The Coverage of the Spanish Civil War by the *New York Times* from July 1, 1936, to January 1, 1937

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THE COVERAGE OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR
BY THE NEW YORK TIMES FROM
JULY 1, 1936, TO JANUARY 1, 1937.

by

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Purpose

The purpose was to determine whether the New York Times was fair and unprejudiced in its presentation of the news concerning the Spanish Civil war during the first six months of the conflict.
Method

The survey of the New York Times handling of the Spanish Civil war was done by a day to day study of the amount and kind of news it printed on the war during the period from July 1, 1936, to January 1, 1937. Most of the information used was in the form of headlines, as they give an index to the kind of news that was printed under them.
It is fairly certain at this later date that the revolution in Spain was not a spontaneous affair, engendered perhaps by the murder of Beatriz Calvo Sotelo, but had been planned with some degree of concerted thought. There was, however, a series of incidents in Spain which led up rather naturally to the outbreak of hostilities. These received sparse in The New York Times throughout the first half of July. Since an attempt to search out the news of the actual war first read in Times columns on July 1936.

On July 18, the Times reported the first news of revolt in a front page headline in columns six and seven which read, "Tear Down Service with Spain shut off; Gibraltar fears of revolt in Cartagena." Five short stories followed, datelined Paris, London, Madrid, Gibraltar and Lisbon, detailing only nine column inches and containing tales of outbreaks and incidents.

The following day, July 19, the revolution took top notice in the paper with a two-column spread of three Times, reading, "Spain Checks Army Rising as Moroco Forces Rebel; a City in Africa Bombed." Following this were six more and the story was dropped into column eight, running 23 inches, and was followed by seven short stories, each bearing a different dateline

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It is fairly certain at this later date that the revolution in Spain was not a spontaneous affair, engendered perhaps by the murder of Fascist Calvo Sotelo, but had been planned with some degree of concerted thought. There was, however, a series of incidents in Spain which led up rather naturally to the outbreak of hostilities. These received space in the New York Times throughout the first half of July. Since an attempt to search out the real cause of the revolt would mean going back much further than July 1, this analysis begins with news of the actual war, first found in Times columns on July 18th.

On July 18, the Times reported the first rumors of revolt in a front page headline in columns six and seven which read, "Telephone Service with Spain Shut Off; Gibraltar hears of Revolt in Cartagenas." Five short stories followed, datelined Paris, London, Madrid, Gibraltar and Lisbon, totalling only nine column inches and confirming tales of outbreaks and incidents.

The following day, July 19, the revolution took top notice in the paper with a two-column spread of three lines, reading, "Spain Checks Army Rising as Morocco Forces Rebel; 2 Cities in Africa Bombed." Following this were six banks and the story was dropped into column eight, running 22 inches, and was followed by seven short stories, each bearing a different dateline.
and dealing with some separate phase of the trouble. In Times style, each of these seven shorter stories, totaling 21 inches of space, bore a barline head, in the common manner of subheads. This practice was followed throughout the period of study.

One general headline accounted for the day's choicest bit of news, in Times opinion, of course, or perhaps for two or even three of the best items, while the abundant banks served to give front page notice to many other items, too numerous to be contained on page one. Thus, the main Times headline and banks took care of all the stories which received barline mention under the lead story as well as of many other inside-page stories, which, however, received two or three line, one column heads of their own.

Thus, on July 19 there were in the Times besides the eight datelined stories mentioned above, all collected under one headline, four stories out of Morocco on page 24, column one, grouped under one two-line head, with three banks, totaling $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches of space, plus two other stories, totaling 17 inches, one of which was a diagnosis of the standing army's strength and position by H. E. Knoblaugh, a correspondent just returned from Spain. Besides this, the Times carried 15 column inches of a map highspotting the news centers in Spain and Morocco and 24 inches of pictures of Moroccan key cities.

Of the 14 stories used on July 19, three were by
Times correspondents and 11 were Associated Press dispatches. Four were out of Madrid, two of which were written by Times staff men and two by Associated Press reporters. Another such duplication occurred in the case of two Paris stories. This practice was followed throughout the period of study, and in most cases, the two stories were carried one after the other, and as often as not the AP story took precedence.

As might be expected the early dispatches out of Spain itself gave the edge to the established government, because the dissenting party always has the burden of proof. But after the rebel force took definite shape and proved itself the Times became eminently fair to both factions. Of course, much of the important news emanated from Madrid, while the rebels at first had no organized methods of communication with the outside world and their doings and ideas had to be reported from hearsay of refugees fleeing into France and Gibraltar. It is to be expected that the Madrid reports, since most of them were written from radio broadcasts, would be biased, if for no other reason than to keep the country from a state of terror and lawlessness. Thus the July 19 Madrid reports all insisted that the city was quiet, that the revolt in the army had been crushed and that armed forces had been dispatched to Morocco to kill the revolt at its core. However, the dispatch from Hendaye, France, a border town, insisted that war was
rife in Spain itself. The Italian ambassador to Spain concurred with this opinion in a report from France, where he happened to be at the time, while the four reports from Morocco stated that Spanish Morocco was completely in rebel hands and that censorship had even been set up already.

Knoblaugh's article on the Spanish army did not of course favor the rebels, because they were not an organized force at the time he was in Spain, but he did blame the government for the trouble. He says:

"Evidences of unrest have increased steadily with the government's failure to check disorders that have kept Spain in turmoil since the February elections, taking a heavy toll of life and property..... The unrest in the army has grown as the government steadfastly refused to declare a state of war and let troops handle the rioters.... Between 200 and 300 persons have been killed, more than 1,000 have been wounded and millions of dollars worth of damage, principally to churches and Rightist-owned property, has been done in a wave of rioting and incendiarism."


The total space, exclusive of headlines, devoted to the Spanish situation on July 19 was 116\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches.

July 20, 1936, was practically a repetition of the day before, except that it was on a larger scale as more information was available and the war took definite shape. It received a total of 143\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches of space,
headed by a three-column, three-line head with six banks, dropping into column eight on page one. The head read, "Rebels Gain in South Spain; Civil War Rages in Cities; Two Madrid Cabinets Fall", and the lead story came out of Lisbon, Portugal, telling of rebel successes. Of 13 datelines used, six were by Times men and seven by the Associated Press. Again conflicting reports came from both sides. Madrid claimed all was calm despite two quick changes of cabinet and a street search for suspicious persons, while Francisco Franco, the rebel leader averred that all uprisings in Spain had been successful. The war by radio, as reported in a dispatch from Paris, only served further to confuse the issue. Each side attempted to gain converts by glowing broadcast propaganda.

On July 21 the Times devoted 214 inches of its space to the Spanish war. Its main headline, a three-column, three-line affair, took the favored page one spot, dropping the lead story, a Madrid dispatch, into column eight. The headline read, "Revolt in Madrid Crushed; Fighting in Other Cities; Armed Masses Aiding Cabinet." Again all of the 23 stories pertaining to the war favored the government except those emanating from Morocco where the rebels were in full control. However, the Times carried an editorial that, while it did not directly favor the revolt, at least put the blame for it upon the government. It said in part:
"Socialists, impatient with the slowness of parliamentary procedure and desirous of forcing the government further and further to the Left, encouraged direct action to advance their aims and frustrate reaction. Burning of churches, attacks on priests and nuns, the seizure of lands and strikes impairing the public services of cities and towns became so frequent that objective foreign correspondents began to refer to "terror sweeping Spain". The Cabinet would not or dared not repress these manifestations.

"This 'surrender' by the republic to the 'disintegrating revolutionary forces' is the essence of the justification put forward by those now seeking to overthrow the Government."


"Rebels Win in North Spain And March Toward Madrid Where Red Rule Impends", was the headline topping page one on July 22 and the story under it dropped into column eight. The first five datelines, all confirmed reports of rebel mainland successes in the north, even claiming that the rebels were but 35 miles from Madrid. Three of these were from points in France while one came from rebel forces in Vera, Spain, and the other reported the setting up of a Red committee in Madrid and emanated from that city. Other reports from the Spanish capital and Barcelona, however, claimed success for government forces. There were 27 datelines used and a total of 205 inches, 45 of which were devoted to pictures and 12 to a map.

July 23, the rebels received top mention again, this time in a story from Hendaye, France, topped by a four
column spread of three lines, reading, "Rebel Successes Reported in Spain; Checked in Madrid Drive However; Consuls Tell of Americans in Peril." The first five datelines under this head told in three instances of rebel successes while the other two told of an undecided battle for the northern seaport of San Sebastian. The government reports numbered but four, but were none the less emphatic in stating that everything was under control. From this time on, the Times devoted much space to the movements undertaken by foreign powers to evacuate their citizens from troubled areas. There were 25 datelines used on July 23 and a total of 219 inches of space devoted to the war and events developing from it. Of this space, 46 inches was given over to pictures of representative troops of both sides and to a map of centers of the day's news.

On July 24, the Times gave the Spanish war, column one of page one with a three-line, two column head that read, "Madrid Defenders Win a New Victory, Taking Offensive". The first three stories favored the government, emanating as they did from Madrid and allied Barcelona. But there were reb dispatches too, that claimed success. Throughout the period of study, it might be said, the Times referred to the Madrid forces as Loyalists or Leftists and to the revolting troops as Rightists, Insurgents or Rebels although at rare times the former were called Reds and the latter Fascists.
Elements in the Madrid government set-up were referred to at times as Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, Anarchists and Marxists. The total amount of space given to the war and connected incidents on July 24 was 203 inches, 40½ of which were pictures and a map.

Thus the war went on and the Times maintained its eminent fairness. On July 25, 241 column inches were devoted to the conflict, 40½ being pictures and a map. There were 35 datelined stories used and the Madrid forces received top mention under a three-column, three-line front page head, "Rebels' March on Madrid Stopped 36 Miles Away; Seville's Fall Reported".

On July 26, the Madrid government received top mention again under a three-line, three-column front page head, dropping into column eight, which read, "Rebels Lose Their Fight in South; Halt Their Push on Madrid; Retain 28 of 50 Provinces." A total of 281 inches was given to the situation, with an increasing amount of space given daily to allied incidents, such as tales of escape and terror by foreign refugees and the actual work of evacuation itself. But the balance of fairness was always present, as both sides of the conflict were reported. Twenty-five inches of the above space was given to pictures and to a map. There were 33 different stories used. The 26th of July was a Sunday and the separate editorial section of the Times also devoted much space to the Spanish situation, a total of 218¾ inches being used,
70 of which were in the form of cartoons and pictures. In three articles and a review of the week's news, it was brought out that the war is a class and party war, that the only outcome now is a dictatorship and that it is hard to ascertain the facts of the actual fighting.

"The censorship meant that the approved Government bulletins, which put the best possible face on everything, could be checked only against the reports carried to the borders by refugees, and as is always the case in such matters, these reports were excited indeed."

New York Times, July 26, 1936, Section 4, page 1, col. 2

The July 27 issue saw 171\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches of space for the Spanish conflict, all of which was editorial matter, there being no pictures used. There were 28 datelines and the loyalists received top mention under a three-line one-column head over column eight of page one, which read, "Big Madrid Force Rushed to North; Rebels End Drive."

Madrid dispatches took top rank again on July 28 under a one-column head in column eight, which read, "More Gains Made by Madrid Forces; Toledo Fight Won."

There were 191\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches of space given to the war, 26\(\frac{3}{4}\) of which were pictures and a map. Twenty-nine different stories were used.

On July 29, the *Times* used a four-column, three-line head which broke down into three different stories in columns 5, 6-7, and 8. The main story, in column eight,
told of developments in the capital, Madrid, while the column 5 story told of reb battlefield successes and the column six-seven story told of Barcelona's seize of industrial plans, among them, the Ford and General Motors factories. The headline read, "Spain Orders Churches Confiscated; Control of All Industry Is Decreed; Rebels Advance Steadily on Capital". With 22 datelines used, a total of 167 1/2 inches of space was devoted to the war and attendant incidents, 19 inches of which were maps and pictures.

On July 30, Madrid again received first place, although the story was a concession that the war might be dragged out for a long time. The two-column, three-line head read, "Spanish Armies on Move for Six Major Battles; Madrid Sees a Long Siege". There were 21 datelines and 172 1/2 inches given to reporting events in Spain, 23 of which were pictures and a map. The lead editorial of the day decried the government's suppression of religion as a proof of extremists in command.

The rebels took top mention in column eight, page one, on July 31 under a three-line, three-column headline which read, "Rebels Rush Men to Front for New Drive on Madrid; 2,000 Foes Slain in Ambush." There were 191 1/2 inches of space devoted to the day's history of the war, divided among 20 different stories. Included among them was a 51 inch front page article by novelist Edna Ferber of her experiences in Spain before she was able to escape
across the French border. Thirty-three inches of the total space devoted to the war was of pictures and a map of the day's news centers.

At the close of the month of July, these figures on the Times' coverage of the Spanish Civil war were developed. The total amount of column inches given to the war was 1,747½, of which 528 was in the form of cartoons, pictures and maps. 315 separate stories were used, 154 of which were Associated Press dispatches, one was a reprint from the London Times and the rest were by New York Times correspondents or by special writers.

Eight times in these 13 days of the war the Madrid government received top mention while the rebels' doings and viewpoint received the lead position five times.

On August 1 began a series of stories describing the efforts of foreign powers, France in particular, to attain and maintain neutrality. The headline, a 3-line, four-column affair, read, "France Asks 3-Power Conference for Neutrality in Spanish Crisis; Rebels Advance in Drive on Madrid." The war received 207½ inches of space in 22 stories. There was a total of 53½ inches of pictures and a map.

August 2, 1936, saw a repetition by the Times of the policy followed theretofore in the Spanish situation. A three-line, three-column head read, "Spanish Rebels Now Drive to Capture Ports in North; Madrid Campaign Is Held Up." There followed 207½ inches of material, 4½ of
which was a map. The second of August being a Sunday, there was much space given to the war in the editorial section of the Times also, an even 200 inches, to be exact. This was divided between the weekly review, five articles and 57 inches of pictures. The articles gave the foreign viewpoints on the conflict and the possibility of intervention and spread of the conflict to entire Europe. Also in the Sunday edition was a full page of pictures on page one of section 8, the Roto section. All of these pictures were of loyalists in Madrid preparing and cleaning up after street battles.

August 3 led off with a Madrid story of government wins under a three-line, three-column head, reading, "Three Cities in Spain Fired by Intense Left Bombings; Rebels Advance on Madrid." A front page story also told of reported slayings near Malaga by Red-incited mobs of priests and landowners. The day's total column inches for the war numbered 241\(\frac{3}{4}\), 47\(\frac{3}{4}\) of which were pictures and a map. There were 23 stories printed.

International complications took the spotlight on August 4 when the Times' lead headline, a three-line, three-column affair said, "Reich Warship Blocks Fire of Spanish Ships at Ceuta; Reported Landing Sailors". The rebels' report that deserters were fleeing Madrid and joining the insurgent army at Burgos was carried at the top of column six in a six bank breakdown from the lead headline. There were 230\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches divided among 19 stories
and 88 inches of the space was in pictures.

A three-line, one-column headline at the top of column eight announced on August 5, "Rebels Defeated by 80,000 Leftists in Madrid Passes." There followed 272 inches of war material, 44 of which was in pictures and a map. A total of 26 stories was used.

Again on August 6 the international aspects of the situation received top rank with a three-line, one-column head in column one of page one, which read, "Paris Pushes Curb on Arms for Spain as French Enlist." Twenty-four stories followed, covering 249¾ inches of space, of which 44¼ were devoted to pictures and a map. An editorial sized up the conflict as a European struggle between ideas of government.

The international complications arising out of the war again took top line notice on August 7 with a three-line head in column eight, declaring, "Germans Aroused by Left Shooting of Four in Spain". In column seven of the same page, page one, there was this headline, "111 Priests Put in Prison; More Treasure is Seized," and the following story was datelined Madrid. It told of the confiscation of the property of these captive prelates, while the two stories following that, also out of Madrid, told of the landing of 3,000 more Moors on the mainland by Franco and of the loyalist capture of Cadiz. There were 17 stories in all used on the 7th of August, and they took up a total of 192 column inches, 51 inches of
which was in pictures.

Actual war news came to the fore again on August 8 with the top headline, a three-column, three-line affair reading, "Loyal Ships Fire Algeciras, Cut Off Foes in Morocco; Rebel Cruiser Ruins Gijon." 30 stories occupied 168½ column inches, while pictures took up 20 inches. An editorial, explaining that the United States, in filing a claim for damaged property, was not intervening in the war, ran for 11½ inches more.

Twenty-three datelines on August 9, Sunday, accounted for 165½ inches of war material, the lead of which was carried by the rebels under a column eight, three-line head reading, "Franco Promises a Liberal Regime, Favoring No Class." This was augmented by 15 inches of pictures. The editorial section again devoted a goodly portion, 129 inches, of its space, 66 of which was in pictures, to a review of the week's warring and to an article which maintained that there was to be no intervention in the conflict by European powers. The full front page of section eight, the Roto pages, was devoted to a collection of pictures of soldiers and incidents on both sides.

"Loyalists Kill 800 Rebels in Battle Outside Madrid; Franco Forces Drive North," topped columns six, seven and eight on August 10 and gave the lead story to the government forces. Of a total of 184½ inches of space devoted to the war, 35½ carried pictures and a map.
Top position in the Times was maintained by the Spanish war on August 11 with a three-line head in column eight, reading, "British Warships at Gibraltar Ban Fighting in Strait." 165 inches of war news followed, divided among 36 stories, and there were 17½ inches of pictures.

August 12 found the rebels winning top mention with this three-line, three-column headline, dropping into column eight, "32 German, Italian Planes Reach Rebel Army in Spain; Drive to Sea Begun in North." The total space amounted to 157 inches, 29 of which were in pictures and a map.

On August 13, 173½ inches of Times' columns were devoted to the Spanish fracas and the Madrid forces received the benefit of top mention under a two-column, three-line head, dropping into column one, which read, "Reb Defeats Reported in Drive to Sea From North; Air Raid on Madrid Near." There were 33 stories and 16½ inches of the space was given to a picture and a map.

On August 14 the Spanish war received a three-column, three-line head, breaking down into column eight with a story of the activities of the rebels. The head read, "Planes Bomb San Sebastian; Leftists Ready to Kill 700 If Warship Shells City," and was followed by 26 stories, running over a total of 143 column inches. Besides this, there were 16 inches of pictures, and a 6½ inch editorial which said that the German-Italian
plane deal for Franco seems to have government sanction.

The rebels again took top space in the Times on August 15 with a one-column head in column eight, reading, "Rebels to Demand Full Surrender of Madrid Regime." Thirty-three stories followed and, with three pictures of loyalists, covered 177½ inches of space.

A Madrid dispatch took first honors in the edition of Sunday, August 16, with a three-column headline reading, "733 Executed in Madrid, 7,000 Others in City Seized; Rebels Near Port of Irun." Two hundred and three inches of space were filled by 34 stories and pictures.

Section four, the editorial pages, devoted 157 inches of its columns to a review, pictures, cartoons and four articles which expressed concern over the stalling of European powers in regard to France's neutrality pact and over the United States' neutrality policy as well as declaring that Vatican sentiment favored the rebels.

Two full pages, one and three of the Rote section, were claimed by Spanish war pictures, they being equally divided between loyalists and rebels.

Tales of rebel slaughter of enemies called forth a four-column headline on August 17 which read, "Rebels Slaughter Badajoz Leftists, Execute 1,200; Houses in Flames; Two Armies Drive on Reds in Malaga." War news covered 221½ inches of Times' columns in the form of 19 stories, pictures and a map.

"Rebels Shell San Sebastian and Irun by Land and
"Sea; New Battle on Near Badajoz," read a three-column headline on the first month anniversary of the war, August 18th. Thirty-one stories filled 139 inches and pictures and a map covered 72 more.

A review of the first month's coverage of the war by the New York Times discloses that 804 stories accounted for 5,216 inches of space while pictures, maps and cartoons covered 1,348 column inches more. Besides this, there were four full pages of the Roto section devoted to war pictures, one page of which was exclusively loyalist. Twenty-nine times the actual war news received the lead story and on 15 of these occasions the loyalists occupied this favorable position, while the rebels' developments had top mention 14 times.

In the following month, from August 19, 1936, to September 19, 1936, when the rebels were advancing with most success in the north of Spain, they received top mention 18 times, while the loyalists received first position on 12 occasions. A total of 4,146 column inches was occupied by 654 different news stories, while pictures, maps and cartoons took up 534 inches. Approximately four pages of the Roto sections were devoted to war pictures, endangered Spanish art and personalities important to both causes.

The next month, September 19 to October 19, saw the rebel drive on Toledo and Madrid move with success and as a consequence the Times gave the rebels the lead position
in the day's news of the war 21 times while the loyalists received it but nine. A total of 433 stories, covering $3,279\frac{3}{4}$ column inches, was used, plus $479\frac{1}{4}$ inches of pictures, cartoons and maps. Two pages of the Roto sections during the month were used to pictorially portray the war. The pictures on them were divided equally between the warring factions.

From October 19 to November 19 the rebels continued successfully in their drive against Madrid and as a result received top position in the day's news of the war 19 times while the loyalists occupied the first place 12 times. The amount of news dwindled somewhat, there being 404 different stories running through $2,755\frac{1}{2}$ column inches. Pictures, maps and cartoons occupied 481 inches, while the Roto section showed the biggest decrease in Spanish war material, with only one-fourth of a page being used to pictorially describe the battles.

During the four months of the war thus studied, the Spanish war and attendant developments found first page position in every issue but one, that one being November 4, 1936, when the returns of the presidential election pushed the war back to page 34.

On November 19, the lead story of the Times, a three column spread, read, "Rome and Berlin Recognize Spanish Rebel Government; Leftists Open New Attack." Under 22 datelines there followed $157\frac{3}{4}$ inches of details of this
momentous turn in events, augmented by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in pictures.

More disturbing news was found in a three-column spread the following day, November 20, which read, "Italy Ready to Give Franco Any Aid Needed for Victory; Guns, Planes Pound Madrid." In $129\frac{1}{2}$ inches that followed, it was told how Rome defied the Soviet, how the Reich also threatened action, how the fighting in Madrid was going, how air raids caused havoc in the capital. There were 19 different stories and $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches of pictures and a map. In an editorial, the Times deplored the impatient action by Fascist nations of recognition to an unorganized government, saying that the action would only serve to further the war.

International aspects of the war received first position in the Times on November 21 with a three-column spread head declaring, "Britain Avoids War Moves; Will Keep Aloof on Spain; But Would Defend France." A breakdown under this head told of the war news in the siege of Madrid, with the gains about equal by both armies. An editorial entitled, "Disunited Europe," again scored Fascists for recognition of Franco, who

"certainly lacks some of the requisites to the claim of being in charge of even a de facto government."

Loyalists received first position in the *Times* on November 22 with a three-column head reading, "Loyalists Hem in Rebels in Pitiless Madrid Fight; Icy Rain Checks Bombers." Under 23 datelines there appeared 137 inches of war material, holding out a note of optimism for loyalists' chances of repelling the Madrid siege. There were 69 inches of pictures in the editorial section of this Sunday edition besides a full page in the Roto section. Sixty-seven inches of written material describing the Spanish Civil war as a little world war, waged by dictatorships, and stating that Hitler had a hand even in the first outbreak of hostilities, found place also in the editorial section.

Most foreign complications hogged the *Times* spotlight on November 23, when a three-column spread announced, "Fleet at Cartagena Raided by 'Foreign' Submarines; Madrid Communique Says." Nineteen stories accounted for 136½ inches of space and a map held eight more. The news told of leftist success in withstanding Madrid attacks and of more foreigners coming to rebel aid.

"Britain Forbids Her Ships To Carry Arms to Spain; Refuses Right of Search," said the main headline on November 24. Under it was a breakdown declaring the loyalists to be on the offensive in the far north and to be holding their own in the Madrid fighting. There were 15 stories covering 106 inches of space plus 13½ inches of pictures. An editorial expressed doubt that Franco's
ships could make effective the blockade of Barcelona that he declared.

November 25 found the British getting really worked up about the affrontery of the rebels. A three-column spread said, "Britain Sends Submarines to Patrol Spanish Waters As Franco Affronts Eden." The action grew out of Franco's refusal to consider Eden's query for a safety zone in Barcelona. A new rebel drive doing damage to Madrid was reported in a breakdown from the above head. Nineteen datelines told the story of the day's events in Spain in a total of 117 1/2 column inches, augmented by 12 inches of pictures. The lead editorial stated that the Madrid claim that the Fascist navies were actually aiding the rebels was hard to believe and that it was foolish for the Spanish American ambassador to say that South America will turn Fascist if Franco wins the war for Spain has had no actual influence in South America for a long time.

November 26 saw a return to war news in the headlines. A one-column head in column one declared, "Loyalists Routed in Sudden Attack on Insurgent Rear." This report and others covered 73 1/2 column inches under 15 datelines.

November 27's headline read, "73 Americans Quit Madrid in Rain as Embassy is Moved to Valencia." It was a two-column spread in columns six and seven. Other items under this story told of Franco fixing a safety
zone at Barcelona and news of dull battles around Madrid. Ninety-five inches were devoted to it under 12 datelines and there were 26 1/2 inches of pictures.

On November 28, the New York Times gave a two-column spread, dropping into column one, to this headline, "Spain Appeals to League Against Reich and Italy; Council to Call Meeting." A new government army was reported marching on Toledo to attack the rebels' rear. There was slow fighting at Madrid. Eighty-six inches were necessary to cover this news and it was divided among 15 datelines.

On Sunday, November 29, Times readers saw the war take a back seat to unallied international complications in a three-column head which read, "Litvinoff Sees Armed Bloc in Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Deal; Madrid Reports New Gains." The Spanish news dropped into column six and was nearly a total 108 inches of Madrid victories, but there were some reports from the rebels. Fifteen stories developed the day's events and an 11 inch map was used. There were two articles besides the regular review in the editorial section, running 66 inches, and this was augmented by 28 inches of pictures. The articles disclosed that Catalonia would abandon its isolation policy and go to the aid of Madrid and that the rebels would need help to maintain their Barcelona blockade. The Roto section devoted its full first page to shots of the rebels.
November 30's headline turned to the loyalists for its substance. In a three-column spread, it was stated, "Drive on Capital of Rebels Made by Leftists in Spain; Russia has 7,000 War Planes." The last item was completely divorced from the Spanish situation, but the war news dropped into column eight. Again the loyalists were reported to have gained three victories to the rebel's one and the insurgent victory was last on the list. There were 13 datelines used to fill up 79½ column inches besides an 11 inch map.

Again on December 1, the Spanish situation took second place in a three-column spread reading, "Reich Now Fears Japan Pact Imperils British Relations; New Battle Outside Madrid." The Spanish news dropped into column three and under 17 datelines told how the rebels were checked in their attempt to safeguard their rear, how two rebel air raids were driven off by 25 loyal planes and how the loyalists had occupied towns in the north. There were 99 inches in all given to the war, 20 of which were in the form of a picture and a map.

Column one of page one contained this headline on December 2, "5,000 Germans Land in Spain at Cadiz, London is Informed." Following the stir caused in London by this news, there was a report from Madrid of more gains on all fronts and of preparations for a drive on the rebel capital, Burgos. All this consumed 90½ inches of Times space under 11 different datelines.

December 3 saw the scene change to Barcelona with
this column—one head line, "Catalonia Balks Wide Murder Plot; New Madrid Raids." The Madrid story told of hundreds being killed by a rain of bombs and of a charge that rebels were using poison gas. The total inches for the day was 74, divided among 13 stories.

"Battle for Madrid Widens to North", a one-column, column two head on December 4, was more neutral as was the news under it. There was a warning from Franco that he would bomb "presumed enemy" craft in designated waters. There were eight datelines running for 46½ inches and ten inches of pictures.

New rebel air raids occupied first position on December 5 in this column—one head, "Madrid is Blasted by 30 Air Raiders in Severe Attack." Thirty-seven and one-half inches of reports from both sides followed under seven datelines.

December 6 saw the point of prominence shift again to Paris as "Blum Wins in Vote on Policy in Spain; Threatens to Quit." The Spanish news under nine datelines told of new Madrid bombings, the shooting down of two reb planes and the high Madrid morale. The day's news ran 53½ inches. In the editorial section of this Sunday edition of the Times were 44 inches devoted to developing the idea that the capture of Madrid by the rebels might prove decisive and that the Valencia government (the Madrid regime) was the strongest in Spain.
legally. One-half of page three of the Roto section was devoted to a pictorial presentation of the war.

At the top of columns two and three on December 7 was an uncensored story by the Times' Madrid correspondent, William P. Carney, written out of Paris, which ran 158 inches and told that all semblance of democratic government in Madrid was gone, that 25,000 had been put to death by radicals, among them many priests and nuns, that Russia is running the show for the defenders, that foreigners even censor the news, that the unburned churches are fortresses, and held that two-thirds of Madrid will be devastated before the rebels will be able to take it. This story was continued on page 16 under an eight column line. The day's regular war news began on page one in column two under the story mentioned above and was carried over to page 17 where it was placed under a six column line reading, "Rebels Weaken in North Spain; Prepare Assault on Madrid." The story, out of Madrid, told of an expected attack and of a high morale to meet it. Other gains by the loyalists were announced together with a report that they were nearing the rebel capital and had crushed a rebel attack.

"Artillery Razes Madrid Buildings; City is Ready for Fresh Onslaught," read a two column head in columns two and three on December 8. There were nine stories telling of the success of rebel attacks on Madrid as well as in the far north. Fifteen inches of pictures augmented
the 42 inches of written material.

The issue of December 9 again was all loyalist, beginning with a two-column head in columns two and three, reading, "Madrid is Safe Unless Rebels Get More Foreign Aid, Observer Holds." There were 62 inches of space telling of the Madrid defenses, how the air raids served only to stiffen the resistance of the people, how the leftists were bolstering their far north lines and how the insurgents had instituted a reign of terror in that region. Five datelines sufficed to cover the day's news.

Foreign complications moved into prominence again on December 10 with this column four head, "Spanish Plebiscite to End War Urged by Britain, France." Of actual war news this was the sum; an observer reported rebels to be digging in at Madrid for the winter rather than attacking; a loyalist air raid damaged a rebel supply base to the west of the city; and the rebels retaliated with a bombing of a Madrid airport. There were five stories in all, including the foreign bits, and the total space they covered was 57 inches.

For the second time since the war's beginning, it was pushed off the front page, this time by Edward VIII's renunciation of the British crown, on December 11. A page 11, column six headline read, "All Madrid Tense, Awaiting Attack." There were seven datelines telling of the repulsion of a new rebel attack, the new spirit in
Madrid and international efforts for peace. The news ran 44\frac{1}{2} inches.

Edward VIII's farewell to his empire crowded the Spanish war off the first page for the second successive day on December 12. On page 6, column four, was this head, "Fighting is Halted on Madrid Front." Thirty-nine inches in four stories were given to a belief that the rebels were waiting for German planes, the killing of a fourth French journalist, a hope for success of a mediation parley and the attack of Guadalajara.

The page one, column five headline on Sunday, December 13, read, "Leftist Submarine Sunk Off Malaga; 47 of Crew Lost." The first bank stated, "Attacking Craft 'Evidently Foreign', Valencia Reports." In nine datelines covering 105\frac{1}{2} inches the above events were reported as well as a refusal by Madrid of mediation efforts and the possibility of a "Siege of Starvation" for the city. Ninety-five inches, 30 of which was in pictures, were used in the editorial section for another description of Madrid's morale in the face of adversity and a story out of Geneva maintaining a livelier hope is present that the war will not involve the rest of Europe.

A story out of the rebel camp took top position on December 14, although the war was played only on page 12 in column two. Six stories running a total of 42 inches added the information that the rebels had decreed "diet days" in their territory in order to raise funds for the
for the army, and that Madrid was reinforcing its defenses.

The loyalist cause received top mention on December 15 as the forces swung back into action at Madrid. The headline was found in column two on page 14, and it read, "Madrid Defenders Beat Back Attack." Other stories among the ten used held out little chance for Franco to take the capital by storm, saying he had not either men or material enough for the task, and told of international repercussions to various incidents connected with the war. The total space was 34½ inches.

"Spain's War Welds London, Paris Unity," headed the Spanish situation's news on December 17, but the news of actual fighting was found only on page 22 where it was reported that fierce fighting had left Boadilla's status undetermined, both sides claiming victory. News of the first rebel bombing of Catalonia was also reported. There were 81½ inches of Times' columns devoted to the war plus four inches to a map of the centers of fighting. Thirteen datelines accounted for the day's news.

December 18's issue of the Times carried four datelines out of Spain, three of which were Madrid. The headline in column two of page one read, "Soviet Hand Seen in Catalan Shift." It related to a change of government in Barcelona in which Moscow exerted pressure to keep out Trotskyites. The actual war news, found on page 12, told of a looming drive on Madrid from the
northeast, an attack on Boadilla, the repulsion of Franco in that sector and the capture of Germans by Madrid. There were 37 inches of war news used.

"Spanish Shots Fly Near U. S. Warship," read a column one, page five headline on December 19th. There were four stories relating to the war and they emanated from Washington, Madrid and London (2). A total of 24 inches was devoted to the day's events, 10 of which was in pictures.

Sunday, December 20, found international politics entering the picture again with a column three, page one headline reading, "Eden Urges Reich to Check the Flow of Troops to Spain." There were 84 inches devoted to happenings respective to the Spanish war, exclusive of 16 inches of pictures and a map. Nine stories developed war news to the effect that rebels had continued pressure from the northeast and northwest, with apparently little progress and that a rebel plane raid had been driven off. The editorial section carried 84½ inches of written material pertinent to the war plus 13 inches of pictures, illustrating the articles. They, the articles, contended that Spain was still a danger to Continental peace, the checking of Franco despite his German and Italian help leaving the situation full of dynamite, that mediation hopes were dying and that Madrid, with a shortage of supplies, could see nothing but woe for the approaching winter. The Roto section contributed almost a full page
of pictures on its front page to the conflict.

A page one spot was given to the rebels on December 21, telling of purported dissension among their leaders on the Madrid attack. The headline read, "Rebs Had Clash on Madrid Attack." There were seven stories used covering 80½ inches. An editorial claimed that Germany, who seemed to have sold troops for copper rights in rebel areas, had paid too high a price, since this action again lowered her standing among nations.

A mid-page headline in column four of page one on December 22 read, "Rebels Repulsed West of Madrid." Four stories, out of Paris, Madrid and two out of London ran for 27 inches in telling of loyalist victories in north as well as at Madrid and of international complications.

A surprise headline on page 10, column two in the December 23 paper read, "Madrid's Lottery Eclipses the War." Two stories out of Madrid, and one each from Avila, Valencia, Moscow and Gibraltar told the news of the war and connected incidents in 51 inches of space.

On December 24 the war got back into the lead position in the Times with a two column headline dropping into column eight, which read, "Reich Cautioned by Paris on Sending Men to Spain; Assurances are Reported." There were 30½ inches devoted to developing this news, while the actual account of fighting in Spain found place in
column seven with a headline reading, "Rebels Seek to Cut Valencia Highway." There were three stories under this head, two out of Madrid and the other from Moscow, running 18 inches. Besides this, there was a four inch map.

Christmas day again found the Spanish situation in first place in the Times with a column eight head reading, "Nazis Face Choice on Spain as British Wean Italy Away." There were seven datelines running a total of 69½ inches. War news used included a report that Franco was shipping British-owned copper to Germany in payment for help and that the loyalists expected a rebel ruse as they made an easy three mile advance toward Boadilla.

December 26 again saw international developments growing out of the war taking the Times' top position with a headline that ran three columns wide and a 32½ inch story that dropped into column eight. The actual war news received a two-column head in columns six-seven which read, "Shells Kill 5 in Heart of Madrid; Explode Among Holiday Strollers." Two stories out of Madrid and Avila, running 13½ inches, told of crowds seeking shelter in the telephone building basement in Madrid and of Franco mining ports in the north.

On Sunday, December 27, international events arising out of the conflict received a four column head, reading, "Berlin Calls On Madrid to Release Seized Ship, Cargo and Three Passengers; Paris is Ready to Make Concessions."
Sixty-one inches of news out of Berlin and Paris followed, telling of Germany's belligerent attitude and French attempts to keep peace at any price, in this case, the price being the grant of African colonies if Hitler promises peace. The actual war news was covered by ten stories, running 72 inches under a two-column headline in columns six-seven reading, "Franco Reorganizing his Force; Awaits his Contingent of Germans." The news following explained the rebel inaction during the past week, told of rebel inability to cut the link of Madrid with France, of the finding of German bombs and Italian shells after attacks, of Madrid holding recent gains and of the leftist bombing of a Getafe Christmas party. The editorial section devoted 27½ inches to an article declaring the war to be international, Franco's expert help being balanced by Madrid's spirit. There were 29 inches of pictures in the section also.

On December 28, a two-column head on page one in columns six-seven, reading, "Madrid Troops Push Rebels Back; Take Strategic Point in Offensive," headed seven stories on the war, two of which were from Madrid and the other five from foreign cities. There were 70 inches of written matter and 4 inches devoted to a map.

A two-column head, dropping into column eight, occupied the lead position on December 29, topping a 28-inch story out of Washington to the effect that a neutrality law loophole would allow a $2,770,000 shipment
of planes to go to the loyalists, but that Congress can still amend the act to prevent them from leaving. A story in column seven of the first page told of Berlin's attitude toward Madrid, who was holding a German ship, allegedly filled with munitions. The story ran 23½ inches.
The actual war news found a place on page ten with a column three heading, which read, "British Embassy to Go to Valencia." Of the seven datelines following, two were Madrid and the other five were foreign. Thirty and one-half inches were devoted to the account of the day's fighting and other incidents in Spain while three inches were given to a map.

A page one, columns one-two-three headline on December 30 read, "Neutrality Law Revision is Speeded By President to Halt Arms for Spain." It was followed by 13 stories, covering 122 column inches, telling of a new rebel drive in the Cordova sector, in which most of the German troops were used, and of the release of the German freighter by Madrid, although the cargo and prisoner were held, besides other related incidents.

The Spanish news on December 31 was headed by a column one headline, "Washington Voices Regret to Powers Over Plane Deal." There were 15 datelines, two of which were Madrid, the rest foreign. They developed 147 inches of news, in which was little of actual battle, except that the rain had halted major encounters.

In the period from November 19, 1936, to January 1,
1937, a resume shows that there were 23 days when the loyalist cause received headlines and the lead story and 12 occasions when rebel doings became the subject of headlines and the lead story. On the other eight occasions the actual war news trailed along under stories from foreign cities related to the Spanish war. On six of the occasions of rebel prominence, November 21 and 25, and December 5, 6, 8 and 26, however, the news told of attacks on Madrid and emanated from that city and thus had to be written so as to please the censors. The stories, it may be said, seemed to plead for sympathy rather than to give an account of the fighting. On December 2, there was a report giving prominence to the rebels, but it was datelined London and told of the landing of Germans in Spain.

On December 7, William P. Carney's expose of conditions in Madrid took the lead position among war news, but the actual reports from the front immediately following it told of rebel weaknesses and Madrid's spirit in the face of a fresh attack. On December 12, news of the rebels took the lead position but the story was out of Madrid, holding out the belief that the insurgents had ceased to attack for a time until new German planes arrived to help them. On December 21, the lead story of the war was devoted to the rebels, but it told of dissension among their leaders. On December 24, when the headline read, "Rebels Seek to Cut Valencia Highway", 
there were three stories following, two out of Madrid and the other from Moscow. On December 27 the rebels again received the lead position but the story told of their wait for German help.

Then, too, in the 16 days of December there were seven instances, on December 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 28 and 29, when all the news from Spain itself was written out of Madrid and two other instances, December 23 and 26, when there was one story from Avila and all the rest of the news emanated from loyalist Spain.

Twice in the period from November 19 to the end of the year, the Times in editorials scored Fascist nations for hasty recognition of Franco's government; once there was doubt expressed that Franco was strong enough to maintain an effective blockade of Barcelona; once the Times stated that it was hard to believe that armed Fascist aid was actually being given to the insurgents, and finally one editorial discredited Germany for having apparently sold troops to Franco for copper rights.

In the Sunday editorial sections, there was one article distinctly unfavorable to the insurgent cause on November 22, one favorable to Madrid and one unfavorable to the rebels on November 29, one favorable to each side on December 6, one favorable to Madrid's defenders on December 13, one unfavorable to each faction on December 20 and finally, one on December 28 which favored
Madrid in so far as it said that Franco's Fascist help was being matched by a show of admirable spirit in Madrid.

So ends this study of the New York *Times* coverage of the Spanish Civil war during the period from July 1, 1936, to January 1, 1937.
CONCLUSION

From the foregoing study of the Times' coverage of the Spanish Civil war during the first six months of the conflict, it is evident that the Times was eminently fair to both factions in its treatment of war news until the recognition on November 19, 1936, by Fascist European powers of the insurgent government and the consequent open aid given to the insurgent army and navy. Until that date, November 19, the Times characteristically employed every scrap of information that might throw light upon the situations arising and, as often as not, gave the insurgent cause the lead position in its columns. After November 19, however, the Times became distinctly and noticeably one-sided in its view and its presentation of the conflict, employing only such news from the insurgent camps as was necessary for a somewhat accurate report of developments. Especially towards the end of the year, the Times became decidedly loyalistic in its selection of news stories, reporting even rebel victories from the Madrid viewpoint. The Times never brought the term, Fascists, into frequent use when referring to the insurgents. Only when the political makeup of the warring factions was touched upon were the Franco followers called Fascists. The terms, rebels, insurgents and rightists, were used most. Contrary to beliefs held elsewhere that the Times policy changed on August 12, 1936,
with the first dispatch that German planes and airmen were aiding Franco, this study reveals that the Times remained unbiased, and even gave the rebels first play more often than the loyalists, until November 19 when Fascist powers in Europe formally recognized Franco's government.