

## THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

### A Select Bibliography

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"Sixty-six American reinforcements, many of whom had never held a rifle in their hands, went over the top and charged the enemy with us 'old-timers' of the past two weeks. . . . Casualties were indescribable. Scores of dead, strewn across no-man's land, could not be retrieved during the daytime. We could hear the groans of those not yet dead." John Tisa, *Recalling the Good Fight*, p. 47.

"One comes back to the simple statement that the Spanish Republic was defeated by those nonintervention agreements that the Germans and the Italians never intended to observe. The riflemen of the Lincoln Battalion--

like all the other crusaders for freedom--were dying for a cause that had been doomed at the conference tables in London and Paris, in Berlin and Rome. But that was a conclusion to be reached at the end of the war."

Malcolm Cowley, "Lament for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade." p. 344.

Abbreviations. SCW	Spanish Civil War
IB(s)	International Brigade(s)
ALB	Abraham Lincoln Battalion (or Brigade)

It has been said, by more than one author, that there have been more publications on the Spanish Civil War than on the whole subject of World War I. Regardless of that assertion the Spanish Civil War certainly constitutes one of the major international events of the Twentieth Century. It might well be thought of as a world war itself since fighters came from some fifty-three countries, nearly all of those volunteers defending the Spanish government from the rebellion begun by General Franco and his co-conspirators. Whether accurate or not, there have been a great many publications on the SCW. This is understandable since even today the topic remains controversial. And more data is coming forth nowadays because of the opening of the Soviet archives where much documentation on the International

Brigades, the Comintern and Communist parties, and the control attempted from Moscow during the conflict, eventually came to rest.

More than one historian has suggested that this war be considered the first phase of World War II. Hitler sent a Luftwaffe unit, the Condor Legion, as well as military advisers. Franco had appealed to him for planes to ferry military units from Spanish Morocco to the mainland, resulting in what was probably the first ever airlift of troops. Mussolini eventually sent some 50,000 Italian "volunteer" troops. These soldiers found themselves at one point facing the Italian expatriates of the "Garibaldi" unit of the International Brigades in what came to be called the Battle of Guadalajara. In that event the latter defeated the "volunteers" sent by Mussolini.

The Spanish government, a left-leaning, democratically elected regime, was not well prepared for the revolt in July 1936. Many army officers renounced their oath to the government and went over to the rebels -- the "Nationalists." Those who adhered to the government were called "Loyalists." The great majority of enlisted men remained with the "Republican" (government) forces. The rebels rather quickly occupied parts of southern, western and northern Spain in accordance with the conspiracy they had planned. They had hopes of taking Madrid, a deed they assumed would cause the government to collapse. And in the fall of 1936 that almost

happened. In that time they moved close to the capital. But in many countries a cry of concern and outrage went up against this apparently new manifestation of fascism. This was especially true in the democracies - in France, Great Britain, the US and Canada. Volunteer units of International Brigades showed up in Madrid in late October. The real clash over Madrid took place the following month. Rebels had moved into the western edge of the city, occupying parts of the large, University of Madrid campus. Battles raged from building to building. Rebel attacks were launched, only to be repelled by the Republican army and International Brigade fighters. After November the frontal attacks were largely halted. Madrid was shelled and bombed. Many citizens were killed. A state of siege ensued which was to last until the end of the war. The only route into the capital was via the Valencia road and it was sometimes subject to bombardment.

Toward the end of 1936 more volunteer members of the new International Brigades began to reach Spain. By late January a large number had arrived. Volunteers from the US and Canada came into Spain and major battles were forthcoming. The Americans, who decided to call themselves the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, were rushed into battle with very little training after a Nationalist attempt to encircle Madrid was launched. This was in the Jarama River valley and surroundings

southeast of the capital. The Battle of Jarama resulted in massive casualties on both sides. Many IB members were killed and wounded, sometimes in the span of an hour. Franco's forces likewise suffered high casualty rates. Other major clashes took place in battles called by the names of the places where they occurred.

The European democracies, still smarting from the slaughters of World War I, arranged to stay out of the war through a cynical "Non-Intervention Agreement" which Hitler and Mussolini also signed. The latter two, nevertheless, proceeded to supply Franco with materiel and troops while Britain and France largely turned a blind eye. And although many volunteers made their way to Spain to try to save the government their efforts were doomed by the imbalance which was growing between the Loyalists and Nationalists. When Spain was denied the purchase of arms from the democracies it turned to the Soviet Union (also a signatory of the Non-Intervention Agreement). Much materiel arrived from the USSR, as well as advisors. The USSR both wanted to gain influence in Spain and to block the spread of fascism. But in the long run the Nationalist forces overwhelmed the Spanish government, which finally collapsed in early 1939. It would be only a few months before Hitler attacked Poland to start World War II.

Some 2800 to 3200 volunteers came from the US to fight for the Spanish, democratic government as well as large numbers from Britain, France and elsewhere. Of those who went to fight approximately one third were killed, a very high casualty rate compared to other conflicts. Quite a few of the survivors later recorded their memoirs of the experience. For some (including deceased) diaries and letters were published, leaving evidence of what they had felt. These are the stories of idealism and bravery for the most part. Many told of how they came to the decision to risk their lives in Spain. And their experiences in that country fill many of the books and articles listed below.

What follows, in Part I, is a select listing of these writings. In the second section there is a brief selection from the numerous secondary publications which have come out over the years since the SCW erupted. Many of the items listed are readily available in libraries, while a much smaller number are included even though most interested readers will have to use book stores or interlibrary loan to obtain copies. Sections III and IV list a few additional sources.

## **I. Primary Sources: Memoirs, diaries, correspondence.**

***African Americans in the Spanish Civil War: "This Ain't Ethiopia, But It'll***

***Do.*** "Edited by Danny Duncan Collum. New York: G.K. Hall, 1992. 233 p.

Contents, Part 1: Introduction by Robin D. G. Kelley (p.5-57, incl. endnotes). Part 2 has list of African-American veterans, with at least brief biographical data on each. Includes some who died in Spain. In Part 3 there are selected writings by African-Americans on Spain. Langston Hughes and Richard Wright are among them. In Part 4 the words of veterans are reproduced. Some are transcriptions from oral histories, some legal testimony before groups such as the Subversive Activities Control Board. In many, the reasons why they went to Spain are enunciated. Racism in the US and the feeling that Fascism, if successful, would be fatal to Blacks are common themes. Altogether this book has some interesting and intense writings despite its eclectic nature. Some interesting contemporary photos are included.

Bailey, Bill. "One Man's Education: A Testimony to Internationalism."

***Harvard Educational Review*** 55 (February 1985): 101-08.

The author discusses the background of the civil war, motives of the foreign volunteers and recounts his own experiences in joining the Lincoln Battalion and getting to Spain. This article fails, unfortunately, to convey the terrible conditions, sacrifices or horrors experienced by many of the participants. A volume of memoirs detailing his role and impressions would have been welcome.

***The Battle of Jarama: The Story of the British Battalion of the International Brigade's Baptism of Fire in the Spanish War.***

Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1987. 76 p. No index. Originally published as *Nos combats contre le fascisme* (Madrid, np, 1937).

An eclectic but poignant booklet containing a fairly detailed account of the men in the bloody battle (but not the military aspects). It has a number of useful maps and diagrams. After giving--often--first person accounts by members of the British units, short diary entries are presented. There is an interesting insert of photos and document facsimiles. Finally Frank Graham, himself, gives us a chapter of his personal experiences.

Beeching, William C. *Canadian Volunteers: Spain, 1936-1939*. Regina:

Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1989. 212 p.

Beeching was a scout in the Lincoln Battalion. His is an interesting document; it is filled with quotations and excerpts from published and unpublished accounts. What it lacks is a text creating the overall theme and integrating the many parts. It is well documented, with notes being printed at the end of each chapter. There is a bibliography but it omits most of the works cited in the notes, instead only listing well known, published sources.

Bessie, Alvah. *Alvah Bessie's Spanish Civil War Notebooks*. Edited by Dan

Bessie. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

An American author and screenwriter, Bessie went as a volunteer to Spain in spring 1938. He left when the International Brigades were withdrawn in the fall of that year. At age 34 he was older than most of the others and was already a published author. His *Men in Battle* is

considered by many to be one of the better memoirs to come out of the war. His recently published *Notebooks* add a nice sense of immediacy to the collection of his writings.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Heart of Spain: An Anthology of Fiction, Non-fiction, and Poetry*. New York: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1952. 494 p

\_\_\_\_\_. *Men in Battle: A Story of Americans in Spain*. New York: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1954. 354 p. (Originally pub. by Scribner's, 1939.)

Bessie, Alvah and Albert Prago, editors. *Our Fight: Writings by Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Spain, 1936-1939*. Introduction by Ring Lardner, Jr. New York: Monthly Review Press and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1987. 390 p.

Most of contents of *Our Fight* previously published in *The Volunteer*, organ of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Includes

contributions of several women. Biographical notes appended.

***Black Americans in the Spanish People's War against Fascism, 1936-1939.***

New York: New Outlook Publishers, 1981. 63 p. No index.

This is admittedly an eclectic booklet, full of items lauding the African Americans who fought in Spain. Among many things, it includes a partial list of some eighty-three Black American veterans, the famous farewell speech of Dolores Iburruri ("La Pasionaria"), poetry, biographical sketches of some of the subjects. It does convey the spirit and camaraderie of the times.

***Book of the XV Brigade: Records of British, American, Canadian, and Irish Volunteers in the XV International Brigade in Spain, 1936-***

***1938.*** Edited by Frank Ryan. Newcastle upon Tyne: F. Graham, 1975.

[Various editions. Originally pub. in 1938]

This is another collected work, with brief chapters of considerable diversity. The editor's words are usually in italics; some contributions

have authors identified by name, others by initials (no key to them provided). Some show no authorship. There are many interesting photos and a number of battlefield maps; the latter are of uneven quality. The book is mainly a group of accounts by the English-speaking members of the XVth Brigade, with a few exceptions. It is a collection of tales of heroism, wounds and death. Nevertheless, the tone is always optimistic (written before the war was recognized as lost) and with the purpose of projecting a positive view of the IB efforts, both for internal and external consumption.

Buck, Tim (1891-1973). *Yours in the Struggle: The Reminiscences of Tim Buck*. Toronto: NC Press, 1977. 414 p.

Buck was a Canadian communist in the 1930s. Chapter 27 in his memoir is on the Spanish Civil War. He was instrumental in bringing together the Canadians who went to fight in Spain. He did visit Loyalist Spain but was not a combatant. His memoir is valuable as a first hand account of how the Canadian volunteers came to be organized and how they made their way to Spain.

Candela, Antonio. *Adventures of an Innocent in the Spanish Civil War*.

Penzance, England: United Writers, 1989. 222 p. No index.

Candela, a Spaniard, describes his origins as a youth in a family living in great poverty and ignorance in rural Extremadura (western Spain). He tells of how he gradually became informed about his situation, and more broadly, that of much of Spain. Left home for a job with a circus, and later with a theater company. After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he and a few others, escaped just ahead of the rebel forces, made their way to Madrid, and joined the Republican (government) army. He was made a cook. In the fall of 1936 he was on the front at Madrid. In January 1937 his battalion was sent to join the battle in the Jarama River valley. Met American International Brigaders there. He was in the Brunete zone for a bit then sent to the Ebro River region where government forces were planning a big offensive. Eventually wounded in a bombing, he was sent to hospital, and ended up in south central Spain when the war concluded. His memoir tells of the chaos and confusion, with government soldiers wandering here and there.

Some were rounded up and sent to prison camps, and many were executed, just for fighting on the "wrong" side. Candela was able to move slowly toward the French border. He was captured and held for several months; then he managed to escape into France. The book, published in a remote part of England, is filled with place-name spelling errors and inconsistencies, errors one would not normally expect from a native of Spain. Despite that, it has, as the title implies, an air of innocence and authenticity. It follows the life of a poor, young peasant from the outbreak of hostilities through his escape from the advancing rebel forces, to his joining in the fighting as an army soldier, and the eventual end of the disastrous war.

Copeman, Fred. (1907- ). *Reason in Revolt*. London: Blandford, 1948. 235 p.

No index.

This memoir begins with its author as a nine year-old in a workhouse. "Very early in life I began to see and rebel against the inequalities and injustices in human society" (17). He enlisted in the navy and took part in the Invergordon Mutiny. Joined the Communist Party, but despite

this he was never uncritical of the Party. After the rebellion in Spain he went there, arriving in January 1937. His motivation: "I am a Socialist - Socialism could not live and ignore the plight of Spain" (78). Like so many others, he felt a great sense of injustice and believed that the Franco revolt was a part of a wider anti-democratic, fascist movement. On the Jarama front his account is descriptive and personal. A bird's-eye view (not a map) to which the reader can refer makes Copeman's report understandable. The emotions in his company, which he had just taken over, were palpable as they waited until the enemy troops were almost upon them to fire their machine guns. When he finally gave the order somewhere around 400 crack Moorish troops were cut down. After Jock Cunningham was wounded Copeman became the battalion commander. Three pages of brief excerpts from the diaries of a few of his men are offered to show the nature of morale after battle. Disillusionment over casualties and the generally bad conditions are evident. In the summer of 1937 Copeman led his force in the capture of Villanueva de la Cañada (near Madrid), then the attack on Mosquito Hill. This battle centered on the town of Brunete, for which it was named, stalled and the Loyalist attempt to break the

semi-circle around Madrid was lost. The British battalion had come into it 630 strong but left with only 185 men. Illness took Copeman out of the last campaigns. After an operation he remained incapacitated, eventually returning to England. This is a good, personal memoir of an intelligent, dedicated participant. Readers familiar with Spanish may find it distracting that so many words are misspelled, some even rendered as if Italian or French. Brunete is given as "Brunetti."

Delmer, Sefton. *Trail Sinister: An Autobiography*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1961. 463 p. Contains only brief name index.

This British journalist was in Spain at the outbreak of the war. He was able to interview, in prison, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange, the fascist-like right wing organization. José Antonio was subsequently executed and, thus, became a needed martyr for the rebels. Sent by his newspaper to report on the rebel forces, Delmer spent six weeks with the "Nationalist" forces, meeting with General Mola while there. After being expelled from that zone his newspaper sent him to cover the Spanish government, the "Loyalist" side of the

war. He went to Madrid in the fall of 1936 and was there during some of the tense days when that city's fate was in the balance. Visited some IB units on the front lines. He also set himself up in what was at that time the most comfortable spot in town, the Hotel Florida, where his rooms became a favorite visiting place for IB personnel, and others, to catch a break from the defense of the city. There is a description of his contacts with Ernest Hemingway, and some amusing anecdotes from that period.

Edmonds, Lloyd. *Letters from Spain*. Sidney and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985. 200 p. No index.

Australian. Traveled by ship to London in July 1936. His goal was to study at the London School of Economics. After the SCW started he went to Spain and joined the 15<sup>th</sup> IB, arriving in May 1937. Assigned as a truck driver. Joined the Communist Party because he felt it was the best force against the rebels. The last letter in the book is dated about a year after he arrived in the country. Although not a foot soldier on the front line, Edmonds, nevertheless, saw action. There are

descriptions of air battles overhead and considerable other information based both on firsthand experience and reports from others. His letters are earthy and matter-of-fact. The book is enhanced by a number of photos and illustrations.

Ehrenburg, Ilya G. *Corresponsal en la Guerra Civil Española*. Madrid: Júcar, 1979. 133 p.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Memoirs, 1921-1941*. Translated by Tatiana Shebunina.

Cleveland: World, 1964. 543 p. No table of contents. Has index of personal names only.

Russian. Correspondent for Pravda. Moved among the Loyalist leaders and military, as well as literary figures in Spain. His writings reveal a passionate concern for the Spanish and their trial, and include sections on the International Brigades. Re André Marty, one of the communist leaders of the Ibs, Ehrenburg said, "he was imperious, very short-tempered and always suspecting of treason. . . .he spoke (and occasionally acted) like a mentally sick man." *Memoirs*, p. 397.

Felsen, Milt. *The Anti-Warrior: A Memoir*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989. 245 p.

American. Chronologically arranged but frustrating to the reader for lack of dates. After briefly covering his life up to the SCW he details his route into Spain: Barcelona, Albacete and the training site, Tarazona de la Mancha. He was assigned to a machine gun unit. Wounded at Brunete, he was taken to a temporary hospital at the Palace Hotel in Madrid, then to one in Huete. When sufficiently recovered (but with a bad elbow) he drove an ambulance. In Madrid he met Hemingway and was invited to his large apartment in the Hotel Florida, a spot where many gathered. He encountered Hemingway again later, in the company of NYT reporter Herbert Matthews. It was April 1938, the war was going badly and the writers complained bitterly about the League of Nations. Felsen left Spain in December 1938 when the IBs were withdrawn, after hearing Dolores ("La Pasionaria") Ibarri's famous farewell speech.

Fischer, Louis. *Men and Politics*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941.

672 p.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The War in Spain*. New York: 1937.

American journalist who wrote for the *Nation*. He was, supposedly, the first American to enlist in the International Brigades. He had lived in the USSR. Soon came into conflict with André Marty who suggested he leave the IBs and serve the Loyalist cause by practicing his profession as journalist.

Fisher, Harry 1911-2003 . *Comrades: Tales of a Brigadista in the Spanish Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 197 p.

This U.S. volunteer arrived in Spain in winter 1937, after walking over the Pyrenees. Spent two fairly uneventful months at the Jarama battle site, after the ferocious conflict had subsided. He went into the Brunete battle zone in July. When under fire, pinned down in a wheat field, Fisher began to rethink his attitudes: He was really more of a

pacifist than soldier, even though he still wanted to see Franco and Fascism halted. He experienced frightening thoughts about terrible wounds that were possible - and death. "The fear in me was so great, it overwhelmed my anti-fascist feelings." (p.56) At the Battle of Belchite he witnessed the surrender of many rebels. At Teruel in winter it was extremely cold for all the Lincoln Battalion members although Fisher was behind the lines operating a switchboard. The Franco rebels retook the town. Fisher's account of the later great retreat in the vicinity of the (river) Ebro is filled with frightening events, wounded and dead comrades. One night he and a few other had to pretend to be rebel soldiers and walked along behind a rebel unit, escaping into the woods when a chance presented itself. The author was in the large contingent which re-crossed the Ebro in a last attempt to halt the rebels. Again, he was lucky to escape harm. Having been fighting in Spain since spring 1937, he and some other veterans were told they were going home. Indeed, it would not be long before the other survivors would also depart. As he was taking his leave he could not help recalling all his comrades who had died in Spain; he discusses a few of them. This memoir is based, in large, on the many saved letters sent home by

Fisher. He and his wife worked to put the whole story together. Fisher died in March 2003 after participating in an anti-Iraq war event in New York City.

***From Spanish Trenches: Recent Letters from Spain.*** Edited by Marcel

Acier. New York: Modern Age Books, 1937. 199 p. No index.

This collection is a period piece, having been compiled early in the SCW.

The letters are organized by the authors' nationalities and include

Americans, English, Dutch, Irish and Germans (emigres from Nazi

Germany). Only some of the writers are fully identified. The letters

appear to have been chosen to convey to readers the notion that the

volunteer fighters in Spain are normal humans, not crazy radicals, and

that they are there fighting for a noble cause - saving the

democratically elected government from a fascist conquest. Most of

the writing, while often mentioning wounds from which the volunteers

have recovered, do not disclose the carnage which had taken place in

some battles like the Jarama.

Gates, John. *The Story of an American Communist*. New York: Nelson, 1958.

221 p.

Gates was a labor organizer in Youngstown when the opportunity to join the IBs arose. Entered Spain in February 1937. He first was on the Córdoba front, then spent a period as commander of the Albacete headquarters. Sent to the Ebro (river) front where he was among the many who had to flee in disorder when the rebels overwhelmed their positions. He and his companions abandoned all their equipment and clothing in order to swim the wide, swift Ebro River. Some drowned. Lying naked and exhausted by the side of a road on the north side, a car drove up containing Ernest Hemingway and Herbert Matthews of the N.Y. Times. On hearing their story Hemingway shook his fist toward the enemy side and shouted, "You fascist bastards haven't won yet. We'll show you!" Gates took charge of the small remaining Lincoln Battalion. He recalls the dismay among the IBs on hearing of the Munich Agreements; they realized that a world struggle against the fascist powers was almost unavoidable. Shortly afterward word came that all foreign troops would be withdrawn from Spain. Gates left Spain in

December of 1938.

Geiser, Carl. *Prisoners of the Good Fight: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. Preface by Robert G. Colodny. Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1986. 297 p.

American. Part memoir, part history, the author relates his own experiences and has gathered those of many others who were prisoners and survived. But many did not live after capture; most of these were executed, and a few died from untreated wounds or illness. This book, as a memoir has much more in the way of appendixes, than most others, plus an index. There are lists of prisoners: Americans Who Survived; Name, age, birthplace, military unit, date passport issued and when they were freed, arranged by the battles where they were captured. Another lists "Americans Killed after Capture." There are many citations to sources, as endnotes, and a good index. This is an interesting book.

Gerassi, John. *The Premature Antifascists: North American Volunteers in*

*the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939. An Oral History.* New York:

Praeger, 1986. 275 p.

A selection of 130 veterans of the war were interviewed in depth.

Discussion of their origins and what they did before the war, their

experiences and feelings during it, and how they fared afterward are

the components of this book. There are brief biographical entries, a list

of other volunteers mentioned in the text, a chronology and

bibliography following the text.

Gordon, Joe and Leo Gordon. "Volunteers for Liberty: Letters from Joe and

Leo Gordon." Edited by Daniel T. Czitrom." *Massachusetts Review* 25

(1984): 347-65.

Of the two brothers from the U.S., Leo was killed in March, 1938, in

the action of the Ebro region. Joe survived and served on a merchant

ship in 1942. It was torpedoed and sunk in the icy waters of the North

Atlantic, closing the door on the Gordon (Mendelowitz) brothers. Some

of their letters are preserved in this article. The letters may be

typical; they report hardships, wounds and deaths yet try to keep an optimistic tone about the battle against fascism.

Gregory, Walter. *The Shallow Grave: A Memoir of the Spanish Civil War*.

London: Gollancz, 1986. 183 p. 12 maps.

British. Author arrived in Spain on Christmas day, 1936. Wounded in the Jarama battle; after recovering he was put through officer training, completing it in December, 1937. He became "Teniente Gregorio."

Gregory was captured in September, 1938 and wound up in the notorious San Pedro de Cardeñas prison. He reports on the terrible conditions, illness, ulcers (probably caused by scurvy). He was released with the 60 other British prisoners in January, 1939.

Hamm, Sid (1917-1937). "The Diary of Sid Hamm, 1937." in, Thomas, Frank, *Brother against Brother*, edited by Robert Stradling. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998, 154-71, plus editor's notes.

Sid Hamm's diary consists of a printed calendar with space for a few

words and phrases in each daily box. Thus it was necessarily very compact. Saturday, April 17<sup>th</sup> (1937): "Left Cardiff for London 12.15. Left for Paris 8.20." Saturday, June 12<sup>th</sup>: "Grub fatigues. Heard going out tonight or tomorrow. Packed kit. Wrote home and Leo. Played solo and read. Ward killed by trench mortar. Pretty nasty. No sleep. Grub pretty bad. No mail. Fine." On Tuesday, July 6<sup>th</sup>: Someone else made the final entry in the diary: "On this day Sid Hamm was killed in Brunete, Spain." The whole "diary," which comprises only some sixteen pages in its printed form, is so brief, compact, yet it shows what the author's life was like in those few days through those words which stop so abruptly.

*In Spain with the International Brigade: A Personal Narrative.* London:

Burns Oates & Washburne, 1938. 56 p. No index.

This anonymous booklet is by an "English working-man" disillusioned with the IBs and Spanish government. He was predisposed to be critical of left politics. His attitude made him tend to interpret much of what happened - and the people on the Loyalist side - in a bad light. Most of

what he saw as wrong he attributed ultimately to Soviet influence. He was in Spain from January to September, 1937, and was in and out of detention, often for drunkenness, brawling and insubordination.

Knox, Bernard. *Essays, Ancient and Modern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Author was a English classicist who eventually came to live in the US. There are two essays reprinted within, both of which originally appeared in the *New York Review of Books* (1980, 1987). The first, "Remembering Madrid," is a memoir of his experiences as, "a twenty-one-year-old member of the machine gun company of the Bataillon Comune de Paris, Eleventh International Brigade." He entered Madrid in November, 1936. Knox was wounded at Boadilla, the village just west of Madrid. He asserts, "But a Republican army, no matter how efficient, could only buy time; it could not win the war." (p. 252) In his memoir he also discusses some histories of the war and addresses positions of the authors, taking issue with some. The writing is incisive and witty. Knox served in the US Army and OSS in World War II.

Last, Jef. *The Spanish Tragedy*. Translated by David Hallett. London:

Routledge, 1939. 288 p. No index.

Letters and dispatches written from the trenches by a Dutch volunteer, October 1936-November 1937. The book's chapters are a series of scenes and the author's thoughts. He describes the people he encountered and confesses his fear of battle. To him the new recruits were poor, illiterate, hungry and very young, "typical peasant lads with the faces and bodies of children." (p. 141-2) Took part in the defense of Madrid, in various locales. Became an officer - later "Captain Last," with 140 men in his company. Last took part in the Congress of the International Association of Antifascist Writers in July 1937 in Republican Spain. Met famous writers including Hemingway. The author saw the fight against Franco and the Church hierarchy as a continuation of the fight of his (Dutch) people against King Philip II and the Church in the latter 16<sup>th</sup> Century.

Lee, Laurie. *A Moment of War*. London, New York: Viking, 1991. 178 p. No

index.

The English author of other books on Spain recalls his December walk over the Pyrenees and into a series of experiences and misadventures during the Civil War. He was twenty-one or -two years old at the time. At first suspected of being a spy, he was held in a cell in Northern Spain, then sent by train to Valencia. While there he witnessed an air raid before being sent on to Albacete, which was a staging point for the International Brigades. At Tarazona de la Mancha, location of a training base, he describes the miserable, cold condition of the would-be soldiers. Sent on a mission to Madrid, Lee gives a graphic description of the unhappy city under siege. Over all this is more a piece of literature than an informative memoir of the International Brigades, but it is a quick read and does impart many interesting images of war-torn Spain.

Longo, Luigi ("Gallo"). *Las brigadas internacionales en España*. Mexico, D.F.: Era, 1977. Translation of *Le brigade internationale* (Rome: Riuniti, 1972).

Italian Communist. Leader in organizing the International Brigades.

Became their Inspector General. Took part in the in the various battles in defense of Madrid. In 1943-44 Longo was a leader of the partisan forces in Italy opposing Mussolini.

***Madrid 1937: Letters of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade from the Spanish***

***Civil War.*** Edited By Cary Nelson and Jefferson Hendricks. New York: Routledge, 1996. 506 p.

Includes letters by sixty authors, and occasional diary entries as well.

Compilers included letters of some who were killed in Spain. Although the salutation, "Dear \_\_\_\_\_" is given for each letter, the readers would probably like to know who the addressee was - sweetheart, wife, etc. The book is well edited but could have benefited from a comprehensive index, including people, places and events, not just letter writers.

Merriman, Marion and Warren Lerude,. ***American Commander in Spain:***

***Robert Hale Merriman and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.*** Reno:

University of Nevada Press, 1986. 255 p.

The first author (above) was Merriman's wife. She rushed to Spain after receiving the curt telegram, "Wounded. Come at once." Merriman's shoulder had been shattered by a bullet in the Jarama Battle. In order to then be near her husband the author joined the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, being assigned to visiting wounded in hospital and to do clerical work. While recovering, Robert Merriman was sent to Madrid to jointly make a radio broadcast to the US with Ernest Hemingway, Herbert Matthews (NYT correspondent) and John Dos Passos. Later, still recovering from his wounds, he was put in charge of training new volunteers at the village of Tarazona. Subsequently he was appointed Chief of Staff of the (whole) 15<sup>th</sup> International Brigade. Marion was sent back to the US to speak and raise support for the ALB. In Hollywood she was the center of attention at a fund raising party given by Dorothy Parker whom she had met in Spain. Guests included Edna Ferber, Lillian Hellman, Dashiell Hammett, and Ira Gershwin. Donations to the Friends of the ALB were collected. When word came later that Robert Merriman was missing in Spain, Marion was in San Francisco.

Hoping to hear that he was alright, she gradually resigned herself to his loss after much time had passed. The present book is based on a variety of sources including Merriman's diary which his wife had kept for years but not read because of the painful memories it invoked. Merriman was the individual on whom Hemingway loosely based his character Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

Nelson, Steve. "Fighting in Spain: A Conversation with Steve Nelson."

Interview by Donald L. Miller. *Salmagundi* no. 76/77 (1987-88): 113-32.

American. Communist and labor union activist. Became "Commissar" of Abraham Lincoln Battalion, just after Battle of the Jarama, March 1937. He was 34, older than the typical volunteer. Nelson says he was "leading an attack" with Oliver Law (see below), when the latter was mortally wounded. But much of the interview dealt with political questions such as the role of the Communist Party in recruiting people and in how it directed the fight. There are evaluations of Oliver Law, the first African-American to command a largely white unit, Andre Marty, commander of the International Brigades and Robert Merriman,

the "Robert Jordan" of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. The relative fighting effectiveness of the Lincolns is also evaluated.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Volunteers*. New York: Masses & Mainstream, 1953. 192 p.

No index.

In this memoir, Nelson first relates his troubles in getting to Spain via France. Describes his "tour" of the Jarama front, through the trenches. Recounts a discussion in the "library," a canvas-covered dugout some fifty yards behind the line. It included Oliver Law. As Commissar, Nelson was involved in many political debates with the members of the ALB. These took place behind the lines and at a village where the men went for R & R. Several memoirs by members of the ALB stated that everyone liked and respected Nelson for his leadership and as a person.

Nenni, Pietro. *España*. Translated by Juan Moreno from the Italian.

Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1977. 294 p.

Italian socialist. Came to Spain in the summer of 1936. Helped to

organize the IBs and was the first commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Company in the Garibaldi Battalion, the unit made up of Italians who had fled from Mussolini's Fascist Italy. In the Battle of Guadalajara in early 1937, the unit defeated the "volunteers" sent by Mussolini to help Franco. Aside from these battles he functioned as the representative of the Italian Socialist party (in exile from the homeland) to the Spanish government.

Ornitz, Louis. *Captured by Franco*. Foreword by John Gates. New York:

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1939. 47 p.

Captured by a unit of Moors, apparently in the area of the Brunete Battle, in July of 1937. He was sure he would be executed; others with him were. Instead he was tortured - beaten senseless. Subsequently he and others were moved from one makeshift prison to another, usually staying in one place for only a couple weeks. They were poorly cared for; some died for lack of medical attention. Describes the visit of William Carney, New York Times correspondent, who was covering the rebel (Franco) side. His pro-Franco position was well known to the

International Brigade prisoners. Ornitz says Carney tried to entrap them by urging them to admit Communist Party affiliations, knowing such admission would result in execution. Having been written while the Spanish Civil War was still in progress lends this booklet a sense of contemporaneity, often lacking in materials published later.

Pacciardi, Randolpho. *Il battaglione Garibaldi: Volontari italiani nella Spagna repubblicana*. Lugano: Nuove Edizioni di Capolago, 1938. 255 p.

Italian exile from Fascist Italy. An early advocate for the creation of a unit of Italian volunteers to fight with the Spanish government, he became the first Commander of the Garibaldi Battalion, constituted as a part of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Brigade. The unit was an important factor in the defense of Madrid in November, 1936. Fought in the Jarama Battle and the Battle of Guadalajara. Later matched the Garibaldi's true volunteers against Mussolini's "volunteers" . The Garibaldi and the Spanish government were victorious. Disillusioned with the politics behind the scenes in the Spanish government, author left the country after the Battle of Brunete in the summer of 1937.

Patai, Frances. "Heroines of the Good Fight: Testimonies of U.S. Volunteer Nurses in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939." *Nursing History Review* 3(1995):79-104.

Gives an overview of the medical units which came to Spain, from twenty-eight different countries, with the largest contingent being from the US. She discusses the backgrounds and motivations of the volunteers. Salaria Kea (elsewhere spelled Kee), the only African-American nurse to go to Spain, is illuminated with quotes from her diary and a photo. At their first "hospital," at El Rigmarole, they faced very difficult conditions. There was no running water and very little heat (in February). They were so pressed that at times they worked for seventy-two hours without rest. Like the men returned from Spain, the nurses experienced persecution after World War II, during the McCarthy era. 57 notes. 4 photos.

Penchienati, Carlo. *Brigate internazionalie in Spagna*. Milan: "Echi del secolo," 1950. 144 p.

Italian communist. Succeeded Pacciardi (see above) as Commander of the Garibaldi Battalion after the Battle of Brunete, summer 1937.

Pérez López, Francisco (1917-) *Dark and Bloody Ground: A Guerilla Diary of the Spanish Civil War*. Translated by Joseph D. Harris. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970. 275 p.

The author was born in Spain but raised in southern France. Joined the International Brigades in 1938. Wound up leading a guerrilla group which terrorized the rebels, to whom he was known as "El Mexicano." He was captured but escaped later. Exciting reading.

Regler, Gustav. *The Owl of Minerva: The Autobiography of Gustav Regler*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960. 375 p.

A German born author, communist, he fled Germany when Hitler came to power. Went into Spain, nominally as a representative of the International Union of authors, taking a gift of a small printing press

"for leaflets" and a projector with "some suitable films." Appointed commissar. Regler was at the Madrid front in fall 1936. In the winter he moved to the Jarama zone. Hemingway showed up. By and by, as they became closer, Regler told him about many things which had passed. "He used my material later in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. . . .," Regler asserts. Having spent time in Moscow, the author was aware of the workings of the Communist Party, the paranoiac fear of treachery and spies. In Spain he again witnessed some of this while with some Russians. Regler was badly wounded in June 1937 near Huesca. After recovering, he was sent on a fund raising trip to the U.S. Back in France at the end of the SCW, he witnessed - with NYT correspondent Herbert Matthews - the humiliation of proud Spaniards as they fled across the French border.

***The Road to Spain: Anti-fascists at War, 1936-1939.*** Introduced and edited by David Corkill and Stuart J. Rawnsley. Dunfermline Fife, Scotland: Borderline, 1981. 164 p. No index.

Consists of a twelve page introduction and oral histories from seventeen Britons who went to the Spanish Civil War, fifteen men and

two women. The interviewer knew the background of each of the respondents and asked informed questions. All related their origins and how they came to the decision to go to Spain. Then they recounted their various experiences while in that country.

Rolfe, Edwin. *The Lincoln Battalion: The Story of the Americans Who Fought in Spain in the International Brigades*. New York: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1939. 321 p.

Rolfe, an American writer and volunteer in the Spanish Civil War, was for a time, editor of *Volunteer for Liberty*. When he completed this book the dust had scarcely settled from that war. Rolfe mentions that there was still resistance, fighting, in the Asturias and Galicia regions of the Peninsula. The text is liberally provided with quotations. There are graphic depictions of military action, wounds and death. His is an early, well-written account, but lacking the perspective of time that later writers have had.

Romilly, Esmond. *Boadilla*. [New ed.] Introduction and notes by Hugh Thomas.

London: Macdonald, 1971. 196 p. No index.

Boadilla is a village which was (in 1936) some twenty miles west of Madrid. It was the scene of bitter fighting as the Franco forces attempted to push ever closer to the capital. Author was a nephew to Winston Churchill and husband of Jessica Mitford. His account covers only October-December, 1936. Romilly describes the desperate effort to save Madrid from the rebel onslaught. He was also one of eighteen Englishmen attached to the (mainly German) Thaelmann Battalion of the International Brigades which they decided to join after taking a vote.

Rubin, Hank. *Spain's Cause Was Mine: A Memoir of an American Medic in the Spanish Civil War, 1937*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1997. 161 p.

Rubin was originally to be head of a machine gun unit but became sick and was sent to hospital. His science background was noted there and he was converted to medical staff. He describes guilt feelings that he

was not with his old combat unit and relates the terror when bombing occurred near his hospital. Later, when near the front he tells of the agony of having to make decisions on who was to be treated for wounds first, others perhaps being condemned to die from lack of attention. The theme throughout is one of idealism and devotion to the cause of stopping the growth of fascism and saving the democratic government of Spain.

Rust, William. *Britons in Spain: The History of the British Battalion of the XVth International Brigade*. New York: International Publishers, 1939. 212 p.

Editor of the (Communist) *Daily Worker*. He was in Spain November 1937 to June 1938. His writing is all third person even though he was present at some of the events described. He had access to the volunteers and to some of their correspondence later, ". . . lent to me by their relatives." (p. vii) This is a good contemporary account although it, understandably, is not critical of the communist party or the Comintern.

Sommerfield, John. (1908- ) *Volunteer in Spain*. New York: Knopf, 1937.

159 p. No index.

British. Joined Communist Party in 1930, Hampstead Branch in London.

Active anti-fascist as a student. Arrived in Spain probably October

1936; fought in No. 4 section in the Machine Gun Company of the

Commune de Paris Battalion, XI International Brigade. Left Spain

January 1937.

Stephens, D.P. (1910-1987) *A Memoir of the Spanish Civil War: An*

*Armenian-Canadian in the Lincoln Battalion*. Saint John's,

Newfoundland: Canadian Committee on Labour History, History

Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000. 119 p. No

index.

Without any training the author and his buddies were sent to the

Jarama battlefield. Near the front line they were shown the basics of

handling their rifles; their first "practice" was to go into the trenches

and fire at the enemy. He was transferred to working with the

ammunition dump. Then he got himself appointed to a machine gun company. Oliver Law, African-American from Chicago, was overall commander. (Law was apparently the first African-American to command a white military unit.) Stephens later made commander of a section. Law, while inspecting a gun site, ordered sandbags removed to permit wider range for firing. Then, in Stephens' presence, a soldier was killed by a shot which came through the breach in the bags. Stephens advised the others in the unit not to file a complaint against Law but they did anyway. Stephens warned that Law was a "strong Communist" and the complainants might find themselves targets. "... some agitators suspected of being Trotskyites were quietly executed. . .and no one ever knew what happened to them." A Board of Enquiry was held; Stephens refused to condemn Law and the latter was exonerated. On leave in Madrid, Stephens visited the rooms of Hemingway, Herbert Matthews (New York Times) and other journalists where he reported, "...these reporters never lacked the comforts of life." He fought at the Battle of Brunete, where his friend from Kalamazoo, Ray Steele, was killed. Stephens was then assigned to run the "Intendencia," the supply house for four hospitals in Murcia (SE Spain). There he

describes a life which was not dramatic but nevertheless interesting.

When the Spanish government feared the enemy would drive to the sea and cut the Republic in two a late night meeting was hastily held; those attending were briefed on plans to evacuate the hospitals and all associated personnel at first dark the next evening. Two trains would be waiting for them and it all had to be kept secret. Once in Barcelona he asked to be sent back to the Lincoln Battalion. Soon he was made Security Officer, i.e., intelligence agent, to ferret out spies and other trouble makers. He uncovered a spy in the Lincolns, a Catalán who tried to send information out, concealed under the stamps of a letter. Jim Lardner, son of writer Ring Lardner, joined their unit; "[he] became a good friend of mine." Lardner was killed, reportedly the last American to die in Spain. Author was part of the last big battle, in which they crossed the Ebro River in boats and attacked. After a number of skirmishes the International Brigades were withdrawn from Spain. Stephens returned to Canada. This is one of the better, more interesting memoirs. It is well-edited and includes helpful footnotes. Like many others, it often fails to give the reader dates as events are unfolding. An index and some maps would have enhanced its value.

Thomas, Frank 1914-. *Brother against Brother: Experiences of a British Volunteer in the Spanish Civil War*. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998. 180 p.

There are two accounts of the Spanish Civil War here, albeit very different documents. One is "The Diary of Sid Hamm." (See separate entry.) After a long introduction by the editor, Thomas' piece begins. It is titled, "Spanish *Legionario*: A Professional Soldier in Spain." Thomas joined Franco's rebels because, he said, he wanted military experience, but not, he claims, out of any particular ideological commitment. His is a fairly standard sort of memoir although one is taken aback by his description of how they executed just-captured government soldiers - "shot in the stomach." In autumn 1936 he was in the front line, attacking Madrid where his unit lost 77% of its men. He notes the arrival and action by the first International Brigade members. His unit fought around the villages west of Madrid, then was sent to what came to be known as the Battle of Jarama although he was not in the front line there. His group was very aware that it was fighting against

International Brigade units, including the Lincolns and British. That was February 1937. Thomas comments on the reaction to the news that Italian "volunteers" in Franco's forces had been defeated by International Brigade units largely made up of Italians in the Battle of Guadalajara. Thomas was wounded in May 1937, resulting in his eventual return to Wales. His account, as a Briton in the Franco forces is useful as a contrast to the many on the government (Loyalist) side.

Thomas, Fred. *To Tilt at Windmills: A Memoir of the Spanish Civil War*.

Preface by Paul Preston. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996. 181 p.

Member of a British anti-tank unit. According to Paul Preston, the memoir is based on a regularly kept diary (unlike the more haphazard records kept by many others). When the author finally got to the Jarama battle zone there were no tanks for targets. He saw little action there. But in the Battle of Brunete (summer 1937) there was much action and many casualties. Eventually he was wounded by shrapnel and sent to hospital at the Palace Hotel in Madrid, then to one at Huete

(Cuenca province). The author chides previous memoir writers for their bold statements of "facts," even though many did not keep a journal or, give "little evidence of being any more aware than I was." He chides himself for devoting too much of his diary to the cold, dirt and physical hardships, yet, as he says, the Ibers seldom knew the big (battle) picture. Thomas avoids giving description to the wounds and deaths occurring around him, in contrast to some other accounts. The often disorganized and poor quality of the IB officers/leaders caused frustration for the volunteers. Re an order to use their anti-tank gun in an inappropriate way, "Those guys know nothing about the way our guns should be used. Nobody but a fool would have made us bring them up this mountain anyway." In the fighting around the town of Teruel Thomas writes of cold, hunger and lack of sleep. When they were shelled, "The bloody things came--1.2.3.4, 1-2-3-4, for a half hour, hitting everywhere except (their) actual gun. By a sheer stroke of luck there were no casualties, but you felt like a wet rag after that experience." Author was wounded again near Teruel, January 29, 1938.

Tisa, John. *Recalling the Good Fight: An Autobiography of the Spanish*

*Civil War*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1985. 235 p.

American worker from Philadelphia. The book is a mix of memoirs and selected diary excerpts of a young man who was a foot soldier in the Battle of the Jarama. It recounts in graphic detail the horrors of bloody battles. Then the author concludes his memoirs by describing his work as an editor and writer behind the lines. He was the third editor of *Volunteer for Liberty* (q.v.) and a co-editor of *The Book of the XV Brigade* (q.v.). Tisa was one of the last members of the Lincoln Battalion to depart Spain.

Toynbee, Philip. *The Distant Drum: Voices from the Spanish Civil War:*

*Personal Recollections of Scottish Volunteers in Republican Spain,*

*1936-1939*. Edited and with an Introduction by Ian MacDougall,

Edinburgh: Polygon, 1986. 369 p.

Recorded accounts of twenty veterans, most related in the early 1980s.

"One's impression in recording them was that the veterans were speaking with honesty and sincerity of matters that had generally etched a very

deep impression on them." (Introduction, p. 2) These volunteers were mostly from the Scottish working class, many members of the Communist Party. The editor asserts that the strongest motives for going to Spain was to fight the "rising tide of fascism in Spain." (p. 4) Eleven of the nineteen men were wounded. Five were captured and made POWs. This oral history was largely recorded in the book verbatim, as set down in the original sound recordings, with no editing of the language used. They have a real authenticity although the passions of their youths had cooled to a matter-of-fact tone.

*Volunteer for Liberty.* New York: Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1949.

Reprint in one volume of the English language edition of the official organ of the XVth International Brigade. There were four editors in all, Ralph Bates, a British author, then the Americans Edwin Rolfe, John Tisa and Sandor Voros.

Voros, Sandor. *American Commissar.* Philadelphia: Chilton, 1961. 477 p. No

index.

Hungarian-American. Last editor of *Volunteer for Liberty*. Author was a member and organizer for the (American) communist party when he went to Spain, arriving in late spring, 1937. At the beginning he recalls encountering a Hungarian IB officer, a martinet, who raged at Voros when he refused to join with the Hungarian contingent. Author saw action in the Ebro campaign as commissar and combatant. Like some other volunteers, he describes the disorder and occasional panic as the superior enemy forces shatter the IB and Loyalist forces. Some of the IB men were cut off when a bridge over the Ebro River was blown prematurely (p.423). Although his narrative of the Ebro campaign makes interesting reading there is a frustrating lack of dates. In addition to his SCW experiences the memoir recounts a man who was an active communist in the 1930s but, like many others, became disillusioned after World War II and left the party.

Watson, Keith Scott. *Single to Spain*. New York: Dutton, 1937. 263 p. No

index.

English volunteer and journalist. Rode train from Barcelona to Albacete, The mutiny on the battleship *Jaime I* was related by three sailors on the same train. Ship's officers were going to turn it over to the Nationalists but the sailors mutinied. Some officers killed; others made to do sailors' work. Watson arrived in Albacete Nov. 1936. Met Esmond Romilly (see above). Also Ludwig Renn [109]. There are word sketches of other well-known individuals such as Andre Marty. In the Brunete area, "It was an indescribable sensation when I first reached the top of the ridge and saw the city of Madrid in the distance. A huge column of smoke rose from the burning Montaña barracks, the boom of the cannon was much clearer. . . .below us in the sun there was a small village lying in the bend of a river. . . .Away on our left our tanks could be seen moving forward, behind them cavalry. One had a strange impression of unreality; it all looked like a toy-window display."-119. They discover a raped and murdered woman in a village, attributed to Moors. Watson comes under fire for the first time; his fear is palpable. He relates his terror as bullets whiz around him while he sprints for cover. "The groans of the wounded, the shout of stretcher-bearers, it was like a crazy dream." Watson eventually was able to resign from the IB unit and resume being

a journalist. He moved in the same course as Sefton Delmer (see above)

His descriptions of life in Madrid under siege are interesting.

Wintringham, Thomas H.(1898-1949) *English Captain*. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. 333 p. No index.

The author arrived in Spain in September, 1936, not as a soldier, but as a journalist. He jumped over to being a volunteer in November of that year. After relating the scene at the Albacete IB headquarters, he treats the development of the IBs in their respective training camps, located in villages near Albacete. Wintringham commanded the British battalion on the Jarama front. He gives us much description of the way things went there. With a not-too-distant Madrid sometimes visible, the bloody battle wore on, in bursts of action and long periods of steady attrition. The author had only been commander for a week when he was wounded and sent to hospital. After release he was assigned to train new men for a while, then rejoined his unit. He was again wounded in the street fighting in the village of Quinto. Although British, Wintringham

includes quite a bit on the other IB units, including the Lincolns. There are two chapters specifically on them. He describes the terrible losses they suffered trying to capture a hill -- 120 dead and 175 wounded -- out of an original 400+ men. He is generous in his praise of the Americans and Canadians as soldiers and as units.

***Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War.*** Edited by Jim Fyrth with Sally Alexander. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1991. 359 p.

This is a gathering of over eighty, mostly brief, English language excerpts from many sources. A few of the authors have familiar names: Jessica Mitford, Martha Gelhorn, Dorothy Parker, Lillian Helman, Emma Goldman. The acknowledgments is the nearest thing to a bibliography of all the sources used. A complete list of sources ought to have been provided.

Yates, James. ***Mississippi to Madrid: Memoir of a Black American in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.*** Seattle: Open Hand, 1989. 183 p. Appendix lists 83 known Black volunteers.

Blended with description of Spain and its civil war is this African American's impressions of being in a non-racist society, one where there was no apparent discrimination against blacks at all, no special attention paid to them by most. Indeed, the American Blacks were often received warmly by the Spanish people. White Americans in Spain also reported on this phenomenon. (This to be contrasted with the fact that on the day he arrived back in New York from Spain he was denied a hotel room because of his race.) Yates drove a supply truck during the Battle of Brunete and suffered slight wounds there. He later had the opportunity to chauffeur Hemingway, Herbert Matthews and Sefton Delmer from Benicasim to Teruel, then to Valencia. The three authors invited Yates to eat supper with them in a Valencia restaurant; he did.

## II. SECONDARY MATERIALS

Alexander, Bill. *British Volunteers for Liberty: Spain, 1936-1939*.

London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1982. 288 p.

The author was, himself, a battalion commander in Spain and a former officer of the (British) communist party. But this book is largely an

accounting of the British experience in Spain, not a memoir. A good picture of the men and their experiences is presented here. And since the author was there himself, we can put an appropriate amount of faith in what he reports. As with all who were participants in such an emotionally charged series of events, one must expect some deviations from how others might describe and interpret the same events.

Beevor, Antony. *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*.

NY: Penguin, 2006. 526 p.

An updated and enlarged version of his earlier work on the subject (see below), utilizing more recently available materials from Russian archives and libraries.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Spanish Civil War*. New York: Peter Bedrick, 1983. 320p.

This is a well done history, focusing on the military side of the Spanish Civil War. The first four chapters fill in the historical background. The "Bibliography and Sources" has merely an alphabetical list of sources for each chapter; no notes-numbers in the text to link with the end matter,

a disservice to serious readers of the work. Treatment of the Lincoln Battalion is light, to be expected from a British author.

Carroll, Peter. *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

440p.

An interesting book. The author used many resources and put together a readable text. Unfortunately it is also frustrating because there is no bibliography, no footnotes; there are just the briefest of notes in the back, arranged by *page numbers*. Thus when he mentions that Joe Dallet's letters were published posthumously, there is no citation at all. The work could have benefitted from some good maps, as well.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Psychology & Ideology in the Spanish Civil War: The Case of the

Abraham Lincoln Brigade." *Antioch Review* 52 (Spring 1994): 219-30.

Based largely on John Dollard's study, "Fear in Battle" (1943). Ideology, devotion to a cause - such as defeating fascism - is a powerful motivator, allowing individuals to overcome the normal fear of wounds and death.

Dollard's original inquiry was focused on the Lincoln Battalion veterans.

Their reports of battle experiences gave Dollard the data to advance his thesis that one's political and social belief system allows the soldier to deal with the terrors of combat. Loyalty to his fellow fighters also was a strong factor. Carroll makes reference to a number of authors but fails to give us a single citation to his sources, not even the Dollard study.

Castells, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España.*

Esplugues de Llobregat, Barcelona: Ariel, 1974. 685 p. Ninety-one photos and maps. Appendixes of IB units. Bibliography. Name index. In all there are over 200 pages of useful supplementary material.

This is a full, comprehensive treatment of the International Brigades, published in Spain in the twilight of the Franco era. It displays a wide acquaintance with sources then available - published and unpublished primary, and limited secondary ones.

Colodny, Robert. *The Struggle for Madrid: The Central Epic of the Spanish Conflict (1936-37).* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1958.

256 p.

The author, a veteran of the SCW himself, who later earned a Ph.D. in history, has written a scholarly account of the Madrid "front." Although Colodny was a participant, this is not a memoir. There are ninety pages of endnotes, some of which are citations only, but many of an explanatory type, adding detail to the main text. Some are extensive quotes. The author took care to omit his personal feelings and experiences. Included in the defense of Madrid are the battles which took place in the vicinity, such as Jarama. Unlike some of the other secondary sources, this does not have much on individual fighters. Most of the quotes come from the military leaders. The book may be best in describing the desperate situation of Madrid in late 1936.

Cowley, Malcolm. "Lament for the Abraham Lincoln Battalion." *Sewanee Review* 92 (Summer 1984):331-47.

Recounts his one-week visit to Madrid during the Battle of Brunete (July 1937). Talked to wounded Americans in the field hospital. He laments that the records of the Lincolns were never kept intact, and that those who went down on the ship "Ciudad de Barcelona" after its torpedoing by an Italian submarine, those whose two transport trucks drove by mistake

into enemy lines and disappeared without record, passed into oblivion.

The Lincoln's role in the Jarama Battle (five months before Brunete) is discussed, including the foolish order to attack and the terrible toll from that.

Crome, Len. "Walter (1897-1947): A Soldier in Spain." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 9(1980):116-28.

Russian-born Scottish physician. Served as chief medical officer of the 35th Division. This included the 11th and 15th International Brigades.

"Walter" (Karol Swierczewski) was commander of the 35th Division. He figured in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as General Goltz.

Although containing much anecdotal material, this article still provides us with a good picture of Walter.

Eby, Cecil. *Between the Bullet and the Lie: American Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Holt, 1969. 342 p.

This book is a good account, although now quite old and somewhat dated.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Comrades and Commissars: The Lincoln Battalion in the*

*Spanish Civil War*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007. 510 p.

An enlargement of the above, fortified with additional sources not previously available to him.

\_\_\_\_\_. "For Whom the Bell Tolloed." *American Heritage* 20 (August 1969): 36-41, 77-88.

Describes the formation, transport to Spain, "training" near Albacete and combat in Battle of the Jarama in which more than half of the c.450 men of the Lincoln Battalion were killed or wounded. A well written account, spiced up with anecdotal notes. Based on author's (then forthcoming) book (above).

\_\_\_\_\_. "How the Bell Tolloed." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 8 (1969): 245-52.

Chilling account of the impossible situation to which the Lincoln Battalion was led on the Aragón front. Relates how the unit was cut off and the panic which ensued as the men broke up into fleeing groups and individuals. Based on primary and secondary sources, but fails to fully

list them.

Hills, George. *The Battle for Madrid*. New York: St. Martin's, 1977. 192 p.

Integrated into the description of Madrid's defense are accounts of the International Brigades - the XI and XII in particular. Franco was reported to have said to one of his generals, "The presence of 'foreign perfectly organized units' " was one reason he was dropping his frontal assault on Madrid. This is a history of the struggle for Madrid, adequately documented, although now dated. Profusely illustrated with maps and photos, giving an appearance of it being only a popularized account.

Hopkins, James K. *Into the Heart of Fire: The British in the Spanish Civil War*.

Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998. 474 p.

While praising Bill Alexander's work (above) and that of William Rust (above) Hopkins attempts to put a better balance on the British story, placing the role of the British communist party in proper perspective and taking into account those British volunteers who tended to adhere to other political views.

***The International Brigades: Foreign Assistants of the Spanish Reds.*** Madrid:

Oficina de Información Diplomático. Ministerio de Asuntos Extranjeros,  
1952. Orig. pub. 1948. 162 p. No index.

This Franco regime publication produces this expected view of the IBs,  
that they were communists and/or dupes of the Soviets. Much space is  
devoted to describing those with communist and Soviet connections.

Johnston, Verle B. ***Legions of Babel: The International Brigades in the***

***Spanish Civil War.*** University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press,  
1967. 228 p.

Now fairly old, this is a good secondary account of the IBs. It is well  
documented although so many sources have come to light since it was  
written that it suffers in that respect. Four basic maps illustrate the  
overall areas of action but not the finer details.

Katz, William and Crawford, Marc. ***The Lincoln Brigade: A Picture History.***

New York: Atheneum, 1989. 84p.

This brief illustrated history is light on substance but would serve as a

good introduction for someone just beginning their look into the Spanish Civil War and the American role in it.

Landis, Arthur H.(1917-1986) *The Abraham Lincoln Brigade*. NY: Citadel, 1967.

677 p.

This major work includes a bibliography listing sources, as well as adding additional paragraphs of explanation from time to time. There is a list of some seventy veterans of the Lincoln Brigade he interviewed. Although Landis himself was one of the members, his books barely reflect his participation. Landis puts emphasis on the experiences of the American volunteers. Many direct quotes enhance the narrative. Overall, it is a story of courage and determination in the face of superior military forces, and of disastrous defeats, wounds and death.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Death in the Olive Groves: American Volunteers in the Spanish Civil war, 1936-1939*. New York: Paragon House, 1989. 254 p.

Author used many sources: Print and oral, but, unfortunately did not, "burden the text with innumerable citations," as he said (p. 233) for this revision and condensation of his earlier work.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Spain: The Unfinished Revolution*. New York: International Publishers,  
1972. 451 p.

McIntyre, Edison. "The Abraham Lincoln Battalion: American Volunteers  
Defend the Spanish Republic." *American History Illustrated* 18(1983):  
30-9.

This article is a brief overview, valuable as an introduction to the  
subject. Includes twelve interest-provoking photos.

Martinez Bande, J.M. *Brigadas internacionales*. Barcelona: Luís de Caralt,  
1972. 249 p.

The author also wrote several other books on the SCW. This one follows  
a logical, chronological arrangement. It includes a good bit about the  
English speaking groups, mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> IB. There is a suggestion that  
he was inspired to a degree by Hugh Thomas' work, already published in  
its earlier edition.

Matthews, Herbert. *Half of Spain Died: A Reappraisal of the Spanish Civil*

*War*. New York: Scribner, 1973. 276 p.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Two Wars and More to Come*. New York: Carrick & Evans, 1938.

The author was a well-known correspondent for the *New York Times* and covered the government side in the SCW. He was openly sympathetic to the Spanish Republic. Matthews was often in the company of Ernest Hemingway; the two of them moved about the country together and stayed in the same hotels where they sometimes became magnets for pro-government writers and figures.

Rosenstone, Robert A. *Crusade of the Left: The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Pegasus, 1969.

Basically a good, readable account, but now over thirty years old.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Men of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion." *Journal of American History*. 54 (September 1967): 327-38.

Rust, William. *Britons in Spain*. See primary sources, above.

Schwartz, Fernando. *La Internacionalización de la Guerra Civil Española: Julio de 1936-Marzo de 1937*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1999. 358 p.

This work was originally published in 1971. Chapter ten covers the IBs although the subject arises in other sections also. After going through the military revolt and the reactions in various countries abroad, the formation of the IBs and their composition is discussed; previous authors are noted. Nothing on the fighting or the experiences of the volunteers is included.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Spanish Civil War*. 3rd ed. New preface by author. N.Y.: Harper, 1986. 1115 p.

Thomas' book, in its various editions, is considered the standard work, including the political background of the war, even though it is now getting old. New materials have become available since its publication. Beevor's works (above) are also well thought of, but it are more notable for coverage of the military side of the struggle.

Vidal, César. *Las Brigadas Internacionales*. Madrid: Espasa, 1998. 637 p.

This is a recent, comprehensive treatment of the subject. 357 pages of text are followed by twenty-four appendixes, a glossary, chronology, biographical notes on some sixty-seven selected individuals and a large

bibliography. There is a subject index, as well as a number of black and white photos.

**Wyden, Peter. *The Passionate War: The Narrative History of the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. 574 p.**

Wyden personalizes the war with many vignettes at the expense of analytical history. Good complement to standard histories.

### **III. A FEW PRO-NATIONALIST SOURCES.**

**Cardozo, Harold G. *The March of a Nation: My Year of Spain's Civil War*. New York: McBride, 1937.**

The author was special correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* with the Nationalist (rebel) forces in Spain. His writings are openly pro-Nationalist. Uses the latter term for the rebels but almost always "Reds" for the government forces. He was an observer of battles around Madrid, especially Boadilla and that area in December 1936. There are frequent references to the Ibs. Describes how they defended Boadilla to the death. And he mentions "castellos" (sic) defended mostly by Ibs. Cardozo accepts the notion that the "Red" side committed many

atrocities but in the Nationalist areas, "peace, law, and order were maintained." (p.251-2)

Kemp, Peter. *Mine Were of Trouble*. London: Cassell, 1957.

British. Author was described as a very conservative law graduate of Cambridge. Joined the forces of Franco; left London in November 1936. Took part in the fighting around Madrid as member of the Requetés, the very conservative monarchists from the Navarra region in northern Spain. Relates the departure of a Foreign Legion unit of 600 "dark, hard bitten, grim-looking soldiers. . .men who were about to die." (p. 69) Kemp fought in the Battle of Jarama. During the SCW he was twice wounded. When he left Spain at the end of the war he had an interview with Franco. See also, Toynbee, Philip, *The Distant Drum* (above) for contribution by Kemp.

Lunn, Arnold. *Spanish Rehearsal: An Eyewitness in Spain during the Civil War, 1936-1939*. Foreword by William F. Buckley, Jr. Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair, 1974. 231 p.

British. Traveled through rebel, Nationalist Spain and came away with

the (preconceived) notion that Franco's "cause" was to protect Spanish civilization against communism, that it was Franco who really cared for the little man, the ordinary citizen of Spain. He repeats atrocity stories he has heard without questioning their veracity; he was always ready to believe them. Meanwhile he asserts that there were no reprisals on the Franco side of the war.

Mackee, Seumas. *I Was a Franco Soldier*. London: United Editorial, [1938].

30 p.

A member of the "Irish Brigade" (of some 600+ men) who had doubts about the "cause" for which they were fighting--Christianity, anti-communism, etc.--when he went to Spain. Relates sources of his disaffection, and that of others: Haughty Germans, (non-Christian) Moors fighting for Franco, and other factors.

O'Duffy, Eoin. *Crusade in Spain*. London: R. Hale, 1938. 256 p.

Leader of the Irish Brigade of some 600 "Blueshirts" (fascists) on the Nationalist side in the war.

#### IV. FICTION

Herrick, William. *Hermanos*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969. 379 p.

Author served in the Lincoln Battalion and was wounded in the Jarama battle zone.

Wolff, Milton. *Another Hill: An Autobiographical Novel*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. 395 p.

Wolff was the last commander of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, and one of the few to be spared wounds or death. This "fiction" is also a hidden memoir.