two ideological extremes in this conflict.

2. Not only beginners, but also long-time freelance female reporters had difficulties selling their stories because of their gender. As women, they were not considered capable of reporting on military contexts. Similar sentiments, though no longer so obvious, are still encountered by female war reporters today (e.g. Palmer and Melki 2018; McLaughlin 2016). Out of political commitment, but also out of economic necessity, the female reporters in Spain took on other jobs in addition to their journalistic work, especially in propaganda.

3. Our general analysis of 166 articles from a total of 42 female correspondents in Chapter 4 showed a focus on human interest which is clearly identifiable across all these groups. This does not mean, however, that female journalists dealt exclusively with civilian aspects and personal context. There were female reporters who gave assessments of the political situation or interviewed political leaders. Many female journalists visited the front, though mostly on quiet days. Our five case studies also show this broad spectrum of topics: While Gellhorn and Marchant focused on the civilians and other victims of the war, Cowles, Osten, and Gaffney also analysed and commented on the general political and military situation, albeit in very different quality.

4. Even when dealing with political-military issues, a human interest view can be identified. On the one hand, this means that female journalists often integrated their own personal context or the context of interviewed prominent personalities into their stories. On the other hand, and more relevantly, it means that female correspondents almost always put the victims of the Civil War, civilians threatened by bombing and famine, refugees, and wounded soldiers, mostly volunteers of the International Brigades, in the foreground of their stories. It seems reasonable to understand this human interest perspective not as a preference for certain topics, but as a frame. This can still be seen today. Studies point out that human interest is not an exclusively female frame, but that female

journalists attach greater importance to it in their reporting (e.g. Kennard and S. T. Murphy 2005; Lünenborg and Bach 2010; McLoughlin 2017).

5. This labelling of reporting by female correspondents as human interest entails three fundamental problems:

First, this perspective presupposes a certain degree of empathy and thus a certain partiality. This automatically places human interest journalism in opposition to the leading journalistic quality concept of objectivity. The historical disregard for women in a male-dominated professional field, which still resonates today (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Ross and Carter 2011), was particularly pronounced in war reporting. It is labelled patronisingly as the "woman's angle" (Bogacka-Rode 2014; Jackson 2010; Palau Sampio 2020) and considered second class journalism.
Secondly, this view in turn neglects the political relevance of human interest journalism and of the impact of war on the population. War has never taken place only on the battlefield. The Spanish Civil War, in particular, had in its totality a new dimension. The catastrophic situation of refugees, the long queues in the daily struggle for bread and coal, or the lives of families in bombed-out houses are the other side of the same phenomenon. It was of international significance that the boundaries between military conflict and civilian life had been dissolved. This new dimension of war was emphasised by various female war correspondents such as Nancy Cunard, and our case studies Martha Gellhorn and Hilde Marchant. Not to report on this, but to restrict oneself to military warfare based on military facts, would produce a limited picture that, through its sobriety and detachment, makes war seem more abstract and sterile than it is. Certainly, as the articles by the female war correspondents show, the human aspect was also used for better saleability of the stories to appeal to new, possibly female, audiences. This pragmatic aspect is legitimate to a certain degree as without audience media do not only lose their economic basis but also their *raison d'être*. There are many gradations between empathy and sensationalism or propaganda.
Thirdly, the pigeonholing of female war correspondents as human interest reporters also obscures the view of other approaches used by female journalists. Even though the coverage of female war correspondents compiled in this study points to the fact that classic war reporting by women was the exception, we found that this framing can be understood as both agenda and attribution. On the one hand, women themselves chose this context because it seemed necessary to them as a counterweight to traditional war reporting, as was for example the case with Hilde Marchant and

Martha Gellhorn. On the other hand, this focus was desired by editors, since women were generally not considered competent for classic political-military reporting. It is possible, as examples presented in this study indicate, that women did more frontline reporting than has been assumed to date but that it was not accepted or appropriately labelled. The framing as a "woman's angle" often had more to do with the medium than with the story itself. While Martha Gellhorn wrote human interest stories in the politically left-wing, reflecting the ideas of New Reportage, *Collier's* magazine, which were prominently presented as such but not labelled as "female" in any way, daily newspapers such as the *Daily Express*, in the case of Marchant, but also *The Washington Post*, in the case of Elizabeth Deeble, tended much more to give such stories a feminine twist in the lead, referring to the "girl reporter" or "woman observer", which was not necessarily taken up in this way by the journalist in the content itself.
Overall, it should be emphasised that the human interest frame can neither be seen as a focus only determined by women, nor as an attribution dictated by men alone. Drawing on the concept of women's agency, which analyses the impact of socialisation and the capacity to overcome traditional social structures (Lee and Logan 2017), female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War were able to set new accents in many aspects by perceiving the civilian side and the consequences of everyday life as an independent agenda. For the case studies we examined in more detail, it can be said that all five had left traditional role models behind in their insistence on personal independence, and that they interpreted war reporting differently than had been common practice up to then. At the same time, however, editorials reinforced conventional thought patterns and traditional role models by highlighting female war correspondents as an unusual variety of a male genre.

> *Hypothesis 2: Women were usually not asked to go to Spain by the news outlets but it was a decision that came out of personal interest. This approach, sometimes more emotional than professional, meant that they did not consider themselves neutral observers and most of them clearly took sides in this conflict – which is reflected in their coverage.*

6. The majority of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War came without a mandate from a medium, but on their own initiative. Nevertheless, there is a danger in generalizing because there were relevant special cases. Some prominent female reporters with a high professional standing were sent to Spain as special correspondents on behalf of their media. To our knowledge, none of

them took on the role of a classic, single correspondent over a longer period of time, reporting regularly and as comprehensively as possible on this war. The closest of our case studies was Maria Osten for the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*, albeit for shorter periods. Other staff journalists, such as Gertrude Gaffney, Rose Smith, Hilde Marchant came with a special brief, which the editors sold to the public in one way or another as a “woman’s angle”.

7. Female war correspondents in Spain took sides, regardless of whether they were sent or came of their own accord. As Deacon (2008a) has already noted, the female reporters made little distinction between the individual factions on one side of the war. They were principally committed to either the Republic or the Nationalists, as is clearly evident in the reporting. The partisanship took very different forms and degrees and cannot be seen simply as propaganda for one side or the other, or as disinterest and irresponsible simplification of complex circumstances. It ranged from sympathy based on what the correspondents saw and researched on the ground, as in the case of Virginia Cowles, to empathetic partisanship, formed on personal world view in advance and experiences on site, such as that of Hilde Marchant and more pronounced in the case of Martha Gellhorn, and finally to propagandistic partisanship, such as that of Gertrude Gaffney and Maria Osten, which in principle was only about the a priori set message, into which events selected accordingly on the ground were only fitted. For women war correspondents in Spain, we can generally confirm what E. C. Murphy (2016) formulated as an assumption based on her case studies Martha Gellhorn and Jean Watts: for women, war correspondence offered an essential means of working professionally for their political convictions. Personal political convictions should be differentiated from party-political interests. Many female correspondents saw themselves as anti-fascists who stood up for democratic values, without any party political ties. Journalism is in principle committed to these values. However, it must also be noted that the Communist Party and also some female Communist journalists such as Maria Osten instrumentalised this anti-fascist commitment, which in turn was hardly reflected by other female war correspondents in their coverage. The fact that these attitudes towards the Spanish Civil War are more closely linked to the individual background of the journalist than to the history of Spain leads to the next hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3: This sympathy/partiality had, in general, nothing to do with a close relationship with Spain but with the socio-cultural background of the reporters themselves which had a strong impact on the coverage of the war.

8. We identified only a few of the female correspondents – none of our five case studies – who had a close relationship with Spain before 1936. The Spanish Civil War took on essential meaning for them because of its international interpretation as a decisive struggle, put simply, between democracy versus fascism or communism versus Christianity, depending on the viewpoint of the observer. Accordingly, most journalists viewed it less from a Spanish perspective than from an international one. For the audience abroad, the Civil War was primarily contextualised in this global meaning which was also emphasised by the warring sides in their efforts to get international support. The various narratives of the Republicans and Nationalists (del Arco Blanco 2018; Pérez Bowie 1988; Pérez Ledesma 2006; Pizarroso Quintero 2005; Pulpillo Leiva 2014), on the one hand, of a struggle of the poor against the rich, or in communist terms of the working classes against international fascism, or democracy against totalitarianism, and, on the other hand, of patria and Christianity against communism echoed in the reporting.

9. To a certain extent, this international framing can also be explained by the tasks of journalism. The simplification of complex contents, i.e. giving orientation to the readers, and proximity, the highlighting of aspects that are relevant to the audience, belong, as described, to the criteria of quality in a normative understanding of journalism. The then marginalised Spain at the edge of the continent alone would not by any means have aroused so much interest. In the context of our study, we can state for the case studies that the interplay of three factors was decisive for the respective interpretation of the events on the ground: individual origin and socialisation; cultural and political background; the orientation of the news outlet. This is in line with studies on conflict research, which understand the journalistic perception of reality necessarily as the individual result of background, the conditions on the ground and the attitude or structures of the editorial (see e.g. Hummel 2013; Karmasin 2007; Markham 2012). In Spain, our case studies suggest, the journalist's personal context took on particular significance because of the international dimension of the conflict and the unfamiliarity with Spanish conditions. The Republican side and the Franco side symbolically embodied major international positions with which the public associated more ideas than with Spain itself (again dependent on the observer: anti-fascism, democracy, Communism vs. Christianity,

nationalism, totalitarism, feudalism). Of our case studies, only Virginia Cowles was at least to some extent concerned with the subtleties of these positions in a Spanish context. This raises the question, which we took up with our fourth hypothesis of how partisanship and personal framing affected journalistic quality.

> *Hypothesis 4: This bias does not necessarily mean coverage of poor journalistic quality. Just as political balance and/or neutrality do not automatically make valuable coverage.*

10. Partisanship affects journalistic quality. This supposed correlation, rooted in the early claims of objectivity (e.g. Dicken-Garcia 1989; Mindich 1998; Ward 2005), is also confirmed by our research. However, it is not a simple formula that bias equals poor journalism. It is a question of the extent of it and how it is dealt with. Referring to research that puts into perspective the possibility and usefulness of objectivity in its interpretation as an obligation to neutrality and impartiality (e.g. Boudana 2014; Kaplan 2002; Muñoz-Torres 2012; Patterson and Donsbach 1996), we examined the coverage of our case studies in separate analyses for partiality and journalistic quality. In our analysis, Martha Gellhorn's coverage was assessed as being of high quality, comparable to Virginia Cowles and Hilde Marchant, though with more pronounced partisanship than these two. The journalistic quality of the reporting of Gertrude Gaffney and Maria Osten, on the other hand, was considered much lower, largely due to their strong partisanship.

11. The different approaches of our case studies represent different concepts of journalism as they were developed in the USA and Europe in the early 20th century in the course of the professionalisation of journalism (e.g. Bentele 2008; Kaplan 2002; Hampton 2008; Requate 1995; Schudson 2008). They coincided in the Spanish Civil War. According to these different understandings, we have assigned the case studies to general types, with Cowles, Marchant, and Gellhorn belonging to rather progressive understandings at the time, and Osten and Gaffney still showing strong party-political links. Virginia Cowles corresponds most closely to the "detached observer" committed to objectivity, which has formed the ideal model in the USA since the 1920s. We have identified Marchant as an "attached observer", a role model that is being discussed today in the context of war reporting and considers empathy permissible as long as it does not take sides politically. We consider Gellhorn to be a "committed observer" in which empathy is linked to a

political standpoint, which, however, arises from individual values and a fundamental commitment to democracy as opposed to totalitarianism and is not tied to personal party-political interests. Both Marchant and Gellhorn in particular are closer to the ideas of the American New Reportage and the German “Sozialreportage” (Carter, Branston, and Allan 1998; Klaus and Wischermann 2013), as well as to a European understanding of independent partisanship (Requate 2002), than to the principle of objectivity. Gertrude Gaffney and Maria Osten, in turn, represent traditional role models of politically dependent journalism that often crosses the line into pure propaganda. Accordingly, we have classified Gaffney as a “propaganda correspondent” and Osten as a “propagandist”. We see the difference between these two even less in their partisanship, which is very high in both, than in their working methods. While Gaffney, even only guided by partisanship, strives for a certain journalistic diligence such as transparency of research and an individual voice, Maria Osten’s reporting is determined by communist phrases.

12. In Western democracies, the propagandistic forms of the war correspondent have lost importance since our period of study. Other general types, detached, attached or committed observer have probably always existed. Studies point out that since the 1960s a paradigm shift to attachment in war reporting is already perceptible (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser and Umbricht 2014). That leads us to the conclusion that “detached observer” was probably only the role model prescribed by the prevailing principle of objectivity, but always existed as a version of the war reporter alongside more subjective colleagues. It seems important to us to recognize this simultaneity of different journalistic role models. Measuring their legitimacy according to standards of journalistic quality that do not see empathy and partiality as exclusionary from the outset could contribute to a re-evaluation of the performance of female journalists in the early days of professional journalism.

13. Almost all the contributions to the case studies are reportages, which from the outset, as international research agrees (e.g. Haller 2008; Pürer 1996; Yanes Mesa 2004), combine different storytelling forms, include personal context of the reporter and also allow for opinion elements. It is narrative journalism. Such journalism claims to be truthful, but does not necessarily need numbers and data to be accurate (García Galindo 2020). It derives its attractiveness by taking the reader on site (Pürer 1996). Martha Gellhorn and Hilde Marchant are examples of how this can work. In their individual ways, both with a precise eye for detail, they put scenes they had seen or been involved in

together to a mosaic that captivates through its fragmentary nature. In this context, relevance and factuality refer to detailed and transparent research and specific presentation. Despite Gellhorn's partisanship, independence in the sense of autonomous, self-determined focus and research is recognizable. It differs fundamentally from propagandist reporting, such as that of Gaffney and Osten, who see journalism as a means of increasing power for stakeholders associated with them, the Communist Party and the Catholic Church respectively. Gellhorn's reporting in particular, as the most prominent of the case studies, has been widely criticised as ignorant because as being far off from the battlefield (see Bogacka-Rode 2014) and as too partisan (e.g. Knightley 2003; Deacon 2009), mostly by men. This gendered evaluation is no coincidence, but can be seen in the context of the traditional male framed concepts not only of war reporting (Palmer and Melki 2018), but of journalism as a whole (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Ross and Carter 2011).

Neither the work of Virginia Cowles, nor that of Hilde Marchant or Martha Gellhorn, and certainly not that of Gaffney and Osten, were perfect from a perspective of journalistic quality. But the coverages of Cowles, Marchant and Gellhorn have their merits, and their approaches are still relevant today. In Cowles case it is because she presented both sides and differentiated. Marchant and Gellhorn, because they highlighted aspects that were considered less relevant in classical war reporting. Moreover, all three were talented writers. The crucial difference between these three and Gaffney and Osten on the other hand is the claim to truthfulness that both objective and subjective views can fulfil but propaganda cannot. The reproach that Gellhorn, and to a lesser extent Cowles, omitted information out of sympathy for the Republic (Moorehead 2004; Deacon 2008a; see also Bogacka-Rode 2014) does little to change this, although it cannot be disregarded. However, Gellhorn never pretended to provide a comprehensive picture of the war, but only a fragment, albeit an essential one. In her reporting, she did not hail the Republic, nor did she condemn the Nationalists. She refrained from explicit political assessments. Cowles, on the other hand, did not show unqualified sympathy for the Republic.

As journalists, Cowles, Gellhorn, and Marchant were concerned with the "fact of the now". This already quoted expression, borrowed from their colleague Josephine Herbst, conveys the claim and at the same time the limitation of journalism: the truthfulness of the moment, which, despite all care and objectivity, always depends on the eye of the beholder.

8.2 Conclusiones (versión Castellana)

Este estudio perseguía dos objetivos. En primer lugar, queríamos ofrecer una visión general y completa del papel de las corresponsales en la Guerra Civil Española y de su cobertura bélica. En segundo lugar, a través de cinco ejemplos analizados en profundidad, intentamos mostrar la conexión entre el partidismo y la calidad periodística, así como la influencia de los planteamientos personales en el acercamiento al conflicto y su visión profesional.

Partiendo de estos objetivos, primero pretendimos obtener una imagen global de la participación de las corresponsales de guerra en la Guerra Civil Española, basándonos en la investigación histórica, biográfica y periodística. A continuación, contrastamos nuestras hipótesis iniciales con nuestras principales conclusiones.

> *Hipótesis 1: Fue mucho más difícil para las reporteras que para los reporteros trabajar como corresponsales en la Guerra Civil Española. Al ser mujeres, se encontraban fuera de los contextos militares y a menudo eran consideradas reporteras de guerra de segunda clase, no tan capaces como los hombres de analizar el trasfondo político y militar. De acuerdo con la atribución tradicional del llamado "ángulo femenino", las reporteras eligieron y se les asignaron reportajes de interés humano. De entrada, consideramos que se trata de otra agenda (Jackson 2010) para ampliar la visión sobre la guerra y no de una estrategia deliberada para hacer propaganda de un bando.*

1. Pudimos identificar a 70 mujeres extranjeras de 17 países diferentes que informaron de la Guerra Civil española para los medios de comunicación internacionales (Ver Anexo 1). La gran mayoría cubrió el bando Republicano, pero también hubo algunas corresponsales en el bando Nacional. Por lo que sabemos, sólo dos de estas mujeres habían adquirido cierta experiencia como reporteras en situaciones de crisis, pero algunas ya habían trabajado como corresponsales en el extranjero. El heterogéneo grupo de mujeres corresponsales de guerra en España incluía a periodistas experimentadas, algunas reporteras de plantilla, pero principalmente autónomas, escritoras destacadas, pero también a novatas en el periodismo que daban sus primeros pasos. Nuestros cinco casos, las estadounidenses Virginia Cowles y Martha Gellhorn, la inglesa Hilde Marchant, la irlandesa Gertrude Gaffney y la alemana afincada en Rusia Maria Osten, representan la

diversidad de este grupo, aunque ninguna de ellas era una verdadera recién llegada al campo periodístico. Sus diferentes posturas políticas reflejan el amplio espectro ideológico de la prensa extranjera. Al principio, Cowles adoptó una postura neutral, mientras que Marchant y Gellhorn mostraron diversos grados de simpatía por la República. La comunista Osten, por un lado, y la estricta católica y Nacionalista irlandesa Gaffney, por otro, representaban los dos extremos ideológicos de este conflicto.

2. No sólo las reporteras principiantes, sino también las que llevaban muchos años en la profesión, tenían dificultades para vender sus artículos debido a su género. Como mujeres, no se las consideraba capaces de informar sobre los contextos militares. Sentimientos similares, aunque ya no tan evidentes, siguen encontrando las reporteras de guerra en la actualidad (por ejemplo, Palmer and Melki 2018; McLaughlin 2016). Por compromiso político, pero también por necesidad económica, las reporteras que cubrieron la Guerra Civil en España asumieron otros trabajos además de su labor periodística, especialmente en tareas de propaganda.

3. Como demostró nuestro análisis general de 166 artículos de un total de 42 corresponsales femeninas en el capítulo 4, el enfoque en el interés humano es claramente identificable en todos los grupos. Esto no significa, sin embargo, que las periodistas se ocuparan exclusivamente de los aspectos civiles y del contexto personal. Hubo reporteras que hicieron valoraciones de la situación política o entrevistaron a líderes políticos. Muchas mujeres periodistas visitaron el frente, aunque sobre todo durante los días tranquilos. Nuestros cinco casos de estudio también muestran este amplio espectro de temas: Mientras que Gellhorn y Marchant se centraron en los civiles y en otras víctimas de la guerra, Cowles, Osten y Gaffney también analizaron y comentaron la situación política y militar general, aunque con una calidad muy diferente.

4. Incluso cuando se trata de cuestiones político-militares, se puede identificar una visión de interés humano predominante en sus crónicas. Por un lado, esto significa que las periodistas a menudo integraron en sus historias el contexto personal de ellas mismas o de las personalidades entrevistadas. Por otro lado, y de forma más relevante, las corresponsales casi siempre pusieron en el primer plano de sus historias a las víctimas de la Guerra Civil, a los civiles amenazados por los

bombardeos y la hambruna, a los refugiados y a los soldados heridos, en su mayoría voluntarios de las Brigadas Internacionales. Parece razonable entender esta perspectiva de interés humano no como una preferencia por determinados temas, sino como un marco contextual. Esto todavía puede verse hoy en día. Aunque los estudios apuntan a que el interés humano no es un marco exclusivamente femenino, las periodistas le dan mayor importancia en sus reportajes (por ejemplo, Kennard and S. T. Murphy 2005; Lünenborg and Bach 2010; McLoughlin 2017).

5. Esta etiqueta de los reportajes de las corresponsales como de interés humano conlleva tres problemas fundamentales:

En primer lugar, esta perspectiva presupone un cierto grado de empatía y, por tanto, una cierta parcialidad. Esto sitúa automáticamente al periodismo de interés humano en oposición al concepto de calidad periodística principal de la objetividad. El desprecio histórico hacia las mujeres en un campo profesional dominado por los hombres, que aún resuena hoy en día (Chambers, Steiner y Fleming 2004; Ross y Carter 2011), fue especialmente pronunciado en el periodismo de guerra. Se le califica con condescendencia de "ángulo femenino" (Bogacka-Rode 2014; Jackson 2010; Palau Sampio 2020) y se le considera un periodismo de segunda clase.

En segundo lugar, este punto de vista descuida a su vez la relevancia política del periodismo de interés humano y del impacto de la guerra en la población. La guerra nunca tuvo lugar exclusivamente en el campo de batalla. La Guerra Civil española, en particular, adquirió en su totalidad una nueva dimensión. La situación catastrófica de los refugiados, las largas colas en la lucha diaria por el pan y el carbón, o la vida de las familias en las casas bombardeadas son la otra cara del mismo fenómeno. El hecho de que se hayan disuelto las fronteras entre el conflicto militar y la vida civil tiene una importancia internacional. Esta nueva dimensión de la guerra fue destacada por varias corresponsales de guerra femeninas como Nancy Cunard, y en los casos de Martha Gellhorn y Hilde Marchant. No informar sobre esto, sino limitarse a narrar la guerra militar basada en los acontecimientos militares, produciría una imagen limitada que, por su sobriedad y distanciamiento, hace que la guerra parezca más abstracta y estéril de lo que en sí misma es. Ciertamente, como muestran los artículos de las corresponsales de guerra, el aspecto humano también se utilizó para vender mejor los aspectos narrativos y atraer a nuevos públicos, posiblemente femeninos. Este aspecto pragmático es legítimo hasta cierto punto, ya que sin audiencia los medios de comunicación

no sólo pierden su base económica sino también su razón de existir. Hay muchos grados y matices entre la empatía y el sensacionalismo o la propaganda.

En tercer lugar, el encasillamiento de las corresponsales de guerra como reporteras de interés humano también oscurece la visión de otros enfoques utilizados por las periodistas. Aunque la cobertura de las corresponsales de guerra recopilada en este estudio apunta a que el reportaje de guerra clásico realizado por mujeres fue más bien la excepción, descubrimos que este encuadre puede entenderse tanto como una agenda de atribución. Por un lado, las propias mujeres eligieron este contexto porque les parecía necesario como contrapeso al reportaje de guerra tradicional, como, por ejemplo, el caso de Hilde Marchant y Martha Gellhorn. Por otro lado, este enfoque lo fomentaban los editores, ya que las mujeres no eran consideradas generalmente competentes para el reportaje político-militar clásico. Sin embargo, es posible, como indican los ejemplos presentados en este estudio, que las mujeres hicieran más reportajes de primera línea de lo que se suponía hasta ahora, pero que no fueran aceptados o clasificados adecuadamente. El encuadre como "ángulo femenino" a menudo tenía más que ver con el medio que con el artículo en sí. Martha Gellhorn escribía historias de interés humano en *Collier's* que era una revista del ámbito de la izquierda política, reflejando las ideas del Nuevo Reportaje, donde se presentaba de forma destacada como tal pero no se etiquetó como "femenino" de ninguna manera. Los periódicos diarios como el *Daily Express*, en el caso de Marchant, y también *The Washington Post*, en el caso de Elizabeth Deeble, tendían mucho más a dar a esas historias un toque femenino en el encabezamiento, refiriéndose a la "girl reporter" o a la "woman observer", que no necesariamente era retomado de esta manera por la periodista en el contenido mismo.

En general, hay que subrayar que el marco de interés humano no puede considerarse un enfoque determinado únicamente por las mujeres, ni una atribución dictada únicamente por los hombres. Apoyándose en el concepto de agencia femenina, que analiza el impacto de la socialización y la capacidad de superar las estructuras sociales tradicionales (Lee and Logan 2017), las corresponsales de guerra en la Guerra Civil española fueron capaces de marcar nuevos acentos en muchos aspectos al percibir el lado civil y las consecuencias de la vida cotidiana como una agenda independiente. En los estudios de caso que examinamos con más detalle, puede decirse que las cinco periodistas habían dejado atrás los modelos tradicionales en su insistencia en la independencia personal y que interpretaron el periodismo de guerra de forma diferente a lo que había sido la práctica habitual hasta entonces. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, los editores de los medios reforzaron los patrones

de pensamiento convencionales y los modelos de conducta tradicionales al destacar a las corresponsales de guerra como una variedad inusual de un género masculino.

Hipótesis 2: Por lo general, los medios de comunicación no pedían a las mujeres que fueran a España, sino que era una decisión que surgía del interés personal. Este enfoque, a veces más emocional que profesional, hizo que no se consideraran observadoras neutrales y que la mayoría de ellas tomaran claramente partido en este conflicto, lo que se refleja en su cobertura.

6. La mayoría de las corresponsales de la Guerra Civil española acudieron sin el mandato de un medio, sino por iniciativa propia. No obstante, existe el peligro de generalizar porque hubo casos especiales relevantes. Algunas destacadas reporteras de alto nivel profesional fueron enviadas a España como “corresponsales especiales” a cargo de los medios de comunicación para los que trabajaban. Según la información de la que disponemos, ninguna de ellas asumió el papel de corresponsal clásica y única durante un periodo de tiempo más largo, informando regularmente y de la forma más completa posible sobre esta guerra. La más cercana a este perfil de nuestros estudios de caso fue Maria Osten que trabajó para el *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*, aunque por periodos más cortos. Otras periodistas de plantilla, como Gertrude Gaffney, Rose Smith y Hilde Marchant viajaraon a España con un encargo especial, que los editores vendieron al público de una forma u otra como un “ángulo femenino”.

7. Las corresponsales de guerra en España tomaron partido, independientemente de si fueron enviadas o vinieron por voluntad propia. Como ha señalado Deacon (2008a), las reporteras hicieron poca distinción entre las distintas facciones de cada bando de la guerra. Estaban principalmente comprometidas con la República o con los Nacionalistas, como se aprecia claramente en los reportajes. El partidismo adoptó formas y grados muy diferentes y no puede considerarse simplemente como propaganda a favor de uno u otro bando o como desinterés y simplificación irresponsable de circunstancias complejas. Abarcaba desde la simpatía basada en lo que las corresponsales veían e investigaban sobre el terreno, como en el caso de Virginia Cowles, hasta el partidismo empático, formado sobre su visión personal del mundo forjada de antemano y las

experiencias adquiridas sobre el terreno, como el de Hilde Marchant y más pronunciado en el caso de Martha Gellhorn, y finalmente hasta el partidismo propagandístico, como el de Gertrude Gaffney y Maria Osten, que en principio sólo se referían al mensaje establecido a priori, en el que solo encajaban los acontecimientos seleccionados en consecuencia sobre el terreno. En el caso de las corresponsales de guerra en España, podemos confirmar lo que E. C. Murphy (2016) formuló como hipótesis a partir de sus estudios de Martha Gellhorn y Jean Watts: para las mujeres, la corresponsalía de guerra constituía un medio esencial para trabajar profesionalmente por sus convicciones políticas. Las convicciones políticas personales deben diferenciarse de los intereses partidistas. Muchas corresponsales se veían a sí mismas como antifascistas que defendían los valores democráticos, sin ningún vínculo político partidista. En principio, el periodismo está comprometido con estos valores. Sin embargo, también hay que señalar que el Partido Comunista y también algunas periodistas comunistas como Maria Osten instrumentalizaron este compromiso antifascista, que apenas fue reflejado por otras corresponsales de guerra en su cobertura. El hecho de que estas actitudes frente a la Guerra Civil española estén más ligadas a los orígenes individuales de la periodista que a la historia de España conduce a la siguiente hipótesis.

> *Hipótesis 3: Esta simpatía/parcialidad no tenía, en general, nada que ver con una estrecha relación con España, sino con el trasfondo sociocultural de las propias reporteras, que tuvo un fuerte impacto en la cobertura de la guerra.*

8. Sólo identificamos a unas pocas corresponsales – ninguna de nuestras cinco objetos de estudio – que tuvieran una relación estrecha con España antes de 1936. El conflicto de la Guerra Civil española adquirió un significado esencial para ellas debido a su interpretación internacional como una lucha decisiva, planteada de forma sencilla, de la democracia frente al fascismo o el comunismo frente al cristianismo, según el punto de vista del observador. En consecuencia, la mayoría de los periodistas abordaron el conflicto menos desde la perspectiva española que desde la internacional. Para el público extranjero, la Guerra Civil se contextualizó principalmente en este significado global que también fue enfatizado por los bandos en la contienda al tratar de conseguir apoyo internacional. Las diversas narrativas de los Republicanos y los Nacionalistas (del Arco Blanco 2018; Pérez Bowie 1988; Pérez Ledesma 2006; Pizarroso Quintero 2005; Pulpillo Leiva 2014), por un lado, de una lucha de los pobres contra los ricos, o en términos comunistas de las clases trabajadoras contra el fascismo

internacional, o de la democracia contra el totalitarismo, y, por otro lado, de la patria y el cristianismo contra el comunismo, encontraban eco en los reportajes elaborados por las corresponsales.

9. Hasta cierto punto, este encuadre internacional puede explicarse también por los procesos propios del periodismo. La simplificación de contenidos complejos, es decir, orientar a los lectores, y la proximidad, el resaltar aspectos relevantes para la audiencia, pertenecen, como se ha descrito, a los criterios de calidad en una comprensión normativa del periodismo. La entonces marginalizada España, al límite del continente europeo, no habría despertado por sí sola tanto interés. En el contexto de nuestro estudio, podemos afirmar para los casos analizados que la interacción de tres factores fue decisiva para la respectiva interpretación de los acontecimientos sobre el terreno: el origen individual y la socialización; el trasfondo cultural y político; y la orientación del medio informativo. Este resultado está en línea con los estudios sobre investigación de conflictos, que entienden la percepción periodística de la realidad necesariamente como el resultado individual de los orígenes, las condiciones sobre el terreno y la actitud o las estructuras del medio de comunicación (véase, por ejemplo, Hummel 2013; Karmasin 2007; Markham 2012). En España, según sugieren nuestros estudios de caso, el contexto personal del periodista adquirió una importancia especial debido a la dimensión internacional del conflicto y al desconocimiento de las condiciones españolas. El bando republicano y el bando franquista encarnaban simbólicamente amplias posiciones internacionales con las que el público asociaba más ideas que con la propia España (dependiendo del observador: antifascismo, democracia, comunismo frente a cristianismo, Nacionalismo, totalitarismo, feudalismo). De los casos de estudio, sólo Virginia Cowles se interesó, al menos en cierta medida, por las sutilezas de estas posiciones en el contexto español. Esto plantea la cuestión, que retomamos con nuestra cuarta hipótesis, de cómo el partidismo y el encuadre personal afectaron a la calidad periodística.

> *Hipótesis 4: Este sesgo no implica necesariamente una cobertura de baja calidad periodística. Al igual que el equilibrio político y/o la neutralidad no implican automáticamente una cobertura valiosa.*

10. El partidismo afecta a la calidad periodística. Esta supuesta correlación, arraigada en las primeras reivindicaciones de la objetividad (por ejemplo, Dicken-Garcia 1989; Mindich 1998; Ward 2005), también se ve confirmada por nuestra investigación. Sin embargo, no se trata de una simple fórmula en la que la parcialidad equivale al mal periodismo. Es importante el nivel de parcialidad y cómo se aborda. Haciendo referencia a las investigaciones que ponen en perspectiva la posibilidad y la utilidad de la objetividad en su interpretación como obligación de neutralidad e imparcialidad (por ejemplo, Boudana 2014; Kaplan 2002; Muñoz-Torres 2012; Patterson y Donsbach 1996), examinamos la cobertura de nuestros estudios de caso en análisis separados sobre la parcialidad y la calidad periodística. En nuestro análisis, la cobertura de Martha Gellhorn fue evaluada como de alta calidad, comparable a la de Virginia Cowles y Hilde Marchant, aunque con un partidismo más pronunciado que estas dos. En cambio, la calidad periodística de la cobertura de Gertrude Gaffney y Maria Osten, se consideró mucho menor, en gran parte debido a su marcado partidismo.

11. Los distintos enfoques de nuestros cinco casos representan diferentes conceptos de periodismo tal y como se desarrollaron en EE.UU. y Europa a principios del siglo XX en el curso de la profesionalización de la profesión periodística (por ejemplo, Bentele 2008; Kaplan 2002; Hampton 2008; Requate 2002; Schudson 2008). Dichos conceptos coincidieron en la Guerra Civil española. De acuerdo con estas diferentes concepciones, hemos asignado los casos de estudio a distintos tipos generales. Por un lado, Cowles, Marchant y Gellhorn se encuadran en concepciones más bien progresistas en su momento, y por otro, Osten y Gaffney muestran todavía fuertes vínculos partidistas. Virginia Cowles es la que más se corresponde con la "detached observer" ("observadora despegada") comprometida con la objetividad, que ha constituido el modelo ideal en EE. UU. desde la década de 1920. Hemos identificado a Marchant como una "attached observer" ("observadora adherida"), un modelo que se vuelve a discutir hoy en día en el contexto del periodismo de guerra y que considera permisible la empatía siempre que no se tome partido políticamente. En este sentido, consideramos que Gellhorn es una "committed observer" ("observadora comprometida") en la que la empatía está ligada a un punto de vista político que, sin embargo, surge de los valores individuales y de un compromiso fundamental con la democracia en contraposición al totalitarismo y no está vinculada a intereses personales de partido. Tanto Marchant como Gellhorn, en particular, se encuentran más cerca de las ideas del New Reportage estadounidense y del "Sozialreportage" alemán (Carter, Branston y Allan 1998; Klaus y Wischermann 2013), así como de una concepción

europea del “partidismo independiente” (Requate 2002), que del principio de objetividad. Gertrude Gaffney y Maria Osten, por su parte, representan modelos tradicionales de periodismo políticamente dependiente que a menudo se convierte en pura propaganda. En consecuencia, hemos clasificado a Gaffney como correponsal propagandista (“propaganda correspondent”) y a Osten como propagandista (“propagandist”). Vemos la diferencia entre estas dos periodistas en sus métodos de trabajo, excepto en su partidismo, que es muy alto en ambos. Mientras Gaffney, aunque sólo se dejó guiar por el partidismo, se esfuerza por manifestar una cierta diligencia periodística, la transparencia de la investigación y una voz individual, los reportajes de Maria Osten están determinados por frases comunistas de gran carga ideológica.

12. En las democracias occidentales, las formas propagandísticas del corresponsal de guerra han perdido importancia desde nuestro periodo de estudio. Probablemente siempre han existido otros tipos generales, “detached”, “attached” o “committed”. Los estudios señalan que desde la década de 1960 ya se percibe un cambio de paradigma hacia el apego en los reportajes de guerra (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser and Umbricht 2014). Eso nos lleva a la conclusión de que el “detached observer” probablemente sólo era un modelo prescrito por el principio de objetividad imperante, pero siempre existió como una versión del reportero de guerra junto al trabajo más subjetivo, de colegas masculinos y femeninos. Nos parece importante reconocer esta simultaneidad de diferentes modelos de trabajo periodístico. Medir su legitimidad de acuerdo con los estándares de calidad periodística que no consideren la empatía y la parcialidad como excluyentes desde el principio podría contribuir a una reevaluación del rendimiento de las periodistas en los inicios del periodismo profesional.

13. Casi todas las contribuciones de los cinco casos estudiados son reportajes, que, según coinciden los estudios internacionales (por ejemplo, Haller 2008; Pürer 1996; Yanes Mesa 2004), combinan diferentes formas de narración, incluyen el contexto personal del reportero o de la reportera y también permiten elementos de opinión. Se trata del periodismo narrativo. Este tipo de periodismo pretende ser veraz, pero no usa necesariamente cifras y datos para ser preciso (García Galindo 2020). Su principal atractivo consiste en llevar al lector in situ (Pürer 1996). Martha Gellhorn y Hilde Marchant son ejemplos de cómo puede funcionar este tipo de periodismo. A su manera, ambas, con un ojo preciso para el detalle, unieron escenas que habían visto o en las que habían

participado en un mosaico que cautiva por su naturaleza fragmentaria. En este contexto, la relevancia y la facticidad se refieren a una investigación detallada y transparente y a una presentación específica. A pesar del partidismo de Gellhorn, se reconoce la independencia en el sentido de un enfoque e investigación autónomos y autodeterminados. Difiere fundamentalmente de los reportajes propagandísticos, como los de Gaffney y Osten, que consideran el periodismo como un medio para aumentar el poder de los grupos de interés asociados a ellos, en sus casos el Partido Comunista, y la Iglesia Católica, respectivamente. Gellhorn, en particular, como la más conocida de los casos estudiados, ha sido ampliamente criticada como ignorante por estar alejada del campo de batalla (véase Bogacka-Rode 2014) y como demasiado partidista (por ejemplo, Knightley 2003; Deacon 2009), en su mayoría por hombres. Esta evaluación basada en el género no es una coincidencia, sino que puede verse en el contexto de los conceptos tradicionales enmarcados por los hombres no sólo del periodismo de guerra (Palmer and Melki 2018), sino del periodismo en su conjunto (Chambers, Steiner, and Fleming 2004; Ross and Carter 2011).

Ni el trabajo de Virginia Cowles, ni el de Hilde Marchant o Martha Gellhorn, y ciertamente tampoco el de Gertrude Gaffney y Maria Osten, fueron perfectos desde una perspectiva de calidad periodística. Pero las coberturas de Cowles, Marchant y Gellhorn tienen sus méritos, y sus enfoques siguen siendo relevantes hoy en día. El estilo de Cowles porque presentó los dos lados, pero de manera diferenciada. Marchant y Gellhorn, porque destacaron aspectos que se consideraban menos relevantes en el reportaje de guerra clásico. Además, las tres eran escritoras de talento. La diferencia crucial entre estas tres profesionales y Gaffney y Osten, en cambio, es la pretensión de veracidad que pueden cumplir tanto los conceptos objetivos como los subjetivos, pero no la propaganda. El reproche de que Gellhorn, y en menor medida Cowles, omitieron información por simpatía hacia la República (Moorehead 2004; Deacon 2009; veáse también Bogacka-Rode 2014) no es decisivo para cambiar esta conclusión, aunque no se puede obviar. Sin embargo, Gellhorn nunca pretendió ofrecer una imagen completa de la guerra, sino sólo un fragmento, aunque un fragmento esencial. En sus reportajes, no aclamó a la República, ni condenó a los nacionalistas. Se abstuvo de hacer valoraciones políticas explícitas. Cowles, por su parte, no mostró una simpatía incondicional por la República.

Como periodistas, Cowles, Gellhorn y Marchant se preocupaban por el “fact of the now” (“el hecho del ahora”). Esta expresión ya citada, tomada de su colega Josephine (Herbst 1991), transmite la pretensión y al mismo tiempo la limitación del periodismo: la veracidad del momento, que, a pesar

de toda la diligencia y objetividad, siempre depende también de la subjetividad del periodista observador.

8.3 Limitations and further lines of research

We have chosen female reporters in the Spanish Civil War as the focus of this research because it was the first conflict in which female war correspondents no longer appeared as isolated cases but became a professional group. Moreover, the ideologically overloaded conflict provides a rich basis for examining war reporting in the context of quality and partisanship. Therefore, the aims of this work were, as described above, on the one hand, to give a comprehensive, general picture of the special role of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War and, on the other hand, to evaluate the reporting of several case studies in terms of quality and bias, and the connection to the personal background. Necessarily, there are some gaps in this research.

The great appeal of the topic, its internationality, was at the same time a big challenge. The insight into material that is spread across many archives and libraries worldwide was crucial for the success of the project. In 2015, when this research began to take shape, starting from a preliminary project at the Austrian Academy of Sciences/University of Klagenfurt, as mentioned in Chapter 2, it was clear that it would not be feasible without the digitisation of historical newspapers and other historical sources. Nevertheless, personal contact was indispensable in many cases, and on several research trips, I tried to evaluate sources on the ground as efficiently as possible. In England, I sifted through newspaper articles and historical material at the British Library, the Imperial War Museum, King's college and the Warwick University archive. At the Centro Documental de la Memoria in Salamanca, thanks to the help of Manuel González de la Aleja from the Universidad de Salamanca, I was able to reduce my search for newspaper articles by female correspondents to a few essential boxes from the more than 30 boxes of British newspaper clippings on the Civil War. The Spain Archive at the Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance in Vienna and its director Irene Filip were, as they had been for many years, an important point of contact for on-site research, not only on Austrian female correspondents, but on international volunteers' research as a whole.

Other archives, where personal research would have been impossible due to the distance and costs involved, provided copies of historical sources, often surprisingly unbureaucratically. The Hoover

Institution Archives at Stanford sent material from the Milly Bennett papers; the Harry Ransom Center in Austin, Texas, and the Washington Library of Congress searched for articles in the *New York (Sunday) American*; the Institute for Newspaper Research in Dortmund, Germany, loaned microfilms of the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*. Gale gave me free access for a few weeks to their databases, which include among many other primary sources an electronic *Daily Mail* archive and a Spanish Civil War collection from the University of San Diego. The Schlesinger Library at Harvard copied correspondence and manuscripts from the Frances Davis papers for this study.

Archives that provide access to several newspapers proved to be indispensable sources, in particular the Irish press archive and ukpressonline, and the website unz.org. (The latter, unz.org, it should be pointed out again, provides free access to numerous current and long-defunct US newspapers, but is at the same time problematic because it promotes racist and anti-Semitic newspaper articles in its webzine.) Colleagues pointed me in the right direction through material that was sometimes difficult to keep track of. The historian Werner Abel willingly shared his RGASPI material on all female war correspondents with me, Reinhard Müller made his unpublished manuscript on Maria Osten available to me, whereas Valery Brun, a colleague in Russia, searched the RGALI archives for further traces of Maria Osten.

Despite this support of archive staff and colleagues, not all the research described above was successful, and was also limited because of language skills. We did include women journalists from all over the world whom we were able to verify in our list. Nevertheless, this study necessarily has an English-, Spanish- and German-language bias. Further historical material and literature in other languages could not be included. During the course of this study, we discovered that more female war correspondents were active in the Spanish Civil War than previously assumed. Unfortunately, it was impossible to follow all the indications of female reporters in detail. In many cases we had to limit the research to verification with some biographical details.

In view of the broad distribution of the material, we had decided from the beginning to focus the biographical archival research on female correspondents who seemed essential for this work but there is few or no secondary literature. In the case of better-known personalities, such as Martha Gellhorn, we used the extensive published biographical sources as a basis. The archive search was not always successful. In the case of Gertrude Gaffney, for example, we did not succeed in locating archival material apart from newspaper articles. This would have required an additional visit to

Ireland, the prospects of which were very uncertain, and which was not possible within the framework of this project.

Our intention was to examine all articles on the Spanish Civil War of the selected case studies. Nevertheless, we were not able to fulfil it completely. While in the case of Gertrude Gaffney (23 articles) and Hilde Marchant (5 reportages), to the best of our knowledge, all articles, were included in the study that arose directly from their stays in Spain, minor restrictions had to be made for the other three case studies. For example, despite the efforts outlined above in the archives of the Washington Congress Library and the University of Austin, it was not possible to find all the articles from the early series of Virginia Cowles' articles. From a total of 10 contributions by Cowles, eight comprehensive features are available. In addition, an article by Martha Gellhorn from *Story* magazine could not be integrated into this analysis despite our efforts. We focused on her other 6 extensive reportages. In the case of Maria Osten, we have examined all 26 articles which, to our knowledge, appeared in the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* as part of her correspondent's assignment in Spain. However, the published Russian versions of these texts could not be taken into account, nor could an article written by her for the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*. However, our sample of 68 articles includes those texts that are considered the most relevant. The few missing texts, we suppose, would not have changed the qualitative assessment of the reporting, since they are, as far as can be ascertained from the literature, coherent with the material at hand.

Even though this work could not cover all female war reporters in Spain, it can claim to be representative. To the best of our current knowledge, it is the most comprehensive research on the role of female correspondents in the Spanish Civil War and their reporting to date.

The digitisation of historical archives, which made this work possible in the first place, has continued to gain speed in recent years. Thus, sources are now available digitally that did not exist when this project was developed, and the content analyses were conducted.

Hopefully, this will soon give future research an insight into previously inaccessible sources outside North America and Europe as well, to fill gaps in the present work with case studies from other political and journalistic systems. International cooperation seems to be particularly useful here to make sources in other languages accessible as well.

Another research desideratum is to carry out a systematic comparison of female and male reporting of the Spanish Civil War in order to examine different approaches and possibly not so different

perspectives. This seems a logical next step after our assessment of women’s war reporting. We assume, as a starting hypothesis, that the tendency of different emphases stated in this study, according to which women framed war reporting with a human interest and men saw themselves more in the tradition of classical war reporting, will be confirmed in principle, but that the gender boundaries may be more blurred than supposed.

Ideally, for such and other studies on crisis reporting, the model applied here of a separate assessment of quality and partiality which does not set impartiality per se as a quality criterion can be useful and further developed.

It is almost a century ago, that hundreds of correspondents, men and women, came to Spain from all over the world to report on the Civil War. The encounter of so many reporters with very different contexts and journalistic traditions at a time when journalism was just becoming professional still provides many impulses for current discussions on the role and purpose of journalism. We hope to be able to contribute to the debate with this work.

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irishnewsarchive.com: Irish Independent and other Irish newspapers.

newspaperarchive.com: Cedar Rapid's Gazette.

ProQuest Archiver: The Manchester Guardian; The Christian Science Monitor.

ukpressonline.co.uk: Daily Express, The Daily Worker, various local papers.

unz.org: Collier's, The New Masses and other US-American newspapers
(as previously noted this website provides free access to historical newspapers, but at the same time is highly problematic because it propagates anti-Semitic and racist texts).

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Annex

Annex 1. List of female war correspondents

Table 35. List of female war correspondents and photo reporters in the Spanish Civil War.

Name	Nationality	Reporting from
Ackland, Valentine	UK	Republican side
Alving, Barbro (Bang)	Sweden	Republican side
Anderson, Jane	USA	Republican side
Beck, Helen	Germany	Republican side
Behrens, Elsa Teresa	Mexico	Republican side
Bellon, Denise	France	Republican side
Bennett, Milly	USA	Republican side
Bowler, Kitty (Evelyn Pool)	USA	Republican side
Carnelli, María Luisa	Argentine	Republican side
Cowles, Virginia	USA	Republican & Nationalist side
Cunard, Nancy	UK	Republican side & Spanish-French border
Davis, Frances	USA	Nationalist side
Deeble, Elizabeth	USA	Republican side
Enters, Angna	USA	Nationalist side
Farmborough, Florence	UK	Nationalist side
Ferber, Edna	USA	Spanish-French border
Gaffney, Gertrude	Ireland	Nationalist side
Gellhorn, Martha	USA	Republican side
Grant Duff, Shiela	UK	Nationalist side
Grepp, Gerda	Norway	Republican side
Haldane, Charlotte	UK	Republican side
Hellman, Lillian	USA	Republican side
Herbst, Josephine	USA	Republican side
Hodson, (unknown)	UK	Republican side
Horna, Kati	Hungary	Republican side
Huysmans, Marthe	Belgium	Republican side
Jirku, Gusti (Stridsberg)	Austria	Republican side
Kühnen, Elisabeth	Germany	Republican side
Kulcsar (Barea), Ilse	Austria	Republican side
La Rochefoucauld, Edmée de	France	Nationalist side
Lafont, Renée	France	Republican side
Lecler, Paula	USA	Republican side
Laird, Megan	USA	Republican side
Lindbaek, Lise	Norway	Republican side

Lindsley, Lorna	USA	Republican side
Macdonald, Ethel	UK	Republican side
Mangan, Kate	UK	Republican side
Mann, Erika	Germany	Republican side
Marchant, Hilde	UK	Republican side
Medem, Gina	Poland	Republican side
Michaelis (geb. Sachs), Margaret	Austria	Republican side
O'Brien, Aileen	Ireland	Nationalist side
Osten, Maria	Germany	Republican side
Packard, Cryan Eleanor	USA	Republican & Nationalist side
Parker, Dorothy	USA	Republican side
Patrick, Jane	UK	Republican side
Patzakova, Anna V.	Czechoslovakia	Republican side
Pflaum, Melanie	USA	Republican side
Ratmanova, Elisabeta	UdSSR	Republican side
Rawics, Stefa	Poland	Republican side
Richter, Frieda	Denmark	Republican side
Roberts, Fifi (Florence)	UK	Republican side
Ross, Jean	UK	Republican side
Rothman, Kajsa	Sweden	Republican side
Rukeyser, Muriel	USA	Republican side
Seldes, Helen	USA	Republican side
Shercliff, Jose	UK	Republican side
Smith, Rose	UK	Republican side
Stern, Jeanne	France	Republican side
Strong, Anna-Louise	USA	Republican side
Taro, Gerta	Germany/Poland	Republican side
Téry, Simone	France	Republican side
Townsend Warner, Sylvia	UK	Republican side
Viollis, Andrée	France	Republican side
Watts, Jean	Canada	Republican side
Wertheim (Tuchman), Barbara	USA	Republican side
Wilkinson, Elizabeth	UK	Republican side
Wilson, Francesca	UK	Republican side
Wolff, Ilse	Germany	Republican side
Wood, Lorna	UK	Republican side

Source: author's own research.

Annex 2. Spanish Civil War articles analysed in the five case studies

Table 36. Spanish Civil War articles by Virginia Cowles.

Date	Newspaper	Titel	Words
4 July 1937	New York Sunday American	N. Y. Society Girl Sees Americans Fighting in Madrid's Front Trenches	1670
17 October 1937	Sunday Times	Realities of War in Spain	2103
20 October 1937	Daily Express	"Who's running this country anyway?"	1326
26 October 1937	Daily Express	Not Front Page News, but…	1399
9 January 1938	New York Times	Catalan Morale Held Crumbling	856
16 March 1937	New York Times	Behind the Fighting Fronts	3369
10 April 10 1938	Sunday Times	Spain's Life Goes on Amid Grim Desolation	2594
10 April 10 1938	New York Times	The Agony of Spain	2683

Source: author's own research.

Table 37. Spanish Civil War articles by Gertrude Gaffney in the Irish Independent.

Month day 1937	**Title**	**Words**
22 February	In War-Torn Spain (I.). Over France’s Frontier	2153
23 February	In War-Torn Spain (II.). Charms of Beautiful Basque Country	2196
24 February	In War-Torn Spain (III.). Flight from Fury of Reds	3035
25 February	In War-Torn Spain (IV.). Historic Salamanca Visited	2203
26 February	In War-Torn Spain (V.). A Motor Break-down	2425
27 February	In War-Torn Spain (VI.). We are attacked by Reds	3761
1 March	In War-Torn Spain (VII.). With the Irish Brigades in Caceres	2426
2 March	In War-Torn Spain (VIII.). Spirit of the Irish Brigade	2483
3 March	In War-Torn Spain (IX.). Irish Brigade’s Day of Joy	2604
4 March	In War-Torn Spain (X.). A Struggle to the Death	1856
5 March	In War-Torn Spain (XI.). General Franco’s Motto is Business as Usual	2282
6 March	In War-Torn Spain (XII.). I Reach the Suburbs of Madrid	2506
8 March	In War-Torn Spain (XIII.). In a Land the Godless Left Desolate	2314
25 October	I Cross the French Frontier at Irun	1755
26 October	Peace and Plenty in Nationalist Spain	1405
27 October	Up to the Front Line among the Mountains	1647
28 October	Nationalist Guns Go into Action	1441
29 October	Prisoners of General Franco	1755
30 October	Ruined Bridges of War-Torn Spain	2601
1 November	Flag that Marked Army’s Drive	1717
2 November	A Narrow Escape from Red Fire	2639
3 November	Unpleasantly Close to the Reds	2276
4 November	A War to Save Spain for Spain	1977

Source: author’s own research.

Table 38. Spanish Civil War articles by Martha Gellhorn.

Date	Newspaper	Titel	Words
Spring 1937	*Harper's Bazaar*	Zoo in Madrid	1599
17 July 1937	*Collier's*	Only the Shells Whine	4165
31 July 1937	*The New Yorker*	Madrid to Morata	2360
15 January 1938	*Collier's*	Men Without Medals	4380
2 April 1938	*Collier's*	City at War	4505
November 1938 (dated by Gellhorn)	not accepted by *Collier's*, published first in 1959	The Third Winter	5149

Source: author's own research.

Table 39. Spanish Civil War articles by Hilde Marchant in the Daily Express*.*

Date	Newspaper	Title	Words
1 March 1937	Daily Express	Breadline Women	1237
2 March 1937	Daily Express	The bombers are here	1174
3 March 1937	Daily Express	Cartridges on the Altar	1131
4 March 1937	Daily Express	They drove the Women out with Bayonets	1251
5 March 1937	Daily Express	Portrait of the Bravest Spaniard of them all	1312

Source: author's own research.

Table 40. Spanish Civil War articles by Maria Osten in the Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*.*

Date	Title	Words
20 Sep. 1936	Unsere Hilfsaktion für die spanischen Frauen und Kinder (Our relief campaign for the Spanish women and children)	990
21 Sep. 1936	Madrid heute (Madrid today)	745
24 Sep. 1936	Spanische Arbeitermädchen (Spanish working-class girls)	690
26 Sep. 1936	Heroischer Kampf der spanischen Frauen (Heroic fight of the Spanish women)	757
28 Sep. 1936	Alicante empfängt den Sowjetdampfer "Newa" (Alicante receives the Soviet steamer "Newa")	678
8 Oct. 1936	Reise durch spanisches Land (Journey through the Spanish Countryside)	1065
14 Oct. 1936	Spanische Jugend (Spanish Youth)	986
18 Oct. 1936	Spanische Kinder (Spanish Children)	1091
22 Oct. 1936	Wer führt die spanischen Aufrührer (Who leads the Spanish Insurgents)	1035
24 Oct. 1936	Antifaschistische Schriftsteller (Antifascist Writers)	148
26 Oct. 1936	Jose Diaz spricht (Speaking Jose Diaz)	792
29 Oct. 1936	Ich suche ein spanisches Kind (I am looking for a Spanish child)	1441
15 March 1937	Der Vorstoß der Regierungstruppen an der Guadalajara-Front (The Advance of Government Troops on the Guadalajara front)	701
18 March 1937	Guadalajara	599
21 March 1937	Der Sieg bei Brihuega (The Victory at Brihuega)	694
23 March 1937	Spanien einst und jetzt (Spain then and now)	755
29 March 1937	Das leuchtende Beispiel Madrids (The shining Example of Madrid)	481
3 April 1937	Die kampfbereite Jugend Madrids (The combat-ready Youth of Madrid)	568
15 April 1937	Von den Kämpfen in Casa del Campo (About the Fighting in Casa del Campo)	486
29 April 1937	Drei Überläufer (Three Defectors)	711
1 May 1937	Frühling in Madrid (Spring in Madrid)	877
4 May 1937	Der erste Mai in Madrid (The First May in Madrid)	667
5 May 1937	Spanische Frontzeitungen (Spanish Front Newspapers)	494
5 May 1937	Madrid – Bilbao	521
9 May 1937	Das Tagebuch eines deutschen Fliegeroffizier (The Diary of a German Aviation Officer)	1661
17 May 1937	Die Schulung der Volksarmee (The Training of the People's Army)	1099

Source: author's own research.

Annex 3. Copy of the article "Irish correspondent Gertrude Gaffney's work on the Spanish Civil War. A qualitative analysis of bias and journalistic standards" by Renée Lugschitz and Jose Alberto García-Avilés, published in Estudios del Mensaje Periodístico, 26(4) in 2020.

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Irish correspondent Gertrude Gaffney's work on the Spanish Civil War. A qualitative analysis of bias and journalistic standards

Renée Lugschitz[1] y Jose Alberto García-Avilés[2]

Recibido: 23 de febrero de 2020 / Aceptado: 28 de mayo de 2020

Abstract. The Spanish Civil War was the first conflict reported by many female war correspondents. One of them was the Irish Gertrude Gaffney, whose position as a female reporter in this conflict was remarkable in various respects. In contrast to her often inexperienced female colleagues, the correspondent for the *Irish Independent* was already a highly reputed political journalist in her home country. She was one of the very few female journalists to report on Franco's side, and among those who published the most on the Spanish Civil War. Using Gaffney's coverage as a case study to show the relationship between partiality and journalistic quality, this paper examines bias and compliance with journalistic values in her 23 articles on the Spanish Civil War published in two series in 1937.
Keywords. Spanish Civil War; female war correspondents; foreign press; journalism quality; Gertrude Gaffney

[es] El trabajo de la corresponsal irlandesa Gertrude Gaffney sobre la Guerra Civil española. Análisis cualitativo de la parcialidad y los estándares periodísticos

Resumen. La Guerra Civil española fue el primer conflicto del que informaron muchas mujeres corresponsales de guerra. Una de ellas fue la irlandesa Gertrude Gaffney, cuyo papel como reportera en este conflicto fue notable en varios aspectos. A diferencia de sus colegas femeninas, a menudo poco experimentadas, la corresponsal del *Irish Independent* ya era una periodista política de gran reputación en su país. Fue una de las pocas mujeres periodistas que informó del lado de Franco, y una de las que más publicó sobre la Guerra Civil española. Utilizando la cobertura de Gaffney como estudio de caso para mostrar la relación entre la parcialidad y la calidad del periodismo, este trabajo examina el sesgo y los valores periodísticos en sus 23 artículos sobre la Guerra Civil española publicados en dos series durante 1937.
Palabras claves. Guerra Civil española; mujeres corresponsales de guerra; prensa extranjera; calidad del periodismo; Gertrude Gaffney

Summary. 1. Introduction. 2. Hypothesis and objectives. 3. Methodology 4. Results. 5. Discussion: Comparing Gaffney's war reporting with female colleagues 6. Conclusion

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1. Introduction: Gertrude Gaffney as a foreign correspondent in the Spanish Civil War

The Spanish Civil War was the first conflict to be covered by female reporters to a significant extent. We could register with some biographical details more than 50 women from many parts of the world working from Spain for international media from 1936 to 1939 (Karmasin, Kraus and Lugschitz, 2017). Previously, there had only been very few women, individual cases, who reported as professional correspondents from war zones (Sebba, 2013). In the 1930s, achievements of the international emancipatory movements allowed women to play a more active role in political life, which is also reflected in the number of female volunteers who took part in the Spanish Civil War. At least 600 foreign women came to Spain as doctors, translators, nurses, militia women, administrative staff, and journalists. Most of them supported the Republican side (Lugschitz, 2012; Schiborowski and Kochnowski, 2016[3]).

The large number of female correspondents is also due to the ideological dimension of the conflict. It was considered to not be a mere Spanish conflict but a proxy war for the whole continent between fascism and democracy. It "was recognised as a battle of ideas, ideals and ideologies, which meant that issues of mediation and representation assumed critical im-

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3 Schiborowski and Kochnowski list around 1,000 women whose names, however, could not all be verified.

portance" (Deacon, 2008a, p. 393). Foreign powers got involved in the Spanish conflict. From immediately after the military coup in July 1936, the Nationalists' side was supported by Hitler and Mussolini, and the Spanish government received help from international volunteers (Beevor, 2006; Graham, 2008). Hundreds of reporters came to see the conflict with their own eyes. Armero counted 950 foreign journalists in Spain; this gives at least an indication of the extent of international press coverage[4]. The great majority were male correspondents but there were also dozens of female reporters.

Gertrude Gaffney had a special position among them: she was one of the very few female journalists to report from Franco's side. Hardly any other female correspondent in Spain already had such a high professional reputation as the *Irish Independent* correspondent. Gaffney had been an important part of the staff there for many years, and was "afforded of roving brief (including the right to contribute articles on foreign and domestic politics)", an honour that even male colleagues rarely received at the time (Horgan, 2011, p. 116). She was considered to be "one of Ireland's best known lady journalists" (Noted Woman Journalist, December 10, 1959). In 1937, the *Irish Independent* published two detailed series with a total of 23 articles by "Special Correspondent" Gertrude Gaffney about the Spanish Civil War. This made her one of the female correspondents who reported most extensively on this conflict in a foreign newspaper.

Despite her prominence in Ireland, the life and work of Gertrude Gaffney has so far only appeared on the margins of various studies of Ireland's history, on the Irish press and its role in the Spanish Civil War (Luddy, 2005; Ryan, 1998, 2003; Soler Parício, 2013). From 1920 to 1946, she wrote regularly for the *Irish Independent*, then more rarely until 1958. She had her own regular columns like "Leaves from a Woman's Diary. By G. G.", which dealt with social and political issues from a female perspective. On the one hand, she advocated the principle of gender equality and women's employment rights; on the other hand, she criticised women who wore trousers or smoked in public (Gaffney, August 30, 1926, October 16, 1920, May 07, 1937; see also Ryan, 1998, p. 192). She died in December 1959.

In the 1930s, her employer, the *Irish Independent*, was the largest Irish newspaper and "the mouthpiece of the conservative, Catholic Ireland – a policy that reached its political and commercial zenith during the Spanish conflict" (O'Brien, 2017, p. 347). Founded in 1905, the *Irish Independent* was Ireland's first mass-market newspaper; in 1935, it had a circulation of 123,000 copies (O'Brien, 2017, p. 347). From the outbreak of the war, the newspaper presented the conflict "in bellicose terms as a Catholic crusade against communism", and "concentrated on discrediting the legitimacy of the Republican government" (McGarry, 2002, pp. 69–70).

In January 1937, Gaffney was sent to Spain as a special correspondent to give a "first-hand, authentic account of conditions behind the war-fronts" as the *Irish Independent* (In War-Torn Spain, February 19, 1937) advertised. She crossed the border at Irún and went from there to San Sebastián, then on to Salamanca, Cáceres, finally she tried to get close to Madrid, and her journey ended in Pozuelo de Alarcón, about 15 kilometres from the capital. In autumn 1937, Gaffney came back to Spain and again crossed the border at Irún and went to San Sebastián, then made her way to Burgos and Palencia to get to León and from there on to the Asturias front. After each journey, upon her return to Ireland, she published a series of articles, the first in 13 parts, and the second in 10 parts.

Given the importance of the newspaper for which Gaffney was the only Spain correspondent on the Franco side at that time, her series must be seen as having had a significant impact on public opinion about the Spanish Civil War in Ireland. McGarry (2002) and O'Brien (2017), who have studied the Irish press and its attitude towards the Spanish Civil War, both judge Gaffney's reporting as superficial and purely guided by interests: "Gaffney's articles shed more light on the Independent's outlook than on the complexities of the war" (McGarry, 2002, p. 81).

The question of the role of the foreign press in the Spanish Civil War has been discussed in international monographies on the Spanish Civil War (Beevor, 2006) and on war reporting (Knightley 2003) as in specialised studies on broadcasting (Davies, 1999), focusing on representatives of one country (Deacon, 2008a, 2008b; Valis, 2017) or on individual (female) journalists and their coverage (Aguilera-Linde, 2017; Murphy, 2016; Rankin, 2003).

Armero provided a first listing of correspondents already in 1976; the most detailed description was given by Preston (2008) three decades later. Some of these works have dealt with the question of foreign correspondents' understanding of objectivity and the extent to which they sacrificed the search for truth to their own partiality. Knightley (2003) argues that partiality of the foreign correspondents in Spain distorted the truth:

> The drawback of reporting with heart as well as mind is that if the cause is basically just, as the Republicans one undoubtedly was, the correspondent tends to write in terms of heroic endeavour, rather than face unpalatable facts, and to mislead his readers with unjustified optimism. (Knightley, 2003, no. 4583)

In contrast to Knightley, Preston (2008) stresses the point that "unpalatable truths can be dismissed

[4] Armero's list is very useful as a starting point but as he names almost no sources, it is difficult to verify his list. He also included some names of women reporters, some of them correctly, some of them wrong and some could not be verified nor refuted; Armero did not list other female correspondents registered in our research.

as bias" (Preston, 2008, pos. 105) and argues that to express partiality means to be honest, as long as the journalist is committed to the truth (Preston, 2008, pos. 605-612).

Deacon (2008b) explores the work of female correspondents, but without systematically examining their new role in a male domain. As women, they were largely excluded from traditional war reporting on military aspects, and they were asked to focus on human touch reports about the civilian population. In their coverage, more emotionality and sympathy were admitted and even expected than in traditional war reporting (Karmasin et al., 2017; Jackson 2010).

From this starting point, we want to continue the discussion about partiality and its effect on journalistic quality by analysing the coverage of a female correspondent.

2. Hypothesis and objectives

Using Gaffney as a case study, this article aims to analyse possible bias and the journalistic standards in her articles as well as their correlation. Neutrality, or related terms such as non-partisanship, impartiality, is usually understood as part of journalistic quality (Deuze, 2005; Meier, 2019a). We examined partiality and journalistic quality separately, because we do not necessarily consider neutrality as a prerequisite for good journalism.

In the debate about journalistic quality, the principle of objectivity plays a key role. The various concepts of journalism over time have shared a commitment to truth: "The fundamental claim of journalism is to gain the truth", as Kovach and Rosenstiel (2014) state. As professional journalism should provide guidance to citizens in modern democracies, objectivity was considered the basic principle to reach the truth (Bentele, 2008; Chalaby, 1998; Lichtenberg, 1991; Mindich, 1998; Schudson, 2008; Ward 2005). However, there are many interpretations of objectivity, depending on the journalistic culture in different times and countries (García-Avilés, 2015, p. 155). The complex debate about objectivity in the journalistic context can only be briefly sketched in the scope of this contribution. Three basic approaches are distinguished in the literature:

a. The *proponents* of the traditional principle of objectivity, who see the role of journalists exclusively as detached, neutral, emotionless observers, who only present facts (see for example Chalaby, 1998; Figdor, 2010).
b. The *pragmatists*. Knowing that the ideal of complete objectivity can never be achieved, they propose that the pursuit of it defines good journalistic craftsmanship (Bentele, 2008; Carpentier and Trioen, 2010; Tuchman, 1972; Ward, 2005; Zhang, 2014). Ward (2005), who established the term "Pragmatic Objectivity", considers it "a holistic, fallible, rational evaluation of reports" (Ward, 2005, 300).
c. The *sceptics* argue the impossibility of neutrality and freedom of values and regard the concept of objectivity as inadequate as a journalistic standard (Kaplan, 2002; Muñoz-Torres, 2012). According to them, neutrality is not desirable at all for not taking a stand is basically subjective and helps the powerful (see for example Boudana, 2014; Kellner, 2008; McNair, 2013; Muñoz-Torres, 2012).

The traditional concept of objectivity focussing on neutrality and detachment was already questioned in the Spanish Civil War. U.S. journalist Martha Gellhorn, who supported the Republican side in the conflict, got furious about "all the objectivity shit" (Moorehead, 2004, p. 14). *New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews pleaded for neutrality and distance to be replaced, because "in condemning bias one rejects the only factors which really matter – honesty, understanding and thoroughness" (quoted in Knightley, 2003, pos. 4076). In doing so, they anticipated a concept that is discussed today: in the 1990s, Rosen demanded "properly attached" instead of "properly detached" journalists (quoted in Arant and Meyer, 1998, p. 216). In the post 9/11 era, Tumber and Prentoulis (2003, p. 228) see "a paradigmatic shift" in conflict reporting: "from detachment to involvement, from verification to assertion, from objectivity to subjectivity". This is the so-called "journalism of attachment", as coined by the BBC reporter Martin Bell (quoted in Zhang, 2014, 182).

This journalism of attachment can already be identified in the Spanish Civil War, even though there was no name for it at the time (Gellhorn, July 17, 1937, January 15, 1938; Cowles, October 26, 1937; Marchant, March 01, 1937). Many female reporters did also explicitly take a political position because for them it was clear from which side the injustice emanated (Karmasin et al., 2017).

Therefore, we consider a certain degree of partiality legitimate. There is a wide range of attitudes from (sincere) sympathy to (truth-distorting) partisanship: "Absolute propaganda and total professionalism are, of course, polarities on a continuum with many graduations" (Deacon, 2008a, p. 402). In our understanding, it is not the bias that is decisive, but the way it is handled. We advocate a pragmatic and flexible understanding of objectivity which does not exclude bias but demands the adherence to journalistic values.

The text analysis was carried out in two parts. The first part was to determine Gaffney's bias. The second part of the text analysis examined Gaffney's articles for compliance with widely recognised core journalistic standards. The results of both parts were then studied in relation to each other.

The research questions are:

1. How is Gaffney's partiality reflected in her articles?
2. Were essential journalistic standards met?
3. Which connections between partiality and journalistic quality can be identified?

We formulated two research hypotheses:

- H1. Gertrude Gaffney, in accordance with the editorial line of the *Irish Independent*, showed sympathy for General Franco and the Nationalists in her coverage.
- H2. Her partiality does not necessarily mean poor journalism. Decisive is the handling of the bias and the sincere effort to give a truthful account of the events.

3. Methodology

3.1. Sources

This paper is part of a comprehensive study on female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War. Biographical details of the war correspondents as well as their professional and personal experiences were researched and examined in numerous international archives, see Table 1.

Table 1. Research in international archives

Archive
Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca
Spain archives – Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance, Vienna
Imperial War Museum, London
Liddell Hart Military Archives – King's College, London
University of Warwick Library, Warwick
Institut für Zeitungsforschung (Institute for Newspaper Research), Dortmund
Russian State Archive for Socio-Political History (RGASPI), Moscow
Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Moscow
International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
Schlesinger Library, Harvard University
The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin
Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford
Library of Congress, Washington DC

This study is based on a qualitative text analysis from a total of 23 articles, divided into two series, written by Gertrude Gaffney as "Special Correspondent" after her two trips to Spain during the Civil War. The articles were published daily from the 22nd of February to the 8th of March 1937, with the title of the series being "In War-torn Spain", and from the 25th of October to the 4th of November 1937. The articles can be assigned to the genre of reportage which combines information with a description of literary style (Yanes Mesa, 2004) and where facts and news are embedded in on-the-scene reporting, personal experience and emotions (Meier, 2019b). Only the last article on the 4th of November was not in the style of a reportage, but explicitly a personal summary and assessment of the situation in Spain. Some passages from her regular column "Leaves from A Woman's Diary" that refer to the Spanish Civil War were not included in the analysis because they do not correspond to the type of war reporting in the narrower sense.

The articles were all downloaded as pdf-files from the online archive of the *Irish Independent* on the platform irishnewsarchive.com and were transcribed by the authors. For a complete list of the articles see Table 2.

Table 2. List of Spanish Civil War articles written by "Special Correspondent" Gertrude Gaffney in the *Irish Independent*

Month day 1937	Title	Page no.	Extension in words (without title and subtitles)
Feb. 22	In War-Torn Spain (I.). Over France's Frontier	6	2135
Feb. 23	In War-Torn Spain (II.). Charmss of Beautiful Basque Country	6	2166
Feb. 24	In War-Torn Spain (III.). Flight from Fury of Reds	7	3005
Feb. 25	In War-Torn Spain (IV.). Historic Salamanca Visited	6	2184
Feb. 26	In War-Torn Spain (V.). A Motor Break-down	6	2406
Feb. 27	In War-Torn Spain (VI.). We are attacked by Reds	6	3742

March 1	In War-Torn Spain (VII.). With the Irish Brigades in Caceres	6	2426
March 2	In War-Torn Spain (VIII.). Spirit of the Irish Brigade	6	2453
March 3	In War-Torn Spain (IX.). Irish Brigade's Day of Joy	6	2478
March 4	In War-Torn Spain (X.). A Struggle to the Death	6	2281
March 5	In War-Torn Spain (XI.). General Franco's Motto is Business as Usual	6	2252
March 6	In War-Torn Spain (XII.). I Reach the Suburbs of Madrid	6	2478
March 8	In War-Torn Spain (XIII.). In a Land the Godless Left Desolate	7	2281
Oct. 25	I Cross the French Frontier at Irun	9	1700
Oct. 26	Peace and Plenty in Nationalist Spain	7	1405
Oct. 27	Up to the Front Line among the Mountains	6	1621
Oct. 28	Nationalist Guns Go into Action	5	1388
Oct. 29	Prisoners of General Franco	6	1757
Oct. 30	Ruined Bridges of War-Torn Spain	9	2561
Nov. 1	Flag that Marked Army's Drive	7	1685
Nov. 2	A Narrow Escape from Red Fire	8	2601
Nov. 3	Unpleasantly Close to the Reds	7	2253
Nov. 4	A War to Save Spain for Spain	5	1945

3.2. Qualitative content analysis

For the evaluation of the coverage, qualitative content analysis as a "research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278) was applied. The analysis was carried out by the authors through meticulous reading. Support by digital programs was deliberately omitted.

The qualitative analysis consisted of two parts:

Part 1. Determination of partiality: the articles were examined for perceptible characteristics which express partiality such as blaming, heroisation, demonisation of a warring party, as well as the labelling of the warring parties[5] which in the context of the Spanish Civil War could give clear indications of the political attitude (Beevor, 2006; Deacon, 2008b; Preston, 2008) . The selection of these patterns was based on a first test reading considering relevant studies of discourse analysis, in particular *Análisis del Discurso Ideológico* by van Dijk (1996) and the scheme of war and peace journalism by Galtung (2003).

Table 3. Characteristics expressing partiality for Nationalists or Republicans

BLAMING	DEMONISATION	HEROISATION	IDENTIFICATION	LABELLING
Blaming one side for origins and consequences of the conflict.	Generalised condemnation of one side as criminals, plunderers, godless, murderers, etc.	Explicit admiration of personalities or groups from one side and their heroic deeds	Perception of the warring parties as "we" and the "enemy", e.g. through expressions such as "enemy troops" or titles that emphasise the belonging together, e.g. "We are Attacked by Reds".	Naming of the warring parties, e.g. *Republicans*, *Reds*; *Nationalists*, *Patriots*, *Francoists* (includes combined terms such as *Red troops*, *Franco zone*…). Only expressions referring to a side as a whole and not to individual political groups were recorded.

Part 2. To establish the definite categories to be applied to Gaffney's work, we followed Meier's Matrix on Journalism Quality (Meier, 2019a), which highlights three key values – independence, truth/facticity, relevance (see also Deuze, 2005). We adapted the associated criteria for our investigation. The next step was to define what they mean exactly in our context. In contrast to comparable studies, such as the one by González Gorosarri (2017), which examines the ob-

[5] Only terms that refer to an entire warring side and not to individual political groups were included.

servance of objectivity as a journalistic method, we do not take impartiality or neutrality as a basic value.

1. *Relevance* examines the importance of the news, the originality of the news angle, and the embedding of the information as well as the efforts of attractive storytelling and appropriate journalistic role perception.
2. *Facticity* evaluates the efforts of enquiry and transparency following criteria such as the quality and diversity of sources as well as their verification and information on the circumstances of the research.
3. *Independence*. We understand independence as being open-minded. We set criteria such as displaying autonomy in the choice of topics, showing diversity representing different perspectives on the conflict, handling partiality in a transparent way and discussing official narratives.

The analysis was carried out according to the following evaluation template (see Table 4).

Table 4. Evaluation sheet – journalistic main values

Value RELEVANCE	**Criteria: Originality, contextualisation, and attractiveness of the story**		
Does the audience benefit from reading the article in terms of knowledge enhancement, orientation and engaging, comprehensible narration?			
a. Focus & embedding. Is the article characterised by a special approach that goes beyond a mere news report? Such as detailed background information on military aspects, international dimension, consequences of war etc. and/or a special news angle?			
o Yes/predominantly	o Partly	o No	
b. Attractive narration. How was the information processed and presented? - Is there an individual voice perceptible (instead of unified, stereotype narrative)? - Does the length of the article seem adequate in relation to the information presented (as opposed to lengthy)? - Is the reading stimulating and does it meet widely accepted requirements such as a gripping teaser, an engaging introduction, ancedotes, liveley presentation? - Does the article have a comprehensible structure?			
o Yes (at least 3 of 4)	o Partly	o No	
c. Adequate Role Perception. Does the journalist stay in the background as a narrator or does she use personal experiences in a decent way to illustrate the war and its consequences to her readers? (In contrast to playing the role of a protagonist in her own story.)			
o Yes	o Partly	o No	
Value FACTICITY	**Criteria: Reliability and transparency of enquiry?**		
How well is the presented information documented?			
d. Sources. Is the origin of information transparent and are there references to different and diverse (official, independent, eyewitness) sources?			
o Yes, various, and diverse	o Partly	o No	
e. Placing into perspective: Is the reliability of sources discussed and/or is reference made to their possible partiality?			
o Yes	o Partly	o No	
f. Clear circumstances. Does it become clear in the article with whom, when and where the journalist is?			
o Yes/predominantly	o Partly	o No	
Value INDEPENDENCE	**Criteria: Open-mindedness and autonomy**		
Are there any clear efforts to distance herself from the official narrative and the personal bias, and to develop independent perspectives/considerations?			
g. Independent topics. Is it possible to recognise independent choice of topics and of research in the article (in contrast to an officially accompanied trip without recognisable attempts to distance herself)?			
o Yes	o Partly	o No	
h. Diversity – different perspectives. Are there any attempts at a differentiated representation of the events of the war from different perspectives, such as referring to Nationalist and Republican side; to civilian and military aspects; to the heterogeneity of the Republican side/ the Nationalist side; to different front sections telling different stories; to the range of gender roles, etc.			
o Yes, various from own enquiry and witnessing	o Partly	o No	
i. Dealing with official propaganda. Are official positions and narratives critically discussed (in contrast to adopted without reflection)?			
o Yes	o Partly	o No	- Not referred to

4. Results: Gaffney's Coverage of the Spanish Civil War

4.1. The dimension of partiality

Gaffney's articles are characterised by her partisanship for the Nationalists (see Table 5).

- Blaming: In not a single one of her texts did Gaffney even mention a possible question of guilt of Franco and the Nationalists, but she repeatedly referred to the responsibility of the Republicans and their allies for origin and continuation of the war.
- Demonisation: In even more articles, 10 in total, Republicans are generally associated with devastation and/or looting.
- Heroisation: The heroisation of individual personalities and groups within the nationalists was a focus of Gaffney's reporting. In 11 articles, Gaffney emphasised her admiration for General Franco and other "war heroes" like General Aranda, and highlighted Franco's allies' "deeds".
- Identification: There is hardly any formal distance between Gaffney and the Franco side. The Republicans are the "enemy", she sees herself as an ally of the Nationalists.
- Labelling of the warring parties: Gertrude Gaffney referred in almost all of her articles to the Republicans as "Reds". This is a clearly pejorative term mainly used in the beginning of the war by other journalists (Deacon, 2008a, 129). For Franco's side, she primarily used the rather neutral "Nationalists" and sometimes the strongly positively

connoted terms “Patriots” and “Whites” which seem to legitimise the uprising of the military, without further argumentation being necessary. Gaffney also used the name “Franco” very often, but mostly referred to the General’s person and not to Francoists in general. For example, while other authors wrote about “Franco territory” (e.g. Cowles, October 17, 1937), Gaffney referred to “Franco’s territory”. A reference to the great admiration she felt for Franco.

How this partiality affected the quality of her reporting is illustrated in more detail by the analysis of the main values. For an overview of the results see Table 5.

Table 5. Results of partialiy and journalistic quality analysis

Date	Characteristics expressing partiality						Journalistic quality. Features identifyable (Yes; Partly; No; - no ref)**								
Month day 1937	Blaming of	Demonisation of	Heroisation of	Identification with	Labelling Republican side*	Labelling Nationalist side*	Relevance			Facticity			Indepen-dence		
Series 1							a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
Feb. 22	-	-	-	-	Reds	Nationalists, Patriots	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	P
Feb. 23	-	-	Nationalists	-	Reds	Nationalists, Patriots	P	P	P	P	N	P	N	P	N
Feb. 24	-	Republicans	Nationalists	Nationalists	Republicans, Reds	Nationalists	P	P	N	P	N	P	N	N	N
Feb. 25	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	-	Nationalists, Patriots	P	P	N	P	P	Y	N	N	N
Feb. 26	-	-	-	-	-	-	N	P	N	P	N	Y	N	N	-
Feb. 27	-	Republicans	-	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	N	P	N	P	N	P	P	N	-
March 1	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	-	P	P	P	P	N	Y	Y	P	N
March 2	-	-	Nationalists	Natinonalists	Reds	-	P	P	P	P	N	Y	Y	P	N
March 3	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	-	N	N	N	P	N	P	P	N	N
March 4	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	P	P	Y	N	N	N	N	P	N
March 5	-	Republicans	-	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	P	P	N	P	N	P	P	N	N
March 6	-	Republicans	-	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	P	Y	N	P	N	P	N	N	P
March 8	-	Republicans	-	Nationalists	Reds, Godless	Nationalists	N	P	N	P	N	Y	N	N	N
Series 2															
Oct. 25	Republicans	Republicans	-	-	Reds	Whites, Francoists	N	P	P	P	N	P	N	P	N
Oct. 26	-	-	-	-	Reds	Nationalists	N	P	P	P	N	P	N	N	N
Oct. 27	-	Republicans	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	Whites, Francoists	P	P	N	P	N	P	N	N	N
Oct. 28	-	-	-	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	N	-
Oct. 29	-	Republicans	-	-	Reds	Nationalists, Whites	N	P	P	P	N	P	N	N	N
Oct. 30	Republicans	Republicans	-	-	Reds	Nationalists, Whites	P	P	Y	P	N	P	N	P	N
Nov. 1	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists	N	P	P	P	N	P	N	N	N
Nov. 2	-	-	Nationalists	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists, Whites	P	P	N	P	N	P	N	N	-
Nov. 3	-	Republicans	-	Nationalists	Reds	Nationalists, Francoists	N	N	N	P	N	P	N	P	N
Nov. 4	Republicans	-	Nationalists	-	Reds	Whites	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	N	P	N

4.2. Evaluation of main values

The presence of various characteristics referring to “Relevance”, “Facticity” and “Independence” as key values of journalistic quality was asked for. None of these could be identified as a continuous feature (which would have corresponded to a predominant evaluation with “yes”), at best they were “partly” present.

What does that mean in detail?

4.2.1. Relevance

Gaffney was travelling in a country unknown to most Irish people and of little importance to them. The topics followed her trip chronologically and focussed on the journalist’s experiences on the road which is also illustrated by many titles: “We are attacked by Reds” (Gaffney, February 27, 1937); “I Reach the Suburbs of Madrid” (Gaffney, March 06, 1937), “I Cross the Frontier at Irún” (Gaffney, October 25, 1937).

Always using her personal experiences as a framework, Gaffney gave account of what she saw of the Civil War and of what she was told, mixing civilian and military facets. She tried to attract her readers’ interest with comparisons between the Irish and Spanish way of life. In her first article she compared the women in both countries and wondered why Spanish women stayed at home even in times of war: “To us it would seem but natural that women should go into jobs and relieve all those men for arms“ (Gaffney, February 22, 1937). In her account of the war, she described “villages of wrecked and burned houses” (Gaffney, March 05, 1937); she spoke about Franco’s strategies (Gaffney, February 22, 1937, February 24, 1937) and why “Red Soldiers Failed to Stop Advance” (Gaffney, October 30, 1937). She reported the presence of German soldiers in Franco’s headquarter (Gaffney, February 25, 1937) and she observed prisoners of war building roads (Gaffney, October 29, 1937). While her

first series showed a certain variety of topics, depending on what she eoncoutered along the way, the second series in the autumn of 1937 focused solely on military aspects and her experiences on the Asturian front. In both series, often broader context and background knowledge are missing.

A special focus was put on Gaffney's visit to the Irish Brigades of volunteers in Cáceres. Three full articles (Gaffney, March 01, 1937, March 02, 1937, March 03, 1937), out of a total of 13 from her first series, were dedicated to this rather insignificant group in the Spanish Civil War (Soler Parício, 2013). Of course, the Irish had an understandable and legitimate interest in the fate of their compatriots, but the descriptions of the good living conditions, the praise of their military discipline and piety were not only lengthy but bore "little resemblance to contemporary accounts of the Irishmen in Spain" (McGarry, 2002, p. 81). It was more likely aimed to show a united Irish nation by highlighting how Irish volunteers who belonged to different political fronts reconciled in Spain, rather than a complex picture of the Civil War.

Another problem related to the relevance of Gaffney's reporting is her own position: she was not only the observer and narrator; she was the protagonist of her stories. She often spoke only about her personal experiences and made little reference to the war and its impact on the country. The editorial mandate had been to give an account "through a woman's eye"[6], which meant the coverage had to have a soft edge. Gaffney implemented it with touristic chit chat, as she decided to "make no apology for going into what may seem to many trivial details" (Gaffney, February 22, 1937). In her reporting war became a kind of travel destination and her tone inappropriate, almost cynical, for instance describing the "colourful medley of uniforms" which were for the foreigner the "most picturesque and astonishing aspect of this Civil War" (Gaffney, February 22, 1937).

4.2.2. Facticity

In this category, the diversity of the sources and their reliability as well as the information on Gaffney's research conditions were examined. Gaffney's sources came only from the Nationalist side and very often remained anonymous, therefore the category "sources" was only rated "partly" throughout. Phrases such as "I was told"; "you hear"; "the man in the street"; "a person of some authority" were repeatedly the most important reference regarding her sources (Gaffney, February 22, 1937, February 23, 1937, February 24, 1937, March 06, 1937, October 26, 1937). Her official escorts were probably important sources, but she referred to them only occasionally as "a Requeté" or "the Captain", with no more detail.

Moreover, she did not reflect at all the partiality of her sources.

Only once Gaffney complained about the difficulty in getting "authentic news" (Gaffney, February 25, 1937). In part, this lack of sources was mitigated by her status as an eyewitness, but she could not replace qualified and diverse sources, a circumstance which she did not reflect in her texts. Accordingly, her conclusions followed official explanations or repeated stereotypes. When Gaffney, for instance, saw destroyed houses, which were a recurring image in her stories, these devastations were exclusively attributed to the "Reds" on the retreat (see for example Gaffney, March 05, 1937, March 06, 1937, March 08, 1937, October 27, 1937, October 30, 1937). However, she never saw any Republicans burning or plundering houses. The only Republicans she saw were "contented prisoners" of Franco, looking "bronzed, healthy, well-fed" (Gaffney, October 29, 1937). Without citing a source she stated that, depending on the nature of their level of commitment on the Republican side, the prisoners were either released immediately or sent to prison, or in case of "clear evidence of the terrible crimes that have been perpetrated under the Red regime" received a public trial with "able counsel for the defense" (Gaffney, October 29, 1937). Without questioning anything, she accepted both the murders of "so many innocent people" by the Republicans and the fairness of the trial they received as facts.

From today's perspective, it is impossible to verify the accuracy of much of the information about occurrences along the way. Nevertheless, the fact that background information about the war was often not based on facts but twisted according to Gaffney's own wishes can still be shown today. Following the Nationalists's propaganda, she wrote that Franco long refused "to accept proffered outside help" but was finally forced to, due to international support for the Republic (Gaffney, February 24, 1937). However, only few days after the coup, the rebels asked for and received help from Mussolini and Hitler (Beevor, 2006, 152–55; Graham, 2008, 45).

4.2.3. Independence

The question here was Gaffney's willingness to reflect on her own partiality, to show personal initiative by presenting own topics, different perspectives, and distance from official propaganda. Such attempts can only be identified in few cases. The story Gaffney told about the war was simple: order and chaos, good and evil, God and demon faced each other in Spain. Thus, she followed the narratives of the Nationalists (Pérez Bowie 1988; Pérez Ledesma 2006; Pizarroso Quintero 2005).

On one day Gaffney could enjoy the "Charms of Beautiful Basque Country" (February 23, 1937) held by Franco, the next day she felt pity for refugees on their "Flight from Fury of the Reds" (Gaffney, Feb-

[6] So her series were promoted by the *Irish Independent* in other newspapers, see e.g. In War-Torn Spain (February 23, 1937, Evening Herald).

ruary 24, 1937). The stories "Historic Salamanca Visited" (Gaffney, February 25, 1937) and "Motor Break-Down" (Gaffney, February 26, 1937) which had a strong touristic component were followed by the war adventure story "We are Attacked by Reds" (Gaffney, February 27, 1937).

This dichotomy of dark and light, black and white, was systematically continued in the articles without changing the perspective. The characteristics of the Nationalists' discourse, disguising rhetoric and simplifying stereotyping of reality (Pérez Bowie 1988, 364), are clearly perceptible in her coverage. This pattern is even reinforced by the religious context in which Gaffney placed the conflict. While discovering a "biblical flavour" in Nationalist street life (Gaffney, February 24, 1937), and praising the Irish Brigades' fight "For the Faith" already in a sub-headline (Gaffney, March 02, 1937), Gaffney refers to the Republicans as "Godless" and "mad demons" (Gaffney, March 08, 1937) who let their rage of destruction run free.

Gaffney argued only from the point of view of the Nationalists in which the "Reds" were the enemies as the analysis of partiality also revealed. Her reporting was dominated by the "us-them" pattern that is characteristic in Galtung's definition (2003) of warmongering "war journalism" (in contrast to "peace journalism"). It makes the out-group "them" a problem, dehumanises "them" and raises its own voice propagandistically for "us". Whereby "us" in the case of the Irish journalist are the Spanish Nationalists with whom she herself identified.

The main values applied here were taken over from Meier (2019a) as mentioned above. They are widely recognised and considered as indispensable in the international academic debate on journalistic quality (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2014; Deuze, 2005). Moreover, they were already accepted in Gaffney's time. In the 1920s, they were acknowledged as decisive for journalism by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (Kaplan, 2006, 181) and also discussed in Europe where Bücher (1926) called for independence and incorruptibility in reporting. Until today, they are essential in quality journalism.

Regarding this international debate, Gaffney's articles lack relevance due to little background knowledge and the focus on herself. The processing and contextualisation of information to give the audience orientation would have been crucial (Teramo, 2006). Attractive storytelling, including features such as gripping teasers, engaging introductions, comprehensibility, and lively presentation (Haller, 2008; Yanes Mesa, 2004), is important in the genre of reportage. However, Gaffney hardly changes narrative perspective or scenes, her descriptions often seem monotonous, her dry humour seldom shines through, and not always in adequate places. She also rarely quotes sources in direct speech, not even indirectly, which would have been not only beneficial for the narration but essential for the facticity. Just as the attempt to achieve independence, even if neutrality is not demanded. However, open-mindedness and autonomy in research and topic setting, as well as reflecting and managing the own bias (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2014, 128) are indispensable. In contrast, Gaffney's efforts to achieve at least a certain autonomy are only rudimentary.

5. Discussion: Comparing Gaffney's war reporting with female colleagues

Our initial hypotheses were:

- H1. Gertrude Gaffney, in accordance with the editorial line of the *Irish Independent*, showed great sympathy for General Franco and the Nationalists in her coverage.
- H2. This partiality does not necessarily mean poor journalism. Decisive is the handling of the bias and the sincere effort to give a truthful account of the events.

As the results of the analysis show, H1 is clearly confirmed. Gaffney's reporting shows an obvious bias.

Regarding H2, the findings reveal that in this case high partiality is accompanied by rather poor journalistic quality. Gertrude Gaffney neglected journalistic standards, such as an open-minded choice of topics, own initiative in research, and diversity of sources. Not every weakness has to be due to partiality, but some of it may be owed to a lack of journalistic competence as for example the scarce background knowledge and the often lengthy-writing style. Nonetheless, a substantial part can be attributed to partisanship.

That a differentiated reporting would have been possible was proven by her female colleague Virginia Cowles (Cowles, October 17, 1937, October 20, 1937, January 09, 1938). The U.S. journalist was the only woman who reported from both sides of the front; she doubted official versions and made inquiry more transparent, not only in her later published memoirs (Cowles, 2011a, 2011b) but already in her articles (Cowles, October 17, 1937, January 09, 1938, April 10, 1938). While Gaffney pointed to the well-fed prisoners of war who could expect fair trials (Gaffney, October 29, 1937), Cowles reported summary trials in which most of the accused were sentenced to death (Cowles, January 09, 1938). Following the rhetoric of the Francoists (see Pérez Bowie, 1988), Gaffney stressed the harmony of the heterogeneous Nationalist union of Falangists, Requetés, Monarchists, Catholics (Gaffney, November 4, 1937). In contrast, Cowles recognised: "While the dissenting views of Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists… have been widely publicized, little is known of the wide discords in the Franco ranks" (Cowles, January 09, 1938).

Even female journalists who kept a less critical distance than Cowles, such as the American Martha Gellhorn or the English Hilde Marchant, showed more professionalism than Gaffney. Gellhorn had clearly taken sides for the Republicans, while Marchant reported with empathy from Madrid but did not take an open political stand. The works of both of them (Marchant, March 01, 1937, March 05, 1937; Gellhorn, July 17, 1937, January 15, 1938) are characterised by something that Gaffney's texts lack: the sincere interest and sympathy for the civilian population. Like Gaffney, they wrote their articles in the first person. This was nothing unusual even for male war reporters at the time, but with female correspondents the inclusion of the author was particularly emphasised. Since women were usually kept away from the front and all military concerns, it was already a story that they made it to war. They were expected to give a certain human touch to her stories (Lugschitz and Kraus, 2020; Deacon, 2008a; Jackson, 2010).

Both Gaffney and Marchant, as well as other female colleagues such as the US-American Josephine Herbst, were to write their articles from a "woman's angle" (Sebba, 2013, 91) at the explicit wish of their editors, which was then highlighted accordingly on publication (Lugschitz, 2019). "Girl from Madrid to Tell All She Saw" (February 27, 1937), is how the *Daily Express* advertised Marchant's reportages. Female war correspondents were part of the story. Nevertheless, most of them played the role of a committed observer and not of the protagonist (Gellhorn, July 17, 1937, April 02, 1938; Marchant, March 01, 1937, March 02, 1937, March 05, 1937).

6. Conclusion

The qualitative content analysis of the 23 articles published by Gertrude Gaffney in two series about the Spanish Civil War reveals evident shortcomings for all three journalistic values examined here. The following patterns could be identified:

Concerning *relevance*, she sought to be close to the audience but gave too much space to Irish volunteers and provided little background knowledge on the conflict. Even though her reportages were intended to have the character of personal travel reports, there would have been space for relevant information. In gathering information, she relied on official, often unspecified sources and showed hardly any initiative to conduct her own research, which has a decisive negative impact on the *facticity* of her work. Throughout her coverage, there is no clearly identifiable attempt to present perspectives different to those of the Nationalists and to doubt official versions of the warfare that would have been indispensable for the value of journalistic *independence*.

The comparison of Gaffney's reporting with that of Cowles, Gellhorn and Marchant highlights these deficiencies, which are mainly due to the way she dealt with her partiality, and to her self-conception as a reporter, which made her adventures the focus of the stories. Gaffney is neither *properly detached* like Virginia Cowles nor *properly attached* like Gellhorn or Marchant. Instead, she subordinated her journalistic work to the politics of the Nationalists. As a propagandist and protagonist, she remained on the fringes of the actual events of the war, in which she seemed to take little interest.

Gaffney's political background and the unprofessional way she dealt with her bias obstructed an open view on what was happening, which led to poor journalistic work. Therefore, the readers of the *Irish Independent*, the largest Irish daily newspaper at that time, received a very limited and distorted picture of the Spanish Civil War.

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