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Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War: a dossier

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Dissertation

AUTHORS TAKE SIDES ON THE SPANISH WAR: A DOSSIER

by

KATHERINE ELIZABETH CALVER

B.A., Carnegie Mellon University, 2001
M.A., Georgetown University, 2005

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Approved by

First Reader

Christopher Ricks
Professor of the Humanities
Boston University

Second Reader

Archie Burnett
Professor of English
Boston University

Third Reader

Todd Hearon, Ph.D.
Instructor in Humanities
Phillips Exeter Academy

Fourth Reader

Christopher Maurer, Ph.D.
Professor of Spanish
Boston University

Fifth Reader

Timothy Peltason, Ph.D.
Professor of English
Wellesley College

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AUTHORS TAKE SIDES ON THE SPANISH WAR: A DOSSIER

KATHERINE ELIZABETH CALVER

Boston University Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2014

Major Professor: Christopher B. Ricks, Professor of the Humanities

ABSTRACT

The editors of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, which was published in London by the *Left Review* in 1937, posed two questions to a list of writers: “Are you for, or against, the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain? Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism?” The question was distributed by mail to hundreds of writers in the United Kingdom to solicit responses for publication. The editors’ appeal closes: “We wish the world to know what you, writers and poets, who are amongst the most sensitive instruments of a nation, feel.” *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* consists of brief remarks from 148 contributors in a “10,000 word” pamphlet.

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War contains many influential writers’ opinions on one of the most significant conflicts of the twentieth century, but the publication has since received almost no editorial attention. The pamphlet was reissued in 2001 as a photoduplication of the original—without commentary or annotation—and due to a printer’s error, it is missing two leaves.

This annotated edition of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* includes an archive of related correspondence, articles, and other writings pertinent to the pamphlet and the political, social, and cultural climate of Europe around the Spanish Civil War. Of

particular interest are unpublished documents related to the publication of the pamphlet from the Nancy Cunard archive at the University of Texas-Austin's Harry Ransom Center for the Humanities, as well as an examination of textual decisions and revisions within the work of Arthur Koestler and six other authors who wrote on the Spanish Civil War. It is in this way that this edition of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* also takes on many of the qualities of a dossier in that it brings together documentary evidence of a certain kind to provide a range of perspectives on this cultural and historical moment.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ODNB.....*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

OED*Oxford English Dictionary*

TRANSCRIPTION MARKS

\ / Indicates text inserted above or below the line

< > Indicates text struck out

[] Indicates illegible text

itals..... Indicates handwritten text

TABLE OF DATES

Reference: *The Concise Oxford Chronology of English Literature* (2004)

1930

Mahatma Gandhi begins civil disobedience against British colonial rule in India (March)

Nazi Party wins 107 seats in German elections to become the country's second-most-influential party (September)

W. H. Auden, *Poems*

Nancy Cunard's Hours Press publishes Samuel Beckett's *Whoroscope*

Edmund Blunden, *The Poems of Edmund Blunden*

T. S. Eliot, *Ash-Wednesday* and *Marina*

Vita Sackville-West, *The Edwardians*

Edith Sitwell, *Collected Poems*

Stephen Spender, *Twenty Poems*

Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies*

1931

Abdication of King Alfonso XIII leads to Second Spanish Republic, which is formally recognized by Austria, Britain, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and the U.S. (April)

Ramsay MacDonald becomes prime minister of Britain (August)

Japanese invade Manchuria (September)

James Hanley, *Boy*

John Lehmann, *A Garden Revisited, and Other Poems*

Hugh MacDiarmid, *First Hymn to Lenin, and Other Poems*

Llewelyn Powys, *Impassioned Clay* and *A Pagan's Pilgrimage*

Herbert Read, *The Meaning of Art*

Bernard Shaw, *Complete Plays*

Sylvia Townsend Warner, *A Moral Ending, and Other Stories*

1932

Éamon de Valéra becomes president of Ireland (March)

Nazi Party wins a majority (230 seats) in German elections (July)

Lausanne conference results in cancellation of reparations against Germany (July)

Generalitat of Catalonia is established under Spanish Republic (September)

Famine begins in USSR (September)

T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays, 1917–1932*

David Gascoyne, *Roman Balcony, and Other Poems*

Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*

Rose Macaulay, *They Were Defeated*

1933

Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany (January)

Reichstag fire in Berlin (February)

Franklin D. Roosevelt succeeds Herbert Hoover to become president of U.S. (March)

Nazi book burnings (May)

Germany (October) and Japan (March) withdraw from the League of Nations

W. H. Auden, *Poems* (second edition)

Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*

Norman Douglas, *Looking Back*

T. S. Eliot, *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism*

George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London*

Antonia White, *Frost in May*

1934

Hitler becomes German Führer (August)

Nuremburg Rally (September)

USSR joins the League of Nations (September)

Samuel Beckett, *More Pricks Than Kicks*

Nancy Cunard, ed. *Negro*

T. S. Eliot, *After Strange Gods*

Storm Jameson, *Company Parade*

Stephen Spender, *Vienna*

Alec Waugh, *The Balliols*

Evelyn Waugh, *A Handful of Dust*

1935

Germany repudiates Treaty of Versailles (March)

Stanley Baldwin becomes prime minister of Britain (June)

Italy invades Abyssinia (October)

W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *The Dog Beneath the Skin*

George Barker, *Poems*

C. Day Lewis *Collected Poems 1929–1933*

James Hanley, *The Furies*

Louis MacNeice, *Poems*

George Orwell, *Burmese Days*

Stephen Spender, *The Destructive Element*

1936

Popular Front wins a majority in Spanish elections (February)

Italy annexes Ethiopia (May)

Spanish Civil War begins (July)

Non-Intervention Agreement signed (August)

Stalin begins purges in USSR (October)

Germany and Italy form Axis alliance (October)

John Cornford dies in Spain (December)

Abdication of Edward VIII; George VI succeeds him (December)

Cyril Connolly, *The Rock Pool*

T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems, 1909–1935*

Aldous Huxley, *Eyeless in Gaza*

James Joyce, *Ulysses* (UK edition)

Evelyn Waugh, *Waugh in Abyssinia*

1937

FDR begins second term as US president (January)

Spanish city of Málaga defeated by Nationalist forces (February)

Guernica bombed by German planes (April)

Neville Chamberlain becomes Prime Minister of Britain (May)

Julian Bell dies in Spain (July)

Nationalists bomb Madrid (August)

Italy withdraws from the League of Nations (December)

W. H. Auden, *Spain*

George Barker, *Calamiterror*

Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering*

Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson, *Mass-Observation*

George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*

Stephen Spender, *Forward from Liberalism*

1938

Germany annexes Austria (March)

Kristallnacht (November)

Samuel Beckett, *Murphy*

Cyril Connolly, *Enemies of Promise*

George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*

Herbert Read, *Poetry and Anarchism*

Sylvia Townsend Warner, *After the Death of Don Juan*

Evelyn Waugh, *Scoop*

1939

Republicans defeated in Spanish Civil War (April)

Italy invades Albania (April)

Germany invades Poland (September)

Britain and France declare war on Germany (September)

W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War*

George Barker, *Elegy on Spain*

Roy Campbell, *Flowering Rifle: A poem from the battlefields of Spain*

T. S. Eliot, *The Idea of a Christian Society*

Henry Green, *Party Going*

Geoffrey Grigson, *New Verse* (anthology)

A. E. Housman, *Collected Poems*

James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*

Louis MacNeice, *Autumn Journal*

George Orwell, *Coming up for Air*

Stephen Spender, *The Still Centre*

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Civil War

In July 1936, a group of generals from the Spanish Armed Forces launched an insurrection against the Second Spanish Republic, which had been elected by popular vote in April 1931 and was led by the Popular Front, a coalition of left and center-left political parties. The rebellion was initiated by conservative monarchist General Francisco Franco (1892–1975), who, in 1936, was the Chief of Staff of the Spanish military. In the first weeks of the insurrection, he found support among the military leadership in the Spanish cities of Burgos, Cádiz, Cordova, Pamplona, Seville, and Valladolid. However, Barcelona, Bilbao, Madrid, Malaga, and Valencia refused to join; thus began the Spanish Civil War.

Well before the rebellion, Spain's political infrastructure was unstable. The formation of the republic in 1931 followed the dissolution of the monarchy of King Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), but almost immediately after the election the Republican government splintered into its factions, which were constantly at odds with one another. The Popular Front's abundance of political party acronyms is legendary, but the major players were: the anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the communist Partido Comunista de España (PCE) and Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), and the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT). The infighting between these groups would play a significant role in their failure to win the war. Not

surprisingly, Franco's followers enjoyed a far greater cohesion under the umbrella of fascism, a unity that contributed enormously to his ultimate success.

Franco's Nationalists embraced traditional Spanish social and political institutions, particularly Catholicism and the monarchy. They rejected the social welfare initiatives championed by the Republican government, which included the redistribution of large parcels of land owned by wealthy individuals and by the Catholic Church, the implementation of standardized wages and conditions for farm workers and other laborers, and an increasingly secularized school system. Franco offered traditionalists a return to stability and they welcomed his suppression of the Republicans' efforts to assert themselves as the legitimate government, regarding their efforts as chaotic and inherently destructive.

Franco famously used troops from Spain's North African territories, notably the "Army of Africa," made up of conscripted soldiers from Morocco, who were referred to as "Moors." These were seen as mercenaries and many human rights violations were attributed to them.

Propaganda from both sides played a vital role in determining the allegiance of Spanish civilians, as well as others around the world. From the beginning, Franco maintained that the insurrection was initiated by communist elements in the government—propped up by the Soviet Union—and that his actions were necessary to prevent Spain from devolving into a Soviet state. Reports of raped and massacred civilians and clergy and the desecration of church property were widespread. Although atrocities were certainly committed on the part of the Republicans, many historians have

since questioned the majority of these reports. Likewise, the Republicans relied heavily on foreign journalists' sensationalized dispatches from the front lines, but given the disparity between the capabilities of the two armies, many events described by left-leaning journalists were likely not exaggerated.

The war captured the attention of people around the world who were concerned about the spread of international fascism; many saw the events in Spain as a warning of what would occur elsewhere in Europe if fascism gained a significant foothold. However, governments that otherwise might have been sympathetic to the cause of the Republicans—Britain, France, and the United States, among others—were not prepared to become formally involved in the conflict.

In August 1936, the French initiated the Non-Intervention Agreement, which was signed by twenty-four nations, all of whom pledged to withhold financial or material support from both sides. It was this resistance to preventing the spread of fascism that led many artists and intellectuals outside of Spain to take up the cause of the Republicans, particularly because those who were knowledgeable about the war were well aware that Nazi Germany, Italy, and Portugal were providing troops, ammunition, tanks, and airplanes to Franco's army in defiance of the agreement, tipping the scales dramatically. The Soviet Union also breached the agreement, supplying the Republicans with arms and troops, but its support was provided only to the communist factions, and was a fraction of that supplied by the Germans and Italians.

Some foreigners who wanted to fight alongside the Republicans joined the International Brigades, a volunteer force of military units from different countries

organized by the Soviet-backed Comintern, which had a stake in a Republican victory. Historian Hugh Thomas writes in *The Spanish Civil War* (1989) that 60 percent of these volunteers were communists when they joined, while another 20 percent became members of the Party after fighting in Spain (441). Most of them were motivated by ideology or, in some cases, an inability to find employment at home. In total, around 30,000 people from fifty-three countries volunteered to fight in the Brigades. In the United Kingdom, the ruling Labour Party opposed the International Brigades as a subversion of the Non-Intervention Agreement (Preston 143), but that didn't prevent thousands of British citizens from joining.

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War

In the United Kingdom, the period between the end of the Great War and the beginning of the Second World War saw an abundance of political manifestoes circulated among artists, intellectuals, and writers. Rooted in the notion that creative work could stimulate public awareness of various causes, activism frequently took the form of short-lived journals, cheaply bound pamphlets, and appeals signed by well-known figures. Both right- and left-leaning groups produced large numbers of publications addressing current events and controversial social and political topics.

The sixpenny pamphlet *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* is a notable example of a left-leaning publication that enlisted the notoriety of its contributors to inform and influence its readership on the civil war in Spain that was, at the time of publication in 1937, well into its second year. The pamphlet features short statements

from prominent writers, the majority of whom are from Great Britain, on whether they support the Republican government of Spain, or Franco's fascist insurrection. The twelve signatories of the questionnaire included literary figures from Britain alongside a handful of foreign authors. They posed the following questions:

Are you for, or against, the legal Government
and the People of Republican Spain?
Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism?

The questions were distributed by mail to hundreds of writers (the exact number is not known) to solicit responses for publication. The appeal closes: "We wish the world to know what you, writers and poets, who are amongst the most sensitive instruments of a nation, feel."

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War consists of brief remarks from 148 contributors in a "10,000 word" pamphlet. Contributors were instructed to submit replies no longer than six lines in length, although many exceeded this. Of the responses, 127 are classified as "For" the Republican government, fifteen as "Neutral?" and five "Against." One—that of George Bernard Shaw—was a late addition and is marked "STOP THE PRESS - Unclassified." The editors determined the categorization of each submission. The *Left Review*—a left-leaning journal founded in 1934 and affiliated with the British Section of the Writers' International—printed 3,000 copies of the pamphlet and all of the proceeds were donated to support the Spanish Republicans.

The editors had the subjective task of categorizing the responses. Most were unequivocal, but a few that were put into the “For” category might have fitted just as well within “Neutral?” For instance, Laurence Housman’s entry is certain on its convictions about fascism (“I am wholly opposed to fascism”), but less certainly on the side of the Spanish Republican government: “The Spanish Government was provocative, and threatened to secure its reforms by unconstitutional methods before rebellion started.” He goes on to write: “I think it is a mistake to pretend that legal government is so sacred.” Yet his response is categorized as “For” the Republican government. Similarly, C. L. R. James’s contribution begins: “Against fascism, against Franco, but against bourgeois democracy too.”

In terms of decisions to capitalize certain words or not, the editors were inconsistent. For instance, Jenny Ballou’s entry refers to the “People of Republican Spain,” while Liam O’Flaherty’s contribution appears without the capital “P” in “people.”

Decisions on whether or not to hyphenate certain names suggest certain motives on behalf of the contributors and the editors. C. Day-Lewis, for example, intentionally dropped the hyphen in his last name in order to downplay the upper-class connotations that accompany double-barreled names; the editors respected his wishes and did not include the hyphen. In the entry for Peter Chalmers Mitchell, however, the editors supplied a hyphen where there is none and used his title, “Sir.” He is the only contributor to have been knighted by 1937.

Although many of the contributors held academic posts of one kind or another, only Harold Laski and H. Levy are given the title of “Professor” in front of their names in *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*. This may be because Laski was a political theorist and Levy a mathematician so the editors may have felt compelled to identify figures who were not known as literary figures and to lend them creditability with an academic title.

Military titles and state honors are sometimes noted for contributors who were not prominent writers. Brigadier-General Percy Crozier is referred to as such; although he was the author of memoirs of the Great War, he would not have been well-known as a writer. Certainly it would be in the best interests of the editors to count a high-ranking military officer among their supporters. The politician D. N. Pritt is identified with his K.C. and M.P. credentials.

The editors chose to associate certain contributors with publications. For instance, Norman Cliff is identified as “Foreign Editor, *News Chronicle*,” and A. J. Cummings as “Political Editor, *News Chronicle*.” As a prominent left-leaning paper, the *News Chronicle* was fully supportive of the Spanish Republicans and employed Nancy Cunard and other contributors to the pamphlet as foreign correspondents during the war. Geoffrey Grigson is identified as the editor of the respected poetry journal *New Verse*, another association that would have brought creditability to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*. J. W. Robertson Scott had both his title of J.P. (Justice of the Peace) and his position as editor of *The Countryman* included in his contribution.

There are a few minor misspellings of names, notably Aleister Crowley, who is referred to as “Alastair,” and Rosamond Lehmann, who is referred to as “Rosamund.”

There are some minor errors within a few of the contributions themselves, although it is unclear whether the mistakes are on the part of the editors or the authors. Elinor

Mordaunt’s reference to “Kingslake’s *History of the Crimea*” for Kinglake’s *The Invasion of Crimea* is likely to be an error by the author rather than the editors.

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War in Context

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War demonstrates that binaries—which are only possible in an environment in which the position of neutrality on certain issues is considered to be an inferior, if not outright unacceptable, stance on certain kinds of social or political issues—were thriving in the period between the Great War and the Second World War. However, among prominent artists and intellectuals in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, there remained a divide between those who held the conviction that writers and other artists carried a responsibility to put their creativity to work for social and political activism and those who felt that politics had no place in poetry and art. The controversy between these opposing viewpoints came down to, as Stephen Spender wrote in his autobiography *World Within World* (1951), “whether there was a necessary connection between politics and literature” (272). Even Louis MacNeice—himself a contributor to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* who wrote in support of the Republicans—drew the conclusion that “in the long run a poet must choose between being politically ineffectual and poetically false” (*British Writers of the Thirties* 420).

Literary historian Valentine Cunningham argues that the Spanish Civil War “provided tests” for writers in the thirties, many of whom had come of age during the Great War:

Bluntly put, thirties writing’s preoccupation with questions of war, action, pacifism and the possibility of heroism in the light of the First World War, of Wilfred Owen’s anti-war poetry and the absorbing failure of the “self-conscious” man of action T. E. Lawrence, its fascination with placing and displacing, with map-making and map-reading, with frontier-anxieties, with exile and abroad, its alertness to issues of class, revolution and the popularity of art, its talk of the revolutionary house of the knife and the apocalyptic moment of decisive struggle: all these recurrent obsessions came suddenly very sharply and nastily to life in Spain. (*Spanish Front* xxv)

It is in many ways remarkable that the question at the center of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* could be posed in post-Great War Britain. It has been a refrain of twentieth-century western history that one of the hard-learned lessons during the Great War was that, following the scale and horrific circumstances of the loss of life in the trenches, the public would never again be capable of watching young people march to a senseless death while the parties responsible gave their orders from the sidelines. Yet the language of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* suggests that the idealism that compelled young men and women to support the Great War as a force for good was not altogether dead in 1937. The question at the heart of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*

suggests that art and literature may still have the power to influence world events.

Cunningham articulates this notion succinctly:

It was relatively easy, of course, reading the [*Daily Worker*] or the [*Left Review*] and in an air thick with pro-Republican manifestoes by writers and artists, to believe that the war actually depended on the moral support of a Hemingway or a Paul Robeson. (*British Writers of the Thirties* 420)

Spender—himself a signatory of the questionnaire who was a supporter of the Republican government—frequently addressed in essays and autobiography the apparent disconnect between the disillusionment of so many writers who experienced the Great War and the fact that some intellectuals of the thirties believed that writing and art could serve political purposes and influence the course of yet another war:

“All a poet can do today is to warn”, the greatest of English war poets, Wilfred Owen, wrote in 1918. That is true always of poetry written in the midst of great social upheaval; but the poets of the International Brigade have a different warning to give from that of the best poets of the Great War. It is a warning that it is necessary for civilization to defend and renew itself.

Spender wrote this in the preface to *Poems for Spain* (1939), a compilation of poetry that he co-edited with John Lehmann to raise awareness and money to support the Spanish Republicans. In the anthology were poems by contributors to *Authors Take Sides on the*

Spanish War, including W. H. Auden, Herbert Read, Rex Warner, and Sylvia Townsend Warner.

Nearly thirty years later, writing in *The Thirties and After* (1967), Spender again addressed the influence of Great War poets, and particularly Wilfred Owen (1893–1918), who was killed in action one week before the end of the war. Looking back, Spender argues that he and his peers were not wholly committed to the politicization of poetry to the same degree as John Cornford (1915–36) and Julian Bell (1908–37), both of whom died volunteering in the Spanish Civil War. Speaking of himself in the third person, Spender writes: “The political poetry of Auden, Day-Lewis, MacNeice and Spender had a temporary, ‘for the duration’ look. It might be called a variety of war poetry” (7). Spender acknowledges the ways in which poetry was, in his opinion, only temporarily appropriated for the sake of propaganda during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War:

The Thirties’ poets who had sneered at Rupert Brooke and whose feelings about war had been absorbed from the poetry of the western front written by Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon—and from Robert Graves’s *Goodbye to All That*—were rather embarrassed to find themselves in one aspect like Rupert Brooke; that is to say, writing poetry in support of war against Germans. (*The Thirties and After* 7)

He continues: “In the event, what they wrote was anti-Fascist poetry which was profoundly influenced by the diction and attitudes of Wilfred Owen—a kind of anti-Fascist pacifist poetry” (*The Thirties and After* 7).

In *World Within World*, Spender writes that “the speeches of those who tried to connect writing with political tasks always left me uneasy.” He continues: “I was ‘political’ not just because I was involved, but in feeling I must choose to defend a good cause against a bad one. Auden remarked to me at the end of the war that he was political in the 1930’s just because he thought something could and should be done” (*World Within World* 273–4). A passage from *The Thirties and After* demonstrates his discomfort with the impulse to instill politics within poetry, again invoking Owen as a prime example of a poet of the Great War:

The Spanish Civil War was felt to be a war of light against darkness (my Oxford tutor, the idealist philosopher E. F. Carritt described it as being the only conflict to occur in his lifetime in which clearly and indisputably the forces of good—the Republicans—were arrayed against the forces of evil—the Fascists), yet just the same there was something repugnant about the whole enterprise of writing poetry supporting our side against the other side, to poets who had made a hero of Wilfred Owen. (7)

Decades after the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War, Spender, like many of his contemporaries, had retreated from an endorsement of art and poetry as necessary for inciting social and political change.

The Dossier

As defined in the *OED*, a dossier is “a bundle of papers or documents referring to some matter; esp. a bundle of papers or information about a person.” Borrowed from the French *dossier*, a “‘bundle of papers,’ which from their bulging are likened to a back (*dos*),” the term first appears in English in 1880 in the *Contemporary Review*: “The dossiers of the electioneering agent.” It is almost universally used in the context of government bureaucracy, the processing of criminals, or a company’s recordkeeping for its employees. Its purpose is to organize information of a certain kind according to a rubric—be it alphabetical, chronological, etc.—and the categories it contains depend upon the particular agenda of the recordkeeper. A court dossier for an accused murderer, for example, will contain documents relevant to his or her case—coroner’s reports, eye-witness accounts, and police records. It is unlikely to include the accused’s school transcripts or vaccination history, unless that information is directly relevant to whether or not he or she is a murderer. It is in this way that a number of dossiers under one individual’s name may contain no overlapping information, depending on the functional purpose of the documents.

It can also be said that most dossiers’ materials are relevant to the collector only as they relate to one another. Any one collection represents a gathering of evidence in which a single item may have little meaning outside of the context of the whole, each piece contributing to the narrative that the dossier exists to construct. Again in the example of a murder investigation, the telephone records of the accused may make little

difference in the case taken out of context, but alongside those of the victim and the accomplices, a picture of the event may emerge.

Arthur Koestler—whose experiences of the Spanish Civil War are documented in Part Three of this edition—was arrested by the Nationalist General Queipo de Llano in February 1937. He feared a death sentence because he knew that the general probably had evidence that Koestler had written a book and several articles characterizing Queipo de Llano as a psychopath (*Spanish Testament* 34). Eleven days after his arrest, Koestler sat in a cell, wondering how much his captors knew:

I worked out the most varying theories as to what was going on behind the scenes. The most likely explanation seemed to me that Queipo had sent for my dossier and that some authority or other was at the moment too busy to translate my book and my articles, amongst them my interview with Queipo himself, which were to constitute the main body of the evidence against me. If this were the case, then I had no cause to rejoice at the time thus gained. (283–84)

Koestler soon learned that he had been condemned to death, and although he was eventually freed, he never ascertained which documents the Nationalists had collected to substantiate his punishment.

The case for an edition as dossier is prickly because it must be substantiated by its contents. But this approach suits the nature of the Spanish Civil War, which has a fraught relationship with documentary evidence of all kinds, from the missing records of the thousands of political dissidents who disappeared under Franco's rule, to

controversies surrounding the authenticity of Robert Capa's famous photographic documentation of the war. Historians of the Spanish Civil War face great obstacles to obtaining factual information about the war because, as Paul Preston writes in *The Spanish Civil War* (2006): "Far from trying to heal the wounds of civil strife, Franco worked harder than anyone to keep the war a live and burning issue both inside and outside Spain" (2).

In victory, Franco effectively suppressed discussion of the war, a tradition that has endured even beyond his death in 1975. Historians who wish to gather narratives of the war must collect and interpret evidence piecemeal, often in defiance of Spain's efforts to push the war out of memory by way of what has been called the "pact of oblivion" (*pacto del olvido*) that has only recently begun to be dismantled. Preston writes that it is a "tacit, collective agreement of the great majority of the Spanish people to renounce any settling of accounts after the death of Franco" (9). One result of this effort to keep the peace has been to undermine efforts to discover what happened to the "disappeared" (*desaparecidos*), "their bodies not located, their manner of death not confirmed" (11). One of the most famous of the *desaparecidos* is the poet Federico García Lorca (b. 1898), who was likely executed by Nationalist troops in 1936. His body has yet to be found and his family has resisted attempts to locate it.

But as sensitivity to the complex narratives of history has increased, historians have become interested in those marginalized on the losing side of historical events. A recent exhibit mounted in Baltimore's Maryland Historical Society on the occasion of the bicentennial of the War of 1812 devotes significant attention to the experiences of

African Americans, women, and children in an effort to present a fuller picture via a number of different points of view. Imaginative curators work to present unexpected perspectives—in this instance those of minorities in particular—going so far as to explain why certain narratives have been left out of popular representations of famous events. The task of a good curator is to triangulate a cultural or historic moment via representation—a showcase of its finest artefacts—that, at its pinnacle, will come as close as possible to providing an audience with a glimpse of what it was like to experience that moment first-hand.

The task of editing this kind of collection is not unlike that of a curator. The purpose of this edition of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* is to capitalize on the advantages of a kind of dossier that provides a range of perspectives on a particular moment in history. It offers plentiful evidence in the form of essays, poems, unpublished manuscripts and obscure correspondence. Taken together, what these documents provide is a picture of mid-thirties Britain and the ways in which some of its finest writers—as well as those who were, and still are, less widely known—were interacting with the Spanish Civil War. At this edition's nexus is *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, but it is also an exhibition of artefacts surrounding the publication of this pamphlet in particular, presented alongside related, relevant texts. Through annotation and commentary, published, unpublished, and corrected works, most of which can be found in no other publication, triangulate this particular moment in literary history. Valentine Cunningham's *Spanish Front* collects passages from almost exclusively British writers

on the war and includes poems, letters, essays, and fiction. His is an anthology. This is not.

The edition takes the shape of a pyramid and begins, at its base, with the pamphlet itself. Chapter One is *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* with annotation that provides biographical and historical information about each contributor. When a contributor appears in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and *Who's Who*, a note appears at the foot of his or her entry. Admission into either speaks to an individual's level of fame or notoriety either at the time of his or her death, in the case of the *ODNB*, or when he or she was still alive, in the case of *Who's Who*. Therefore, whether a contributor was or was not included in one or both provides certain kinds of information about his or her impact.

For contributors who wrote on the Spanish Civil War, or on the binaries of *for* and *against* upon which the pamphlet relies, passages have been supplied to provide examples of the authors' political convictions or the ways in which the rhetoric of the questionnaire entered into their lexicons.

Chapter Two narrows the focus and is dedicated exclusively to Nancy Cunard and archival material surrounding *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*. Cunard's archive at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas-Austin holds original documents pertaining to the publication. Although she is listed as a co-signatory of the questionnaire, Cunard was the leader of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* initiative. A writer, artist, political activist, editor, and publisher, she was deeply concerned with addressing issues of social, political, and racial inequality. As a correspondent for the *Manchester*

Guardian and other publications, Cunard traveled to Spain and reported on the fighting. She became one of the leading voices arguing for the British government to come to the aid of the Spanish Republicans.

Cunard preserved correspondence and notes about *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, but much was lost during the Second World War. Included here is a transcription of a sheaf of surviving, unpublished letters from writers who received the questionnaire—two of whom decline her invitation to contribute—that Cunard later bound into a makeshift scrapbook. The correspondence sheds light on the ways in which contributors reacted to the questionnaire and Cunard's notes relating to the pamphlet also supply additional insight into the process of publication. Her archive provides the bulk of ancillary material about the pamphlet as the most relevant extant supplementary documents.

Chapter Three further narrows the reader's attention by picking out six writers for special attention, providing expanded relevant biographies and drawing on excerpts from essays, correspondence, poetry, and works of fiction to demonstrate connections between the author and the Spanish Civil War and the notion of taking sides. These authors were well known in the thirties as well as today, and engaged with the war, either as combatants, in their writing, or both.

All of the authors represented in this chapter contributed to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* with the notable exception of George Orwell, who, despite having fought for the Republicans with the POUM, refused to respond. Special consideration has been given to textual issues raised in these authors' work, particularly that of W. H.

Auden, whose “Spain” is perhaps the best-known poem from the war in the English language. It has a complex history that parallels Auden’s evolving political convictions; its various stages of revision are recorded and described here.

Chapter four is dedicated entirely to Arthur Koestler, who spent four months on death row in a Nationalist prison in 1937. All told, he wrote three books and a large body of journalism on the Spanish Civil War, integrating parts of articles he wrote for the London *News Chronicle* and his early book on the war, *Menschenopfer unerhört* (1937) into *Spanish Testament* (1938), Koestler’s perspective on the causes of the war and an account of his imprisonment. Here, as elsewhere, the goal has been to identify passages that engage the notion of taking sides, but the section also includes passages from Koestler’s works that parallel each other, drawing the reader’s attention to the ways in which Koestler revised for subsequent editions. Finally, it offers testimonies, both published and unpublished, from others that offer their own perspectives on Koestler’s participation in the war.

Of all of the contributors to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, Koestler’s investment was the most personal. He entered the war as a Comintern agent and reporter, but by 1938 had rejected the Communist Party altogether. A close examination of his testimony reveals much about the spectrum of political investment across intellectual and artistic circles in Great Britain during this time. The pamphlet itself offers a panoply of experience and opinion, while this edition’s chapter on Koestler’s participation in the Spanish Civil War is an investigation into a particular case in detail.

The final chapter is devoted to “Decade in Exile,” a 1950 essay written by Nancy Cunard on Spanish poets who had been forced to flee Spain during or after the war. In it are Cunard’s translations of Spanish poems and descriptions of the poets’ circumstances. The essay was published in the literary journal *Arena* with significant edits; the article as published is compared here with Cunard’s own copy, which is held in the Harry Ransom Center’s Nancy Cunard archive.

The Legacy of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*

In 1938, the *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* initiative was repeated in the United States by the League of American Writers. The resulting publication, *Writers Take Sides: Letters about the war in Spain from 418 American writers*, is composed of American authors’ statements in response to the same two questions. Unlike its predecessor, however, the U.S. version features short responses from its respondents in addition to a list of names of writers who supported one side or the other, but who did not provide a response or whose response was not published. It is in this way that it incorporates a petition into the format employed by *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*.

This format has since been revived in Great Britain by Cecil Woolf to gauge writers’ opinions concerning subsequent wars in *Authors Take Sides on Vietnam* (1967), *Authors Take Sides on the Falklands* (1982), and, more recently, *Authors Take Sides: Iraq and the Gulf War* (2004), which addresses both the Gulf War of 1991 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

I. Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War

Authors take sides on the Spanish War

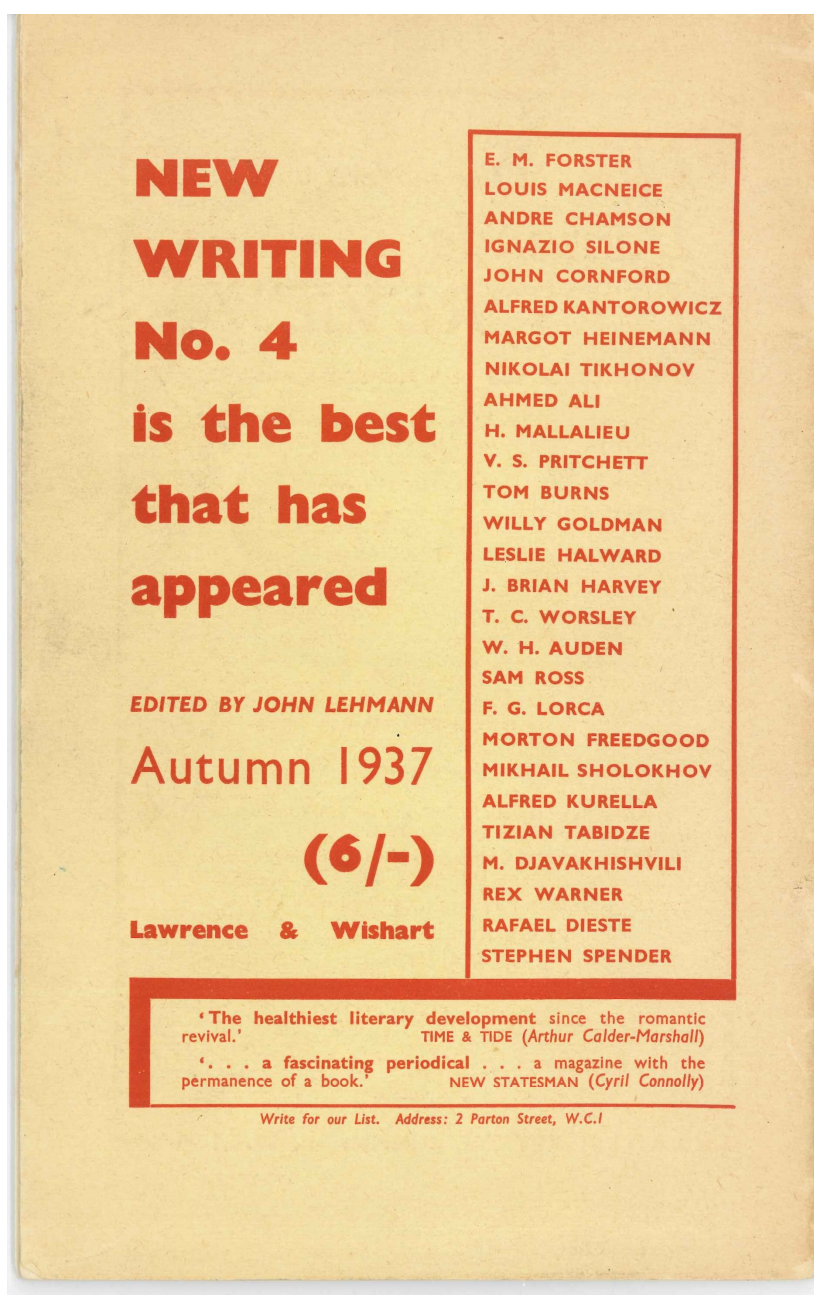
148 CONTRIBUTIONS

10,000 WORDS

PRICE SIX PENCE



George Bernard Shaw
H. G. Wells
Aldous Huxley
Ethel Mannin
Liam O'Flaherty
Evelyn Waugh
Ruby M. Ayres
Havelock Ellis
Louis Golding
Lady Eleanor Smith
Laurence Housman
Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell
A. J. Cummings
Rose Macaulay
C. Day Lewis
Naomi Royde Smith
Helen Waddell
Stephen Spender
A. E. Coppard
Storm Jameson
John Strachey
Olaf Stapledon
W. H. Auden
Arthur Calder-Marshall
Lancelot Hogben
Rebecca West
H. M. Tomlinson
Hamilton Fyfe
V. Sackville-West
Norman Douglas
Ezra Pound
T. S. Eliot
Rosamund Lehmann
Arthur Machen
H. W. Nevinson
J. W. Robertson-Scott
Eric Linklater
E. Ibbetson James
Harold Laski
Charles Morgan
and over 100 others



Front and back covers: New Writing bi-annual literary journal founded by John Lehmann in 1935. Contributors to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* who also appear on the back cover's advertisement for *New Writing* No. 4: W. H. Auden, Louis MacNeice, V. S. Pritchett, Stephen Spender, and Rex Warner. E. M. Forster refused to respond to the questionnaire. Notably Samuel Beckett is not listed on the cover.

STOP PRESS: UNCLASSIFIED

George Bernard Shaw

IN SPAIN both the Right and the Left so thoroughly disgraced themselves in the turns they took in trying to govern their country before the Right revolted, that it is impossible to say which of them is the more incompetent. Spain must choose for itself: it is really not our business, though of course our Capitalist Government has done everything it possibly could to help General Franco. I as a Communist am generally on the Left; but that does not commit me to support the British Party Parliament system, and its continental imitations, of which I have the lowest opinion.

At present the Capitalist powers seem to have secured a victory over the General by what they call their non-interference, meaning their very active interference on his side; but it is unlikely that the last word will be with him. Meanwhile I shall not shout about it.

George Bernard Shaw

(1856–1950) Playwright and polemicist

Born in Dublin, Shaw was not formally educated beyond the age of fifteen, when his family's finances compelled him to take a job as a junior clerk for a real estate company. By the time he was twenty, he had risen to the position of head cashier, but the work was unsatisfying and he moved to London in 1876.

His first published novel was The Irrational Knot (written in 1880), which was released in serial form in the monthly socialist journal Our Corner (1886–87). His last complete novel, An Unsocial Socialist, was serialized in the journal To-Day in 1884 and published as a book in 1887; it was heavily influenced by Marx. He wrote literary, theatre, music, and art reviews for the Pall Mall Gazette (1885–88), the Star (1888–89), The World (1890–94), and the Saturday Review (1895–98). It was during his tenure as a music columnist for The World that he first became known as G. B. S. For print, he dropped “George” from his name and indicated in his will that the copyrights of his works be licensed under “Bernard Shaw.”

His career as a playwright began with The Devil's Disciple (1897), which was first produced in New York. Over his career, he wrote sixty-three plays. Among his most popular are Arms and the Man (1894), Man and Superman (1902–03), and Pygmalion (1912–13). His final play was Shakes versus Shav (1949). Shaw won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1925. He later won an Oscar for the film adaptation of Pygmalion (1938).

ODNB, Who's Who

Shaw's contribution appears on the inside front cover. **I shall not shout** "And Joshua had commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor make any noise with your voice, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then shall Ye shout." (Joshua 6:10)

S THE QUESTION

To the Writers and Poets of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales

It is clear to many of us throughout the whole world that now, as certainly never before, we are determined or compelled, to take sides. The equivocal attitude, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, will no longer do.

We have seen murder and destruction by Fascism in Italy, in Germany—the organisation there of social injustice and cultural death—and how revived, imperial Rome, abetted by international treachery, has conquered her place in the Abyssinian sun. The dark millions in the colonies are unavenged.

To-day, the struggle is in Spain. To-morrow it may be in other countries—our own. But there are some who, despite the martyrdom of Durango and Guernica, the enduring agony of Madrid, of Bilbao, and Germany's shelling of Almeria, are still in doubt, or who aver that it is possible that Fascism may be what it proclaims it is: "the saviour of civilisation".

This is the question we are asking you:
Are you for, or against, the legal Government
and the People of Republican Spain?
Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism?
For it is impossible any longer to take no side.

Writers and Poets, we wish to print your answers. We wish the world to know what you, writers and poets, who are amongst the most sensitive instruments of a nation, feel.

Signed:

Aragon
W. H. Auden
José Bergamín
Jean Richard Bloch

Nancy Cunard
Brian Howard
Heinrich Mann
Ivor Montagu

Paris - June 1937

Pablo Neruda
Ramón Sender
Stephen Spender
Tristan Tzara

The Question: **Aragon, Bergamín, Bloch, Mann, Neruda, Sender, Tzara** brief biographical sketches of the seven signatories who did not contribute statements follow next page. **place in the Abyssinian sun** In a parliamentary debate 6 December 1897, German foreign minister Bernard Von Bülow: “In one word: we do not want to place anyone into the shadow, but claim our place in the sun.” Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia) was subject to brutal Italian occupation (1936–41) under Mussolini before achieving independence. The League of Nations was criticized for its policy of non-intervention. **Durango** Town in the province of Vizcaya destroyed by Italian and German bombers 31 March 1937. According to Hugh Thomas, “the first defenseless town in Europe to be mercilessly bombed” (*The Spanish Civil War*, 599). **Guernica** Basque town of little military import destroyed by German and Italian bombers 26 April 1937. **Madrid** Capital of Spain and Republican stronghold besieged by Nationalist forces 1936–39, captured 1939. **Bilbao** Basque capital captured by Nationalist forces 18 June 1937. **Almeria** Andalusian city of little military import bombed by German ships 31 May 1937 in retaliation for May 26 Republican airstrikes on the Nationalist fleet in the bay of Mallorca. At the time, political leadership in France and England felt the German attack was justified. **“the saviour of civilisation”** Russian poet Pyotr Andreyevich Vyazemsky (1792–1878) referred to Emperor Nicholas I (1796–1955) as “the Saviour of civilisation” in the anti-European poem “Holy Russia” (1850).

The Signatories

Seven of the twelve signatories did not publish statements in Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. Brief biographical sketches of these seven follow.

[Louis] Aragon

[formerly Louis Andrieux] (1897–1982) Man of letters

Born in Paris, Aragon left home at the age of nineteen to serve in the Great War.

Following the armistice, he became a close friend of the poet André Breton, with whom he founded the Surrealist journal Littérature in 1919. From 1924 he wrote under the name “Aragon.” His first book of poetry, Feu de joie (“Bonfire,” 1920), was followed by his debut novel, Le Paysan de Paris (“The Nightwalker,” 1926).

Turning away from Surrealism, he joined the French Communist Party in 1927, visiting the Soviet Union in 1930. He remained committed to the Party for the rest of his life. His series of four novels, Le Monde réel (“The Real World,” 1933–44) describe the necessity of a working class revolution. The novel Les Communistes (six volumes, 1949–51) gives a history of the Party from 1939 to 1940. He was the editor of the communist daily l’Humanité, the monthly Commune, and Ce Soir, the Party’s evening paper. He stood beside the Soviet Union through Stalin’s purges and the Nazi–Soviet Pact.

During the Second World War, he was a leading voice of the French resistance and was three times decorated for his service in the Battle of France in 1940, where he was taken prisoner and held until he escaped in 1941. He subsequently published three

notable collections of poetry: *Le Crève-cœur* (“*The Heartbreaker*,” 1941), *Les yeux d’Elsa* (“*Elsa’s Eyes*,” 1942), and *Le Musée Grévin* (“*The Grévin Museum*,” 1943), written under the pseudonym of François La Colère.

In the 1960s, he was a member of the Party’s Central Committee and editor of its literary review Les Lettres Françaises. Only in 1962, with increasingly disturbing revelations about the Soviet Gulags, did a rift begin to form between French communism and that of the USSR and Aragon increasingly aligned himself with the former.

Derek Kahn, the assistant editor of the Left Review, interviewed Aragon in an article titled “French Writers and the People’s Front” (May 1936). Kahn writes: “The question of surrealism is a very personal one with Aragon, because he has broken with that school and become a Communist—and a most active one” (378). In the interview, he remarks to Aragon, “‘What I envy in your position,’ I said, ‘is the deliberate way in which writers have taken sides. In England there is so much nervousness, and so many ostriches who say, “neither Fascism nor Communism”’” (379).

José Bergamín

[read José Bergamín y Gutiérrez] (1895–1983) Writer

Born in Spain, Bergamín studied law at Madrid’s Universidad Central. In 1933 he was the founding editor of the journal Cruz y Raya, which favored the Republican government and was shuttered in 1936 when war broke out.

During the Spanish Civil War, Bergamín was founder and president of the Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas (Alliance of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals) and the cultural attaché to the government in Paris. There he attempted to raise international support for the Republicans. He led the 1937 Congreso Internacional de Escritores en Defensa de la Cultura (International Congress of Writers in Defence of Culture) in Valencia.

After Franco's victory, Bergamín was exiled from Spain and lived in Mexico, Venezuela, and Uruguay. He founded a journal for exiled Spaniards, España peregrina, and served as editor of Federico García Lorca's Poeta en Nueva York ("Poet in New York," 1940), following Lorca's death. He also founded the publishing firm Editorial Séneca, which published Rafael Alberti, Antonio Machado, Lorca, and others. He attempted to return to Spain in 1958, but was forced to leave again in 1963. From 1970, he lived in Madrid and was critical of La Transición, Spain's transition to democracy.

In a report by Edgell Rickword on the 1937 Congress of the International Association of Writers in Madrid (Left Review, September 1937), Rickword quotes Bergamín:

When I am out of Spain people sometimes say to me, "When will the war be over?" And when I return home and speak to Spanish peasants and workers, they ask me, "When shall we win the war?" That is the essential difference for us, which determines the meaning of peace and of war. The difference that can be felt most clearly in Madrid." (453)

Jean Richard Bloch

[Jean-Richard Bloch] (1884–1947) Writer

A Parisian, Bloch was a schoolteacher before the Great War. In 1914, he enlisted and was wounded three times in battle. He was a publisher of the left-wing literary journal L'Effort Libre from 1910 to 1914. In 1921, he joined the French Communist Party.

A supporter of the Popular Front, in 1934 he joined the Comité de vigilance des intellectuels antifascistes (Watchfulness Committee of Antifascist Intellectuals), which existed 1934–36, and L'Association des écrivains et artistes révolutionnaires (Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists), which was founded in 1932 and dissolved in 1939. In 1937, together with Aragon, he founded the communist evening paper Ce soir.

From 1941 to 1945, Bloch lived in the Soviet Union, where he produced French-language radio broadcasts. He remained in Paris until his death.

Heinrich Mann

[Luiz (Ludwig) Heinrich Mann] (1871–1950) Novelist

The elder brother of the writer Thomas Mann (1875–1955), Heinrich was born in Lübeck, Germany. He studied at the University of Berlin and pursued painting in Rome before deciding to be a writer; his first book, a collection of stories, titled Das Wunderbare (“The Wonderful”), was published in 1897.

In 1933, even though he was the president of the Literary Section of the Prussian Academy of Literature, he was stripped of his German citizenship as one of the signatories of the 1931 "Urgent Call for Unity," a petition signed by prominent German scientists, writers, and artists to prevent the Nazi Party from coming into power in 1932. His books were among those destroyed in the May 1933 Nazi book-burning. He became a Czech citizen in 1935 and later moved to France, where he lived until the German occupation forced him to flee in 1940. That year he moved to California where he remained until his death.

Many of his novels satirized middle and upper-class German society. He is best remembered for his Das Kaiserreich trilogy, which includes Die Armen ("The Poor," 1917), Der Untertan ("The Patrioteer," 1918), and Der Kopf ("The Chief," 1925). His novel Professor Unrat (1909) was made into the film The Blue Angel (1932), starring Marlene Dietrich (1901–92).

Pablo Neruda

[pseudonym for Ricardo Eliezer Neftali Reyes y Basoalto] (1904–73) Poet

Neruda was born in southern Chile and adopted his pseudonym for the publication of his first book, Crepusculario ("Twilight," 1923) because his family was ashamed of his profession. He left school at the age of twenty to become a writer following the success of Veinte poemas de amor y una cancion desesperada ("Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair," 1924).

In accordance with a Latin American custom of honoring poets, he was given a diplomatic post in 1927. As Chilean consul in Buenos Aires, Argentina, he met Federico García Lorca in 1933. Later that year he was made consul to the Spanish government in Madrid and together with the Spanish poet Manuel Altolaguirre (1905–59) launched the literary magazine Caballo verde para la poesía (“The Green Horse for Poetry,” 1935). He was recalled from his diplomatic post in 1936 when he published the pro-Republican poem “España en el corazón” (“Spain in the Heart,” 1937) and subsequently helped to settle 2,000 Spanish refugees in Chile.

Neruda admired Soviet-style communism, writing the poems “Canto a Stalingrado” (“Song of Stalingrad,” 1942) and “Nuevo canto de amor a Stalingrado” (“New Love Song to Stalingrad,” 1943), but his admiration for Stalin waned following revelations about the Soviet purges in 1956. He joined the Communist Party in 1945, the year he was elected to the Chilean senate, but in 1948 the Party was banned and Neruda went into hiding and was granted honorary Mexican citizenship. He was invited by the Chilean Socialist Party to return to Chile in 1952, where he served as President Salvador Allende’s ambassador to France (1970–72), otherwise remaining in Chile for the duration of his life.

He was awarded the World Peace Council’s International Peace Prize (1950), the USSR’s Lenin Peace Prize (1953), and the Nobel Prize for Literature (1971).

In one of the final stanzas of a poem on the Spanish Civil War, “Explico Algunas Costas” (“I’m Explaining a Few Things,” trans. Nathaniel Tarn), Neruda writes:

Generales
 traidores:
 mirad mi casa muerta,
 mirad España rota: pero de cada casa muerta sale metal ardiendo
 en vez de flores,
 pero de cada hueco de España
 sale España,
 pero de cada niño muerto sale un fusil con ojos,
 pero de cada crimen nacen balas
 que os hallarán un día el sitio
 del corazón.

Treacherous
 generals:
 see my dead house,
 look at broken Spain:
 from every house burning metal flows
 instead of flowers,
 from every socket of Spain
 Spain emerges
 and from every dead child a rifle with eyes,
 and from every crime bullets are born
 which will one day find
 the bull's eye of your hearts.

Ramón Sender

(1901–82) Novelist

Born in Aragon, Spain, Sender was educated at the Institute of Saragossa and the University of Madrid. An ardent republican, he was once imprisoned and on another occasion sent home from university because of his outspoken opposition to the monarchy. In 1923, as a part of his compulsory military service, he fought in the Moroccan Rif War (1919–26), in which Spain ultimately maintained control of Spanish Morocco.

Sender returned to Madrid in 1926 and became editor of the liberal newspaper El Sol, which was critical of the conservative government of Primo de Rivera. He was

imprisoned in 1926 for speaking out against the government. Following his release he lived in Paris, Berlin, and Moscow, returning to Spain in 1933.

In a review of Sender's The War in Spain (Trans. Peter Chalmers-Mitchell. London: Faber and Faber, 1937), Valentine Ackland writes:

At the very end of the book, Sender's personal tragedy is treated briefly and courageously. His brother, his wife's brother, and then his wife were all shot by the Fascists. Sender got leave and took his two baby sons to France, and then returned to fight again in his own country. In the Translator's Note, Chalmers Mitchell describes the Senders' home, just before the Rebellion, saying:

"His young wife, a musician and a member of a Catholic family, his two children respectively of two years and a few months old, and his own affectionate and tolerant nature made a picture of domestic happiness which I can never forget. Sender has begged me not to add a word of comment on what he has written in the last pages of the last chapter of this book."

Sender's own words must be read as he wrote them, and in their context; his conclusions are magnanimous and just. This book is the most revealing picture of the Spanish war, and of the new race of men the war has produced. (485)

Tristan Tzara

[Born Samuel Rosenstock] (1896–1963) Poet, artist

Born in Romania, Tzara was one of the founders of the Dada movement. He is the author of the early Dada texts La Première Aventure cèleste de Monsieur Antipyrine ("The First

Heavenly Adventure of Mr. Antipyrine," 1916), Vingt-cinq poèmes ("Twenty-Five Poems," 1918), and Sept manifestes Dada ("Seven Dada Manifestos," 1924). Around 1930, together with Aragon, Breton, and other Dadaists, he embraced Surrealism. He joined the Communist Party in 1936 and together with the Russian journalist Ilya Ehrenburg traveled to Madrid in support of the Republicans and poems inspired by the visit were published in Cunard's Les poètes du monde défendent le peuple espagnol ("The Poets of the World Defend the Spanish People," 1937). He subsequently published Midis gagnés ("Conquered Southern Regions," 1939), which contained poems celebrating the Spanish Republicans and featured a frontispiece by Henri Matisse (1869–1954).

Tzara was a member of the French Resistance during the Second World War and became a French citizen in 1945. He protested France's refusal to grant Algeria independence in 1960.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It has proved impossible to include all the answers received, in response to the hundreds of "Questions" sent out, within the limits of a sixpenny pamphlet. In the task of selection, the editor has depended entirely on the most complete guide available—the 'Reference Catalogue of Current Literature,' so that in no instance has an Answer been omitted on grounds of "policy." (As the reader will see at the first glance, the overwhelming majority of authors are 'FOR THE GOVERNMENT,' and it so happens that all the answers omitted fall under the same head.) This publication is, therefore, both representative and important, since it reflects faithfully the frame of mind of British authors to-day.

'Left Review' will be glad to receive, with a view to publication, statements from any established authors whom the original question did not reach.

"Publisher's Note": *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* An annual index to British publishers' trade lists (1874–1940, 1951, 1961, 1965). **statements from any established authors** No such supplement was published.

THE ANSWERS

FOR

THE GOVERNMENT

Lascelles Abercrombie

THE WAR IN SPAIN is crucial for Europe and civilisation. I am for the legal Government and true nationalism inspired by social justice and free culture. I am against Franco and the forces of international Fascism which, masquerading as patriotism, intend a ruthless domination of property and privilege—in an alliance of obscurantist religion, conscienceless finance, and brutish militarism.

Valentine Ackland

FASCISM IS SYMPTOMATIC of the sick man's will to self-destruction: artists live to resist this will, they express the fight of the living people for life, against death.

I stand with the People and Government of Spain. Against Fascism always. Against confused thinking and cowardice. For the artist's most important qualities of reason and tenacious courage.

Mulk Raj Anand

ALL THE TRUTH OF MY BEING, all the intensity of passion of which I am capable urges me to tell you that I stand for the People of Republican Spain against Franco and Fascism; that I feel that in this tragic hour of Spain's destiny, in the moment of her utmost suffering, it is the duty of all of us to look into our consciences and inquire whether we can sit still and see the flower of Spain's manhood sacrificed before the greed of a few who dream of power and feed their insatiable lust for glory and wealth on the blood of men, women and children.

Lascelles Abercrombie
(1881–1938) Poet, critic

Educated at Malvern College, Abercrombie studied science for two years at the Victoria University of Manchester (1900–02) before becoming a quantity surveyor, writing poetry in his spare time. He took up journalism in 1907 and his first book of verse, Interludes and Poems (1908), was published shortly thereafter. Before the Great War he published several volumes of poetry, including Mary and the Bramble (1910) and The Sale of St. Thomas (1911). It was in this pre-war period, according to Oliver Elton in the ODNB, that Abercrombie “came to be recognized as a leading poet of the new generation, distinguished for his lyrical power and speculative daring.”

Much of the latter part of Abercrombie’s life was spent in academia. He began as a lecturer in poetry at Liverpool University (1919–22), and subsequently became the chair of English Language and Literature at Leeds University (1922–29), the Hildred Carlile Professor of English Literature at London University’s Bedford College for Women (1929–35), and, in 1935, Goldsmith’s Reader in English at Oxford and a fellow of Merton College. He was elected a fellow of the British Academy in 1937.

Abercrombie was president of the Society for Cultural Relations between the British Commonwealth and the USSR 1925–36. The SCR was founded in 1924 by artists and intellectuals—including E. M. Forster (1879–1970) and Bertrand Russell (1872–1970)—from Britain and the USSR, and promoted British–Soviet relations in the arts and humanities. An anti-Nazi, Abercrombie was also a founding member of the German Relief Fund, the Academic Assistance Council, the British Committee for the Relief of

German Teachers, the (National) Council for Civil Liberties, and the Academic Freedom Committee.

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Valentine Ackland

[Mary Kathleen Macrory Ackland] (1906–69) Poet

Ackland was known to family and friends as “Molly” until she was in her mid-twenties. Poet and biographer Wendy Mulford explains in This Narrow Place (1988) that “when Valentine came to have serious aspirations as a poet she renamed herself, and from about 1930 on was only ever known by the androgynous, but more usually male, name Valentine Ackland.”

Ackland joined the Communist Party in 1935 and was a contributor to the Left Review, notably “Country Dealings” (1935), a series of three articles describing the lives of agricultural laborers in rural Norfolk. The articles led to a book, Country Conditions (1936).

Together with her partner Sylvia Townsend Warner, to whom she was devoted for thirty-eight years, she put together a team of first-aid volunteers and traveled to Spain twice during the war. Ackland organized relief efforts for Spanish refugees—particularly

Basque orphans—in the UK and raised money and supplies to support the Republican cause. She wrote poetry about the war, including “Instructions from England, 1936”:

Note nothing of why or how, enquire
no deeper than you need
into what set these veins on fire,
note simply that they bleed.

Spain fought before and fights again,
better no question why;
note churches burned and popes in pain
but not the men who die.

She published articles on the Spanish Civil War in the Left Review, New Masses, New Republic, and the London Mercury. Ackland and Warner traveled as delegates to the International Writers’ Conference in Madrid in July 1937. Clare Harman notes in the ODNB that Ackland became disillusioned with the Communist Party following the Second World War and resigned from it in 1953.

ODNB

will to self-destruction “Heroism is the good will to self-destruction.” Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), unpublished fragment (c. 1882–83).

Mulk Raj Anand

(1905–2004) Novelist, activist

Anand was born in Peshawar, India. Although he wrote primarily in English, he was concerned with social inequality in India, particularly poverty among the lower castes. He never joined the Communist Party, but aligned himself with the Left and traveled to

the USSR in 1926. His first novel, Untouchable (1935), for which E. M. Forster wrote the preface, describes twenty-four hours in the life of an Indian sweeper boy, a member of the lowest caste in Indian society. In his preface, Forster writes: “Untouchable could only have been written by an Indian and by an Indian who observed from the outside. No European, however sympathetic, could have created the character of Bakha, because he would not have known enough about his troubles” (7).

Anand attended the International Writers’ Conference in Madrid in 1937, where he witnessed the war firsthand, an experience that informed his novel of the Great War, Across the Black Waters (1940), according to Alastair Niven in the ODNB.

In 1942, he became a friend of George Orwell, who favorably reviewed his novel The Sword and the Sickle (1942) for the July issue of Horizon. Orwell dedicates most of the review to a discussion of the Second World War and Anand’s decision to write in English. It begins: “In this war we have one weapon which our enemies cannot use against us, and that is the English language.” The review closes:

As a general rule, Indians are reliably anti-Fascist in proportion as they are westernised. That is why at the beginning of this review I described the English language as a weapon of war. It is a funnel for ideas deadly to the Fascist view. Mr. Anand does not like us very much, and some of his colleagues hate us very bitterly; but so long as they voice their hatred in English they are in a species of alliance with us, and an ultimate decent settlement with the Indians whom we have wronged but also helped to awaken remains possible.

flower of Spain's manhood Sophocles (c. 496–405 BCE), *Oedipus Tyrannus*: “The flower/Of our young manhood.” Trans. George Young (Bartlett, s.v. *flower of young manhood*).

Martin Armstrong

I AM ON THE SIDE of the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain. I am against Franco because I am against the Spanish priesthood, Spanish landlords and Fascism, and I am against Fascism because I am against any form of tyranny, persecution and narrow nationalism.

(1882–1974) Poet, novelist

Armstrong was educated at Charterhouse School and earned a BA in mechanical science at Pembroke College, Cambridge (1908). He published his first volume of poetry, Exodus and Other Poems, in 1912. During the Great War, he voluntarily enlisted as a private in the Artists' Rifles in 1914, obtained a commission in 1915, and served in France until 1917. Immediately following the war, he published two more volumes of poetry: Thirty New Poems (1918) and The Buzzards and Other Poems (1921). He subsequently began to write short prose and novels. Titles include his first collection of stories, The Bazaar and Other Stories (1924), and The Goat and the Compasses (1925), which was his first novel. All told, he published four volumes of poetry, twenty works of fiction, and a biography: Lady Hester Stanhope (1927).

He translated into English a novella by the Andalusian writer Pedro Antonio de Alarcón: El sombrero de tres picos (1874; The Three-Cornered Hat 1928). The story had

previously been adapted for a ballet by Manuel de Falla—it premiered in London in 1919 with Pablo Picasso as the set and costume designer—and describes a love triangle between a miller, his wife, and a magistrate.

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W. H. Auden

I SUPPORT THE VALENCIA GOVERNMENT in Spain because its defeat by the forces of International Fascism would be a major disaster for Europe. It would make a European war more probable; and the spread of Fascist Ideology and practice to countries as yet comparatively free from them, which would inevitably follow upon a Fascist victory in Spain, would create an atmosphere in which the creative artist and all who care for justice, liberty and culture would find it impossible to work or even exist.

[Wystan Hugh Auden] (1907–73) Poet, man of letters

The son of a physician, Auden was born in York, but his family moved to Birmingham when he was a year old. He attended Gresham's School, Holt, before going up to Oxford in 1925, where he read English literature at Christ Church. Auden's literary executor, Edward Mendelson—whose chronology appears in W. H. Auden: a tribute (1974)—writes that Auden's first published book, Poems (1928), was printed in a small batch by

Stephen Spender, a contemporary at Oxford. There, he also met Cecil Day-Lewis, Louis MacNeice, and Rex Warner. In his address at Auden's memorial service at Christ Church in 1973, Spender remarked, "I should say that for most of his friends who were his immediate contemporaries, the pattern of his relationship with them was that of colleague."

Following his graduation from Oxford in 1928, Auden traveled to Germany, where he wrote a dramatic work, "Paid on Both Sides," which T. S. Eliot published in The Criterion. Faber and Faber later released Poems (1930), which included "Paid on Both Sides" and thirty poems. In early 1930, Auden became a schoolmaster at Larchfield Academy, Helensburgh, where he stayed for two years before becoming a master at the Downs School in Colwall until 1935. That year, he published The Dog Beneath the Skin, a play he wrote together with Christopher Isherwood (1904–86), with whom he had a series of romantic relationships and literary collaborations.

In January 1937, Auden traveled to Spain, where he worked broadcasting propaganda for the Republicans, although his stated intention had been to volunteer as an ambulance driver. He returned to Britain in March and in May published his poem about the war, Spain (1937), as a part of a fundraiser organized by Nancy Cunard. Auden never joined the Communist Party, despite expressing left-leaning sympathies in Spain and elsewhere, notably a poem, "Comrades who when the sirens roar" (1932), although Mendelson points out in the ODNB that Auden changed "Comrades" to "Brothers" in 1936.

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, Auden spent much of his time in the United States, where he at first lived in New York City, and later taught for short periods at the New School for Social Research (NY), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, Bennington, Mount Holyoke, and Smith colleges. He was drafted for duty in the war in 1942, but did not serve for medical reasons, according to Mendelson, because of his homosexuality.

*Auden converted to Anglicanism in 1940, despite having rejected religion as an adolescent, and became an American citizen in 1946. In 1947, *The Age of Anxiety* (1947) won a Pulitzer Prize, and beginning in 1948 he spent many of his summers in Ischia, a small Italian island in the Tyrrhenian Sea. He was elected Oxford Professor of Poetry, a post he held 1956–61.*

Auden's 1 October 1973 obituary in the London Times reads: "Whatever we find to praise most in this abundant writer—his lyrical gift, his vivid ratiocination, his light verse, his metaphysical insight or his brilliant figurative powers—we owe to him above all our sense that the greatest poetry must observe, absorb and criticize the public events and social conditions of its own time."

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Jenny Ballou

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republic Spain and against Franco and Fascism, against the cultural night these names spell. The struggle in Spain has X-rayed the lies upon which our civilisation is built. Those writers who pretend not to see are, at the risk of their personal destruction as artists, betrayers of their own kind.

Writer

An American, Ballou was long interested in Spain, a fact that is demonstrated in her review of José Gutiérrez Solana's La España negra (1931) for The Saturday Review (20 June 1931). Solana (1886–1945) was a painter and writer from Madrid. Describing his work, Ballou writes: "In him the dark side of Goya's genius has been reborn, and in his forceful canvases depicting obscure, endless religious processions, in the afflicted faces of the poor people, one sees without lies the Spain that the new republic must stamp out."

Ballou's first book, Spanish Prelude (1937), is a novel set in Spain in 1929, just prior to the forced exile of King Alfonso XIII and the establishment of the short-lived Second Republic. The narrator of the novel, Rosa, is an American living in Madrid. She mingles with "café revolutionaries" who talk about overthrowing Alfonso. In one scene, a friend pushes Rosa to rule on the question of whether the king should be ousted:

Suddenly he turned to me: "In what camp are you?" he asked.

I lifted my head: "I'm in no camp."

"That's impossible!" he said as though arguing with himself. "Soon there won't be time.

One must commit oneself."

“I’m not ready.”

He laughed. “Then you’ll never be ready. For what are you waiting?” Was he asking himself? “Madrid is full of spectators!” (80)

Ballou’s most popular book was a biography of American poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850–1919): Period Piece (1940). Wilcox is best remembered for her poem “Solitude” (1883).

George Barker

I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain, for the people of China, for the people of England, for the people of Germany, etc. I am against Fascism, Franco, Mussolini, Japanese Generals, Hitler, Walter Chrysler, the Archbishop of Canterbury, etc.

(1913–91) Poet

Barker left school at the age of fourteen and briefly attended Regent Street Polytechnic before deciding to become a professional writer. Following the publication of his first book of verse, Thirty Preliminary Poems (1933), T. S. Eliot commissioned Poems (1935) at Faber and Faber, a book that was admired by W. B. Yeats (1865–1939), who, according to Robert Fraser in the ODNB, “thought him the most promising of the all the up-and-coming generation of British poets.” Barker also contributed to Twentieth Century, the journal of the Promethean Society, of which Hugh Gordon Porteus was the

literary editor and in which W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender also published verse.

Samuel Hynes describes the society in The Auden Generation (1972) as “an organization of young radicals that met to discuss politics, ‘sexology,’ philosophy, religion, and art.”

A prolific writer, Barker is remembered for the novella The Dead Seagull (1950) and volumes of verse, notably In Memory of David Archer (1973) and Anno Domini (1983). Collected Poems (1957) was reissued in 1987, and Street Ballads (1992) and Selected Poems (1992) were both published posthumously.

About Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War, Valentine Cunningham suggests unpersuasively in British Writers of the Thirties (1988) that “the LR compilers did fiddle their results a little. They did put as many equivocators as they reasonably could into the pro-Republican camp.” Cunningham places Barker’s response into that category, along with those of Geoffrey Grigson and Tom Harrisson (438).

ODNB.

Japanese Generals Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany 25 Nov 1936. **Walter Chrysler** (1875–1940) Founder of carmaker Chrysler Corporation. **Archbishop of Canterbury** Leader of the Church of England. Then Cosmo Gordon Lang (1864–1945), who served 1928–42. Opposed Italian occupation of Abyssinia (1936–41); supported Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s (1869–1940) policy of appeasement, an attempt to prevent war with Nazi Germany (1937–39).

Leonard Barnes

CERTAINLY I AM wholly for the Spanish Government and wholly against Franco and his allies. But I remember that Fascism in Italy and Germany is largely the outcome of policies pursued by capitalist interests and Governments in Britain, France and America.

Moreover, British rule in India and Africa is a form of Fascism just as barbarous as the German or Italian. For Britons, therefore, the enemy is not merely the ambition of a Mussolini or a Hitler, but also the general structure and functioning of the British Empire itself, as now organised.

(1895–1977) Man of letters

In 1914, Barnes won a scholarship to read Greats at Oxford, at University College, but the Great War caused his studies to be delayed for five years, until 1919. He served for twenty-four months on the front lines in the King's Royal Rifle Corps, rising to the rank of captain. He was wounded three times and earned the Military Cross with bar in 1918.

*Following his graduation from Oxford in 1922, he joined the Colonial Office, but he became uncomfortable supporting colonial rule and resigned in 1925. In 1935, Barnes made an unsuccessful bid for a Labour seat representing Derby in the general election of 1936 and later that year was appointed lecturer in education at the University of Liverpool (1936–45). The founder of the anti-colonial magazine, *Empire*, he is the author of several highly influential books critical of colonialism, one of which, *Empire or Democracy?* (1939), was published by the Left Book Club.*

Barnes directed studies on youth community work for King George's Jubilee Trust (1945–48). From 1947 to 1962 he served an appointment as the Secretary and Director for the Delegacy of Social Training at Oxford University's Barnett House.
ODNB.

Samuel Beckett

UPTHEREPUBLIC !

[Samuel Barclay Beckett] (1906–89) Writer

Born in Foxrock, Co. Dublin, Beckett entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1923 to read French and Italian, graduating in 1927 with a first-class degree with a gold medal. In 1928, Beckett moved to Paris to teach French at the École normale supérieure. He lived in or around Paris on and off for most of his life.

During the Second World War, Beckett assisted the French as a secret liaison and translator after France fell in 1940, and was nearly captured by the Germans in 1942. Following the war, he was awarded the Croix de guerre and the Médaille de la Reconnaissance française.

In 1946, he completed his first French-language novel, Mercier et Camier (Mercier and Camier 1974), although he did not publish it until 1970. He often wrote in either French or English and subsequently translated the works into the other language. In was in this period that he published the remarkable trilogy of novels Molloy (1951; English trans. 1955), Malone meurt (1951; Malone Dies 1956), and L'innommable (1953; The Unnamable 1958).

One of his best-known plays, En attendant Godot (Waiting for Godot 1954), was completed in French in 1949 and it premiered at a small Paris theater in 1953. Another successful play, Fin de partie (Endgame 1957), followed soon after and its French-language premiere came in 1957.

Beginning in the sixties, Beckett directed many of his own plays for the stage, radio, and television and he continued to write in French and English up until his death. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1969. In the announcement of the award, the committee cited “his writing which—in new forms for the novel and drama—in the destitution of modern man acquires its elevation.”

Politically, Beckett aligned himself with the Left, although he never joined the Communist Party. James Knowlson writes in the ODNB that “he was a firm supporter of human rights movements throughout the world and a fierce opponent of all forms of censorship and repression.”

ODNB

J. D. Beresford

WHILE I HAVE no particular admiration or sympathy for the methods of Spain’s legal Government, I oppose with all the forces of which I am capable any spread of Fascism.

[John Davys Beresford] (1873–1947) Novelist, essayist

Educated at Oundle and Peterborough, Beresford practiced architecture before becoming a professional writer in 1906. He was unable to serve in the Great War due to a disability that resulted from infantile paralysis. His most-admired novels came early in his career and form a trilogy: The Early History of Jacob Stahl (1911), A Candidate for Truth (1912), and The Invisible Event (1915). Beresford's obituary in the London Times (4 February 1947) elaborates: "Beresford began his long career as a novelist with the first volume of the trilogy, and never again, though for some time afterwards he produced work of genuine distinction, all of it showing fine and careful craftsmanship, did he attain quite the same level of interest and power."

He had a fascination with mysticism and abnormal psychology, which became more pronounced later in life and is evident in the novels What Dreams May Come (1941) and The Riddle of the Tower (1944), the latter of which he co-authored with the English actress and writer Esme Wynn-Tyson (1898–1972). In keeping with his lifelong interest in science fiction, Beresford wrote H. G. Wells (1915), the first critical text on the author.

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Pearl Binder

TO-DAY THE FUTURE of European Culture is being decided on Spanish soil. All sincere writers must support the legal Spanish Government in its heroic struggle for learning and liberty against the dark forces of General Franco.

Ralph Fox was one of us.

[Lady Elwyn-Jones] (1904–90) Writer, artist, television personality

Binder grew up in poverty in Salford, a city adjacent to Manchester. Beyond grammar school, her education consisted of evening art classes and she became adept in lithography, sculpting, costume and fashion, and stained glass. In 1925, Binder relocated to the East End of London, the subject of some of her most memorable lithographic prints.

With the television personality James Laver (1899–1975), she co-presented Clothes-Line, a six-part live television series about the history of fashion (1937). This interest extended to the stage and she worked as a costume designer for a London theater company. Also in 1937, she married Frederick Elwyn Jones, who became Baron Elwyn-Jones when he was made lord chancellor in 1974.

An advocate for the poor and particularly for working-class women, she expressed her political views in an article for the London Times (4 June 1975) that was part of a series celebrating International Women's Year:

I became a socialist because William Morris's ideas made sense to me. They still do. What he wanted for our people was Quality. Today, when mountains of cheap rubbish are causing serious

pollution problems in all the advanced industrial countries, we know just how right he was. He also believed that we should produce our own British kind of socialism, and here again I am sure he was right. I had never heard then of Karl Marx, and indeed have never taken to him at all.

Her extensive travels later in life included Russia, China, and other exotic destinations, about which she authored several books, including Magic Symbols of the World (1973) and Treasure Islands: Trials of the Banabans (1977).

Ralph Fox (1900–36) British “historian, critic, novelist, and member of the staff of the Daily Worker and Left Review” (*British Writers of the Thirties* 420). Admirer of the Soviet Union and active in the CPGB. Enlisted as a volunteer in the International Brigades in 1936; killed 28 December 1936 in the Battle of Lopera. **William Morris** (1834–96) Writer, designer, socialist leader. Founder of the Socialist League in 1884.

Oswell Blakeston

FASCISM IS WHAT MEN used to call “original sin.” It is the essential core of evil in each of us. If we can rid the world of Fascism, we may know what men used to call heaven. If we do not, we will get our Hell as others have already found theirs.

[Pseud. for: Henry Joseph Hasslacher] (1907–85) Writer, filmmaker

Under the pseudonym of Oswell Blakeston, Hasslacher was a prolific writer and experimental film director. Critics have suggested that his pseudonym is a nod to the writer Osbert Sitwell (1892–1969); “Blakeston” was his mother’s maiden name. Under this name, he published fifteen novels, ten volumes of poetry, three cookbooks, four travel books, and five books on film and photography.

He began his career in film at the age of sixteen as an apprentice camera boy at Gaumont Studios. His directorial debut was I Do Like To Be Beside the Seaside (1929), which featured the American actor Paul Robeson (1898–1976), who was an activist on behalf of the Spanish Republicans. The following year Blakeston made an experimental film, Light Rhythms (1930). Over the course of his career, he authored three books on filmmaking, including Working for the Films (1947).

Under the pseudonym of “Simon,” and in collaboration with the screenwriter Roger Burford (1904–81), he wrote four mystery novels, most notably The Cat with the Moustache (1935). Some of Blakeston’s more colorful titles include Edwardian Glamour Cooking without Tears (1960), A Surprise in Every Dinner (1968), and Working Cats (1963), the range of which serves to highlight his diverse interests.

In Blakeston’s London Times obituary (8 June 1985), his longtime partner, artist Max Chapman (1911–99), described him as “off-beat” and remarked that Blakeston’s favorite of his own works was the novel Ever Singing Die Oh Die (1970).

Kay Boyle

I AM AGAINST FASCISM and its exponents as symbols of a material and not a spiritual triumph; I am against Franco and for the people of Spain. I am for the people of every country who have, because of a tradition of ignorance (or because of colour), been exploited and betrayed.

(1902–92) Writer, political activist

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, Boyle moved to New York in 1922 to become an editor for the experimental literary magazine Broom (pub. 1921–24). There, she met and married her first husband, a French engineer named Richard Brault. The pair moved to France in 1923, but soon separated.

Together with her second husband, Lawrence Vail, whom she married in 1932, she immersed herself in the Paris literary circles of the late twenties and early thirties. During this time, she became friends with Nancy Cunard and they remained close until Cunard's death in 1965. Boyle's poem "A Communication to Nancy Cunard" (1937) is about the trial of nine black men—several of them teenagers and one who was blind—who were wrongly accused of gang-raping two white women on a train. The trials, which lasted 1931–37 and took place in Scottsboro, Alabama, garnered international attention and were of particular interest to Cunard, who included extensive documentary material about the first few years of the trials in her anthology Negro (1933). "A Communication to Nancy Cunard" first appeared in the New Republic (9 June 1937). The poem takes on the voices of a number of the accused and alternates between verse, transcription of testimony, and a spiritual. It closes:

The loose hands hang down, and swing with the
swing of the train in the darkness,
Holding nothing but poverty, syphilis white as a
handful of dust, taking nothing as baggage
But the sound of the harp Ozie Powell is playing
or the voice of Montgomery
Half-blind in oblivion saying: "It sure don't seem
to me like we're getting anywheres.
It don't seem to me like we're getting anywheres
at all."

A prolific writer of fiction and poetry, Boyle was a regular contributor to literary journals, including transition, where she published a short story, “Theme” in its first issue. She was also a contributor to and foreign correspondent for the New Yorker, which published one of her most popular stories, “Winter Night” (1946). She won two O. Henry Memorial Awards for her stories “The White Horses of Vienna” (1934) and “Defeat” (1941).

In 1943, Boyle divorced Vail and married Baron Joseph von Franckenstein, an employee in the U.S. State Department. During the McCarthy era, Franckenstein was fired from his post in the Public Affairs Division in 1953, in part for his association with Boyle, who was considered to be a radical. The charges against Franckenstein were not dismissed until 1962 and he died of lung cancer the following year.

Later in life Boyle became involved in the humanitarian organizations Amnesty International and the NAACP. In a letter to the editor of The New York Review of Books (7 May 1987), Boyle weighed in on an ongoing debate about the legacy of Ezra Pound: “In his life and in his work, I see him as a man desperate for power, thirsting and starving for power, no matter how demeaning the conditions for attaining it might be.”

handful of dust T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*: “I will show you fear in a handful of dust.”

Lionel Britton

THE WORLD IS FACED with disruption because men do not realise that privileges cannot be retained for ever. In a last attempt to save their privileges against the rising tide of men, the privileged classes are giving up the only thing that makes life worth while—freedom. Some freedom must be given up for the sake of order, because without order civilisation is impossible; but this is not intelligent unless we receive from the collective order more freedom than we individually give up.

The Spanish Government was a legal government, elected by majority opinion; and though majorities are not always right, to suppress this by force where it cannot be done by argument, is to revert to the practices of ages we now consider uncivilised.

(1887–1971) Novelist, playwright

Britton published only one novel and three plays during his lifetime. George Bernard Shaw was quoted favorably reviewing Britton's first play, Brain (1930) in a London Times article (17 March 1930) announcing the play's upcoming debut at the Garrick Theatre. He wrote about Britton: "I don't know him and never heard of him by name; but it is clear that he can deliver the goods as soon as he settles into an established line of business, unless, as seems probable, he starves in the meantime."

Bertrand Russell wrote a laudatory introduction to Britton's novel, Hunger and Love (1931), calling it a "remarkable piece of work." He adds:

Mr. Britton believes that a better organisation could render the human race worthy of admiration.

A human body, he says, is in essence a multitude of unicellular organisms combined for a

common purpose, namely, the life of the body as a whole; similarly, he thinks, the human race could become an organism in which the individuals would serve the whole with the same absence of rebellion with which the cells in the body obey the behests of the brain. (vii)

A supporter of Soviet Russia, Britton traveled there in 1935 with financial support from the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, but was disappointed by the reality of life in the USSR and returned to Britain after three months.

Fenner Brockway

FASCISM IS THE CLIMAX of the cruelty and the tyranny of Capitalism. This is shewn by the infamies of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. I wholeheartedly support the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants to defeat Franco, and hope that they will make a permanent job of it by carrying through the social revolution, and so destroy the Capitalism which is the parent of Fascism.

(1888–1988) Politician, activist

Brockway was an influential member of the British Left for most of his life. He attended school at Blackheath in London, graduating in 1905. As a young man, he was a member of the Independent Labour Party and was imprisoned on two occasions—in Pentonville Prison and the Tower of London (1916–18)—for his opposition to the Great War and conscription. He was made editor of the Labour Elector, the newspaper of the ILP, in

1913. In 1929, he was elected to Parliament as a member of the Labour Party, representing East Leyton, an area in east London, but lost his seat in the 1931 election. He left the ILP when it split with the Labour Party in 1932.

*A pacifist, he traveled to Spain in 1937. Breaking with his prior belief in pacifism, Brockway sided with the POUM, supporting the Spanish Republicans' opposition to Franco, as well as the Second World War, as the only means to prevent the spread of fascism. He was instrumental in assembling British volunteers to fight alongside the Republicans in Spain. In *Inside the Left* (1942), he writes: "I was sure that Russia despite its earlier revolutionary tradition, would use its influence to sabotage the revolution in Spain." He continues:*

I recognised the dilemma of our Spanish comrades: they could not afford to reject Russian help—the plans and guns and ammunition were absolutely necessary to defeat Franco, who was being assisted by modern arms from Mussolini and Hitler, and British and French workers certainly had no right to criticise whilst they were unable to compel their Governments to allow arms to be sent.

(296)

In 1950, Brockway was voted back into the House of Commons as the Labour representative for Eton and Slough. Although he lost his seat in 1964, he was granted a life peerage as Baron Brockway of that district and thenceforth served in the House of Lords.

ODNB

shewn *shown*. "The spelling shew, prevalent in the 18th cent. and not uncommon in the first half of the 19th cent., is now obsolete except in legal documents. It represents the obsolete pronunciation (indicated by rhymes like view, true down to c1700)." (*OED*, s.v. *shown*)

Alec Brown

I AM FOR THE GOVERNMENT of Republican Spain, because it is clearly the Government elected by a nation striving towards greater freedom and activity of thought, hence improved human life; I am opposed to all forms of Fascism and conservative forms of government, because invariably they trammel thought, hence hamper mankind's struggle for improved life.

(1900–62) Writer, translator

Brown studied Slavonic Studies and Serbian at St. John's College, Cambridge, earning a special diploma. He spent much of his life in what was then Yugoslavia, lecturing at Belgrade University and serving as a correspondent for the London Times. He is the author of works of non-fiction, including Yugoslav Life and Landscape (1954), as well as novels, notably his first, The Honest Bounder (1927), and The Hollow Mountain (1939). He published books of poetry, including Cranes at Sunrise (1934).

He was a renowned translator of French, German, and Russian, producing translations of Honoré de Balzac (Droll Stories 1958), Anatole France (The Gods are Athirst 1951), Maxim Gorki (The Artamonovs 1955), Boris Pasternak (Safe Conduct 1958), and Émile Zola (The Beast in Man 1956), among others.

In an obituary for Brown, published in the London Times (28 September 1962), the academic and Great War veteran Lieutenant-Colonel Bonamy Dobrée (1891–1974)

writes: “He was too much of an individualist ever to be associated with any group or movement, and his novels, always original in approach, varied too much in their interest for him to build up a following of readers.”

In its December 1934 issue, the Left Review published writers’ responses to the mission statement of the 1934 Writers’ International (British Section) conference, which proposes that the participants express opposition to fascism, support the struggle of the working class, and pledge to further these aims in their writing. Brown’s response begins:

All normal writing has a reading public in view. The starting point of any comments on this programme must be clarity as to for whom are we writing? The answer must surely be that all our writing has one end in view, the revolutionary end of establishing a socialist republic, that is a working-class democracy. (76)

George Buchanan

YOUR QUESTION appears to call on writers to step down from their Ivory Towers. Not being resident in one, I cannot make the appropriate gesture.

I do not regard Fascism as the “saviour of civilisation”, and desire to see the Spanish people free from civil war and oppression.

(1890–1955) Politician

Born in Glasgow, Buchanan was trained as a patternmaker before he entered politics.

His obituary in the Glasgow Herald (29 June 1955) notes that he joined the Independent Labour Party at the age of seventeen and went on to represent the Gorbals region as a Socialist MP in the House of Commons for over twenty-five years (1922–48). He concurrently served as the chairman of the United Patternmakers' Association (1932–48). In 1945, he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Scotland by Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883–1967). He also served as Minister of Pensions (1947–53).

From the affectionate obituary: “Mr Buchanan’s early years in Westminster earned for him—and for Clydesdale—plenty of notoriety. In debate he was a crude, rough speaker, using the vigour of language and of gesticulation apt to the soap-box perhaps but remote from the traditional House of Commons manner.”

He opposed the Great War and was a lifelong advocate for the unemployed and the rights of the working class to receive fair pay and reasonable hours. A regular visitor to Spain before the civil war, Buchanan spoke Spanish.

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Gerald Bullett

AS ONE WHO HAS NO POLITICAL AXE to grind, is attached to no political party, and detests all tyrannical government whether it be of the Right or of the Left, I believe

that the subjugation of the People of Republican Spain by Franco and his foreign confederates will, if it is effected, mark the end of freedom and civilisation in Europe. Fascism—which in practice is merely gangsterism on a national scale—involves the enslavement of peoples, the destruction of culture, and the persecution of all real religion. And it depends for its continued existence on the perpetual fomentation of new wars. In the light of recent history, and of history now in the making, I am astonished that any man or woman of good will can remain blind to these plain facts.

(1893–1958) Writer, broadcaster

Originally from London, Bullett served in France and Egypt 1914–18 with the Royal Flying Corps during the Great War. He subsequently graduated from Jesus College, Cambridge, with a first class degree in English (1921) and received his MA from the college in 1933.

Bullett wrote fifteen novels and six books of verse in his lifetime. His first novel was The Progress of Kay (1916); his most popular novels include The History of Egg Pandervil (1928), Nicky, Son of Egg (1929), and The Pandervils (1930)—a series of novels about the impact of the Great War—and The Quick and the Dead (1933). He also wrote books for children as well as biographies: George Eliot: Her Life and Books (1947), Sydney Smith: A Biography and a Selection (1951)—which was superseded by W. H. Auden's Selected Writings of Sydney Smith (1957)—and a critical text: Walt Whitman: a Study and a Selection (1924). Another work of criticism, The English Mystics (1950), underscored his interest in mysticism and spirituality. His entry in Who's

Who (1943) lists his recreations as: “*Staring at rural England and (from 1931) designing his own books.*”

Felicity Ehrlich writes in the ODNB, “*In April 1926 he was the first author to broadcast his own short story, ‘The Baker’s Cart,’ from the BBC’s 2LO station, and thereafter he frequently adapted and performed his own work for radio.*”

Storm Jameson wrote the foreword to *Ten-Minute Tales* (1960), a book of short stories that was published after Bullett’s death. In it she wrote: “*His mind had a natural elegance—almost Chinese. This is very noticeable in his poetry.*” She continues: “*He was a mystic, attached by his senses to the enduring forms and colours of English countryside, and attentive to the dialogue carried on between God and one of His eternally youthful English, old only in his gentleness.*”

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axe to grind “(orig. U.S. Polit.): to have private ends to serve [in reference to a story told by Franklin] ; now more commonly *to have an axe to grind*.”

1815 C. Miner *Who’ll turn Grindstones?*, “When I see a merchant over-polite to his customers..thinks I, that man has an axe to grind.”

1922 J. Joyce *Ulysses* iii. xvi. [Eumaeus] 595 “Skin-the-Goats..evidently with an axe to grind, was airing his grievances.”

1939 G. B. Shaw *Geneva* ii. p. 30 “Distinguished statesmen of different nations..each with a national axe to grind.”

(OED, s.v. *axe to grind*)

Thomas Burke

I KNOW nothing of the rights and wrongs of the struggle in Spain; but I am for social justice, a fair standard of life, and freedom of opinion, for the People of all countries. I am against the regimentation of the People, under whatever name it operates.

(1886–1945) Writer

Born in Clapham, London, Burke invented an alternative childhood for himself in order to substantiate his purported intimacy with the lower classes of the city, about which he wrote in Out and About (1919), The Real East End (1932), The Streets of London (1940), and elsewhere. He claimed to have grown up as an orphan in the East End and there befriended a Chinese man, Quong Lee. He maintained that friendship formed the basis of his familiarity with Chinese immigrants in London and his first successful work of fiction—a collection of short stories, Limehouse Nights (1916)—details the immigrant experience in London. The American filmmaker, D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), based his silent film Broken Blossoms (1919) on one of the stories in the collection: “The Chink and the Child.”

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Arthur Calder-Marshall

AS WRITER, I oppose Fascism as the enemy of the arts. As politician, I work against Fascism because it tries to keep by tyranny a class system now as obsolete as it was always unjust. As man, I hate Fascism because it destroys all the best in life and the lives of all the best.

Their free spirit now articulate after centuries of oppression, the Spanish People fight not for themselves only, but for all who prize freedom.

(1908–92) Writer

Calder-Marshall attended St. Paul's School, London, and Hertford College, Oxford, where he was the secretary of the Oxford Poetry Society. Following his graduation in 1931, he taught at Denstone College for two years before becoming a professional writer in 1933.

*In the thirties, he was dedicated to left-wing politics. Phil Baker writes in the ODNB: "In contrast with bourgeois literature's emphasis on the individual, Calder-Marshall believed, the progressive writer should depict society as a whole." To this end, his early fiction demonstrates an effort to produce "a more interpersonal, collective, and socially conscious writing, focusing on relationships and institutions rather than the subjectivity of the individual character." The collections *About Levy* (1933) and *Dead Centre* (1935) are composed of short stories that, taken together, depict a detailed picture of a community.*

In a June 1936 book review published in the Left Review, Calder-Marshall writes on the connection between literature and politics:

For some time I have noticed a tendency among Left Wing critics to confuse literary and political excellence. I attribute this to the fact that whereas early revolutionary imaginative writers were technically crude, the best literary craftsmen of to-day are being drawn towards the Left. This is, however, a truth which we can now accept without boasting or exaggeration. (300)

In 1937, Calder-Marshall became a scriptwriter for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer; he is the author of The World is Rich (1946), a documentary about Paul Rotha. During the Second World War, Calder-Marshall worked for the British Petroleum warfare department and the films division of the Ministry of Information (1942–45). After the war, he wrote the biographies No Earthly Command (1957), about Vice-Admiral Alexander Riall Wadham Woods DSO, and Havelock Ellis (1959). Calder-Marshall became a Christian around 1957. He is well known for his memoir The Magic of my Youth (1951) and the novel The Scarlet Boy (1961).

In “How Well Have They Worn?” a piece for the London Times (3 March 1966), Calder-Marshall looks back on Orwell over twenty years after the publication of Animal Farm (1945): “I have just read it again, entranced. ‘What a wonderful chap he was’, I think, remembering him as I last saw him queuing up at Westbourne Park in the arctic winter of 1947 to fill a pram with coal, ‘in the middle of that war which so engaged me, to see the future so bleakly truly!’”

ODNB

Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell

FASCISM IS A PATHOLOGICAL CONDITION, a disease of Society. Unfortunately it is contagious. Its leading symptoms are exaggerated selfishness and moral atrophy. In its more virulent phase, as in Germany, Italy and Spain, it glorifies and justifies crime. In its weaker forms, as in the British Government and the majorities of the two Houses of Parliament, it appears as a complacent and selfish cowardice. But it is the same disease, and I fear that a very slight change in economic conditions would produce the virulent phase even in England.

[Read: Peter Chalmers Mitchell] (1864–1945) Zoologist, translator, writer

Chalmers Mitchell was born in Dunfermline, Fife. He earned an MA from King's College at the University of Aberdeen in 1884, and then won an exhibition to read comparative anatomy at Christ Church, Oxford. He graduated with a first class degree (1888). In 1903, he was elected secretary of the Zoological Society of London, where he implemented several new policies ensuring that animals had ample fresh air and more natural habitats. Redesigned enclosures at the zoo, called the Mappin Terraces, were unveiled in 1914. He was knighted by King George V in 1929 for his work as secretary of the society, from which he retired in 1935.

He served in the War Office during the Great War and was made a CBE in 1918 for developing a strategy for dropping propaganda leaflets from balloons over the German lines.

Chalmers Mitchell owned a home in Málaga and witnessed the city's defeat by Nationalist forces in February, 1937. There, Arthur Koestler was arrested by Nationalist soldiers on suspicion of espionage. Koestler's Spanish Testament (1938) is dedicated to Chalmers Mitchell, who was also a translator of Spanish. His works include an English translation of Ramón Sender's The War in Spain (1937), and My House in Málaga (1938), an account of his experiences during the Spanish Civil War. Although Chalmers Mitchell frequently describes himself as "neutral," particularly in My House in Málaga, he regularly campaigned in Britain on behalf of the Spanish Republicans, as he indicates in his 17 November 1936 letter to Nancy Cunard that accompanied his contribution to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War.

He was a champion of Sender—a Spanish novelist and journalist and signatory of the Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War questionnaire—as evidenced by Chalmers Mitchell's letter 5 July 1937 letter to Cunard, in which he describes the challenges he faced finding a publisher for his translations of Sender's books on the Spanish Civil War: The War in Spain (1937) and Seven Red Sundays (1936).

[Ramón Sender's] is a personal narrative of what he saw with his own eyes. It is the work of a great writer, a poet and psychologist who is a man of extreme personal bravery and a passionate admirer of a people fighting for bread and freedom and in defence of the liberties they thought they had won by peaceful democratic means. (Introduction, *The War in Spain*)

This record of events and inferences is centred on the Villa Santa Lucía, my House in Málaga, but for which I would not have experienced the former or drawn the latter. I was a neutral in what became a Civil War, engaged neither in politics nor in arms. But in the next war, civil or international, everyone will be concerned. It may be, therefore, that a record of the events, some trivial, some serious, some amusing, some tragic, and their effect on those who were neither scheming nor fighting, is of value. (Preface, *My House in Málaga*)

I thought it extremely important that some responsible neutral should be in Málaga to see what really happened when the town was captured. (*My House in Málaga* 260)

Even in a regular war, witnesses with a tendency to be impartial are disliked by both sides, but General Franco and his agents have regarded impartiality almost as a crime, and have known it to be an extreme danger. But they have a stronger grievance against me, as they knew my sympathies to be against them. (*My House in Málaga* 302)

ODNB

Norman Cliff

Foreign Editor, News Chronicle

I AM WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE of Spain in their almost unaided struggle through blood and tears for liberty, decency and civilisation against Fascist tyranny, military insanity and imported savagery.

(1893–1977) Journalist

Following his graduation from Coombes College in Torquay, Cliff served in the Great War with the Grenadier Guards at the Battle of the Somme and at Passchendaele. He was awarded the Military Medal for his bravery under fire. Following the war, he became an outspoken pacifist and worked for the News Chronicle, first as foreign editor (1936–46) and later as New Delhi correspondent (1946–57). In The Invisible Writing (1954), Arthur Koestler explains that Cliff was the editor responsible for approving his affiliation with the News Chronicle when Koestler traveled to Portugal and Spain in 1936 to interview nationalist leaders.

Cliff's memoir of the Great War, To Hell and Back with the Guards (1988), was published posthumously. In it, he contrasts the "sacrifice of the cream of the young manhood of the countries involved" (105) with the "rulers who failed them" (107). Echoing his submission to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War, he closes his memoir with a condemnation of the British military establishment: "It is only when hostilities have ceased and after all the carnage, the sacrifice of precious lives and treasures, the tears and suffering, that the statesmen responsible confess that the wars need never have happened" (109).

News Chronicle Left-leaning British daily newspaper (pub. 1930–60). Sent war correspondents Geoffrey Cox (1910–2008) and Arthur Koestler to Spain to report from Republican side (1936–37). Edited 1936–47 by Gerald Barry (1898–1968). Absorbed by *Daily Mail* in 1960.

Margaret Cole

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR in Spain, and the actions of Fascist Powers with regard to it, have made it clear to everyone who cares for democracy, liberalism, or culture, that Fascism is determined to wipe these out by every possible means, both of brutal violence and lying propaganda. Those who doubt should read or listen to the speeches of the rebel generals and their foreign supporters: this should be enough for anyone who cares at all for civilisation.

[Margaret Isabel Cole, née Postgate] (1893–1980) Writer, political activist

Cole's father, John Percival Postgate (1853–1926), was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and professor of Latin at the University of Liverpool. Her brother was Raymond Postgate.

Cole attended Roedean School in Brighton and Girton College, Cambridge, earning a first in the classical tripos (1914). During the Great War, she became involved in Raymond's efforts to avoid conscription as a conscientious objector, putting her in contact with the guild socialists, who advocated for workers' control of industry through trade unions and guilds. In 1916, she became the secretary of the Fabian Research Department, which later became the Labour Research Department (LRD), a socialist organization that favored gradual political change over revolution. Here she met George Douglas Howard Cole (1889–1959), who was at the time the honorary secretary of the LRD; the couple married in 1918. In 1925, the Coles distanced themselves from the LRD

as it had increasingly become aligned with the Communist Party. Both were very active in socialist circles in London and hosted political discussion groups.

She became the honorary secretary of the New Fabian Research Bureau in 1935, a post she held until 1939, when she became the honorary secretary of the revived Fabian Society. She remained in this position until 1953 and became president of the society in 1963. She edited several of the books published by the society, including Democratic Sweden (1938) and Our Soviet Ally (1943). Her own works of scholarship engage left-leaning political issues; The New Economic Revolution (1938) and Marriage Past and Present (1938) are notable examples. In her autobiography, Growing up into Revolution (1949), she writes:

The Spanish war finally made up my mind for me on the question of non-resistance. For the majority of the Left, indeed, it bulked much larger during the best part of two years than any threat of universal war. On the rights or wrongs of it, we had not a moment's hesitation. Whatever the propaganda in the Fascist camp, whatever the facts about Red atrocities offered to monks and nuns, we knew on which side the balance rested. We knew that the people of Guernica had not dynamited their own town, as some unblushing Catholic correspondents suggested, in order to discredit the Falangists; we knew who, with however many mistakes or weaknesses in execution, had tried to bring schools to the children of Spain, to divide up the great estates, and to break the power of the most oppressive Church in Europe; and we knew the forces which were trying to destroy the Republic from outside. (182)

Cole was a contributor to the Evening Standard, the New Statesman, the Highway, and the Listener. The Labour Party's Harold Wilson (1916–95) awarded her an OBE (1965), and a DBE (1970) in recognition of her contributions to British politics.

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Norman Collins

I ABHOR WITH ALL MY HEART the terrible action of Franco and his supporters, who by their merciless campaign against men, women and children are daily adding new horrors to the world's history, and are threatening to submerge Western Europe in the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

(1907–82) Writer, television company executive

Unable to afford university, Collins went directly from London's William Ellis School to a junior post in the publicity side of Oxford University Press. In 1928, he left to work for the Daily News (which became the News Chronicle in 1930) as an assistant to the literary editor, the Irish poet Robert Lynd (1879–1949).

He moved to Victor Gollancz's publishing house in 1933, where he was the assistant managing director. He remained there for eight years, during which time he published his first novel, Penang Appointment (1934), and reached the position of vice-chairman. According to his London Times obituary (7 September 1982): "the commercial acumen and practical grip of Collins were proving invaluable to the fervour of Gollancz in the ferment of the 1930s. But he was never a political partisan, and shared no left-wing commitment."

In 1941, Collins took a position as an assistant producer for the BBC's North American service and by 1945 he was the director of the General Overseas Service. From 1956 to 1947, he was the head of the Light Service, when he was picked to succeed Maurice Gorham (1902–75) as the BBC's Controller of Television.

Collins left the BBC in 1950 after being passed over for a promotion to director of television. His obituary notes: "He was now openly regarded as a spearhead of the movement to create an alternative to BBC Television." He was the founder of the Independent Television Company, which became Associated Television in 1955; he served as its chairman until 1977. He subsequently served as a director of Independent Television News and the Associated Communications Corporation until the year of his death.

Although he was never a professional writer, he wrote a total of sixteen novels. His most popular, London Belongs to Me (1945), was adapted for film and television.

ODNB

Cyril Connolly

FASCISM IS THE FIRST PROCESS by which the cynical few exploit the idealism of the many, by violence and propaganda through the use of a dictator. Its aim is to maintain the status of the rich by using the poor to fight battles. This cannot be done until the whole nation is rendered both warlike and servile. Those who will not make soldiers are not

required; those who are not required are eliminated. What we can learn from Spain is the order and extent of that elimination before the stultifying of the human race can proceed. Intellectuals come first, almost before women and children. It is impossible therefore to remain an intellectual and admire Fascism, for that is to admire the intellect's destruction, nor can one remain careless and indifferent. To ignore the present is to condone the future.

[Cyril Vernon Connolly] (1903–74) Writer, literary reviewer

Connolly attended St. Cyprian's School, Eastbourne (1914–18), Eton (1918–22), and Balliol College, Oxford (1922–25), where he earned a third in history. His first job following university was as a reviewer for the New Statesman. His only completed novel, The Rock Pool (1936), was not well received, but it was followed by the acclaimed Enemies of Promise (1938), which, C. A. R. Hills writes in the ODNB, is "part literary criticism, part general observations on the life of the writer, part childhood autobiography, part astute assessment of the precocity forced on English children by public schools." Midway through the book, Connolly recounts a conversation with George Orwell, a classmate at St. Cyprian's (Disguised here as "St. Wulfric's"):

The remarkable thing about Orwell was that alone among the boys he was an intellectual and not a parrot for he thought for himself, read Shaw and Samuel Butler and rejected not only St.

Wulfric's, but the war, the Empire, Kipling, Sussex, and Character. I remember a moment under a fig-tree in one of the inland boulevards of the seaside town, Orwell striding beside me and saying in his flat, ageless voice: "You know, Connolly, there's only one remedy for all diseases." I felt the usual guilty tremor when sex was mentioned and hazarded, "You mean going to the lavatory?"

“No—I mean Death!” He was not a romantic, he had neither use for the blandishments of the drill sergeant who made us feel character was identical with boxing nor for the threats of the chaplain with his grizzled cheektufts and his gospel of a Jesus of character who detested immorality and swearing as much as he loved the Allies. “Of course, you realise, Connolly,” said Orwell, “that, whoever wins this war, we shall emerge a second-rate nation.” (164)

Together with Stephen Spender, Connolly founded the literary journal Horizon, which he edited until he shuttered it in 1949. Thereafter he was a regular reviewer for the Sunday Times. He was made a CBE in 1972.

In his other acclaimed book, The Unquiet Grave (1945), Connolly addresses literary posterity: “The more books we read, the sooner we perceive that the true function of writer is to produce a masterpiece and that no other task is of any consequence” (1).

His obituary in the London Times (27 November 1974) closes:

It was in *The Unquiet Grave*, an intimate journal made up of reflections and maxims that he most completely revealed himself, in the guise of Palinurus, the helmsman of the Aeneid, who fell overboard while asleep at the tiller. The man who emerges was very much of his time: a liberal with little faith in the durability of liberal values, a hedonist with a nervous tendency to shy away from the reality of pleasure, a lover of the Mediterranean in all its aspects, yet at the same time a victim of Angst, self-doubting, sure of one thing only: that man justifies himself in the masterpieces of art.

A. E. Coppard

I AM FOR THE REPUBLIC of Spain and its rightful government.

I AM AGAINST the invasion by Italy and Germany, and AGAINST the massacres by their flunkey Franco.

Most of all I am against the cold-blooded Tartuffe that watches the murder from the fence, and under the plea of keeping the ring dainty for democracy devotes the upholders of its “honour” to the perils of a Tattoo and the blasphemy of “Abide with Me.”

[Alfred Edgar Coppard] (1878–1957) Short story writer, poet

Born in Folkestone, Coppard was educated at Lewes Road School in Brighton, but poverty compelled him to leave school at the age of nine and begin to work. In 1919, he left his position as a clerk at the Eagle ironworks in Oxford to become a full-time writer. His first publication appeared when he was forty-one: a collection of stories, Adam and Eve and Pinch Me (1921). A book of poems, Hips and Haws (1922), followed. Thomas Moult writes in the ODNB:

Coppard was an innovator in the English short story: he frequently presented a woman's point of view, and his writing strongly conveys the mystery and unpredictability of life. Like many short-story writers, he showed a preference for the misfit and the underdog. The hatred and dismay that he was made to feel by injustice and cruelty caused him to become prominent in the peace movement.

An autobiography, It's Me, O Lord! (1957) was published posthumously.

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Tartuffe *Tartuffe, l'imposteur* (1664), French play by Molière in which the chief protagonist is a hypocrite. **Tattoo** Military show featuring drum performances and displays. **“Abide with Me”** Hymn, 1847. Words by Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847). Performed in some Remembrance Day services.

Alastair Crowley

DO WHAT THOU WILT shall be the whole of the Law.

Franco is a common murderer and pirate: should swing in chains at Execution Dock.

Mussolini, the secret assassin, possibly worse.

Hitler may prove a “prophet”; time will judge.

Love is the law, love under will.

[Read: Aleister. Formerly: Edward Alexander Crowley] (1875–1947) Writer, occultist
After attending Malvern College (1891–92) and Tonbridge School (1892), Crowley went up to Trinity College, Cambridge to read natural sciences. In the ODNB, Ronald Decker writes: “Poetry greatly attracted him, and it was probably Shelley's ‘Alastor, or, The Spirit of Solitude’ that inspired Crowley to call himself Aleister, a deliberate repudiation of his given name. The spelling reflects a Gaelic form in keeping with the Celtic revival then popular.” He left Cambridge without earning a degree the year he published his first volume of poetry, Aceldama (1898).

Crowley's involvement in the occult began in 1898 when he joined the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, "a quasi-secret society that had been founded in 1888 and claimed to transmit a species of ancient cabalism," Decker writes. In 1904, he wrote Liber legis ("Book of the Law"), which he claims to have channeled from an angel. In it, Crowley predicts a new "Aeon" and the downfall of Christianity. The book also provides the first and last lines of his submission to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. Decker writes: "Crowley was charged with promoting [the new Aeon's] basic principle, the law of Thelema: 'Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law.' This pronouncement was purportedly relayed from an Egyptian goddess, Nuit. In fact, the injunction had already been given in the famous story by Rabelais (d. 1553), whose monstrous Gargantua founded the abbey of Thélème." The fictional abbey, described in François Rabelais' (ca. 1490–1553) popular books about father and son giants, Gargantua (1534) and Pantagruel (1532), was established to be an educational institution dedicated to free will and pleasure:

All their life was spent not in laws, statutes, or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. They rose out of their beds when they thought good; they did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it, and were disposed for it. None did awake them, none did offer to constrain them to eat, drink, nor to do any other thing; for so had Gargantua established it. In all their rule and strictest tie of their order there was but this one clause to be observed,

DO WHAT THOU WILT.

Because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct and spur that prompteth them unto virtuous actions, and withdraws them from vice, which is called honour. Those same men, when by base subjection and constraint they

are brought under and kept down, turn aside from that noble disposition by which they formerly were inclined to virtue, to shake off and break that bond of servitude wherein they are so tyrannously enslaved; for it is agreeable with the nature of man to long after things forbidden, and to desire what is denied us. (*Gargantua and Pantagruel* 129–30)

Crowley's other publications on the occult include Liber 777 (1909), Book Four (1912), The Book of Lies (1913), and Magick in Theory and Practice (1929).

ODNB

The late Brigadier-General Crozier

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING that can save civilisation and that is civilisation. Rating, as I do, Fascism as an anti-social evil I am accordingly opposed thereto. On the other hand, in Communism I detect the hand of Christ.

[Frank Percy Crozier] (1879–1937) Soldier, writer

Crozier was raised in Ireland and educated at Wellington. In 1898 he traveled to Ceylon to farm tea. He served in the Boer war at Ladysmith and subsequently was granted a commission in the Manchester Regiment in 1900, serving in South Africa for another year before he was posted to Nigeria (1901–05). Upon returning home, he took command of a contingent of the Ulster Volunteer Force in Ireland.

During the Great War, he served at the Somme (1916), Bourlon Wood (1917), and the Scheldt (1918), ultimately achieving the rank of Brigadier-General in the Royal Irish Fusiliers. He received the DSO (1917) and was made CMG (1918) and CB (1919).

Following the armistice, Crozier became a pacifist and an advocate for the League of Nations and the Peace Pledge Union. In his memoir of the Great War, A Brass Hat in No Man's Land (1930), he juxtaposes his wartime conduct as an officer who had ordered the execution of his own men for desertion with his post-war belief that the Great War should be the last world war. He was disappointed by the failures of the leadership that led to immense loss of life on the battlefield, and argues that journalists in particular carry an obligation to facilitate peace: "The propaganda departments and the popular Press of the various countries alone enabled the war to be carried on so long. It is to be hoped that the Press of the world will throw its weight into the scales for permanent peace as readily and efficiently as it did for the purposes of war" (152).

In his second memoir, The Men I Killed (1938), published shortly after his death, Crozier maintains that his experiences in war are what best qualify him to argue for worldwide peace in the name of Christianity, which he perceived to be corrupted by the Catholic establishment. Although he did not live to witness the culmination of the Spanish Civil War, he saw enough to form an opinion:

The war in Spain has set the pace; it is another glaring example of what can come of international lying, cheating and revoking. One is entitled to draw the conclusion from the British Government's extraordinary behaviour that a victory for General Franco in Spain would not be unwelcome, while at the same time the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is head of a department of

state called a church, denounces the Italians for the massacre of the Abyssinians in Addis Ababa.

Yet he must, on account of his state position and his declared hatred of Communism, back Franco and the Spanish brand of Fascism. (243–44)

His sentiments about the Spanish Civil War are striking in light of what later occurred in the Second World War: “Remember what happened to the little Spanish town of Guernica. Can we read of a horror like that and remain unmoved in the defence of peace?” (12)

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Addis Ababa Capital city of present-day Ethiopia. Occupied by Italian troops 1936–41 under Mussolini, during which time it served as the capital of the colony Italian East Africa.

W. P. Crozier

Editor, Manchester Guardian

I HAVE TO MAKE IT A RULE to express my opinion on political questions through the paper. I am afraid I must keep to my rule in this case also, although I imagine that from the paper my opinions are well known.

[William Percival Crozier] (1879–1944) Journalist, editor

After graduating from Trinity College, Oxford (1902), Crozier joined the British daily newspaper the Manchester Guardian as a journalist in 1903. He became news editor in

1912 and served as general editor from 1932 until the end of his life. He was instrumental in developing the paper into a major news outlet.

A longtime advocate for a Jewish state, Crozier used the paper to expose Nazi Germany's crimes during Hitler's rise to power and the Second World War. He was Nancy Cunard's editor when she worked as a foreign correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, printing many of her reports from the Spanish Civil War with minimal editing. In Nancy Cunard (1981), Anne Chisholm writes that her "reports were well received by the Guardian, as some letters she kept from the news editor, W. P. Crozier, prove. He wrote to her on February 7 [1939]: 'We are printing at present everything that are you are sending'" (253).

Crozier is the author of two works of historical fiction: Letters of Pontus Pilate (1928) and The Fates are Laughing (1945).

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A. J. Cummings

Political Editor, News Chronicle

EMPHATICALLY I AM FOR the Government and People of Spain and against Franco and Fascism. If Fascism wins in Europe all that is worth while in modern civilisation must perish.

[Arthur John Cummings] (1882–1957) Journalist, author

Cummings was born in Devon, the son of John Cummings, a respected journalist for the Devon and Exeter Gazette. When John fell ill, Arthur joined the paper as a reporter instead of attending university. In 1920, he became assistant editor of the Daily News. He subsequently became deputy editor and then political editor; he remained with the paper, after it became the News Chronicle in 1930, until 1955. In 1953, he was elected president of the Institute of Journalists.

His London Times obituary (6 July 1957) says of Cummings in the mid-thirties: “As a Liberal he found the Soviet dictatorship extremely distasteful, disliking its harshness, its narrow-mindedness, and its ignorance of the outside world; but as an English Liberal he was also convinced that most of what he read in the opposition newspapers at home was grossly exaggerated if not actually invented.”

Linton Andrews, writing in the ODNB, writes: “By the late thirties he was perhaps the political commentator with the largest readership in Britain, through his twice-weekly ‘Spotlight on politics.’ Although remaining a committed Liberal, Cummings ‘fraternized’ with Labour—something for which he was occasionally criticized—particularly in order to develop a broad left opposition to appeasement with Hitler.”

ODNB, Who’s Who vol. V

Nancy Cunard

IT IS AS UNTHINKABLE for any honest intellectual to be pro-Fascist as it is degenerate to be for Franco, the assassin of the Spanish and Arab people.

Spain is not “politics” but life; its immediate future will affect every human who has a sense of what life and its facts mean, who has respect for himself and humanity. Above all others the writer, the intellectual, must take sides. His place is with the people against Fascism; his duty, to protest against the present degeneration of the democracies.

(1896–1965) Writer, publisher, political activist

The great-granddaughter of the founder of the steamship line, Cunard's parents were Sir Bache Cunard, third baronet (1851–1925) and Maude Alice Burke (1872–1948), an American heiress from San Francisco who later in life took the name of “Emerald.” As a young socialite, Nancy traveled extensively throughout Europe, particularly in France, where she lived periodically throughout her life.

In Paris and London, she was at the center of the “bright young things” set from 1915 on. Her first published book of poems, Outlaws (1921), was followed by Sublunary (1923), and Poems (Two), 1925 (1930). From 1928 to 1931, Cunard operated the Hours Press, publishing works by Robert Graves, Langston Hughes, Ezra Pound, Laura Riding, and others.

She is best remembered for her activism, in particular opposing racial discrimination and supporting the Spanish Republicans during and after the war. In 1931, Cunard's relationship with a black American jazz musician, Henry Crowder

(1890–1955), caused a rift with her mother and established her reputation as a racial activist and, consequently, an outcast from London society. The publication of *Black Man and White Ladyship* (1931)—a direct attack on Lady Cunard’s disapproval of Crowder—and *Negro* (1934)—an 855-page anthology on black culture and art—solidified her status as a radical.

Beginning in 1935, Cunard covered the Spanish Civil War as a correspondent for the *Associated Negro Press*, the *General News Service*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *New Times*, focusing on the impact on civilians and issues of race and oppression. She initiated *Authors Take Sides* on the Spanish War, which was part of her efforts to raise awareness and funds for the Spanish Republicans. She also compiled the anthology *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español* (1937), donating the proceeds to the Republicans. It featured W. H. Auden’s “Spain,” and poems by Langston Hughes and Pablo Neruda, among others.

During the Second World War, she worked for the British Ministry of Information and the BBC. She published an anthology, *Poems for France* (1942), to raise money for French refugees. Following the war, Cunard settled in the Dordogne, France. Her final publications were *Grand Man: Memories of Norman Douglas* (1954), *GM: Memories of George Moore* (1955), and a memoir, *These Were the Hours* (1969).

ODNB

C. Day Lewis

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN is part of a conflict going on now all over the world. I look upon it quite simply as a battle between light and darkness, of which only a blind man could be unaware. Both as a writer and as a member of the Communist Party I am bound to help in the fight against Fascism, which means certain destruction or living death for humanity.

[Read: Cecil Day-Lewis] (1904–72) Poet, novelist

Born in Queen's County, Ireland, Day-Lewis was raised in London. He attended Sherborne School and Wadham College, Oxford (1923–27), where he met W. H. Auden, who became a significant literary influence, and with whom he edited Oxford Poetry, 1927. His first volumes of poetry were Beechen Vigil (1925), Country Comets (1928), and Transitional Poem (1929).

Day-Lewis's association with Louis MacNeice, Stephen Spender, and Auden—a group Roy Campbell (1901–57) dubbed “MacSpaunday”—formed a nexus of left-leaning writers in the thirties. On his decision to publish as “C. Day Lewis,” he wrote, “As a writer I do not use the hyphen in my surname—a piece of inverted snobbery which has produced rather mixed results” (The Buried Day 17). In this period, he published From Feathers to Iron (1931), The Magnetic Mountain (1933), A Time to Dance (1935), and Noah and the Waters (1936). He also wrote A Hope for Poetry (1934), a book that his son and biographer, Sean Day-Lewis, writing in the ODNB, calls “a critical manifesto for the young poets of his generation.”

Beginning in 1934, Day-Lewis wrote detective novels under the pseudonym of Nicholas Blake; the first of twenty such books was A Question of Proof (1935).

In 1935, he joined the Communist Party and he dedicated himself to political causes for the next three years, lecturing on communism and helping to organize the Gloucestershire branch of the Party. In the Left Review (January 1935), Day-Lewis writes on the connection between politics and art:

It is already becoming more evident to serious writers that the prevailing “consciousness” of the times is a political consciousness, and this is increasingly manifest in their work. Unfortunately, although the old conception of “pure” art—art as an activity and an existence fundamentally divorced from “ordinary” life and on a different plane from it—is rapidly losing grip, the effects of this belief still linger in the unconscious mind of the writer and distort his approach to his work.

(128)

During the Second World War, he worked as an editor for the Ministry of Information (1941–46), and subsequently became senior reader for the publisher Chatto and Windus. Beginning in 1941, he became involved in an extramarital affair with Rosamund Lehmann that continued until 1950, the year he was made a CBE.

The following year, Day-Lewis was elected Oxford Professor of Poetry. His autobiography, The Buried Day, was published in 1960. In 1968, he became poet laureate of Great Britain. His last book of poetry was The Whispering Roots (1970). His translations of Vergil’s Aeneid (1952) and Eclogues (1963) are widely respected.

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Cedric Dover

THE SUCCESS OF REPUBLICAN SPAIN would make another revolutionary advance in human progress. It would cripple European Fascism even if it did not kill it. It would encourage those suffering millions who know the yoke of colonial Fascism. It would inspire the proletariat, the depressed peoples and the true intellectuals of the world. To support the Spanish Republic, to share its struggle as intimately as we can, is therefore an honor and a duty.

(1904–61) Entomologist, anthropologist, poet

Born in India to an English father and an Indian mother, Dover attended St. Josephs College (Calcutta) and the Calcutta Medical College. Beginning in 1920, he worked as an entomologist in India and South-East Asia, but by the end of the decade he was primarily researching and writing about race, publishing Cimmerii, or, Eurasians and Their Future (1929) and Eugenic Problems and Research in India (1932). Together with his wife, Mercia Heynes-Wood, herself an entomologist and author of Catalog of Indian Insects (1928), Dover launched New Outlook, a magazine dedicated to Eurasian studies.

Having separated from Heynes-Wood in 1933, Dover moved to London in 1934 to continue his studies of race from biological and anthropological perspectives. He subsequently published Half-Caste (1937), a work on miscegenation that was well received. Know This of Race (1939) and Hell in the Sunshine (1943)—an analysis of race relations in Japan—followed.

During the Second World War, Dover served with a mobile first-aid unit in Chelsea for two years, and with the Royal Army Ordnance Corps and the Royal Army Medical Corps for four years after that, leaving the forces in 1946. He was known for developing Dover's Cream, a mosquito repellent used by the troops.

Following the war, Dover lectured at universities in the United States and Britain, becoming increasingly outspoken about his political views. Michael Banton writes in the ODNB:

In a BBC talk about nationalism he had declared that “for a coloured man like myself the coloured peoples must come before his country and his community” (E. M. Forster and others, *Talking to India*, 1943, 127–8); but his unquestioning faith in Stalinism as a driver of “the rise of coloured unity” (*Hell in the Sunshine*, 199) must have irked George Orwell, for in 1949 Orwell included Dover in his list of unsuitable propagandists for the anti-communist campaign in the nascent cold war.

Later in life, Dover published a book of poems, Brown Phoenix (1950), and American Negro Art (1960), another well-received work of non-fiction. All told, he authored over 300 papers on entomology, evolutionary biology, and race. He maintained throughout his life that there was no such thing as a pure race and that all people are of mixed heritage.

ODNB

Havelock Ellis

IN REPLY—While I recognise that there are good men on both sides, I am myself decisively on the side of the legal Government and against Franco and the Fascists.

[Henry Havelock Ellis] (1859–1939) Writer, sexologist

Ellis was born in Surrey, but spent much of his early life traveling with his father, who was a sea captain, first on a year-long voyage when he was seven, and later spending four years in Australia from the age of sixteen. Upon his return he repudiated his evangelical Christian upbringing and entered medical school at St. Thomas's Hospital in 1881, London, earning a license from the Society of Apothecaries in 1889.

After medical school, he studied and wrote on science, the increasing role of women in politics, sexuality, and democracy. J. Weeks writes in the ODNB:

Ellis described himself throughout his life as a socialist, but despite his association with various radical groups he was never a political activist. Even as a well-known writer in later life, giving his formal support to campaigns for sex reform, eugenics, abortion, and voluntary euthanasia, he was extremely reluctant to become involved in public controversy.

His first book, The New Spirit, was published in 1890, followed the same year by The Criminal, which asserted that criminal behavior was innate.

Ellis is best known for the series Studies in the Psychology of Sex (1897–1910, 1928), in which he asserted that homosexuality was natural and inherent to those who practiced it, not a learned behavior, a mark of societal breakdown, or a disease. Written in collaboration with the poet and literary critic John Addington Symonds (1840–93) and

the poet Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), the first volume was received in Britain as lewd and Ellis was forced to withdraw it and publish the series in the United States.

His later works include a very popular book of essays, The Dance of Life (1923); a textbook, The Psychology of Sex (1933); and an autobiography, My Life (1940).

ODNB

Liam O’Flaherty

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the people of Republican Spain against Franco and Fascism. As an Irishman I realise that the toiling masses of Spain are waging the same struggle which we have waged for centuries in Ireland against landlordism and foreign Imperialism.

Long live the Republic in Spain and all over the earth.

(1896–1984) Novelist, short story writer

Born on Inishmore in the Aran Islands, O’Flaherty studied at Rockwell College, Co. Tipperary, in preparation for joining the priesthood. Deciding not to take his orders, he earned a scholarship to read classics at University College, Dublin. He became interested in the writings of Karl Marx and subsequently withdrew from the university,

enlisting in the Irish Guards in 1916 under the name of William Ganly to avoid bringing shame on his family for joining the British army.

*O'Flaherty served in France during the Great War and was badly injured when a shell exploded near his head in 1917. He was invalided out of the army in 1918 and the injury caused depression on and off for the rest of his life. His wartime experiences informed the novel *The Return of the Brute* (1929) and his autobiography *Shame the Devil* (1934).*

In the twenties, O'Flaherty returned to Ireland and fought on the Republican side of the civil war. In 1922, he and group of unemployed workers seized the Rotunda building on Dublin's docks and held it for three days. Although the rebellion was unsuccessful, O'Flaherty remained committed to the Irish Republican cause for the rest of his life. His novels and short stories were almost exclusively set on the island of Inishmore or elsewhere in Ireland.

*Later in 1922, he moved to London, publishing the novel *Thy Neighbour's Wife* (1923). His most popular novel was *The Informer* (1925), which was made into a film starring Victor McLaglen (1886–1959) in 1935. O'Flaherty made one trip to the USSR, in 1930, and published a book about his travels, *I Went to Russia* (1931), in which he writes:*

Bolshevism means no more to me than Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade or the Roman Catholic Religion. I loathe all political beliefs. I brand as a perverted scoundrel any man with an itch for changing the world and the habits of mankind. For the purpose of my work, the British Empire is no whit better than the Republic of Liberia. I am more interested in the well-being of

horse-racing than I am in the abolition of slums, or the universal cure of prostitution. I consider that a good game of Rugby football is more important than all the speeches ever made by Mr. Lloyd George. It is my business to observe human beings and to dig beneath the labels, under which they hide their beauty or their infamy. For that reason, I am more qualified to write this book than most people. I write it honestly, for the sole purpose of making some money; neither to convert the British proletariat to Communism, not to incite old parsons, butlers and maiden aunts into a war for the preservation of their virtue against the oncoming Soviet hordes. (10–11)

His novels include a trilogy based on Irish history: Famine (1937), Land (1946), and Insurrection (1950). All told, he published more than a dozen novels, four short story collections, and two autobiographies.

ODNB

Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade Politician and newspaper proprietor Maxwell William Aitken, first Baron Beaverbrook (1879–1964), established the Empire Free Trade political party in 1929 to bolster imperialism in Britain. **Republic of Liberia** West-African country where African-American ex-slaves were sent in the 19th century in an effort to “repatriate” them in Africa. **Lloyd George** David Lloyd George (1863–1945), Liberal politician, Prime Minister 1916–22.

Ford Madox Ford

I AM UNHESITATINGLY FOR the existing Spanish Government and against Franco's attempt—on every ground of feeling and reason. In addition, as the merest commonsense, the Government of the Spanish, as of any other nation, should be settled and defined by the inhabitants of that nation. Mr. Franco seeks to establish a government resting on the arms of Moors, Germans, Italians. Its success *must* be contrary to world conscience.

[Ford Hermann Hueffer] (1873–1939) Writer, editor

*Ford was born in Surrey, the son of a German father—Francis Hueffer (1845–89), who was a music critic for the London Times—and an English mother, Catherine Hueffer (1850–1927), who was a painter. His aunt and uncle were Christina Rossetti (1830–94) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82). His grandfather, the painter Ford Madox Brown (1821–93), was beloved by Ford and his brother, Oliver Hueffer (1876–1931), and both adopted “Madox” as their middle names in tribute to him. Ford changed his last name in 1919 as he wished to distance himself from his German heritage following the Great War. He attended University College School in London, but never went to university. His first novel, *The Brown Owl* (1891) was published when he was seventeen.*

*Ford met Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) in 1898 and together they collaborated on a book, *Romance* (1903), which was not well received. He also became a close friend of Henry James (1843–1916) and, later, Hart Crane (1899–1932), his neighbors in London. In 1908, he founded and edited *The English Review*, establishing his reputation as an outstanding editor and critic, particularly for his work editing Ezra Pound. At the same time, he published a trilogy of books about Katherine Howard, Henry VIII’s fifth wife: *The Fifth Queen* (1906), *Privy Seal* (1907), and *The Fifth Queen Crowned* (1908).*

*One of Ford’s greatest novels, *The Good Soldier*, was published in 1915. That year, he joined the army and was given a commission in the Welsh regiment. He went to the Somme in July, 1916, where he was nearly killed by an exploding shell. He lost his memory for three weeks as a result. Returning to the front at Ypres, Ford contracted pneumonia and was sent away from the front lines to rehabilitate. He drew upon his*

wartime experiences for *Parade's End* (1924–28), a series of four novels about the Great War. Max Saunders writes in the ODNB:

The sequence is more expansive than *The Good Soldier*, following its intelligent protagonist, Christopher Tietjens, through the traumatic changes in recent British society: Edwardian unrest, the war, post-war reconstruction. It is also another major work of European modernism, continuing Ford's experiments with presentation: exploring mental multiplicity, time, memory, and stream of consciousness.

Ford moved to Paris in 1923, where he and Pound founded the *Transatlantic Review*, in which he published works by Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961), James Joyce (1882–1941), and others. Later in life, he wrote two books that blended fiction with autobiography: *Return to Yesterday* (1931), and *It was the Nightingale* (1934). His final book was *The March of Literature* (1938), which Saunders calls “an immense comparative survey ‘From Confucius to Modern Times’, a vivid, idiosyncratic testament to his faith in literature as an international republic of letters.”

In a letter (27 February 1939) to the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald (1901–81), a Labour Party politician in the Colonial Office, Ford criticized Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s adherence to the 1937 Non-Intervention Agreement and the potential implications of that decision for Britain’s role in the Second World War:

In the view of a great many political thinkers in this country, the Prime Minister’s surrender of Spain to the totalitarian powers renders Great Britain for strategic reasons of almost infinitely diminished value as an ally in case of war. I am talking now of people who would otherwise have been willing to engage this country in a war on the side of her former allies. (*Letters of Ford Madox Ford* 313)

ODNB, Who's Who vol. III

William Forrest

I AM A LABOURER'S SON. I am a trade unionist. I am a writer. The labourers of Spain, *los pobres y humildes*, the trade unionists of Spain, the writers of Spain—all these are my comrades, my brothers. And you ask me where I stand, with them or against them? In the name of God!

Suffering, struggling, stoic

People of Spain,

All your spilt blood heroic

Is not in vain,

No, spilt not in vain.

[William Downie Forrest] (1902–96) Journalist

Born in Glasgow, Forrest left school at the age of fifteen to become a copy boy for the Glasgow Herald in 1917. The paper was shorthanded because of the Great War, so he shortly became a sub-editor.

As a journalist for the Daily Express, Forrest traveled to Spain in 1936 as a foreign correspondent. There he reported on the bombing of Guernica, imbedded with the

Republican troops. In Forrest's obituary in The Independent (8 November 1996),

Geoffrey Goodman writes:

Forrest was a Communist Party member before he went to Spain and he never had any doubts as to which side he was on; with or without a rifle he was an anti-Fascist. He was so angered by the failure of the Western powers (and Britain in particular) to support the Republican cause against Franco that he returned to London in 1937 without the approval of his newspaper to plead the cause of the Republicans and, in particular, to lobby Parliament for desperately needed medical aid supplies. Years later, he insisted that this action was the one of which he was most proud.

In London, Forrest campaigned for the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, which was founded in London in 1936; its supporters included Victor Gollancz, Harry Pollitt, and Rebecca West. For leaving Spain without permission, Forrest was fired from the Daily Express. He immediately signed on as a correspondent for the News Chronicle, traveling to Spain with Arthur Koestler. In Spanish Testament (1938), Koestler mentions traveling with Forrest on a train from Barcelona to Valencia in January 1937; Forrest's final destination was Madrid and Koestler's Malaga (178). When Koestler was arrested by Franco's forces, Forrest was instrumental in securing his release through a campaign launched by the News Chronicle.

Forrest worked as a foreign correspondent for the News Chronicle during the Second World War, reporting from Poland when the Germans invaded in 1939, and from Finland when the Red Army occupied it later that year. Subsequently, Forrest resigned from the Communist Party as he found Stalin's actions there to be unconscionable, but he never abandoned his socialist principles. He later covered the British forces' retreat from

Dunkirk, and the fighting in Egypt (he was wounded at Tobruk), Sicily, Normandy, and Berlin. He was awarded an OBE in 1946.

Following the war, Forrest served as the News Chronicle's Chief Diplomatic Correspondent in Europe. Up until the end of his life he contributed to the periodical Gemini and broadcast for the BBC World Service.

los pobres y humildes “The poor and the humble.” In *Spanish Testament*, Koestler describes a note that is thrown into his cell:

“Comrade, we know that you are here and that you are a friend of the Spanish Republic. You have been condemned to death; but they will not shoot you. They are much too afraid of the new King of England. They will only kill us—the poor and the humble (*los pobres y humildes*)” (305).

Hamilton Fyfe

THAT THE FIGHT IN SPAIN is between the forces of freedom, democracy, justice, and the forces of reaction, tyranny, obscurantism, admits of no doubt. It would be a disaster for all who believe in the right of People to decide for themselves their own destinies, if Fascism were to win.

It must not win!

[Henry Hamilton Fyfe] (1869–1951) Writer, journalist

Originally from London, Fyfe was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh. He joined the staff of the London Times in 1889 as a reporter. He was later the editor of the Morning Advertiser (1902–03) and the Daily Mirror (1903–07), dramatic critic of The World (1905–10), and special correspondent for the Daily Mail (1907–18).

During the Great War, Fyfe served as a correspondent (1914–18), and later became an honorable attaché to the British War Mission to the United States in 1917. According to Who's Who (1943), in 1918 he was "in charge of the British propaganda in Germany and among the German armies." Following the war, he was the editor of the Daily Herald (1922–26), and ran as a Labour candidate for the Sevenoaks Division (1929) and Yeovil Division (1931), but was not elected.

His first publication, a novel titled A Player's Tragedy (1894), was followed by a series of plays, notably A Modern Aphasia, which was first produced in London in 1909, and went on to appear on stages in Prague and Petrograd. He is also the author of Northcliffe, an Intimate Biography (1930) and Life of T. P. O'Connor (1934). A political treatise, What Communism Means To-day (1937) engages many of the political questions of the late thirties. Civil servant and Liberal Party leader James Meston (1865–1943) wrote a review critical of the book in International Affairs (Jan–Feb. 1938):

"The Communism of fifteen, ten, even five years ago," says Mr. Fyfe, "meant something different from what Communism means to-day"; but what it means to-day is far from clear to the reader. It still means a class-struggle, confiscation, violent revolution, the "dictatorship of the proletariat," war on religion; but apparently all in a different sense from that which we ordinarily read into these expressions. It does not mean Socialism. (89)

Who's Who vol. V

William Gallacher, M.P.

I AM FOR the People's Government of Spain and for the Spanish People.

The Fascist hordes around Franco, representing all the evil forces of Europe, must be driven out of Spain—out of Europe.

All lovers of Peace and Progress should support the legal Spanish Government in their great task.

This is the first step towards the complete defeat of Fascism.

(1881–1965) Activist, politician

Gallacher was born into a poor family in Paisley, Scotland. He left school at the age of twelve to work as a grocery boy and began an apprenticeship as a brass finisher when he was fifteen. In 1905, he joined the Independent Labour Party and in 1906 he became a member of the Social Democratic Foundation, Britain's first organized socialist political party, which was founded on Marxist principles in 1881. Beginning in 1907, he was a trade union activist for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the National Union of Brassfounders and Finishers.

From 1912, Gallacher was a member of the British Socialist Party. He visited the United States in 1913 and was inspired by the trade union organization taking place there. He began work as a lathe operator in Glasgow in 1914 and soon became the lead shop steward. Following labor unrest and clashes with the authorities, Gallacher was wrongfully convicted of sedition in 1915 and was sentenced to one year in prison in April 1916. In 1917, he became involved with the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee and

advocated for a Soviet-style mobilization of workers following the October Revolution in Russia.

He was arrested again in 1919 for participating in strikes to bring about a forty-hour week and served three months in prison. In 1920, Gallacher traveled to Moscow to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International; the visit inspired him to embrace parliamentary efforts to bring socialism to Britain. That same year, he helped to found the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and was a leader in the group in Scotland, sitting on the central committee from 1921–63. He was arrested in 1921 as a leader of the party—serving a three-month sentence—and again in 1925, when he spent a year in prison.

He worked unsuccessfully with the ILP in 1928 to affiliate the Communist Party with the Labour Party for the purposes of electing revolutionaries to parliament. Gallacher served as the Communist MP for the Western Division of West Fife 1935–50 and was elected chairman of the Communist Party in 1943. From 1956 to 1965 he was the honorary president of the party. He fiercely opposed fascism in the House of Commons during the Second World War and although he opposed the war in the beginning, he came to support it fully after the Nazis invaded Russia in 1941. Robert Duncan writes in the ODNB:

To the end Gallacher remained an unrepentant Stalinist, a virulent anti-Trotskyist, and in denial over the crimes of the regime in the Soviet Union. In common with policy and practice of the Communist Party, his abandonment of revolutionary politics dated from the mid-1930s. Thereafter his political stance may at best be characterized as left reformist.

ODNB, Who's Who vol. VI

Douglas Garman

OF COURSE I have “taken sides”. I hate Fascism as I hate all barbarism, because it sets out to destroy everything which I love, admire and enjoy. I believe in the cause for which the Spanish Government is fighting because it is the cause of all who subscribe to the principles of Socialism.

(1903–69) Writer

Born in the West Midlands, Garman attended Denstone College, a public school in Staffordshire, before going up to Cambridge University. He intended to study Classics there, but, determined to become a writer, he switched to English Literature under the mentorship of I. A. Richards (1893–1979). As a result, his family withdrew financial support. Garman's brother-in-law Roy Campbell introduced him to Edgell Rickword in 1921 and together they founded and edited the journal Calendar of Modern Letters in 1925, which was published by the left-leaning Wishart & Co. There they published the work of numerous contributors to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War, including Edmund Blunden, A. E. Coppard, and Aldous Huxley.

By 1926, Garman was a socialist and traveled to Leningrad for six months that year to teach English. He returned in 1927, the year that he published his first book of

poems, The Jaded Hero. Garman became a director at Wishart & Co. in 1933. A longtime member of the Labour Party, Garman joined the CPGB in 1934. That year, he helped to found the Left Review. In the February 1935 issue of the journal, Garman wrote on deploying literature for social change:

It is of the greatest importance that we should make the fullest possible use of the literature of the past, so that by reorienting our experience of it to a revolutionary view-point we can make it serve as the basis for a newly vitalized and really contemporary form of expression.

When Wishart & Co. merged with Martin Lawrence to become Lawrence and Wishart in 1935, it became the press for the CPGB. It also published New Writing, the well-known bi-yearly anthology.

With the advent of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, Garman's poor health prevented him from joining the International Brigade as he wished; instead he raised money lecturing on the cause of the Republicans. During the Second World War, he worked as an education officer for the CPGB and lectured at meetings of the Left Book Club and trade unions. In 1950, a disagreement with Harry Pollitt, leader of the CPGB, caused Garman to leave the party, but he did not abandon his Marxist principles. He subsequently became a farmer in Sussex and worked on an autobiographical novel and a polemic, The Necessity of Revolution, neither of which was completed.

David Garnett

THE QUESTION whether I am for or against a military adventurer who calls in the weapons of foreign despots against his own people appears to me to have been settled a century or two before I was born. I am an Englishman and a liberal who has always enjoyed personal liberty and been free to think and speak as he likes. I cannot conceive a tolerable world without such freedom.

The question for Englishmen and Frenchmen to-day is not whether they are for or against Fascism, but when they will have to fight in defence of their liberty against the German and Italian dictatorships and with what weapons. What we have to consider is the strategy necessary to defeat the disciplined but rather top-heavy enemies of liberty.

(1892–1981) Writer, publisher

Garnett was born in Brighton, Sussex, the son of the author William Edward Garnett (1868–1937) and Constance Clara Garnett (1861–1946), a notable translator of Russian. David attended University College School and subsequently studied botany at the Royal College of Science in London. Following university, he dedicated himself to writing.

His first major novel was Lady into Fox (1922), which won the Hawthornden and the James Tait Black Memorial prizes in 1923. Other novels of note include Sailor's Return (1925), Aspects of Love (1955)—which was made into a popular musical by Andrew Lloyd Weber in 1989—and Up She Rises (1977). He wrote three volumes of autobiography: The Golden Echo (1953), The Flowers of the Forest (1955), and The Familiar Faces (1962). Garnett served as literary editor for the New Statesman (1932–

34) and he was involved in founding the Nonesuch Press together with Francis Meynell in 1922 as well as Rupert Hart-Davis publishing house in 1946.

He was made a CBE in 1952 and was elected a fellow of the Imperial College of Science and Technology in 1956.

ODNB

Marcus Garvey

FASCISM IS THE CULT of organised murder, invented by the arch-enemies of society. It tends to destroy civilisation and revert man to his most barbarous state. Mussolini and Hitler might well be called the devils of an age, for they are playing hell with civilisation.

(1887–1940) Nationalist leader, journalist, publisher, orator

Born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica, Garvey was a descendent of slavery-era African fugitives. As a teenager he was apprenticed to a printer and was Jamaica's youngest foreman printer at the age of eighteen. A gifted public speaker, he won third place in an all-Jamaica oratorical contest in 1910. After traveling around Western Europe (1912–14), Garvey settled in London, where he became a feature at Hyde Park's speaker's corner and worked for the African Times and Orient Review, a journal launched in 1912.

In 1914, he returned to Jamaica and founded the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities (Imperial) League (UNIA). Tony

Martin writes in the ODNB: “The UNIA emerged from Garvey's realization, enhanced by his travels, that African peoples were everywhere in dire straits and in need of organized uplift.” He continues:

The fledgeling UNIA articulated both Jamaican and international objectives. The former included the provision of education and jobs and the rehabilitation of fallen women. International objectives included helping to develop Africa and the establishment of a powerful central African nation. The organization immediately became a quasi-literary society with debates, recitations, and oratorical contests. It fed the hungry and visited the sick. It sought employment for the unemployed.

Garvey moved to New York in 1916 and in 1918 relocated the UNIA headquarters to Harlem. He launched a newspaper, Negro World, in 1918 and The Black Star Line Steamship Corporation—also associated with the UNIA—in 1919. By the early twenties, the UNIA had millions of members in over forty-one countries. Martin writes: “Garvey's movement represented the nationalist wing of the pan-African struggle. He accordingly advocated ‘race first,’ which insisted that Africans must put their racial self-interest first in historical writing, literary criticism, religion, self-reliance, and nationhood, or political self-determination.” Garvey's approach alienated W. E. B. DuBois and other black leaders who wished to integrate their organizations, and communists, who put class struggle above race.

He was imprisoned in the United States in 1925 for mail fraud, a charge that was politically motivated. His sentence was commuted in 1927, but Garvey was deported to Jamaica. There he published the newspapers The Blackman and New Jamaican, as well as Black Man magazine. He founded the People's Political Party—Jamaica's first

modern political party—in 1929. In 1935, Garvey moved to London, where he lived until his death.

His most significant work is The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or, Africa for the Africans (two vols., 1923 and 1925). His other works include The Poetical Works of Marcus Garvey (1983) and Message to the People: The Course of African Philosophy (1986), both of which were compiled and edited by Martin after his death. He was posthumously awarded the Order of National Hero (ONH) in Jamaica in 1969.

ODNB

David Gascoyne

ONE WOULD HAVE TO BE devoid of the most elementary feelings for decency and justice in order to preserve an attitude of indifference towards the inhuman gangster warfare being waged by Fascism against the people of Spain and their elected Government.

[David Emery Gascoyne] (1916–2001) Poet

Gascoyne attended Salisbury Cathedral choir school from 1924 until 1930, when he enrolled in Regent Street Polytechnic secondary school, where he studied for two years. He was a poor student, but an avid writer, publishing his first collection of poetry, Roman Balcony and Other Poems (1932), at the age of sixteen.

In 1933, his poem “And the Seventh Dream is the Dream of Isis” appeared in the prestigious poetry journal New Verse. That same year, his only completed novel Opening Day was published. Later that year, Gascoyne embarked on a trip to Paris where he met surrealist poets and artists, leading to the publication of A Short Survey of Surrealism (1935). He subsequently published the collection of poems Man’s Life is this Meat (1936) and a translation of André Breton’s (1896–1966) Qu’est-ce que le surréalisme (1934; What is Surrealism? 1936).

Gascoyne joined the CPGB in September, 1936. In November, he traveled to Barcelona to work for the Republican government’s Ministry of Propaganda translating radio reports from English to French. Writing in the Times Literary Supplement (3 February 2012), Robert Fraser notes: “The message conveyed was the official line of the government: that all factions and persuasions had put their shoulders behind the common cause, and were supporting the elected representatives of the people against the Fascists.” Gascoyne soon realized that the individual factions on the left were at war with each other. Fraser continues: “Gascoyne later wrote, ‘I came to find out that the Communists hated the Anarchists and the POUM much more than they hated the Fascists; and I think this was the beginning of my disillusionment with Communism as a means of creating a better world.’” He returned to Paris after three weeks.

At the end of 1936, Gascoyne collaborated with Charles Madge, Tom Harrisson, and the documentary filmmaker Humphrey Jennings (1907–50) to found Mass-Observation, the purpose of which was to ascertain everyday British people’s reactions

to the abdication of King Edward VIII by sending unpaid researchers around the country to conduct interviews.

Gascoyne was deemed medically unfit to serve in the Second World War, but he worked briefly as a ship's cook and produced an acclaimed collection: Poems 1937–1942 (1943). Roger Scott writes in the ODNB: “These poems reflected the tangible intensity of feeling of his earlier poems, allied to a new religious quality, underscoring his concern to express a coherent vision of mankind's spiritual crisis.” In 1950, he published A Vagrant and Other Poems and a one-act play A Hole in the Wall. One of his best-remembered works, Night Thoughts, was commissioned for BBC Radio Three as a “radiophonic poem” and was broadcast in 1955. Later works include Collected Poems (1964), Paris Journal 1937–39 (1978), Selected Poems (1994), Selected Verse Translations (1996), Selected Prose, 1934–1996 (1998), and April: a Novella (2000). France made Gascoyne a Chevalier of l’Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in 1996.

ODNB

Louis Golding

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republican Spain, which means I am against Franco and Fascism. I would be against Franco if I were the most dyed-in-the-wool jingo flag-wagger. But that is not my reason. I am against him because he is a fist of Hitler; or at least, a little finger. *Ecrasez l’infâme!*

(1895–1958) *Novelist, poet, translator*

Golding was born in Manchester to Orthodox Jewish parents who had recently emigrated from present-day Ukraine. He went up to Queen's College, Oxford in 1914. When the Great War began, he attempted to enlist, but was rejected due to poor vision and lungs. Instead he became a hospital orderly and served in Salonika, Greece at the Fifth Canadian Hospital. He resumed his studies in 1919, but was too ill to sit for his final exams in 1921.

Golding's first book of poems, Sorrow of War (1919), was followed by his first novel, Forward from Babylon (1920). He wrote on his travels in Sicilian Noon (1925) and Those Ancient Lands (1928). His immensely popular novel Magnolia Street (1932) was produced in 1934 as a play. He later collaborated with the American actor Paul Robeson on the screenplay for The Proud Family (1940) and wrote the screenplay for the Second World War film Theirs is the Glory (1946).

Golding explored his Jewish ancestry in Three Ancient Lands: being a Journey to Palestine (1928) and several novels about relations between Jews and Gentiles, including The Prince or Somebody (1929) and Give up Your Lovers (1930).

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jingo "A nickname for those who supported and lauded the policy of Lord Beaconsfield in sending a British fleet into Turkish waters to resist the advance of Russia in 1878; hence, one who brags of his country's preparedness for fight, and generally advocates or favours a bellicose policy in dealing with foreign powers; a blustering or blatant 'patriot'; a Chauvinist" (*OED*, s.v. *jingo*). **flag-wagger** Slang. "One who tries to arouse popular enthusiasm." First appearance *Westminster Gazette* 28 June 1894: "The Pretoria flag-wavers" (*OED*, s.v. *flag-waver*). **Ecrasez l'infâme!** "Crush the infamous!" From Voltaire.

Douglas Goldring

I WAS PERHAPS THE FIRST ENGLISH WRITER to see Fascism in action, in Ireland, 1919–1921. The Black and Tans invented “Shot while trying to escape”, and many other familiar horrors subsequently copied by Hitler and Mussolini. I have spent nearly twenty years of my life, as a writer, trying to warn the younger generation against what is in store for them if they persist in pursuing the “good time” or trying to live in (with apologies to my old friend the late Mary Butts) “Crystal Cabinets” or “Ivory Towers”.

As my convictions have remained unchanged since, in 1919, I was the English secretary of Henri Barbusse’s “Clarté” movement, you can be certain that I am against Fascism wherever it appears, against Franco and for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain. Fourteen years ago I spent a spring in a Mallorcan “anarchist” or co-operative fishing village. It was a paradise; without crime, distress, repression or “Loranorder”. Spain will, no doubt, be crushed by the dead weight of Fascist bombs. But in the end Spain is unconquerable, superb, humanity’s chief hope. *No pasarán*.

(1887–1960) Writer

Goldring spent a year at Oxford before financial constraints forced him to leave university to work as sub-editor for the magazine Country Life in 1908. In 1909 he served as the sub-editor of the popular literary journal The English Review, which was then edited by its founder, Ford Madox Ford. Goldring volunteered to serve in the Great War, but he was invalided out almost immediately because of rheumatism. By 1916, he

had become an outspoken conscientious objector. His novel The Fortune (1917) draws on his pacifist principles. George Malcolm Johnson writes in the ODNB:

The war, along with the injustices Goldring witnessed while in Ireland in 1916–18, radically politicized him; thereafter he referred to himself as a ‘propaganda novelist’ (Goldring, *Odd Man Out*, 142). Goldring's anti-war, anti-imperialist, socialist views come most strikingly to the fore in *The Black Curtain* (1920) and *Nobody Knows* (1923), the latter his most highly praised and widely read novel (ibid., 255).

Goldring wrote three memoirs: The Twenties (1945), South Lodge (1943), and The Last Pre-Raphaelite (1948).

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Mary Butts (1890–1937) British modernist writer. **Henri Barbusse** (1873–1945) French communist novelist, founder of the **Clarté** socialist and pacifist movement around 1919. **Loranorder** Slang, *law and order*. **no pasarán** Republican motto meaning “They shall not pass.”

Victor Gollancz

OF COURSE I am for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain.

Of course I am against Franco and Fascism.

Fascism is culturally and intellectually a species of dementia præcox—a refusal any longer to carry the burden of being human, and a slipping back, happy sometimes but always disgusting, into the primeval slime. The writer, poet or artist who says the whole thing is of no concern of his is either a knave or a fool, or more probably both.

(1893–1967) Publisher, writer

Gollancz attended St. Paul's School before receiving a first in classical moderations at New College, Oxford (1913). He enlisted in the Officer's Training Corps in 1914 and was posted to Repton School, where he taught classics and civics until 1918. In 1921, Gollancz began working for Benn Brothers, a publishing house. He established his own firm in 1927. Sheila Hodges writes in the ODNB that Gollancz "was all his life primarily an educationist, and his main concern as a publisher was to disseminate an awareness of current affairs, and above all the message of socialism—for, although he never abandoned his liberalism, he had by now moved more to the left." Gollancz joined the Labour Party in 1931, but changed to Christian Socialism in 1939. His father was an Orthodox Jew and Gollancz practiced certain Jewish rituals at home, but his faith was a combination of Christianity, Judaism, and general spirituality.

In 1936, Gollancz founded the Left Book Club. Hodges writes:

This initiative reflected, and was part of, the Popular Front movement of the thirties, in which all progressive groups united to oppose the threat posed by Hitler. It was the first modern book club to be established in Britain. The books chosen were published simultaneously in an edition for the general public and in a special 2s. 6d. edition for club members—half or a third of the normal price. They were supplied through bookshops and not direct to members, unlike the books of the many clubs which soon followed Gollancz's example. At its peak the club had 57,000 members, but the actual readership was many times larger, and the 1500 discussion groups all over the country played an active role in carrying out the club's aims.

Gollancz commissioned Orwell's Down and Out in Paris and London (1933) and published The Road to Wigan Pier (1937), but refused to publish Homage to Catalonia

(1938) because he wanted to avoid angering the Soviets. In a letter 31 July 1937 to the novelist Rayner Heppenstall (1911–81), Orwell wrote:

I am also having to change my publisher, at least for this book. Gollancz is of course part of the Communism-racket, and as soon as he heard I had been associated with the POUM and Anarchists and he had seen the inside of the May riots in Barcelona, he said he did not think he would be able to publish my book, although not a word of it was written yet. (*An Age Like This* 279)

Gollancz is the author of over thirty books and pamphlets including two volumes of autobiography, addressed to his first grandson: *My Dear Timothy* (1952) and *More for Timothy* (1953). In the latter, he summarized his thoughts on socialism and capitalism:

Capitalism, which consecrates the profit-motive, tends to make a man think, in the context of earning his livelihood, first and mainly of himself, and so produces an atmosphere unfriendly to goodness—to the going out of his self into a union that realises selfhood. The capitalist way of living encourages greed: discourages altruism: makes gentleness, tolerance, mercy, fellow-feeling very much harder than they might have been. (25)

Gollancz wrote two books on music: *Journey towards Music* (1964) and *The Ring at Bayreuth* (1966), and two religious anthologies: *A Year of Grace* (1950) and *From Darkness to Light* (1956). His 1942 pamphlet *Let My People Go* predicted the Holocaust.

He spent much of the latter part of his life founding and supporting various humanitarian causes, in particular *Save Europe Now* (1945), which sent food to hungry German civilians, and the *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (1958). He worked to end capital punishment in 1955 and was knighted in 1965.

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dementia praecox (*premature dementia*). Term first used c. 1878 to describe mental illness now known as schizophrenia (*OED*, s.v. *dementia praecox*). **a knave or a fool** Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), *Don Quixote*, Part I, Book III, Chap. 4 “More knave than fool” Trans. Peter Anthony Motteux (*Bartlett*, s.v. *fool*).

Geoffrey Gorer

AS A WRITER, as an anthropologist, as an Englishman and as a human being, I am convinced that the triumph of Franco—or rather of the powers that are backing him—would be an overwhelming disaster for the human race as a whole; it would render the position of Englishmen even more perilous than it is to-day; the explicit anti-scientific attitude would render anthropology impossible; and the atmosphere fostered in Fascist countries makes creative art almost an impossibility.

(1905–85) Anthropologist, writer

A Londoner, Gorer was educated at Charterhouse School and Jesus College, Cambridge, earning a first in classics and modern languages (1927). His first book was The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade (1934). He began studying anthropology formally in the mid-thirties, traveling to study the Lepchas of Sikkim and subsequently publishing Himalayan Village (1938). He suffered a fall during the trip, which prevented future fieldwork in remote areas.

He traveled to the United States, where his studies of the cultural effects of radio and television led to a book: The Americans (1948). The next year, he published a study of Russian culture and values, The People of Great Russia. He later settled in Sussex and

authored three works on British culture: Exploring English Character (1955), Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain (1965), and Sex and Marriage in England Today (1971). He was a lifelong friend of Margaret Mead (1901–78) and W. H. Auden, who dedicated A Certain World: A Commonplace Book (1970) to Gorer.

ODNB

Geoffrey Grigson

Editor, New Verse

FOR POTTED SHRIMPS in the club, for reading the *Manchester Guardian*, for holding hands in the cinema, we are paying willingly with the lies, the insolence and the cynicism hung between us and intervention in Spain.

I am equivocal enough to be *against* politically, and not *for*, to fear and distrust any mass in its own control; but for me Hitler, Mussolini and Franco are man-eating mass-giants issuing from mediocrity and obscenity. I believe it better to risk “destroying civilisation” than to live and profit in a civilisation of Baldwinian lies by throwing them victims.

[Geoffrey Edward Harvey Grigson] (1905–85) Poet, writer

The youngest of seven sons, Grigson graduated from St Edmund Hall, Oxford, with a third class degree in English (1927). Three of his brothers died in the Great War; the

remaining three were killed in the Second World War, leaving Geoffrey as the sole surviving child in his family.

He was the founder and editor of New Verse (1933–39), where he published literary criticism and poems by W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender, among others. Grigson regularly wrote reviews and commentaries for The Observer, the Manchester Guardian, the New Statesman, and other papers. Some of these were collected in The Contrary View (1974) and Blessings, Kicks and Curses (1982).

Grigson's first book of poems was Several Observations (1939). His Collected Poetry was published in 1963 with a second volume appearing in 1982. He wrote on art in The Harp of Aeolus (1947), and the English countryside in The Englishman's Flora (1955) and The Shell Country Book (1962).

In British Writers of the Thirties (1988), Valentine Cunningham argues unpersuasively that Grigson is an “equivocator,” and that the editors of Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War “did fiddle their results a little” in placing his response in the “For the Government” category.

ODNB

Potted shrimps Classic Lancashire dish of brown shrimp in spices topped with clarified butter, which acts as a preservative. **Baldwinian** Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947), Conservative Prime Minister (1923–24; 1924–29; 1935–37). Criticized for supporting appeasement with Nazi Germany and resisting rearmament in Britain.

Carmel Haden Guest

(1) I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain because they are the real patriots who are defending the independence of their country.

(2) I am for the legal Government because it stands for liberty and democracy.

(3) I am against Fascism because it means international war, slavery of the workers, suppression of art and culture and the degradation of women.

[Muriel Ethel Carmel Haden-Guest, née Goldsmid] (1881–1943) Writer

Haden-Guest was the second wife of 1st Baron Leslie Haden-Guest (1877–1960), a Labour MP for Southwark North (1923–37) and Islington North (1937–50). He was made a peer in 1950.

Carmel Haden-Guest is the author of the novel Children of the Fog: a novel of Southwark (1928)—which was turned into a film in 1935—Scent of Magnolia (1934), and Punch's Boy (1942), among others.

She is the editor of David Guest: a Scientist Fights for Freedom (1939). David (1911–38) was the son of the couple and died in the Battle of the Ebro in the Spanish Civil War. He was trained as a mathematician at Trinity College, Cambridge, joining the Communist Party in 1931. The volume's introduction reads:

David Guest, mathematician, philosopher, musician and political worker, was killed at the age of 27, fighting with the International Brigade in Spain. Into his life he crowded many varied activities: his theoretical studies and his practical activity were perfectly combined, and in both he was guided by his acceptance and understanding of Marxism. When the war in Spain broke out,

none realised better than he the deep significance of that struggle, and he faced the implications of such a realisation squarely. “In a world of wars and revolutions,” he wrote, “new facts are on the agenda. Let us see that they are carried out.” He enlisted in the British Battalion of the International Brigade, where he showed the same brilliant qualities that had distinguished everything he undertook.

“In him,” his friend Professor Levy writes, “was the eternal conflict that tears asunder the souls of all that is best in the younger generation—the desire to enjoy the fruits of culture and the necessity to sacrifice oneself for its preservation.”

To this memoir, edited by his mother, many of his friends and colleagues have contributed, among them Harry Pollitt, Ivor Montagu, Professor de Sola Pinto and Professor Levy.

Professor de Sola Pinto Vivian de Sola Pinto (1895–1969) British poet, literary critic, and academic.

James Hanley

(1) I AM AGAINST the Franco Insurgents for I believe it [sic] to be a *very real* danger to the constitution of an organised democracy.

(2) I am against all forms of Fascist dictatorship as they constitute a *real* threat not only to the freedom of man and men, but also to the intellect and the culture we value as one of the great fruits of human life and endeavour.

(1901–85) Novelist, journalist, playwright

A native of Dublin, Hanley left school at the age of twelve to join the merchant navy and served in a submarine during the Great War. In 1916, he enlisted in the Canadian Black

Watch and fought in the trenches in France, where he was exposed to gas. Invalided out, he found work as a stoker on troop carriers, returning to shore in 1920.

He published many of his stories in the Liverpool Echo. His first novel, Drift, and his first collection of stories, The German Prisoner, were both published in 1930. His second novel, Boy (1932), describes sexual violence on a ship, but a court deemed it obscene; Hanley was fined and copies of the book burned. It was not reissued until 1990. He is the author of three novels about the sea: Hollow Sea (1938), The Ocean (1941), and Sailor's Song (1943), and two autobiographies: Broken Water (1937) and No Directions (1943). Grey Children (1937) is a sociological study about the lives of the unemployed in South Wales. He is best remembered for a series of four novels about the Furies, an Irish family in Liverpool: The Secret Journey (1936), Our Time is Gone (1940), Winter Journey (1950), and An End and a Beginning (1958).

Most of his novels focus on the working class, seafarers, and impoverished children. Meic Stephens writes in the ODNB: "Hanley, 'the well-known proletarian novelist,' as he was described by the poet and editor John Lehmann when his work appeared in the periodical New Writing during the 1930s, had no interest in idealizing working-class life." Although he was a member of the Independent Labour Party, Hanley never joined the Communist Party and became hostile to all political organizations later in life.

Who's Who (1943) lists his occupations thus: "Seaman 1914–24; railwayman, journalist, 1924–30."

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Tom Harrisson

THE EQUIVOCAL ATTITUDE, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, are words your letter uses to sway with superstitious feeling our immediate judgment. But even without them we must feel horror and terror and hate at that Franco, saviour of civilisation, who uses the weapons of science to prosper the principles of confounded superstition. Science is seldom evocative, starts always from doubt. It does not end in doubt. There is no doubt about Guernica. Science can only work with detachment; that is not equivocal or ivory, but its effects are more than ironic. You, who are interested in man's future states, must realise this: the iron age is over.

[Tom Harnett Harrisson] (1911–76) Ornithologist, curator, ethnographer

Harrisson was born in Argentina, where his father worked as an engineer. In 1914, the family returned to England. Harrisson was educated at Harrow (1925–30) and attended Pembroke College, Cambridge, but left in 1931 without earning a degree. Who's Who (1943) mentions that he had a

biological upbringing and training; left Harrow (where wrote standard book on birds of district) to go on Oxford University Expedition to Artic Lapland; thereafter neglected academic education and spent some months on remote uninhabited British islands (St. Kilda and North Rona), in Central Borneo where led large Oxford Expedition, and then for two years in New Hebrides, Western Pacific, where spent one year living among cannibal mountain tribes of Malekula, Cuthbert Peak award of Royal Geographical Society. On return to England, 1938, determined,

instead of studying primitive people, to study the cannibals of Britain, so started with Charles Madge a new type of social research organisation, called Mass-Observation.

Harrisson is best remembered for his work with Mass-Observation. The purpose of the organization was to send volunteers into communities around Britain to interview people and distribute questionnaires to gather their opinions about politics, culture, and current events, particularly the 1936 abdication of King Edward VIII. Between 1937 and 1945, Mass-Observation collected 1,894 interviews primarily from young, left-leaning people.

Judith M. Heimann writes in the ODNB:

He and Madge induced small teams of M-O unpaid researchers to collect data by covertly observing people and asking open-ended questions. This data, together with contributions by hundreds of volunteer diarists whose anonymity was protected to encourage frank comment, helped M-O pioneer in fields that market research later took on: bathing habits, burial customs, smoking, drinking, sexual behaviour, attitudes towards current events, etc. Harrisson saw this as a way of letting the ordinary people speak for themselves.

During the Second World War, Harrisson was called up to the King's Rifle Corps (1942) and received a commission as major. In 1944, he and seven of his troops parachuted into Borneo to scout the region for an allied invasion. His leadership there earned him the DSO in 1946. Following the war, Harrisson left his family in England and moved to Sarawak in Borneo, where he lived for the next twenty years. He earned the Royal Geographical Society's founder's medal (1962) for his ethnographic work.

He is the author of Britain by Mass-Observation (1939)—co-authored with Madge—World Within (1959), Living through the Blitz (1976), and others. Among his

recreations, Who's Who lists "living among strange people and listening to them talk about themselves; collecting Victorian objects too."

In British Writers of the Thirties (1988), Valentine Cunningham argues unpersuasively that Harrison is an "equivocator," and that the editors of Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War "did fiddle their results a little" in placing his response in the "For the Government" category.

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Robert Herring

Editor, Life and Letters To-day

AS JOURNALISTS and human beings, we consider it to be taken for granted that we are against Franco and Fascism.

(1903–75) Editor, writer

Herring studied at Clifton College, Bristol, and read history and English at King's College, Cambridge. In 1925, he became assistant editor for the monthly London Mercury. He served as editor of the influential monthly literary periodical Life and Letters To-day (1935–50). He was also a film critic for the Manchester Guardian (1928–38). He is the author of, among others, the novels The President's Hat (1926) and Cactus Coast (1934); Films of the Year (1927); and Westward Look: Poems 1922–45 (1945).

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Life and Letters To-day Published as *Life and Letters* (1928–35); *Life and Letters Today* (1935–45); *Life and Letters* (1945–50).

Harold Heslop

THE *only* ANSWER to the Fascist attack on culture and on Spain which a writer ought to give is: Down with the Fascist Monsters. With the blood of the people of Spain is being written a chapter of human history which will remain imperishable through time. I join with my comrades of the pen with the Spanish people in the war on Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and their allies.

(1898–1983) Coalminer, writer

Born in Co. Durham, Heslop was the son of a coalminer and began working in an ironstone mine in Yorkshire at the age of fourteen. He became the secretary of the Harton branch of the Independent Labour Party following the Great War and won a Durham Miners' Association scholarship to study at the Central Labour College in London (1924–26). It was during this time that he joined the Communist Party. He could not find a publisher in Britain for his first book so it was published as Pod vlastu uglya (Under the sway of coal, 1926) in the Soviet Union, where it was very popular. All told, he published four novels in the Soviet Union.

Heslop continued to be very active in the Durham Miners' Association, authoring two pamphlets: Who are your Masters? (1927) and Who are your Masters Now? (1927). In 1930, he attended the second conference of the International Union of Proletarian and Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov in Ukraine, where he developed an appreciation for Soviet communism. He is the author of novels, including The Gate of a Strange Field (1929), Last Cage Down (1935), and his most popular, The Earth Beneath (1946). Andy Croft writes in the ODNB: "It was a rich and scholarly history of work and family life in the Durham coalfield in the nineteenth century, Methodism and socialism, poaching and preaching, and the bitter struggles to establish trade unionism."

ODNB

R. P. Hewett

WRITERS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN more progressive than their society. The non-political writer is a modern myth, born of fear and obscurantism. But Addis Ababa, Guernica, and Tientsin have opened the eyes of even the most escapist writers, and the immediate menace of Fascism forces every one of us to take up an uncompromising attitude against Fascism and in defence of Spain, which must be expressed in our work.

Poet, critic

Hewett is the author of Poems (1936), Reading and Response: An approach to the criticism of literature (1960), A Choice of Poets: An anthology of poets from Wordsworth to the present day (1968), and A Further Choice of Poets: An anthology of poets from Crabbe to Ted Hughes (1976).

Tientsin Chinese city known today as Tianjin. Fell to the Japanese 30 July 1937 during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) in which Japan attempted to take over China and exploit its resources.

Jack Hilton

FOR THE PEOPLE of Republican Spain.

Against Franco and Fascism.

Yes. Yes. Yes.

(1900–83) Novelist

The son of a railway goods checker, Hilton left school at the age of fourteen. In 1916, he joined the army, returning to his childhood home of Rochdale in 1918, where he became a plasterer and joined the Plasterer's Union in 1924. In 1935, he earned a scholarship to study at Ruskin College, Oxford, where he remained until 1937. His first published work was the autobiographical Caliban Shrieks (1935), which is about the effects of unemployment and poor conditions for the working class. In 1939, Hilton returned to

Somerville College, Oxford, to work as a carpenter and a fireman. He was an active union member and belonged to the Labour Party.

His novels focused on the working class and embodied his socialist principles.

Titles include: Champion (1938), English Ribbon (1950), English Ways: A walk from the Pennines to the Epsom Downs in 1939 (1940), and Laugh at Polonius (1942). He published short stories in Adelphi and the Left Review.

J. L. Hodson

I AM OPPOSED TO FASCISM as I am opposed to any dictatorship either of the Right or Left. I oppose any system of government which deprives the individual of liberty of speech or writing. In so far as the Government of Spain is one of liberal or socialistic principles, I support it. I am against Franco.

[James Lansdale Hodson] (1891–1956) Novelist, journalist, scriptwriter

Hodson joined the Daily Mail as a journalist in 1913. He served in the Great War (1914–18), reaching the rank of sub-lieutenant in the Royal Naval Division. He was later attached to the Special Intelligence Branch of the Ministry of Munitions. He was the news editor of the northern edition of the Daily Mail (1924–29), and later became a special correspondent for the News Chronicle and the Sunday Times.

During the Second World War, he worked as a war correspondent (1939–42) and published a series of diaries on his experiences: Through the Dark Night (1941), Towards the Morning (1941), Before Daybreak (1942), War in the Sun (1942), and Home Front (1944). He toured the United States (1943–44), lecturing at Reed College and elsewhere, publishing And Yet I Like America (1945), in which he argued for improved relations between Britain and the U.S.

He is the author of film scripts, including Under the Red Robe (1937), Something Money Can't Buy (1952), and a documentary, Desert Victory (1943), which he also narrated. The film examines the allies' efforts to drive the German and Italian armies from North Africa, in particular the two battles at El Alamein (1942) in Egypt.

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Lancelot Hogben

THE BRUTAL ATTACK upon the constituted authority of Spain's democratic Government by Franco's Moorish legionaries is a challenge to democracy, to decency and to constructive social effort in all countries where Fascism has not yet trampled on intellectual freedom.

(1895–1975) Biologist

Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, Hogben spent his life in academia, teaching biology, natural history, and zoology at institutions as diverse as McGill University (1925–27), University of Cape Town (1927–30), and University of Aberdeen (1937–41). In 1936, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, a prestigious organization of scientists in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth.

Who's Who (1943) notes that Hogben authored "scientific memoirs on genetics, ductless glands and the physiology of colour change." Publications include Mathematics for the Million (1936) and a book of essays, Dangerous Thoughts (1939). In his introduction to the latter Hogben resists aligning himself with communism as the only alternative to opposing fascism:

My Marxist friends—the sentiment of friendship is, I fear, unilateral—perpetually assure me that I have to choose between Fascism and Communism. They say there is no halfway house. If they are right I shall probably be tortured to death in a concentration camp, unless I apply my biological knowledge to the task of devising ways of terminating a hopeless existence with less personal inconvenience and discomfort. In the meantime my dilemma does not seem to me to be different from that of anyone else who at any other time in history has been more anxious to be right than to stay Left. (9)

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Laurence Housman

I AM WHOLLY OPPOSED TO FASCISM, as a negation of religious and civil liberty, but I do not think that legal governments are sacred things. The Spanish Government was provocative, and threatened to secure its reforms by unconstitutional methods before rebellion started. Had it been constructively pacifist from the beginning, I do not think that the present disastrous position of affairs would have come about.

I think it is a mistake to pretend that legal government is so sacred. I would advocate a national strike against our own Government if I thought it would succeed, even though a national strike has been made illegal.

(1865–1959) Writer, artist

The younger brother of the man of letters A. E. Housman (1859–1936), Laurence was born in Worcestershire and attended Bromsgrove School. Financial constraints prevented him from attending university, so he enrolled in the Arts and Crafts School and Miller's Lane City and Guilds Art School in London when he moved there in 1883. During this time, he began to work as an art critic for the Manchester Guardian, a position he held for sixteen years.

Housman's first publication was The Writings of William Blake (1893). Two volumes of poetry followed: Green Arras (1896) and Spikenard (1898). A playwright, he authored Pains and Penalties, first staged in 1911, and he was a member of the Pioneer Players society (1911–14), which produced plays in support of women's suffrage. He was also a founding member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage and helped organize

Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) demonstrations. In 1914, he helped to found the United Suffragists. In his autobiography, The Unexpected Years (1936), Housman describes the beginnings of his involvement with women's suffrage:

It was that movement which first brought me into active sympathy with the aims and doings of my generation; and I date the interest which I have increasingly taken in the political problems and controversies of the present day to the request made to me a few years earlier, by the dear old lady who wore "what o'clocks" in her bonnet, that I would go to a meeting in Chelsea and hear Ms. Pankhurst speak on Votes for Women. (222)

He toured the United States in 1914, speaking on behalf of the League of Nations.

Joining the Independent Labour Party in 1919, Housman took up the causes of world peace and prison reform. Some of his later plays were performed as fundraisers; they were collected as the Little Plays of St Francis (1922). Around 1924, he took up the Quaker faith, but did not become a member of the Society of Friends until 1952.

It is curious that the editors chose to categorize Housman's response in the "For" category.

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"what o'clocks" Purple wildflower. **Ms. Pankhurst... Votes for Women** Sylvia Pankhurst, together with her mother Emmaline and sister Christabel were founders of Women's Social and Political Union. All three were orators on behalf of women's suffrage.

Brian Howard

A PEOPLE, NEARLY HALF of whom has been denied the opportunity to learn to read, is struggling for bread, liberty and life against the most unscrupulous and reactionary plutocracy left in existence. Utterly unable to crush this people alone, their enemies have hired foreign mercenaries, whose governments self-confessedly covet Spain's raw materials, to butcher whole civilian communities. With all my anger and love, I am for the People of Republican Spain.

(1905–58) Poet

The son of American parents, Howard was born in Surrey and attended Eton College. He went up to Christ Church, Oxford in 1923. Nancy Cunard's Hours Press published his only poetry collection, God Save the King (1930); the two shared the same social circles in London in the late-twenties and were close friends.

During the Second World War, Howard participated in the rescue of troops from the shores of Dunkirk and later worked for MI5 and as a clerk for Bomber Command, but he was dismissed from military service in 1944. Following the war, he traveled and wrote for the New Statesman and Horizon.

From Howard's London Times obituary (24 January 1958):

Exotically handsome, after the manner of a Disraeli hero, rich, brilliant in conversation, and endowed with great physical courage, he only needed the right spur to set him on the ladder of fame. Instead, he reached a degree of notoriety, as a leader of the antics of the Bright Young People, an exponent of the life depicted by Mr. Evelyn Waugh in *Vile Bodies*.

Aldous Huxley

MY SYMPATHIES are, of course, with the Government side, especially the Anarchists; for Anarchism seems to me much more likely to lead to desirable social change than highly centralised, dictatorial Communism. As for “taking sides”—the choice, it seems to me, is no longer between two users of violence, two systems of dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship cannot produce peace and liberty; they can only produce the results of violence and dictatorship, results with which history has made us only too sickeningly familiar.

The choice now is between militarism and pacifism. To me, the necessity of pacifism seems absolutely clear.

[Aldous Leonard Huxley] (1894–1963) Writer

The son of Julia Frances Huxley (née Arnold) (1860–1933), the daughter of the literary scholar Thomas Arnold (1823–1900) and niece of Matthew Arnold (1822–88), Aldous was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. An eye infection while at Eton in 1911 caused lifelong vision troubles and prevented him from pursuing a career as a doctor.

Following his graduation from Oxford in 1916, Huxley taught at Repton School and Eton, where Harold Acton and George Orwell (then Eric Blair) were among his students. During this time he published four volumes of poetry: The Burning Wheel (1916), Jonah (1917), The Defeat of Youth (1918), and Leda (1920). After leaving Eton,

he worked as a literary journalist for the Athenæum (1919–20), later becoming the dramatic critic for the Westminster Gazette (1920–21) and writing for Vogue.

Huxley achieved fame with his three novels satirizing British society: Crome Yellow (1921), Antic Hay (1923), and Those Barren Leaves (1925). The publication of Brave New World (1932) solidified his place among the best-known British writers of his generation. David King Dunaway writes in the ODNB:

The novel, the first about human cloning, is a dystopia set five centuries in the future, when overpopulation has led to biogenetic engineering. Through computerized genetic selection, social engineers create a population happy with its lot. All the earth's children are born in hatcheries, and Soma, a get-happy pill, irons out most problems.

Huxley was an ardent pacifist even after like-minded writers and activists abandoned it in favor of supporting the Spanish Republican government during the war. These principles are evident in Ends and Means (1937). The following quotation from the book appeared in an August 1935 article for the Left Review, written by Christina Stead:

One cannot influence the mass, but only the individual; yet, when the individuals pass a certain number one can speak of mass. There are two means of influencing: private influence and politico-literary influence. We can measure exactly the efficacy of the advertisement. When a sale is in question, we can measure its success by the results of the sale. But the effects of the propaganda of the political writer cannot be determined. They depend on circumstances. (472–73)

In 1938, Huxley became Hindu Vendantist and wrote for Christopher Isherwood's magazine Vedanta for the Western World (1945) and the introduction to Isherwood's translation of the Bhagavad Gita (1954).

Following the Second World War, Huxley wrote two novels of science fiction: Science, Liberty, and Peace (1946) and Ape and Essence (1949), in which, Dunaway writes, “he offered twin visions, light and dark, of humanity's future.” His later writings, particularly The Doors of Perception (1953) and his last novel, Island (1962) heavily influenced sixties youth culture.

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E. Ibbetson James

I AM FOR the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain.

I am against Franco and Fascism.

To take any other view is, in my opinion, to be false to the 800 year traditions of the English people, and to the present vital interests of the British Empire.

[Eric Ibbetson James] (1888–1954) Scholar, translator

In 1900, Ibbetson James enrolled at St. Paul's School, where he was school captain; later he read classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Following his graduation, he taught at Highgate School in London. Unable to serve in the Great War due to poor eyesight, he went into the Ministry of Food and was awarded an OBE for his service there. He joined the League of Nations Secretariat in Geneva following the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He later became managing editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica

in London, but ultimately moved back to Geneva to serve as a correspondent for the Morning Post, the Observer, and the London Times. He is the author of a textbook, Switzerland (1944), and the translator of The Turn of the Worm (1930), by the French writer Georges de La Fouchardière (1874–1946), and The Fall of the Kaiser (1931), by the French historian Maurice Baumont (1892–1981).

C. L. R. James

AGAINST FASCISM, against Franco, but against bourgeois democracy too. For the independent action of the workers in the struggle for a Soviet Spain, the defence of the U.S.S.R., and international Socialism.

[Cyril Lionel Robert James] (1901–89) Historian, writer

Descended from Barbadian migrants, James was born and raised in Trinidad. He won a scholarship to the island's top school, Queen's Royal College, in 1910, but did not wish to attend university following graduation. His first publication was a short story: "La divina pastora" (1927) ("The divine shepherdess").

In 1934, he moved to London and worked as a cricket correspondent for the Manchester Guardian and other papers. Increasingly Marxist, and later, Trotskyist, he joined the Independent Labour Party and became acquainted with the West Indian and African émigrés pushing for colonial independence, including his cousin, Malcolm

Nurse, who went by the pseudonym George Padmore. He published The Black Jacobins (1938), a history of the Haitian revolution, and a history of the Communist International, World Revolution (1937), in which he writes on the Spanish Civil War:

Bourgeois democracy is doomed in Spain. It is the breakdown of parliamentary democracy which breeds Fascism. Before the actual conflict the Social Democratic workers can be rallied on the slogans of the defence of their democratic rights, yet to attempt to crush Fascism by the maintenance of parliamentary democracy is to lead the workers to ruin. The choice lies between the capitalist Fascist dictatorship, or the Socialist Workers' State. If the workers are to win against Franco and his German and Italian allies, they can win only as the Bolsheviks won, on the slogans of the land for the peasants, the confiscation of bourgeois property, and the revolution of the Moors in Franco's rear. The war must be a revolutionary war by workers and peasants organized in Soviets or other workers' organisations. But the Soviet bureaucracy and its agents, though active against Franco, are now preventing Spanish workers and peasants from doing the very things that created Soviet Russia. (406)

James was a delegate to the first conference of Trotsky's Fourth International in Paris in 1938. The following year, he traveled to the United States for what should have been a brief visit, but the outbreak of the Second World War extended it until 1953. In the U.S., he became involved with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party. During this time, James authored the Marxist philosophical text Notes on Dialectics (1948), and a study of Melville: Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways (1953). He was arrested during the "Red Scare" in 1952 and imprisoned on Ellis Island. Stephen Howe notes in the ODNB that he felt "squeezed between US authorities who called him a communist and communists who thought him a heretic."

Based in London from 1953, James spent the next thirty years traveling around the world lecturing on history, politics, literature, and cricket. His later works include Modern Politics (1960), Party Politics in the West Indies (1962), and Beyond a Boundary (1963), which, Howe writes, was “a meditation on the cultural and social meanings of cricket which also included substantial autobiographical elements.” He also published three volumes of essays: The Future in the Present (1977), Spheres of Existence (1980), and At the Rendezvous of Victory (1984).

ODNB

Norah C. James

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and the People of Republican Spain and against Franco and Fascism. What other attitude can anybody who cares about humanity adopt? Nationalism, hatred and war are the inevitable growths of Fascism.

(1901–79) Writer, artist

James was educated at the Francis Holland School in London and subsequently studied sculpture at the Slade School of Art. She was the Advertising and Publicity Manager for Jonathan Cape, publishers. She is best remembered for her novel Sleeveless Errand (1929). She is the author of Jealousy (1933), As High as the Sky (1938), Man Without Honour (1955), and others.

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Storm Jameson

IT OUGHT TO BE IMPOSSIBLE to find any writer willing to admit that he is for Franco and Fascism. This hideous war, which is murdering Spain and may let war loose again over the whole of Europe, is the deliberate act of the two Fascist dictators, and avowed by them as such. It is an act they will not hesitate to repeat. Civilisation, the civilisation of the mind and the heart, is threatened with utter ruin by this doctrine which exalts violence and uses incendiary bombs to fight ideas. For any writer to support it is plain treachery and worse, if there is anything worse.

[Margaret Ethel Jameson] (1891–1986) Novelist

Born in Yorkshire, Jameson attended Leeds University, where she earned a first in English (1912). She received her MA from King's College, London in 1914. She took the nom de plume "Storm" from her father's middle name. Her first publication was the novel Pot Boils (1919); she went on to author more than forty-five novels in her lifetime, many about Whitby, the shipbuilding town in which she was born.

She became an anti-fascist in the thirties and served as the president of the English section of PEN (1938–44), advocating for exiled European writers. Jameson is

the author of a two-volume autobiography, Journey from the North (1969–70) in which she describes a conversation she had with a nameless Dutch journalist in 1933:

“You say that the German government, that Hitler, is preparing to make war. Do you mean he wants to conquer England and France? Isn’t that rather a mouthful—even for a dictator?”

His wide heavy face took on an extraordinary look of grief. “You will see,” he said softly. “When your decent pious respectable politicians—and The Times—have betrayed all the little countries to him, you will see how he will respect you.”

His voice dropped still lower. “I am screaming with anxiety and despair,” he said in a whisper.

I must write this down, I thought (and did, as soon as he left). As usual, my ambiguous mind was thinking two things at once. I lived now in dread of another war, and by sleight of mind believed it possible and impossible, in the same breath, with the same rage.

“I hope you are wrong,” I said.

This infuriated him again. “You are not any better than your Cabinet Ministers and your dear deluded liberals. You shout: Down with armaments and God bless the League of Nations. Good, good! You are against Fascism, of course you are against Fascism, you are an English radical, you detest tyrants, you are going to fight them. With what? With some old guns left over from 1918? Madness. You are mad. I must go, I shall insult you, and as soon as I have gone you will say: These Dutchmen have no sense of proportion and no manners, obviously he is out of his mind... Well, forgive me, I am mad.”

He turned with his hand on the door, to say, smiling,

“But, of course, if you believe nothing is worth fighting for...”

He waited for me to answer. I said nothing. His smile broadened endlessly, and he went off. (319–20)

ODNB

C. E. M. Joad

I AGREE that it is the duty of every writer, of every artist and of every thinker to regard Fascism as the arch-enemy. The success of Fascism is the collapse of civilisation and the relapse into barbarism.

It is by virtue of his reason and his spirit that man is separated from the beasts: truth is the specific good of reason; beauty, of the spirit. Fascism suppresses truth and oppresses the spirit. Those who care for these goods must use all their powers to repel that which threatens them.

[Cyril Edwin Mitchinson Joad] (1891–1953) Philosopher

Joad was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was the John Locke Scholar in Moral Philosophy, earning a first in literae humaniores (1914). Jason Tames writes in the ODNB that, as a devotee of Aristotle and Plato, “rationalism would be his creed: humanity was not evil; it was stupid. Intelligent men had a duty to spread enlightenment and rebuild the world on a logical basis.” A socialist, he joined the Fabian Society in 1912 and wrote articles and reviews for the Daily Herald and the New Statesman and Nation.

About Joad's philosophical works Common Sense Ethics (1921) and Common Sense Theology (1922), Tones writes:

Joad declared Christianity moribund and rejoiced that clergymen would be extinct by 1960.

Unreason in every shape was his foe: superstition, romanticism, psychoanalysis, and also outmoded social convention. He hated "Victorianism" and loved to shock. What reforms did reason require? Easier divorce and birth control, legalized abortion and sodomy, an end to Sunday trading laws and performing animals, sterilization of the feeble-minded, total disarmament, and less frequent baths.

In 1930, he became the head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology, Birkbeck College, University of London. He rejected pacifism in 1940 when he realized the potential consequences of losing the Second World War. Beginning in January, 1941, he joined the BBC radio program, The Brains Trust, in which listeners' questions were answered by the panelists, which, in addition to Joad, included the biologist Julian Huxley (1887–1975) and the naval officer turned broadcaster A. B. Campbell (1881–1966). At the end of his life, Joad turned to Christianity, a decision he describes in The Recovery of Belief (1952).

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truth...beauty John Keats (1795–1821), from "Ode on a Grecian Urn": *When old age shall this generation waste/ Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe/ Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,/ "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all/ Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."*

Arthur Koestler

OTHER WARS consist of a succession of battles; this war is a succession of tragedies, with the Spanish folk as the victim. Both Hitler and Mussolini have publicly admitted that they wish Franco to win, and help him to win; that means that the fact of foreign aggression in the territory of an independent country is plainly established.

(1905–83) Novelist, journalist

Koestler was born to Jewish parents in Budapest, Hungary; the family moved to Vienna in 1919. He studied engineering and physics at the Vienna Technische Hochschule, but was a poor student. Having discovered Zionism, he left university in 1925 to live in a kibbutz briefly, then moved to Tel Aviv to work as a journalist. In 1930, he abandoned Zionism and moved to Berlin, where he became the science editor for the Ullstein press, a German publishing house founded in 1877. He joined the Communist Party in 1931.

Koestler traveled to Spain in 1936 and again in 1937 to report on the war on behalf of the Comintern as well as the London News Chronicle. He was arrested by Nationalist soldiers in Malaga in February, 1937 and was held on death row for four months. He chronicled his experiences in Spanish Testament, which was published by Victor Gollancz in 1938. Horrified by Stalin's purges, Koestler left the Communist Party later that year. His first novel, The Gladiators (1939), is a thinly veiled criticism of Stalin. His best-known novel, Darkness at Noon (1940), describes the imprisonment and execution of a Bolshevik during the purges.

From September, 1939 until January, 1940, Koestler was held in France's Le Vernet concentration camp, having been mistakenly identified as a security risk. This experience informed his first English-language novel, The Scum of the Earth (1941). Following his release, Koestler briefly joined the French Foreign Legion, but deserted in 1941. Later that year, he joined the British Pioneer Corps, but he was discharged in 1942 and began working for the Ministry of Information's film unit and the BBC, publishing his third novel, Arrival and Departure (1943).

Following the Second World War, Koestler again became a Zionist, advocating for a Jewish state and publishing Thieves in the Night (1946). He became a British citizen in 1948 and published his fourth novel, The Age of Longing, in 1951. His two-volume autobiography Arrow in the Blue (1952) and The Invisible Writing (1954) followed.

Later in life, Koestler became interested in parapsychology, particularly extrasensory perception, publishing The Ghost in the Machine (1967), The Case of the Midwife Toad (1971), and The Call Girls (1972). He was made a CBE in 1972 and a companion of the Royal Society of Literature in 1974. In 1983, suffering from advanced Parkinson's Disease and leukemia, he committed suicide together with his third wife, Cynthia (b. 1927/8).

ODNB

John Langdon-Davies

TWO THINGS MAKE THE FUTURE REAL, the artist's imagination and the worker's hope. Fascism destroys both. Therefore the artist and the worker must unite to destroy Fascism. The Fascist artist is a traitor, the neutral is already dead. Art and anti-Fascism are synonymous.

(1897–1971) Writer

Langdon-Davies was educated at Tonbridge School and St. John's College, Oxford, where he earned a diploma in anthropology and history (1918). In 1917, he was called up for service but refused as a conscientious objector. For this he was briefly imprisoned and then given a medical discharge.

The author of Dancing Catalans (1929), Behind the Spanish Barricades (1936), The Spanish Church and Politics (1937), and a travel book, Gatherings from Catalonia (1953), Langdon-Davies lived in Catalonia periodically, in particular 1921–23 and 1926–28. Dancing Catalans is considered to be a seminal text on the sardana, a popular Catalan dance. He traveled to Spain as a correspondent for the Daily News in 1923, for the London News Chronicle in Madrid in May 1936, and then again in August to report on the war. In Homage to Catalonia, George Orwell criticized his articles, arguing that they “followed the Communist line.”

In Behind the Spanish Barricades, Langdon-Davies praised the anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) and criticized the communist POUM. In the preface he writes:

I have tried to draw a picture of the Spain I love as well as the Spain which is suffering. I cannot see the Spanish tragedy as a political affair on which one can take a vote. I think one side right and the other criminally wrong, but beyond that I am obsessed with the disintegration of human nature that comes with the greatest atrocity of all, Civil War.

In 1937, Langdon-Davies founded Foster Parents Plan for Children in Spain, now known as Plan International, an organization that provides aid to refugee children. Following the Nazi–Soviet pact of 1939, he criticized the Soviet Union in Russia Puts the Clock Back (1949) and elsewhere. For his humanitarian work, he was awarded an MBE for services to the Home Guard (1943).

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Professor Harold J. Laski

I REGARD THE DEFEAT of General Franco as vital to the interest of democratic freedom over the whole world. He symbolises a combination of feudal privilege, ecclesiastical obscurantism, and economic reaction, the victory of which would encourage all the dark forces against which civilisation is contending.

(1893–1950) Political theorist

An early interest in eugenics prompted Laski to study science at New College, Oxford, but he switched to history after one year, earning a first (1914). He was rejected from military service on medical grounds, and spent his life in academia, teaching history at

McGill University (1914–16), Harvard University (1916–20), and the London School of Economics (1920–1950). His first major works were regarded by many as his best: Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty (1917), Authority in the Modern State (1919), and The Foundations of Sovereignty (1921). Michael Newman writes in the ODNB:

These works in pluralist theory included esoteric accounts of historical conflicts between church and state, discussions of political ideas, and analyses of practical organizational issues. Their purpose was to refute the existing orthodoxy, which emphasized the moral superiority of the state, and argued that it was ‘sovereign’ in the sense that it was the ultimate body which commands without being commanded.

A socialist, he served as a member of the Fabian Society Executive (1922–36). During this time, class became the central focus of his political philosophy. Newman writes that “he believed that liberty was inseparable from equality and that it was therefore impossible to conceive of a free society unless the working classes shared in its material and spiritual benefits.”

In The State in Theory and Practice (1935) and The Rise of European Liberalism (1936), Laski struggled to reconcile his belief that political change could be brought about democratically with the fact that Hitler had been elected as chancellor of Germany in 1933. He became increasingly Marxist, although he still resisted the violent implications of a communist revolution. In the late thirties, he supported uniting with communists against fascism, and together with Victor Gollancz and John Strachey formed the Left Book Club in 1936. In 1937, Newman writes, “he signed a ‘unity manifesto’ between the Independent Labour Party, the Communist Party, and the

Socialist League—a left-wing pressure group in the Labour Party, of which he was a member.” He served on the Labour Party’s national executive committee (1937–49).

During the Second World War, Laski advocated for the defeat of Nazi Germany and Mussolini. Following the war, he reclaimed his criticism of communism in The Secret Battallion (1946) and elsewhere. He authored over twenty books of political theory. Later notable books include The American Democracy (1948) and The Dilemma of our Times (1952).

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F. Le Gros Clark

(Committee Against Malnutrition)

ALL MY SENSE OF LOGIC and belief in progress throws me utterly upon the side of the Spanish Government. Life is to-day a struggle between progress, which is an absolute good, and reaction, superstition and tyranny, which are absolute evils. There can be no neutrality or quarter. We had better settle down to a realisation that *our* life-times are going to be ones of intense struggle; and realising this, we had better choose our sides and plunge into the battle.

[Frederick Le Gros Clark] (1892–1977) Social and industrial reformer

*Clark attended Balliol College, Oxford, earning a second in classical moderations (1913). The following year, he joined the Middlesex regiment as a private; over the course of the Great War he rose to the rank of lieutenant in the Third Hampshire regiment. He was accidentally injured on the last day of the war and lost his right hand and eye. He eventually lost the sight in his left eye, which was also damaged. His writings on his experiences as well as those of other veterans were collected in *Blinded in War* (1969).*

*In 1934, he was one of the founders of the British anti-hunger organization the Committee against Malnutrition. He served as secretary of the Children's Nutrition Council and edited the Nutrition Bulletin of the National Council for Health Education. Based on two visits to the Soviet Union, he authored *Men, Medicine and Food in the USSR* (1936). He published several books on hunger and nutrition, including: *Feeding the Human Family* (1947) and *Four Thousand Million Mouths* (1951).*

*Clark also studied ageing and work, publishing *Growing Old in a Mechanized World* (1960) and *Women, Work and Age* (1962), among others. He authored two novels, *Apparition* (1928) and *Between Two Men* (1935), as well as numerous books for children, including *The Adventures of the Little Pig* (1937).*

ODNB

John Lehmann

Editor, New Writing

OF COURSE I AM FOR the legal Government and the People of Spain. No writer who is trying to create for the future, and not merely dabbling in outworn forms and sentiments, can be on any other side.

[(Rudolph) John Frederick Lehmann] (1907–87) Author, publisher

Brother to Rosamond Lehmann, John was a king's scholar at Eton and read history and modern and medieval languages at Trinity College, Cambridge. Following graduation in 1930, he worked at Virginia and Leonard Woolf's Hogarth Press, where he published his first book of verse: A Garden Revisited (1931). He subsequently moved to Vienna, where he witnessed the rise of Nazi Germany. In 1935, he founded New Writing, a twice-yearly literary journal, which began as an elite, left-wing publication. In 1940 it became Penguin New Writing and was fully in support of the Second World War. David Hughes writes in the ODNB: "A morale booster of high potency, a documentary record of war by the men fighting it, packed full of poets and story-writers who were his own discoveries, this was the voice of cultural survival."

In "Should Writers keep to their Art?," an article in the Left Review (January 1937), Lehmann writes:

The very greatest literature, the work of the profoundest and most sensitive artists, however politically indifferent they may be, will implicitly contain a condemnation of the system whose

extreme sadistic symbols at the present moment are imperialist external war and Fascist internal war. (883)

Lehmann was part-owner of the Hogarth Press (1938–46), but when that partnership dissolved, he began his own successful publishing house, John Lehmann Ltd. He is the author of three volumes of autobiography: The Whispering Gallery (1955), as well as Lewis Carroll (1972), Virginia Woolf (1975), and Rupert Brooke (1980). He earned the Légion d'honneur (1958) and the Greek order of George I (1954) and was appointed FRSL (1951) and made a CBE (1964). His Collected Poems was published in 1963.

ODNB

Rosamund Lehmann

WITH ALL MY MIND AND HEART I am against Franco and Fascism, and for the legal Government and the people of Republican Spain. As a mother, I am convinced that upon the outcome of the struggle in Spain depends the future, the very life of my children. Up till now a pacifist in the fullest sense, I have come to feel that non-resistance can be—in this case, is—a negative, a sterile, even a destructive thing.

Fascism, whose main principle is the sacrifice of the People to the State, must in the last analysis attack what are called the humanities. Culture, which has been violently destroyed in Italy and Germany, is in mortal danger even here, even in England. Not only

as an internationalist, but as an English writer, I must choose to bear my part in the defence of culture against Fascism.

[Read: Rosamond Nina Lehmann] (1901–90) Novelist

The elder sister of John Lehmann, Rosamond was educated at home until she earned a scholarship to read English at Girton College, Cambridge in 1919. She graduated with second class degrees in English (1921) and modern and medieval languages (1922). In 1927, she published her first novel, Dusty Answer. She is best known for the four novels Invitation to the Waltz (1932), The Weather in the Streets (1936), The Ballad and the Source (1944), and The Echoing Grove (1953). Judith Priestman writes in the ODNB:

The books are autobiographical in tone, with certain themes and preoccupations occurring throughout, notably the heroine's experience of compelling but destructive sexuality, and the conflict between intelligence and passion. Modern criticism now stresses Lehmann's role in asserting the centrality of female experience, whereas she was once stigmatized as a writer of "women's novels."

Lehmann is the author of an autobiography: The Swan in the Evening (1967). In 1982, she was made a CBE and a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.

ODNB

Professor H. Levy

THE BURNING of the Books,

The Crucifixion of Abyssinia,

The Destruction of Guernica,

all bear witness to the barbaric onslaught of Fascism on Culture and Civilisation.

As a scientist seeking to harness knowledge to human progress, I take my stand with those who fight against the savagery symbolised by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco.

[Hyman Levy] (1889–1975) Mathematician, social activist

Levy studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he earned a first in mathematics and physics (1911). Following graduation, he pursued further research at the University of Göttingen in Germany, returning to Britain at the outbreak of the Great War. He worked at the National Physical Laboratory until 1920, when he went to the Royal College of Science (Imperial College). There he became professor in 1923, head of the mathematics department and dean in 1946, and professor emeritus in 1954, when he retired.

Levy was raised in a socialist, working-class household, and was a founder of the Edinburgh University branch of the Fabian Society. John Stewart writes in the ODNB that science “was not for Levy separate from society, and scientific rationalism—in due course in his own case in the form of Marxism—was the tool which would liberate humanity from its present ills.” He expressed these views in Modern Science (1939). A member of the Labour Party, he was the chairman of its advisory committee on science (1924–30).

Levy joined the Communist Party in 1930 and remained committed to it through the Second World War. In 1956, however, he was part of a team that investigated Stalin's abuses during and after the war, particularly of Russian Jews. The subsequent publication, Jews and the National Question (1958) led to his expulsion from the party that year, a rift that was never repaired.

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Burning of the books 1933 Nazi program to destroy books by communists, Jews, and socialists among other left-leaning groups in opposition to the party.

Jack Lindsay

I BELIEVE FASCISM to be utterly evil and destructive. I stand with every fibre of my being for the People of Spain against the murderous attack of the feudalist remnants backed by Hitler and Mussolini for their imperialist world-war purposes; I believe this is an epic conflict in which ideas like Freedom and Culture leap out with a new tremendous urgency, an irresistible demand on our loyalty. To be above the battle, when such a cause is concerned, is to be sub-human.

[John Lindsay] (1900–90) Writer

Born in Melbourne, Australia, Lindsay was educated at Queensland University (1918–21). Together with the printer John Kirtley (1897–1967), Lindsay moved to London in 1926. There they re-established Kirtley's Fanfrolico Press in Bloomsbury Square,

publishing Lindsay's William Blake (1927) and Loving Mad Tom: Bedlamite Verse (1927). His first novels were a trilogy: Rome for Sale (1934), Caesar is Dead (1934), and Last Days with Cleopatra (1935).

In the thirties, Lindsay became increasingly revolutionary. He wrote On Guard for Spain (1937), a "poem for mass recitation" that attacks the Nationalist leaders and extolls the virtues of the Spanish worker. It begins:

What you shall hear is the tale of the Spanish people.
It is also your own life,
 On guard, we cry!
It is the pattern of the world to-day...

I speak for the Spanish people,
I speak for the Spanish people to the workers of the world.
Men and women, come out of the numbered cells
of harsh privation, mockingly called your homes,
break through the deadening screen with your clenched fists,
unrope the bells that jangle in the steeple of the sky,
make the least gap of silence in the wall of day
and you will hear the guns in Spain.

Lindsay joined the Communist Party in 1941. Subsequently he wrote We Shall Return (1942), "which viewed Dunkirk through the eyes of a communist would-be hero," writes James M. Borg in the ODNB. Lindsay embraced Soviet-style communism until the early eighties. Following the publication of Crisis in Marxism (1981), Borg notes, Lindsay's politics shifted to the right: "Convinced of the ultimate worth of Marxism, but disillusioned by communist leadership, Lindsay now described himself as a social democrat." He was awarded the order of Australia in 1981.

ODNB

Above the battle *Above the Battle* (1916), book by the French author Romain Rolland (1866–1944). Another of the same title (1918) by the soldier and writer Vivian Drake (1895–1971). Phrase also appears in Alec Waugh's submission.

Eric Linklater

MY SYMPATHY is with the people and government of Republican Spain. I am against Fascism and Franco and all who set the mythical value of an imaginary totality above the intellect and freedom of the individual. To European civilisation Fascism is as dreary and dreadful a peril as another Flood—and the Ark of the Covenant has unhappily been scuttled.

[Eric Robert Russell Linklater] (1899–1974) Writer

Born in Glamorgan, Scotland, Linklater served as a sniper with the Black Watch in France 1917–18, when he was badly wounded in the head. From 1918, he attended Aberdeen University, where he earned his MA in English in 1925. He then worked as the assistant editor of the Times of India in Bombay (1925–27).

Andrew Rutherford writes in the ODNB: “Linklater's experiences in the First World War had made him particularly sensitive to the paradox of the horrors of war on the one hand, and its broadening of experience on the other.” He continues: “Between the wars he saw communism as just as dangerous as fascism, and was emotionally disabled by the Spanish Civil War, finding it impossible to support either side wholeheartedly.”

Linklater served in the Second World War as a major commanding the Orkney Fortress Royal Engineers (1939–41), a unit assigned to coastal batteries in Stromness, a town in Orkney, Scotland, where Linklater's family kept a vacation home. He served in Italy (1944–45), an experience that inspired his most popular war novel, Private Angelo (1946), which is critical of nationalism and the brutality of war.

Rutherford notes that all told, Linklater “published twenty-three novels, three volumes of short stories, two children's books, two books of verse, ten plays (including several ‘conversations’ for radio during the Second World War), three fine autobiographies, and another twenty-three books of miscellaneous essays and histories.” He was made a CBE in 1954 and was elected to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1971.
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Ark of the Covenant From Exodus, a chest containing the Ten Commandments inscribed on stone tablets.

F. L. Lucas

CIVILISATION WAS BUILT by the free individual, shaking off the tribe and the tribal god; now, losing nerve, he flees back to their shadow. Fascism, Cæsarism, are the cocaine of a Petite Bourgeoisie afraid of social justice, of science, of progress, of itself. Together Rome and “Nordic” barbarism are thrusting back the new Spain into the dungeon of the Middle Age and making of Madrid a new *auto-da-fé*.

[Frank Laurence Lucas] (1894–1967) Writer, classical scholar

Lucas was educated at Rugby School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied classics until The Great War began. He served on the Western front with the Royal West Kent regiment and was wounded in 1916 and gassed in 1917.

Following the war, he earned the Browne Medal for Latin ode and the Chancellor's Medal for classics at Cambridge (1920). He published his first novel, The River Flows, in 1926, and his first book of poetry, Time and Memory, in 1929. He is remembered for his criticism, including Authors Dead and Living (1926), Tragedy in Relation to Aristotle's "Poetics" (1927), and The Decline and Fall of the Romantic Ideal (1936).

In the thirties, Lucas became critical of totalitarianism, publishing Delights of Dictatorship (1938) and Journal under the Terror, 1938 (1939), which takes the form of a diary. In the latter he addresses the impending Second World War and struggles to reconcile his passivism with the growing humanitarian crisis in Germany. In his first entry, dated 31 December 1937, he writes:

To-day the world feels nearer breaking-point than ever before in the nineteen years since the Great War. It is like being back in the trench I inhabited opposite Fricourt in 1915, which the R.E. warned us was mined. (It blew skyward a couple of days later, after we had been relieved by others less lucky.) Our world-mine may never blow up; or not till a new generation has relieved ours. But 1938 is not a happy-looking New Year. (12)

In a later entry he writes:

Oct. 6 People still say with long faces: "But would you have gone to war?"

Yes, if necessary. But it would never have been necessary, if instead of pacts with aggressors for the last eight years, we had made pacts against them, whoever they may be. (289)

During the Second World War, Lucas worked on the Ultra project, which successfully deciphered the German Enigma codes. For his service he was awarded an OBE in 1946.

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auto-da-fé Portuguese, *act of faith*. "A religious ceremony demonstrating commitment to Catholicism held by the Spanish or Portuguese Inquisition prior to the punishment of prisoners, such as blasphemers, bigamists, and witches, as well as heretics. In the most serious cases the punishments extended to burning at the stake. The first recorded auto-da-fé was held in Seville in 1481. The sense is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the execution itself" (*OED*, s.v. *auto-da-fé*). **Fricourt** Area in the Somme, France. **R.E.** During the Great War, the Corps of Royal Engineers maintained and monitored trenches and tunnels on the front lines.

Rose Macaulay

AGAINST FRANCO.

[Dame (Emilie) Rose Macaulay] (1881–1958) Novelist

The daughter of an assistant master at Rugby School, Macaulay read modern history at Somerville College, Oxford, graduating in 1903. Her first novel was Abbots Verney (1906), but The Lee Shore (1912) was the first to be successful. She moved to London shortly thereafter and worked as a nurse during the Great War until 1916, when she went to work for the War Office. Her first bestseller was Potterism (1920). Constance Babington Smith writes in the ODNB: "Her gentle irony, effervescent wit, fastidious turn

of phrase, and lightness of touch in exposing the absurdities of the day won for her a large, varied, and enthusiastic public."

The novel Told by An Idiot (1923) describes the changes that occur within a family over the course of forty years. Midway through the novel, the family endures the Boer Wars (1880–81; 1899–1902), in which British forces fought Dutch settlers for control of colonized republics in South Africa. In 1900, the war seemed to many to be brutal and senseless:

"Is this the way," asked Liberals, "to secure in the end any kind of working reconciliation between ourselves and the conquered enemy? If Great Britain wishes to be burdened for ever with a sullen, hostile, exasperated people, embittered with the memory of burnt farms, useless slaughter and destruction, she is taking the right course." Those who disagreed merely retorted, "Pro-Boer," which took less time. The Latin word "pro" has been found always very useful and insulting.

Stanley became a pro-Boer. She disliked all she knew of Boers very much, but that had nothing to do with it. A pro-Boer, like a pro-German much later, was one who was in favour of making terms with the enemy on the victories already gained. (188)

Up until the thirties, Macaulay had written primarily popular novels, but with the publication of the scholarly Some Religious Elements in English Literature (1931), the historical novel They Were Defeated (1932), and the biography Milton (1934), she became increasingly academic.

She worked as an ambulance driver in London during the Second World War and wrote little. Having lived her adult life as an agnostic, she returned to the Anglican Church in 1950. Her final novel was the best-seller The Towers of Trebizond (1956), which solidified her status as a celebrity writer. She was made DBE in 1958.

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Hugh Macdiarmid

I AM A MEMBER of the Communist Party and wholly on the side of the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain—as are the vast majority of the people of Scotland, where at successive General Elections a majority of the total poll has been cast for Socialism, and where—if we had had national independence—we too would have had a Socialist Republican Government long ago. Practically all the Scottish writers of any distinction to-day are of the same way of thinking. But for the connection with England, Fascism would never be able to raise its head in Scotland itself. If we are subjected to a Fascist terror in Scotland, the London Government will be to blame, as it is mainly to blame for the horrible tragedy inflicted on our Spanish comrades—a tragedy which must, and will, be turned yet into a glorious victory over the Principalities and Powers of Darkness, and end with the liquidation of Franco and all his fellow-murderers.

[Read: Hugh MacDiarmid. Pseud. for: Christopher Murray Grieve] (1892–1978) Writer, journalist

Born in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, Grieve was educated at Broughton Higher Grade School and Junior Student Centre (1908–11), during which time he joined the Independent Labour Party and the Edinburgh University branch of the Fabian Society. In

1911, he worked as a journalist, writing for the Edinburgh Evening Dispatch and the Welsh Monmouthshire Labour News. He enlisted in the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1915 and was posted to Salonika, Greece after being promoted to sergeant in 1917.

Returning to Scotland following the war, Grieve took on the pseudonym of Hugh MacDiarmid to further align himself with his Scottish heritage. Roderick Watson writes in the ODNB:

Grieve's commitment to home rule and Scottish nationalism brought him to write the cultural political study *Albyn, or, Scotland and the Future* (1927), and his outspoken attacks on English influence, Scottish complacency, and the Burns cult made him a provocative and controversial public speaker.

A devotee of Lenin, Grieve wrote 'First Hymn to Lenin' and other Poems (1931) and 'Second Hymn to Lenin' and other Poems (1935). Watson writes: "Having parted from the National Party in 1933 on account of his communist sympathies, Grieve joined the Communist Party only to be expelled in 1937 for his nationalism (he was reinstated and expelled again within a year)." Around 1942, he rejoined the Scottish Nationalist Party, running an unsuccessful campaign as an MP for Kelvingrove in 1945.

Grieve traveled to Moscow with the Scottish–USSR Friendship Society in 1950. In 1956, he rejoined the CPGB, despite the Soviets' plummeting popularity among Western intellectuals. He was made an honorary fellow of the Modern Language Association of America (1968) and an honorary member of the Royal Scottish Academy (1974). According to Who's Who (1943), his recreation was "Anglophobia." In the Author's

Note to the 1972 reissue of his autobiography, Lucky Poet (1943, reissued 1972), Grieve writes:

It is claimed, too, that my work has had, and is increasingly having, political consequences—that I am largely responsible for the great escalation of the Scottish Nationalist movement of which I was one of the founders in 1928. Maybe! But I do not belong to the Scottish National Party. I am a Communist, a Scottish separatist, and republican—and I do not believe I have any idea in common with ninety-nine per cent of these so-called Scottish Nationalists, who seem to me simply sitting on their butts and giving an imitation of a respectable democratic bowel movement. (xvi)

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Principalities and Powers of Darkness Ephesians 6:12.

A. G. Macdonell

QUESTION 1. You bet your life I'm for the legal Government and People of Republican Spain in their struggle against Reaction, Prussia, the Moors and the heroes of Capretto and Guadalajara.

QUESTION 2. You bet your life I'm against Franco and all Fascists in whatever country they may be found.

[Archibald Gordon Macdonell] (1895–1941) Writer, journalist

The son of an East India merchant, Macdonell was born in Poona, India. He was educated in Scotland at Horris Hill preparatory school and Winchester College, which he left in 1914. He served as a lieutenant in the Royal Field Artillery of the 51st Highland division (1916–18). William Francis Deedes writes in the ODNB:

After the war he worked with the Friends' Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee, a Quaker mission, on reconstruction in eastern Poland (1921), and on famine in Russia (1922).

Between 1922 and 1927 he was on the headquarters staff of the League of Nations Union. In the general elections of 1923 and 1924 he stood unsuccessfully as Liberal candidate for Lincoln.

Macdonell wrote detective stories—his first was The Seven Stabs (1927)—and he was the secretary of the Sherlock Holmes Society of London. He wrote two notable satires of British culture: England their England (1933), which critiqued British sporting life, and a commentary on the London social scene in the thirties, How Like an Angel (1934). He is the author of a collection of short stories, The Spanish Pistol (1939), the best of which, according to a review signed “J. S.” in the London Times (24 March 1939) is “concerned with the most complicated of cricket matches.” It continues: “Manipulation on one side ensures that the other will turn out a team of painters, journalists, and other men of arts and crafts, who can be depended on to lose.”

Macdonell was also a broadcaster and in 1940 he worked for the BBC's short-wave service. Deedes writes: “Part of this task, for which he was admirably suited, was to dwell on the absurdities of enemy broadcasts monitored by the BBC.”

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Capretto *For:* Battle of Caporetto (24 Oct–18 Nov 1917). World War I conflict in which Germany rebuffed an Italian attack along the border. A humiliating loss that Mussolini later capitalized upon to stir Italian fascist sentiment. **Guadalajara** Capital city of Mexico's Jalisco state and the locus of significant battles in the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), in which the dictatorship was replaced with a constitutional republic.

Louis MacNeice

I SUPPORT THE VALENCIA GOVERNMENT in Spain. Normally I would only support a cause because I hoped to get something out of it. Here the reason is stronger; if this cause is lost, nobody with civilised values may be able to get anything out of anything.

[(Frederick) Louis MacNeice] (1907–63) Writer

Born in Belfast, MacNeice entered Marlborough School in 1921 and attended Merton College, Oxford, graduating in 1930. There he edited Oxford Poetry together with Stephen Spender and published his first book of poems, Blind Fireworks (1929). His first novel was Roundabout Way (1932).

He was lecturer in Classics at the University of Birmingham (1930–36) and later in Greek at the Bedford College for Women (1936–40). In 1936, he traveled to Spain with Anthony Blunt (1907–83), who was exposed as a Soviet spy in 1948. There, D. M. Davin writes in the ODNB, “he does seem to have seen only the pictures of Spain and not the whole picture, with its intimations of turmoil to come.” In the late thirties, he became increasingly political, but, Davin adds, “although he was left-wing in his sympathies he

was never himself formally committed to the revolutionary left, and he found the Communist Party unacceptable.”

In a letter to W. H. Auden (21 October 1937), first published in New Verse (November 1937), MacNeice writes:

With regard to content, the subject-matter of your poems is always interesting and it is a blessing to our generation, though one in the eye for Bloomsbury, that you discharged into poetry the subject-matters of psycho-analysis, politics and economics. Mr Eliot brought back ideas into poetry but he uses the ideas, say, of anthropology more academically and less humanely than you use Marx or Groddeck. This is because you are always taking sides. (83–4)

In 1939, he traveled to Spain again and was alarmed by the conditions in Barcelona.

Rejected for military service in the Second World War due to poor eyesight, MacNeice wrote propaganda for the BBC for the duration of the war. He was made a CBE in 1958.

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Groddeck Georg Groddeck (1866–1934) German psychoanalyst and developer of psychosomatic medicine.

Charles Madge

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT the Government and the People of Spain in their struggle against Fascist repression and terror.

[Charles Henry Madge] (1912–96) Poet, sociologist

*The son of an army officer, Madge was born in Johannesburg, South Africa. He earned a scholarship to Winchester College and later read science at Magdalene College, Cambridge, but he left without taking a degree. T. S. Eliot took an interest in his poetry and Faber and Faber published *The Disappearing Castle* (1937), his first book of verse, and *The Father Found* (1940). With Eliot's assistance, Madge became a reporter for the *Daily Mirror* (1935–36).*

In 1937, he formed Mass-Observation together with Tom Harrisson to address the “gulf between popular opinion and its representation by the powerful in press, parliament, and party,” writes A. H. Halsey in the ODNB. From 1942 to 1945, Madge studied the spending habits of the working class at the National Institute for Economic and Social Research and in 1943, he was a researcher for Political and Economic Planning. At the end of his life he was a professor of sociology at Birmingham University (1950–70).

In a June 1937 article in the Left Review titled “The Press and Social Consciousness,” Madge writes:

Even when considerably benevolent, capitalism cannot help being the bearer of evils; and even when, vice versa, it is simply out to win a big circulation, the newspaper cannot help being a good influence, and eventually an influence subversive of itself. Though it may carry political propaganda and exploiter-class advertisement on one page, on another it will print the story of a starving unemployed family, simply because it is a good human story. The class-basis of the proprietors determines the politics; the class-basis of the readers at least helps to determine the rest of the news. (282)

ODNB

Tom Mann

I AM ENTIRELY FOR the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain; I am determinedly against Fascism, and also against Franco, its Spanish champion. I am with you one hundred per cent and thank you heartily for taking the present action.

[Thomas Mann] (1875–1955) Trade unionist, writer

Born in Coventry, Mann worked at the Victoria Colliery from the age of nine. In 1866, he went to work in the mine, keeping ventilation shafts clear, a job he held until the mine closed in 1870. From 1870 until 1877, he was a tool-making apprentice in Birmingham. He moved to London in 1877, where he worked as a clerk for a draper, a porter for a tailor, and finally a domestic engineer. In 1881, he joined the Marylebone branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Around the time of his move to London, Mann began to advocate for the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first socialist party. In 1885, he founded the Eight Hour League, advocating for the establishment of an eight-hour workday. He took a job as an inspector for the Shop Hours Regulation Committee in 1889. That year, he was one of the organizers of the dockworkers' strike, which led to the establishment of trade unions. He was president of the Dockers' Union (1889–92) and the chairman of the

central council of the International Federation of Ship, Dock, and River Workers (1896–98). He established the Workers' Union in 1898 and remained its honorary vice president into the twenties. He was the secretary of the Independent Labour Party (1894–97).

In 1901, he and his family moved to Australia where he was an organizer for the Political Labor Council of the Trades Hall, Melbourne, the precursor to the Labour Party. Leaving that post in 1905, he worked as the secretary of the Victorian Socialist Party and served as the editor of its paper, Socialist. He left the party in 1906. Chris Wrigley writes in the ODNB that Mann increasingly believed that the way forward for workers was through the industrial unions: "In Australia from late 1904 he was increasingly disillusioned with parliamentary means of achieving improvements for working people." As a result, he resigned from the Social Democratic Party (formerly the Social Democratic Federation) in 1911. That year, he became an organizer for the Sailors' and Firemen's Union at Southampton. He was also the chairman of the Industrial Syndicalist Education League, which sought to infuse the labour movement with syndicalist principles. He supported the Soviet revolutions in 1917.

Mann joined the CPGB when it was founded in 1920. Wrigley writes: "He believed in unity on the left and spoke up for the orthodox communist line, writing an article for Labour Monthly in October 1922 entitled From Syndicalism to Communism." He became the first chairman of the British section of the communist Red International of Labour Unions in 1921; his main responsibility was to lead the National Minority Movement, established in 1924 to engage trade unionists in the Communist Party. He

held the post until 1932. He unsuccessfully stood for election in 1924, representing the CPGB in Nottingham East.

Wrigley notes that Mann was one of the first to receive the International Brigades upon their return from Spain in 1938. He traveled to Russia at least eight times between 1921 and 1937.

ODNB

Ethel Mannin

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT of Spain inasmuch as I am against Franco and Fascism, and that passionately, but with the defeat of Franco I hope for very much more than a mere Republican Spain (with the old bourgeois capitalist Government still in power)—for the establishmen [sic] of a Workers' State, not on Communist (U.S.S.R.) lines, but C.N.T.-F.A.I. (Anarcho-Syndicalist).

[Ethel Edith Mannin] (1900–84) Writer

Mannin attended a boarding school in Clapham (1906–15), where she was born, and a commercial school in London. From 1915 to 1919, she worked at the Charles Higham advertising firm, first as a typist and later as copywriter, managing editor, and theatre critic.

In the ODNB, Beverly E. Schneller writes: "As early as 1913 Mannin had espoused an admiration for the communist system, though she never was a member of the party. She maintained an interest in communism all her life." Her novel Love's Winnowing (1932) examines the working class from a communist perspective. She joined the Independent Labour Party in 1935 and traveled to the Soviet Union in 1936, writing about the trip in South to Samarkand (1936), describing the ways in which she became disillusioned with Soviet communism as a result. Other political publications include Women and the Revolution (1938), Bread and Roses: An Utopian Survey and Blueprint (1944), and Comrade, O Comrade (1947).

She was the author of over 100 books, ranging from novels, autobiography, polemics, and travel writing to children's fiction.

ODNB

Francis Meynell

THERE CAN BE NO HONOUR without freedom of choice. There can be no art without freedom of expression. There can be no life without freedom of growth. There can be no love without freedom of opportunity. There can be no spiritual adventure without the freedom of expectation. The Fascist philosophy forbids all these. And most Fascists have proved themselves to be not philosophers but sadists.

You say, “It may be our turn next.” *It is our turn now*—if “us” and “our” mean the fellowship of those who prefer poetry to bayonet practice.

[Francis Meredith Wilfred] (1891–1975) Typographer, publisher

Born in London, Meynell was educated at Downside School and Trinity College, Dublin (1909–12), but he left without taking a degree. He was the manager of The Herald (later the Daily Herald [1913–20]). A socialist, he advocated for women’s suffrage and was a conscientious objector in the Great War. He was an admirer of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and that year was one of the founders of the Anglo–Russian Democratic Alliance, which encouraged Britain to embrace the lessons of the revolution.

Meynell founded the Pelican Press in 1916 and through it pursued his love of typesetting and book design, collaborating for a time with fellow typographer Stanley Morison (1889–1967). In 1924, he founded the Nonesuch Press together with David Garnett and Vera Rosalind Wynn Gordon (1895–1947), which, David McKitterick writes in the ODNB, “relied on the best modern types available commercially, chiefly from among the revivals of classic faces being issued under Morison’s auspices by Monotype in the 1920s, and on the best of the new continental designs from Germany, the Netherlands, and France.” The press published editions of the dramatist William Wycherley (1640–1715) (1924), the poet John Wilmot, the Earl of Rochester (1647–80) (1926), the dramatist Thomas Otway (1652–85) (1927), and the poet John Dryden (1631–1700) (1931), among many others. From 1934 to 1935, Meynell was a contributor to the News Chronicle. He turned over the press to the publisher George Macy (1900–

56) in 1936, but remained on the staff as designer; Macy returned the press to him in 1951. In 1945, Meynell was appointed royal designer for industry. He was knighted in 1946.

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Naomi Mitchison

THERE IS NO QUESTION for any decent, kindly man or woman, let alone a poet or writer, who *must* be more sensitive. We have to be against Franco and Fascism and for the people of Spain, and the future of gentleness and brotherhood which ordinary men and women want all over the world.

[Naomi Mary Margaret, Lady Mitchison, née Haldane] (1897–1999) Writer, social activist

Born in Edinburgh, Mitchison was raised by a liberal father and a Tory mother. She attended the Society of Oxford Home Students, which later became St Anne's College, where she studied biology (1914–18), but she never earned a diploma.

She is the author of over seventy works of drama, poetry, non-fiction, and fiction, including books for children. Her first novel, The Conquered (1923), is set in first-century Rome. She is best-remembered for her novel The Corn King and the Spring Queen (1931). Elizabeth Maslen writes in the ODNB:

The novel explores sex and sexuality (rape and homosexuality are frankly discussed), as well as very astutely probing differing political practices. Mitchison does not indulge in any false archaizing of the language, and she uses historical fiction to illuminate current social and political concerns debated by the intellectual left of her own time.

Together with her husband, Gilbert Richard (Dick) Mitchison (1890–1970), she joined the Fabian Society in the early thirties and traveled to the Soviet Union in 1932. From 1939 she was a volunteer for Mass-Observation.

Mitchison traveled widely throughout her life, notably in Africa, India, and the Middle East. She is the author of two books on the importance of African tribal identity: When We Become Men (1965) and African Heroes (1978). In Mucking Around: Five continents over fifty years (1981), she details some of her travels:

In the Thirties, we tended when in Italy to have an occasional small brush with the fascisti and their image of Italia Moderna and above all the Duce. I expect it was partly this that put me so firmly on the side of the socialist workers in Vienna in 1934. But political allegiances were simpler in those days. (15)

She was made a CBE in 1981.

ODNB

Italia Moderna *Modern Italy*. **Duce** Italian, *leader*. Title assumed by Mussolini. First reference 1923 (*OED*, s.v. *duce*). **Vienna** Socialist and fascist factions clashed in Austria's capital city in the Austrian Civil War (12–16 February 1934).

Ivor Montagu

FOX-HUNTERS, people who shoot down birds, dukes, bankers, like Franco.

Cocktail parties are given for him.

If there were no other good reason—with the Republic you find better company.

Should we sleep while others are raving and winning the world, who will bother to wake us?

[Ivor Goldsmid Samuel Montagu] (1904–84) Filmmaker, critic, screenwriter

A Londoner, Montagu attended Westminster School, the Royal College of Science, London, and Cambridge University, from which he graduated in 1924. From 1925, he wrote on film for The Observer, contributed to the Daily Worker, and co-founded the Film Society.

Montagu traveled to the USSR twice before the age of twenty-two, both times for zoological research. These travels prompted him to embrace socialism in the Soviet model and he was a member of the Fabian Society, the British Socialist Party, and later the CPGB. In 1929, he met the Russian director Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) and the two collaborated closely on filmmaking, a partnership that Montagu chronicles in With Eisenstein in Hollywood (1968).

In the thirties, Montagu was an activist against British film censorship and for Soviet films to be distributed in Britain. He traveled to Republican Spain early in the war and subsequently produced three documentaries about it: In Defence of Madrid (1938), Spanish ABC (1938), and Behind the Spanish Lines (1938). During the Second World War, he served as adviser to the Soviet Film Agency (1941–45). Until the end of his life he was an advocate for Soviet filmmakers, working as a translator for Andrei Tarkovsky

(1932–86) and others. He remained a member of the Communist Party until his death, earning the Lenin peace prize (1959).

In his autobiography, The Youngest Son (1970), Montagu writes on the efforts of the German playwright Ernst Toller (1893–1939) to convince parliament to send support to the Republicans:

My last meeting with Toller was in the lobby of the House of Commons in the spring of 1939. The Spanish Republic was at its last gasp, deliberately strangled by Britain, France and U.S.A. through the farce of “non-intervention.” He had with him agonizing pictures of Spanish civilians in the Republican zone suffering from pellagra and other deficiency diseases, and had brought them to melt the hearts of British cabinet ministers and induce them to ensure the passage of food and medical supplies. I knew by then only too well the kind of men he would have to deal with, and knew that to them the sight of such suffering on the Republican side would be what is now called “counter-productive,” the last and final nail in the Republican coffin. (258–59)

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pellagra Disease caused by niacin deficiency. Common in poverty-stricken areas and, historically, in Soviet-era gulags.

Elinor Mordaunt

OF COURSE I OBJECT most strongly to any form of despotism—and I think that no possible hell could be bad enough for Franco and his kind who have launched such

horrors on their own people. As for Fascism I believe it would be the worst terror Europe has ever known if it once cuts right across it.

In Kingslake's *History of the Crimea* you will find the words: "When England is weak there is no peace in Europe."

[aka Evelyn May Clowes, Evelyn May Mordaunt] (1872–1942) Novelist, travel writer
Born Evelyn May Clowes, Mordaunt was raised in Cheltenham and the Cotswolds. In 1902 she moved to Melbourne, Australia, where she worked as an editor for a women's fashion magazine, wrote fiction and articles, and did odd jobs to support herself. She published her first book, Garden of Contentment (1902), under the pen name of Elenor Mordaunt. Upon returning to Britain in 1909, she worked as a full-time writer under the name of Elinor Mordaunt. In 1915, she legally changed her name to Evelyn May Mordaunt, but continued to publish occasionally under the name of E. M. Clowes.

She established her reputation as a travel writer when she completed an around-the-world sea trip on assignment for the Daily Mail (1923); she also went to Africa, Asia, and Central and North America. Her travels informed the novels A Ship of Solace (1911) and These Generations (1930), and the travel books The Venture Book (1926), The Further Venture Book (1927), and Purely for Pleasure (1932). Her short stories were collected in The Tales of Elinor Mordaunt (1934).

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Kingslake's *History of the Crimea* *Read:* Alexander William Kinglake (1809–91), travel writer, historian, accompanied British troops in their 1854 invasion of Crimea as a correspondent for the *London Times*. He subsequently wrote the eight-volume *The Invasion of Crimea* (1863–87).

Louise Morgan

I AM OF MY TIME. Not, like some, an anachronism. Deep in my heart as well as my brain is a sense of exultation at the struggle upwards of the human mass. That is why, if I were free, I would be giving all my time to help the People of Spain against Franco and Fascism.

(1883–1964) Writer

Born in the United States, Morgan moved to London in 1923, where she wrote for the literary and political magazine The Outlook, but the journal folded in 1928. The next year, she went to work for the paper Everyman, becoming an editor in 1932 until it too folded, in 1933. She subsequently wrote on health and social welfare for the News Chronicle and Good Housekeeping. She is the author of a book on the Alexander Technique of body-mindfulness, Inside Yourself (1954), as well as Inside Your Kitchen (1956) and Home-Made Wines (1958).

A close friend of Nancy Cunard, Morgan and her husband, the American editor and literary agent Otto Theis (1881–1966), took her in towards the end of her life when she suffered from severe alcoholism and depression in 1960.

In Writers at Work (1931), she published brief interviews with eight prominent authors: W. B. Yeats, Richard Aldington (1892–1962), Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951), Sylvia Townsend Warner, Edgar Wallace (1875–1932), Wyndham Lewis (1882–1957), Somerset Maugham (1874–1965), and A. E. Coppard. In her introduction Morgan writes: “During the past year I have talked with forty or more authors, both men and women, eminent in almost every category of literature, with the object of discovering their methods of work and possibly some clue, however remote, to the nature of inspiration.” She continues: “The one and only common factor is an innate compulsion towards self-expression in writing. All these authors write because they must” (vii).

Raymond Mortimer

SINCE I BELIEVE in the supreme importance and value of minorities; since I believe that the scientist and the artist have the right and the duty to make public their work, whether or not this meets with the approval of the Government; since I believe that the future of civilisation depends upon the extension of individual liberty; I necessarily regard Fascism as the self-declared enemy of the human race.

[(Charles) Raymond Bell Mortimer] (1895–1980) Writer, critic

Mortimer entered Malvern School in 1909 and Balliol College, Oxford, in 1913. He was declared medically unfit for service in 1915, so he worked at a hospital in France. He

was again deemed unfit in 1918 and subsequently worked as a cipher clerk for the Foreign Office. Although he did not return to university, Oxford granted him a “war BA” following the Great War.

In 1924, Mortimer moved to Gordon Place where he became immersed in the Bloomsbury literary scene. He began writing art and literary criticism for the New Statesman in 1927 and he went on to write for Vogue and The Nation, a left-wing British weekly journal of political and cultural analysis founded 1865. Mortimer took over T. S. Eliot’s “London Letters” in the New York magazine The Dial. He worked as literary editor of the New Statesman (1935–47), and as chief reviewer from 1952. He wrote for the paper for the duration of his life.

He is the author of several books on art and design, including: The New Interior Decoration (1929) and The French Pictures: a Letter to Harriet (1932). His criticism is collected in Channel Packet (1942) and Try Anything Once (1976). In 1955 he was made a CBE and an officer of the French Légion d'honneur.

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Willa Muir

I AM AGAINST FRANCO and on the side of Republican Spain, because I desire to see individuals growing up undistorted by economic or other pressure, free to develop

creatively in a creative environment that fosters new life. For that reason I am against capitalism in general.

[Muir (née Anderson), Wilhelmina Johnston (Willa). Pseud. for: Agnes Neill Scott] (1890–1970)

Writer, translator

Born in Angus, Scotland, Muir studied at Montrose Academy (1902–07) and St Andrews University (1907–11), where she read classics and English and modern history. Muir and her husband, Edwin Muir (1887–1959), whom she married in 1919, spent many of their early years together traveling around Europe; they lived in Poland, Germany, Italy, and Austria between 1921 and 1924.

*Fluent in German and proficient in Czech, Muir earned her living (in collaboration with Edwin) translating the works of the German writers Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–1946), Franz Kafka (1883–1924), and Heinrich Mann—a signatory of the questionnaire—among others. Muir’s first novel was *Imagined Corners* (1931). She is best-remembered for *Living with Ballads* (1965) and a memoir of Edwin, *Belonging* (1968).*

ODNB

John Middleton Murry

I AM WHOLLY FOR the Spanish Government, and against Franco. But that does not mean that I am for British intervention on behalf of the Government: I am opposed to that in any form. But I believe that the present system of “non-intervention” is very unjust to the Spanish Government.

(June 17, 1937)

(1889–1957) Writer, editor

Born in London, Murry earned a scholarship to attend school at Christ’s Hospital (1901–08) and an exhibition and scholarship to read classics at Brasenose College, Oxford, graduating in 1912.

He entered journalism at an early age, founding the journal Rhythm in 1911. He joined the staff of the Westminster Gazette in 1912 and later became a reviewer of art and literature for the Times Literary Supplement (1914–18), the editor of the Athenæum (1919–21), and the editor of the Adelphi (1923–30).

During the Great War, Murry worked for the War Office (1916–19) as a translator and the editor of the Daily Review of the Foreign Press. For his service he was awarded an OBE in 1920. In 1918, he married the writer Katherine Beauchamp (aka Katherine Mansfield) (1888–1923); her death from tuberculosis devastated him.

In the late twenties and thirties, Murry devoted himself to communism and pacifism, writing The Necessity of Communism (1932) and The Necessity of Pacifism (1937), and editing Peace News, a pacifist journal (1940–46).

Murry begins his foreword to The Necessity of Communism:

Communism? What do you mean by Communism?

The whole of this book is an answer to that question: Therefore I beg of my readers not to approach it with any pre-formed idea of what Communism is: for it is certain at this moment that this pre-formed idea will be derived from Russian Communism. And one vital thesis of this book is that such an alien derivation of the idea of Communism is fatal, to Communists, to this nation, and to the world.

It is fatal because in England Communism *must* be English. If Communism does not feel and obey the inward necessity of becoming English, then Communism will never gain a hold of this country.

“How admirable!” you may say. “We desire nothing better than to keep the vile thing out.”

But wait! A still more vital thesis of my book is that Communism will *inevitably* come to this country. You cannot stop it. No power on earth can stop it. (9)

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June 17, 1937 The Non-Intervention Treaty was signed in Aug 1936 by 24 countries—notably Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia—restricting support of either side in the Spanish Civil War. However, by early 1937, thousands of German and Italian troops had entered Spain in support of Franco. Throughout the summer of 1937 all signatories were considering abandoning the treaty.

Henry W. Nevinson

LL.D., D.Litt., Ex War Correspondent

I AM OPPOSED TO DICTATORSHIPS and Tyranny in any form. I detest the cruel systems of persecution and suppression now existing under Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and Stalin in Russia. Consequently I detest the tyrannical system which Franco, with the hardly concealed assistance of Germany and Italy, is endeavouring to establish in Spain. I also regard it as a most serious danger to British interests in the Mediterranean.

[Henry Woodd Nevinson] (1856–1941) Social activist, journalist

In 1872, Nevinson won a scholarship to attend Shrewsbury School, Shropshire. He earned a BA in classics and literae humaniores from Christ Church, Oxford (1879). His interests were in Greek and German; he is the author of several books on German literature, including A Sketch of Herder and his Times (1884), Life of Friedrich Schiller (1889), and Goethe: Man and Poet (1932).

In 1889, Nevinson joined the socialist Social Democratic Federation, but was never attracted to Marxism. In the ODNB, H. N. Brailsford writes that he was “an agnostic who disliked all dogmatic systems.” From 1897, he was a war correspondent, reporting on the Greco-Turkish (1897), South African (1899–1902), and Balkan (1912–13) wars. He covered the failed revolutions in Russia (1905–06) and during the Great War he was injured while reporting from the Dardanelles in Turkey and wrote a book about the experience, The Dardanelles Campaign (1918). He wrote for the Daily

Chronicle and the Manchester Guardian. In 1927, he reported from Iraq, Palestine, and Syria for the latter.

Nevinson was devoted to various social causes, including women's suffrage (as the chairman of the militant Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement), veterans of the Great War, the Black and Tans in Ireland, and refugees, particularly those from Macedonia (1903) and Albania (1911). He was involved in exposing the plight of cocoa plantation slaves in Portuguese Angola and was responsible for English cocoa firms' decision to boycott the suppliers who were committing human rights violations. He wrote about the crisis in A Modern Slavery (1906).

He is best remembered for the books Essays in Freedom (1909), Essays in Rebellion (1913), Between the Wars (1936), and Running Accompaniments (1936). He is also the author of two books of poetry and three volumes of autobiography. In 1937, Nevinson served as the president of the English PEN club.

In "Dedication to Henry W. Massingham" in Essays in Freedom, he writes self-effacingly on his difficulties understanding Western philosophy. He continues:

In politics I am haunted by a similar disillusioning weakness. On the one side, for example, I am filled with a wondering admiration for all Socialists and advocates of working people. Because they devote themselves without reservation to the cause of the poor, I confidently hope they will do something for the country to which you and I are devoted, since the country mainly consists of the poor. But I find it impossible to attach myself to Fabians or Social Democrats or any other of their parties, because they move like fixed stars in planes of abstract laws far above my head, and I cannot keep up with their discourses upon the Proletariat and Economic Environment, when my mind is entirely occupied with visions of people I know in Shadwell getting up before daylight

from crowded beds, living on disgusting bits of food, or imploring “governors” in vain to be allowed to work. On the other hand, in spite of a wondering envy, I am equally incapable of understanding the happier and more tasteful people who dwell with confident solemnity upon the idealistic abstractions of the Constitution, Rights of Property, and Law-and-Order, where I can perceive nothing but some amiable fellow-sinner endowed with a crown, a wig, a purse, a truncheon, or some dirt. (xiv–xv)

Nevinson received an honorary LLD degree from the University of Liverpool (1935) and a LittD from the University of Dublin (1936).

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Henry W. Massingham (1860–1924) Editor of *The Nation* 1907–23. **Shadwell** Working-class East London district.

Robert Nichols

IN MY OPINION both Fascism and Communism make for spiritual and intellectual bondage. Therefore insofar as the Spanish Republican Government is non-Communist I am in its favour and opposed to Franco and the more so as Franco’s party appears to be narrowly nationalistic.

[Robert Malise Bower Nichols] (1893–1944) Poet, playwright

Born on the Isle of Wight, Nichols attended Winchester College before going up to Trinity College, Oxford (1913–14), when he joined the Royal Field Artillery as a second lieutenant. He was chronically ill, however, and only served in France June to August,

1916 before he was declared medically unfit for service. He worked for the Foreign office in 1917. The Great War influenced his early volumes of poetry: *Invocation* (1915), *Ardours and Endurances* (1917), and *The Muse in Arms* (1917).

Nichols worked as the chair of the department of English at Tokyo Imperial University 1921–24, when he moved to Hollywood to serve as a consultant to the actor and filmmaker Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939). He considered himself first and foremost a playwright; his dramatic works include *Guilty Souls* (1922), *Twenty Below* (1927), and *Wings over Europe* (1932). *His final publication was a collection of poetry, Such was my Singing* (1942).

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Sean O'Casey

I AM, OF COURSE, FOR a phalanx unbreakable round those who think and work for all men, and I am with the determined faces firing at the steel-clad slug of Fascism from the smoke and flame of the barricades.

(1880–1964) Playwright

According to Who's Who (1943), O'Casey was educated "in the streets of Dublin," and "worked as a builder's labourer, railway labourer, and general labourer." His family

was poor and he suffered from trachoma—an infection of the eye—that limited his schooling; he was largely self-taught.

He joined the Gaelic League in 1906 to learn the language and published his first works in the organization's publication Journal. He later became a member of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (1911), the Women and Children's Relief Fund (1913), and the militant Irish Citizen's Army (1914). Richard Allen Cave writes in the ODNB that his overriding values were: "a fervent championing of social equality and as fervent a hatred of all processes or institutions that he saw as entrapping the human spirit, inciting enmity or aggression, or provoking death."

O'Casey began writing plays around 1916, but his first production was not until 1923, when the Abbey Theatre in Dublin staged The Shadow of a Gunman. His early plays Juno and the Paycock (1924) and The Plough and the Stars (1928) examine the effects of major political events on the lives of everyday people, which were often romanticized as working-class heroes—the former is set during the Irish civil war and the latter takes place at the time of the Easter uprising of 1916. His later play, The Star Turns Red (1940), engages communism and fascism.

According to Cave, in the plays that he wrote at the end of his life, Purple Dust (1945), The Bishop's Bonfire (1955), and The Drums of Father Ned (1958),

the didactic impulse is still strong in the recurrent contrasting of fiercely anti-clerical satire with images of wild Dionysian liberation; intimations of pantomime and melodrama are present, but transformed by a personal vision that blends song, dance, vaudeville routines, magic, ecstatic

drumming, knockabout farce, and stylized violence into a theatricality that is rich and enriching because fuelled continually by an urgent sense of the need to be wholly open to life's possibilities.

In a letter to his publisher and long-standing friend Harold Macmillan (13 November 1936), which appears in volume one of The Letters of Sean O'Casey (1975), O'Casey writes: "I am praying to God that the Spanish Communists may win. I wish I could be with them. However, if I haven't manned a tank, or fired a rifle for the cause of Communism, I have, at least, in my day, fired stones at the police" (642).

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phalanx Latin, 1. "A body of heavy-armed infantry drawn up in close order." 2. "A number or set of persons, etc., banded together for a common purpose, esp. in support of or in opposition to some cause; a united front" (*OED*, s.v. *phalanx*, pl. *phalanges*). During the war, the Nationalists were known as the *Falange*, the Spanish translation of *phalanx*.

George Padmore

THE SYMPATHY OF AFRICANS and other colonial peoples naturally goes out to the toiling masses of Spain in their heroic struggle against Fascist-barbarism, for they have not forgotten Abyssinia. And precisely because of this, it is so regrettable that democratic Spain, by failing to make an anti-imperialist gesture to the Moors, played into the hands of Franco. This should be a reminder to the European workers that: "No people who oppress another people can themselves be free."

[Pseud for: Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse] (1902–59) Anti-colonial activist, writer Padmore was born in Trinidad and was raised in the capital of the country, Port of Spain. He was educated at St Mary's College of the Immaculate Conception and the Pamphylian high school. In 1925, he moved to the United States to study at Fisk University in Tennessee where he began studying medicine, switched to law, and then withdrew altogether.

After a brief stint at New York University, he enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C. in 1927, the year he joined the Communist Party. Stephen Howe writes in the ODNB that “it was widespread practice at the time for communist activists to adopt alternative names, and although registered at Howard under his real name, in his political capacity he began to be known as George Padmore. The surname was that of a cousin and the first name that of his father-in-law.”

A leader among black communist activists in the United States, Padmore traveled to the Soviet Union in 1929, where he was appointed the leader of the “Negro Bureau” of the Red International of Labour Unions, which in 1930 became the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. In the first half of the thirties he published a short book, Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (1931) and contributed several pieces to Nancy Cunard’s anthology Negro (1934). By this time, the Soviet Union was becoming increasingly friendly with Western powers, causing Padmore to resign from the communist movement around 1934.

Moving to London, he became the center of an anti-colonial community of African and West Indian activists and served as a mentor to Kwame Nkrumah (1909–72), who

became the leader of Ghana (1951–66). During this time, Padmore was involved with the Independent Labour Party, although he never became a member. He is the author of a number of anti-colonial books, including How Britain Rules Africa (1936) and The Gold Coast Revolution (1953). He is best remembered for Pan-Africanism or Communism? (1956), which, Howe writes, “urged the need for Africans to unite against Soviet as well as Western ‘neocolonial’ threats.” But, he continues, “Despite this, Padmore remained committed to the belief that Africa's best hope lay in Soviet-style state development plans.”

ODNB

Herbert Palmer

I THINK THE STRUGGLE in Spain is as much between Mithraism (revived) and Socialist Christianity as it is between Fascism and Liberalism. Mithraism is now called Fascism, but they differ in very few essentials. However much we may suspect disintegrating and anarchical elements on the Spanish Government and Communist side it is very clear that Franco's party is not on the side of the angels.

[Herbert Edward Palmer] (1880–1961) Poet

Born in Lincolnshire, Palmer was educated at Woodhouse Grove School (Leeds), Birmingham University, and Bonn University in Germany, although he never took a

degree. He was a schoolteacher 1899–1921, when he became a full-time writer. Before the Great War, he worked as a tutor in Germany for seven years.

From 1919 he lectured on English Literature at the Workers' Educational Association, an organization founded in 1903 to provide education to those who could not afford to attend trade schools or universities. His first book was a novel, Two Fishers (1919). Volumes of poetry include The Unknown Warrior (1924), Cinder Thursday (1931), and A Sword in the Desert (1946).

His London Times obituary (19 May 1961) describes his interactions with other writers of his time:

In private life and in his books a genial and emphatically self-confident man, Palmer was an indefatigable castigator of ethical and aesthetic indecision. This imparted to his critical faculty an incisive edge which he sharpened on his peers; among them whom Mr. Eliot, Professor Auden, and Dame Edith Sitwell he attacked openly, and perhaps wantonly. For these cannot be accurately described as indecisive.

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Mithraism Little-understood religion practiced in 2nd and 3rd-century ancient Rome worshipping the god Mithras; devotees met in caves.

Sylvia Pankhurst

OF COURSE I AM WITH YOU in the struggle against the Fascist war on Spain. It is an attack on a people, the majority of whom had repeatedly declared their aversion to

dictatorship and their determination to throw off feudalism and to advance to a freer, more equalitarian and more enlightened organisation of society.

The Spanish war is in fact a war by two foreign Powers upon Spain, aided by the reactionaries of Spain herself. The Spanish war is one sector of the international struggle between Fascism and Democracy.

The author and the journalist are the first to whom the choice comes, either to stand for Fascism or against it. Upon them rests the heaviest of all responsibilities. They can defend the public mind and conscience against the specious propaganda of this base reaction, or they can assist the betrayal of the people to this greatest of all enemies.

[(Estelle) Sylvia Pankhurst] (1882–1960) Writer, artist, political activist

The daughter of members of the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party, Pankhurst was raised among suffragettes and socialists. She was born in Manchester and from the age of fifteen was given a scholarship for the Manchester Art School (1898–1903) after the death of her father, Richard Marsden Pankhurst (1835/6–1898). She subsequently won a two-year scholarship to the Royal College of Art.

In 1903, Pankhurst's mother, Emmaline (1858–1928) and her sister Christabel (1880–1958) founded the Women's Social and Political Union to lobby for women's suffrage; the organization was closely associated with the ILP. By 1906, Pankhurst was giving most of her time to the movement, which became militant as the activists were met with increasing intransigence on the part of the House of Commons. Unlike Emmaline and Christabel, Sylvia was interested in bringing together the labour movement with that

of the suffragettes. In 1913 she founded the East London Federation of Suffragettes (ELF), which united the interests of women laborers, dockworkers, and trade unions. June Hannam notes in the ODNB that between February 1913 and August 1914, Pankhurst was arrested seven times and went on a number of hunger strikes.

A pacifist, Pankhurst worked to end conscription during the Great War and continued to advocate through the ELF, which changed its name to the Workers' Suffrage Federation in 1916. In 1918 it became the Workers' Socialist Federation. She traveled to the USSR after the end of the Great War where she met Lenin, and although she was involved in the movement to establish the CPGB, Hannam writes that "her determination to express her own views as freely as possible led to her expulsion in 1921."

Pankhurst is the author of two books on the suffragette movement: The Suffragette: The history of the women's militant suffrage movement, 1905–1910 (1912) and The Suffragette Movement (1931). She closes the former with the news that women's suffrage will soon be passed:

So the gallant struggle for a great reform draws to its close. Full of stern fighting and bitter hardship as it has been, it has brought much to the women of our time—a courage, a self-reliance, a comradeship, and above all a spiritual growth, a conscious dwelling in company with the ideal, which has tended to strip the littleness from life and to give to it the character of an heroic mission. (505)

In the twenties and thirties, Pankhurst served as treasurer of the Women's World Committee against War and Fascism. She dedicated herself to advocating for Ethiopia after Mussolini invaded in 1935 and for twenty years edited the weekly journal New Times and Ethiopian News. In 1956, she settled in Ethiopia permanently, where she was

made Queen of Sheba, first class. She continued with her art for the duration of her life and in 1959 the French Institute in London mounted a show of her work.

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Harry Pollitt

I AM FOR THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT and people of Republican Spain, believing this Government to be the best custodian of the interests of the Spanish people; of their democratic rights; for the carrying out of their programme for social advance.

I am against Franco and Fascism as representing a bestial creed which only exists on the basis of terror and violence which it directs against all progressive organisations and people.

(1890–1960) Political organizer

Born into a working-class, socialist family—his mother was a member of the Independent Labour Party—Pollitt grew up in Manchester. He left school at the age of thirteen and in 1905 took an apprenticeship with the Gorton Tank locomotive works. By 1912, he was a member of the Boilermakers' Society, which, Kevin Morgan writes in the ODNB, "was among the most conservative and exclusive of craft unions, and Pollitt was to remain deeply affected by its traditions of skill and respectability."

He was a member of the Openshaw Socialist Society, which was formed in 1906 as an initiative of the ILP and became a branch of the British Socialist Party in 1912. On behalf of the society he began making public speeches on industrial activism and syndicalism; Morgan writes that he was “one of the finest orators of his generation.” Around 1917, Pollitt moved to London and became involved with Sylvia Pankhurst and the Workers’ Socialist Federation. He was the organizer of the Hands off Russia Movement—which was organized in 1919 to prevent British intervention on behalf of the White Army during the Russian Civil War (1917–22)—and the secretary for the National Minority Movement (1924–29), which he led together with Tom Mann.

He joined the CPGB when it was founded, and in 1921 traveled to the Soviet Union for the founding of the communist organization Red International of Labour Unions. Pollitt served as secretary of the CPGB 1929–42. A virulent anti-fascist, he traveled to Republican Spain five times during the civil war. Despite the post-Second World War revelations about Stalin’s brutal purges, Pollitt remained steadfast in his commitment to Soviet-style communism for the rest of his life.

In his autobiography, Serving my Time: An apprenticeship to politics (1940), Pollitt writes:

We Communists are not activated by malice, jealousy and uncharitableness, but we do hate capitalism and all who uphold it. We do distrust all who do not fight capitalism, and we do look upon them as enemies of the common people.

We hate to see the workers poor and anxious in a land where poverty and anxiety could be abolished to-morrow if all who pretend they are Socialists fought for Socialism and did not defend capitalism.

We do want unity of workers' forces, not for any tactical reasons or ulterior motives, but for the genuinely sincere reason we want the working class to be as strong as possible against all its enemies, against all its false friends. We want unity because it is the one sure shield the workers have in defending themselves against capitalism to-day, and helping forward their development towards Socialism. (289)

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Raymond Postgate

I AM WHOLLY AGAINST FRANCO and in favour of the Spanish workers; but not for the reasons suggested in your manifesto, such as the horrors of Durango, Guernica, Madrid or Bilbao. War means such atrocities, and whoever begins the conflict they are soon committed on both sides. Judgements given under the influence of such stories are unstable and emotional decisions; I wish that every supporter of the Spanish Government who relies on them would look into his mind and find a surer basis for his opinion.

The fight between Franco and the Spanish workers is a fight between the capitalist, clerical and feudal owners and the exploited workers. It is the class struggle between the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited, which has surely been sufficiently explained to everybody by now. For that reason, even if all the atrocities were disproved, I would still be on the side of Socialism.

[Raymond William Postgate] (1896–1971) Journalist, food/wine writer

Postgate was educated at Perse School, Cambridge, and later attended Liverpool College and St. John's College, Oxford, matriculating in 1915. That year, he joined the Independent Labour Party. An adamant pacifist, he refused to perform non-combat military service in 1916, even though he had been deemed medically unfit for combat, and was briefly imprisoned. He returned to Oxford in 1917, but left a year later without taking a degree.

In 1918, he began writing for the Weekly Herald and was promoted to foreign sub-editor when the newspaper became a daily in 1919. His first book was The International (Socialist Bureau) during the War (1918). In 1920 he was one of the founders of the CPGB and edited its journal, The Communist, but he left the Party in 1922.

In 1924, Postgate translated the Latin poem Pervigilium veneris and was subsequently made the editor of ancient history and classics for the fourteenth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Through this position, he met the American publisher Alfred A. Knopf (1892–1984), for whom he worked as European representative (1930–49).

Postgate served with the Finchley Home Guard during the Second World War, having reversed his opinion on military service. From 1942 to 1950 he worked as a civil servant for the Board of Trade. He began writing on food, publishing the Good Food Guide (1951), a handbook of British restaurants and hotels that was published annually until 1962. Also in 1951, he published The Plain Man's Guide to Wine, which was very

popular. Postgate was awarded an OBE in 1966. His last publication was an edition of The Agamemnon of Aeschylus (1969).

Together with the Fabian Society leader G. D. H. Cole (who was married to Margaret, Raymond's sister), Postgate wrote The British People 1746–1946 (1961)—first published as The Common People (1949)—which touches on Britain's policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War:

The Government, before long, forbade recruiting for the Brigade, and took part in the formation of a Non-Intervention Committee on which were represented the chief European powers, including those responsible for Franco's rebellion. Its effect was to prevent arms reaching the legal Government, while both arms and men were steadily supplied to the rebels, by Germany and Italy. (603)

The authors continue:

This policy, so contrary to Britain's obvious interests, was assumed by the Left to be due mainly to class motives. Franco's supporters were the narrow class of rich men whom Chamberlain's supporters knew and liked: his opponents were the Socialists and trade unionists whom they hated. The war in Spain was the same class war as was being fought at home. (604)

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Brigade International Brigades.

Llewelyn Powys

I AM UNEQUIVOCALLY IN FAVOUR of the legal Spanish Government and opposed to Fascism and any other form of Government that seeks by means of coercion to impose its arbitrary will upon its own or other peoples.

(1884–1939) Writer

Powys attended Sherborne School, Dorset (1899–1903) and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (1903–06), where he earned a pass degree. Following graduation, he pursued school-teaching, but suffered a hemorrhage due to pulmonary tuberculosis in 1909. As a result, he went to recover at Clavadel sanatorium in Switzerland, where he stayed for sixteen months reading and writing. He spent the Great War on his brother's farm in the East Africa Protectorate (in the region of present-day Kenya).

Following the war, Powys spent five years in the United States, writing reviews and articles for The Dial, The Freeman, and The Mentor, as well as the New York Evening Post. His first book, Ebony and Ivory (1923), was a collection of stories, some of which touched on his time in Africa.

A spiritual agnostic, Powys wrote three books on Christianity: The Cradle of God (1929), The Pathetic Fallacy (1930), and Impassioned Clay (1931). His literary articles were collected in Dorset Essays (1935), Somerset Essays (1937), and Rats in the Sacristy (1937).

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V. S. Pritchett

I AM HEART AND SOUL FOR the People of Spain in their brave and stoical resistance to Franco and Fascism. The lesson of Spain for the rest of western Europe, even before this struggle, lay in the innate simplicity and nobility of the uncorrupted common people. They have now burned this lesson upon the imagination of us all.

[Victor Sawdon Pritchett] (1900–97) Writer, critic

*From an early age, Pritchett disliked his first name and preferred to be called “VSP.” He was raised in London in a working-class family and left school at the age of fifteen to work as a clerk in a tannery. He moved to Paris in 1920 with ambitions to become a painter, but by 1922 realized that he had no aptitude for it. In the interim, however, he had learned French, Spanish, and German and acquired an education in the everyday lives of Parisians. Writing in the ODNB, Paul Bailey notes that while in Paris, he did not mingle with—or even know—the expatriate milieu of Hemingway and Stein, but rather spent his time with ordinary people. He later wrote about this period in his life in his autobiography, *Midnight Oil* (1971).*

*From 1924 to 1925, Pritchett traveled in Spain as a correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor. He remained fascinated by the country for the rest of his life and it is the subject of three of his books: *Marching Spain* (1928), *The Spanish Virgin* (1930), and *The Spanish Temper* (1954).*

In 1928, he became a book reviewer for the New Statesman, a position he held until 1978. He spent the Second World War writing pamphlets for the government. Late in life, he wrote on his favorite writers: George Meredith and English Comedy (1970), The Gentle Barbarian: the Life and Work of Turgenev (1977), Chekhov: a Spirit Set Free (1988), and Balzac (1993).

He was made a CBE in 1968, knighted in 1975, and made a Companion of Honour in 1993, the same year he won a PEN Golden Pen award.

In the preface to In My Good Books (1942), a collection essays on his favorite works of literature, Pritchett writes:

If truth is the first casualty in war, the second is the literature of the period, especially the reflective literature. Why this should be so is plain enough. A war anticipates the gradual work of fashion and brings its medical date-stamp heavily down upon every contemporary book. It may be that the stamp will not last and that some books of the last twenty years will recover; but for the moment, they are “pre-war” or “between the wars”—as the saying is—and there is nothing for it but to watch them being trundled off to the sick-bay. (9)

ODNB

D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P.

THE SPANISH STRUGGLE is an international war, a struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, and in that struggle none can be neutral. All who value

freedom and peace must make clear to the world where their allegiance lies. I am against Franco and the dark forces of Fascism which he represents. I am for the Spanish people and their legal Government.

[Denis Nowell Pritt] (1887–1972) Lawyer, political activist

Pritt studied at Winchester College (1901–05) and at a school in Geneva before joining The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple where he was called to the bar in 1909. He earned a degree in law from the University of London in 1910.

He steadily built his reputation as a lawyer, becoming King's Counsel in 1927. A member of the Labour Party from the end of the Great War, he ran unsuccessfully as the Party's candidate for Sunderland in 1931. In 1932, he traveled to the Soviet Union with the New Fabian Research Bureau and it was during this trip that he embraced Soviet-style socialism, although he never officially joined the Communist Party.

In 1933, Pritt stood as the president of an international enquiry into the Nazi Party's insistence that the Communist Party was responsible for the Reichstag fire in which the German parliament building was burned down, a position that brought him prominence in the Party. He also defended Tom Mann when he and Harry Pollitt were accused of sedition in 1934, the same year that he won a trial against the police for the National Unemployed Workers;' Movement. He was elected MP for North Hammersmith in 1935.

Pritt attended the first show trial in Moscow in 1936 as an outside observer and raised no objections. In 1937, he was elected to the constituencies' section of Labour's

national executive committee, but he was expelled from the Labour Party in 1940 for his unwavering support for the Soviet Union. Running as an independent, although closely aligned with the Communist Party, Pritt overwhelmingly won reelection in North Hammersmith in 1945, but he lost the seat in 1950. In 1954, he was awarded the Stalin peace prize. He retired from the bar in 1960.

ODNB, Who's Who vol. VII

Herbert Read

IN SPAIN, and almost only in Spain, there still lives a spirit to resist the bureaucratic tyranny of the State and the intellectual intolerance of all doctrinaires. For that reason all poets must follow the course of this struggle with open and passionate partisanship.

[Herbert Edward Read] (1893–1968) Poet, literary critic, writer on art

Born in Yorkshire, Read worked as a bank clerk (1909–12) while taking evening classes. In 1912, he entered Leeds University, where he studied economics and law. There, he joined the Leeds Art Club, which embraced socialist principles, women's rights, and modernist art. He was largely self-taught, reading Nietzsche and learning Latin, French, German, and Italian on his own.

In the Great War, he served on the western front as a second lieutenant with the Yorkshire regiment. By the end of the war he was promoted to captain and awarded the

Military Cross (1917) and the DSO (1918). Following the war he worked in the civil service in the Ministry of Labour and the Treasury. He founded the journal Arts & Letters in 1917 together with the art critic and activist Frank Rutter (1876–1937) and from 1921 contributed a column to the weekly modernist journal New Age.

In 1922, Read took a curator position at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Subsequently, he published several books on art, including the acclaimed The Meaning of Art (1931), Art Now (1933), and Art and Industry (1934). Read's poetry was respected by his peers and he was a regular contributor to T. S. Eliot's The Criterion from 1923. Volumes of poetry include Songs of Chaos (1917), Naked Warriors (1919), and Eclogues (1919).

Politically, Read was anti-fascist. He rejected Soviet socialism and instead considered himself to be an anarchist. Tanya Harrod writes in the ODNB that he held these principles for the duration of his life, "joining sit-down protests against nuclear war in 1961, deploring the Vietnam War, and refusing to visit Spain under Franco."

He was knighted for services to literature in 1953.

In the essay, "The Impact of War," published in The Contrary Experience: Autobiographies (1963), Read writes on his participation in the Great War as an officer who had enlisted when war seemed unlikely:

In the years that followed I was often to ask myself what I would have done if I had been a free agent. Politically I was a pacifist, and regarded the war as a conflict between rival imperial powers which would bring destruction to the peoples engaged. I hoped that the war would be stopped by international working-class action, and the failure of the responsible leaders to bring about a

stoppage was my first lesson in political disillusionment. But fundamentally—that is to say, ethically—I could not claim to be a pacifist. (209–10)

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Edgell Rickword

FASCISM HAS UNMASKED its ugly face in Spain as if to convince the waverers that it is indeed a force of destruction and human degradation. Support for the people of Spain and their legal Republican Government means the triumph of life over death. It means the doom of the gangster, the bully and the hypocrite, the birth of a free and happy world. And because Fascism is all the power of the past striving to throttle the future, no struggle ever called for greater courage and determination.

[(John) Edgell Rickword] (1898–1982) Poet, book reviewer, editor

*Rickword attended Colchester Grammar School from 1908. In 1916 he joined the Artists' Rifles and served in France during the Great War. In 1918 he was awarded the Military Cross for bravery. Following the war, he developed septicemia in his left eye, which had to be removed. He attended Pembroke College, Oxford (1919–20), but did not take a degree. His first book of poetry, *Behind the Eyes*, was published in 1921. Together with*

Douglas Garman and the Australian writer Bertram Higgins (1901–74), he established the journal Calendar of Modern Letters in 1925.

Around 1931 he ceased to write poetry and dedicated his energies to political activism. He was the founder and editor of the Left Review—which published Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War—and the journal Our Time, founded in 1941. He also helped establish the Left Book Club and the British section of the Writers' International.

Rickword joined the Communist Party in 1934. He attended the Writers' International 1937 conference in Madrid, which addressed the role of writers and artists in supporting the Spanish Republicans in the civil war. Clare Harman writes in the ODNB that later in life, "Rickword stuck to his Marxist principles, but left the Communist Party quietly after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956."

In an article in the Left Review, "In Defence of Culture: the Second Congress of the International Association of Writers, Madrid, July 1937. A Report by Edgell Rickword," (August 1937), he writes:

What did the presence in their country of these eighty writers from twenty-six different countries mean to the people of Spain? It meant that the justice of their cause and their heroic assertion of human dignity in the face of bestial and cowardly assaults would at last be presented before the public opinion of the whole world. For twelve tragic months the Spanish people have been denied their legitimate means of self-defence, slandered by nine-tenths of the Press of the world, massacred and outraged by rebels and foreigners. Only the U.S.S.R. and Mexico among governments have been their friends, everywhere else people's efforts to help them have been hindered or sabotaged. (382)

ODNB

J. W. Robertson Scott, J.P.

Editor of The Countryman

FROM THE BEGINNING my sympathies have been warmly with the Government of Spain in an unparalleled aggression of Italy and Germany and from Africa, which, twenty years ago, no one would have believed Great Britain and France would have endured; and I have gladly subscribed to three of the funds.

[John William Robertson Scott] (1866–1962) Journalist

Born in Cumberland, Robertson Scott was educated in grammar and Quaker schools. A journalist from an early age, he wrote for the Birmingham Daily Gazette (1886–87), the Pall Mall Gazette (1887–93), the Westminster Gazette (1893–99), and the Daily Chronicle (1899), leaving the last in protest over its support of the South African War. After that war, according to Who's Who (1943), Robertson Scott "lived in country and wrote on rural subjects." He contributed a monthly country article to World's Work (1903–16) and a weekly article to Country Gentleman (1902–09). He served as the Rural Commissioner in the Netherlands and Denmark for the Daily Chronicle (1910) and was a contributor to the Quarterly Review, Nineteenth Century, Spectator, Nation, and London Times (1910–14).

In 1921, he was an adviser to the National Federation of Womens' Institutes.

Having moved in 1923 to Idbury, Oxfordshire, he became involved in local government, chairing his district council housing committee for ten years. He founded the monthly magazine celebrating the British countryside The Countryman in 1927 and continued as editor for twenty years. In 1947, he was made Companion of Honour.

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J.P. Justice of the Peace. **funds** A number of charitable funds had been established in Britain to support the Spanish Republicans, including the Help for Spain fund, the International Solidarity Fund, and the Spanish Workers' Appeal fund, among many others.

Paul Rotha

I ACCUSE Franco and other European Fascist Dictators as the enemies of modern civilisation, its culture and its comradeship. I accuse all Governments friendly to the Fascist cause as assassins of common sense and decency. I protest my contempt for those who sit in apathy when the very fundamental requisites of human existence are being massacred for the sake of profit in the name of fear.

Militia of Bilbao, the International Column of Madrid, the steel-workers of Chicago, the miners of Harworth, the workers of Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union—I salute you all for your bravery! We shall win!

[formerly Roscoe Treeve Fawcett Thompson] (1907–84) Film director, critic

Rotha was born in Wealdstone, Middlesex. His parents changed his name to Paul and, according to Rachel Low in the ODNB, he adopted the last name of Rotha because it was more “distinctive.” He studied at Highgate School and the Slade School of Art. In 1925, he won a major theatre design competition in Paris. His first book, The Film Till Now (1930), established his reputation as a film critic and, Low writes, is “the earliest critical history of world cinema, which introduced many to the idea that film could be taken seriously as an art.”

He is best known for his documentaries. His first film, Contact (1933), which was made for Imperial Airways, was followed by the BBC’s The Face of Britain (1934). Rotha made a short film encouraging pacifism on the occasion of Germany’s rearmament and during the Second World War he made documentaries for the Ministry of Information. His last film was the ninety-minute compilation of Nazi footage, Das Leben von Adolf Hitler (1961), which was screened in the United States as The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, and in Britain as The Life of Adolph Hitler.

Achievements include serving as chairman of the British Film Academy (1952)—he was made a fellow in 1953—and his election as an honorary member of the Critics’ Circle.

Of his politics, Low writes:

Rotha was a committed socialist, and his films were remarkable for their vitality, conviction, and relevance to the social problems of unemployment, poverty, food shortages, and the environment.

A campaigner rather than a teacher, he eschewed the neutral informational style of many documentarians and used film for forceful and persuasive argument.

ODNB

Bilbao Basque town attacked by Nationalist troops Mar–June 1937, when it was finally overrun. **International Column** International Brigade. **Chicago** The first United Steelworkers union contracts were signed with Carnegie-Illinois in March 1937. **Harworth** Miners at the Harworth Colliery in Nottingham, UK, went on strike in 1936 when the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was outlawed.

Edward Sackville West

AS A WRITER of Liberal opinions, I am ready to declare my abhorrence of General Franco's willingness to lay waste Spain in an attempt to destroy the legal Republican Government of that country—and of Fascism in general, as being retrograde and thus inimical to the best interests of civilisation.

[Edward Charles Sackville-West, fifth Baron Sackville] (1901–65) Novelist, music critic
The cousin of Vita Sackville-West, Edward held the barony of Sackville 1943–46, when
its mansion, Knole, was turned over to the National Trust. Educated at Eton College,
Sackville-West attended Christ Church, Oxford, but did not earn a degree.

His first novel, The Ruin (1926), was published after his second, Piano Quintet (1925), as the former required major revisions on account of its heavily autobiographical nature. His most popular works were the biography Flame in Sunlight: the Life and

Work of Thomas De Quincey (1936) and *The Rescue: a Melodrama for Broadcasting* (1945), which featured a score by the composer Benjamin Britten (1913–76). In 1935, he began writing music reviews in the *New Statesman* and for the rest of his life was considered one of the finest music critics of his generation.

Michael De-la-Noy writes in the ODNB: “At the age of twenty-three he discarded religion, but in 1949 he was received into the Roman Catholic church.” He entered the House of Lords in 1962, but did not participate. After becoming a knight of Malta, Sackville-West spent the end of his life in Co. Tipperary, Ireland.

ODBN

David Scott

I HAVE JUST RESIGNED the post of Paris Correspondent of *The Times* in order to devote myself more effectively to the struggle against Fascism. Whatever the faults, whatever the mistakes of the Spanish Republicans, I am, as all who care for the progress of humanity must be, wholeheartedly with them in their struggle to free their countrymen from tyranny and superstition. Fascism means a return to the Dark Ages. It must be resisted at all costs if our civilisation is to survive.

[David Graham Scott] (1898–1961) Journalist

Scott was educated in France before attending Repton School and Merton College, Oxford, graduating in 1923. He joined the London Times as foreign sub-editor in January, 1927, and six months later he went to Paris as assistant correspondent. For the following ten years he was special correspondent there. According to his obituary (London Times, 21 November 1961), “he was the discoverer of the ‘Potato Jones’ story during the blockade of Bilbao in the Spanish Civil War, 1937.” The incident, which occurred in April, involved three British ships, one of which was captained by the Welshman David “Potato” Jones—so nicknamed to distinguish him from the captains of the other two ships, also named Jones—running the Nationalist blockade at Bilbao to deliver flour and beans to Spanish civilians. Later in 1937 Scott left the Times to become special correspondent for the News Chronicle in Paris, and following the German occupation he became special correspondent for the paper in Lisbon until 1941.

From 1942 to 1945, he worked as the Diplomatic Correspondent for the Daily Telegraph. In 1945, he became editor-in-chief of the English Language Service of the Agence Européane de Presse as well as the Paris Correspondent for the Observer. A year later he became editor of the UNESCO Courier until 1949, when he was made chief of the News Analysis and Research Section, Public Information Division, at the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe, a post he held until 1955.

Naomi Royde Smith

I AM AGAINST FASCISM in any form and think the Spanish people should decide on their own form of Government without interference from any other nation.

[Naomi Gwladys Royde-Smith] (1875–1964) Literary editor, writer

The daughter of an electrical engineer, Michael Holroyd Smith (1847–1932), Royde-Smith and her siblings' surname was truncated and hyphenated when the family moved from Yorkshire to London. She was educated at Clapham School and in Geneva.

Beginning in 1904, she lived in London, writing reviews and the “Problems and prizes page” for the Westminster Gazette. She served as the paper’s first female literary editor (1912–22). She was a close friend of Rose MacAulay and together they hosted literary gatherings in London that were attended by the preeminent writers of the time.

She published her first novel, The Tortoiseshell Cat, in 1925; over the course of her life she went on to publish nearly forty novels, four plays, and several biographies, including Portrait of Mrs. Siddons: A study in four parts (1933), about the actress Sarah Siddons (1755–1831), and The Idol and the Shrine: The study of Maurice de Guérin (1949), about the French poet (1810–39). Nicola Beauman writes in the ODNB that her most admired novels are The Delicate Situation (1931), For Us in the Dark (1937), and The Altar-Piece: an Edwardian Mystery (1939).

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Stephen Spender

I AM OPPOSED TO FRANCO firstly because Franco and his supporters represent the attempt of the aristocracy and clergy of Spain to prevent the history of Spain developing beyond the Middle Ages. In opposing their reaction, so far from being an extremist, I support the Protestantism of intellectuals like the great Catholic writer Bergamin against the materialism of the Catholic Church in Spain; and I support in Spain exactly such a movement of liberal and liberating nationalism as the English liberals supported in many countries still groaning under feudalism in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, I am opposed to Franco, because, supported by Hitler and Mussolini, he represents international Fascism. If Franco wins in Spain Fascism will have gained the third great victory in an international war which began in Manchuria, continued in Abyssinia, and may end in Spain. If Franco wins, the principle of democracy will have received a severe blow and the prospect of a new imperialist war, which is also a “war of ideologies” will have been brought far nearer.

[Stephen Howard Spender] (1909–95) Poet, critic

Born in London, Spender was educated at University College School (1922–26) and University College, Oxford (1927–30), where he failed his final exams, but made lasting friendships with W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood.

His first collection of poems, Nine Experiments (1928), was printed by Spender himself on a hand press. T. S. Eliot admired his verse and invited him to contribute to The Criterion and Faber published Poems (1933), the long political poem Vienna (1934),

the short story collection The Burning Cactus (1935), and others. During this time he wrote his first novel The Temple, but because of its homosexual themes it was not published until 1989.

As fascism took hold in Germany and the civil war consumed Spain, Spender published Forward from Liberalism (1937) for Gollancz's Left Book Club, which, John Sutherland writes in the ODNB, "brought him to the notice of the Communist Party." He traveled to Spain in February and April 1937 on behalf of the Party, but the war only reinforced his pacifist principles. Spender attended the Writers' International conference in Madrid, July 1937, and broke with the Party immediately afterwards. He was co-editor with John Lehmann of Poems for Spain (1939), a collection that raised money for the Republicans.

Together with Cyril Connolly, he was a founder of the journal Horizon, which he co-edited until 1941. During the Second World War, Spender served with the Auxiliary Fire Service (1941–44) and the Foreign Office's political intelligence department (1944–45). Following the war, he worked for the control commission, the purpose of which was to assist Germany in reestablishing civil order. He subsequently served as literary counselor to UNESCO in Paris (1945–47). He published his best-selling autobiography World Within World in 1951 and later served as co-editor of the monthly magazine of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Encounter (1953–67). It was revealed in 1966 that the magazine had been receiving funds from the CIA, allegedly unbeknownst to Spender, and he resigned soon after. In 1971, he organized the Index on Censorship, which tracked writers who were being oppressed around the world.

He was made a CBE (1962), served as the poetry consultant to the American Library of Congress (1965–66), was named a companion of literature by the Royal Society of Literature (1977), and was knighted (1983).

In The Destructive Element (1935), Spender writes:

I find myself opposed to the distinguished critics who say that art is or should be non-moral and non-political, but external and satiric, as much as I am bound also to oppose those who say that literature should become an instrument of propaganda. What I am asserting is that the greatest art is moral even when the artist has no particular moral axe to grind. Conversely, that having a particular moral or political axe to grind does destroy art if the writer (a) suspends his own judgments and substitutes the system of judging established by a political creed; (b) assumes knowledge of men and the future course of history, which he may passionately believe, but which, as an artist, he simply hasn't got. (19–20)

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“war of ideologies” Writing in *World Affairs* (Dec. 1938), American academic Rufus W. Weaver described this as the “latest phrase” to “describe and to interpret the hostility, actual and latent, between governmental theories.”

Olaf Stapledon

I SUPPORT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT because, whatever its faults, it is defending the oppressed and preserving culture. I believe that a British Government sincerely sympathetic to Spain, or sincerely neutral, could end Fascist aggression by firm

diplomacy without causing a general war. But firmness over Spain must be combined with readiness to internationalize our own ill-gotten gains.

[William Olaf Stapledon] (1886–1950) Philosopher, science fiction writer

Stapledon was educated at Abbotsholme School, Derbyshire (1902–05) and Balliol College, Oxford (1905–09), where he earned a second in history. Following graduation, he worked for Alfred Holt Ocean Steamship Company with his father, but abandoned that line of work in 1913. That year he became a tutor for the Workers' Educational Association, where he worked into the thirties.

*He was a conscientious objector in the Great War and served driving ambulances in France for the Friends' Ambulance Unit (1915–19). Stapledon earned a doctorate in philosophy at Liverpool University in 1924. His first publication to receive critical acclaim was *Last and First Men* (1930), which, Robert Crossley writes in the ODNB, is “an imaginary projection of the next two billion years of human evolution.”*

*Stapledon remained anti-war into the thirties, but as Hitler gained power he conceded that the Second World War was necessary. Crossley writes: “He spent much of the war lecturing to British forces under the auspices of the War Office in the hope of educating a progressive cadre of veterans who would become leaders of social change.” Later in life, Stapledon opposed nuclear armament and apartheid in South Africa and attended peace conferences around the world. He is best remembered for his novels *Last and First Men* (1930), *Odd John* (1935), *Star Maker* (1937), and *Sirius* (1944).*

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ill-gotten gains Proverbs 10: 2–12: “Ill-gotten gains do not profit, but righteousness delivers from death.”

Christina Stead

FRANCO, THE TRAITOR, image of his caste, with eighty per cent of the army and desperate foreign allies expected to win back Spain for the landlords in three days. The resistance of Spain's Republican Government is a guarantee of the eventual victory of the common peoples against these sterile powers: but to shorten their struggle, we must expose the Fascists' allies at home and abroad.

[Christina Ellen Stead] (1902–83) Writer

Stead was born in Sydney, Australia. She studied at Sydney Girls' High School, graduating in 1919, and Sydney Teachers' College (1920–22), but she disliked teaching and instead worked as a secretary to earn enough money to travel to Europe. Her childhood was difficult and is described in her autobiographical novel The Man Who Loved Children (1940).

She moved to London in 1928 where she found work as a secretary for a grain merchant and met her husband, William James Blake (1894–1968). The couple moved to Paris in 1929. Stead published her first two novels in 1934: The Salzburg Tales and Seven Poor Men of Sydney. Stead and Blake moved to New York in 1937 where they mingled with other left-leaning and communist writers until they left in 1946, primarily to avoid investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The majority of Stead's female protagonists challenged social and sexual mores. In the ODNB, Hazel Rowley writes: "Stead was an uncompromising writer. She was not interested in carefully wrought 'literature'; she wanted to disturb, even madden the reader."

ODNB

James Stephens

I AM FOR SPAIN, and hope, with all my heart, for the defeat of her rebellious military men and their Italian and Germanic abettors.

(1880–1950) Poet, novelist

Born in Dublin, Stephens was turned over to an orphanage—Meath Protestant Industrial School for Boys—at the age of two when his father died. There he was trained as a typist-clerk and he went to work for a solicitor in 1896. From 1905, he contributed regularly to the nationalist paper United Irishman, which was shortly renamed Sinn Féin, writing poetry, essays, and propaganda.

*In 1908, he published *Where the Demons Grin* and became involved in Irish literary circles and the Gaelic League where he learned Irish history and language. He helped to found the Irish Review in 1911, which Katherine Mullin writes in the ODNB*

was “a product of the cultural nationalist movement providing a forum for the Irish arts.” He is best remembered for his novel *The Crock of Gold* (1912).

Stephens moved to Paris in 1913 where, Mullin notes, he “campaigns vigorously for an Irish free state, and the desire to see Ireland a nation once more can be seen in the verse both of Songs from the Clay and The Adventures of Seamas Beg (also 1915).”

Unhappy in Paris, he returned to Dublin in 1915 to work as registrar for the National Gallery of Ireland and contributed to the left-wing Irish Citizen and the Irish Worker. He vividly described the Easter 1916 rising in The Insurrection in Dublin (1916).

In 1925 he moved to London, where he remained for twenty years. He met James Joyce in 1927 and they formed a lasting friendship. In protest of Ireland’s neutrality in the Second World War, he proclaimed himself to be English. He worked for the Ministry of Information for a short time and from 1941 until his death recorded seventy talks for the BBC.

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John Strachey

I AM FOR THE GOVERNMENT and people of Republican Spain and against Franco and Fascism. I believe that the struggle being waged by the Spanish people is part of a world-wide struggle, which can only be ended by the abolition of the present economic and social system and the rebuilding of human society on the basis of Socialism.

[Rt Hon. (Evelyn) John St Loe Strachey] (1901–63) Social theorist, politician, writer
The son of John St Low Strachey (1860–1927)—the owner and editor of The Spectator—
Strachey was the brother of Amabel Williams-Ellis and the cousin of the biographer and
literary critic Lytton Strachey (1880–1932). He was educated at Eton (1915–19) and
Magdalen College, Oxford (1920–22). He left the latter after two years because of
illness.

In 1923, he began writing for the New Leader, the journal of the Independent
Labour Party, and ran unsuccessfully as the Labour candidate for Birmingham Aston in
1924. Shortly thereafter, he published Revolution by Reason (1925), in which, Michael
Newman writes in the ODNB, “he argued that, by combining increases in the money
supply with economic redistribution and the establishment of a state planning body, it
was possible both to provide an incentive to manufacturers and to help the working
classes.” After 1926, he became the editor of the ILP’s Socialist Review and The Miner.
Newman writes that during this time he was increasingly attracted to Marxism, but
objected to the notion of the necessity of class warfare. In 1929, he was elected MP for
Aston and also served as parliamentary private secretary to the then-Fabian Oswald
Mosley (1896–1980).

Both Strachey and Mosley resigned from the government in 1930 and left the
Labour Party in 1931 to form the New Party. But Mosley was increasingly moving to the
right, while Strachey endorsed Soviet-style socialism after having visited the USSR in
1928 and 1930. He left the New Party a few months after its establishment. In 1932, his
application to join the Communist Party was rejected because, Newman writes, “he was

regarded as an unreliable intellectual.” Nevertheless, he embraced the communist doctrine. Newman writes:

Strachey's books from this era were the most influential popularizations of Marxism that were ever published in English. *The Coming Struggle for Power* (1932) conveyed one urgent message: that capitalism would lead to barbarism, while communism was the hope for the world. He sought to demonstrate this not only historically, economically, and politically but also in the spheres of rationality, science, and culture.

Together with Victor Gollancz and Harold Laski, he formed the Left Book Club and his The Theory and Practice of Socialism (1936) was the club's most popular book. In its introduction, Strachey wishes for the rise of communism worldwide:

Over us all, the employed and the unemployed, the prosperous and the destitute, there now hangs the prospect of war. This prospect, as it advances, must tend to prevent all constructive effort. For why should we build targets for the bombs, prevent the tubercle bacillus from destroying lungs destined for poison gas, or administer with sterling probity the affairs of a city which may soon be uninhabited? If men do not succeed in realising that there is an alternative social order ready for their construction, they will despair when they realise the general frustration which is involved in the decay of the present order. If the best men and women of every class would save themselves from this despair, and from the personal degeneration which such despair brings with it, they must turn their attention to social science. For a science of society has now been evolved which can enable us to be rid of capitalism, and then to lay down social foundations upon which constructive work for the individual will once more be possible. (18)

Troubled by the Communist Party's position on the Nazi–Soviet pact, Strachey abandoned it in 1940. During the Second World War, he volunteered as an air raid

warden and joined the RAF in 1940, for which he was an adjutant with a fighter squadron and, later, a public relations officer.

In 1943 he rejoined the Labour Party and was elected to parliament, representing Dundee, in 1945. He was nominated to the post of Under-Secretary for Air and in 1946 was made Minister of Food. Newman points to Contemporary Capitalism (1956) as Strachey's "most important post-war book," which, Newman writes, "was a major work of democratic socialist theory."

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Thomas Sturge Moore

I AM FOR the legal Republican Government in Spain. I am against all bullies whether Fascist or Communist. I am against Franco.

(1870–1944) Writer, designer

Born in Hastings, Moore attended Croydon Art School (1885–87) and Lambeth Art School (1887–88). In 1888, he moved to London with a classmate, the artist Charles Shannon (1863–1937) and Shannon's lover, Charles Ricketts (1866–1931), who was also a teacher at Lambeth. There Moore contributed to The Dial and worked as an editor and translator for Ricketts's Vale Press (1894–1905). His first literary success came with the

publication of The Vinedresser and Other Poems (1899). Soon after he met W. B. Yeats and the two formed an enduring friendship.

A playwright and actor, he helped to form the Literary Theatre Club in 1901 and in 1908 joined the Stage Society; he performed in the society's production of The Persians that year. In 1912, he was elected to its council.

A book designer and illustrator, Moore was elected a member of the Society of Twelve (1904), which was a group of engravers and lithographers. Later publications include The Powers of the Air (1920), several plays—including Medea (1920) and Psyche in Hades (1927)—and Selected Poems (1934).

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Hannen Swaffer

BEING AN ENGLISHMAN proud of the liberties won in the past by his own race from people who were Fascists without knowing it, I am naturally on the side of the legally elected Government of Spain and, therefore, opposed to the cut-throats and murderers who forced civil war upon Spanish people in the interests of runaway Royalty, rapacious landowners and a discredited Church.

The Spanish Government, being human, has faults inseparable from all human systems. Anyway, it is the beginning of an attempt to build up for the Spanish people a

new order of society. Therefore, it shines resplendently in the eyes of all people who have sight with which to see.

(1879–1962) Journalist

Swaffer was educated at Stroud Green Grammar School and began working as a reporter at the age of eighteen. He started writing for the Daily Mail in 1902 and in the following ten years served as editor of the Weekly Dispatch and wrote for the Daily Mirror.

Swaffer created and wrote the “Mr. Gossip” column for the Daily Sketch (1913) and the “Mr. London” column for the Daily Graphic. He contributed to “Plays and Players” for the Sunday Times and in 1926 became dramatic critic for the Daily Express. In 1931 he began writing for the Daily Herald. Around this time he became a socialist, but resigned from the Labour Party in 1957 when he was accused of exploiting the stories of mental patients to increase his readership.

He is the author of Really Behind the Scenes (1928), Hannen Swaffer’s Who’s Who (1929), and My Greatest Story (1945), among others.

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Randall Swingler

I BELIEVE THAT CULTURE has always been the directive force of man's progress towards freedom: that Fascism is destructive alike to culture and to human progress; therefore that everyone who is for life and enlightenment must be wholeheartedly implicated on the side of the Spanish People's Government, who struggle to save us from Fascism and war.

[Randall Carline Swingler] (1909–67) Writer

Swingler attended Winchester College (1921–28) and New College, Oxford. He joined the Communist Party in 1934; his socialist ideology is evident in the poems of Reconstruction (1933) and Difficult Morning (1933). As the editor of the Left Review, he was responsible for the publication of Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. His mass declamation, Spain (1936), was inspired by the war.

In a July 1937 editorial in the Left Review, he writes:

As this goes to press, we learn that the Italian tanks have at last smashed their way into Bilbao.

The noble resistance of the Basques has focussed our attention for the last six weeks. Not because upon the fate of Bilbao depends the outcome of the war in Spain, or anything like it; but simply that in this campaign we have been able to see just what Fascism is aiming to do in Europe. (317)

A skilled flautist, he was a member of the Workers' Music Association and, with the composer Alan Bush (1900–95), edited the Left Song Book (1938) for the Left Book Club. Andy Croft writes in the ODNB: "Swingler and Bush also organized the 1939 Festival of Music and the People, which included an Albert Hall pageant written by

Swingler and starring Paul Robeson, as well as the premier of Benjamin Britten's Ballad of Heroes, for whose libretto Swingler collaborated with W. H. Auden.” He started Fore Publications as his own publishing house in 1938.

In 1939, he became the editor of the Daily Worker, for which he wrote what Croft calls “anti-government blitz journalism,” but the newspaper was banned in 1941. He acquired the journal Poetry and the People and renamed it Our Time. He was called up in 1941, trained to be a wireless operator, and sent to Italy with the 56th division signals. He served at Salerno and Anzio (1943–45) and earned the Military Medal for bravery. When he returned from the war in 1946, he went back to editing Our Time with Edgell Rickword, taught adult education courses at the University of London, and published a book of war poems, The Years of Anger (1946).

In the years following the Second World War, Croft writes,

Swingler found himself attacked from both sides. His adult education classes were investigated and he was blacklisted at the BBC; inside the Communist Party he was attacked for liberal sympathies and forced to resign from *Our Time*. Its successors *Arena* and *Circus* both proved short-lived, too literary for the Communist Party and too political for the book trade. When in 1950 Fore Publications published a series of poetry books, including Swingler's *The God in the Cave*, they were ignored by literary London and denounced as ‘bohemian’ by the Communist Party.

Swingler resigned from the Communist Party in 1956, after visiting Czechoslovakia in 1953 and Romania in 1954.

ODNB

H. M. Tomlinson

AS WE HAVE nothing but the free use of the mind to bring order into chaos and to give a meaning to life, then scientists and artists who support dictatorships and absolutism are traitors to their own gifts. They would nullify intelligence and knowledge. Better to be shot by such as Franco than submit to anarchy and unreason.

[Henry Major Tomlinson] (1873–1958) Journalist, novelist

The son of a foreman at the West India Dock, Tomlinson was from an early age attracted to the sea. He left school at the age of thirteen when his father died, and he went to work as a clerk in a London shipping office. He was largely self-taught in geology, botany, zoology, and mineralogy.

In 1904 he became a reporter for the Morning Leader and was sent on various naval assignments, including two weeks with a fleet of trawlers and a voyage to Brazil and up the Amazon and Madeira rivers on a steamship, an experience he describes in The Sea and the Jungle (1912).

The Morning Leader became the Daily News in 1912, and Tomlinson stayed on as a war correspondent for the paper in Belgium and France from August 1914. He subsequently served as an official correspondent at General Headquarters of the British Armies in France (1915–17).

In 1917 he became the literary editor of The Nation, a position he held until 1923. He traveled extensively and many of his publications centered around his experiences abroad, particularly the travel sketches in Old Junk (1918), Waiting for Daylight (1922), and Gifts of Fortune (1926). His first novel, Gallions Reach (1927), won the French Femina-Vie Heureuse Prize.

In A Mingled Yarn: Autobiographical sketches (1953), Tomlinson writes on the Great War:

I saw British infantry, in the early weeks of that war, swinging along towards it singing
 “Tipperary.” The song was not sung in France after the September of that year, though it remained
 a favourite at home. To this day, when I hear that foolish and sentimental air, I know very well
 why a man has been known to go apart, to think over what might have been, and what is, and to
 weep in secret. That song, and the swift dissolving of our accustomed scene, the bright illusion we
 had mistaken for the everlasting hills, chanced to come together. The England we knew, once on a
 time, vanished with the men who marched away in an autumn that seems to be a century gone.
 (144–45)

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“Tipperary” “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary,” British song written by Jack Judge and Henry James Williams, first performed 1912. Very popular during the Great War among homesick troops.

Sylvia Townsend Warner

I AM FOR THE PEOPLE of Spain, and for their Government, chosen by them and true to them.

And I am against Fascism, because Fascism is based upon mistrust of human potentialities. Its tyranny is an expression of envy, its terrorism is an expression of fear.

[(Nora) Sylvia Townsend Warner] (1893–1978) Writer

*The daughter of a history master at Harrow, Townsend Warner received no formal schooling beyond the age of three or four, but she was tutored by her father and other teachers and in this way received an education in music and literature. Her first published poetry collection was *The Espalier* (1925); her debut novel was *Lolly Willowes* (1926).*

Warner met and fell in love with the poet Valentine Ackland in 1930; the two remained a couple until Ackland's death in 1968 and, with a few brief exceptions, lived in Dorset for the rest of their lives.

*Around 1935, Townsend Warner joined the Communist Party. Together with Ackland, she traveled to Barcelona to work with the Red Cross in 1936, and the women were delegates to the Writers' International Conference in Madrid in 1937. In an article titled "Barcelona," published in the December 1936 issue of the *Left Review*, Townsend Warner describes conditions in Spain:*

Barcelona is an anarchist town, and anarchism does not impose policies. It was the people themselves who, deliberately and systematically, put the churches out of action. So extensive, so

thorough a campaign, could not have been carried out unless it were by the will of the people.

(816)

Townsend Warner remained committed to left-wing causes—even though Ackland moved away from communism later in life—and served on the executive committee of the Association of Writers for Intellectual Liberty, which published the seven-page pamphlet Writers Declare Against Fascism: In Defence of Freedom (1938).

Besides her poetry, Townsend Warner is best remembered for her short stories, which were frequently published in the New Yorker and are collected in The Innocent and the Guilty (1971) and Kingdoms of Elfin (1977). She was made a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

In a letter to Nancy Cunard (29 April 1944), published in Letters: Sylvia Townsend Warner (1982), she writes on feminism:

To be a femme sole, and self supporting, that hands you over, no more claim to consideration than a biscuit. The great civil war, Nancy, that will come and must come before the world can begin to grow up, will be fought out on this terrain of man and woman, and we must storm and hold Cape Turk before we talk of social justice. (84)

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Cape Turk From Bishop Arnold Harris Mathew's (1852–1919) *Woman Suffrage* (1907): "Would Mr. Labouchere like us to go back to the conditions that prevail in Mohammedan countries? 'Men have doubled Seraglio Point, but they have not yet doubled Cape Turk.' Mr. Labouchere would not have us round Cape Turk, lest we should destroy the best relations between the sexes." Henry Labouchère (1831–1912) was a British politician known for outlawing sex between men. Seraglio Point is a promontory on the coast of Istanbul.

Lawrence Vail

I AM AGAINST FASCISM, whatever the tune or hue. I might understand it, while resisting it, in countries where great numbers have the illusion they must herd and submit in order to bolster the frailty of a maudlin pride. Not so in Spain. The Fascist whip cuts across the grain of a proud race. Franco's victory would mean a dictatorship of a particularly blind, ruthless brand and should be resisted at any cost.

[occasionally Laurence Vail] (1891–1968) Artist

Born in Paris to American parents—his father, Eugene Vail (1857–1934), was a painter—Vail was educated at Oxford, where he studied literature. Following graduation, he returned to Paris, where he dedicated himself to writing, painting, sculpting, and a bohemian lifestyle.

*Vail was the first husband of the art patron Peggy Guggenheim (1898–1979), whom he married in 1922. After Guggenheim left him for the writer John Holmes (1897–1934) in 1928, Vail published a satirical novel about the marriage, *Murder! Murder!* (1932).*

When Paris was invaded by the Germans in 1940, Vail moved to New York. In 1942, his work appeared at the Art of This Century gallery alongside that of Joseph Cornell (1903–72) and Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968). He returned to Paris after the Second World War and remained there until his death.

Helen Waddell

I DETEST FASCISM, in Spain or elsewhere, in any of its disguises. I still believe in a God who is the father of mankind: and I abhor the Moloch of the Sovereign State. Any creed, religious or political, that will torture a man's body to coerce his mind is gangrenous: but the torturer and the tortured have shirts of many colours.

I endorse every word of your letter but one: "unavenged". That the signatories should still, in 1937, be speaking of vengeance is a nightmare: a return to Carthage, or Versailles.

[Helen Jane Waddell] (1889–1965) Writer, translator

Waddell was born in Tokyo, the daughter of Irish missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland. She moved to Belfast after her parents' death and lived with her stepmother, studying at Victoria College (1900–07) and Queen's University, Belfast, where she earned a first-class honours BA in English in 1911 and an MA in 1912.

She went up to Somerville College, Oxford in 1920, studying there for five terms but never taking a degree. There, she became an expert in medieval Latin lyric poetry and history. She won a Susette Taylor travelling scholarship from Lady Margaret Hall in 1922 and spent 1923–24 in Paris, where she studied French, German, and medieval poetry. On her return to Oxford, she gave a series of lectures entitled "The Wandering Scholars," which became a book in 1927. P. G. Walsh writes in the ODNB that it

“remains an indispensable introduction for students embarking on medieval Latin studies.” She is best remembered for The Wandering Scholars, as well as her translations in Medieval Latin Lyrics (1929) and the novel Peter Abelard (1933)—which has been translated into nine languages.

As a young woman, Waddell had supported Home Rule in Ireland and she remained patriotic for the duration of her life.

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Moloch “A person or thing to which extreme or terrible sacrifices are made; a terrible or remorselessly destructive person or force” (*OED*, s.v. *Moloch*). **Carthage** Popular term *Carthaginian Peace* refers to brutal treatment of the vanquished inhabitants of the city by the Romans following the third Punic War (146 BCE). **Versailles** The Treaty of Versailles (1919) ascribed full blame for the Great War to Germany and imposed crippling sanctions on the country, including disarmament and the payment of reparations.

Rex Warner

I AM ON THE SIDE of the Republican Government in Spain not only because it is a legal and democratic Government, but because it represents the forward movement of humanity and civilisation. I believe that Fascism, so far from “saving” civilisation, attempts to arrest this forward movement and consequently must drag humanity backwards towards a kind of self-conscious barbarism.

[Reginald Ernest Warner] (1905–86) Novelist, classicist, translator

Warner was educated at St. Georges School, Harpenden, and went up to Wadham College, Oxford, in 1923. After a period of mental illness in 1925, he returned to earn a

BA in literature in 1928. At Oxford, he played rugby with Cecil Day-Lewis and became friends with W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender.

His first publication was Poems (1937), but his breakthrough came with the novel The Wild Goose Chase (1937), which, G. J. Warnock writes in the ODNB, was a “tale of three brothers and their quest in an unnamed country for the wild goose, a symbol of hope and personal regeneration.” The novel was followed by other successes: The Professor (1938) and The Aerodrome (1941).

Politically, Warner was a Marxist, although he never joined the Communist Party. Following the Nazi–Soviet pact of 1939 he decided that Soviet-style communism was no better than German fascism. In “The Cult of Power,” an essay in the book of the same name (1946), he writes:

What, in our present situation, would strike one as most remarkable, if one had not observed much the same thing happening before in history, is the rapidity with which generally accepted ideals of the early twentieth century such as toleration, kindness, objective truth, freedom, have been replaced in many people’s minds by their exact opposites. More remarkable still is the enthusiasm with which people have accepted the substitution. It is true that we see this process most clearly in fascism and, amongst fascist states, most clearly of all in Germany; but it would be most unwise to regard it as a process that is wholly alien from ourselves. To say the least, the movement is European. (10–11)

He was made the director of the British Institute in Athens (1945–47) and held academic posts at Bowdoin College (1962–63) and the University of Connecticut (1964–74). His writings from this period took on historical and classical topics, including Imperial Caesar (1960), which won the James Tait Black Memorial Prize.

ODNB

Alick West

I AM FOR the People of Republican Spain, and against Franco and Fascism, because I am for freedom and culture against the tyranny of barbarism.

(1896–1972) Writer

West attended Highgate School with the intention of going up to Balliol College, Oxford, to read classics in 1914. However, he was traveling in Germany when the Great War began and he was held in the Ruhleben internment camp for the duration of the war.

He subsequently earned a degree in modern languages from Trinity College, Dublin. In 1927, he joined the Communist Party. Jack Lindsay, in West's London Times obituary (20 July 1972), writes on his political life after joining the Party:

From then on he devoted himself with unremitting energy to the cause he had adopted, doing much educational work. As a teacher he had great power to stimulate and to make students think for themselves. He was one of the few writers in whom Marxist dialectics became a fully-realized and pervasive part of his being.

He is the author of Crisis and Criticism (1936) and a study of George Bernard Shaw, A Good Man Fallen Among Fabians (1950). In the Foreword to the latter, he writes:

As motto for his essay on Bernard Shaw in *Studies in a Dying Culture*, to which I am deeply indebted, Christopher Caudwell takes Lenin's words: "A good man fallen among Fabians." This

judgment of Lenin's has been the guiding idea also in this essay, which endeavours to show how good an artist Shaw is, and how it harmed him that he fell among Fabians. (v)

In his Epilogue, West sums up his assessment of Shaw:

Shaw wished to express a conflict which was in fact that of class against class; but the dramatic form from which he had to start was steeped in the prevailing social conception that the world of middle-class society was the natural, permanent, real world, the only world. Shaw had to break through the barrier, which most dramatists were too awed even to approach, defending the imaginary world of the drama against the forces of change in the world of reality; he had to create the means to express dramatically that men and women on the stage were members of a society based on exploitation. He created these means; and the degree of intellectual energy required to deft the dramatic convention of his time with such boldness as in the *Unpleasant Plays* is a measure of how intensely Shaw was conscious of capitalist exploitation. (169)

Studies in a Dying Culture (1938) Collection of eight essays on Shaw among others. Christopher Caudwell (1907–37) joined the International Brigade in 1936 and was killed in the Battle of Jarama Valley (Feb. 1937).

Rebecca West

I AM FOR the legal Government of Republican Spain against Franco, since Spain herself, at a properly conducted election, chose that Government and rejected the party which now supports Franco.

I am also against Fascism: the reforms of Diocletian were a work of genius and made many people temporarily happy, but failed in the end and added greatly to human misery. I see no reason why this inferior modern copy of them should succeed.

[Née Fairfield. Pseud. for: Dame Cicily Isabel Andrews] (1892–1983) Writer, critic, journalist

A Londoner, West studied at George Watson's Ladies College, Edinburgh (1904–07), but was not encouraged to attend university. She took her pseudonym from Ibsen's play Rosmersholm (1886). West was a suffragette from her early teens.

In 1911, she became a staff writer for The Freewoman (which later became New Freewoman), a feminist weekly edited by Dora Marsden (1882–1960) and Mary Gawthorpe (1881–1973). Around this time West joined the Fabian Society and wrote for The Clarion, a weekly socialist newspaper edited by Robert Blatchford (1851–1943).

Early publications include Henry James (1916)—a critical study of the author—and The Return of the Soldier (1918), one of the first Great War novels to be written by a woman. The book was adapted for a film (1982) and a play that was performed in London in 1996. The novel is an intimate portrayal of the emotional damage of war in which its protagonist, Chris, returns from battle having forgotten his wife of ten years and his children, and instead fixates on his childhood love. At the end of the novel, Chris decides to return to the family he no longer remembers. His cousin Jenny, the narrator, observes:

He wore a dreadful decent smile; I knew how his voice would resolutely lift in greeting us. He walked not loose limbed like a boy, as he had done that very afternoon, but with the soldier's hard tread upon the heel. It recalled to me that, bad as we were, we were yet not the worst circumstance of his return. When we had lifted the yoke of our embraces from his shoulders he would go back to that flooded trench in Flanders under that sky more full of flying death than clouds, to that No Man's Land where bullets fall like rain on the rotting faces of the dead... (187)

West published two additional novels in this time: The Judge (1922) and Harriet Hume (1929). A book of essays and reviews, The Strange Necessity, appeared in 1928, in which West writes on Joyce's Ulysses (1922) and D. H. Lawrence.

Her travels to the Baltic States and Yugoslavia (1936–38) resulted in Black Lamb and Grey Falcon (1941), a detailed account of Nazi Germany's threat to Yugoslavian culture and reflects her anti-fascist principles. She was also mistrustful of Stalin and her anti-communist stance was reinforced when much of Eastern Europe was consumed by Soviet Russia after the Second World War. Further outrage came in 1943 when the Allied countries decided to support communist revolutionary Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) in Yugoslavia. Serbia appointed her to the order of St. Sava in 1937 for her writing on the Balkans.

A number of her finest political essays are collected in The Meaning of Treason (1947) and Train of Powder (1955). She later published The New Meaning of Treason (1964). In the epilogue to The Meaning of Treason, she writes on those who opposed fascism by overcoming their natural tendencies to protect what is closest to them, rather than strangers:

These people streamed across the continents, inscribing their beliefs on the surface of the earth by the course of their flights, and on the sites of their martyrdoms. They defeated fascism by not being fascist. They showed the contrast between fascism and non-fascism so clearly that the world, wishing to live, defended their side because it could be seen that they were the representatives of life. (305)

West was made a CBE in 1949 and Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur and DBE in 1959.

ODNB

Diocletian (245–311 CE) Roman emperor (284–305) whose reforms to fourth-century Rome included installing a large autocratic bureaucracy ostensibly to provide military, economic, and social stability in the empire following the Crisis of the Third Century. In the process, Diocletian increased the size of the Roman government substantially and persecuted Christians and other religious minorities.

Antonia White

I AM AGAINST FASCISM and any form of government or society which is based on fear, violence, and the suppression of free enquiry.

[Eirene Adeline Hopkinson (née Botting)] (1899–1980) Novelist

Born in West Kensington, White's family converted to Catholicism in 1906 and she was sent to school at the Sacred Heart Convent, Roehampton (1908–14). She disliked her given name and preferred to be known as Antonia White. She left school at the age of sixteen and began writing advertisements and for newspapers. Her first and most successful novel, Frost in May (1933), was largely an autobiographical description of her

Catholic upbringing and her relationship with her strict father. Its sequel, The Lost Traveler (1950) was not as well received.

During the Second World War, White worked for the BBC and the Special Operations Executive, which was a secret organization formed to support espionage and resistance groups behind enemy lines. She published The Hound and the Falcon (1965) around the time that she re-embraced the Catholic faith, having abandoned it as a child. Her final novels, The Sugar House (1952) and Beyond the Glass (1954), were largely autobiographical.

In a diary entry dated 10 August 1935, White reflects on her experiences mingling with artists and intellectuals in London:

The atmosphere is feverishly progressive. Revolution in politics; revolution in art; revolution in one's way of life. Few actual party members but it is taken for granted that one sympathises with communism. The poets are all becoming propagandists and pamphleteers. I begin to feel guilty about not being "politically awakened" and not throwing myself into the movement. "Writers must come out of their ivory towers" insists Rupert (with Spender, Isherwood, MacNeice, Auden etc. behind him). "They must become socially conscious, working for the collective good. They must break down their old bourgeois pride and prejudice and individualism." To staunch my conscience I type out manifestoes on Revolution in the Theatre and spend my mornings addressing envelopes to possible supporters. (*Diaries 1926–1957* 53–54)

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Rupert Likely publisher and writer Rupert Hart-Davis (1907–99), who was the editor of Oscar Wilde's letters and founder of the publishing firm Rupert Hart-Davis, Ltd.

Amabel Williams-Ellis

I AM FOR the Republican Government of Spain, and against Franco and all other Fascist leaders.

[(Mary) Annabel Nassau (Amabel) Strachey] (1894–1984) Writer

Williams-Ellis was the daughter of John St Loe Strachey, owner and editor of The Spectator, and the sister of John Strachey. She served as a VAD nurse for five years during the Great War, where she met Clough Williams-Ellis, whom she married in 1915. A socialist, she was one of the founding editors of the Left Review in 1934.

She worked as literary editor of The Spectator (1922–23), but found her calling in writing children's books with the publication of How You Began (1928), which was the first of many of her books sought to explain science and the natural world in an understandable way. Subsequent works addressed the Theory of Relativity, genetics, and the behavior of atoms. Her realistic retellings of folktales were very popular.

She wrote non-fiction for adults, too, including The Art of Being a Woman (1951) and Life in England (1968). Her last work was a memoir, All Stracheys Are Cousins (1983).

Clough Williams-Ellis

LAST SPRING I spent my summer holiday near Malaga, for the love of Spain and the Spanish people.

I have only this moment returned from Moscow whither I have been (not for the first time) because I needed reassurance in a mad and menacing world.

These two facts should indicate my attitude to Franco and Fascism.

[(Bertram) Clough Williams-Ellis] (1883–1978) Architect

Born in Northamptonshire, Williams-Ellis was interested in drawing and architecture from a young age. He was educated locally at Oundle School and briefly attended Trinity College, Cambridge, before moving to London to enroll in the Architectural Association. He had two terms of schooling before beginning to work as an architect.

During the Great War, he served with the Welsh Guards and in the tank corps, for which he was awarded the Military Cross with bar.

A skilled town planner, he worked to preserve open space in Britain and was a supporter of the National Trust. In the ODNB, Lionel Esher details Williams-Ellis's architectural achievements, which include "a handsome baroque chapel at Bishop's Stortford (1920)—the first building by a living architect to be 'listed'—and neo-Georgian country-house work and cottages at Cornwell, Oxfordshire (1934) and Oare, Wiltshire. Later he designed the Lloyd George memorial at Llanystumdwy (1948)." He is famous for the purpose-built village of Portmeirion in Wales, which began as a holiday retreat

for the elite and later became a tourist destination. He was made a CBE in 1958 and knighted in 1972.

Together with his wife, Amabel Williams-Ellis (née Strachey), he is the author of The Pleasures of Architecture (1924) and England and the Octopus (1928). Esher writes: "His politics were dutifully left of centre, but did not command his emotions; architecture always dominated them, as his wife recognized."

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Leonard Woolf

I AM FOR the legal Government and people of Republican Spain and civilisation; I am against Franco, Fascism, and barbarism.

[Leonard Sidney Woolf] (1880–1969) Author, publisher

Woolf was raised in a Jewish household, although he became an atheist as a teenager.

He earned a scholarship to St. Paul's School and studied at Trinity College, Cambridge (1899–1903), where he met many of the artists and intellectuals that became part of the Bloomsbury group.

He worked for the colonial civil service in Ceylon, India, for seven years (1904–12). The experience prompted disillusionment with colonialism, which he expresses in his

first novel, The Village in the Jungle (1913). In 1912, Woolf married the writer Virginia Stephen (1882–1941).

Following his years in the civil service, he joined the Fabian Society and became involved with the Women's Co-Operative Guild. S. P. Rosenbaum writes in the ODNB that Woolf believed "economics should be organized according to the needs of consumers and that control of production is a means toward a civilized life rather than an end in itself, as both capitalists and Marxists thought." He was unable to serve in the Great War due to a tremor in his hands, although he may have chosen to be a conscientious objector had that not been the case. He preferred internationalism over imperialism and capitalism and wrote two reports in support of internationalism as a means for avoiding the war. Rosenbaum notes that these were instrumental in the founding of the League of Nations and later the United Nations. These views were later extended to Africa in his book Empire and Commerce in Africa (1920).

In 1917, he and Virginia established the Hogarth Press, which printed some of the finest writers of their generation, including Virginia's own work. The press was sold to Chatto and Windus in 1946.

Following the Great War, Woolf served as secretary to the Labour Party's advisory committees on international and imperial affairs (1919–45). He also worked as editor of The Nation, the Political Quarterly (of which he was co-founder in 1931), The New Statesman, and the Nation and Athenaeum (1923–30), for which he was literary editor. In the thirties, he was increasingly opposed to both fascist and communist totalitarianism. Rosenbaum writes:

He again advocated the need for socialist co-operation and international government, and he warned of the impending destruction of his civilization's values, which for Woolf were freedom, democracy, equality, justice, liberty, tolerance, and the love of beauty, art, and intellect. Woolf's insistence on these liberal (and Bloomsbury) values alienated socialist colleagues not yet disillusioned by Stalinism.

He is the author of five works of autobiography: Sowing (1960), Growing (1961), Beginning Again (1964), Downhill All the Way (1967), and The Journey not the Arrival Matters (1969).

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NEUTRAL?

Ruby M. Ayres

UNINFORMED INTERFERENCE in international politics is more to be dreaded than any anticipated danger resulting from the conflict in Spain.

As a professional writer I dread amateurs.

[Ruby Mildred Ayres] (1883–1955) Novelist

Born in Watford, Hertfordshire, Ayres left school at fifteen. She was from a young age a writer of romantic stories; over the course of her career she published 136 romantic novels and was one of the most popular writers of the genre of her generation. Her first book was Castles in Spain (1912).

Around 1910, she began by writing serials for the Daily Chronicle and the Daily Mirror and in the fifties wrote a column in which she gave advice to readers.

She always maintained that she wrote exclusively for money, an unsentimental approach to the business of writing that is implied in the last line of her response to the questionnaire. Writing in the ODNB, C. M. P. Taylor notes: “Her pet dislikes were ballet and affected young men.”

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Vera Brittain

AS AN UNCOMPROMISING PACIFIST, I hold war to be a crime against humanity, whoever fights it and against whomever it is fought. I believe in liberty, democracy, free thought and free speech. I detest Fascism and all that it stands for, but I do not believe that we shall destroy it by fighting it. And I do not feel that we serve either the Spanish people or the cause of civilisation by continuing to make Spain the battle-ground for a new series of Wars of Religion.

[Vera Mary Brittain (married name Catlin)] (1896–1970) Writer

Raised in a middle-class family, Brittain attended St Monica's School (1907–12) and in 1914 earned a scholarship to Somerville College, Oxford. After attending for one year, she joined the Volunteer Aid Detachment (VAD) to become a nurse in the Great War. She served in London and later in Malta and France. Her brother, fiancée, and two close male friends were killed in the war. Her first book of poetry, Verses of a VAD (1918), drew on her personal experiences and her memoir of her childhood through 1925, Testament of Youth (1933), first published by Gollancz, is counted among the seminal autobiographies of the Great War. In it, she writes on the aftermath of the war:

When the text of the Treaty of Versailles was published in May, after I had returned to Oxford, I deliberately refrained from reading it; I was beginning already to suspect that my generation had been deceived, its young courage cynically exploited, its idealism betrayed, and I did not want to know the details of that betrayal. At an inter-collegiate debate a Hindu student remarked that here, at any rate, was “the Peace that passeth all understanding”—and I left it at that. (470)

Brittain returned to Somerville in 1919, where she changed her major from English to history in order to study the causes and implications of war. She graduated in 1921 and moved to London together with her close friend and classmate, the writer Winifred Holtby (1898–1935). There the two became journalists and involved in socialist, feminist, and pacifist activism. Both wrote for the liberal journal Time and Tide and lectured on behalf of the League of Nations and the Six Point Group, a feminist campaign established in 1921 to advocate for legal provisions for victims of child abuse, support for widows and unmarried women, equal rights, and increased pay for teachers. In 1923 Brittain published her first novel, The Dark Tide, and two years later married the political scientist George Edward Gordon Catlin (1896–1979).

During the Second World War, she continued to advocate for pacifism as a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union (PPU), the first secular pacifist organization in Britain, started in 1934. In 1939, she founded, edited, and printed the PPU-affiliated Letter to Peace-Lovers, a bi-monthly journal of her views on international affairs. She also published two anti-war treatises: “One of these little ones ...”: a Plea of Parents and Others for Europe's Children (1943) and Seed of Chaos: What Mass Bombing Really Means (1944). Her opposition to the bombing of German cities received criticism from those who saw the war as the only means of stopping the Nazis.

Following the war, Brittain chaired the PPU and continued to promote peace through the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100, an anti-war group led by Bertrand Russell that was initiated in 1960 with a petition signed by 100 people against nuclear weapons.

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“the Peace that passeth all understanding” Philippians 4:7: “And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.” **“One of these little ones...”** Matthew 18:6.

Robert Byron

YOU CONDEMN THE IMPARTIAL VIEW of politics. Perhaps you will allow me an impartial view of myself. Had I been a Spaniard when the rebellion broke out, I cannot say for certain that I would not have favoured it. Now that it means Fascism I hope for its defeat. But my sympathies are with those Spaniards on both sides, whose honesty, which you despise, brings their loyalty and their reason into conflict. That is the fate of Falkland, and there are many such in Spain to-day.

(1905–41) Traveler, art writer

A Londoner, Byron attended Eton and Merton College, Oxford, graduating with a third in modern history (1925). His first book, Europe in the Looking-Glass (1926) drew on his undergraduate travels in Greece. In 1929 and 1930, Byron traveled to India and Tibet as a special correspondent for the Daily Express. He went to Persia and Afghanistan in 1933 and 1934, trips that yielded The Road to Oxiana (1937), which is, according to C. H. Sykes writing in the ODNB, “one of the most entertaining travel books of modern times.” In 1935 and 1936, he traveled through Russia and China.

He moved to London in 1936 where he became fiercely anti-Nazi. He attended the Nuremburg rallies in Germany in 1938 and spoke out openly against British appeasement with Hitler as a means of avoiding war. Traveling as a correspondent to Cairo in 1941, he died when his ship was torpedoed off of the east coast of Scotland.

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Falkland Archipelago of islands off the coast of present-day Patagonia. The islands became a colony of the British Crown in 1840, but Argentina also staked a claim on them since its 1816 acquisition of Spain's territories in the region.

Rhys J. Davies, M.P.

YOU MAY COLLECT THE STRONGEST WORDS to be found in all the dictionaries of every language extant to denounce Dictatorships and use them in my name, provided you at the same time make it clear that the same words shall apply to all Dictatorships alike, including those of the Right, the Centre and the Left. I detest them all!

[Rhys John Davies] (1877–1954) Trade unionist, politician

Born in Wales, Davies worked as a farm laborer as a child and spent ten years as a coal miner. Active in unions from a young age, he moved to Manchester to work with the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, which was founded in 1891. In 1921 it merged with the National Union of Warehouse and General Workers to become the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

From 1921, he was a member of the Manchester City Council, the president of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, and active in the Labour Party. In 1924, he served as the Labour MP for Westhoughton, Lancashire, and as the under-secretary of state for the Home Department. He retired from the House of Commons in 1951.

A pacifist, he wrote a short piece in the London Times, "Communists and Labour Movement" (19 April 1927), in which he reports in the third person on his participation in the annual meeting of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, which was considering buying stake in the Communist paper the Sunday Worker:

Great enthusiasm was aroused by the opposition of Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., to a proposal to take shares in the Sunday Worker. "That paper," he declared, "is deliberately out to smash the Labour Party. The Communists have done it in France. They have destroyed strong trade unions in America, and they have invited reaction in Fascist Italy and Bulgaria. (Cheers.) When they talk about a united front they simply pour out poison against the Labour movement wherever they can."

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Norman Douglas

I DON'T KNOW WHAT TO SAY about your questionnaire. I cannot excite myself over nations and causes and creeds—my contempt for humanity in general is too great.

Individuals are the only things that interest me. If Spaniards like to cut each other's

throats and get Germans and Russians to help them—why not let them? It’s not my affair. If they eat each other up to the last man, like Kilkenny cats, let them! This will sound unsatisfactory to you. But if you want the truth, there it is. Nobody is going to compel me to “take sides”. To hell with sides. If Fascists annoy me, I hop it. If Communists annoy me, I hop it. Everything that ends in “ism” is just b . . . s, so far as I am concerned.

[(George) Norman Douglas] (1868–1952) Travel writer

Born in Austria to British parents, Douglas was sent to study at Yarlet Hall, Lancashire, and Uppingham School, Rutland, but he was unhappy and returned to complete his schooling at the Karlsruhe Gymnasium in Germany, where he studied natural history, particularly zoology.

In 1889, he joined the British Foreign Office and was posted to St. Petersburg, Russia. He resigned in 1896 and moved to Naples. Nine years later he moved to London, where he was a contributor to the literary journal Cornhill Magazine (1859–1975) and the English Review (1908–37); he was made assistant editor of the latter in 1912. His travel writings for the magazines produced three books: Siren Land (1911), Fountains in the Sand (1912), and Old Calabria (1915). Douglas is best remembered for his novel South Wind (1917) and his feud with D. H. Lawrence (1885–1930), exemplified in the polemic D. H. Lawrence and Maurice Magnus: a Plea for Better Manners (1925) and Experiments (1925), as well as debates in the Times Literary Supplement and the New Statesman.

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Kilkenny cats “a pair of cats fabled to have fought until only their tails remained; transf., of combatants who fight until they annihilate each other” (*OED*, s.v. *Kilkenny cat*). **I hop it** “to be off, go away quickly.” 1934: T. S. Eliot *Rock* i. 12 “The commission bloke on the door looks at us and says: ‘op it!’” (*OED*, s.v. *to hop it*).

T. S. Eliot

WHILE I AM NATURALLY SYMPATHETIC, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least a few men of letters should remain isolated, and take no part in these collective activities.

[Thomas Stearns Eliot] (1888–1965) Poet, man of letters

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Eliot was the youngest of seven children. He attended Smith Academy in St. Louis, Milton Academy in Massachusetts (1905), and Harvard University, where he entered in 1906, earning a BA in 1909 and an MA in 1910. Following graduation, he spent a year in Paris, studying at the Sorbonne.

Between 1910 and 1911, Eliot wrote “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,” “Portrait of a Lady,” and “Preludes.” In 1911, he returned to Harvard to pursue a PhD in philosophy. There he studied Sanskrit and Eastern religions in addition to Western philosophy. Ronald Bush writes in the ODNB that in his dissertation he “produced a searching philosophical critique of consciousness,” writing on the British philosopher F. H. Bradley (1846–1924).

He traveled to Germany in 1914, but the imminent war caused him to go to London, where he met Ezra Pound, who became Eliot’s editor and advocate. He met and

married Vivien Haigh-Wood (1888–1947) in 1915 and the pair settled in London. In 1917, he found work reviewing foreign-language documents at Lloyds Bank and became the literary editor of the avant-garde journal The Egoist, in which he published Joyce's Ulysses in serial form (1919). That year he published his first book, Prufrock and Other Poems. A collection of criticism, The Sacred Wood, and a book of verse, Poems, followed in 1920.

The long poem, The Waste Land (1922), edited by Pound, received acclaim in Britain and abroad for its depiction of a post-war generation's disconnection and disillusionment and established Eliot as one of the leading voices of his generation. That year, he became the founding editor of the literary journal The Criterion (1922–39). In 1925, he joined the young publishing house Faber and Gwyer (later Faber and Faber) as literary editor and a member of the board of directors; he remained there for the duration of his career.

He converted to Anglicanism in 1927 and thereafter propounded conservative and neo-classicist viewpoints in editorials in The Criterion as well as in essays, including those in For Lancelot Andrewes (1928), which was published the year he became a British citizen. Another long poem, Ash-Wednesday, was published in 1930.

Eliot's lectures constitute some of his best works of criticism. These include The Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry (1993), based on his 1926 Clark lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge and published posthumously; The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism (1933), from the 1932–33 Norton lectures at Harvard; After Strange Gods: a Primer of Modern Heresy (1934), from the Page-Barbour lectures at University of

Virginia; and The Idea of a Christian Society (1939), from lectures delivered at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

He is the author of a number of plays, including The Rock (1934), Murder in the Cathedral (1935), and The Cocktail Party (1949), among others, but he remained best known for his verse. Later poems include “Burnt Norton” (1935), “East Coker,” (1940), “The Dry Salvages,” (1941), “Little Gidding,” (1942), and the celebrated collection Four Quartets (1943).

During the Second World War, he served as an air warden in London. Due to increasing mental instability, Vivien Eliot was committed to a mental hospital in 1938; she died in 1947. Following the war, Eliot focused on criticism and literary essays, publishing Notes toward a Definition of Culture (1948) and On Poetry and Poets (1957). In 1957 he married his secretary, Valerie Fletcher (1926–2012), who edited or co-edited collections of Eliot’s letters as well as a facsimile edition of The Waste Land (1974), which includes a transcription and edits made by Pound and Eliot.

Over the course of his career, Eliot received eighteen honorary degrees, the Order of Merit (1948), the Nobel Prize (1948), and membership in the French Légion d’honneur (1951). More recent scholarship has been critical—at times unjustifiably—of his conservative politics, citing evidence of anti-Semitism and misogyny in his verse and criticism.

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Vyvyan Holland

I AM OPPOSED to any system of government that denies freedom of speech to the individual, and I am opposed to all forms of tyranny and oppression, whether from Communism, Fascism or Religious Persecution. There is little to choose between these, but probably Communism is the most objectionable, as offering even less individual freedom than the others. There is more real freedom to-day in England, the last of the great constitutional monarchies, than anywhere else in the world.

[born Vyvyan Oscar Beresford Wilde] (1886–1967) Author, translator

The younger son of the writer Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), Holland was born in London.

Following his father's conviction for "gross indecency" in 1895 and the death of his mother, Constance Mary (1858–98), he and his brother, Cyril (1885–1915), had their surnames changed and were sent to guardians in Germany, Monaco, and Switzerland.

Having become a Roman Catholic, Holland studied at the Catholic Stonyhurst College (Lancashire) and read law at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, graduating in 1909. He was called to the bar in 1912.

During the Great War, he served in the Interpreters Corps, the Royal Field Artillery, and in the 3rd Corps, for which he was awarded an OBE in 1918. Cyril was killed by a German sniper in 1915. Following the war, Vyvyan worked as a highly respected translator of French, German, Italian, and Spanish, particularly the French novels of Julien Green (1900–98) and Henri Barbusse's (1873–1935) 1936 biography Stalin: A New World Seen Through the Man.

In the Second World War, he worked as a translator for the foreign service of the BBC and as a sergeant in the Home Guard.

*He is the author of the autobiography *Son of Oscar Wilde* (1954), as well as the editor of *Wilde's Letters* (1962), and the full-length version of *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1957), which had been cut from four acts to three for production. Through biography and republication of his father's works, he did much to reestablish Wilde's literary reputation.*

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Charles Morgan

IN POLITICS, I care chiefly that a man's thought be not regimented or his art censored, and that he may live as he pleases so long as, within a rule of law he has shared in making, he offer no violence to the health or integrity of others. Neither contestant in Spain aims at this, and between them I will not choose, thinking it better to preserve the surviving liberties of England and France within the peace of Europe than to persecute in the false belief that the only alternative to a tyranny of the Right is a tyranny of the Left.

[Charles Langbridge Morgan] (1894–1958) Novelist, journalist

Born in Kent, Morgan joined the Royal Navy in 1907. He was educated at the junior officer training college at Osborne and the Britannia Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, where he trained to be an officer. He served in the Atlantic and China.

*He resigned from the navy and was planning to attend Brasenose College, Oxford in 1914, but with the outbreak of the Great War, he rejoined the navy and served in the Antwerp expedition (1914) and the Netherlands, where he was imprisoned until 1917. His first novel, *The Gunroom* (1919), drew on his wartime experiences.*

*He returned to Oxford in 1919 and graduated with a degree in history in 1921. He subsequently became an editor at the *London Times* and was soon promoted to the position of principal theatre critic (1926–39).*

*During the Second World War, he worked for naval intelligence and lectured in the United States for the Institute of International Education, which was founded in 1919 to advance educational opportunities worldwide. From 1942 he wrote weekly articles for the *Times Literary Supplement*, titled “Menander’s mirror.”*

*He is best remembered for the novels *Portrait in a Mirror* (1930), *The Fountain* (1933), and *The Voyage* (1940). A Francophile, he published *Ode to France* (1942) and was a member of the *Free French Forces in London*, founded by Charles de Gaulle in 1940 to oppose the Axis powers. He was made an officer of the *Légion d’honneur* (1936) and served as president of *PEN International* (1953–56).*

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Sean O' Faolain

DON'T BE A LOT OF SAPS. If X and Y want to cut one another's throats over Z, why on earth must people who do not believe in the ideas propounded by either X, Y, or Z have "to choose between them"? If you want to know, I do think Fascism is lousy. So is your Communism, only more so. But there are other ideas in the world besides either of them—thank God (whom neither of you believe in).

For the love of Mike cut loose from this fixation that the artist no longer can have the guts to be what every artist worth his salt has always been—an *individualist*. . . .

(May I say how much I like your postal address?)

Yours contemptuously

[Born John Francis Whelan] (1900–91) Short story writer

Born in Co. Cork, O'Faolain studied at Presentation Brothers Secondary School.

Following the Easter Rising in 1916, he changed his name and participated in the Irish insurrection (1918–21). He earned masters degrees from the National University of Ireland, Dublin, and Harvard University, where he was a Commonwealth fellow (1926–28) and a Harvard fellow (1928–29).

His first collection of stories, Midsummer Night Madness and Other Stories (1932) was followed by his first novel, A Nest of Simple Folk (1933), which was about the period between the Easter Rising and the establishment of the Irish Free State in

1921. Most of his stories were about the lower and middle classes in Ireland and are critical of the Catholic Church and conservative Irish traditions.

*He is the author of over ninety stories, four novels, an autobiography, *Vive moi!* (1964), as well as numerous essays and travel writings. His short fiction is collected in *Selected Stories* (1978) and *The Collected Stories of Sean O’Faolain* (1980).*

*He was the director of the Arts Council of Ireland (1957–59)—a government agency founded in 1951 to support the arts—and was the editor of the literary magazine *The Bell* (1940–46), which was published from 1940 to 1954 and critical of Irish Catholic conservatism and nationalism.*

lousy “fig. Dirty, filthy, obscene” (*OED*, s.v. *lousy*). **For the love of Mike** Phrase used as an alternative to “For the love of God,” referring instead to St. Michael.

Ezra Pound

QUESTIONNAIRE AN ESCAPE MECHANISM for young fools who are too cowardly to think; too lazy to investigate the nature of money, its mode of issue, the control of such issue by the Banque de France and the stank of England. You are all had. Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes.

[Ezra Loomis Pound] (1885–1972) Poet

Pound was born in Idaho and raised in Philadelphia. He attended Cheltenham Military Academy (1897–1901), University of Pennsylvania (1901–03), and Hamilton College,

New York, where he earned a BPhil in 1905. He took an MA in Romance languages from University of Pennsylvania in 1906. In 1908, he moved to London, where he lived for the next twelve years, although he frequently traveled to France, Germany, and Italy.

Lionel Kelly writes in the ODNB:

From 1910 Pound's interest in avant-garde theories and practices across the arts merged with his convictions about the tradition, and he became a prominent propagandist for the new in contemporary writing, painting, sculpture, and music. For Pound the great writers of the tradition were the innovative writers of their time, and it was by their standards of originality that he thought writing in his own time should be measured. It is at this point that the celebration of the tradition and Pound's invocation to his own contemporaries to "make it new" takes its force.

Between 1914 and 1915, Pound wrote verse and articles on the avant-garde for Wyndham Lewis's (1882–1957) modernist journal, Blast, and was the originator of the British Vorticist movement (1914–19)—which was formed in opposition to Victorian sensibilities, embracing minimalism in art and literature—and a proponent of Imagism, a form of poetry that emphasized brevity and contemporary language. He is the author of books of verse, including Ripostes (1912), Lustra (1916), Hugh Selwyn Mauberley (1920), and, most notably, Cantos, of which the first drafts were published from 1917, with the first commercial publication (by Faber and Faber) appearing in 1933.

As an editor, he was instrumental in shaping The Waste Land and was one of Eliot's earliest supporters; he also helped facilitate the publication of Joyce's Ulysses in 1922. He was corresponding editor for the American journal Little Review and literary editor of The Egoist.

Pound strongly disapproved of American involvement in the Second World War. In 1941, Mussolini allowed him to broadcast his views on Radio Rome. Consequently, he was indicted for treason in the United States in 1943, arrested in Italy in 1945, and held in a prison in Pisa while awaiting extradition. There he wrote The Pisan Cantos (1948), which won Yale's Bollingen Prize for Poetry (1949). Upon his arrival in the U.S., he was deemed unfit to stand trial by reason of insanity and was sent to St Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington DC, where he stayed until 1958, when the charges against him were dismissed. Following his release, Pound returned to Italy where he remained until his death.

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W. J. Turner

I AM NOT A SUPPORTER of Fascism or of anti-Fascism and I disagree with every word of your questionnaire.

I await with interest to see if you believe sufficiently in intellectual liberty to print this among the collection of answers.

[Walter James Redfern Turner] (1889–1946) Poet, literary critic

Born in Melbourne, Australia, Turner studied at Carleton state school and Scotch College (Melbourne), and the School of Mines. His first job was in the office of an

import-export company. He left Australia in 1907 and until 1914 lived in London, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and South Africa. He settled in London in 1914. That year, he began writing reviews for the Musical Standard and in 1915 music reviews for the New Statesman, to which he continued to contribute until 1940.

During the Great War, he enlisted in the Royal Garrison Artillery (1916–18), where he attained the rank of captain, but was not sent overseas. His first volume of verse was The Hunter and other Poems (1916) and his work appeared in Edward Marsh's (1872–1953) Georgian Poetry, 1916–17 (1917). He continued to earn his living writing for the New Statesman, as well as theatre reviews for the London Mercury (1919–23), and served as literary editor of the Daily Herald (1920–23) and The Spectator (1942–46).

He is the author of fourteen plays, only three of which were performed, most notably The Man who Ate the Popomack (1922) and The Aesthetes (1927). Yeats admired his poetry and included him in the Oxford Book of Modern Verse (1936). His final poetry collection was Fossils of a Future Time? (1946).

ODNB

Derek Verschoyle

I DETEST VIOLENCE, particularly the violence of politicians, above all the violence which politicians export from their own into other countries. But my knowledge of Spain

and of Spanish politics is fragmentary. It would in the circumstances be presumption for me to judge which of the two sides might best serve the true interests of Spain.

[Derek Hugo Verschoyle] (1911–73) Editor, poet

Verschoyle attended Arnold House Preparatory School (where he was a student of Evelyn Waugh 1925–26), Malvern College, and Trinity College, Dublin. He was literary editor of The Spectator (1932–40). During the Second World War, he served in the Royal Air Force, attaining the rank of wing commander. Following the war, he was the First Secretary for the British Embassy in Rome (1946–50).

In 1952, he launched his own publishing house, Derek Verschoyle Limited, which was acquired by Andre Deutsche in 1956. His most notable authors were the English poet Roy Fuller (1912–91) and Ludwig Bemelmans (1898–1962), the creator of the Madeline series of books for children.

Verschoyle is the author of XXX Poems (1931) and editor of The English Novelists (1936), “a Survey of the Novel by Twenty Contemporary Novelists.” He co-authored Communism in India (1954) with M. R. Masani (1905–98), an Indian politician and former communist who became a supporter of democratic socialism, fearing Soviet-style communism and opposing the nationalization of India’s banks under Indira Gandhi (1917–84).

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Alec Waugh

I DO NOT AGREE that it is essential for an Englishman to take sides in the Spanish Civil War because I do not accept the argument, “It’s Spain’s turn now. It will be ours tomorrow.” Things *are* different here. The extent of a writer’s capacity to detach himself from immediate issues is determined by his individual temperament. But there is an essential difference between the “Ivory Tower” and a stand-point “above the battle”.

[Alexander Raban Waugh] (1898–1981) Novelist, travel writer

The elder brother of Evelyn Waugh, Alec attended the Royal Military College at Sandhurst 1915–17, when he joined the Dorset Regiment and served in France at Passchendaele. He was taken prisoner near Arras, held near Mainz, and released in 1919.

His first novel, Loom of Youth (1917), was a bestseller and drew on his experiences at Sherborne boarding school, causing controversy for its portrayal of homosexuality among the pupils. He is best known for his novel Island in the Sun (1956), which, his nephew Auberon Waugh writes in the ODNB, “touched upon the sensitive subject of another ‘forbidden love’—sexual relations across the colour bar.”

Waugh lived abroad for many years of his life in the Far East, the Caribbean, and Morocco. In Hot Countries (1930), Waugh’s account of his travels, he emphasizes his ability to move among various cultures as a comfortable outsider and he is critical of European and American tourists. Towards the end of the book, Waugh considers the circumstances under which African slaves were brought to Mexico in the eighteenth

century. He writes that the most compelling illustration of the brutality of the Middle Passage did not come from abolitionist treatises, but from what he calls a “small handbook” that “consisted of practical advice” published in 1811 for small-time planters. Waugh writes:

One of the early chapters describes the treatment necessary for slaves on their arrival. He assumes as a matter of course that for days they will be unfit for work. They will be sick, weak, poisoned [...] He intends no criticism; the criticism that is implicit in that acceptance is a more potent witness than the statistics of a thousand pamphleteers. (237–8)

It is unclear whether Waugh supports the abolition of slavery or not (he later laments what he sees as black Africans’ inability to self-govern), but his argument for the primary source as a persuasive tool for the critique of the practice of slavery speaks to his submission to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. Waugh deplores the earnest pamphlet in favor of the slave-owner’s handbook’s unmitigated insight into the prevailing assumptions about Africans that made slavery possible as an institution in the first place. He maintains that what is happening in Spain will not happen in the United Kingdom because “things are different here,” and argues that a writer’s temperament will determine whether he can “detach” himself from matters of social or political significance. Here, as in Hot Countries, Waugh advocates for the formation of opinions via first-hand experience: the ultimate primary source.

His is the only submission to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War in which the conflict is referred to as the Spanish Civil War.

ODNB

H. G. Wells

I AM NOT AN “ANTI” of any sort unless it is anti-gangster or anti-nationalist. My sympathies were all with the new liberal republic in Madrid. It has been destroyed between the Anarchist-Syndicalists on the one hand and the Franco pronunciamiento on the other. The intervention of Italy and Germany is on traditional nationalist lines; it was to be expected and it has been greatly facilitated by the stupid confusion in the British mind and will.

The real enemy of mankind is not the Fascist but the Ignorant Fool.

[Herbert George Wells] (1866–1946) Novelist, social commentator

Known to his family as Bertie, Wells was born in Bromley, Kent and educated at the Bromley Academy. Although he was an excellent student, financial pressures forced Wells into the workforce at the age of fourteen and he became a draper. His apprenticeship made him miserable, however, and he convinced his mother to purchase his freedom so he could study to be a teacher. From 1883 to 1887, he studied science at the Normal School in South Kensington, but he preferred to read history and literature.

He taught briefly at Holt College, Wales (1887) and Henley House School, Kilburn (1888–93), but poor health prompted him to abandon teaching for freelance journalism. In 1890, he took a BSc in zoology and geology from London University.

Wells began writing for the Educational Times, edited the University Correspondent, and wrote Textbook of Biology (1893). In the early 1890s he also wrote literary and theatre reviews for the Pall Mall Gazette and the Saturday Review. Success came with The Time Machine (1895), which was shortly followed by The Island of Doctor Moreau (1896), The Invisible Man (1897), The War of the Worlds (1898), and The First Men in the Moon (1901). About these early works of science fiction, Patrick Parrinder writes in the ODNB:

They reveal his profound grasp of the changes—perhaps the diminution—in the meaning and sense of purpose of human life brought about by Darwinian evolutionary theory. Their pessimism is at one with the fin de siècle mood, but the passing of time has not dimmed their assault on human complacency.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Wells joined the Fabian Society and the Coefficients, a political club that included many members of the Society. In his most notable political work, A Modern Utopia (1905), Wells portrays what Parrinder calls “an evolving socialist world state, not a picture of settled perfection.”

He supported the allies during the Great War, writing propaganda that was instrumental in the formation of the League of Nations, although he later turned against it. He saw the war as nationalism and imperialism at its worst and, in response, wrote The Outline of History (1920), a textbook in which he sought to present history as factually as possible; it became an international bestseller.

Following the war, he ran unsuccessfully for the London University Labour seat in 1922 on a platform of world peace and international unity; he was intensely critical of

both communism and fascism. Between the wars he served as president of PEN International and was a founding member of the National Council for Civil Liberties. He was instrumental in the United Nations' adoption of a declaration on universal human rights in 1948.

His last book was the short novel Mind at the End of its Tether (1945). Parrinder writes: "He never tired of controversy and was a lifelong scourge of those aspects of capitalism, communism, nationalism, imperialism, Zionism, and Roman Catholicism which could not be reconciled with his vision of a scientific world order."

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pronunciamento Spanish, a political manifesto.

Vita Sackville West

THE REASON I did not respond to your previous questionnaire still holds good. It is that I dislike Communism and Fascism equally; and, in fact, cannot see any difference between them, except in their names. It seems to me that they each bully and oppress the individual; and, through the individual, Society at large. That is chiefly why I cannot make up my mind to take either side in the Spanish quarrel, which is really a quarrel between Communism and Fascism in Europe, not only in Spain.

One point in your questionnaire strikes me as ambiguous. You stress "the *legal* Government" of Spain, as the Government you wish to support. Is this because it is the

legal Government, or because it is a Communist Government? If because it is the *legal* Government, then you ought also to be prepared to support Hitler or Mussolini in the event of a rebellion against them. Yet I do not think you would do so?

Therefore what you really mean is that you want to see Communism established in Spain as well as in Russia, and you do not care a snap of the fingers whether a Government is “legal” or not. If so, why not have said so frankly? I hate these subterranean forms of propaganda—and wish you could have avoided them if your convictions are sincere and therefore respect-worthy.

[Hon. Victoria Mary Sackville-West] (1892–1962) Writer, gardener

The daughter of the third Baron Sackville, Victoria was known as Vita to friends and family. Born in Sevenoaks, Kent, she was educated at home until 1905, when she went to Miss Woolff’s day school in London. She wrote from an early age, producing eight novels, five plays, and numerous poems by the time she was eighteen. Her first book of verse, Poems of East and West (1917) was followed by her debut novel Heritage (1919), in which she writes on her upbringing.

Although she married Harold George Nicolson (1886–1968) in 1913, she had numerous affairs with women—including the journalist Evelyn Irons (1900–2000) and Hilda Matheson (1888–1940) of the BBC—and occasionally cross-dressed. A close friend of Virginia Woolf, she wrote Seducers in Ecuador (1924) for her. T. J. Hochstrasser writes in the ODNB that Woolf’s Orlando (1928) was “a public love letter and tribute to Sackville-West.”

During the Second World War, she wrote a novel, Grand Canyon (1942), in which she imagined a world in which Germany has won the war in Europe and is preparing to attack the United States. She worked for the Kent committee of the Women's Land Army, a civilian organization that placed women in agricultural work to replace the men who had gone to war. Founded in 1915, it was active in the Great War and the Second World War and lasted until 1950.

She was made Companion of Honour in 1948 for her services to literature and in 1955 won the gold Veitch medal of the Royal Horticultural Society for her garden at Sissinghurst Castle, Kent. She wrote a gardening column for The Observer 1946–61. Her last novel was No Signposts in the Sea (1961). Following her death, her life was made into a BBC television series based on her son Nigel Nicolson's (1917–2004) memoir Portrait of a Marriage (1973), which drew from an unpublished autobiographical manuscript that Sackville-West had written in 1920.

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Malachi Whitaker

FASCISM AND COMMUNISM are equally repulsive to me. I would resist the encroachment of either, physically and mentally. My sympathy is for the non-combatants in Spain.

[Marjorie Olive Whitaker (née Taylor)] (1895–1976) Writer

Whitaker was born near Bradford, the daughter of a bookbinder who instilled in her an early love for writing and books, particularly the Bible. She attended Belle Vue School in Bradford and after graduation worked for her father's business. She married Leonard Whitaker in 1917. According to her obituary in the London Times (27 January 1976),

Her stories were first admired by John Middleton Murry and appeared in the *Adelphi* from 1927, and then by Jonathan Cape who published her four collections: *Frost in April* (1929), *No Luggage?* (1930), *Five for Silver* (1932), and *Honeymoon* (1934). Although forgotten now, save by a few of her contemporaries, her work was critically acclaimed in the 1930s and compared to that of, among others, Katherine Mansfield.

Clare L. Taylor, writing in the ODNB, mentions that the comparison to Mansfield was made by Vita Sackville-West, who wrote the introduction to The Crystal Fountain (1984), a collection of Whitaker's stories published posthumously. For her first published stories, submitted to Murry, Whitaker took on the biblical and masculine pen-name of Malachi, and, according to her obituary, her friends called her by this name, too.

ODNB

AGAINST

THE GOVERNMENT

Edmund Blunden

I KNOW TOO LITTLE about affairs in Spain to make a confident answer. To my mind (subject to that first reservation), it was necessary that somebody like Franco should arise—and although England may not profit by his victory I think Spain will. The ideas of Germany, Italy, etc., in your document do not square with those I have formed *upon the whole* of the recent history of those countries. Memories of 1914–18 perhaps do not allow me to see some incidents you mention in the isolated and flamboyant way the manifesto has them.

[Edmund Charles Blunden] (1896–1974) Poet

Born in London and the eldest of eight children, Blunden won a scholarship in 1909 to attend Christ's Hospital, a public school in Sussex. He earned a scholarship to Queen's College, Oxford in 1914, but joined the Royal Sussex regiment to serve in the Great War before he could begin his studies. Blunden received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1915 and served in Flanders on the front lines (1916–18), for which he was awarded the Military Cross in 1917. Writing in the ODNB, Bernard Bergonzi notes that he "was indelibly affected by the death and destruction he witnessed so early in his life. Blunden is remembered as one of the finest poets of the First World War, though many of his war poems were written afterwards, contemplating events in retrospect."

In 1919, he returned to Oxford, but left in 1920 to become an assistant editor for The Athenæum, under John Middleton Murry. That year he published a book of poems, The Waggoner. His next book of poems, The Shepard (1922) won the Hawthornden Prize, which was established in 1919 to reward “imaginative literature.” He worked as a literary journalist until he moved to Japan in 1924 to teach English at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Subsequently, he published an account of his war experiences, Undertones of War (1928).

He took a post as a fellow and tutor in English at Merton College, Oxford (1930–44), when he left the university to work as assistant editor of The Times Literary Supplement and to write full time, publishing Shells by the Stream (1944) and later, After the Bombing (1949). He returned to teaching abroad in 1946—first in Japan and later in Hong Kong—until 1964. He was made a CBE (1951), awarded the Queen’s gold medal for poetry (1956), and became a companion of the Royal Society of Literature (1962). In 1966, he was elected Oxford Professor of Poetry, but resigned after two years because of illness.

Blunden’s London Times obituary (21 January 1974), describes his poetic style and influences:

The Waggoner and The Shepard are misleading titles if they are interpreted to mean that Blunden was essentially a pastoral poet. The pastoral vein in English poetry was especially dear to him but in his own poetry, thought he could brilliantly visualize the country scene and the country folk, he interpreted nature in the light of the tensions and complexities of his age. Nature was an idyll of his childhood—a bright unattainable vision seen retrospectively through the screen of war and its

congregated ghosts—and was for him an ironic or pathetic commentary on the bewildering present, never an escape from its demands.

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Arthur Machen

MR. ARTHUR MACHEN presents his compliments and begs to inform that he is, and always has been, entirely for General Franco.

[Arthur Llewelyn Jones Machen] (1863–1947) Writer

Machen was born in Caerleon, South Wales, and attended Hereford Cathedral School (1874–80). Roger Dobson notes in the ODNB that Machen's father could not afford to send him to university, so he attempted to enter medical school in 1880, but failed the admissions exams for the Royal College of Surgeons.

*An actor as well as a writer, in 1901 Machen joined the Shakespeare repertory theatre run by Frank Benson (1858–1939). In his collection of stories *The House of Souls* (1906), as well as in articles that he wrote for the *London Evening News* (1910–21), he explored spirituality, the occult, and fantasy. In particular, Dobson writes, his story “*The Bowmen*” (1914), which described “*St. George and the phantom archers from**

Agincourt aiding British troops” at the battle of Mons in the Great War, captivated the public and many believed it to be true.

Dobson closes his ODNB entry writing that Machen

remains a pioneering cult author in the horror and fantasy fields. Central to his artistic philosophy is the concept of the numinous underlying the ordinary: in his words, “the sense of the eternal mysteries, the eternal beauty hidden beneath the crust of common and commonplace things (Machen, *London Adventure*, 75).”

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Geoffrey Moss

Major Geoffrey McNeil Moss, late Grenadier Guards.

(1) I AM FOR the Government of General Franco.

(2) I am not for Fascism, but I am for Nationalism, as opposed to
Internationalism.

(3) I am an officer by profession, I was three months with General Franco’s
armies, I had my own motor car and perfect freedom to go where I liked and to see what I
liked. I have never seen braver soldiers nor men more filled with high ideals.

I dare you, my brother writers, to print this letter! *Voilà!*

[Geoffrey Cecil Gilbert McNeill-Moss] (1885–1954) Soldier, writer

Moss was educated at Rugby and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He received his commission into the Grenadier Guards in 1905 and served with them until he retired in 1919, having attained the rank of major.

He began his career as an author, writing under the name of Geoffrey Moss, with the publication of a book of short stories, Defeat (1924), about conditions in Germany following the Great War. According to his obituary in the London Times (16 August 1954), “One of his most interesting books was The Epic of the Alcázar, which set out plainly and in diary form the siege of the Alcázar at Toledo during the Spanish Civil War. He knew Toledo well and the book was drawn from the accounts of survivors of the garrison.”

Arthur Koestler describes this battle in Spanish Testament (1938), in which Republican troops were surrounded and forced to retreat into the Alcázar, which is a term for a Spanish castle or fort. Rumors spread that the Republicans had taken the women and children of Toledo into it and were holding them hostage, a story that Koestler calls the “supreme heights” of propaganda (148). Koestler quotes testimonies from women that they were not imprisoned, but were unable to leave because they feared they would be shot by Franco’s troops. Moss’s 1937 book presents the Nationalist troops as the saviors of the civilians, mentioning that rebel planes dropped food and other relief supplies into the fort. Both sides used the incident as fodder for their own propaganda efforts.

In his preface, Moss writes:

Here is the history of the defence of the Alcazar. I knew Toldeo and the Alcazar before the siege. Since then I have been round it so often, alone, or with those who defended this or that special corner, that I have come to know what remains of it as well as a man knows his own garden.

I have been aided by the High Command of the Spanish Nationalist Army; by the military authorities in Toledo; by several officers, many of the men, and by one lady, all of whom endured the siege. I am intensely grateful to them. (ix)

He continues:

As for the other side, I have had practically nothing to go on. The forces which besieged the Alcazar were large but they have melted away. Very many of the besiegers must by now be dead; in a year's time there will be still fewer of them left alive. They were in revolt against tradition, they despised established methods, so it is doubtful whether they kept records. If they did, it is unlikely that any will have survived. (ix)

Who's Who vol. V

Eleanor Smith

I WAS DELIGHTED to receive your unprejudiced brochure.

Naturally, I am a warm adherent of General Franco's, being, like all of us, a humanitarian.

The destruction of so many beautiful objects, and the massacre of so many innocent persons, makes one pity profoundly the ignorant red masses—subsidized by Russia—in Spain.

Do you not agree?

[Lady Eleanor Furneaux Smith] (1902–45) Writer

Smith was the daughter of Lord Chancellor Frederick Edwin Smith (1872–1930), who was made Earl of Birkenhead in 1922 for his services as a politician. Eleanor was, from a young age, interested in gypsy culture, believing her great-grandmother to have been a Romany gypsy. She worked as a society reporter, film reviewer, and publicist for circus companies. Smith is the author of several books, including Tzigane (1937), meaning “gypsy,” which was that same year adapted into a film, Gypsy, and Caravan (1946), which was also made into a film of the same name in 1946.

In a letter to the editor of the London Times (13 April 1932), Smith’s familiarity with the lives of circus performers is evident as she weighs in on an ongoing debate about whether it was ethical for young children to be training as acrobats:

The charitable sentiments of certain members of the House of Commons indeed do credit to their hearts, but it must be confessed that to the uninitiated mind it really seems as though these worthy men and women had been indulging just lately in a veritable orgy of Charles Dickens. Children are not thrashed nowadays—even in circuses.

Who’s Who vol. IV

Evelyn Waugh

I KNOW SPAIN ONLY AS A TOURIST and a reader of the newspapers. I am no more impressed by the “legality” of the Valencia Government than are English Communists by the legality of the Crown, Lords and Commons. I believe it was a bad Government, rapidly deteriorating. If I were a Spaniard I should be fighting for General Franco. As an Englishman I am not in the predicament of choosing between two evils. I am not a Fascist nor shall I become one unless it were the only alternative to Marxism. It is mischievous to suggest that such a choice is imminent.

[Evelyn Arthur St John Waugh] (1903–66) Novelist

Waugh’s father was the well-known editor and publisher Arthur Waugh (1866–1943).

His younger brother was Alec Waugh. Born in London, Waugh was sent in 1917 to Lancing College in Sussex, which his biographer Martin Stannard, writing in the ODNB, describes as “high-church.” He went up to Hertford College, Oxford, in 1922 and passed his final exams with a third in 1924, leaving without taking a degree. After trying careers as a graphic artist, a schoolteacher, and a carpenter, Waugh decided to become a professional writer.

His first novel, Decline and Fall (1928), was a huge success. Stannard writes that the next, Vile Bodies (1930), established Waugh “at the forefront of ‘youth politics’ when he had already deserted the cause.” He continues: “His defence of the bright young things had collapsed. Now they were the object of savage satire and his attention turned

instead to defending Christian civilization.” Waugh became a member of the Roman Catholic church that same year and remained a staunch Catholic for the rest of his life.

He produced many more novels and works of travel writing in his lifetime. The novels A Handful of Dust (1934), Scoop (1938), Brideshead Revisited (1945), and Officers and Gentlemen (1955) are among his best-known titles. Stannard writes:

Ultimately, as the various biographies have revealed, Waugh loathed politics and politicians of whatever colour and owed no loyalty to anything opposing his faith. *Brideshead* is a religious book, a contemplation of the meaninglessness of human existence without God. Beneath that public mask of arrogance there lay a dedicated artist and a man of earnest faith, struggling against the dryness of his soul.

ODNB, Who's Who vol. VI

II. NANCY CUNARD AND THE ARCHIVE

It was the militia-men, those of the Spanish soil, who used to say to me in Spain at the very start of the war: "After this, no more hatreds between men, no more frontiers. You, writers and intellectuals, it is impossible for you *not* to be with us." Are not these words true? ("Three Negro Poets," *Left Review* October 1937)

Although her name appears as one of twelve signatories of the *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* questionnaire, Nancy Cunard initiated the appeal and brought it to fruition. She had already published a fundraiser for the Spanish Republicans: *Los Poètes du monde défendent le peuple espagnol* ("The Poets of the world defend the Spanish people" 1937), a collection of six booklets (or "plaquettes") of poems written by well-known contributors, the most famous of whom was W. H. Auden, whose long poem "Spain" made its debut as one of the pamphlets. In the biography *Nancy Cunard* (2007), Lois Gordon writes: "Shortly after publishing the *plaquettes*, Nancy launched another project, *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, believing more strongly than ever that, in the least, writers must 'take sides.'" Gordon writes that Cunard was "innovative, citing well-known writers in an elegant literary form that would reach a wide reading public" (231–232).

In 1934, Cunard had compiled another, much more ambitious collection. *Negro* was an 854-page anthology celebrating international black culture, society, and politics. She had solicited contributions from Louis Armstrong, W. E. B. Dubois, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, William Carlos Williams, among many others. Also

included were images of works of art—current and historical—and coverage of significant contemporary events. The first run was 1,000 copies and it did not sell well, but today is recognized for the scale of its efforts to commemorate black culture and expose racial disparities around the world.

Although she wrote poetry, prose, and works of journalism, Cunard is remembered above all for her activism on behalf of racial minorities and victimized groups around the world, including the Spanish Republicans for whom she continued to advocate decades after the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War. Up until her death in 1965, Cunard traveled to Spain to expose the living conditions of social dissidents and the poor. She also supported Spanish poets who had been forced into exile by Franco's dictatorship.

This section consists of primary documents from the Nancy Cunard archive at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas-Austin (HRC). Cunard was scrupulous in maintaining records of her publications, including *Los Poètes du monde défendent le peuple espagnol*, *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, and “Decade of Exile,” among many of her other publications. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the original materials were lost during the Second World War when Cunard's home in Réanville, France was all but destroyed. In her autobiography, *These Were the Hours* (1969), Cunard writes on returning to her home in 1945:

The house had been empty, quite empty a very long time. And then, thanks to the village mayor (who had also tried to sell it during the course of the war, saying everything now belonged to the Germans) it had been occupied by the German

troops he had encouraged to go there. Pillage before, pillage then, and pillage after they left. That covered the turbid, brutal, horrible story. (203–204)

Consequently, most of her documents were lost. Cunard continues:

Gone were at least three-quarters of the material I used in *Negro*, several hundred volumes of articles, photographs, and documents on colour. And most of the articles, books, poems, translations, and letters of the Spanish war years were also missing. (207)

The following is an annotated collection of documents pertaining to the publication of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* as well as Cunard's other efforts to aid the Spanish Republicans. Most are drawn from the Harry Ransom Center; the source of others is cited in headnotes. Nearly all have been transcribed from original typescripts, handwritten correspondence, and Cunard's own notes and drafts.

This section begins with the opening paragraphs of a 1935 article published in the *Left Review* written by Christina Stead titled "The Writers Take Sides." It is likely that this piece inspired *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*. Following this is a transcription of the contents of a sheaf of documents that Cunard gathered together and pasted into a brown notebook. On the cover she wrote "Spain 1937." In it are typescripts and manuscripts of letters to Cunard from contributors to the pamphlet as well as those who chose not to have their responses published. These have been transcribed and annotated here. Next is a selection of letters drawn from other sources that reference

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. Of note is a transcript of a letter that Cunard wrote to the biographer Richard Ellmann in response to his request for her recollections of James Joyce for his 1959 biography. Ellmann's use of her anecdotes in *James Joyce* is remarkable; the passages from Cunard's unpublished letter (held in the Richard Ellmann Papers archive at the University of Tulsa) are here compared with what Ellmann ultimately published. Also transcribed are correspondence from Peter Chalmers Mitchell and a letter from Ezra Pound in which he references the *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* questionnaire.

For the purposes of transcribing the primary documents, typescript appears in Roman and handwritten text is in italics. Handwriting that is plainly Cunard's is indicated with a note in square brackets, as are any other editorial commentaries. Text that was struck out is enclosed in < >, and text that was inserted above or below the line is enclosed in \/. Illegible text is indicated as a blank space between two square brackets: [].

Nancy Cunard: Timeline

10 March 1896 Born at Nevill Holt in Leicestershire to Sir Bache Cunard (1851–1925) and Lady Maude Alice Cunard (*née* Burke, 1872–1948).

15 Nov 1916 Marries Sydney Fairbairn (1892–1943).

1916 First issue of *Wheels* is published, in collaboration with Edith and Osbert Sitwell. The anthology is named for one of NC's poems and is published annually until 1921.

1921 Publishes *Outlaws*.

1923 Publishes *Sublunary*.

1925 Hogarth Press publishes *Parallax*.

Divorces Sydney Fairbairn.

1928 Establishes the Hours Press in France, which NC operates until 1931.

1930 Publishes *Poems (Two)*, 1925.

Publishes Samuel Beckett's *Whoroscope*.

1931 Publishes *Black Man and White Ladyship*.

1934 Publishes 855-page anthology *Negro*.

1936–1939 Travels in and around Spain reporting on the Spanish Civil War for various newspapers and news agencies.

1936 Publishes *Los Poètes du monde défendent le peuple espagnol* (“*The Poets of the world defend the Spanish people*”). Collection includes poems by W. H. Auden, Langston Hughes, Federico García Lorca, and Pablo Neruda.

1937 *Left Review* publishes *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*.

1942 Together with George Padmore publishes *The White Man’s Duty*.

1942 Publishes *Poems for France*.

1954 Publishes *Grand Man: Memories of Normal Douglas*.

1956 Publishes *GM: Memories of George Moore*.

16 March 1965 Dies in Paris.

1969 Autobiography *These Were the Hours* is published.

Spain 1937

Sheaf of handwritten and typed letters loosely bound in a brown notebook. Nancy Cunard Archive, Harry Ransom Research Center, University of Texas-Austin.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: Rebecca West

28 July 1937

15, Orchard Court,
Portman Square. W.1.
Welbeck 3606.

Dear Miss Cunard,

Six lines is terribly little and it sounds very trite and boring, but if you say it will
be any good I will send it gladly.

Yours very sincerely,

Rebecca West

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" *MS*

From: Olaf Stapledon

27 July 1937

7, Grosvenor Avenue,
West Kirby. Cheshire
Telephone Hoylake 1134.

Dear Miss Cunard,

Here is my answer to the question on Spain addressed to Writers. I am sorry it is so late, but I have just returned from the Shetland Isles.

Yours very truly,

Olaf Stapledon

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: Valentine Ackland

26 June 1937

24, West Chaldon, Dorsetshire, England.

Dear Nancy Cunard,

Enclosed is answer to your questions. In case you need supporting notes on contributors, to save you the trouble here are some on me:

Book of poems, with Sylvia Townsend Warner: pub. Viking Press, N.Y. & Chatto & Windus, 1933.

Book on social rural England: pub. Lawrence & Wishart, '36.

Contributor to: Life & Letters To-Day. New London Mercury

Time & Tide. Left Review. Daily Worker.

New England Weekly etc. And – New Masses,

New Republic. Sat: Rev: of Literature., etc

I have passed on your question to S.T. Warner, in case you don't reach her in time.

Valentine Ackland

(*Valentine Ackland.*) [NC's hand]

Book of poems *Whether a Dove or a Seagull* (1934). **Book on social rural England** *Country Conditions* (1936).

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: Tom Harrison

ND

85 Davenport Street,

"BOLTON",

Lancashire. (my permanent address)

dear Nancy Cunard,

here is an effort. I only just got your letter through [sic] Gollancz. In haste,
therefore, accept this statement, which I hope is not too long, as a sincere expression of
my bitter feeling at this horror in Spain. I have put it on index card, appended.

yrs sincerely,

Tom Harrison

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" MS

From: Art Lloyd

30 July 1937

134 Hornsey Lane N6

Dear Miss Cunard,

I hope this note reaches you in time. I'm sorry not to have replied before but I have been away and only got your letter this morning.

I enclose a short statement as you request.

Thank you for your kind appreciation of the Lorca translations.

Yours

Art Lloyd

Lorca translations Federico García Lorca, *Lament for the Death of a Bullfighter and other poems*. Trans. A. L. Lloyd. London: Heinemann, 1937.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" MS

From: W. H. Auden

Summer 1937 [NC'S HAND]

~~The Downs School,~~

~~Colwall,~~

~~Nr. Malvern~~

c/o National Provincial Bank

Harborne

Birmingham

Dear Nancy,

I am ungrateful and rude, but I'm the most unbusiness like correspondent in the world. Thank you so much for the books and the copies of Spain, which looks lovely and doesn't contain the atrocious misprint which was in the Faber <volume> copy. I did enjoy Black Man and White Ladyship so much.

As to the question^{*}, I enclose an answer. I have my doubts as to the value of such pronouncements, but here mine is for what it's worth.

Yours ever,

Wystan Auden

(AUDEN) [NC's hand]

* “*Authors take sides*” [NC’s hand]

misprint Faber and Faber published *Spain* as a pamphlet in July 1937, which contained a printer’s error in line 61: “They clung like birds to the long expresses that lurch” for “They clung like burrs to the long expresses that lurch” (*Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*). **Black Man and White Ladyship** Cunard’s 1931 pamphlet was a thinly veiled attack on her mother, who opposed Cunard’s relationship with the black musician Henry Crowder.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" MS

From: Rose Macaulay

28 July 1937

Penrith

Dear Miss Cunard,

Thank you for your letter. I am motoring alot in the north at present, and n.g. at writing or typing or even thinking. So I think that I won't compose a message about Spain, it won't be a good one. But I wish the pamphlet luck. I'm so sorry to be so stupid, it isn't disoblingness but genuine incompetence, also I alas feel a little shy about appearing in print. You will have plenty of much better opinions than mine, I know.

Its nice that you liked "Told by an Idiot"; I am so glad you did.

With apologies + best wishes,

Yours,

Rose Macaulay

Told by an Idiot Rose Macaulay's 1923 novel. Also from *Macbeth*, act 5, scene 5, lines 24–28:

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more. It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury
Signifying nothing.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" *MS*

From: E. M. Forster

4 August 1937

Station Gomshall

West Hackhurst,

Abinger Hammer,

Dorking.

Dear Miss Cunard.

Thank you for your letter, which I had intended to answer before — I have been abroad.

I am in sympathy with your scheme, but I do not feel that manifestos by writers [] carry any weight whatever [] present juncture, and for this reason I do not wish to add my signature. Thank you for approaching me.

Yours sincerely

E. M. Forster

E. M. Forster (Edward Morgan Forster, 1879–1970) renowned British novelist and essayist of liberal political and social tendencies.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" *MS*

From: Adrian Stokes

10 August [1937]

Hotel Edelweiss

Sils-Maria (Ober-Engadin)

Dear Nancy,

Just received your postcard. I was going to write to you anyhow, because I want to add one word to my short insignificant statement of political view. I said, I think 'I am against Franco and Fascism'. I should have said 'I am against Franco and international Fascism'. Will you please make the emendation for me? Although disliking it in the abstract, I have never felt called upon to condemn it in all its aspects, actual Fascism in Italy. It has even given me some pleasure to pleasure that Italians have insisted so successfully that they are not, according to English conceptions, organ grinders. They, in turn, have been bullies, but if that was the only alternative, as it may seem from the [nobility] point of view, to being bullied, I cannot condemn it, although disliking it. Mussolini once said that Fascism was not for export, as if he had been forced to go back on this, I blame principally the English who have forced Mussolini to throw in his lot with the detestable Nazis. But, whatever the reasons if Mussolini now believes in Fascism as a cultural and international force, then I am ready to condemn this international conception even if, in so doing, it might mean—and I have imagined the

possibility—that I am refused entry into Italy. This would be an exceedingly serious thing for me since my work, my whole life, in fact, is [borne] up with Italian art and going to Italy. But I am not prepared to risk the loss by condemning, without any total conviction, Fascism in Italy alone, which my statement as it stands, might be taken to mean.

I am sorry to bother you with this pusillanimous trifle. I think you will understand though you do not agree. But should you feel utterly disgusted, you had better cut my statement out altogether. In a way, it [could be] a relief, as you may gather. All the same, I am prepared to stand by that statement with the word ‘international’ added. Perhaps this would be clearer if it ran as follows:

‘I am against Franco as the idea of international Fascism’.

I’m here with Eddy Sackville West. We have left Sanary where I was painting and writing a book about Colour. I saw Bryan and Co. once or twice + they seem flourishing. Are you in Paris, Nancy? I should like to see you again some time.

Love Adrian

ADRIAN STOKES [NC’s hand]

Adrian Stokes (1902–72) Writer, painter, scholar of Italian art and architecture. He wrote prolifically on complex concepts in art and culture, notably in *The Quattro Cento* (1932). He is the author of two semi-autobiographical works, *Inside Out* (1947) and *Smooth and Rough* (1951). **Sils-Maria (Ober-Engadin)** municipality in the southeast of Switzerland, in the Maloja district. **organ grinders** one stereotype of the Italian immigrant in Britain. **cut my statement** No response from Stokes was published in *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*. **Sanary** Stokes occasionally visited Aldous Huxley’s villa in Sanary-sur-Mer in the south of France. **Book about Colour** *Colour and Form* (1937). **Bryan** possibly Bryan Guinness (1905–92), writer, patron of the arts, and heir to the Guinness fortune.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: George Padmore

ND

THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN SERVICE BUREAU
FOR THE DEFENSE OF AFRICANS AND PEOPLES OF AFRICAN DESCENT
ALL COMMUNICATIONS MUST BE ADDRESSED TO THE GENERAL
SECRETARY

Head office: 94 Gray's Inn Rd. London, W. C. 1

Telephone: HOLborn 6127

Down with the landlords, the Priests and the Bankers;
Down with the capitalists, the Imperialists and Fascists!
They are the ones who have enslaved the Blacks,
They are the ones oppressing us all.
Now they are in Spain trying to do the same.
But they will never achieve their aim,
For there the masses are united
Long live the Workers and Peasants of Spain!

From George Padmore

International African Service Bureau organization founded by Padmore and others in 1937 to publicize in Britain issues such as oppression, poverty, and trade unionization in West Africa.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: F. C. O.

ND

Generally.

On the subject of your manifesto I feel most strongly. The worst Prime Minister in English history (judged by effects) has just retired with a coronet, and the benedictions of Church and State—and on his head the blood of Spain; mostly on his head.

On the 19th I wrote to the Manchester Guardian a letter of which a copy is enclosed. What are the odds in favour of its being printed?

In view of certain immediate developments I would add just this:

A régime founded on a crime will stick at no crime to maintain and strengthen its grip. The men who fired their own Reichstag in order to seize political power under cover of the blame laid upon others, are entirely capable of loosing torpedoes at their own ships with a view to incriminating a weaker State against whose sovereign and territorial rights they meditate evil. And in the presence of a menace which may quite well work out to their own ultimate ruin, the vaunted Democracies of the West are passive!

I could write + speak for hours on this topic.

F.C.O. ? [NC's hand]

F. C. O. F. C. Owlett, author of *The Spacious Days and Other Essays* (1937) and *Shakespeare and Charles Lamb* (1938), among others. **Prime Minister** Stanley Baldwin. The *Manchester Guardian* printed a letter from Owlett 18 April 1937 titled "The Globe-Mermaid Project," which was about Shakespeare. **Reichstag** the building housing the German parliament in Berlin was severely damaged in a fire in 1933.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: Peter Chalmers Mitchell

17 November 1937

MAYFAIR 5462.

Savile Club,

69 Brook Street, W.1.

Dear Miss Cunard,

Of course I'd like to see you. But I am engaged to-night and to-morrow night, speaking (Spain) On Saturday I am engaged. On Sunday I go to Southport to speak again for Spain

Every day next week is occupied and on Friday I am engaged to go to the country for the week end

If you are still here the last we week of this month we must try t fix up something.

Kindest regards

yours sincerely

P. Chalmers Mitchell

Savile Club exclusive London men's club founded 1868 in opposition to Victorian mores.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: "Spain 1937" TS

From: Harry Pollitt

12 July 1937

The Communist Party of Great Britain
(British Section of the Communist International)
Central Committee
16 King Street, Covent Garden
London, W.C.2

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for yours of July 8th, and we have never received a letter from you previous to this date.

I shall be very glad to give my views if you will let me have a copy of the questionnaire. you refer to.

Yours fraternally,

Harry Pollitt

Christina Stead

Christina Stead

Left Review

From "The Writers Take Sides"

Vol. 1, no. 11 (August, 1935)

The First International Congress of Writers was a five-day meeting of nearly 250 writers and intellectuals opposed to fascism. It was organized by the French writer André Malraux (1901–76), who later served as France's Minister of Information (1945–46) and Minister of Cultural Affairs (1959–69). Following the conference, the Bureau of the International Association of Writers for the Defence of Culture was formed in 1936. Members of the organization included signatories of and contributors to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*: Louis Aragon, Jose Bergamín, Jean Richard Bloch, Heinrich Mann, and George Bernard Shaw. The Second International Conference of Anti-Fascist Writers in Defence of Culture was held in the then-Republican city of Valencia in 1937.

Report on the first international Congress of Writers for the defence of culture, held in the Salle de la Mutualité at Paris, 21st-25th June, 1935.

The burning of books, the persecution, exile and proscription of writers and teachers, the rigorous censorship of press, radio, and even mail, and the more frequent brutal expressions of class conflicts every day have hammered it home to every writer that the armies of reaction are trampling into the very heart of his own country: like the most ignorant peasant, he rises to defend what has come to him from his father, is his and

makes him one of a community. He defends the soil he has to till and from which he gets his living, the language, thoughts and theories of his people, the freedom to use these, the freedom to use his tools and earn his living. In all countries but one, the pauperization of the middle-class, militarization and barbarism of the upper class and rationalization, enfeebling and unemployment of the lower classes have withdrawn from the writer his ready public. Since his spiritual and economic needs call for a public, his chief concern now becomes the attainment of that public, together with an understanding of the embroiled world he lives in, so that he can transmit it recognizably to the people who live in it with him. The only people with money left, the masters, are exigent; gone the time for trifling, for the pampering of snarling, elegant, whimsical Pekingese. Writers must, now, for them, be watchdogs and catch burglars and rats.

Salle de la Mutualité (aka Maison de la Mutualité), conference center in Paris's 5th arrondissement.
Burning of the Books See *Professor H. Levy*. **All countries but one** likely the Soviet Union.

Nancy Cunard and Peter Chalmers Mitchell

Among “Spain 1937,” is this letter from Peter Chalmers Mitchell, who was a champion of the Spanish Republican cause as well as the Spanish novelist Ramón Sender. He is the translator of Sender’s *Seven Red Sundays* (1936) and *The War in Spain* (1937).

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC: “Spain 1937” *MS*

From: Peter Chalmers Mitchell

5 July 1937

Dear Miss Cunard,

It will be delightful to see you: please let me know when you are in London.

Very glad you got my book. I’ve finished Sender’s book and Faber + Faber say they’ll publish it on July 22. But judging from your version of Pablo’s poem it is you + not me who ought to have translated Sender. I am glad you like him. Of course he is a genius, but he is also the salt of the Earth—to know him restores one’s belief in man. I thought so when I read *Seven Red Sundays* in Spanish. But I had a job to get a publisher

to take it. Macmillan, Gollancz and Cassell's all turned it down altho' I know them well, and then I got fed up, + went to Faber + Faber, threw in my own work, + put up $\frac{3}{4}$ s of the cost of printing, to secure publication. His books get excellent reviews, but they don't sell well. However I've got the Penguin books to issue a sixpenny reprint, + anyhow he'll get known.

I don't know "La Llave." Have you a copy? I translated "El Secreto" more than a year ago, and put it in the hands of a first-rate dramatic agent, but couldn't get it taken up.

With best regards

Yours sincerely

P. Chalmers Mitchell

P.S. I like your poem.

P.S.S. I shall like your "Negro": it is good of you to have sent it to me

P. CM.

Sender's book *The War in Spain* (1937) was translated by Chalmers Mitchell and published by Faber and Faber. It was never published in Spanish. **Pablo's poem** Cunard collaborated with the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda on the anthology *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español* (1937) and translated several of his poems, notably "To the Mothers of the Dead Militia" (1937). It is unclear which poem Chalmers Mitchell refers to here. **Seven Red Sundays** Sender's novel about labor unrest and social revolution in Madrid. Published originally in Spanish as *Siete domingos rojos* (1932). Chalmers Mitchell's translation was published by Faber and Faber in 1936; Penguin reissued it in 1938. **Macmillan** British publishing group, founded 1843. **Gollancz** Publishing house founded by Victor Gollancz in 1927. Known for

publishing titles for the Left Book Club. **Cassell's** British book publishing house founded in 1848 by John Cassell (1817–1865). **Threw in my own work** May refer to the fact that Faber and Faber published Chalmers Mitchell's autobiography, *My Fill of Days* (1937), or to the foreword that he wrote to *Seven Red Sundays*. **Penguin books** Penguin was founded in 1935; its widely available sixpenny editions were very popular. Chalmers Mitchell sat on the advisory panel for Penguin's educational arm, Pelican, founded in 1937. **"La Llave"** Spanish (*the key*); **"El Secreto"** Spanish (*the secret*). Both are plays by Sender. **"Negro"** Cunard's 855-page anthology on social, political, and cultural aspects of black communities around the world, published 1934.

Nancy Cunard and Ezra Pound

To: Nancy Cuard

TS Beinecke

From: Ezra Pound

Qtd. in Wilhelm, J. J. *Ezra Pound: The Tragic Years*

(1925–1972). University Park, Penn.: Penn State

UP, 1994. 124.

[’37]

As to the questionnaire, I think your gang are all diarohea. For 15 years I have been telling people to look at the ROOT. Stalin is a gorilla, too stupid to look at money, R Trotsk is not a jew but a kike, a slihtery mess/... Spain is one barbarism and Russia another... Spain is a nuisance... Not one of these young squirts knows a damn thing of the fight going on in Italy. No darling, it is ALL bloody tosh. Kikes financing both sides. All France is KIKED... NOT one of yr/ friends is ABLE to define Freiwirtschaft or to know where and how a people can controll its own money.

Freiwirtschaft German: *free economy*. German Silvio Gesell’s (1862–1930) economic theory that money’s value should be kept constant; land should not be owned, only leased; and that free trade is necessary.

Nancy Cunard and James Joyce

Born in Dublin, Joyce's (1882–1941) teenage schooling was at Belvedere, a Jesuit day school, where he served as a prefect until his graduation in 1898. At University College, Dublin, he studied modern languages, Latin, and logic, earning a pass degree (1899–1902).

In 1901, Joyce wrote his first collection of poetry, *Shine and Dark*, but it remained unpublished. Three years later, he produced a draft of the autobiographical novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*; fragments of it were published posthumously as *Stephen Hero* (1944). Joyce's first published collection of poems, *Chamber Music*, appeared in 1907.

He suffered from glaucoma for much of his life, particularly from 1917. Although he had a series of operations on both eyes around 1930, Bruce Stewart writes in the *ODNB* that by 1932, he was nearly blind in his right eye and the sight in his left was very weak.

Joyce published only one play: *Exiles* (1918). He is best known for his collection of short stories, *Dubliners* (1914), and the novels *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), *Ulysses* (1922), and *Finnegans Wake* (1939). His fiction is distinctive for relying on a reader's acquisition of what Stewart refers to as "sufficient Irish background." Although *Finnegans Wake* is considered to be one of the English language's most difficult novels, Richard Ellmann writes in the biography *James Joyce* (1959): "Joyce's discovery, so humanistic that he would have been embarrassed to disclose it out of context, was that the ordinary is the extraordinary" (3).

As a part of his research for *James Joyce*, Ellmann sent a letter to Nancy Cunard (27 June 1955): “I am engaged in writing a life of James Joyce, to be published by the Oxford University Press, and I am most anxious to know something of your friendship with him. Would it be asking too much if I asked that you write me a little about when you met him, what you talked about, what you remember of him and his family?”

Cunard replied 1 October 1956 with three-and-a-half typed pages on what she called her “four moments of contact” with Joyce. Her letter is transcribed in full below. The correspondence between Cunard and Ellmann is held in the Richard Ellmann archive at the University of Tulsa.

Ellmann quotes from Cunard’s letter in three instances in *James Joyce*, printing the entirety of the fifth paragraph (“Soon he came to the point...”) (*James Joyce* 638–9). Later in the book, he takes quotations from the passages in the letter about *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, the piracy of *Ulysses*, and Joyce’s appearance at the June 1937 meeting of the P.E.N. Club:

He allowed himself only one public appearance, at a meeting of the P.E.N. Club in Paris that same month. He had always insisted that the piracy of *Ulysses* was a matter of international literary concern, and he brought along a short speech to announce the important American judicial decision that, quite apart from the Bern copyright convention, an author could not be deprived of his rights in his own property. The speech was respectfully heard, the chairman politely ordered Joyce’s remarks included in the minutes, but there, to Joyce’s annoyance, the matter was dropped. (*James Joyce* 716)

Ellmann goes on to describe Cunard’s conversation with Joyce on the telephone:

A few days later Nancy Cunard sent him a questionnaire about his views on the Spanish War, and this renewed his indignation. He telephoned to say, 'I am James Joyce. I have received your questionnaire.' 'Are you going to answer it?' she asked. 'No! I won't answer it because it is politics. Now politics are getting into everything. The other night I agreed to let myself be taken to one of the dinners of the P.E.N. Club. The charter of the P.E.N. states that politics shall never be discussed there. But what happened? One person made a speech, referring to one angle of politics, someone else brought up a conflicting argument, a third read a paper on more politics. I wanted the P.E.N. to take an interest in the pirating of *Ulysses* in the United States, but this was brushed aside. It was politics all the way.' He concluded by saying he was sending her the script of his remarks at the P.E.N. meeting and commanded, 'Print that, Miss Cunard!' (*James Joyce* 716–17)

The passage is set off from the text as a direct quotation from the letter, but it deviates significantly from Cunard's text. Ellmann uses quotation marks to create dialogue where Cunard supplied in her letter only paraphrase, giving the impression that the above is the transcript of a conversation. Ellmann also takes liberties with punctuation, inserting two exclamation marks that are not Cunard's: "No! I won't answer it" and "Print that, Miss Cunard!" For the latter phrase, he neglects to reproduce the underscore beneath "that."

Where Cunard related Joyce's experience at the P.E.N. meeting as an outside observer, again paraphrasing, Ellmann puts the words into Joyce's mouth, changing Cunard's "he" and "himself" to "I" and "myself."

Forrest Read, in *Pound/Joyce: the letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's essays on Joyce* (1967), reproduces Ellmann's passage interpreting Cunard's letter in full, further perpetuating the impression that these words were Joyce's exactly (258).

Although Ellmann made substantial revisions to *James Joyce* for an updated edition in 1982, the above passages were left unchanged. In both editions, Ellmann cites Cunard's letter to him as having been written in 1957, although the typescript is dated 1956.

To: Richard Ellmann

Unpublished *TS*

From: Nancy Cunard

University of Tulsa

Richard Ellmann Archive

1 October 1956

ON JAMES JOYCE – for <professor> Professor Ellmann

Not many people who could say they knew James Joyce personally can perhaps have known him as little as I, yet there were four moments of contact.

“Advancement of the cause of Sullivan” are the words for the first startling time I saw and talked to him. Or was “O’Sullivan” the name of the Irish singer?—“a very great singer”, said Joyce to me soon enough.

It was in the early summer, I think, of 1930, and that morning in the Hotel Crystal, Rue St Benoit, Paris, had begun for me in pain and dismay; an abscess was ripening in my throat and I could barely speak. As I lay feverishly wondering what to do, a knock on the door got me out of bed rather annoyed, <and> yet it might be some helpful friend.

The stupefaction at seeing James Joyce, whom I knew from photographs, was great, and greater yet my confusion and <the> difficult<y> in uttering words of welcome

and of enquiry as to the reason of the honour of his visit. Groping in his near-blindness he made for a chair, and I remember my consternation at the thought of him thus, alone in the streets, in shops, and on staircases, tackling all the business of an ordinary day. “I am James Joyce” he had said as he came in, but now there was a slight pause while I took in the austerity of his bearing; he seemed to me even a little grim at that moment. My immense admiration for “Ulysses”, my love, even for some of it... <and now> here now was the great man himself, taut, aloof—and inexplicably. The courage of him <the man> was terrific, and the formality of his manner was terrible.

Soon he came to the point: Sullivan, a very great Irish singer. Now, Sullivan was not getting the recognition he deserved and this must be set right at once. Well, Lady Cunard, my mother, was a very great friend of the orchestra leader, Sr Thomas Beecham, who should be made to realise that Sullivan must be engaged forthwith. Had Beecham even heard of him? I could not say. Why was Beecham not interested? Well, what he, Joyce, wanted me to do was to use all my influence with Lady Cunard, so that Beecham should hear, and engage, Sullivan. I presume Joyce thought this quite simple. What he probably did not know was that my relations with her were not of the friendliest; at any rate, I had no “influence” with her whatsoever—as I now tried to make clear. Joyce would have none of that and brushed it aside. I assured him that I would, of course, tell her that he had come to see me about the matter; more than that I could not possibly do. I thought he seemed annoyed and did not believe me. Sullivan must be engaged. And when I reminded him that he knew Lady Cunard himself and that she would be likely to listen to him, that too was brushed aside and, somehow, I did not feel like recalling to him that

she had been very instrumental indeed, in 1917 or so, in obtaining public recognition in England for his great talent as a writer, recognition that could not have been more official, and on a financial plane, too. Joyce went on: Lady Cunard was now in Paris, Thomas Beecham as well, or soon coming, Sullivan was in Paris, and so they must be brought together. I must have said that this was more than I could do, but that he could accomplish it, if only he would get in touch with Lady Cunard; or why not directly with Sir Thomas? I fancy Joyce liked none of this. Obviously his mind had been made up: I, and I alone must be the approach. “How displeasing it is to be put in a false position—maybe he has taken offence”, I thought, as I sprang off the bed to try and guide him discreetly to the door after the half-hour conversation. It was horrifying to see him grope, miraculous to see his adroit descent of the stairs, the tall, cathedral-spire of a man. As for Lady Cunard, would she even listen?

She did not listen much. Three or four days later when I had recovered my voice through some short-circuiting of the abscess, I went to her saying “Joyce actually came to see me, and this is why.” It was a matter for Thomas Beecham, she said, and that he was extremely busy. I repeated that I had urged Joyce to get in touch with her himself, and there the matter remained. At least I had kept my promise to him.

And then, two weeks later or so, Joyce suddenly appeared at 15 Rue Guénégaud, near the Seine, where I ran my Hours Press. It was towards evening and several of us were there, although I cannot remember just who. I know we ran forward to greet him: would he not take a drink with us in our local bistro, perhaps even have dinner? I had

talked to my mother, I told him; she had seemed to understand and had said she would tell Beecham, but there was nothing definite to go on, and, really, he himself should get in touch with her. Meanwhile, would he not sit and have a little drink with us? No, he would not. The point was Sullivan, who must be engaged for Grand Opera. Could I not realise the urgency of this? If I had tried already, I should try now much harder. And then he dropped a hint that, if things went well on the score of Sullivan, a little piece of writing might perhaps come to me for publication at The Hours Press. (The honour was materially cancelled out by my knowledge that the Press would soon be closing down.)

In the end, a few days later, Sullivan did sing and was heard by Beecham. But what happened? I have a vague memory of some kind of complicated fiasco occurring that evening, and myself not even on the outer edge of it.

How peculiar is this episode. I suppose it throws one of a million <1> lights on Joyce, on the sincerity of his friendship for the singer, on his brooking no denial, while his tenacity was certainly revealed to me.

That Joyce's manner with friends was very different to <[illegible]> his formal way with me during those two unexpected apparitions, was easy to believe. How much I should have liked to observe the moment at which he became more human. At dinner, for instance, he "mellowed" a great deal, it was said. Who was it who used the word? Robert MacAlmon, who would talk and talk about the "Big Four": Joyce, Pound, Eliot and Wyndham Lewis, in the early twenties—soon after the time I first knew Ezra and T. S. Eliot and Lewis rather well, all three. It is on record that Joyce "Mellowed" over good

wine and conversation. I saw him icy. How unfortunately that what brought us together at all was that he erroneously conceived “Use your influence with your mother.”

The third time any contact with Joyce occurred (and malicious spirits were certainly in that) was again in Paris, this time in the mid-thirties.

Here I will call on George Moore for the best possible definition of memory: while it expands at some points, it contracts at others. And contracted it has into complete oblivion on the score of what was to bring Joyce and myself together. No question of Sullivan. The Hours Press was closed. Can it have had something to do with Samuel Beckett, whose “Whoroscope” I had published in 1930? Try as I will, I cannot remember. The fact is that Joyce and Mrs Joyce were going to have dinner with me; they were to be my guests, and the place chosen by him was that large, expensive restaurant on the Champs Elysées called Fouquet, a place much patronised by racing people and smart society. Of all the spots to choose... maybe he had some particular reason.

It was the night of the Quatz’ Arts Ball in June or July, which, as you know, is something of a saturnalia when the students have a free field for their horse-play which starts while they are on their way to it. It was hot and thundery. I walked in good time to the Café du Flore on the Bld St Germain, intending to take a taxi there at the right moment. And now, while I wondered if Joyce would refer to the unfortunate Sullivan matter, the skies burst and, as Niagara came down, all the taxis, naturally, disappeared. I took refuge on the terrace of the Café du Flore, and in a moment a drenched and roaring lot of students hurled themselves upon the shelters. Nearly everyone was daubed with

grease-paint and lamp-black forthwith, my share being a large smear right across the face. I did not think Joyce would <mind> very much mind whatever signs were left of this by the time I reached him, but the duration of the storm now became a dreadful problem; he would surely mind my abominable lateness, almost as much as I would mind it myself. I remember doing some astonishingly persistent telephoning to Fouquet, where they said his name meant nothing to them. About an hour later I managed somehow to get there, hoping madly that one of those numerous, <and> horribly crowded rooms would reveal the Joyces eating lobsters, several bottles of wine already on the table. Mrs Joyce would be frightfully annoyed with me; Joyce would surely be very angry and might not even believe the cause of my lateness. “Mellow” or grim, I cared little enough, providing I might only find them. Aware that I was still partly anointed by the Arts and dripping with rain, I recall my insistence with the manager: He must have noticed Joyce? No, Joyce was not one of the clients with a name to him who frequented that establishment.

Surely I must have written or telephoned to Joyce (where did he live in Paris?) to explain and excuse myself. Or perhaps they never went to Fouquet’s at all that night. It seems to me that I never knew.

Now comes the summer of 1937. I am in the Hotel Arvor, in the Rue Laferrière, in Montamrtre, in June or July, and I am very much occupied, for a great many answers arrive rapidly to my Questionnaire sent to the writers of Great Britain, inviting them to state their feelings on the Spanish War and on Fascism in general. Two hundred or more

of these leaflets have been sent out and the great majority of the answers is already against Franco and Fascism; about 20 writers have to be classified <as> “Neutral”, five or six are “Pro-Franco”, and the total, I think, of all the printed answers is 147, when “Authors Take Sides” comes out in September. (Eliot is among the variously-worded neutrals; Ezra Pound is already entirely pro-Fascist.) I have sent Joyce the Questionnaire, of course; I don’t know where he is but someone has given me an address, and the chances are that he will simply not answer.

The telephone rings: “I am James Joyce. Now, Miss Cunard...” The formality in his voice is frigid. How can he have known where to find me is remarkable, for, at that time, I never knew myself when I would be in Paris. And he has taken the trouble to ring me up... “I have received your Questionnaire” he says, and here I make bold enough to ask if he intends to answer it; I should very much like to print his answer, whatever it may be, I tell him. No, he is not going to answer it. A ten-minute monologue follows. He will not answer it because it is “politics”. Now, politics are getting into everything. The other night he had agreed to let himself be taken to one of those dinners of the French PEN CLUB. The Charter of the PEN states that politics shall never be discussed at its sessions. But what happened? One person making a speech, referring to one angle of politics; someone else bringing <iupa conflicting argument> up a conflicting argument; a third man reading a paper on more politics. He, Joyce, wanted the PEN to take an interest in the pirating, in the U.S., of his “Ulysses”, but this had been brushed aside. It was politics all the way... And as I was thinking the PEN must have been rather startled at Joyce’s intended contribution to the evening (he had brought a piece of paper to read), for

the Samuel Roth pirating occurred in the middle to late twenties, possibly as much as ten years ago, I wondered if all this were leading anywhere in particular. It was. It came to an end with his saying that he was sending that script he had taken to the PEN CLUB dinner, to me, his protest against the pirating of “Ulysses”: “Print that, Miss Cunard.”

Send it he did, a typescript of eight to ten pages, leaving me well perplexed. Why do you suppose he did this—was it to show his disapproval of any writer going so far as to take sides in the great and passionate human tragedy that was then being fought out? By that count Tolstoi’s “War and Peace” can be dismissed as “politics”.

Events and politics having got into private lives so relatively soon after, <this> those pages of Joyce’s went, as likely as not, to light some pilfering village neighbour’s fire or cook the broth of the infernal German troops who occupied my home at Réanville in Normandy during various parts of World War II. The document—with how much else—is gone, but doubtless other copies of it exist.

Such are the four small points of contact I had with James Joyce. I still like to hope, retrospectively, that I might have seen some of the “mellow” side of him, if only I could have reached Fouquet’s that evening at a proper hour.

And a strange thing has happened to my copy of “Ulysses”, number 569 of the original edition published in Paris at Shakespeare and Co by Sylvia Beach in the mid-twenties. I have read every word of it, many passages several times. How well it stands up to the passing decades! I had it bound in strong, beautiful pigskin, the title in plain gold lettering. And now here it is, having come through the <pillage> Sack of Réanville, all

unbound again, yet complete and unsullied. No vandal tearing-out of end papers, as with so many of my other books, and no disfigurations, have occurred. It is just as it came to me, one of the copies of the original, private edition, in its blue paper covers. I have pasted into it the remaining top half of a photograph of Joyce, with Sullivan standing behind him. And that has to be set down as one of the seeds of “memory’s contradictions”, for I cannot imagine or recall under what circumstances the excellent likeness of him came to me, although the “why” of it is certainly clear enough.

Nancy Cunard

Oct 1, 1956

Andorra

Sullivan John Sullivan (1877–1955), an Irish tenor. Ellmann notes that “he sometimes called himself John O’Sullivan, but Joyce asked him to drop the *O*’ ‘for the love of music’” (*James Joyce* 632). Joyce had aspired to a career in singing as a young man, and saw in Sullivan as a fellow Irishman an opportunity to live vicariously through what Ellmann calls “a cause as well as a friend” (633). **Lady Cunard** Mother and daughter fell out in 1928 when Nancy began a relationship with Henry Crowder (1890–1955), a black American jazz singer. According to Ellmann, Lady Cunard used her political influence to help Joyce obtain a Civil List pension in 1916 (638–9). These pensions were granted by Parliament to prominent figures in science and the arts. **Thomas Beecham** (1879–1961). Conductor for the London Symphony Orchestra, London Philharmonic, and the Royal Philharmonic. He and Lady Cunard had a long-standing affair (1910–43) and she used her social connections to promote Beecham’s career. **Grand Opera** Term used to describe the Paris Opéra. **Robert MacAlmon** [*Read: McAlmon* (1895–1956)]. American writer and publisher married to Annie Winifred Ellerman (1894–1983), who wrote under the pen name Bryher and was the daughter of one of the richest men in England, the investor Sir John Ellerman (1862–1933). In 1921, McAlmon supported Joyce financially during the writing of *Ulysses*, for which he helped type the “Penelope” episode (528). **The “Big Four”** A term appropriated in the twenties to refer to the four influential writers, the original “Big Four” consisted of Woodrow Wilson (USA), David Lloyd George (GB), Vittorio Orlando (Italy), and Georges Clemenceau (France), the allied leaders who met at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) following the end of the Great War. **George Moore** (1852–1933). Writer. Friend and lover of Lady Cunard, whom he met in 1893, and to whom he was, according to Nancy Cunard biographer Lois Gordon, devoted for the rest of his life (*Nancy Cunard* 4). Gordon also speculates that Moore may have been Nancy’s father; he was a father-figure to her. **Mrs Joyce** Nora Joyce [née Barnacle] (1882–1951). Born in Galway and met Joyce in 1904 when she was working as a chambermaid

in a Dublin hotel. They married in 1931. Ellmann remarks that their partnership fulfilled Joyce's need "to seek the remarkable in the commonplace" (163). **Quatz' Arts Ball** [*Read: Bal des Quat'z Arts*]. Also known as the Beaux Arts Ball. A notoriously raucous annual costume party for the students of Paris's École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. **Ezra Pound** Pound's response to the questionnaire is categorized as "Neutral." **French PEN Club** Founded in London in 1921, PEN International was the first worldwide association of "Poets, Essayists, and Novelists." It supports literature and freedom of expression as well as human rights. George Bernard Shaw was one of its first members. **Samuel Roth** (1893–1974). American writer and publisher. In July 1927, Roth published parts of *Ulysses* without Joyce's permission in his magazine *Two Worlds Monthly*, taking "advantage of the fact that the United States was not a signatory of the Bern copyright convention." The Berne Convention (1886) is an international agreement that protects authors' rights. The United States signed it in 1988. Joyce launched a lawsuit and a protest against Roth, who did not stop printing passages from *Ulysses* until October 1927 (592–3, 598–9). **Shakespeare and Co.** Bookstore in Paris owned by American expatriate Sylvia Beach (1887–1962). Shakespeare and Co. published the first 1,000 copies of *Ulysses* in 1921; Joyce received 66 percent of the profits (519–20). **P.E.N. Club speech** Joyce's remarks from the PEN meeting (see next page) are published in *Critical Writings* (1989). However, Cunard's letter notes that the typescript of the speech that Joyce sent her was eight to ten pages long. **Andorra** A tiny nation in the Pyrenees between Spain and France. Anne Chisholm writes that Nancy spent time with Spanish refugees living in Andorra in 1946, 1947, and 1957 (*Nancy Cunard* 280–1; 308).

JAMES JOYCE

Published in *Critical Writings* (1989)

“Communication de M. James Joyce sur le Droit
Moral des Ecrivains.”

Speech delivered to the 15th International

PEN Congress, Paris.

June, 1937

M. James Joyce (Irlande). — Il me paraît intéressant et curieux de signaler un point particulier de l’histoire de la publication d’*Ulysse* aux Etats-Unis qui précise un aspect de droit de l’auteur sur son oeuvre qui n’avait pas été jusqu’ici mis en lumière.

L’importation d’*Ulysse* aux Etats-Unis fut interdite dès 1922 et cette interdiction ne fut levée qu’en 1934. Dans ces conditions, impossible de prendre un copyright pour les Etats-Unis. Or en 1925, un éditeur américain sans scrupules mit en circulation une édition tronquée d’*Ulysse*, dont l’auteur n’était pas maître, n’ayant pu prendre le copyright. Une protestation internationale signée par 167 écrivains fut publiée des poursuites engagées. Le résultat de ces poursuites fut l’arrêt rendu par une Chambre de la Cour Suprême de New-York le 27 décembre 1928, arrêt qui interdisait aux défenseurs (les éditeurs) ‘d’utiliser le nom du demandeur (Joyce) 1^o, dans aucune revue, périodique ou autre publication publiée par eux; 2^o, au sujet d’aucun livre, écrit, manuscrit, y compris l’ouvrage intitulé *Ulysse*.’ (Joyce contre Two Worlds Monthly and Samuel Ross, II Dep. Supreme Court New York, 27 dec. 1928).

Il est, je crois, possible de tirer une conclusion juridique de cet arrêt dans le sens que, sans être protégée par la loi écrite du copyright et même si elle est interdite, une

oeuvre appartient à son auteur en vertu d'un droit naturel et qu'ainsi les tribunaux peuvent protéger un auteur contre la mutilation et la publication de son ouvrage comme il est protégé contre le mauvais usage qu'on pourrait faire de son nom. (*Vifs applaudissements.*)

III. FIVE PRESENCES, ONCE ABSENCE

STOP PRESS: UNCLASSIFIED

George Bernard Shaw

FOR THE GOVERNMENT

W. H. Auden

Samuel Beckett

NEUTRAL?

T. S. Eliot

AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Evelyn Waugh

Abstention

George Orwell

George Bernard Shaw

Shaw was one of the first members of the socialist Fabian Society, established in Britain in 1884, with the missions of effecting social change gradually and peacefully through political and cultural channels rather than through revolutionary measures. Stanley Weintraub writes in the *ODNB*: “Shaw became convinced that there was an economic basis to humane living which required more equality of opportunity to reap the rewards of work. Becoming a socialist, he came to believe that through social change human aspiration to be better and live better would become realistic and attainable.”

Shaw was the editor of *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889), a collection that was reprinted in 1908, 1920, 1931, 1948, and 2006. About Shaw’s contribution to the collection—the essay “The Economic Basis of Socialism”—fellow Fabian Sydney Webb (1859–1947) wrote in the preface to the 1920 edition that it was “a survey of the economic evolution of society which, for terse comprehensiveness and brilliant generalization, has not since been excelled in any language” (*Selected Prose* 9). In 1893, Shaw helped to found the Independent Labour Party, which began as an extension of the Fabian Society.

From 1884 to 1898—the year he began his career as a full-time playwright—Shaw gave free public speeches two or three days per week on behalf of the Society, endorsing the rights of women and the working class and the redistribution of private land. He wrote several of what he called “missionary books” about politics and British society, including *The Perfect Wagnerite* (1898) and *The Sanity of Art* (1908). His

passion for public discourse carried over into his political writings. In his introduction to the *Selected Prose of Bernard Shaw* (1952), Diarmuid Russell writes: “All Shaw’s prose is a debate with all the conviction and force of a debate, and all the arts and cunning of a skilled debater—which Shaw was. One cannot listen to a debate and not take sides. One is always for or against Shaw” (6).

Unlike many of the other contributors to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, Shaw embraced socialism for the duration of his life. Russell writes: “Shaw was a fanatic about his ideas, never changing or altering them in his lifetime. He was even more a fanatic about the intellect itself.” For Shaw, his plays were a platform for the discussion of social and political topics that were dear to him, but his approach was always one of rationality, not sentimentality. His first play, *Widowers Houses*’ (1892) was, according to Weintraub, widely criticized as a “dramatized socialist tract.” Likewise, *Man and Superman* (1902–03) explores the political and cultural climate of turn-of-the-century Britain. *The Apple Cart* (1928), writes Weintraub, “revealed Shavian inner conflicts between his lifetime of radical politics and his essentially conservative mistrust of the common man’s ability to govern himself.” It was this fundamental lack of confidence that led to his most controversial views.

Among these was Shaw’s interest in eugenics, one of the central themes of *Back to Methuselah* (1921). Derived from the adjective *eugenic*, or “Pertaining or adapted to the production of fine offspring, esp. in the human race,” the word first comes into use in 1883 in Francis Galton’s *Inquiries into human faculty and its development* and refers to

the advantages of selective breeding of humans to perpetuate positive genetic qualities (*OED*, s.v. *eugenic*). The rise of eugenics came on the heels of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and his theories of evolutionary biology. In *Back to Methuselah*, Shaw argues that social inequality will be corrected in the future by women's propensity to select the most genetically desirable men. The result would be the rise of "supermen" who, through their remarkable intelligence, would govern wisely and fairly. His theory came to be known as Shavian Eugenics.

In 1931, Shaw traveled to the USSR and subsequently became a supporter of Stalin, going so far as to deny the famines in 1933 that later proved to have been quite real. In his preface to *On the Rocks* (1933), he writes: "I saw no underfed people there; and the children were remarkably plump."

Shaw also wrote on what he saw as the benefits of humanely eliminating undesirable elements of society. Elsewhere in his preface to *On the Rocks*, he speculated on what should be done with evildoers:

A month spent in a Tolstoyan community will convince anybody of the soundness of the nearest police inspector's belief that every normal human group contains not only a percentage of saints but also a percentage of irreclaimable scoundrels and good-for-nothings who will wreck any community unless they are expensively restrained or cheaply exterminated. Our Mosaic system of vindictive punishment, politely called "retributory" by Prison Commissioners, disposes of them temporarily; but it wastes the lives of honest citizens in guarding them; sets a horrible example of cruelty and malicious injury; costs a good deal of money that might be better spent; and, after all, sooner or later lets the scoundrel loose again to recommence his depredations. It would be much more sensible and less cruel to treat him as we treat mad dogs or adders, without malice or cruelty,

and without reference to catalogues of particular crimes. The notion that persons should be safe from extermination as long as they do not commit wilful murder, or levy war against the Crown, or kidnap, or throw vitriol, is not only to limit social responsibility unnecessarily, and to privilege the large range of intolerable misconduct that lies outside them, but to divert attention from the essential justification for extermination, which is always incorrigible social incompatibility and nothing else.

Shaw's rational style is at its peak here, but his unsentimental approach to the treatment of "irreclaimable scoundrels" sparked controversy. It didn't help that by the end of the decade in which *On the Rocks* was written, Nazi Germany had incorporated eugenics into its terrible doctrine, forever uniting it with genocide.

His obituary in the London *Times* (3 November 1950) reads: "It was a long habit of Shaw's opponents to question his sincerity. The truth underlying this accusation was, simply, that, having something to say in which he sincerely believed, he allowed no scruple of good art or conventional good manners to influence the means he used to gain an audience."

The following are two 1936 letters, both from 4 September 1936, in which Shaw addresses the Spanish Civil War. Given his response to the questionnaire and his socialist principles, his opinion on the matter should come as no surprise. However, his remarks on what it means to be Irish ("The climate of Ireland and its society will stamp an Englishman for life; but nothing will erase the native stamp on an Irishman"), what it means to be communist ("I am already an ultra-Catholic, being a Communist of sixty years standing"), and what it means to oppose Stalin ("An assassination of Stalin could do nothing but make him a national

saint like Lincoln, and make Trotsky for ever impossible”) provide fascinating insights into his often controversial opinions.

From: George Bernard Shaw

The Hyde Collection, Somerville, N.J. TS

To: Alfred Douglas

Published text Mary Hyde (ed.), *Bernard Shaw and*

Alfred Douglas: A Correspondence (1982)

4 September 1936

From *Collected Letters*

Ayot St Lawrence. Welwyn

Dear Childe Alfred

Swift was not born in Surrey. He came out of British stock (York and Leicester) and was related through his two grandfathers to Dryden and Herrick; but he was born in Dublin, schooled in Kilkenny, graduated at Trinity College Dublin, did not set foot in England until he was 22, and of the 78 years of his life spent ten in London, ten back and forward between London and his benefice in Trim, and 58 in Ireland.

Of my 85 years twenty have been spent in Ireland and 65 in England; and yet what mortal power could make an Englishman of me? The climate of Ireland and its society will stamp an Englishman for life; but nothing will erase the native stamp on an Irishman.

I learn from a letter in The Irish Times that Eire is a Gaelic translation of Ireland, which is still the correct name of the island in the English language.

Russia is rather in a fix about Japan. When she offered us the same non-aggression pact she made with Hitler, we contemptuously refused, and made no secret of our hope that some day we should be able to rally Germany and Japan to the sacred task

of smashing the Bolsheviks and making a new Partition of Russia among the western Capitalist powers. Japan had more sense, and made the offered pact. And as she has not attacked Russia Stalin has no excuse for a breach of neutrality. And we can hardly ask him to take on another front when we have taken no notice of his suggestion that we should do this ourselves. Nobody but Strabolgie has said we ought to. So for the moment Stalin can do nothing but help China all he can without declaring war, as we did in Spain when we made the horrible mistake of securing victory for Franco, with the result that Franco will probably sell Spain to Hitler for Portugal, and give us a fearful job in the Atlantic.

When you say that I will become a Catholic you miss the point that I am already an ultra-Catholic, being a Communist of sixty years standing. Rome is behind me, not before me. Am I an Aztec that I should eat the god, or a child that I should believe the Apostles' creed, or a tribal savage that I should worship an idol like Jehovah and offer blood sacrifices to appease him? As to becoming a Christian and letting Jesus suffer for my sins, damn it, Childe, I have still some instincts of a gentleman left. I have never said these things to you before because you had better have the Roman faith than none, and Jesus was right when he refused to attack the established religion of the Jews on the ground that if you tried to rid a field of wheat of its tares you would pull up too much of the wheat with them. Still I am shewing you my background just for a moment so that you may understand that you are up against a modern Catholicism compared to which the Vatican is only a little meeting house in a village, preaching an impossible Protestantism.

My book, which I thought would be finished this year, is a mess of senile ramblings and repetitions. I shall never get it into any very orderly sequence. But perhaps my second childhood may go down with the mob better than my maturity did.

Time for me to die, Childe, time for me to die. But I can still saw logs. I am really proud of the pile of them in the garden, though nobody will ever call them immortal works.

Lady Keeble is a nailer at reciting sonnets: the BBC should have found that out. Instead of boring me with small talk she declaims them at me by the dozen—knows them all by heart.

Enough.

GBS

Alfred Douglas (1870–1945), poet and biographer, lover of Oscar Wilde. **Jonathan Swift** (1667–1745), Anglo-Irish writer and cleric. **John Dryden** (1631–1700), British poet, playwright, and critic. **Robert Herrick** (bap. 1591–1634), British poet. **Russia [...] Japan** in November 1936, Japan signed the Anti-Comintern pact with Germany, a direct provocation of the USSR. **Strabolgie** likely Joseph Kenworthy, 10th Baron Strabolgi (1886–1953), British politician and peer who took the title of Lord Strabolgi in 1934 and was a member of the Labour Party. **Aztec** ethnic group of Mexico that practiced ritual human sacrifice. **Apostles' creed** text dating from the fourth century that describes fundamental Christian values. **My book** Shaw's autobiography was edited by Stanley Weintraub and published posthumously in two vols. in 1970. **Lady Keeble** Lillah McCarthy (1875–1960) British actress and theater manager.

From: George Bernard Shaw

TS Passfield Trust Papers, British Library of

To: Beatrice Webb

Political and Economic Science,

4 September 1936

London School of Economics.

Published in *Collected Letters*

Malvern Hotel, Malvern

My dear Beatrice

This Russian business is very puzzling. It looks like a Popish Plot without any Titus Oates, or another witch burning epidemic. An assassination of Stalin could do nothing but make him a national saint like Lincoln, and make Trotsky for ever impossible. If he came back it would be as "the priest who slew the slayer and shall himself be slain." Why would Sokolnikoff lend himself to such insanity even if Trotsky were mad enough for it? And what grip has Stalin on his fabulous dictatorial power except his efficiency and popularity? One can understand his being killed by a Felton, a Ravallac, or a Cholgosh (I forget the spelling); but a conspiracy to kill him by level headed men like Sokolnikoff suggests the one real danger to Communism: that its leaders have not minds of the necessary size to take it in and are relapsing into pre-Marxian conceptions of politics. Was the new constitution a symptom of this, or was it only a stupid attempt to conciliate western prejudices instead of deliberately shocking them at every topical point until they collapse under the moral bombardment?

I suppose we must wait until we get some authentic news.

The Spanish explosion is much more important than the Abyssinian affair, which was merely an incident in the inevitable erosion of tribal savagery by police and engineering. It is part of a movement begun in Ireland by Carson and the military caste: the deliberate refusal to accept the democratic substitution of the ballot for the bullet. The class war will be fought out with ball cartridge, not with Labor programs. At present the Spanish Government is only a Kerenskyan muddle fighting a solidly prejudiced rebellion with all the reactionists in Europe at its back; but after the Russian success against overwhelming odds anything may happen.

Well, après nous, le deluge.

We shall meet in London on the 26th, nicht war?

GBS

Beatrice Webb (née Potter, 1858–1943) social reformer and writer, wife of Fabian Sydney Webb (1859–1947). **Titus Oates** (1649–1705) English clergyman who invented evidence of a “Popish Plot” against Charles II that led to the execution of 15 innocent Jesuits. Later found guilty of perjury and imprisoned for life. “**the priest who slew the slayer and shall himself be slain.**” From Thomas Macaulay’s *The Battle of Lake Regillus* (*Ox Book of Quotations*) **Sokolnikoff** (Grigori Yakovlovich Sokolnikov, 1888–1939) Bolshevik bureaucrat, administrator, and Red Army member who was the Soviet ambassador to England 1929–32. He later renounced Marxism and was imprisoned in 1937 during the Great Purge. He was killed by the NKVD secret police in prison in 1939. John **Felton** (1595–1628) Lieutenant in the English army who assassinated George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1628 following the unsuccessful military campaign against the French at La Rochelle in 1627. François **Ravaillac** (1578–1610) Catholic zealot who assassinated King Henry IV of France in 1610. **Cholgosh** (read: Leon Czolgosz, 1873–1901) Assassinated U.S. president William McKinley in 1901. **Carson** (Edward Henry Carson, 1854–1935), Baron Caron, Irish politician and lawyer. Alexander Fyodorovich **Kerensky** (1881–1970), Russian socialist politician. **après nous, le deluge** “after us, the deluge.” *Après moi le déluge* has been attributed to French monarch Louis XV (1710–74).

W.H. Auden

As one of the signatories of the questionnaire, Auden was, in the thirties, supportive of the humanitarian cause of the Spanish Republicans. In January, 1937, he traveled to Spain ostensibly to volunteer as an ambulance driver, but instead he visited Barcelona and Valencia, returning to Britain in March. It was after this visit that Auden wrote *Spain*, his contribution to Nancy Cunard's serial anthology of poems written in English, French, and Spanish, *Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo español* (1937), which Cunard describes in *These Were the Hours* (1969), her memoir of the Hours Press:

With the help of the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, and later alone, I set up, using the only case of type I had from the Hours, six *plaquettes* of poetry that were sold for Spanish Republican relief in Paris. The proofs were made on the Mathieu; however the actual printing had to be done in town. The fifth one contained Auden's *Spain*, the sixth, poems by Nicolas Guillén, Brian Howard, and Randall Swingler. (196)

Following its May 1937 publication by Cunard in a pamphlet together with "Madrid," a poem by the Argentine poet Raúl González Tuñón (1905–74), Faber and Faber printed *Spain* as a pamphlet in July of that year.

Samuel Hynes writes in *The Auden Generation* (1972) that "at the beginning, the war in Spain seems to have acted upon young writers in the way that Auden had hoped serious writing would: it made 'action urgent and its nature clear.'" (242) Using a quotation from "August for the people" (1935), a poem that Auden wrote for Christopher Isherwood on the occasion of his birthday, Hynes remarks that, like *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, *Spain* was intended to compel writers and artists to fulfill what

Auden then saw as an artists' obligation to assist the Republican cause. Auden's poem "extends our knowledge of the crucial moral choice of the 'thirties—the choice between fascism and its opponent—by examining that choice as it was manifested in Spain in 1937. But it does not *make* the choice: its subject is moral decision, not political action" (252).

For Auden and many other left-leaning intellectuals of the thirties, the choice was one of binaries—for or against. Stephen Spender, writing on his coterie's engagement with the Spanish Civil War in his memoir, *World Within World* (1951), similarly engages the influence of politics: "In certain circumstances, whole classes of people, not in ordinary times political, may have a politically conscious role forced upon them" (208).

In *Spanish Front* (1986), Valentine Cunningham likewise cites *Spain* as emblematic of the sensibilities that compelled some of the British Left's involvement in the Spanish Civil War:

Spain's test, its set of tests, was experienced widely, especially on the Left, as a set of necessities. It is noticeable how greatly the very word *necessary* irked some readers when it appeared in Auden's poem 'Spain'. Auden, like lots of other writers, had taken on the personal Spanish burden of 'The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder'. The burden seemed at the time a necessary one. (xxiv)

George Orwell called the poem "one of the few decent things that have been written about the Spanish war" in his essay "Inside the Whale" (1940), but he also criticized Auden's apparent endorsement of violence: "Notice the phrase 'necessary murder'. It could only be written by a person to whom murder is at most a *word*. Personally I would

not speak so lightly of murder.” A few lines later Orwell concludes: “Mr Auden’s brand of amorality is only possible if you are the kind of person who is always somewhere else when the trigger is pulled. So much of left-wing thought is a kind of playing with fire by people who don’t even know that fire is hot” (*An Age Like This* 516).

Cunningham suggests in *British Writers of the Thirties* (1988) that even in 1937, Auden was conflicted about the notion of endorsing “the necessary murder” in defense of Spain’s Republican government:

Auden’s poems on the sickness of psychotic killers that followed rapidly on the publication of ‘Spain’ (‘Victor’, June 1937; ‘James Honeyman’, August 1937) as well, perhaps, as the admission within the poem ‘Spain’ itself that the war was an enactment of ‘our fever’, our ‘fears’ and ‘greed’, indicate clearly enough how sickened Auden had been by the Spanish acceptance of violence. (423)

It is not possible to say when exactly Auden changed his mind about his endorsement of the violence in Spain, but within three years of its first appearance in print, he began to revise *Spain* to reflect his similarly evolving position on the writer’s role in politics. After publishing the poem in *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español* and as the Faber and Faber pamphlet, Auden included a version of *Spain* in his collection *Another Time* (1940). Here the poem is renamed *Spain 1937*, the addition of the date perhaps intended to place it in its proper, and already distant, context. By 1940, Auden had replaced “The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder” with “The conscious acceptance of guilt in the fact of murder.”

In his 1973 address at Auden's memorial service at Christ Church, Oxford, Stephen Spender remarked that later in life, Auden "no longer believed in the efficacy of any political action a poet might undertake: but that did not mean he had no social conscience." Following the Second World War, Auden rejected the notion that writers held any kind of obligation to be activists for political causes. *Spain 1937* appeared again in *Collected Poetry* (1945) and *Collected Shorter Poems 1930–1944* (1950), but he excluded it from any subsequent collections.

Auden's preface to *Collected Shorter Poems* is brief, but telling:

In the eyes of every author, I fancy, his own past work falls into four classes. First, the pure rubbish which he regrets ever having conceived; second—for him the most painful—the good ideas which his incompetence or impatience prevented from coming to much (*The Orators* seems to me such a case of the fair notion fatally injured); third, the pieces he has nothing against except their lack of importance; these must inevitably form the bulk of any collection since, were he to limit it to the fourth class alone, to those poems for which he is honestly grateful, his volume would be too depressingly slim.

Whichever of the first three classes *Spain* fit into in 1950, by 1961 Auden had cast it from his canon. In his foreword to *Collected Shorter Poems, 1927–1957* (1961), he writes:

Some poems which I wrote and, unfortunately, published, I have thrown out because they were dishonest, or bad-mannered, or boring.

A dishonest poem is one which expresses, no matter how well, feelings or beliefs which its author never felt or entertained. For example, I once expressed a desire for "New styles of architecture"; but I have never liked modern architecture. I prefer *old* styles, and one must be honest even about one's prejudices. Again, and much more shamefully, I once wrote:

History to the defeated
may say alas but cannot help nor pardon.

To say this is to equate goodness with success. It would have been bad enough if I had ever held this wicked doctrine, but that I should have stated it simply because it sounded to me rhetorically effective is quite inexcusable. (15)

Auden's literary executor, Edward Mendelson, writes in his appendix to *W. H. Auden: a tribute* (1974) that Auden regularly revised, and sometimes rejected, his published work: "From the start of his career Auden published his poems in magazines shortly after finishing them, and then gathered them, often in revised form, in volumes that he published about every five years, beginning in 1930." Mendelson continues:

Through all these progressive revisions Auden altered his early poems in a manner different from that he applied to his later ones. In the poems written before around 1945 Auden often revised by dropping stanzas, re-arranging whole poems as parts of other works, and in general making massive changes: and he did this even when revising the poems between their magazine appearances and their first publication in book form. (249)

He goes on to explain: "As for the rejected and altered early work, Auden forbade reprints *during his lifetime*."

plaquettes French, *booklets*. **Mathieu** Cunard purchased her “beautiful old Belgian Mathieu press” from the American journalist William Bird (1888–1963) when he shuttered his Three Mountains Press. Cunard paid £300 for the press in 1928 (*These Were the Hours* 6).

Concordance: *Spain*

The following is a concordance of versions of *Spain* published either alone or in a collection of Auden's work. Not included are versions of the poem that may have appeared in anthologies. It is worth noting, however, that Valentine Cunningham prints *Spain* in *Spanish Front*. This version is faithful to Faber and Faber's 1937 pamphlet, with the exception of the printer's error of "birds" for "burrs" in the sixteenth stanza, which Cunningham silently emends. In *Spanish Front*, the headnote for the poem reads: "First publ. as a pamphlet, 1937." It's true that the Faber and Faber publication is a pamphlet, but it was not the poem's first appearance in print.

Nancy Cunard's archive at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas-Austin contains manuscript versions of several of the poems that were published in *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*. A manuscript in Auden's hand and a typescript of *Spain* are among them. The manuscript has handwritten notes by Cunard on four sheets, which are numbered. It also includes a cover note to Cunard from Auden, which is reproduced below.

The typescript generally adheres to the manuscript and *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*, right down to the misspelling of "batallions." There are a few notable exceptions that can be chalked up to misreading or a mistake of transcription; for instance, typing "The fall of the curtain of the death of a hero" instead of "The fall of the curtain on the death of a hero" in the sixth stanza, misspelling "presented" as "presentend" in the sixteenth stanza, and reading "Passé" for "Raise" in line forty-one. It seems likely that Cunard transcribed the manuscript herself, or at least that Auden did not

supply it, for throughout there are gaps left in the type where a word could not be discerned due to Auden's difficult handwriting. Cunard wrote words into the gaps, sometimes with question marks, indicating that she was uncertain whether she has guessed correctly and, indeed, in some instances she did not (she wrongly guessed "war of" for "roar" in the twenty-second stanza). The vast majority of her guesses, however, were correct.

Handwritten additions or corrections to the typescript and manuscript are noted in the concordance set off in \ / to indicate that they have been added. Words that have been struck out are set off in < >.

There are quite a few differences between the two 1937 publications, notably, as mentioned above, "birds" for "burrs" in the sixteenth stanza of the Faber and Faber edition. There are many differences in punctuation and capitalization and a handful of edits that result in the removal or addition of words, but these changes are not substantive.

Spain's publication in *Another Time* (1940), in which the poem is classified under "Occasional Poems," contains substantive changes. Here it has been renamed *Spain 1937* and stanzas eighteen, nineteen, and twenty-two have been removed. Furthermore, the controversial lines ninety-three and ninety-four have been drastically altered. In *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*, they read:

Today the deliberate increase in the chances of death,
The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder.

In *Another Time*, the lines have been softened:

To-day the inevitable increase in the chances of death;

The conscious acceptance of guilt in the fact of murder.

In general, the edits made for *Another Time* are preserved for *Collected Poetry* (1945) with a few incidental exceptions. Likewise, *Collected Shorter Poems 1930–1944* (1950) offers almost all of the same variants found in *Another Time* and *Collected Poetry*, with the exception of the Americanized “Organizer” in line thirty-six as well as some minor differences in punctuation.

Following Auden’s death, Mendelson edited *Selected Poems* (1979), which includes what Mendelson refers to as the “April 1937” version of *Spain*, although it contains variants from both *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español* (published May 1937) and Faber and Faber’s July 1937 edition of *Spain*. For instance, Mendelson substitutes *Greek* for *Greece* in the sixth stanza. He also supplies *fishermen’s* for *fisherman’s* in the fifteenth stanza; both of these changes don’t appear until the poem’s publication in *Another Time* (1940). In one instance, Mendelson introduces punctuation that has appeared in no other versions: a semi-colon in place of a period in line twelve.

A word on line breaks: in several instances, the second line of a stanza was too long to fit onto a single line of a pamphlet-sized publication, so the editors broke the line, indenting the wrapped text several inches beyond the indented third line of each stanza. Depending on the size of the page, editions vary in where they break the too-long second lines. Since Auden’s manuscript shows the lines unbroken, here they are reinstated thus.

Variants in the rendering of “to-day” versus “today” and “to-morrow” versus “tomorrow” are not recorded. The manuscript, *Spanish Front*, and the 1937, 1940, 1950, and 1979 editions use “to-day” and “to-morrow.” The typescript, *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*, and the 1945 edition do not employ the hyphen.

To: Nancy Cunard

HRC (Cunard): "Spain 1937" MS

From: W. H. Auden

ND

[Italicized text is in Cunard's hand]

The Downs School

Colwall, Nr Malvern

Dear Nancy,

Here you are.

Wystan

P.S. Would you ask Brian to communicate with me at once on the matter I wrote about.

W. H. Auden

*MSS of his poem "SPAIN" and typescript for which it was handset in No V of
"Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español"*

France 1937 [NC's hand]

Downs School Boarding and day school founded 1900. Auden taught English there 1932–35, and then again in the summer of 1937. **Brian** Possibly Brian Howard, who also contributed to the publication.

Abbreviations

1937 *Spain* (Faber and Faber, 1937)

1940 *Spain 1937 (Another Time, 1940)*

1945 *Spain 1937 (Collected Poetry, 1945)*

1950 *Spain 1937 (Collected Shorter Poems, 1950)*

1979 *Spain (Selected Poems, 1979)*

ms *Spain* (Manuscript for *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*, 1937)

ts *Spain* (Typescript for *Los Poetas del Mundo defienden al pueblo Español*, 1937)

< > Text struck out

\ / Handwritten text added above or below.

Spain

[From: *Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo español*, 1937]

Yesterday all the past. The language of size
 Spreading to China along the trade-routes, the diffusion
 Of the counting-frame and the cromlech.
 Yesterday the shadow-reckoning in the sunny climates.

5 Yesterday the assessment of insurance by cards,
 The divination of water. Yesterday the invention
 Of cartwheels and clocks, the taming
 Of horses, the bustling world of the navigators.

 Yesterday the abolition of fairies and giants,
 10 The fortress like a motionless eagle eyeing the valley,
 The chapel built in the forest.
 Yesterday the carving of angels and alarming gargoyles.

 The trial of heretics among the columns of stone.
 Yesterday the theological feuds in the taverns,
 15 And the miraculous cure at the fountain.
 Yesterday the sabbath of witches. But today the struggle.

Yesterday the installation of dynamos and turbines,
 The construction of railways in the colonial desert.

Yesterday the classic lecture

20 On the Origin of Mankind. But today the struggle.

Yesterday the belief in the absolute value of Greece,
 The fall of the curtain on the death of a hero.

Yesterday the prayer to the sunset,

And the adoration of madmen. But today the struggle.

25 As the poet whispers, startled among the pines,
 Or where the loose waterfall sings compact, or upright

On the crag by the leaning tower:

“O my vision. O send me the luck of the sailor.”

And the investigator peers through his instruments

30 At the inhuman provinces; at the virile bacillus

Or enormous Jupiter finished:

“But the lives of my friends. I inquire. I inquire.”

And the poor in their fireless lodgings, dropping the sheets

Of the evening paper: “Our day is our loss, O show us

35 History the Operator, the
Organiser, Time the refreshing river.”

And the nations combine each cry, invoking the life

That shapes the individual belly and orders

The private nocturnal terror:

40 “Did you not found the city-state of the sponge,

Raise the vast military empires of the shark

And the tiger, establish the robin’s plucky canton,

Intervene now. Descend as a dove or

A furious papa or a mild engineer, but descend.”

45 And the life, if it answers at all, replies from the heart

And the eyes and the lungs, from the shops and the squares of the city:

“O no, I am not the Mover.

Not today. Not to you. To you I’m the

Yes-man, the bar companion, the easily duped.

50 I am whatever you do. I am your vow to be

Good, your humorous story.

I am your business-voice. I am your marriage.

What's your proposal? To build the just city? I will,

I agree. Or is it the suicide-pact, the romantic

55 Death? Very well, I accept, for

I am your choice, your decision. Yes, I am Spain."

Many have heard it on remote peninsulas,

On the sleeping plains, in the aberrant fisherman's islands

In the corrupt heart of the city.

60 Have heard and migrated like gulls or the seeds of a flower.

They clung like burrs to the long expresses that lurch

Through the unjust lands, through the night, through the Alpine tunnel;

They floated over the oceans;

They walked the passes. All presented their lives.

65 On that arid square, that nipped-off fragment of hot
Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe,
 On that table-land scored by rivers,
Our thoughts have bodies, the menacing shapes of our fever

Are precise and alive. For the fears which made us respond
70 To the medicine ad. the brochure of winter cruises
 Have become invading battalions;
And our faces, the institute face, the chain-store, the ruin,

Are projecting their greeds in the firing-squad and the bomb.
Madrid is the heart. Our moments of tenderness blossom
75 In the ambulance and the sandbag,
Our hours of friendship into a people's army.

Tomorrow perhaps the future. The research on fatigue
And the movements of packers, the gradual exploring of all the
 Octaves of radiation.
80 Tomorrow the enlargement of consciousness by diet and breathing.

Tomorrow the rediscovery of romantic love,
 The photographing of ravens, all the fun under
 Liberty's masterful shadow.

Tomorrow the hour of the pageant-master and the musician,

85 The beautiful roar of the chorus under the dome.

Tomorrow the exchanging of tips on the breeding of terriers,

 The eager election of chairmen

By the sudden forest of hands. But today the struggle.

Tomorrow for the young, the poets exploding like bombs,

90 The walks by the lake, the weeks of perfect communion,

 Tomorrow the bicycle races

Through the suburbs on summer evenings. But today the struggle.

Today the deliberate increase in the chances of death,

The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder.

95 Today the expending of powers

On the flat ephemeral pamphlet and the boring meeting.

Today the makeshift consolation of the shared cigarette,
 The cards in the candle-lit barn and the scraping concert,
 The masculine jokes. Today the
 100 Fumbled and unsatisfactory embrace before hurting.

The stars are dead. The animals will not look,
 We are left alone with our day, and the time is short, and
 History to the defeated
 May say 'Alas' but cannot help nor pardon.

Title] Spain 1937 1940, 1945, 1950

2 ,] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

3 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

4 **reckoning]** <releasing> \~/ ts

6 **water. Yesterday]** water; yesterday 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

7 **cartwheels]** cart-wheels 1940, 1945, 1950 **taming]** taming of 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

8 **Of horses,]** Horses. Yesterday 1937, 1979 II Horses; yesterday 1940, 1945, 1950

9 **fairies]** \~/ ts **aud]** and *ms, ts*, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 ,] ; 1940, 1945, 1950

10 **motionless**] \~/ *ts*

11 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

12 **alarming**] of frightening 1940, 1945, 1950 .] ; 1979

13 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

14 .,] *not* 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

15 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

16 **sabbath**] Sabbath *ms*, 1937, 1940, 1945, 950, 1979

witches. But] witches; but 1937, 1979 II Witches. But 1940, 1945, 1950

17 .,] ; 1940, 1945, 1950

18 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

20 **Origin**] origin 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

21 **Greece**,] Greek; 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

22 **on**] of *ts* II upon 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 .] ; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

23 .,] *not* 1937, 1979

25 **pin**es,] pines 1940, 1945, 1950

26 **Or**] Or, 1940, 1945, 1950 **sings**] sings, 1940, 1945, 1950

28 ~] <"O my vision. O send me the luck of a sailor> \~/ *ts*

30 ; **at the**] , the 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 **virile**] <XXX> \~/ *ts*

32 **I inquire. I**] I inquire, I 1940, 1945, 1950

33 **fireless**] \~/ *ts* .,] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950

34 .,] . 1940, 1945, 1950

- 35 **Operator**] operator 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- 36 **Organiser**] Organizer 1950 .,] . 1940
- 37 **cry**] \~/ ts
- 40 **found**] \~/ ts II found once 1940, 1945, 1950 **city-state**] city state 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- 41 **Raise**] <Passé> \~/ ts II “Raise 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- 42 **tiger**] \~/ ts **canton,**] canton? ms, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 II \canton?!/ ts
- 43 **Intervene now. Descend**] Intervene. O descend 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- 44 **furious**] \~/ ts .,] : 1940, 1945, 1950
- 45 **replies**] \~/ ts
- 46 **the squares**] squares ms, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- 47 **Mover.**] mover; 1937, 1979 II Mover, 1940, 1945, 1950
- 48 **today. Not**] to-day; not 1937, 1979 II to-day, not 1940, 1950 II today, not 1945 **To you**] To you, ms, 1937, 1979
- 49 **Yes-man**] “Yes-man ms, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 II <”>Yes-man ts
- bar companion**] bar-companion 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- easily duped**] easily-duped ms, ts, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979
- .] <?> \~/ ts II ; 1937, 1979 II : 1940, 1945, 1950
- 50 .] ; 1940, 1945, 1950
- 51 .] ; 1940, 1945, 1950
- 52 **business-voice.**] business voice. ms, 1937, 1979 II business voice; 1940, 1945, 1950 II \business voice/ ts
- marriage.**] marriage”. ms, ts

53 **What's]** "What's *ms*, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 **just city]** Just City 1940, 1945, 1950

,] . 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

54 **suicide-pact]** suicide pact 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

56 **decision. Yes]** decision: yes 1940, 1945, 1950

58 **the sleeping]** the sleepy *ms* II sleepy 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

fisherman's] fishermen's 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 **islands,]** islands 1937, 1979

59 **In]** Or 1937, 1979 .] , 1937, 1979 II ; 1940, 1945, 1950

60 **gulls]** <birds> \~/ *ms*

61 **burrs]** \~/ *ts* II birds 1937

62 **Alpine]** alpine 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

64 **passes. All presented]** passes. All presentend *ts* II passes: they came to present 1940, 1945, 1950

65 **arid]** \~/ *ts* **nipped-off fragment of]** fragment nipped off from 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

66 **Europe,]** Europe; 1937, 1979

67 **table-land]** tableland *ms*, 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979

68 ~] Our fever's menacing shapes are precise and alive. 1940, 1945, 1950 ,] ; 1937, 1979 **our]** <a> \~/

ts

69 ~] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950

70 ~] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950 **ad.]** ad. and *ms*, 1937, 1979 II <and> \~/ *ts*

71 ~] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950 **batallions]** battalions 1937, 1979

72 ~] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950 **institute face]** institute-face 1937, 1979 **ruin,]** ruin 1937, 1979

73 ~] *not* 1940, 1945, 1950 **in the firing-squad]** as the firing squad 1937, 1979

- 74 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950* **blossom**] <bloom> \~/ *ts*
- 75 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950* **In**] *As 1937, 1979* .,] ; *1937, 1979*
- 76 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950*
- 77 **Tomorrow perhaps**] *To-morrow, perhaps, 1940, 1950, 1979* II *Tomorrow, perhaps, 1945*
future. The] *future: the 1940, 1945, 1950* **on fatigue**] \on fatigue?/ *ts*
- 78 **packers**] \packers?/ *ts* .,] ; *1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*
- 79 .,] ; *1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*
- 80 **enlargement**] *enlarging 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*
- 81 .,] ; *1940, 1945, 1950*
- 82 .,] ; *1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979* **fun**] \~/ *ts*
- 83 .,] ; *1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*
- 84 **pageant-master**] *pageant master ms* .,] . *1940, 1945, 1950*
- 85 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950* **roar**] \war of/ *ts* **chorus**] \~/ *ts* .,] ; *1937, 1979*
- 86 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950*
- 87 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950* **chairmen**] \~/ *ts*
- 88 ~] *not 1940, 1945, 1950*
- 89 **Tomorrow**] *Tomorrow, 1945* II *To-morrow, 1950* **young,**] *young 1937, 1940, 1979*
- 90 **weeks**] \~/ *ts* II *winter 1940, 1945, 1950* **communion,**] *communion; 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*
- 92 **evenings. But**] *evenings: but 1940, 1945, 1950*
- 93 **deliberate**] *inevitable 1940, 1945, 1950* .,] ; *1940, 1945, 1950*
- 94 **necessary**] *fact of 1940, 1945, 1950* .,] ; *1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979*

95 **powers**] \~/ *ts*

96 **pamphlet**] pamphlet, *ms* **boring**] <loving> \~/ *ts*

97 **consolation of**] consolations: 1937, 1979 II consolations; 1940, 1945, 1950 ,] ; 1940, 1945, 1950

98 **candle-lit barn**] candlelit barn, *ms, ts, 1937, 1979*

99 **jokes. Today**] jokes; to-day 1937, 1940, 1950, 1979 II jokes; today 1945

101 **dead. The**] dead; the 1940, 1945, 1950 **look,**] look. *ms, 1937, 1979* II look *ts* II look: 1940, 1945, 1950

102 **short,**] short 1940, 1945, 1950

104 **'Alas'**] 'alas' *ms, ts* II Alas 1937, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1979 **nor**] or 1940, 1945, 1950

Foot of poem] W. H. Auden *ms* II April 1937 1979

Samuel Beckett

Samuel Beckett's contribution to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* recalls a phrase coined by members of Irish political figure Éamon de Valera's (1882–1975) Republican Party, which opposed the Anglo–Irish Treaty of 1921. De Valera's supporters argued for an Irish republic independent of Great Britain. In *Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist* (1996), Anthony Cronin identifies the origin of the phrase:

Though they had abjured physical force, they called themselves the “Republican Party” and their followers translated the programme of constitutional change they offered into the simple slogans “Up Dev!” and “Up the Republic!” (187)

In *Beckett's Dying Words* (1993), Christopher Ricks mentions that the phrase reappears in *Malone Dies* (I quote here from Beckett's 1956 translation of *Malone meurt* [1951]):

I simply believe I can say nothing that is not true, I mean that has not happened, it's not the same thing but no matter. Yes, that's what I like about me, at least one of the things, that I can say, Up the Republic!, for example, or Sweetheart!, for example, without having to wonder if I should not rather have cut my tongue out, or said something else. (62–3)

Beckett retained the English (or Irish) spelling of the phrase in *Malone meurt*, which, Ricks writes, “respected the phrase as foreign” (103).

For *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, the phrase is packaged as an indivisible unit; the three words pushed together into one with an initial inverted exclamation mark that is commonly used in Spanish. The editors capitalized the first few

words of each writer's entry, so it is unclear whether Beckett capitalized his submission or not.

In a letter to Joseph Hone (3 July 1937) that appears in *The Letters of Samuel Beckett: Volume One* (2009), Beckett mentions his submission: "I heard from Nancy Cunard. She is collecting the opinions of writers on the Spanish business. I replied 'Uptherepublic'. Then she wrote again, to demand amplifications" (508). In a note, the editors add the following: "Neither Cunard's letters nor SB's replies have been found, but SB wrote to McGreevy on 7 July 1937: 'Nancy Cunard circularised me for my opinion of the Spanish business. I replied Up the republic. She wrote again, for amplifications... I replied again, that I could not make myself any clearer, unless she insisted that I should. Since when nothing'" (509).

In her biography, *Samuel Beckett* (1978), Deirdre Bair offers her take on Beckett's submission to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*:

He had so little regard for himself that he even insulted his dear friend Nancy Cunard, who fortunately did not realize it. She was soliciting opinions from 148 authors for a pamphlet called *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish Civil War* [sic], and she asked Beckett to reply to two questions: "Are you for or against the legal government and the people of Republican Spain?" and "Are you for or against Franco and Fascism?" Beckett's reply was a facetious Irish phrase: "Up the Republic!" Miss Cunard wrote again, demanding some sort of amplification, for she was deeply committed to Spain and the pamphlet. When Beckett did not answer, she printed his original statement exactly as he wrote it. (258)

Knowing Beckett as she did, Cunard categorized the phrase as in support of the Republicans. James Knowlson, the author of Beckett's authorized biography, *Damned to Fame* (1996), sums up Beckett's general political inclinations in the book's preface:

He was deeply committed to human rights; he firmly and totally opposed apartheid and was hostile from an early age to all forms of racism; he supported human rights movements around the world, including Amnesty International and Oxfam; he supported the freedom movement in Eastern Europe; and, although as a foreigner living in France he was wary of having his residential permit withdrawn, he was involved in a number of specific political causes. (21)

Cunard's Hours Press was the first to publish Beckett's poetry. *Whoroscope* (1930) was the winning entry in a contest that was sponsored by the press. The announcement anticipated the language of the *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* questionnaire: "Nancy Cunard, Hours Press, in collaboration with Richard Aldington, offers £10 for the best poem up to 100 lines in English or American on the subject of time (for or against). Entries up to June 15th 1930."

In the summer of 1930, the Hours Press published 300 six-by-nine hand-set copies of *Whoroscope* as a pamphlet. Cunard and Beckett collaborated again on her 855-page anthology *Negro* (1934), for which Beckett was hired to translate submissions of poetry and prose from French to English.

T. S. Eliot

Eliot is associated today with a number of unpopular political views, at times unfairly. He was a Christian and attributed aspects of his conservatism to his faith. He has been accused (again, at times unfairly) of anti-Semitism in his poetry, prose, and personal correspondence, famously in *The Waste Land*. For the purposes of parsing Eliot's 1937 response to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, it is most useful to examine the tone of Eliot's response to the questionnaire against what it was asking of its contributors. Eliot does not wish to publicly align himself with the Republicans or the Nationalists, and instead questions whether the endeavor itself is, in fact, appropriate:

While I am naturally sympathetic, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least some men of letters should remain isolated, and take no part in these collective activities.

Whether Eliot is authentic in his reasons for abstaining from performing the requested task, or whether his measured response is a means to dodge the likelihood of adding one more controversial statement to the list of his prior indictments is debatable. Evidence suggests, however, that appeals like *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* were fundamentally distasteful to Eliot. As Christopher Ricks observes in *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice* (1988):

Eliot writes always with a founded sense that the very conditions of modern life which make it more and more urgently essential to be able to pass strong judgments are themselves the conditions which make it less and less possible confidently or unmisgivingly to do so. (78)

Even compared with other responses that the editors of the pamphlet filed under “Neutral?”—a category that one might reasonably assume would contain relatively dispassionate responses—Eliot’s is the least emotionally charged. Sean O’Faolain’s statement begins: “Don’t be a lot of saps.” Similarly, Ezra Pound’s closes: “Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes.” And Norman Douglas is unrestrained: “Nobody is going to compel me to ‘take sides’. To hell with sides.”

It may be that Eliot’s response differs in tone from the majority of the responses in *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* because he did not intend it for publication, as he explained in a 1938 letter to Hugh Gordon Porteus, who wrote a review of the pamphlet for *The Criterion* (the letter is reproduced in full below). But the tone of his response was not out of character.

In 1922, Eliot responded to a questionnaire for *The Chapbook (A Monthly Miscellany)*, no. 27, edited by the poet Harold Monro (1879–1932). The pamphlet consists of “Three Questions and about Twenty-seven Answers” posed to Eliot, Robert Graves, and Ford Madox Ford (then Hueffer), among others. The questions:

1. Do you think that poetry is a necessity to modern man?
2. What in modern life is the particular function of poetry...?
3. Do you think there is any chance of verse being eventually displaced...?

Eliot’s replies:

1. No.
2. Takes up less space.
3. It is up to the poets to find something to do in verse which cannot be done in any other form.

Eliot at 34 is even drier than Eliot at 49 and less inclined to conceal his distaste for what he likely considered to be a frivolous enterprise, but the straight-faced approach is unchanged, as is his reticence, even on the topic of poetry, not politics.

The statement published in *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* was by no means Eliot's first or last word on the war. In multiple Commentaries in *The Criterion* in 1936–38, Eliot resists the notion that outside observers are adequately informed to advocate for one side or the other. Repeatedly he questions the urgency with which appeals like *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* demanded that writers, artists, and intellectuals declare their allegiance. From "A Commentary," July 1937:

The situation in Spain has provided the perfect opportunity for extremists of both extremes. To turn from the shrill manifestoes of the Extreme Left, and the indiscretions of the Dean of Canterbury, to the affirmations of Mr. Jerrold and Mr. Lunn, is only to intensify the nightmare.

Repeatedly, Eliot maintains that those who stand "isolated" from the causes of the conflict—particularly those who are not intimately familiar with Spain and its politics—have no basis upon which to form an opinion. He urges his readership to resist making hasty allegiances based on propaganda. In this he is remarkably consistent.

His contribution to the ongoing international conversation about the conflict in Spain and the threat of impending war in Europe is to encourage skepticism, particularly among those who are uninformed. He begins his October 1936 Commentary:

One would prefer to deal with questions that are soluble, and discuss subjects on which understanding is possible. But one is impelled, by the receipt of manifestoes to be signed by ‘artists and writers’, as well as by scientists and other intellectual workers, to pursue reflexion on the subject of peace and war.

In January 1937, he insists that, regarding the war in Spain, “we are not compelled in our own interest to take sides. I do not see why we should do so on insufficient knowledge: and even any eventual partisanship should be held with reservations, humility and misgiving.”

Throughout these and other Commentaries in *The Criterion*, Eliot appeals to rationality when faced with questions of morality, particularly when the questions are intended to provoke irrational responses. About the war in Spain, he argues: “if alliances or coalitions have to be formed, they will be properly dictated by circumstances and interests, not by sympathies with one political philosophy or another.” He is willing to invite criticism from both the Left and the Right—from the former for being callous; from the latter for basing his more conservative statements on his religious faith rather than secular principles—when he remarks that “we have to be very careful to separate our ideal motives for maintaining peace from our worldly motives.”

Eliot’s was a long, increasingly public career and he was bound to evolve over its course. Drawing again from Ricks’s scholarship, of note is Eliot’s contribution to a 1954

“invitation to comment on the Soviet persecution of dissident Jewish intellectuals” (*T. S. Eliot and Prejudice* 62). Ricks cites Eliot’s response as published in John Malcolm Brinnin’s *Sextet* (1981):

I am glad for the opportunity to respond to your letter of the 12th instant. But a mere statement of my approval of the need to take a public stand against the present anti-Semitic policy of the Soviet government is far short of what I feel writers should do—for what humane person could refuse to lend force to such a protest? I think we should go on record with sentiments much deeper than that. (62)

Is this an example of equivocation, political pandering, or had Eliot by 1954 experienced a change of heart regarding the necessary “isolation” of a man of letters from these political enterprises?

Excerpts from *The Criterion* and a Letter to Hugh Gordon Porteus

The following are annotated excerpts from *The Criterion*: “A Commentary,” October 1936 and “A Commentary,” January 1937. Although neither directly engage *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, in each Eliot addresses the glut of similar initiatives in circulation, and the question of writers and artists declaring allegiances in war.

Following those is a review of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* written by the critic and poet Hugh Gordon Porteus (1906–93) and published in *The Criterion* (April 1938) in his regular review column, “English Periodicals.” The section closes with a February 1938 letter from Eliot to Porteus offering feedback on the column and

explaining that his response to the “Spain questionnaire” was not intended for publication.

Dean of Canterbury The leader of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury. Then Hewlett Johnson (1874–1966), who served 1931–63 and was an avowed supporter of Soviet communism. **Mr. Jerrold** Likely Douglas Francis Jerrold (1893–1964), British Roman Catholic author and publisher who supported fascism in the thirties. **Mr. Lunn** Likely Sir Arnold Henry Moore Lunn (1888–1974), British alpinist and prominent Christian apologist.

T. S. Eliot

The Criterion

From "A Commentary"

October 1936

One would prefer to deal with questions that are soluble, and discuss subjects on which understanding is possible. But one is impelled, by the receipt of manifestoes to be signed by 'artists and writers', as well as by scientists and other intellectual workers, to pursue reflexion on the subject of peace and war. I have at the moment some matter from the 'International Peace Campaign', also a round robin or snowball letter of a semi-anonymous nature, and a pamphlet by Lord Allen of Hurtwood, entitled *Peace in Our Time*. There is also, of course, Canon Shepherd's movement, which does not appear to employ the method of circularization. Artists and writers are exhorted to efforts of various kinds in the cause of peace. So far, I have not been invited to sign any manifesto in favour of war; but I do not doubt that if a war broke out in which there appeared to be any reason for Britain's participation, manifestoes to this effect would at once be offered for signature.

I confess that I am only confused by the variety of reasons submitted to me for supporting peace, besides those of which I am aware without being told, and by the variety of ways in which peace is to be secured. Lord Allen, who declares himself a 'lifelong pacifist' (and from his record no one can doubt the sincerity of his conviction), is an ardent supporter of the League Militant. 'Either', he says, 'the Government does not mean that it accepts force as an integral part of the League (in which case it ought to return to armed alliances and prepare for anarchic war), or it does mean that force should

be employed through the League (in which case it should stop talking of world-wars and take steps to make collective force workman-like)'. The problem about which Lord Allen leaves me in the dark is this: while I concede that on the highest plane it is equally to the advantage of all peoples to preserve peace, there appears to be a lower plane on which the preservation of peace is more to the interest of some nations than others. The preservation of peace is of interest to at least three or four great powers which have everything to lose, and to the interest of a number of small nations which have nothing to gain, by war.

(With respect to the countries which might have at a given moment, or might think that they would have, something to gain by war, the question of who in those countries would actually be better off for a successful war, is not immediately relevant.) But we have to be very careful to separate our ideal motives for maintaining peace from our worldly motives. The value of Lord Allen's peace programme seems to depend upon whether a renovated League (which, Lord Allen would probably agree, would require the adherence of Germany, and if possible of Japan and the United States also) is capable of being 'a means of mutual service for the welfare of its members'. While one can hardly be expected to brighten at the suggestion of setting up more 'fact-finding commissions', one is willing to hear what sort of 'revisions of the status quo, both territorial and economic', Lord Allen has to suggest—revisions which should satisfy everybody. I can see that economic revision is desirable—perhaps revision of the whole system so drastic as to be a revision of human emotions: one would like to know how far Lord Allen thinks this revision should go.

Lord Allen's pacificism does not rely exclusively upon the belief that by nothing more than some as yet undiscovered reshuffle everybody can be satisfied and pacified. There is a mystical element in it too. He says: 'I do not believe that an unarmed nation would be a universal victim, for it would no longer be feared as a menace to its neighbours.' This is a belief which I have never yet seen put in a wholly persuasive form. It seems possible that if an individual was known to be unarmed and helpless, a gang of footpads might be less likely to use violence against him, because they could possess themselves of his money without putting themselves to that exertion. Does Lord Allen mean by 'unarmed', furthermore, merely being without armies, fleets and instruments of war? There remain economic arms and commercial battles. It is only by making the assumption that there is enough desirable land in the world, and enough materials of all kinds, to maintain everybody contentedly on the highest level of civilization of which each people is capable that we can believe that permanent peace is even a possibility. I believe that we must make that assumption: but that we must look, to realize the possibility, to a further reorganization of society than Lord Allen appears to contemplate.

The first difficulty that I experience with the leaflet that I have received from the 'International Peace Campaign' is that it makes a special appeal to members of my own profession: it is headed War and Writers. While I am not insensible to argument in favour of anything which will help me to ply my own trade to the best of my ability, the assertion that 'modern war and preparations for war are hostile to the arts, and most of all to writing' (I do not understand why most of all to writing), seems to me almost trifling

when the issue is so serious. It is true that the arts, the art of writing among them, have something to do with the maintenance and development of 'civilization'; but I am not sure that even the 'maintenance of civilization' is quite an adequate battle-cry in favour of peace. Civilization has almost too many friends. Apart from a minor difference between those who want a new civilization, and those who champion the civilization that we already have, there is almost complete unanimity. I am sure that all our great leaders—not only Stalin and Hitler and Mussolini and Kemal Ataturk, but Colonel Beck and even General Franco, would be willing to stake everything in the cause of civilization: even Mr. Baldwin and M. Blum and Mr. Roosevelt would be mildly in its favour. There are only a few weak inaudible voices, in the mountains of Papua and other remote places, still raised for the cause of savagery or barbarism—and these we may ignore. In any case I do not like to be appealed to as an 'intellectual', if it be implied that intellectuals, as a class, have any special interest in the maintenance of peace. It is for the whole human race, not for any particular elements, that I should consider peace worth maintaining. And when we say 'civilization', speaking of it as something which we possess and not as something towards which we merely aim, do we all mean the same thing? There is a good deal in our own world beside civilization: which of the elements in this world do we indicate by that term? The term 'civilization' can cover a great variety of values.

There is a certain difference, not merely hair-splitting, between affirming that peace is a good thing and affirming that war is an evil thing. Whether peace is good is as may be, though war, as Pope Nicholas I said, 'is always satanic in its origin'. The

supporters of peace seem sometimes to emphasize the obvious unpleasantness of war, rather than its fundamental evil. Thus the leaflet of the International Peace Campaign, which I have already quoted, dwells upon the unpleasantness of modern warfare for civilians. 'Danger they will face, but danger against which they can take no stimulating action. They will merely be poisoned, burned, blown to pieces, buried under heaps of masonry, or starved.' It goes on to list the terrors of militarism civilians will be exposed to: '... militaristic propaganda, to censorship, to repression. Everything will be done to train them to accept without criticism all ideas presented to them with official sanction, and to reject with unreasoning dislike all ideas that are officially unacceptable and alien to their stereotyped habits.' These are undoubtedly evils of war, though one might add that one has seen the training 'to accept without criticism all ideas presented to them with official sanction' carried on successfully in time of peace. But none of these things is the essential evil of war; they are even evils which, if we conscientiously believed that a particular war was justified, we should put up with as patiently as we could. They do not come near the moral evil to which everyone is exposed, and from which everyone more or less must suffer, in time of war.

But besides the insufficiency of the reasons sometimes adduced against war, there is the question of what we are asked to do. It is certainly our obligation to do everything we can to make peace better worth preserving for all members of society—except that small element which likes fighting but which in a well-ordered community would be negligible. But this is usually treated as a separate problem. The other manifesto, which I have not yet quoted, runs as follows:

‘We, the undersigned, women and men accustomed to the expression of thought in public and having no obligations towards any political organization, hereby pledge ourselves to employ to the best of our ability and with all possible diligence every legitimate means at our disposal to deprive of power every political leader, professional politician or publicist of whatever category who, whether by word or action, shall do anything to promote or accentuate international misunderstandings and unrests or who shall in any way conduce to a state of warfare between any nations anywhere or at any time.’

In an explanatory note attached to the manifesto it is very sensibly added that the signatories should ‘limit our active measures or propaganda to our own nationals’.

The undertaking is reasonable enough; if I understand it correctly, it pledges one to do no more than is the duty of every person without making any pledge. In its general acceptability lies its weakness. It is not so easy to apply, when every politician and every party assure us that they are the real friends of peace, and that their method is the true way to keep it. It is not easy for the ordinary person to know—it is not always easy for the protagonists to know—what step in diplomacy will conduce to war or to peace. If it was obvious that a particular statesman was acting in such a way as to conduce to a state of warfare, the whole nation, at this stage of affairs, would probably rise against him. There was a moment when a large number of the people who can influence public opinion rose in exclamation against Sir Samuel Hoare; yet it is not certain that it was not they—whether rightly or wrongly is not here the point—rather than the unlucky Foreign Secretary, who were acting in such a way as to conduce to a state of warfare.

There seems to be only one group of pacifists occupying an impregnable position, and that is the smallest. Those who believe that the word of God revealed to man is uncompromisingly and without exception opposed to the taking of human life may be wrong, but they cannot be confuted. They hold a respectable position, in that they oppose, not the incidental evils of war, but war in itself as an evil; they do not maintain that it is dreadful to be killed, but that it is a deadly sin to kill. But apart from this small number, the real issue of our time is not between those who believe in recourse to war and those who do not: the frontiers are too vague. The real issue is between the secularists—whatever political or moral philosophy they support—and the anti-secularists: between those who believe only in values realizable in time and on earth, and those who believe also in values realized only out of time. Here again the frontiers are vague, but for a different reason: only because of vague thinking and the human tendency to think that we believe in one philosophy, while we are really living according to another.

‘International Peace Campaign’ (1936–41) pacifist group started in Britain that advocated for the League of Nations. **Lord Allen of Hurtwood** (Reginald) Clifford Allen (1889–1939), socialist politician and campaigner for peace. Fabian and chairman of the Independent Labour Party (1923–25). **Peace in Our Time** *Peace in our Time: an appeal to the International Peace Conference of June 16, 1936*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1936. Hurtwood’s proposal to the League of Nations advocating for international cooperation to prevent war and inequitable armament. **Canon Shepherd** Canon Cyril Austin Shepherd (1860–1938), ordained in the Roman Catholic church in 1887. Canon of Brentwood diocese in Essex and member of the Essex Education Committee and the Catholic Prisoners’ Aid Committee. **League Militant** Reference to the League of Nations. **Kemal Ataturk** Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938) first Turkish president (1923–38), instituted liberal, secular reforms in Turkey. **Colonel Beck** Ludwig Beck (1880–1944), served as Chief of Staff of German army (1935–38), but disagreed with the trajectory of Hitler and the Nazi party. He participated in a well-organized conspiracy against Hitler and was executed by the Nazis in 1938. **M. Blum** Léon Blum (1872–1950) moderate to left-leaning French politician, Prime Minister of France (1936–37, 1938, 1946–47). **Papua** province of Indonesia encompassing the western portion of Papua New Guinea. Known for modern-day cannibalism. **Pope Nicholas I** (800–867), served as Pope 858–867. **Sir Samuel Hoare** (1880–1959), Conservative British politician. Served as Foreign Secretary (1935) and Home Secretary (1937–39). In 1935 author of unpopular and unsuccessful proposal to grant part of Abyssinia to the Italians to end the Second Italo-Abyssinian War.

T. S. Eliot

The Criterion

From "A Commentary"

January 1937

[Dated 18 November 1936]

Those who would like to believe in the progress of political institutions can take no honest satisfaction either in events in Spain or in the opinions and sympathies which these events have tended to arouse in this country. What has to be remarked is rather a deterioration of political thinking, with a pressure on everyone, which has to be stubbornly resisted, to accept one extreme philosophy or another. The situation at the moment of writing is not yet quite that of two great groups of nations, aligned against each other with a fanaticism (complicated with self-interest) that no previous combinations and coalitions in our time have shown: at present, and from our point of view, it is rather that of an international civil war of opposed ideas. The present danger for us, as individuals in this country, is that the precarious balance of ideas in our heads may be upset by one or the other extreme view, according to our individual backgrounds and temperaments. As I have suggested, the greater part of the Press not only does nothing to restrain this disintegration, but actually tends to hasten it: by simplifying the issues in very different and very imperfectly understood countries, by resolving emotional tension in the minds of their readers by directing their sympathies all one way, and consequently encouraging mental sloth.

One might think, after perusing a paper like *The New Statesman*, that the elected Government of Spain represented an enlightened and progressive Liberalism; and from reading *The Tablet* one might be persuaded that the rebels were people who, after enduring with patience more than one would expect human beings to be able to stand, had finally and reluctantly taken to arms as the only way left in which to save Christianity and civilization. Now an ideally unprejudiced person, with an intimate knowledge of Spain, its history, its racial characteristics, and its contemporary personalities, might be in a position to come to the conclusion that he should, in the longest view that could be seen, support one side rather than the other. But so long as we are not compelled in our own interest to take sides, I do not see why we should do so on insufficient knowledge: and even any eventual partisanship should be held with reservations, humility and misgiving. That balance of mind which a few highly-civilized individuals, such as Arjuna, the hero of the *Bhagavad Gita*, can maintain in action, is difficult for most of us even as observers, and, as I say, is not encouraged by the greater part of the Press.

One tendency of which we must take account is that of the winning 'idea' to deteriorate. Political fanaticism in releasing generous passions will release evil ones too. Whichever side wins will not be the better for having had to fight for its victory. The victory of the Right will be the victory of a secular Right, not of a spiritual Right, which is a very different thing; the victory of the Left will be the victory of the worst rather than of the best features; and if it ends in something called Communism, that will be a travesty of the humanitarian ideals which have led so many people in that direction. And those who have at heart the interests of Christianity in the long run—which is not quite the

same thing as a nominal respect paid to an ecclesiastical hierarchy with a freedom circumscribed by the interests of a secular State—have especial reason for suspending judgment.

Some people have agitated for the raising of the embargo on the export of arms to the Spanish Government. But at this stage of the game, I suspect that those who ‘support the popular demand that the ban on the export of arms to the Spanish Government be lifted’ are really asking us to commit ourselves to one side in a conflict between two ideas: that of Berlin and that of Moscow, neither of which seems to have very much to do with ‘democracy’.

The New Statesman weekly British culture and politics magazine, founded 1913 by members of the Fabian Society. *The Tablet* British Catholic weekly newspaper founded 1840. **Arjuna** expert warrior and archer featured in the Hindu text *Mahabharata*. He has a prominent role in the *Bhagavad Gita*, which is a sacred Hindu scripture and part of the *Mahabharata*. **‘support the popular demand...’** from an editorial in *Contemporary Poetry and Prose* No. 7 (November 1936), written in opposition to the Non-Intervention Agreement and signed by *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* contributors David Gascoyne and Herbert Read (*Humphrey Jennings and British Documentary Film* 42).

Hugh Gordon Porteus

*The Criterion*Review of *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*

April, 1938

From "English Periodicals"

The pamphlet, *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, contains 148 replies to an amusingly inept questionnaire on Spain. This too should make interesting reading in 1948. A prize-fighter's views on ballet, or on Bach, could not be solicited to better purpose, or to conclusions more foregone. Without entering into the pros or cons of the very complex Spanish question, as to which of the rival rackets, each with its squabbling sub-factions, supplies (or promises to supply ultimately) worse conditions for the continuance of such activities as authorship, etc., we—or a few of us—can only regard with the alarm of a farmer in the antipodes this phenomenon: of a hail of green parrots, rattling on the tin roof above us, about to settle on the crops. Few of these authors show any more knowledge of Spain than might be expected of a hurried daily browser of the *News Chronicle*, accustomed to a leisured Sunday chuckle over the *Observer*. The number of those capable of most elementary humility, in the face of a little learning, of reticence, in the face of propagandist clichés, of caution, in expression, even of common sense, is terrifyingly small: if this is indeed the cream of our intelligentsia. Of those who, having thought at all about the issues involved, go nap on 'the Government', Mr. Grigson again is the most respectable spokesman. The replies have been juggled, sometimes arbitrarily, into three sections: 'For', 'Neutral?', and 'Against'. Of the uncompromising

answers we may instance: 'Mr. Arthur Machen presents his compliments and begs to inform that he is, and always has been, entirely for General Franco.' And Hugh Macdiarmid: 'I am a member of the Communist Party and wholly on the side of the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain—as are the vast majority of the people of Scotland...' etc. (What would have seemed like a *non sequitur* here, ten years ago, may be so again ten years hence.) More curious are the replies of Mr. C. Day Lewis: 'I look upon it quite simply as a battle between light and darkness... Both as a writer and as a member of the Communist Party I am bound...' (etc.), and of the late Brigadier-General Crozier: 'There is only one thing that can save civilization. Rating, as I do, Fascism as an anti-social evil I am accordingly opposed thereto. On the other hand, in Communism I detect the hand of Christ.' To Mr. Empson's care we commend Mr. Eliot's: 'While I am naturally sympathetic, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least a few men of letters should remain isolated, and take no part in these collective activities;' and all the dozen examples of 'of course' (an expression which Mr. Stephen Spender has characterized as symptomatic of Fascist English) to be found here in anti-fascist contexts.

Whether or not, seeing how securely we are all enmeshed by the nettings of hidden power-rackets, so much creative and critical effort should seek its way into purely speculative or merely propagandist political channels, there can be no doubt that much of it is misdirected.

Observer liberal British Sunday newspaper founded 1791. **Mr. Empson** William Empson (1906–84) renowned British poet and literary critic, author of *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930), which may be the source of the joke.

To: Hugh Gordon Porteus

TS Beinecke

From: T. S. Eliot

4 February 1938

The Criterion, 24 Russell Square London W.C.1

Dear Porteus,

Many thanks for your English Periodicals, which is as interesting as ever. I have made three alterations which I ought to tell you about. First I have slightly altered your remark about regretting that some of the contributors to the *Twentieth Century Verse* Lewis number had not been invited to contribute to the Auden number of *New Verse*, because I was myself invited by Grigson, and declined, thinking it inappropriate for me.

Second, I have put back into lower case the phrase 'While I am naturally sympathetic' from my contribution to the Spain questionnaire. The point is that the capitals are not mine, but introduced by the ingenious editor of the collection. As a matter of fact I never intended to contribute at all. I thought I was merely writing a polite note to Nancy, declining to take part. The phrase only means that I was naturally sympathetic with Nancy or with any lady, as a polite way of writing, but I did not mean to express sympathy with anything political, so that the phrase as it stands in the collection has a really comic meaninglessness!

Third, I must apologise for your having received by mistake three American periodicals. These really belong to Desmond Hawkins, who has now taken over that department on Bridson's retirement. So I think I ought to cut out those short paragraphs,

to avoid confusion. I am sorry about this. Otherwise everything is straightforward. I have had in mind that I have been wanting to see you again. I have just been in bed for a few days, and will write again as soon as I have got things straightened out.

Yours ever,

T.S. Eliot

Twentieth Century Verse Lewis number The Nov/Dec 1937 issue of the poetry journal *Twentieth Century Verse* was a double number dedicated entirely to Wyndham Lewis (1882–1957) and contained poetry by and commentaries about the author. Similarly, the **Auden number of *New Verse*** was published January 1937 as a double number and featured Auden's work, as well as letters and essays about the author.

Desmond Hawkins (1908–99), writer and editor. Wrote on American fiction for *The Criterion*. **Bridson** (Douglas) Geoffrey Bridson, D. G. Bridson (1910–80), a freelance writer who turned to radio broadcasting for the BBC in 1935.

Evelyn Waugh

Waugh remains notorious for his conservative politics, about which he was particularly forthright in the thirties when socialism and communism were widely embraced by intellectuals, writers, and artists. In the opening pages of *Evelyn Waugh: The Early Years* (1986), biographer Martin Stannard refers to screenwriter and journalist Frederic Raphael's review of *The Diaries of Evelyn Waugh* (1976) in the *Sunday Times* (5 September 1976), in which he called the collection a "portrait of the artist as a bad man" (1). Indeed, Waugh was known for his foul temper and argumentative demeanor as much as for his satirical novels. Stannard elaborates that he was "an enigma: malicious yet capable of extraordinary kindness, a selfish Christian, a cultural and articulate aesthete for whom British painting had been in relentless decline since Augustus Egg. He wanted nothing to do with the modern world" (1).

In a letter to the editor of the *New Statesman* (5 March 1938), which was republished in *The Essays, Articles and Reviews of Evelyn Waugh* (1984), Waugh expressed his opinions on public perceptions of fascism, left-wing intellectuals, and *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*:

Sir,— I am moved to write to you on a subject that has long been in my mind, by an anecdote I have just heard.

A friend of mine met someone who—I am sure, both you and he himself would readily admit—represents the highest strata of "left-wing" culture. The conversation turned on the "Mayfair" jewel robbers and the Socialist remarked that they exhibited "typical Fascist mentality".

This seems to me an abuse of vocabulary so mischievous and so common that it is worth discussing.

There was a time in the early twenties when the word “Bolshie” was current. It was used indiscriminately of refractory schoolchildren, employees who asked for a rise in wages, impertinent domestic servants, those who advocated an extension of the rights of property to the poor, and anything or anyone of whom the speaker disapproved. The only result was to impede reasonable discussion and clear thought.

I believe we are in danger of a similar, stultifying use of the word “Fascist”. There was recently a petition sent to English writers (by a committee few, if any, of whom were English professional writers), asking them to subscribe themselves, categorically, as supporters of the Republican Party in Spain, or as “Fascists”. When rioters are imprisoned it is best described as a “Fascist sentence”; the Means Test is Fascist; colonization is Fascist; military discipline is Fascist; patriotism is Fascist; Catholicism is Fascist; Buchmanism is Fascist; the ancient Japanese cult of their Emperor is Fascist; the Galla tribes’ ancient detestation of theirs is Fascist; fox-hunting is Fascist... Is it too late to call for order?

It is constantly said by those who observed the growth of Nazism, Fascism and other dictatorial systems (not, perhaps, excluding USSR) that they were engendered and nourished solely by Communism. I do not know how true that is, but I am inclined to believe it when I observe the pitiable stampede of the “Left-Wing Intellectuals” in our own country. Only once was there anything like a Fascist movement in England; that was in 1926 when the middle class took over public services; it now does not exist at all except as a form of anti-Semitism in the slums. Those of us who can afford to think without proclaiming ourselves “intellectuals” do not want or expect a Fascist regime. But there is a highly nervous and highly vocal party who are busy creating a bogey; if they persist in throwing the epithet about it may begin to stick. They may one day find that there *is* a Fascist party which they have provoked. They will, of course, be the chief losers, but it is because I believe we shall all lose by such a development that I am addressing this through your columns.

Evelyn Waugh

“Mayfair” jewel robbers In December 1937, four men (Harley, Jenkins, Lonsdale, and Wilmer) assaulted a representative of Cartier jewelers (Bellenger) in the Hyde Park Hotel and stole several rings. They were subsequently caught and found guilty of robbery with violence and conspiracy. **“Bolshie”** Slang for Bolshevik, in the thirties used pejoratively in Britain to refer to labor unionists and communists. According to *Merriam-Webster*, “refusing to obey or help; defiant and uncooperative.” **Means Test** A rubric established in 1931 to determine how much government assistance an individual or family was entitled to collect based on income and assets, often determined by home visits from representatives of the Public Assistance Committee. The policy was criticized as complex and humiliating. **Buchmanism** Ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1902, American Frank Buchman (1878–1971) opposed the rise of Nazism and traveled to Germany in 1932 and '33 in an attempt to convert Hitler. **Galla tribes** An Abyssinian people that were largely converted to Roman Catholicism in 1846. **1926** On 4 May 1926, 1.7 million British workers went on strike to protest decreasing wages and longer work days for coal miners proposed by mine owners. The strike lasted nine days, during which time the government brought in middle class workers to replace those on strike within the transport industries. As a result, the strike failed and conditions worsened for coal miners. In Waugh’s novel *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), the main character Charles Ryder opposes the strikers.

Waugh’s intimations of his opposition to fascism in the letter may serve to undermine popular perceptions of him as an outright fascist supporter. However, it is unclear whether he opposes the misuse of the word from a political perspective, or rather he objects to liberties taken with the definition of the term. His disdain for *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* is indisputable, particularly his characterization of the English signatories as a committee of writers who are not professionals. It is unclear whether the moniker of professional writer is to be taken as a compliment or, as it is likely, Waugh is pointing out the fact that the English signatories of the questionnaire are anything but working or middle class and that writers like Auden and Cunard may be out of touch with the very people they presume to defend.

Although he came from a family of writers and was—as Stannard points out—a snob, Waugh was himself a professional journalist as well as a novelist, and his experiences as a foreign correspondent reporting from obscure corners of the world (Abyssinia, British Guiana in South America, and elsewhere) certainly informed his attitudes towards a writer's place in politics.

In *Scoop* (1937), Waugh satirizes the participation of British newspapers and its correspondents in foreign wars and criticizes intellectuals' eagerness to align themselves politically in conflicts that, in his opinion, they often did not understand. The novel's William Boot, a gormless correspondent for the London newspaper the *Beast*, travels to Ishmaelia, a fictional African country, to cover an impending civil war that may or may not exist, and that non-Ishmaelites exploit as a vehicle for their own ideology. The foreign editor's characterization of the Ishmaelite civil war and the *Beast's* owner's expectations of Boot's coverage could have been written about Spain in 1937:

“Lord Copper only wants Patriot victories and both sides call themselves patriots, and of course both sides will claim all the victories. But, of course, it's really a war between Russia and Germany and Italy and Japan who are all against one another on the patriotic side.” (43)

In a jab at London's left-leaning intellectuals, Waugh ascribes the names of prominent Bloomsbury figures to the ineffectual royal family of Ishmaelia, led by the feeble paterfamilias General Gollancz Jackson:

A Mr. Rathbone Jackson held his grandfather's office in succession to his father Pankhurst, while the chief posts of the state were held by Messrs Garnett Jackson, Mander Jackson, Huxley Jackson, his uncle and brothers. (75)

And as the history of Ishmaelia is described, the figure of the uninformed but sanctimonious foreign intellectual resurfaces:

In Moscow, Harlem, Bloomsbury, and Liberia [...] in a hundred progressive weeklies and Left Study Circles the matter was taken up [...] A subscription list was opened in London and received support in chapels and universities [...] (78)

Waugh's letters, collected in Amory's *The Letters of Evelyn Waugh* (1980), describe his travels as a foreign correspondent. In a letter to his fiancée, Laura Herbert, dated 24 August 1935, he describes the predicament of journalists covering the Abyssinian War, an experience that surely informed *Scoop*:

Nothing could be less romantic than my circumstances at present. There are something like 50 press people in the town, photographers etc. all told. There is no news and no possibility of getting any, and my idiot editor keeps cabling me to know exactly what arrangements I am making for cabling news in the event of the destruction of all means of communication. (97)

George Orwell

[Eric Arthur Blair] (1903–50): Novelist, journalist

Orwell was born Eric Arthur Blair in Motihari, Bengal, India, the son of an agent in the UK's Indian Civil Service. When he was three, his mother moved with her three children back to England. Orwell later earned a scholarship to Eton, but instead of going to university, he passed the Indian Civil Service exam and took a posting with the Burma police in 1921.

According to Bernard Crick in the *ODNB*, “he used a pseudonym, George Orwell, partly to avoid embarrassing his parents, partly as a hedge against failure, and partly because he disliked the name Eric, which reminded him of a prig in a Victorian boys’ story.”

Orwell enlisted as a volunteer for the Spanish Republicans in 1936, and served on the front lines with the anarchist Workers’ Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) militia for six months. While fighting at Huesca, in Aragon, Orwell was shot through the neck by a fascist sniper and soon after fled Spain, having been branded a fascist spy based on his association with the P.O.U.M. He recounted his experiences in Spain in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), and in his essays “Inside the Whale” (1940) and “Looking Back on the Spanish War” (1942?).

A socialist and critic of the Communist Party, as well as foreign intellectuals’ emotional and political investment in the Spanish Civil War, Orwell refused to contribute

to *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, referring to the questionnaire as “that bloody rot” in a 1938 letter to Stephen Spender, published in *An Age Like This* (1968), the transcript of which is below.

In his essay “Inside the Whale,” which was published in 1940 in the book of the same name, Orwell weighs in on the impulses among many left-wing intellectuals in Britain that led to the publication of pamphlets like *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*:

By 1937 the whole of the intelligentsia was mentally at war. Left-wing thought had narrowed down to “anti-Fascism”, i.e. to a negative, and a torrent of hate-literature directed against Germany and the politicians supposedly friendly to Germany was pouring from the press. The thing that, to me, was truly frightening about the war in Spain was not such violence as I witnessed, nor even the party feuds behind the lines, but the immediate reappearance in left-wing circles of the mental atmosphere of the Great War. The very people who for twenty years had sniggered over their own superiority to war hysteria were the ones who rushed straight back into the mental slum of 1915 [...] On the whole the literary history of the 'thirties seems to justify the opinion that a writer does well to keep out of politics. For any writer who accepts or partially accepts the discipline of a political party is sooner or later faced with the alternative: toe the line, or shut up. (*An Age Like This* 517–8)

In *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell expressed contempt for what he called “the sleek persons in London and Paris who are writing pamphlets,” and wrote: “It is the same in all wars; the soldiers do the fighting, the journalists do the shouting, and no true patriot ever gets near a front-line trench, except on the briefest of propaganda tours.” (66)

Elsewhere in *Homage to Catalonia*, Orwell identifies one of his own reasons for joining the war as fulfilling what he pejoratively called “a negative” in “Inside the Whale”:

When I came to Spain, and for some time afterwards, I was not only uninterested in the political situation but unaware of it. I knew there was a war on, but I had no notion what kind of a war. If you had asked me why I had joined the militia I should have answered: “To fight against Fascism,” and if you had asked me what I was fighting *for*, I should have answered: “Common decency.” (47)

A number of passages in *Homage to Catalonia* make it obvious that his feelings on whether foreign intellectuals should be taking sides on the war in Spain are conflicted:

I thought it idiotic that people fighting for their lives should *have* separate parties; my attitude always was, “Why can’t we drop all this political nonsense and get on with the war?” This of course was the correct “anti-Fascist” attitude which had been carefully disseminated by the English newspapers, largely in order to prevent people from grasping the real nature of the struggle. But in Spain, especially in Catalonia, it was an attitude that no one could or did keep up indefinitely. Everyone, however unwillingly, took sides sooner or later. For even if one cared nothing for the political parties and their conflicting “lines,” it was too obvious that one’s own destiny was involved. (47)

I have tried to write objectively about the Barcelona fighting, though, obviously, no one can be completely objective on a question of this kind. One is practically obliged to take sides, and it must be clear enough which side I am on. (159)

Despite his rhetoric denouncing *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War*, Orwell again echoes the language of the questionnaire in “Looking back on the Spanish War”:

When one thinks of the cruelty, squalor, and futility of war—and in this particular case of the intrigues, the persecutions, the lies and the misunderstandings—there is always the temptation to say: “One side is as bad as the other. I am neutral.” In practice, however, one cannot be neutral. Nearly always one side stands more or less for progress, the other side more or less for reaction.

(203)

The Publisher’s Note in the 1958 edition of *The Road to Wigan Pier* (first published 1937) further speaks to Orwell’s thirties mindset and the culture of Victor Gollancz’s Left Book Club, which published *The Road to Wigan Pier*, but refused to publish *Homage to Catalonia*:

The Road to Wigan Pier was first published in England in 1937. It was commissioned by the Left Book Club, which flourished in the thirties. The aim of the club, according to one of its brochures, which reflects the temper of the time, was “to help in the terribly urgent struggle *for* World Peace & a better social & economic order & *against* Fascism, by giving (to all who are determined to play their part in the struggle) such *knowledge* as will immensely increase their efficiency.”

To: Stephen Spender

An Age Like This

From: George Orwell [Eric Blair]

Encounter, January 1962

2 April 1938

Jellicoe Ward

Preston Hall

Aylesford, Kent

Dear Spender,

I hope things go well with you. I really wrote to say I hoped you'd read my Spanish book (title *Homage to Catalonia*) when it comes out, which should be shortly. I have been afraid that having read those two chapters you would carry away the impression that the whole book was Trotskyist propaganda, whereas actually only abt half of it or less is controversial. I hate writing that kind of stuff and am much more interested in my own experiences, but unfortunately in this bloody period we are living in one's only experiences *are* being mixed up in controversies, intrigues etc. I sometimes feel as if I hadn't been properly alive since abt the beginning of 1937. I remember on sentry-go in the trenches near Alcubierre I used to do Hopkins's poem "Felix Randal", I expect you know it, over and over to myself to pass the time away in that bloody cold, & that was abt the last occasion when I had any feeling for poetry. Since then it's gone right out of my head. I don't know that I can give you a copy of my book because I've already had to

order about 10 extra ones & it's so damned expensive, but you can always get it out of the library.

I have been in this place abt 3 weeks. I am afraid from what they say it is TB all right but evidently a very old lesion and not serious. They say I am to stay in bed and rest completely for abt 3 months & then I shall probably be OK. It means I can't work & is rather a bore, but perhaps is all for the best.

The way things are going in Spain simply desolates me. All those towns & villages I knew smashed abt, & I suppose the wretched peasants who used to be so decent to us being chased to & fro & their landlords put back onto them. I wonder if we shall ever be able to go back to Spain if Franco wins. I suppose it would mean getting a new passport anyway. I notice that you and I are both on the board of sponsors or whatever it is called of the SIA. So also is Nancy Cunard, all rather comic because it was she who previously sent me that bloody rot which was afterwards published in book form (called *Authors Take Sides*). I sent back a very angry reply in which I'm afraid I mentioned you uncomplimentarily, not knowing you personally at that time. However I'm all for this SIA business if they are really doing anything to supply food etc, not like that damned rubbish of signing manifestos to say how wicked it all is.

Write some time if you get time. I'd like to meet again when I get out of here. Perhaps you will be able to come and stay with us some time.

Yours

Eric Blair

Preston Hall historic home that was converted to a hospital primarily treating patients with tuberculosis during the Great War. It became a sanatorium in 1919. Orwell was hospitalized there for suspected TB mid-March 1938 until the end of August. **Alcubierre** town in the province of Huesca. **“Felix Randal”** poem by Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–89) *see below*. **SIA** Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista, Spanish anarchist aid organization.

“Felix Randal”
Gerard Manley Hopkins

Felix Randal the farrier, O is he dead then? my duty all ended,
Who have watched his mould of man, big-boned and hardy-handsome
Pining, pining, till time when reason rambled in it, and some
Fatal four disorders, fleshed there, all contended?

Sickness broke him. Impatient, he cursed at first, but mended
Being anointed and all; though a heavenlier heart began some
Months earlier, since I had our sweet reprieve and ransom
Tendered to him. Ah well, God rest him all road ever he offended!

This seeing the sick endears them to us, us too it endears.
My tongue had taught thee comfort, touch had quenched thy tears,
Thy tears that touched my heart, child, Felix, poor Felix Randal;

How far from then forethought of, all thy more boisterous years,
When thou at the random grim forge, powerful amidst peers,
Didst fettle for the great grey drayhorse his bright and battering sandal!

IV. ARTHUR KOESTLER

Arthur Koestler joined the Communist Party in 1931. When war broke out in Spain in July 1936, he was already working with the Comintern propagandist Willi Münzenberg (1889–1940), who was responsible for assembling pro-Soviet, anti-fascist fronts and publications to raise money and support for communism internationally. During the Spanish Civil War, Münzenberg organized the Popular Front as well as the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement in Spain, both of which were, according to the biographer Michael Scammell in *Koestler* (New York: Random House, 2009), “the usual kind of front organization, made up of unsuspecting public figures of the left, right, and center who abominated fascism and were unaware of the guiding hand at the wheel” (127).

In August 1936 Koestler traveled to Lisbon and Seville on behalf of the Comintern, under the auspices of his position as a journalist for the *London News Chronicle* as well as the Hungarian German-language paper *Pester Lloyd*, to interview the nationalist general Queipo de Llano (1875–1951), who was known for his lengthy and impassioned anti-Republican radio broadcasts. While in Lisbon, Koestler saw troops and arms from Germany, Italy, and Portugal on the Nationalist side in blatant violation of the Non-Intervention Agreement of August 1936, which was signed by twenty-four countries—including these aforementioned three—and forbade the signatories from providing any kind of support to either side of the conflict.

In January 1937, Münzenberg's Éditions de Carrefour published a book of propaganda written by Koestler, *Menschenophen unerhört* (1937), in which he describes his experiences in Spain and Portugal and provides eyewitness accounts and graphic photographic evidence of atrocities committed against civilians by the Nationalist army. In the second volume of his autobiography, *The Invisible Writing* (1954), Koestler writes that fellow Comintern agent Otto Katz (1895–1952) suggested the title of the book from Goethe's "Die Braut von Korinth" (Bride of Corinth) (1797):

Opfer fallen hier,
Weder Lamm noch Stier,
Aber Menschenopfer unerhört.

Sacrifices here—
Neither lamb nor steer,
But man himself in misery and pain.

Koestler maintains that the photographs in the book were supplied by Münzenberg because "he believed in atrocity propaganda." Koestler explains: "He insisted on adding to the book a supplement of horror-photographs on glossy paper" (333). Although he attributes the inclusion of the photographs and other evidence gathered from dubious sources to Münzenberg, he argues that if some of the factual information put forward in *Menschenophen unerhört* was, in Münzenberg's words, "interpolated," these lies were nothing compared to the "unscrupulousness of Franco's

propaganda” (334). That same year, *Menschenophen unerhört* was translated and published in French as *L’Espagne ensanglantée* (“Bloody Spain”); it was never translated into English.

At the end of January 1937 Koestler again traveled to Spain, ostensibly as a correspondent for the *News Chronicle*, and on 9 February he was arrested by nationalist Major Luis Bolín at the home of Peter Chalmers Mitchell, with whom Koestler was staying to report on the siege of Málaga. Thanks to an encounter in Lisbon in 1936, Bolin knew Koestler to be associated with the Communist Party and presumed that he was in Spain on its behalf. As a result, Koestler was sentenced to death and held in prisons in Málaga and Seville until his abrupt release in May, which was brought about by diplomatic pressure from Chalmers Mitchell, the *News Chronicle*, Koestler’s wife Dorothy, and others.

Koestler officially resigned from the Communist Party in April 1938, objecting to Stalin’s purges and the persecution of many of the Party’s prominent members— particularly Party leader Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), executed in March— who “were said to be guilty not of any concrete crimes per se but of the crime of omission, that is to say, of omitting to express full support for the policies of Stalin and the Central Committee” (Scammell 156).

Spanish Testament

Upon his May 1937 release from prison, Koestler returned to London and wrote five articles describing his experiences in Spain that were serialized in the *News Chronicle* (24–28 May 1937). He also published a book, *Spanish Testament* (1938), which was dedicated to Chalmers Mitchell. Drawing from Koestler's prison diaries and other sources, it was completed in September and published by Victor Gollancz for the Left Book Club early in 1938.

Spanish Testament was written in German, with the exception of the diary entries, which Koestler notes in the preface to *Dialogue with Death* (1967) were composed in English to provide creditability to his alibi as a journalist for an English newspaper. For publication, the book was translated into English by Trevor and Phyllis Blewitt. It consists of two parts. Part I provides a political and historical backdrop for the Spanish Civil War, as well as anecdotal evidence of atrocities committed by Nationalist forces that Koestler collected during his 1936 visit to Spain and Portugal. It closes with his arrival in Spain in early 1937.

Part II, "Dialogue with Death," written in the form of a diary, begins with his arrest in February 1937 and chronicles his experiences as a prisoner until his release in May. Koestler republished "Dialogue with Death" as a book in 1942, 1946, and 1967. An edition appeared posthumously in 2011. None include annotation or editorial commentary, except for two notable exceptions—both contributed by Koestler. In every edition of *Dialogue with Death*, chapter two begins with the following footnote: "A few

paragraphs of the diary, omitted from the original edition, have been restored in the present edition.”

For the 1967 edition, Koestler added a preface, in which he reveals more information about the reasons for his imprisonment:

In 1937, while working for the London *News Chronicle* as a correspondent with the loyalist forces in the Spanish Civil War, I was captured by General Franco’s troops and held for several months in solitary confinement, witnessing the executions of my fellow-prisoners and awaiting my own. *Dialogue with Death* is an account of that experience written immediately after my release, in July-August, 1937, and published at the end of the same year as part of a larger book under the title *Spanish Testament*.

At the time the Civil War was still on, and its outcome still in the balance. This circumstance made it necessary to pass over in silence certain aspects of my adventure which in the public eye would have been damaging to the loyalist cause. I thus felt obliged to conceal three essential facts: that I was a member of the Communist party; that my previous visit to General Franco’s headquarters had been undertaken on behalf of the Comintern, using the *News Chronicle* as a cover; and finally, that at the time when I was captured, I was also working for the loyalist Government’s official news agency. I have since told this political background story in *The Invisible Writing*. My principal interest in writing *Dialogue with Death* was an introspective one: the psychological impact of the condemned cell. From this point of view, the political background was irrelevant, and the narrative, as far as it went, was the truthful account of an intimate experience.

Nevertheless, the book is indirectly affected by what it conceals, for if the victim was really as innocent as he appears in the text—the *bona fide* correspondent of a respectable English Liberal newspaper—his fear of torture, and his preoccupation with suicide to escape it, must appear unjustified. The reader must find it equally puzzling, in the earlier chapters, that a foreign

journalist should take the liberty of accusing a local military commander with 'criminal negligence' and generally behave in a rather authoritative manner. The answer is, that under the chaotic circumstances my Comintern papers, and my connexion with the Government's information department, did carry a certain weight with local commanders. And, once captured by the enemy, I had reason to fear not only General Franco's Intelligence Department, but also the German Gestapo, which intimately collaborated with the former, and which had a long record of my previous activities in Germany, France and Spain.

As often happens in such situations, I did not know (and still do not know) how much my captors knew. The military examiner who interrogated me seemed to know very little; but he may have been biding his time. In the muddle of a civil war dossiers travel slowly, and at the time when my interrogation began the negotiations about my exchange against a hostage in the loyalists' hands had been almost concluded.

Another rather puzzling circumstance is that my examination seems to have begun after sentence had been passed. While I was in prison, General Franco's information department made various vague and contradictory statements on this point. The only authentic information that I was able to obtain later on is the account published by Dr. Marcel Junod, delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who negotiated my exchange, and who was officially informed that I had been sentenced to death.¹

Dialogue with Death was written in German, except for the prison diary, which I wrote in English to avoid calling the Gestapo's attention to me.

All my books prior to 1940 were written in German, after that date in English.

A.K.

London, 1966

¹ Dr. Marcel Junod, *Warrior without Weapons*, New York, 1951, p. 104 ff. [Koestler's note]

In *The Invisible Writing*, Koestler writes about having to maintain his story upon his arrival in London:

After all the public protests against the arbitrary imprisonment of a Liberal journalist, the disclosure that he was, in fact, a member of the Communist Party would have been highly embarrassing, and not only to the *News Chronicle*; it would have made all who had helped out of human kindness look like fools. It would also have been grist to the mill of Franco's propaganda which took the line that all democratic opponents of his régime were disguised Reds. Thus by the logic of circumstances the fiction of the bona fide Liberal journalist had to be maintained, first in the account of my prison experiences that appeared in serial form in the *News Chronicle*, and subsequently in *Dialogue with Death* which appeared a few months later. A deception, once started, has the compelling momentum of a rolling stone. (367)

In a note elsewhere in *The Invisible Writing*, Koestler touches on the connection between *Spanish Testament*, *Dialogue with Death*, and *Menschenophen unerhört*:

In all foreign editions, including the American, *Dialogue with Death* appeared as a self-contained book. In the original English edition, however (Gollancz and Left Book Club, 1937), it formed the second part of *Spanish Testament*, the first part of which consisted of the earlier propaganda book on Spain that I had written for Muenzenberg. *Spanish Testament* is (and shall remain) out of print; *Dialogue with Death* has been reissued in England under that title, in the form in which it was originally written. (337)

This chapter on Koestler consists of three sections. The first is a selection of passages from *Spanish Testament* that pertain to Koestler's ideological position on the Spanish

Civil War, and his commentary on the willingness of foreign powers to become involved in it—or not. The excerpts relate to “taking sides,” either explicitly or implicitly.

The second section addresses textual considerations in *Spanish Testament*, *Dialogue with Death*, and *Menschenophor unerhört*. Here are examples of variants between *Spanish Testament* and *Dialogue with Death*, changes that Koestler made when the latter was published separately. Also included are passages in *Menschenophor unerhört* that Koestler integrated into Part I of *Spanish Testament*, as well as excerpts from the five *News Chronicle* articles that Koestler wrote and later adapted for *Spanish Testament*.

The final section of this chapter contains excerpts from commentaries written by others on the subjects of *Spanish Testament* and Koestler’s involvement in the war, including a passage from the introduction to *Spanish Testament*, written by Katharine Stewart-Murray, the Duchess of Atholl. Following that, there is an excerpt from Peter Chalmers Mitchell’s *My House in Málaga* (1937), which provides his perspective on the events in Lisbon and Koestler’s arrest.

Also in the third section are passages from two reviews and an essay by George Orwell. Koestler and Orwell shared a connection to the war that extended beyond their considerable ideological convictions—Orwell was shot through the neck while fighting with the POUM in Huesca and nearly died—and their relationship with subsequent to the war has yet to be satisfactorily chronicled.

The chapter closes with excerpts from *Spain: The Vital Years* (1967), by Luis Bolin, the Nationalist officer responsible for Koestler’s arrest, which was published while

Franco was still in power. Bolin's account provides yet another perspective on the Spanish Civil War and Koestler's involvement in it, both of which are notoriously difficult to parse, despite all that has been written on each and the passage of time.

Koestler and Taking Sides

Koestler's contribution to Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War is not the only instance in which he employs the language of for and against in reference to the Spanish Civil War. Spanish Testament is full of these binaries.

The programme of the Phalanx can be summed up in a few words: the establishment of a corporate state, the leadership principle (it is even ready to discuss the possibility of a monarchy, although Alfonso has never been particularly popular among the younger Phalangists), and national agrarian reform without expropriation, that is to say, no agrarian reform at all. Here, too, as in all their propaganda, what they are “for” is given far less prominence than what they are “against”. They are against the Marxists, against the Jews, against the Freemasons. The slogan “against capitalism” is relegated to the background, for Spain still lives in a semi-feudal era. The hatred of Freemasonry, on the other hand, is pushed well into the foreground, for Freemasonry has actually played a very large role amongst the liberal progressive elements in Spain.

(Spanish Testament 78)

Alfonso Alfonso XIII, King of Spain 1886–1931. **Agrarian reform** The 1932 plan of the Republican government to redistribute privately held farmland to landless laborers. **Freemasons** Many members of the 1931 Republican government were Masons and “suspected by their conservative enemies of anti-Spanish loyalties.” They were heavily persecuted by the Nationalist army. (Thomas 41)

The European public imagines that in Spain two armies are fighting against each other. This is a mistaken conception. In Spain a well-trained professional army, reinforced by vast contingents of non-Spanish troops, and supplied from abroad with the most up-to-date military equipment, is fighting against untrained masses, held together by no military discipline, but only by their common political ideals, without officers, without experts, without technicians, without adequate arms and war material.

(Spanish Testament 79)

An air raid, while it lasts, is not a political event in the mind of the person experiencing it, but a natural catastrophe, like an earthquake or the eruption of a volcano. One man keeps his presence of mind, a second loses his nerve, a third reacts with apathetic callousness. It is a question of nerves and constitution, and not of political conviction. During an air raid the civilian population is not a political entity, it is neither heroic nor anything else; it is merely cattle for the slaughter.

And this is why I can no longer pretend to be objective. Franco deliberately and consciously provoked this slaughter. On August 16th he declared that he would never bombard the capital of his mother country, and on August 29th he began to bombard it. He is a liar. He had turned his compatriots, private individuals in offices, factories, kitchens and so forth into cattle for the slaughter. This is no political act, it is a challenge to civilization.

(*Spanish Testament* 177)

Cattle for the slaughter “He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he was brought as a lamb is to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth” (Isaiah 53:7). **August 16th** “On August 16th the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces, General Francisco Franco, declared to the correspondent of the “*Petit Parisien*”: “I shall never bomb Madrid—there are innocent people living there whom I have no wish to expose to danger” (*Spanish Testament* 165). The front page of the *Petit Parisien* (16 August 1936) reads: “Interview de Franco—je ne bombarderai jamais Madrid... il y a des innocents.” **August 29th** On 27 August 1936, three Junkers 52s bombed Madrid. August 29, four more Junkers “dropped four heavy bombs on the war ministry, causing considerable damage and several deaths.” Thomas adds that these raids were the first of their kind in Madrid. (Thomas 373). The Junkers Ju 52 was a German trimotor transport aircraft that was made between 1932 and 1945. It was adapted for use as a bomber in 1934.

Spanish Testament *closes with Koestler's release from prison in Seville. He is collected by a group of Nationalist soldiers, who transport him by plane to La Linea, a prison near Gibraltar, where he is officially freed.*

We were in an improbably small machine, an open Baby Douglas, as fragile as a child's toy. We rose higher and higher, the horizon expanded, the city of Seville shrank. The *caballero* in the black shirt pursed his lips—I heard nothing, but could tell that he was whistling a tune to himself.

“Where are we going, Señor?” I yelled.

“To another town, Señor,” he yelled back.

We rose higher and higher. A mountain loomed towards us. White shreds of mist floated round us on all sides. The *caballero* in the black shirt pointed to the abyss below.

“All this is National Spain, Señor,” he yelled. “Here everyone is happy now.”

“What?” I yelled.

“Free.”

We were silent, and only the engine thundered. The shreds of mist below us fused into a white plateau; the earth was no longer to be seen. The *caballero* sat with legs apart, the joy-stick between his knees, and gesticulated with his hands.

“On your side the poor fight against the rich. We have a new system. We do not ask whether a man is rich or poor, but whether he is good or bad. The good poor and the

good rich are on one side. The bad poor and the bad rich on the other. That is the truth about Spain, Señor.”

“How do you distinguish them?” I asked.

“What?” he yelled.

“How do you distinguish them?”

We soared again; by now we must have reached the other side of the mountain. The engine roared. For a while I could hear nothing.

“In their hearts all Spaniards are on our side,” screamed the *caballero* in the black shirt. “When the Reds shoot our people, their last cry is our cry of ‘*Viva España*’. I have seen Reds being shot, and they too cried at the end ‘*Viva España*’. In the hour of death men speak the truth. You will see from this that I am right, Señor.”

“Did you look?” I yelled.

“What?” he yelled back.

“I asked whether you looked?”

We hovered above the white plateau; we saw nothing but the white plateau below us and felt as though we were hovering over one spot. The *caballero* sat with his legs apart and gesticulated with his hands; the engine worked by itself. We had no need to do anything, we simply sat there on a hovering raft above the clouds and looked down.

“When one sits here like this,” yelled the man in the black shirt, “one thinks a good deal about life and death. The Reds are all cowards; they don’t even know how to die. Can you imagine what it is like to be dead?”

“Before we were born, we were all dead,” I yelled.

“What?” he yelled.

“I say before we were born we were all dead.”

“That is true,” he yelled. “But why, then, is one afraid of death?”

“I have never been afraid of death, but only afraid of dying,” I yelled.

“With me it’s exactly the opposite,” yelled the man in the black shirt.

Rifts appeared in the white plateau below us. A gust of wind struck us, the ’plane trembled and began to gambol like a colt. The *caballero*’s hands were once more occupied, and he was silent.

I felt feverish again. If the *caballero* were to make a false movement now, the earth would rush up at us and strike us dead. That would be a fine end, I thought, with a positively mythological touch about it. Death has no terrors, only dying—must that not be the same with everyone? But the *caballero* maintains that with him it is exactly the opposite. The *caballero* is a damned clever pilot; presumably he is also a damned fine bomb-thrower. Carlos too is an officer, and he too is not afraid of dying. But the thought of death paralysed his legs and left him as hopeless as a child that has not yet learned to walk.

Carlos and the *caballero* both know how to die; they are officers; dying is their *métier*. It has been drilled into them, it is in their bones to die with an air.

Little Nicolás certainly did not die with an air. He was a civilian. The Militiamen in the patio were civilians too. They had no experience of dying. They were terribly afraid of dying. Up above the clouds circled the caballero and hurled bombs down on them with an air; they threw themselves on their stomachs and grovelled in the mud and were afraid. Often, when the machine-guns began to bark, they did the natural thing and ran away; before they were shot they called for help and for their mothers. They liked playing football, nibbling lettuce and dreaming of the time when they would be no more than three in a room, and be able to have meat twice a week, and buy themselves a Sunday suit and a watch, for when the war was over, life would really begin.

They died unredeemed, with the unredeemed pledge of life in their pockets; they refused to give life absolution. They believed that it was necessary to live, and even to fight in order to live, and even to die so that others might live. They believed in all this, and because they believed truly in it, because their lives depended on this belief, they were not afraid of death. But they were terribly afraid of dying. For they were civilians, soldiers of the people, soldiers of life and not of death.

I was there when they died. They died in tears, crying vainly for help, and in great weakness, as men must die. For dying is a confoundedly serious thing, one shouldn't make a melodrama of it. Pilate did not say "*Ecce Heros*"; he said "*Ecce Homo*".

We were hovering again. The *caballero* in the black shirt waved his arms afresh and yelled out metaphysical catch-words that were as insubstantial as the mist below us

and caused as much palpable mischief as the bombs that he hurls below. I would gladly have thrown him out of the 'plane, but he was at the controls, and he was stronger than I.

(*Spanish Testament* 379–382)

Baby Douglas The propeller-driven Douglas DC-3 was nicknamed “Baby Douglas,” but it could carry 21 passengers and was not open. **Caballero** Knight or gentleman. **I have never been afraid of death, but only afraid of dying** “Most of us [prisoners] were not afraid of death, only of the act of dying; and there were even moments in which we overcame even this fear. At such times we were *free*—men without shadows, dismissed from the ranks of the mortal; it was the most complete realization of freedom that can be granted a man” (*Spanish Testament* 371). Cynthia Koestler’s 1983 suicide note reveals similar language: “I fear both death and the act of dying that lies ahead of us. However, I cannot live without Arthur, despite certain inner resources. Double suicide has never appealed to me; but now Arthur’s incurable diseases have reached a stage where there is nothing else to do” (Scammell, *Koestler* 563). **Carlos** Italian lieutenant in the rebel army and a prisoner in Seville, held for assaulting the Civil Guards’ chief of police. He briefly shares a cell with Koestler and is one of his closest friends in prison, where he suffers a nervous breakdown: “During the night of Friday, nine were shot; during Saturday night, thirteen. We heard everything, four nights running. On Monday morning I was called to Carlos’s cell; he was lying on the ground by the door, foam on his lips, both legs stiff and paralysed” (*Spanish Testament* 340). **Métier** “A field or department of activity in which a person has a special skill or ability; one’s forte” (*OED*). **Nicolás** “I dedicate it to my friend Nicolás, an obscure soldier of the Spanish Republic, who on the fourteenth of April, nineteen hundred and thirty-seven, the anniversary of the proclamation of that Republic, was shot dead in the prison of Seville” (Koestler, Introduction: “Dialogue with Death,” *Spanish Testament* 207). **Militiamen in the patio** From his cell in Seville, Koestler could see other prisoners exercise daily in the inner courtyard of the prison. He notes that most were untrained civilians in uniform. **Ecce Homo** “Then Jesus came forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And *Pilate* saith unto them, Behold the man!” (John 19:5).

Textual Considerations

Spanish Testament and Dialogue with Death

Foreword to “Dialogue with Death” (*Spanish Testament*) and Foreword to *Dialogue with Death*.

What follows is the passage that introduces Part II of Spanish Testament, “Dialogue with Death.” Koestler did not refer to this passage as a foreword in Spanish Testament, probably because it fell in the middle of the book, but in every edition of Dialogue with Death it is labeled as such. The 1967 edition of Dialogue with Death refers to it as: “Foreword to the first English Edition (1937),” even though it is very different from what was written in Spanish Testament in 1937 (published in 1938).

A concordance is at the foot of the passage from Spanish Testament; a passage that Koestler added to Dialogue with Death appears on the following page. As every edition of Dialogue with Death retains the same changes, the 1967 edition has been used in order to provide a specific page number. Original line breaks have been preserved.

The condemned cell is a favourite theme for writers: in this case a writer actually found himself in one. The experimenter became identical with the rabbit.

It is, however you look at it, a ticklish situation. The experimenter suffers all the pangs of the victim, and this dims the sharpness of his perception; the rabbit becomes an introspective rabbit, and thereby the naturalness of its sufferings is affected.

From the professional point of view the situation is one that does not bear discussion. Personal feelings and intimate emotions are the very things a journalist ought not to have. But in this case the subjective has become the object of the journalist's theme.

Nevertheless I believe that this book is justified. On two grounds. In the first place I believe that most people, when they read in the newspapers of a death sentence, are curious to know what goes on in the mind of the condemned man. Here an attempt is made to give as far as possible a frank and honest answer to this question. "So far as possible" in that the author resists all temptation to cut a good figure; in that he refrains, however, from crossing the line that divides the sphere of literature from the sphere of psychological exhibitionism.

In the second place, I believe that every war, in particular the Spanish Civil War, consists of ten per cent action and ninety per

cent passive suffering. In this respect this account of the hermetically-sealed Andalusian mortuaries may perhaps more truly reflect the

25 Spanish tragedy than messages from the front.

I dedicate it to my friend Nicolás, an obscure soldier of the Spanish Republic, who on the fourteenth of April, nineteen hundred and thirty-seven, the anniversary of the proclamation of that Republic, was shot dead in the prison of Seville.

(Spanish Testament 207)

Title] Foreword to the first English edition (1937)

1–20 *Follows next page.*

21 **every war**] wars

22 **Spanish Civil War**] civil wars **consists of**] consist of only **and ninety**] and of ninety

23 **In this respect**] Thus

24–25 **more truly reflect...the front**] bring closer to the reader the nature of Civil War than descriptions of battles.

(Dialogue with Death 7)

None of the characters in this book is fictitious; most of them are dead by now.

To die—even in the service of an impersonal cause—is always a personal and intimate affair. Thus it was inevitable that these pages, written for the most part in the actual expectancy and fear of death, should bear a private character. There are, in the author's opinion, two reasons which justify their publication.

In the first place, the things which go on inside a condemned man's head have a certain psychological interest. Professional writers have rarely had an opportunity of studying these processes in the first person singular. I have tried to present them as frankly and concisely as I could. The main difficulty was the temptation to cut a good figure; I hope that the reader will agree that I have succeeded in overcoming this.

(Dialogue with Death 7)

Professional writers A notable exception is Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–81), who was arrested in 1849 for reading the works of the literary critic Vissarion Belinsky (1811–48), which were considered to be anti-Russian. Dostoyevsky was subjected to a mock-execution and imprisoned in deplorable conditions in Siberia until 1854. His experiences in prison informed *Crime and Punishment* (1866).

Spanish Testament and the beginning of Dialogue with Death

When Koestler published Dialogue with Death as a volume unto itself, he incorporated revised paragraphs from the end of Part I of Spanish Testament into its opening pages to provide a complete picture of the days leading up to his arrest. This is because “Dialogue with Death,” as it was published as Part II of Spanish Testament, begins with the morning of Koestler’s arrest without the description of the fall of Malaga on 8 February 1937 that can be found at the end of Part I of Spanish Testament.

The following is a passage from the end of Part I of Spanish Testament that Koestler later integrated into the opening pages of Dialogue with Death. A concordance is at the foot of the passage from Spanish Testament; a passage that Koestler added to Dialogue with Death appears on the following page. As every edition of Dialogue with Death retains the same changes, the 1967 edition has been used in order to provide a specific page number. Original line breaks have been preserved.

Koestler refers to his “pamphlet” or “book” on the war, which is Menschenhopfer unerhört (1937).

In the middle of January, 1937, the Second Division of the insurgent army, commanded by General Queipo de Llano and reinforced by approximately 50,000 Italian infantry, began the fateful offensive against Malaga.

5 I had just finished my first book on the Spanish Civil War. It appeared in Paris in the middle of January, and the English edition was in course of preparation.

I left Paris on January 15th, took train to Toulouse and from there flew to Barcelona. I stayed in Barcelona for
 10 only one day. The city presented a somewhat depressing picture. There was no bread, no milk, no meat to be had, and there were long queues outside the shops. The Anarchists blamed the Catalan Government for the food shortage and organized an intensive campaign of political agitation;
 15 the windows of the trams were plastered with their leaflets. The P.O.U.M.—the Trotskyist Party—was even more unrestrained in its agitation. The tension in the city had reached danger-point. I was glad not to have to write an article on Barcelona. I left by the four o'clock train for
 20 Valencia with William Forrest of the "News Chronicle". His destination was Madrid, mine Malaga.

1–7 *Follows next page.*

10 **a somewhat depressing**] a depressing

16–17 < The P.O.U.M.—the Trotskyist Party—was even more unrestrained in its agitation.>

17–18 **had reached danger-point.**] was near danger-point. It looked as though Spain were not only to be the stage for the dress-rehearsal of the second world war, but also for the fratricidal struggle within the European Left.

19–20 **I left by the four o'clock train for Valencia with William Forrest of the "News Chronicle".**] On the 16th I left by the 4 p.m. train for Valencia with Willy Forrest, also of the *News Chronicle*.

(Dialogue with Death 9–10)

For the last six weeks there had been a lull in the fighting. The winter was cold; the wind from the Guadarrama whipped Madrid; the Moors in their trenches caught pneumonia and spat blood. The passes in the Sierra Nevada were blocked, the Republican Militiamen had neither uniforms nor blankets and their hospitals had no chloroform; their frozen fingers and feet had to be amputated without their being put to sleep. At the Anarchist hospital in Malaga a boy sang the Marseillaise while they sawed away two of his toes; this expedient gained a certain popularity.

Then spring came and all was well again; the buds on the trees opened and the tanks started on the roads. Nature's benevolence enabled General Queipo de Llano to launch, as early as mid-January, his long-planned offensive against Malaga.

This was in nineteen hundred and thirty-seven. General Gonzales Queipo de Llano, who not so long ago had conspired against the Monarchy and proclaimed his sympathies with communism to all and sundry in the cafés round the Puerta del Sol, was now in command of the Second Division of the insurgent army. He had a microphone installed in a room at his G.H.Q. in Seville and talked into it every night for an

hour. ‘The Marxists,’ he said, ‘are ravening beasts, but we are gentlemen. Señor Companys deserves to be stuck like a pig.’

General Queipo’s army consisted of approximately 50,000 Italian troops, three *banderas* of the Foreign Legion and 15,000 African tribesmen. The rest of his men, about ten per cent, were of Spanish nationality.

The offensive began on January 10th.

I was in Paris at the time. I had written a pamphlet on the Spanish War; the French edition was just out. In the preceding months I had worked as a special correspondent for the *News Chronicle*, first with the insurgents and later, after Franco’s propaganda department had kicked me out of Nationalist territory, in Catalonia and Madrid. Now the war had shifted to the Andalusian front and it was decided that I should go there.

(*Dialogue with Death* 9–10)

Marseillaise The French national anthem. Composed in 1792, a variation—the Workers’ Marseillaise—was sung by Russian republicans during and following the 1917 revolution.

Miscellaneous compared passages from *Spanish Testament* and *Dialogue with Death*

The following is a selection of passages from Spanish Testament with a concordance at the foot of the page recording variants in passages adapted for Dialogue with Death.

As every edition of Dialogue with Death retains the same changes, the 1967 edition has been used in order to provide a specific page number. Original line breaks have been preserved.

The Militiamen of the routed army lie sleeping on the pavements—in the cafés, in doorways, in public buildings.

There is no order, no discipline—complete chaos.

(*Spanish Testament* 199 [Part I])

1–3] Vélez is in a state of chaos. Militiamen of the routed army lies sleeping on the pavements, in doorways, under the marble tables of the cafés. They have lost all soldierly shape—they are dirty bundles of clothes with shivering creatures inside. Those who are not asleep hang about at street corners, rolling cigarettes, waiting for the arrival of the executioners. These men are done for. They have tried to keep off the advancing tanks by throwing stones. A fox hunt has been going on—human foxes and a motorized hunt. Those who were caught alive struck out with knives; and when their hands were bound they bit. (*Dialogue with Death* 1967 30–31)

I rush to a window and look down. Villalba and his staff officers are getting into a car. Everybody is looking rather embarrassed. The car leaves the courtyard.

“Where is he going?” I ask an officer whom I know.

5 “He has deserted,” the officer says calmly.

“It was his duty to leave,” says another one. “We shall be cut off in an hour, and he is the Commanding Officer of the entire southern sector; so he had to leave.”

“How can he command if we are cut off?”

10 “He has deserted,” repeats the first one.

“Who is boss now?” I ask.

“Boss?” Everyone looks surprised. Nobody knows.

I go into another room. There is Colonel Alfredo sitting at a typewriter. It is all like a bad dream. I note that

15 he is using the red half of the ribbon. I read:

“To all whom it may concern. This is to certify that Colonel Alfredo G. is leaving on an important mission to Valencia. Authorities are requested to let him pass.”

“You too, Alfredo?” I ask him.

20 He blushes. “And you, too. I’ll take you in my car. It’s

all up.”

This is no longer Walter Scott. It is, rather, James Joyce.

(Spanish Testament 203 [Part I])

22 **It is, rather, James Joyce]** I feel the ants of fear creeping over my skin. 1967 (p. 35)

Walter Scott (1771–1832). Scottish novelist and poet. His novels depict historical events, dramatizing wars, revolutions, and acts of Parliament. The eponymous hero of Scott's first novel, *Waverley* (1814), goes over from the British army to join the Jacobite uprising of 1745. He is arrested and accused of treason, but is rescued by the Highlanders and, by a lucky turn of events, escapes punishment by saving the life of a friend of his uncle.

Koestler likens the circumstances of the fall of Malaga to a Scott novel two pages earlier:

Colonel Alfredo comes along and sits down beside me. After a while he says: "This is probably our last night. The road will be cut off in a few hours, and they will kill us like rats in a trap."

"What are you going to do if they come?"

He taps his revolver. "I've still got five cartridges. Four for the Fascists, the fifth for myself."

I have an uneasy feeling that he is acting a part, and the absurd idea occurs to me that Alfredo and the Commandant of Ventas and the Anarchist and the Civil Guard and all the others, including myself, are just children playing at being Walter Scott heroes and unable to visualize the stark reality of death. (Spanish Testament 201 [Part I])

Menschenhopfer unerhört and Spanish Testament

Koestler integrated passages from Menschenhopfer unerhört into Part I of Spanish Testament. As the former was published first in German and later in French, the original German is supplied here, together with an English translation—generously provided by Christopher Ohge—alongside passages from Spanish Testament. Original line breaks have been retained.

The Conspiracy in Lisbon

No sixth sense was needed to discover what game was being played in Portugal. It was played with the cards on the table. The facts that the diplomatic chancelleries of Europe obstinately and successfully refused to admit were to be seen in the streets of Lisbon in broad daylight; one's nose positively rubbed into them.

It all began while we were still on the steamer, during the passport examination before we disembarked. As a journalist I was put through a special cross-examination, during which I noticed that one of the three Portuguese police officials present was not speaking Portuguese, but

Spanish. I did not attach much importance to this circumstance at the time, and only discovered its significance the next morning in Lisbon, when I learned that the man in the uniform of the Portuguese political police—the “International Police” it is called—was in fact a Spaniard, a representative of the Burgos Junta. It was in his power to decide who should land in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, and who should not. A few days before my arrival, Albea, the ex-President of the Argentine Republic and leader of the Argentine moderate Radical Party, had arrived in Lisbon. “We shall first have to ask the representative of the Burgos Government whether you may land,” the police officials on the steamer had said to him. I was later informed that the Burgos Junta’s liaison officer in Lisbon, Señor Gil, was one of the heads of the Portuguese “International Police.”

(Spanish Testament 22)

Diplomatic chancelleries Koestler participated in the Comintern-supported Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement in Spain in summer 1936, testifying in the commission’s hearings about what he had seen in Lisbon and Seville earlier that year. Held in London, the commission was chaired by Eleanor Rathbone (1872–1946), a Labour MP from Liverpool. Another committee member was Katharine Stewart-Murray, the Duchess of Atholl, a Scottish Unionist Party MP.

Burgos Junta As of 24 July 1936, the nationalist military headquarters were located at Burgos, a city in the Castile region of northern Spain (Thomas 270). According to the *OED*, *Junta* refers to “a deliberative or

administrative council or committee.” In Spain, it was typically used to refer to local governments in autonomous communities, such as Andalusia and Catalonia. A military junta, which is a government composed of military leaders, is frequently associated with dictatorship. **Albea** In 1936, the leader of the Argentine Radical Civic Union (UCR) was Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear (1868–1942), who served as president of Argentina from 1922 to 1928. In 1931, Alvear was deported to Europe by the conservative opposition government, but he was permitted to return in 1936. **Señor Gil** José Maria Gil Robles y Quiñones (1898–1980), leader of the right-wing Spanish Catholic party (CEDA).

Der Verschwörung in Lissabon

Es gehört kein besonderer Spürsinn dazu, um herauszufinden, was in Portugal gespielt wird. Es wird mit offenen Karten gespielt. Die Tatsachen, die zu Kenntnis zu nehmen die diplomatischen Kanzleien Europas hartnäckig und erfolgreich sich weigerten, sie lagen in Lissabon offen auf der Strasse; man wurde förmlich mit der Nase auf sie gestossen.

Es begann schon auf dem Dampfer, bei der Passkontrolle vor dem Aussteigen. Als Journalist wurde ich einem besonderen Verhör unterzogen; es fiel mir dabei auf, dass einer der drei anwesenden portugiesischen Polizeibeamten nicht portugiesisch, sondern spanisch sprach. Ich schenkte dem Umstand im Augenblick keine besondere Beachtung und erfuhr erst am näch-

sten Morgen in Lissabon den Zusammenhang: der Mann in der Uniform der portugiesischen politischen Polizei—sie heisst <<Internationale Polizei>>—war in der Tat Spanier, Vertreter der Junta von Burgos. Von seiner Zustimmung hängt es ab, wer in Lissabon, der Hauptstadt Portugals, landen darf, und wer nicht. Einige Tage vor mir war Albea, Expräsident der Republik von Argentinien, Führer der dortigen bürgerlich-radikalen Partei, in Lissabon eingetroffen. Die Polizisten auf dem Dampfer erklärten ihm, *expressis verbis*: <<Wir müssen erst beim Vertreter der Burgoser Regierung nachfragen, ob Sie landen dürfen.>> Wie mir weiter mitgeteilt wurde, war der Verbindungsmann zur Junta von Burgos Herr Gil, einer der Leiter der portugiesischen <<Internationale Polizei.>>

(Menschenopfer unerhört 12–13)

The Conspiracy in Lisbon

It takes no special instinct to find out what games were being played in Portugal. It was played with open cards. The facts, which refuse to acknowledge the diplomatic offices in

Europe stubbornly and successfully, were lying open in the streets of Lisbon; you were met with your nose on it.

It began on the ship, before disembarking, at the passport control office. As a journalist I was subjected to a special interrogation. It struck me that one of the three Portuguese policemen present spoke Spanish, not Portuguese. I gave the information quickly without particular attention and experienced first thing the next morning in Lisbon the connection: the man in the Portuguese political police uniform—which said “International Police”—was in fact a Spaniard, a representative of the junta of Burgos. His approval will determine who is allowed to land in Lisbon, capital of Portugal, and who is not. A few days before me was Albea; the former president of the Republic of Argentina, leader of the local radical bourgeois party, arrived in Lisbon. The police on the ship told him: “First we must first ask the representative of your government whether you are allowed to land.” As I was later informed, the liaison to the Junta of Burgos was Mr. Gil, one of the leaders of the Portuguese International Police.

(Translation of *Menschenopfer unerhört* 12–13)

At Rebel Headquarters

The headquarters of the Second Division of the rebel army, under the command of General Queipo de Llano, is in the Calle de las Palmas in the heart of Seville. It is a typical Spanish building with doors and windows opening on sunny, cloistered courtyards. Day and night these courtyards are filled with a motley and confused throng of men in the most varied uniforms: Foreign Legionaries of the Tercio, adventurous figures straight from the films; elegant Carlists with red Basque berets; young merchants' sons in the uniform of the Falange Española; airmen in white uniforms who, curiously enough, speak broken Spanish and while away the time of waiting in reading the "Völkischer Beobachter". All these people jostle and elbow each other languidly in the courtyards, roll cigarettes, and wait. For what? The sergeant-major next to me has been waiting thirty-six hours to be received by Colonel Questa, Queipo de Llano's chief of staff. He has spent the night in the courtyard, has had all his food brought to him from the canteen and takes it all as a matter of course. The airmen are waiting for orders; the non-commissioned officers are

waiting for mess vouchers; the quarter-master sergeants
are waiting for the pay for their troops. No one is in a hurry,
everything proceeds at a leisurely pace.

(*Spanish Testament* 28–9)

Second Division The army of the province of Andalusia in which Seville is the largest city. **Seville** Queipo de Llano led the Nationalist uprising in Seville, taking control of the city 18 July 1936 (Thomas 210). **Foreign Legionaires of the Tercio** The Spanish Legion, modeled on the French Foreign Legion, has functioned under various names for centuries, but it has existed in its present form since 1920. Franco was instrumental in developing it when he was posted in Morocco until 1926, when the unit was called *Tercio de Marruecos* (The Tercio of Morocco). In 1937 the name was officially changed to *La Legion*. *Tercio* is an archaic term without a direct English equivalent, meaning roughly “regiment.” During the war, most of its members came from North Africa. **Carlists** Those belonging to the traditionalist Catholic movement that fought to reestablish “God, Country and King” in opposition to republicanism and liberalism from 1833 through Franco’s death in 1975. **Völkischer Beobachter** “People’s Observer,” the newspaper of the Nazi party, founded 1920.

Im Hauptquartier der Rebellen

Das Hauptquartier der Zweiten Division der Rebellen-
armee, des Generals Queipo de Llano, befindet sich im
Herzen Sevillas, in der Calle de las Palmas. Es ist ein
typischer spanischer Bau mit sonnigen, quadratischen
Höfen, nach denen sich alle Türen und Fenster öffnen,
von Erkern und Arkaden umsäumt. In den Höfen
herrscht Tag und Nacht ein wüstes Durcheinander der

verschiedensten Uniformen: Fremdenlegionäre aus dem
 Tercio, abenteuerliche Gestalten, wie aus dem Film ge-
 schnitten; elegante Carlisten mit roten Baskenmützen;
 junge Bürgersöhne in den Uniformen der Falange
 Española; Piloten in weisser Uniform, die merkwür-
 digerweise ein sehr schlechtes Spanisch sprechen und,
 um sich die Wartezeit zu verkürzen, den <<Völkischen
 Beobachter>> lesen. All das drängt sich, schiebt sich
 träge durcheinander auf den Höfen, rollt Zigaretten,
 liest Zeitungen und wartet. Worauf? Der Wachtmeister
 neben mir, ein Mann aus Tetuan mit aufgezwickeltem
 Schnurrbart, wartet seit 36 Stunden auf ein Audienz
 beim Kommandeur Questa, dem Generalstabschef
 Queipo de Llano. Er übernachtet auf dem Hofe, lässt
 sich das Essen aus der Kantine holen und findet all das
 ganz natürlich. Die Piloten warten auf Aufträge der
 Divisionaleitung; die Unteroffiziere warten auf die
 Menage-Bezugsscheine; die Rechnungsfeldwebel warten
 auf den Sold für ihre Truppen. Niemand hat es eilig,
 alles geht mit Behäbigkeit vor sich.

(Menschenopfer unerhört 23–4)

In the Headquarters of the Rebellion

General Queipo de Llano's headquarters for the Second Division of the Rebel Army is located in the heart of Seville, in the Calle de las Palmas. It is a typical Spanish building with sunny square courtyards, opening up into all kinds of doors and windows, surrounded by jutties and arcades. In the courts day and night there is a shambles of different uniforms: Foreign Legionnaires from Tertio, swashbuckling characters cut out of film; elegant Carlists with red berets; young sons of the bourgeoisie in the uniforms of the Phalange Espanola; pilots in white uniform, who, strange to say, speak very bad Spanish and, in order to reduce the waiting time, read the "People's Observer." All this suggests, moving lazily in the courtyards, rolling cigarettes, reading the papers, and waiting. For what? The police constable apart from me, a man from Tetuan with a sensational mustache, waits for 36 hours for an audience with the commander of Questa, the chief of staff for Queipo de Llanos. He spent the night in the courtyard, getting himself food from the canteen and finding all of it quite natural. The pilots wait for orders from the division management, the higher officers wait for the sets of ration cards, the bill sergeant waits for the pay of their troops. Nobody is in a hurry; everything goes on with complacency.

(Translation of *Menschenopfer unerhört* 23–4)

Everyday Tragedies

“I was at home that afternoon,” Josefa Martínez, a maid, who was wounded in the air raid of October 30th, told me.

“I had no idea there was an air raid. Suddenly there was a terrible crash, I felt a terrific blow and found myself lying on the kitchen floor. Then I noticed that my thigh was bleeding. As I was being carried away, I saw the little daughter of my mistress lying in the corridor, dead. She had been playing there. She was eleven years old. Just before the explosion the decorator had left the house. He had been flirting with me; I hear that he too was killed.”

The expression “a bolt from the blue” has acquired for the people of Madrid a literal significance, for Franco’s squadrons almost always approach the town at such a height that it is impossible either to recognise the planes or hear the hum of their engines clearly. Without warning, from a clear sky containing no presage of danger, the bombs fall and mangle the humble folk as they go about their daily tasks, stand outside the baker’s shop, or wash up in their kitchens. Suddenly the familiar background of everyday

life is transformed into a scene of tragedy.

I had just gone for the milk,” related another maid, Emilia García, “when from somewhere or other there was a terrible flash. Then there was a clap of thunder, and I found myself lying on the ground; I had fainted and had been carried into a coal merchant’s, and blood was pouring from my temples. I could scarcely see, but when the ambulance came for me I saw through the window that the street was full of bloody fragments of flesh; the pavement was red all over, and I fainted again...”

“Women and children who had taken refuge from the bombs were sitting in the cellar,” writes Ilse Wolff, a journalist, describing a scene in a tenement house during an air raid. “Smoke poured in. White dust descended on them. The air grew heavy, and one could hardly breathe. The children began to scream, the mothers were seized with panic. There was a roar above their heads. A floor had fallen in. They snatched up the children and ran out into the street. Bright flames licked the house. A few brave ones who lived in the lower floors ran upstairs again, threw a few bits of clothing, a mattress, out into the street. A child

was missing. Other children were crying for their mothers who had not yet come home. Another roar. The lift had fallen in; you could see an arm, a leg, sticking out of the ruins. The Fire Brigade and ambulance men arrived. The dead and wounded were taken away...”

(*Spanish Testament* 175–6)

October 30th Russian tanks and aircraft in support of the Republican army attacked the Nationalist forces around Madrid on 29 October, 1936. In response, “a heavy bombing campaign was mounted from 29 October onwards, partly to satisfy the German advisers who were curious to see the civilian reaction. The attack upon Getafe on the 30th was particularly severe” (Thomas 456). Getafe is a city in the southern part of Madrid’s metropolitan area. **A bolt from the blue** Volume one of Koestler’s autobiography (1905–31) is titled *Arrow in the Blue* (1952). **Ilse Wolff** (1908–2001) Female German writer and publisher.

Alltagstragödien

Die Redensart <<wie der Blitz aus heiterem Himmel>>

bekommt in diesen Tagen für die Madrider eine grauenhafte Bedeutung. Francos Mordgeschwader nähern sich der Stadt fast immer in so grosser Höhe, dass man die Flugzeuge weder erkennt, noch das Motorengebrumm deutlich hört. Ohne Warnung, ohne sichtbare Gefahr, aus heiterem Himmel, stürzen die

Bomben und zerfetzen die kleinen Leute bei ihren alltäglichen Verrichtungen: beim Einholen vor dem Bäckerladen, beim Tellerspülen in der Küche. Ohne Übergang schlägt die Alltagsszenerie in die Tragödie um. Die Hausgehilfin Josefa Martinez, die durch das Luftbombardement vom 30. Oktober verwundet wurde, berichtet:

<<Ich war am Nachmittag zuhause, ich wusste nichts vom Fliegerangriff, gar nichts. Plötzlich bag es einen entsetzlichen Krach, ich bekam einen Stoss und lag in der Küche auf dem Fussboden. Dann merkte ich, dass mein Schenkel blutete. Als man mich wegtrug, lag auf dem Korridor die klein Tochter meiner Herrin und war tot. Sie hatte dort gespielt. Sie war 11 Jahre alt. Vor der Explosion war gerade der Tapezierer von uns weggegangen. Er hat mir den Hof gemacht, man sagt, dass er auch erschlagen worden ist...>>

Eine andere Hausgehilfin, Emilia Garcia:

<<Ich hatte mich gerade um Milch angestellt, als irgendwo

eine schreckliche Flamme aufzuckte. Dann gab es einen Donner, und ich lag auf der Erde und war ohnmächtig geworden. Man hat mich zum Kohlenhändler in den Laden getragen, meine Schläfe blutete schrecklich. Ich konnte kaum etwas sehen, aber als mich der Rettungswagen abholte, sah ich durch das Fenster, dass die Strasse voller blutiger Fleischstücke war; das Pflaster war überall rot, und ich wurde wieder ohnmächtig...>>

Die Journalistin Ilse Wolff schreibt:

<<... Gestern, um drei Uhr nachmittags, erschienen plötzlich über 40 faschistische Flugzeuge, die aber sofort von einer eben solchen Anzahl von Regierungsfliegern in Empfang genommen wurden. Aber noch auf der Flucht, warfen die Junkers-Dreimotore ihre Bomben sab. Völlig wahllos. Irgend ein Haus in irgend einer Strasse beginnt zu brennen. Im Keller sitzen die Frauen mit den Kindern, die sich vor den Explosivbomben geflüchtet haben. Rauch dringt ein. Weisses Staub fällt auf sie herab. Die Luft wird schwer. Man kann nicht mehr atmen. Die Kinder beginnen zu schreien, die Mütter werden von Panik ergrif-

fen. Poltern über ihnen. Ein Stockwerk ist eingestürzt.

Sie packen die Kinder zusammen, rennen auf die Strasse.

Das Haus brennt in hellen Flammen. Einige Mutige, die in den unteren Stockwerken wohnen, rennen noch einmal hinauf, werfen ein bisschen Wäsche, eine Matratze auf die Strasse. Ein Kind fehlt. Andere brüllen nach der Mutter, die noch nicht zurück ist. Wieder ein Poltern. Der Fahrstuhl ist abgestürzt, man sieht irgendwo aus Trümmern einen Arm, ein Bein herausragen. Von der Rettungsstation und Feuerwehr kommt Personal. Man birgt Verwundete, Tote. Ein Fall—mitemlebt. Hunderte andere, gleiche, ebenso grauenhaft, ereignen sich in der gleichen Stunde. Da ist jener schreckliche Nachmittag. da die Flieger über einem der Zentralmarktplätze von Madrid, wo tausend Frauen an den Ständen warteten, bis die Reihe an sie kam, nach mehreren Beobachtungsrundflügen über dem Platz, ihre Bomben mitten in die Frauen und Kinder warfen. Ueber hundert Opfer lagen zerschmettert und wimmernd auf dem Boden. Nur Sadisten aus der Schule der Göring und Streicher konnten solche Dinge vollbringen. Aber diese niederträchtigen Attentate haben das Gegenteil vom dem erreicht, was sie bezwecken sollten. Sie haben

den Hass der Madrider Bevölkerung gegen die Rebellen

nur noch gesteigert!>>

(Menschenopfer unerhört 193–5)

Everyday Tragedies

The saying “like a bolt out of the clear sky” for the people of Madrid has in these days a grim meaning. Franco’s death squad approaches the city nearly always at such great heights, that one recognizes neither the airplanes nor hears the engine hum clearly close by. Without warning, without apparent danger, it comes out of the sky, dropping bombs and tearing the little people away from their daily tasks: while kneading at the bakery, when rinsing dishes in the kitchen. Without notice daily life turns to tragedy. The housemaid, Josepha Martinez, who was wounded during the bombardment of October 30th, reports:

“I was at home in the afternoon; I knew nothing of the air raids, just nothing. Suddenly there was a horrible crash, I felt a jolt and stayed on the kitchen floor. Then I noticed that my leg was bleeding. As someone carried me away, the little daughter of my mistress lay in the corridor and was dead. She had played there. She was eleven-years-old. Before the

explosion the upholsterer had gone away. He did me the convenience, you might say, that he was also dead.”

Another housekeeper, Emilia Garcia:

“I had just gone out to get some milk, when somewhere a terrible flame raged. Then there was a boom, and I lay on the ground and fainted. My temple was bleeding so terribly that they carried me to the coal dealer in the shop. I could hardly say anything, but when the ambulance got me, I saw out the window that the street was full of bloody bits of flesh. The cobblestone was red all over, and I fainted again...”

The Journalist Ilse Wolff wrote:

“Yesterday, at three in the afternoon forty fascist airplanes suddenly appeared, but they were immediately intercepted by a similar number of Government pilots. But still on the run, the three Junkers engines threw their bombs—indiscriminately. Any house in any street begins to burn. In the basement of the women sit with the children who have escaped the bombs exploded. Smoke penetrates. White dust falls down on them. The air is heavy. One cannot breathe anymore. The children begin to cry, the mothers are seized by panic. Again a rumble. The elevator has crashed, one can see anywhere from ruins an arm, a leg sticking out. From the fire and rescue station comes personnel. They carry the wounded, dead. A falling—experienced. Hundreds of others, equally horrific occur in the

same hour. Here is that terrible afternoon, here are the flyers to the central squares in Madrid, where thousands of women were waiting on the stands until their turn came, after several round globs towered over the place, dropped bombs in the middle of the women and children. More than a hundred victims were crushed and whimpering on the floor. Only sadists from the school of Goering and Streicher could do such things. But these vile attacks have achieved the opposite of what they should aim for. They have only increased the hatred of the Madrid people against the rebels!”

(Translation of *Menschenopfer unerhört* 193–5)

Goering Hermann Goering (1893–1946). Nazi leader and Hitler’s second-in-command (1940–42). Founded Gestapo in 1933. Convicted of war crimes at Nuremburg Trials and sentenced to death, but committed suicide in prison. **Streicher** Julius Streicher (1885–1946). Nazi propagandist. Founder of *Der Stürmer* (The Attacker) (1923–45), an anti-Semitic newspaper. Convicted of crimes against humanity at Nuremburg and hanged in 1946.

The News Chronicle and Spanish Testament

Koestler wrote five articles for the London News Chronicle following his release from prison in May 1937. The articles were serialized over the course of five days: Monday, May 24 to Friday, May 28. He later integrated the articles into Part II of Spanish Testament, "Dialogue with Death." Below are passages from each of the News Chronicle articles, compared with passages from Spanish Testament. The exception is the excerpt from the "Third Instalment," in which Koestler justifies the articles in response to criticism that they may be harming the welfare of prisoners of war.

We passed through Alicante on the night of the 27th and reached Almeria in the south on the 28th. Here my diary of the last days of Malaga begins.

These notes, originally composed of about 20 typewritten pages, were confiscated when I was arrested in Malaga; but in the prison of Seville I was able to reconstruct them while the dates were still fresh in my memory and so smuggle out a second version hidden in my underclothing.

I leave unaltered these notes on the agony of a threatened city and of the strange behavior of the people who lived and died in it. This although I realise that they contain some sharp, even bitter, criticism of the Republican authorities, who were partly responsible for the tragedy of Malaga.

("Koestler's Own Story: First Instalment." *News Chronicle*. 24 May 1937.)

We passed through Alicante on the night of the 27th and reached Almería, in the south, on the 28th. Here my diary of the last days of Malaga begins.

These notes, originally consisting of about twenty typewritten pages, were confiscated when I was arrested in Malaga; but in the prison at Seville I was able, while the dates were still fresh in my memory, to reconstruct them as accurately as possible, and to smuggle out this second version.

I leave unaltered these notes on the agony of a doomed city and the strange behavior of the people who lived and died in it.

(Spanish Testament 185)

Alicante Coastal city in Valencia and the last city to be occupied by Franco's forces when it fell 1 April 1939. **Almería** Andalusian city approx. 190 miles south of Alicante. Fell to Franco in February 1937.

Thursday, February 4

Last night, after a relatively quiet week, Queipo de Llano started his final offensive against Malaga.

The attack began, very surprisingly, in the sector Ardales-El Burgo; and—still more surprising—it was hit back. Watched the fighting from a hill. Awful Butchery. Spoke to a deserter, Antonio Pedro Jimenez, from Dos Hermanos, near Seville. Says, in Dos Hermanos there is a newly established munition factory, built and run by Italians; says, all through the night ten to twenty lorries are carrying Italian infantry to Malaga front.

Late afternoon visited headquarters, asked Commander Alfredo G. how things are going on. Says: “Ca va mal,” enemy attacking simultaneously all sectors. Asked how long he thinks the town may resist. Says three days maximum. Can’t get any messages through censorship.

(“Koestler’s Own Story: Second Instalment.” *News Chronicle*. 25 May 1937.)

Thursday, February 4

The offensive began, surprisingly enough, in the sector Ardales—El Burgo, and—still more surprisingly—it was repulsed. Watched the fighting from a hill. Horrible butchery. Spoke to a deserter, Antonio Pedro Jiménez, from Dos Hermanos, near Seville. Says that there is a newly-established munitions factory, built and run by Italians; says ten to twenty lorries are transporting Italian infantry to the front all through the night.

Visited headquarters late afternoon, asked Colonel Alfredo how things were going on. “Ça va mal,” he replied. “Enemy attacking simultaneously on all sectors.” Asked how

long he thought the town could hold out. Answered three days at most. Can't get any message past the censor.

(Spanish Testament 195)

El Burgo Inland village in the province of Málaga, approximately 25 miles east of the city. **Dos Hermanos** City ten miles south of Seville. **Alfredo** Republican officer who fled Málaga 8 Feb 1937, the night before it fell to Franco.

Since my return to London I have received several letters and personal visits from relatives of British people who are detained for political reasons in Franco's prisons. They have all asked me not to publish anything that may annoy the rebel authorities, fearing that those unfortunates who are at the mercy of the rebels, would have to pay for it.

Now, as a matter of fact, my liberation was not due to an act of grace on the part of Franco, but was the consequence of an exchange—a simple business transaction, with human lives as the merchandise.

I have, therefore, no reason to be thankful to Franco, nor any moral obligation towards him, not to tell the truth about how they treated me and my fellow-prisoners.

It seems, further, rather unlikely that an objective exposure of facts could influence the fate of other prisoners: first, because both sides are equally interested in effecting exchanges—until now about 2,000 prisoners have been exchanged by the intermediary action of the British authorities—and, secondly, because any reprisals against prisoners on one side would induce similar measures on the other side. Their fate is mutually bound by a tragic chain.

(“Koestler’s Own Story: Third Instalment.” *News Chronicle*. 26 May 1937.)

Exchanged Koestler’s release was secured in exchange for a Nationalist airman’s wife, who was being held by the Republicans.

Koestler describes being searched immediately following his arrest:

To be searched was just the thing which I feared more than to be tortured or beaten. I had a treasure in my pocket, the most useful thing in the circumstances: a morphine syringe with a reserve needle and a quantity of morphine hydrochloridum; sufficient to get anyone out of all troubles of the Spanish civil war.

Sir Peter had obtained two such syringes from a medical mission in case anyone of his household should be wounded in an air bombardment and no medical help was available.

In the last critical days he had handed me over one of the syringes, as we both disliked the idea of being captured alive. All this may appear somewhat romantic and exalted; but in abnormal situations human reactions are abnormal, too, and a civil war is just the most abnormal and mad thing which human fantasy can imagine.

Now they searched me. While waiting in the police station I had managed to hide the syringe among my cigarettes and to push the needle in the lining of my jacket hoping to be able to make use of it in an unobserved moment.

But the soldier who searched me, drawing his hand along my jacket, suddenly pricked himself with the needle.

“What’s that?” he asked. I showed him the needle and he and his companions all retreated panic-stricken, thinking it was some murderous poisoned instrument—Spaniards like reading detective stories just as we do.

In all my despair I had some little satisfaction in seeing these warriors childishly frightened, and I couldn’t help appreciating the insane humor of the situation.

“Galgenhumor” the Germans call that—the laughter under the gibbet.

They emptied my pockets and confiscated everything. I still had some Catalan money, which has no value in rebel territory. “This you may keep,” one of the soldiers told me rather good-humouredly. “You may pay your ticket with it when you undertake your journey to heaven tonight.”

I asked them to leave me with my fountain pen.

“You won’t need it in heaven,” they said.

(“Koestler’s Own Story: Fourth Instalment.” *News Chronicle*. 27 May 1937.)

His companions Notably, Koestler does not mention Luis Bolin. **Galgenhumor** Gallows humor.

Then what happened was only to be expected.

The soldier who was feeling the lining of my coat let out a terrified yell and clapped his thumb to his lips; he had pricked it on the hypodermic needle.

“He’s got something sharp hidden in the lining,” he said, sucking in rage and fright at his thumb.

I pulled out the needle and held it up in the half light of the courtyard.

“What is that?” shouted the fat officer, recoiling several paces. Bolín, too, stepped back. They were all convinced that they were at last confronted in real life with the famous needle containing Indian snake venom which they knew so well from the films and detective stories. It was a positively awesome moment.

I was made to deposit the needle on a plate, for they all refused to touch it. Then they examined my cigarette packet and discovered the syringe. Then they shook out my handkerchief and discovered the tablets, and finally I myself voluntarily produced the second needle from the lining of my coat. I was obviously the most dangerous individual

that had ever trodden Spanish soil—Mata Hari and Madame X were only wretched amateurs in comparison. Bolín counted over my loose cash; then he made me sign a receipt which ran:

“This is to confirm that I had 700 French francs and 150 pesetas on my person at the time of my arrest.”

He put the receipt in his pocket. The meaning of this proceeding was perfectly obvious. Bolín wanted to obtain from me a sort of testimonial to the businesslike correctitude of his behaviour.

I had on me, in addition, a few small Catalan banknotes, which are of no real value in rebel territory.

“You can keep those,” he said, “they’ll do to pay your fare when you set out on your journey to Heaven to-night.”

I asked them to leave my fountain pen.

“You won’t need that in Heaven,” he said, and handed it over to his fat friend, who tested the mechanism with obvious satisfaction. The pen was a present from my wife. I don’t set over-great store by symbols, but the thought that my old pen, which I had used to write my first book on Spain, should fall as booty into the hands of a rebel officer was particularly galling to me.

When they had finished searching me, all that I had left was my wrist-watch, which they had fortunately overlooked.

(Spanish Testament 230–31)

Mata Hari Margaretha Geertruida "M'greet" Zelle McLeod (1876–1917). Dutch exotic dancer accused of spying for Germany during the Great War. Executed in France. **Madame X** Agnes Meyer Driscoll (1889–1971). American cryptanalyst who broke Japanese codes from 1918 until 1949.

In the Seville prison, Koestler learns that inmates are being executed at night:

Those who are condemned to death are shot between midnight and two in the morning.

I have a feeling of sickness remembering the night when I first heard these executions.

I woke up about midnight. In the silence of the prison, the black air charged with the nightmare dreams of 1,300 men, I heard the murmured prayer of the priest and the ringing of the mass bell.

Then a cell door, the third to the left of mine was opened and a name was called. A sleepy voice asked “Que?” (“What?”), and the priest’s voice immediately became stronger and the bell rang louder.

And now the sleepy man in his cell understood. At the beginning he only moaned, then with a suffocated voice he asked for help: “Socorro! Socorro!”

“Man, there is no help,” said the warder accompanying the priest.

He said it neither in a hostile nor a friendly manner, just stating a fact. For a moment the man who was going to die kept silent; the sober, quiet voice of the warder puzzled him. And then he began to laugh.

It was not the loud, shrill laughter of actors who play a man becoming mad; the man tapped his knees with his hands and his laughter was rather quiet and oppressed, gulping and hiccoughing. "You are making fun," he said to the priest. "I knew at once that you were making fun."

"Man, this is no fun," said the warder in the same dry voice as before.

Then they took him out through the main entrance of the prison. I heard him shouting outside. But the detonation came only a few minutes later.

("Koestler's Own Story: Fifth Instalment." *News Chronicle*. 28 May 1937.)

I knew that the critical time was between midnight and two o'clock in the morning. For some days I stood from midnight until two o'clock with my ear pressed to the door of my cell.

During the first night of my vigil, the night of Wednesday, nothing happened.

During the second night...

A feeling of nausea still comes over me when I remember that night.

I had gone to sleep, and I woke up shortly before midnight.

In the black silence of the prison, charged with the nightmarish dreams of thirteen hundred sleeping men, I heard the murmured prayer of the priest and the ringing of the sanctus bell.

Then a cell door, the third to the left of mine, was opened, and a name was called out. “*Qué?*” (What?) asked a sleepy voice, and the priest’s voice grew clearer and the bell rang louder.

And now the drowsy man in his cell understood. At first he only groaned; then in a dull voice, he moaned for help: “*Socorro, socorro.*”

“*Hombre*, there’s no help for you,” said the warder who accompanied the priest.

He said this neither in a hostile nor in a friendly tone, but simply as though stating a fact. For a moment the man who was about to die was silent; the warder’s quiet, sober manner sizzled him. And then he began to laugh.

It was not the loud, shrill laughter of an actor feigning madness; the man kept patting his knees with his hands, and his laughter was, rather, quiet and subdued, full of little gasps and hiccoughs.

“You are only pretending,” he said to the priest. “I knew at once that you were only pretending.”

“*Hombre*, this is no pretence,” said the warder in the same dry tone as before.

They marched him off.

I heard him shouting outside. But the sound of the shots came only a few minutes later.

(*Spanish Testament* 337–38)

Commentaries from Others

From: Peter Chalmers Mitchell, *My House in Málaga*. London: Faber & Faber, 1938. 255–56.

Arthur was a Hungarian of good birth, but of Left sympathies, and as a journalist had always ventured as far as possible into troubled waters. He had had difficulties in his own country, but the good standing of his parents and friends had saved him from the consequences of his daring. He had been a journalist in Germany during the rise of the Fascists to power, and Germany was no longer a healthy place for him. But his most dangerous “past” had been in Spain itself. Soon after the outbreak of rebellion he had gone to Lisbon and, through his Ambassador, got an introduction to Gil Robles (who had left Spain with his wife and family at the outbreak of the rebellion, but returned afterwards under threats from Franco that if he did not come to share the risks with the others he would be brought back and shot). Gil Robles gave Koestler an introduction to Quiépo de Llano, under the circumstances not the most favourable. He went to Seville, and in due course had an interview with the hero of the wireless propaganda. He had the pleasure of seeing him strutting and posturing in front of the microphone with a circle of applauding sycophants.

Koestler went back to his hotel in which many journalists were staying. Major Luis Bolin was in the smoking-room with them, for part of his duties on Franco’s staff was to handle the Press. Koestler recognised an old German colleague, and although he knew him to be a strong Fascist, presumed on the freemasonry of journalists and went to

shake hands with him. The German recognized him at once, drew himself up and refused to speak. In a few minutes, however, he called Bolin aside, who after a short conversation went to the telephone. Koestler expected unpleasantness, and at once went to the bureau, paid his bill, and ordered a taxi to take him to the station. In the taxi he gave another direction, and contrived to get to Algeciras and Gibraltar whilst Bolin's agents were seeking him elsewhere. From Gibraltar he went to Paris where his wife was living, and wrote and published in German one of the earlier illustrated books on the Spanish war, very completely on the side of the legitimate Government. And now like a romantic young man and a very daring correspondent, he had come back to Spain well knowing that if he fell into Franco's hands he would be in the gravest danger, as from the point of view of Bolin any correspondent who is not wholly a partisan of the Rebels is a wicked spy.

Peter Chalmers Mitchell Writes a Letter to the Editor, *Times* (London)

And so I decided to write a long letter giving the facts of what had been taking place in Málaga. It was as dispassionate as possible, and did not conceal the evil things that had happened [...] For years I had been on the staff of that great paper; it was hot 'news' in the newspaper sense, as no Press man had been in Málaga for weeks; it was signed, so that The Times took no editorial responsibility [...] Later on I was told by a high authority that a change in public opinion in Great Britain towards the Government of Spain dated from the publication in The *Times*. It would be pleasant to think so.

(*My House in Málaga*, 209–10)

20 October 1937

Letters to the Editor

The Civil War in Málaga

A British Subject's Experiences

To the Editor of the Times

Sir,—I left Málaga on Friday last, having been there during 12 weeks of the rebellion which began on July 18. During that time the lives and property of private British subjects who took no part in Spanish politics were in no danger, except from rebel bombing. I received much kindness, and, where possible, assistance, although I was openly trying to protect Spanish friends under suspicion as wealthy monarchists and closely related to persons actually implicated in the rebellion.

At first that assistance was given to me as an Englishman. Spaniards defending a Government elected by the people were sure that democratic England would be on their side. From the first I tried to disabuse them. I told them that at the mere echo of the word “Communism” the British Government would shrink in horror, and that the official Labour Party would acquiesce with professions of reluctance.

According to plan, some Army officers went to the Civil Governor on Saturday afternoon, July 18, and demanded the declaration of military law. The Governor refused, and the Assault Guards unexpectedly took the Government side. There was a good deal of random firing in the streets, all the wilder elements of the populace joining in. Incendiarism and plundering

began, most of the houses set on fire belonging to persons who had already fled from Málaga or who were known to be active opponents of the Republic.

By Tuesday afternoon order was restored, trams began to run, shops were reopened, and the Civil Governor, a moderate Republican, was cheered as he drove through the streets. I myself went through the streets alone and found nothing but relieved exhilaration. It was nonsense to talk to Málaga's being or having been "in the hands of the Communists." So far as political organizations were concerned, it was in the hands of middle-class bourgeois Republicans, the Anarchist-Syndicalist Federations, who are bitterly opposed to Communism, especially that of the Soviets, and the General Union of Workers, which is largely trade union with only a Communist tail.

But on Wednesday it became known that the plot had been successful in many other towns. Authentic information came that the rebels, where they have succeeded, had shot Left politicians and large numbers of persons with the badges of the confederations and unions. At once the temper of the town rose. Armed patrols searched for rebels in hiding and houses for evidence implicating individuals. Except where armed resistance was encountered, detained persons were not shot, but were taken to the Civil Governor's offices, and after interrogation were released or sent to prison, where, until food became short, they had a canteen in which they could buy tobacco, chocolate, and fruit.

But as the fortunes of the Government wavered, as Moorish troops poured in from Africa, as munitions and armaments and trained officers poured in from Fascist Powers, and as it became clear that not even moral support was coming from England and France, the Civil Government of the town became weaker and control passed more and more to the Left. The Trade Union-Communist group (U.G.T.) and the Anarchist-Syndicalist group (F.A.I. and C.N.T.) took the most active part in affairs. Both sets organized militia; the former were more active in trying to

regulate supplies and unemployment and in housing refugees. The latter specialized in arranging new hospitals for wounded soldiers and in propaganda for the future. The former attempted to bribe men into the militia by promising them permanent service in the standing army when the war was over. The latter were bitterly opposed to all standing armies, and even their leaders refused the rank of officers in the militia. The former thought chiefly of raising wages at the expense of what they supposed to be the capitalistic fund. The latter were trying to organize a new Spain based on the creative work of all kinds. Among the latter I made the acquaintance of some of the most constructive idealists I have ever met, some of them miners and carpenters, others of knowledge and culture.

The aeroplane raids did more than anything else to exasperate Málaga. They began on July 27 and, with occasional respites of from a few days to over a week, occurred all my 12 weeks of the war. One or two had direct objectives, such as the Government warships, the petrol stores, and the aerodome. But usually the planes crossed at a great height and dropped their bombs casually. A warship was damaged once and a heavy oil reservoir set on fire. But many civilian houses were wrecked and many women and children killed or mutilated. It was after the first of these that evil things began to happen. But let me say at once that there were no outrages in the ordinary sense of the word, no torturing, mutilation, or other horrors. It is a question-begging term to speak of "hostages" in Málaga. The prisoners there were:—

- (1) Military and naval officers caught in open rebellion. These, after Court-martial, were shot.
- (2) Military and naval officers suspected of implication in the rebellion. These were being tried by a popular tribunal presided over by trained lawyers, with the accusations properly stated and the prisoners allowed to give evidence and to cite witnesses.

(3) Persons accused of sedition. In the early days the latter had a summary cross-examination on arrest, and a subsequent examination by an assessor in the gaol. In the last few weeks these also have been coming before the popular tribunal. I myself have been cited as a witness, shown the evidence for the prosecution, asked for my views on any matters within my knowledge, have had a concise *précis* of my evidence typed and submitted to me for my signature. Naturally in every case I was for the defence.

But in a long middle period men were taken from their houses, hustled into cars, and thrown out and shot by the roadside. After an air raid in which people had been killed prisoners were taken out and shot, either in the prison yard or in the cemetery. There was some pretence of selecting as victims more certainly guilty of sedition, but the choice was often casual. The Civil Governor, rather ineffectively, and the Committee of Public Safety (a joint committee of the Left organizations), more effectively, suppressed these crimes. But they were the worst things, the only really evil things, that happened in Málaga. On the closest estimate I can make, there must have been some 500 odd of them in Málaga and the province. But at least it may be pleaded that in Málaga they were fighting a rebellion: the crimes of the Rights were the crimes of rebels.

Yours faithfully,

P. Chalmers Mitchell

Terukuni Maru, Oct. 15.

July 18 “At about five o’clock I was startled by the sound of heavy firing from over the low hill which separated me from central Málaga. The firing died down in a very short time, but I had discarded my novel and was on the terrace with my servants in anxious curiosity. Great columns of smoke rose over the hill, and as the brief twilight faded showed the flickering glow of flames. But there was nothing to be done, and we did nothing” (*My House in Málaga*, 95). **British subjects** Writer Gerald Brenan, among others. **Spanish friends** During Franco’s siege of Málaga, PCM harbored neighbors Tomas and Mercedes Bolin and six members of their immediate family from July until September, 1936, when he helped the family

escape to Gibraltar. Before Málaga was taken by Franco's forces in February, 1937, the Bolins' home was used by the F.A.I. as a hospital. Tomas Bolin was the uncle of Major Luis Bolin, press agent and staff officer of Franco. Together they arrested PCM and Arthur Koestler in PCM's home on February 9, 1937. "I told [Koestler] sadly that I had seen Tomas Bolin, that he was in a rage because the hospital patients had damaged his house before their hurried departure on Sunday, and that he was in uniform and armed and very far from friendly even to me; I feared there would be no help in him for us" (*My House in Málaga*, 278). "From my knowledge of them, I do not for a moment think that the Bolins have anything but a clear conscience with regard to me. They will remember now that during all the time they were with me I never disguised on which side my sympathies were, and doubtless they have inoculated their relations, including Luis and friends, with the conception of me as a highly dangerous person (*My House in Málaga*, 300–1). **Democratic England** "[The anarchist prison guards] assured me that as England was a democratic country and would be in sympathy with a democracy fighting for its life, I should be welcome amongst all of them. It is a relief to me that I was moved to prophecy, and told them that although I personally was entirely with them, they must not deceive themselves" (*My House in Málaga*, 118). **Terukuni Maru** Japanese ocean liner launched in 1929 by Mitsubishi Shipbuilding & Engineering Co. The ship completed 25 voyages between Japan and Europe before sinking after hitting a German mine off of the English coast in 1939. In *My House in Málaga* PCM mentions traveling on a Japanese ship in 1937.

From: George Orwell, "Review of *The Tree of Gernika* by G. L. Steer; *Spanish Testament* by Arthur Koestler." *Time and Tide*, 5 February 1938.

Published in: *Orwell in Spain*, ed. Peter Davison. London: Penguin, 2001. 263–65.

It goes without saying that everyone who writes of the Spanish War writes as a partisan. What is perhaps less obvious is that, because of the huge discords that have shaken and threatened to split the Government side, every pro-Government writer is really involved in several distinct controversies. He is writing for the Government, but he is also (though he generally pretends otherwise) writing *against* the Communists, or the Trotskyists, or the Anarchists, or what-not.

(*Orwell in Spain* 263)

Mr. Arthur Koestler, a *News Chronicle* correspondent, stayed in Málaga when the Republican troops had departed—a bold thing to do, for he had already published a book containing some very unfriendly remarks about General Queipo de Llano. He was thrown into jail by the rebels, and suffered what must have been the fate of literally tens of thousands of political prisoners in Spain. That is to say, he was condemned to death without trial and then kept in prison for months, much of the time in solitary confinement, listening at his keyhole night after night for the roar of rifle-fire as his fellow prisoners were shot in batches of six or a dozen. As usual—for it really does seem to be quite usual—he knew that he was under sentence of death without knowing with any certainty what he was accused of.

The prison part of the book is written mainly in the form of a diary. It is of the greatest psychological interest—probably one of the most honest and unusual documents that have been produced by the Spanish war. The earlier part is more ordinary and in places even looks rather as though it had been ‘edited’ for the benefit of the Left Book Club. Even more than Mr. Steer’s, this book lays bare the central evil of modern war—the fact that, as Nietzsche puts it, ‘he who fights against dragons becomes a dragon himself’.

Mr. Koestler says:

I can no longer pretend to be objective... Anyone who has lived through the hell of Madrid with his eyes, his nerves, his heart, his stomach—and then pretends to be objective, is a liar. If those who have at their command printing machines and printer’s ink for the expression of their opinions, remain neutral and objective in the face of such bestiality, then Europe is lost.

I quite agree. You cannot be objective about an aerial torpedo. And the horror we feel of these things has led to this conclusion: if someone drops a bomb on your mother, go and drop two bombs on his mother. The only apparent alternatives are to smash dwelling houses to powder, blow out human entrails and burn holes in children with lumps of thermite, or to be enslaved by people who are more ready to do these things than you are yourself; as yet no one has suggested a practicable way out.

(*Orwell in Spain* 264–65)

G. L. Steer (1909–44). War correspondent born in South Africa and educated at Winchester and Oxford University. *The Tree of Gernika* (1938), an account of the Basques' resistance to Franco during the war. *Time and Tide* British weekly left-wing magazine on literature and politics (1920–79). **I can no longer pretend to be objective...** In *Spanish Testament*, this sentence leads a paragraph prior to what follows Orwell's ellipses. **Thermite** Pyrotechnic composite found in incendiary bombs, known for its use by both the Germans and the Allies during the Second World War.

From: George Orwell, "Review of *Spain's Ordeal* by Robert Sencourt; *Franco's Rule* [anonymous]. *New English Weekly*, 23 June 1938.

Published in: *Orwell in Spain*, ed. Peter Davison. London: Penguin, 2001. 297–98.

There is no doubt that atrocities happen, though when a war is over it is generally impossible to establish more than a few isolated cases. In the first few weeks of war, especially in a civil war, there are bound to be massacres of non-combatants, arson,

looting and probably raping. If these things happen it is right that they should be recorded and denounced, but I am not so sure about the motives of people who are so enthralled by the subject that they will compile whole books of atrocity-stories. They usually tell you that they are trying to stir up hatred 'against Fascism' or 'against Communism'. But you notice that they seldom hate these things sufficiently to fight against them themselves; I believe no soldier has ever compiled a book of atrocity-stories. One is left with the suspicion that some of the atrocity-mongers rather like writing about rapes and summary executions.

And does anyone believe that in the long run this is the best way to combat either Fascism or what is bad in Communism? Mr. Arthur Koestler, whose nerves must have suffered horribly during his imprisonment by Franco, and who is to be forgiven much, tells us in his book, *Spanish Testament*, to abandon objectivity and cultivate hatred. The anonymous editor of *Franco's Rule* also speaks contemptuously of 'objectivity neurosis'. I wish these people would stop to reflect what they are doing. To fight, or even to ask others to fight, is one thing; to go round stirring up maniacal hatred is another.

Robert Sencourt (1890–1969). Critic, biographer, and historian. Author of five books on Spain, including *Spain's Ordeal* (1938). *Franco's Rule* (1938) Author unknown. *New English Weekly* A review of politics, literature, and the arts, founded in 1932 by Alfred Richard Orage (1873–1934). **Objectivity neurosis** "We know how much harm the preposterous atrocity propaganda engaged in by both sides caused during the Great War, and the author shares the repugnance felt by every newspaper man with a conscience at the thought of allowing himself to be drawn into such slimy depths. Nevertheless there is a form of journalistic vanity which is just as dangerous as the indulgence in unscrupulous and tendentious propaganda; I call it 'objectivity neurosis.' The journalist who is determined at all costs to give proof of his objectivity often succumbs to the temptation of maintaining silence with regard to concrete facts, because these facts are in themselves so crude that he is afraid of appearing biased." From: George Orwell, "Looking back on the Spanish War." [1942?]

Published in: *Orwell in Spain*, ed. Peter Davison. London: Penguin, 2001. 351–52.

The struggle for power between the Spanish Republican parties is an unhappy, far-off thing which I have no wish to revive at this date. I only mention it in order to say: believe nothing, or next to nothing, of what you read about internal affairs on the Government side. It is all, from whatever source, party propaganda—that is to say, lies. The broad truth about the war is simple enough. The Spanish bourgeoisie saw their chance of crushing the labour movement, and took it, aided by the Nazis and by the forces of reaction all over the world. It is doubtful whether more than that will ever be established.

I remember saying once to Arthur Koestler, ‘History stopped in 1936’, at which he nodded in immediate understanding. We were both thinking of totalitarianism in general, but more particularly of the Spanish Civil War. Early in life I had noticed that no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain, for the first time, I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie. I saw great battles reported where there had been no fighting, and complete silence where hundreds of men had been killed. I saw troops who had fought bravely denounced as cowards and traitors, and others who had never seen a shot fired hailed as the heroes of imaginary victories; and I saw newspapers in London retailing these lies and eager intellectuals building emotional superstructures over events that had never happened. I saw, in fact, history being written not in terms of what happened but of what ought to have happened according to various ‘party lines’.

Newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts About the challenges facing foreign correspondents in Spain, Preston writes: “The early days of the terror, particularly in Barcelona, would colour subsequent perceptions and stand in the way of transmission of more profound truths about what was happening in Spain.” He continues: “Revolutionary violence fed the representation of a bloodstained Republic which made it possible to ignore the fact that the fascist powers were using Spain to alter the international balance of power against the democracies” (*We Saw Spain Die* 14).

From: Luis Bolin, *Spain: The Vital Years*. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1967.

One day a special correspondent of the *News Chronicle* turned up at my office. He had just arrived from London, his name was Arthur Koestler, and his credentials were in order, so, partly because he represented a paper inclined to favour our opponents, I gave him every facility and put through his request for an interview with General Queipo de Llano. The request was granted promptly, for Queipo liked talking to journalists. Shortly afterwards, inquiries about Koestler were set on foot by our Intelligence. But Koestler had vanished from Seville, and some months were to elapse before I came across him again.

(*Spain: The Vital Years* 187)

Bolin describes entering Chalmers Mitchell's home 9 February 1937, the day he arrested Koestler:

A small-sized man was scurrying up the back stairs like a rabbit. I ordered him to stop. When he did so I recognized Arthur Koestler, who had disappeared the previous summer after presenting himself in Seville as special correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, the London newspaper. Of the two, perhaps I was the more surprised, he the more frightened, and rightly so, for I was covering him with a pistol. Like a flash the situation became clear. Koestler had stayed in Malaga to write up whatever he could manage to concoct with Sir Peter and delude foreign opinion still further while achieving a 'sensational scoop'.

(*Spain: The Vital Years* 248)

V. “DECADE OF EXILE”

Nancy Cunard’s article “Decade of Exile” was published in the February 1950 issue of the literary magazine *Arena*, edited by John Davenport (1904–87), Jack Lindsay, and Randall Swingler. From the issue’s “Editor’s Note”:

This issue of *Arena* lifts a curtain of shame which has been allowed to cloak one of the most astonishing and appalling literary phenomena of our time. After ten years, the whole of the living literature of Spain is still being created and produced in exile; scattered all over the world, it still appears, still develops, still finds its way home to its own people by ways as devious and difficult as the conditions under which most of the writers live.⁽³⁾

The article provides brief biographical sketches of and poems by Spanish writers who were exiled from Spain following the end of the Spanish Civil War. Unless otherwise indicated in the article, the poems were translated into English by Cunard.

The Nancy Cunard archive at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas-Austin holds Cunard’s typescript of “Decade of Exile,” which she hoped to expand and publish as a book. Her own copy of *Arena* is also in the archive; in it, she marked in pencil passages that the editors altered or cut. Her disappointment in the edits is evident, as is her intention to record meticulously the ways in which the essay was edited before publication. A short article by the author and Foreign Service officer Charles Duff (1894–1966) was to be published alongside “Decade of Exile.” In *Arena*, it appears separate from Cunard’s essay and was also significantly edited.

Below is a transcription of the introductory paragraphs of “Decade of Exile” as published in *Arena*, with Cunard’s handwritten notes that appear at the head of the article. Following that is a transcription of Cunard’s typescript of the article with her handwritten notes, as well as a transcript of a typed note addressed to the editors of *Arena*, requesting that they publish an addendum to the article explaining Cunard’s intention to expand the article into a book and soliciting interested publishers. The addendum was not included in *Arena* and no such book was published.

Here, Cunard’s handwritten notes and corrections appear in italic font. Text that has been struck out is within < > and text that has been inserted above or below the line is within \/. Text in itals is Cunard’s hand. Original line breaks are retained throughout.

At the foot of this section is a transcript of Cunard’s translation of Spanish poet Antonio Machado’s (1875–1939) “The Crime was in Grenada,” a poem about the execution of the poet Federico García Lorca. Machado fled Spain in 1938 and lived in the border town of Collioure in the South of France until his death in February 1939.

The poem appears here as published in Cunard’s article in *Arena*, with a concordance recording the variants in Cunard’s typescript.

Note: This article as it appears here is cut in many places and paraphrased from the original.

Nancy Cunard

DECADE OF EXILE

The intellect of Spain is today in other Lands.

Unless otherwise stated, all the translations of poems are by myself. N.C.

As printed here, most have been altered by Jack Lindsay.

THREE THINGS NOTICED BY A FRENCH WOMAN WHO HAS

just been in Madrid serve to set the scene inside Spain

today. A Spaniard told her in a matter of fact way:

“Los intelectuales? Why there are hardly any left, because

they have either been shot or are living in exile.” As she walked

about Madrid she noticed proof of an illiteracy even worse than

that before the advent of the Republic in 1931. Next to the names

of many streets in this great European capital was “a small rebus

in mosaic” illustrating the meaning of the letters. For instance,

she as in the Calle de la Luna looking at a sign of the crescent

moon. (Set against that the way the Republican soldiers during the Civil war, those who were illiterate, kept studying in the very trenches. That, yes, I have seen). The third thing was this: on the table of each room reserved for the cyclists of the Tour de France, which passed for a moment in Spanish territory, lay an envelope and inside it were the words: "Greetings from the political prisoners and victims of Francoist persecution. Remember us, you who are free."

Who, then, are the intellectuals living in exile? Practically all of the best and foremost writers, poets, University and other Professors, educators, scientists, artists, many musicians, film and theatre specialists, the acknowledged brains of the country.

(From *Arena*, No. 3. February 1950. 4)

French woman Cunard considered herself to be French due to her long-term residency in Paris and Normandy. **rebus** "A cryptic representation of a word or phrase by pictures, symbols, arrangement of letters, etc., which suggest the word or phrase, or the syllables of which it is made up" (*OED*, s.v. *rebus*). **Political prisoners and victims** See note in Koestler for *los pobres y humildes*.

DECADE OF EXILE

The Intellect of Spain

is today in other lands.

By Nancy Cunard

[My dear editors three, Do you think you can squeeze this note in somewhere in the last pages of "ARENA" -- that is, of course, if you approve -- unless you could put it at the end of my article?):

Faced with the difficulty of compressing as much as possible into some <ten th> 10,000 words, quotations from poems included, I have decided to make a book of all the material that has been through my hands and of far more yet to come. The book is envisaged as objective but also, to some extent, personal. Many of these <poe> Spanish poets are personal friends and I too have known something of Spain at war. Who does not remember Stephen Spender and John Lehmann's admirable "Poems for Spain" (1939)? <with> In it are some of the best poems by English poets in living times. I should like to include these, and some by poets of other nationalities as well. The book is also envisaged as partly illustrative of different stages of the Spanish war, as many of the Spanish \and other/ poets have described this or that event. I should like to print the Spanish original along-side of the English translations. And to make it as contemporary as possible.

Will any publisher interested (and this need not be only a British pub-

lisher) <please> write to: Nancy Cunard, C/o "ARENA,"
28 Southampton Street, Strand, London.

*This article appeared
in mid-Feb in "ARENA, 3",
paragraphs cut \out/ and considerably
altered as to style – paraphrases –
translations of poems
"CUT" indicates what has been
simply deleted in "ARENA"
Charles Duff's article, inserted
here on purpose, is printed
quite separately, and the
note on him entirely cut out.*

OWN COPY

*La Mothe Fe'nelon,
Perpignan,
Toulon – Aug
1949
Posted Randall
for "ARENA"*

London

on Sept 1

On world-arena Spain lies crucified,

In world-arena Spain remains erect --

Everyone interested in letters and culture knows of the conditions that surround the things of the mind in Spain today, spreadeagled and prostrate for ten years now under the rule of Franco. Everyone knows of the weight of Fascism there, of the enormous number of people in prison “for disaffection with the regime” -- of the hunger, sickness, low wages, appalling cost of living and black market, of the utter lack of freedom of expression, of the general misery, save for the relatively few rich, the ostentatiously rich. Maybe the values -- and the importance -- of the resistance to Franco are less well known. They exist -- they always have -- since the end of the Spanish war in 1939; they multiply, and cease they most certainly will not.

Three things noticed particularly by a French woman who has just been in Madrid illustrate to perfection three main themes. In reply to her question concerning writers, artists and intellectuals, a Spaniard told her in a matter-of-fact way: “Los intelectuales? Why, there are hardly any left, because they have either been shot or are living in exile.” As she walked about Madrid she noticed proof of the illiteracy, even worse

than before the advent of the Republic in 1931. Next to the names of many streets in this great European capital was “a small rebus in mosaic illustrating the meaning of the letters. For instance, she was in the Calle de la Luna looking at a sign of the crescent moon. (Not once did one see things like this during the war, when the pride of the soldiers, such as were analphabets, lay in studying their reading and writing, compendiums in the very trenches, while fighting, amongst other things, for an end to illiteracy and obscurantism. That, yes, I have seen.) The third thing<s> was this: on the table of each room reserved for the cyclists of the Tour de France, which passed for a moment in Spanish territory, lay an envelope and inside it were the words:

“Greetings from the political prisoners and victims of Francoist persecution. Remember us, you who are free.”

Such is the good organisation of the clandestine struggle.

Who, then, are the intellectuals living in exile? Practically all of the best and foremost writers, poets, University and other Professors, educators, scientists, artists, many musicians, film and theatre specialists -- men and women who worked with their intellect; people who were famous in Spain and, many of them, out of it, during the Spanish war and the preceding years -- the acknowledged brains of the country.

(From the Nancy Cunard archive, Box 2, no. 5. Harry Ransom Center, UT-Austin)

La Mothe Fe'nelon Lamothe-Fénelon, a commune in the arrondissement de Gourdon in the Midi-Pyrénées region of France. **Perpignan** commune and town on the southern coast of France and the capital of the Pyrénées-Orientales department. **Toulon** city on the southern coast of France and the capital of the Var department.

THE CRIME.

- We saw him walk between the rifles
 The length of the long street,
 Into the cold of the meadows,
 Under the stars of the dawn.
- 5 Here they killed Federico
 As soon as the first light showed.
 The firing-squad of the killers
 Dared not look him in the face,
 Muttering, they closed their eyes:
- 10 “Not even God can save him!”
 Federico fell to the ground,
 Blood was on his brow,
 Lead was in his entrails;
 And the crime was in Granada—
- 15 Mark this—and pity Granada, his own Granada.

THE POET AND DEATH.

We saw him walk at her side
 alone with no fear of her scythe

the sun climbs from tower to tower, the hammers
rang on the anvils, rang and rang in the forges.
And Federico went chatting
with Death, and wooed her, and Death listened to him.

5 “I heard in all my latest songs, my friend,
the clap of your dry palms,
an icy current came, and your silver sickle
laid its edge to my tragedy.
I will sing you back the flesh you lack

10 and the eyes that are emptiness,
ringlets where the wind has played,
lips of red where the kiss was found...
Sweet vagabond, now as ever, my Death,
how good to go along with you,

15 under the skies of Granada, my Granada.”
We saw him on this walk...

Come now, my friends,
out of your stones and dreams, and in the Alhambra
set up a tomb for a poet,

20 beside a fountain where the waters weep
for as ever they murmur:
The crime was done in Granada, his own Granada.

TITLE] \The Crime was in Granada/ *ts*

1 <the> *ts*

4 **stars of the]** stars yet, of *ts*

10 him] thee *ts*

12 **Blood]** The blood *ts*

13 **Lead was]** The lead *ts*

16 **We saw him walk at her side]** One saw him walking with her *ts*

17 **alone with no]** Alone, without *ts*

18 ~] The sun had just found the towers, *ts*

19 ~] On the anvils the hammers rang, / And rang and rang in the forges. *ts*

20 **went chatting]** talked *ts*

21 ~] With Death and courted her, / And Death was listening: *ts*

22 ~] "Friend, I heard in my latest songs, *ts*

23 ~] Thee clap thine arid palms,

24–25 ~] And an icy current came, / The cutting-edge was laid / Of thy silver sickle-blade / Along my
tragedy. *ts*

26 **sing you]** give thee *ts* **you lack]** < > *ts*

27 ~] And the eyes not there — in my songs, *ts*

28 **ringlets]** Locks *ts*

29 ~] Red lips where a kiss was pressed... *ts*

30 **ever, my Death,]** before, *ts*

31 ~] Sweet Death, it is good to be / going along with thee *ts*

32 ~] Under the skies of Granada, / Of my Granada." *ts*

33 ~] One saw him walking thus... *ts*

- 34 ~] Come friends, out of stones and dreams *ts*
- 35 ~] Build a tomb for the poet here, *ts*
- 36 ~] Set it in the Alhambra *ts*
- 37 **beside]** By *ts* **where the waters weep]** whose waters may weep *ts*
- 38 ~] For ever, as ever they say: *ts*
- 39 ~] The crime was in Granada, / His own Granada. *ts*

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