

Chapter seven

British fighters in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939

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Abstract

Talking today about the Spanish Civil War is certainly a complicated undertaking when there are practically no direct witnesses to it who can provide us with personal experiences. If we add to that that it is about telling the adventures (and misadventures) of some people who have come from far away from Spain, specifically from the United Kingdom and who joined both sides, it makes the work much more complicated. Despite the Spanish Civil War, it has a splendid bibliography that allows you to consult and meet the main actors. It is also possible to investigate in the historical archives such as the *Instituto de Historia y Cultura Militar*, in one of its sections, such as the *Archivo Central Militar de Madrid* or the *Archivo de la Guerra Civil* of Avila. We also have the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* of Spain, the archives of the foundations of political parties such as the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) and the *Partido Comunista de España* (PCE) as well as the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* and the main newspaper archives of information. With all this we can try to reconstruct the puzzle of the British intervention in the Spanish Civil War, and we are going to put all our efforts into this.

Keywords

Spanish Civil war, Republican Army, Nationalist Army, British Battalion, International Brigades, Foreign Volunteers.

British Civil War policy. Non-Intervention Committee

In July 1936, the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was headed by the Tory politician Stanley Baldwin, who had been informed by his diplomats in Spain of the military uprising against the Popular Front government, considered as a defender of communism by those who opposed it.

From that moment onwards, the British government's guidelines were to keep out of what was happening in Spain, always with an eye on the attitude held by the Third Reich Germany. For the British government, supporting the government of the Second Republic equated to supporting the USSR and, in a way, this was considered unnatural for them. This fear of the revolutionary giant was conveyed to Leon Blum, president of the French Republic and a militant of a French Popular Front party, and therefore a possible ally of his Spanish counterparts. The French government's reaction was the communiqué of 25 July ratifying its «non-intervention in any way in the internal conflict in Spain». This dialogue between France and the United Kingdom culminated in the creation of the so-called «Non-Intervention Committee», which European countries were invited to join, and then the rest of the world¹.

By the end of August, all the governments of European countries had joined the «Non-Intervention Treaty» except for Switzerland. For the implementation of the agreement, the so-called «Non-Intervention Committee» was set up in London and chaired by Lord Plymouth, Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office², with a sub-committee made up of Germany, France, Portugal, Great Britain, Italy and the USSR³.

90% of Spanish diplomats supported the military coup and the Popular Front Government⁴ appointed Pablo de Azcárate as ambassador to the United Kingdom. On the national side, the representatives in London were the Duke of Alba, also holder of the British title of Duke of Berwick and Juan de la Cierva Codorniú, inventor of the Autogyro and resident in Great Britain.

¹ MORADIELLOS, Enrique. La política británica ante la guerra civil española. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie V, Hf Contemporánea. 1992.

² Foreign Office is the equivalent of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³ USSR, acronym for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

⁴ Popular Front, in Spanish Frente Popular, winning coalition in the February 1936 general elections.

The attitude of the British government was somewhat peculiar because, on the one hand its stance defended democracy as such, yet on the other hand, and supported in business circles, it helped the rebels, for example with the sales operations of «Minas de Río Tinto», in Huelva, whose products were destined for German companies.

Throughout the war, the British government adapted to the ups and downs of the struggle, in some cases favouring and protecting the arrival of war material smuggled into the ports of northern Spain and the Mediterranean, and in others preventing actions to condemn the actions of the (Italian) Aviación Legionaria, whose planes operated from the island of Mallorca.

Beginning of the Spanish Civil War

The official date established as the beginning of the civil war is Saturday, 18 July 1936. However, the uprising began the day before in Melilla when *Guardias de Asalto*⁵ tried to arrest a group of military conspirators gathered at the *Comisión de Límites* building. The facts are known and before the arrival of a squad of the Tercio⁶, the Guardias de Asalto joined the uprising and, from that moment, the military units took to the streets declaring the state of war.

But what had happened on the dates prior to those mentioned?

The Popular Front took over the government of the nation after the previous February elections and the opposition parties had begun to put together plans aimed at overthrowing the government. The *Comunión Tradicionalista*⁷ had sent a group of Carlist officers to be trained in Italy and to prepare their *requetés* in the open fields of Navarre. The members of the FE de las JONS⁸, chaired by José Antonio Primo de Rivera and arrested since March, were being persecuted by left-wing militants and it was dangerous to walk in the streets of the cities. The deputy of *Renovación Española*⁹, José Calvo Sotelo, denounced in the Congress the situation of violence

⁵ Guardia de Asalto, name of the Spanish urban and anti-riot police.

⁶ Tercio was the name of the Foreign Legion in 1936. Later in 1937 it changed to Legión.

⁷ *Comunión Tradicionalista*, a political grouping that framed the Carlist monarchists.

⁸ FE de las JONS, acronym for the Falange Española y de las Juntas de Ofensivas Nacionales Sindicalistas.

⁹ *Renovación Española*, monarchical political party.

that existed in the streets pointing out the number of attacks, strikes, murders, fires, assaults to properties, etc. which cost him the direct threat of the politicians in power. On 14 April, on the occasion of the military parade, the 2nd Lieutenant of the Guardia Civil Anastasio de los Reyes was killed. During his funeral, the official retinue was attacked by leftist militants and Guardias de Asalto, resulting in five deaths, including Andrés Sáenz de Heredia, cousin of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and 32 wounded. The officer who commanded the Guardias de Asalto in Manuel Becerra Square was Lieutenant José del Castillo Sáenz de Tejada, an instructor of the Juventudes Socialistas militias¹⁰. Lieutenant Castillo was killed on 12 July and it was not known who the perpetrators were, some blaming the Carlists, and others blaming the Falangists¹¹.

In the barracks of Pontejos, on the night of 12 to 13 July, the captain of the Guardia Civil, Fernando Condés Romero, recruited a group of Guardias de Asalto and bodyguards of PSOE leaders belonging to the group called «La Motorizada», with the intention of avenging the death¹².

That night several vans of the Guardia de Asalto left, and one of them contained Captain Condés and the gunmen of «La Motorizada», Luis Cuenca Estevas and Santiago Garcés Arroyo. At 3 am they went to Calvo Sotelo's home and, faced with his claims of parliamentary immunity, Captain Condés identified himself, which reassured Calvo Sotelo that he had dressed, said goodbye to his family and left his home. On the way, Luis Cuenca shot him twice in the back of the head, causing him to die on the spot, and his body was abandoned in the Cementerio del Este (La Almudena at present).

This assassination was the call for the uprising which, until then, had been managed secretly and which took place four days later and, as a consequence of its results, led to the Spanish Civil War.

But other events had already taken place, which were later clearly linked to the military uprising.

On 4 July 1936, banker Juan March gave a check for 2,000 sterling pounds to Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena, director of the newspaper

¹⁰ Juventudes Socialistas, the youth branch of the PSOE that merged with the Communist Youth in 1936 to form the Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas.

¹¹ GIBSON, Ian. *La noche en que mataron a Calvo Sotelo*. Ed. Argos Vergara. 1982
THOMAS, Hugh. *La guerra civil española*. Editions Ruedo Ibérico. 1962.

¹² GARCIA SERRANO, Rafael. *Diccionario para un macuto*. Editorial Planeta. 1979.

*ABC*¹³, which instructed its correspondent in London, Luis Antonio Bolín Bidwell, to rent a plane for a major transfer. Bolín contacted Douglas Francis Jerrod and Reserve Major Hugh Pollard who worked for MI-6. At Croydon airfield, near London, Bolín was able to rent a De Havilland DH-89 «Dragon Rapide» with registration G-ACYR. The final destination of the flight was the island of Gran Canaria. To camouflage his intentions, Luis Antonio Bolín invited Major Pollard, his daughter Diana and a friend of hers named Dorothy Watson on the trip.

The flight left for Bordeaux at 7 am on 11 July, piloted by Captain Charles William Henry «Cecil» Bebb. As a flight engineer Walter Petrie was scheduled to travel with assistant mechanics George Ovey Bryers and John Rice and radio operator Nevil Shute. It is not clear how many of them completed the journey as new travellers had to be accommodated at the various stops made, although some authors suggest that Bryers and Rice travelled¹⁴.

In Bordeaux they refuelled, and a mechanic gave his place to José López de Carrizosa, Marquis of Mérito. The next stop was in Biarritz for another refuelling, before crossing the peninsula without stopping on Spanish soil and arriving at the Espinho military airfield near Porto where they spent the night. The next day they flew to Alverca airfield near Lisbon where Bolin and the Marquis of Mérito met with General Sanjurjo.

In the afternoon they flew from Lisbon to Casablanca where they stayed for three days while the Marquis of Mérito went to Tangier to buy a «Caudron» plane as an alternative means of transport to the «Dragon Rapide». On the 15 the plane left only with British travellers and crew and made a new stop for refuelling at Villa Bens, from where they flew to their final destination at the Gando airfield in Gran Canaria. Major Pollard, his daughter and her friend went to Santa Cruz de Tenerife on the steamship «Viera y Clavijo» where they introduced themselves to Medical Service Lieutenant Colonel Luis Gabarda Sitjar at the «Costa Clinic» in the capital, identifying themselves with the agreed password «Galicia salutes France». Gabarda, after the visit, informed Franco's assistant and cousin that the plane was at the general's disposal for his transfer to Morocco.

On 16 July, General Amado Balmes Alonso passed away in Las Palmas as a result of a gun accident and the following day General Franco,

¹³ «ABC, a newspaper with a declared monarchical tendency.

¹⁴ LARGEAUD, Bertrand. *La perception des volontaires britanniques de la guerre d'Espagne, de la surveillance à la redécouverte*. Université Paris Sorbonne. 2013.

after being authorised by the government, travelled to Las Palmas de Gran Canaria to attend the funeral accompanied by his cousin Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo, the Legal Adviser Major Lorenzo Martínez Fuset, and two Captains and two Lieutenants as escorts¹⁵. He was also accompanied by his wife and daughter, who embarked the next day on the Woermann shipping company vessel «Wadai» for Le Havre (France), accompanied by the Major, member of the Canarias Staff, Fernando García González. Major Pollard, his daughter and her friend returned to England by sea on 24 July.

On 18 July, Franco woke up early and, after a few hours waiting for news from Morocco and the rest of Spain, he left for Gando with his companions on the tugboat «España 2» and, after disembarking, they entered the airfield. The expedition was formed by General Franco, his assistant and cousin, Lieutenant Colonel Franco Salgado-Araujo and Lieutenant Pilot Antonio Villalobos Gómez, who knew the territory over which they were to fly. After taking off at 2 pm, they flew to Agadir to refuel and continued on to Casablanca where they landed and were welcomed by Luis Bolín and spent the night in a hotel.

The following day, 19 July, they took off at 5 am, landing at Sania Ramel airfield in Tetouan, and were welcomed by the main military commanders of the capital of the Protectorate who informed Franco of the triumph of the military uprising.

The objective of the trip was fulfilled, and Franco took over the military command of all the troops of the Protectorate¹⁶. However, Captain Bebb's mission did not end there as Franco commissioned Bolín to carry out a mission in Italy.

The «Dragon Rapide» left for Lisbon in order to take Sanjurjo to Spain, but he travelled in Ansaldo's DH.80 «Push Moth» plane, with the disastrous consequences that this entailed. Bebb continued the journey to Biarritz where Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena embarked for Rome. The flight went smoothly to Marseille from where the expedition took a regular flight to Rome. They were welcomed by Count Ciano, who made arrangements with his father-in-law Mussolini to request help. At first this was refused, but that same

¹⁵ The following officers were involved: Infantry Captain Francisco Espejo Aguilera, Artillery Captain José Gil de León Entrambasaguas, Infantry Lieutenant Alvaro Martín Bencomo, and Infantry Lieutenant Manuel Logendio Clavijo. (<https://pedromedinasanabria.wordpress.com/tag/amado-balmes-alonso/>).

¹⁶ GONZALEZ-BETES, Antonio. El histórico vuelo del Dragon Rapide. Revista «Aeroplano» no. 10. Instituto de Historia y Cultura Aeronáutica. Madrid. 1992.

day another commission sent by General Mola and headed by Antonio Goicoechea arrived in Rome and met Mussolini in person who approved the sale of 12 three-engine Savoia-Marchetti SM-81 bombers which were transferred from Sardinia to Nador near Melilla a few days later. Three aircraft were lost due to lack of fuel as one fell into the sea and two landed in Algerian territory, raising the alarm of the French government. This was the first direct foreign aid received by the national side. Once the planes arrived at Sania Ramel airfield, they took part in the «air bridge» that moved troops of the Protectorate to the peninsula.

We therefore see that the first Englishman to take part in the Spanish Civil War on the so-called national side was Captain Charles William Henry Cecil Bebb, who would be rewarded by Franco himself with the Grand Cross of Military Merit with a white badge.

But, what was happening on the government side at that time? In several Spanish capitals, armed militias loyal to the government had thwarted the military coup. In Barcelona, the People's Olympiad was scheduled to take place, organised by political and trade union entities opposed to the celebration of the Berlin Olympic Games, which the International Olympic Committee had entrusted to Germany, governed by Adolf Hitler¹⁷.

In view of the news coming from Morocco, the competitions were suspended, and the workers' organisations mobilised against the troops preventing the military units from winning. The athletes were waiting for the situation to be resolved and the same thing happened to those who had come to Barcelona to watch the competitions.

These people included Felicia Mary Browne, born in Weston Green, Thames Ditton (Surrey) in 1904, who had travelled by car from England to Barcelona accompanied by her friend Edith Bone (in other publications Nancy Johnstone is mentioned as a travelling companion). Felicia was an artist who mastered painting and sculpture. From 1932, she was a member of the British Communist Party (BCP) and an active member of the Artist's International Association. Her friend Edith Bone, a photographer, was also affiliated to the BCP.

Once the military uprising had been quelled, a revolutionary period began that prompted Felicia to report to the headquarters

¹⁷ MARTIALAY, Félix. Amberses, allí nació la furia española. Ed. Real Federación Española de Fútbol. Madrid. 2000. The Olympiad is really the period of time between two consecutive Olympic Games.

of the PSUC (*Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña*), the Catalan branch of the PCE (*Partido Comunista de España*), and apply for membership by enlisting in the «Karl Marx» battalion on 3 August and going off to fight on the Huesca front. The initial idea was for her to act as a nurse in support of her comrades, which she opposed by saying that whatever a man did, she could do too.

The «Karl Marx» battalion took up positions in the Tardienta area and in an action set up on 25 August to blow up a train loaded with explosives, the militia group to which it belonged fell into an ambush and, trying to help another militia man of Italian origin who had been wounded, she was shot in the head and her body abandoned on the ground by the hasty retreat of her comrades¹⁸.

Felicia Mary Browne was the first and only woman of British origin to die in combat in the Spanish Civil War¹⁹.

Civil War in the North

The military uprising in northern Spain also failed, except in Oviedo, the capital of the *Principado de Asturias*, and in the neighbouring region of Galicia. The provinces of Santander, Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa remained loyal to the Madrid government while Álava and Navarra joined the uprising.

So, we see two initial fronts of struggle: one, near the French border and the other on the borders with Galicia. In between, the line of contact between the two parties was initially quiet.

In all these scenarios we find volunteers from abroad who joined the fight. In addition, smuggling ships loaded with weapons and ammunition from various sources arrived and were often protected by British Royal Navy vessels.

The foreign volunteers came to support the fighters of the anarchist, socialist and communist militias. Most were French or of other European origins but residents in France, but there were no British volunteers among them.

¹⁸ TOFONI, Ennio. *Il lungo cammino nella Sierra*. Ed. Lavoro. Milán. 1971.

MARTIN, Simon. *Conscience and Conflict: British Artists and the Spanish Civil War*. Chichester. 2014.

¹⁹ BUCHANAN, Tom. *The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain*. Sussex Academic Press. Eastbourne. 2007.

JACKSON, Angela. *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*. Routledge. 2003.

BUCHANAN, Tom. *The Lost Art of Felicia Browne*. *History Workshop Journal*. Autumn 2002.

In the absence of pilots prepared to make war, the Basque government hired a group of foreign pilots such as the Americans Frederick I. Lord, Bert Acosta, Gordon Barry and Edward (Eddie) Schneider and the British of Jewish origin Sydney Holland. The latter, who was over 50 years old, was an unemployed man who decided to go to fight in Spain as a volunteer with a good contract that stipulated a monthly pay of \$1,500 and a bonus for enemy aircraft shot down. The group formed a squadron known as the «Yankee Squadron» which acted throughout December with the obsolete Breguet XIX aircraft, attacking the national positions near Villarreal. On 11 December, a national Heinkel He-51 plane shot down the Monospar ST-25 piloted by Sergeant Holland²⁰, who died along with the two Spanish crew members, the mechanic Gumersindo Gutiérrez and the soldier Domingo Calles. Also, the English pilot Walter Coates, on his return to England, visited the widow of Sydney Holland and gave her his remuneration of \$1,500. Holland's death caused the other pilots to lose interest in the fight and two of them tried to escape by sea to France, being arrested and finally expelled from Spain without being paid for their services. Upon arrival in the United States, they denounced the Republican government, pleading for the seizure of the cargo of the merchant ship «Mar Cantábrico» in the port of New York. The lawsuit delayed the departure of the ship which finally left New York a few hours before the US government passed the Embargo Act prohibiting the shipment of arms to Spain. After a stopover in Veracruz (México) to load more weapons, it headed for Spain and was boarded by the cruiser «Canarias», which took it to El Ferrol and the seized cargo was very useful for the national side. When it left Veracruz, the «Mar Cantábrico» changed its name to «Adda» flying the British flag and, when it was intercepted by the cruiser «Canarias», it asked for help from the Royal Navy which sent four destroyers but, in the end, the deception was useless²¹.

The Ambassador of the Republic in México, Félix Gordón Ordás, had a small merchant fleet for the transport of war material to Spain, including two English ships: the «Cydonia» and the «Essex Druid»²².

²⁰ ALPERT, Michael. *Franco and the Condor Legion*. I B Tauris & Co. 2018.

²¹ VARGAS ALONSO, Francisco Manuel. *Voluntarios internacionales y asesores extranjeros en Euzkadi (1936-1937)*. Universidad del País Vasco.

²² IÑIGUEZ CAMPOS, Miguel. *Félix Gordón Ordás: un embajador al servicio de la República en guerra (1936-1939)*. Centro de Estudios de Iberoamérica. Madrid. 2016. ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. *La marina italiana en la guerra de España*. Editorial Euros. 1975.

However, in the Basque Country, a South African-born British man did stand out, although it cannot be said that he was a combatant. This was George Lowther Steer, a journalist trained in Oxford and sent to Spain by the London Times. Steer rose to fame by sending a telegram to his newspaper dramatically recounting the aerial bombardment of Guernica. The article had a wide repercussion, contrary to the editorial line of the newspaper, and therefore its director did not use the journalist²³. Steer, who worked for the British MI-5, managed to act as a councillor to José Antonio Aguirre Lecube's Basque government, even attending some of the ministerial meetings held in Bilbao. Steer wrote the book entitled «The tree of Gernika»²⁴, based mainly on the bombing of the Basque village. During World War II he was a special envoy of the *Daily Telegraph* in Finland and, in June 1940, he joined the Royal Army and died in a Jeep accident in Burma in 1944.

National and Republican aviators

When the war began, both sides lacked aviators with flying experience on the aircraft being acquired.

The aircraft on both sides, according to the different authors, were as follows²⁵:

Brand and model	SALAS	RELLO	GOMÁ	SANCHÍS
Niuport 52	50-10	28-7	30-4	28-7
Hawker Fury	3-0	3-0	3-0	5-0
Hawker Osfrey		1-0		
Mastinsides F4A		6-0		
Vickers Vildebeest	27-0	27-0	27-0	27-0
Breguet XIX	60-60	60-30	60-33	60-30
Fockler F-VII	5-3	10-3	7-3	10-4
Dornier Wall	20-10	9-15	5-3	9-6
Savoia 62	20-5		36-0	15-5

²³ ALPERT, Michael. Franco and the Condor Legion. I B Tauris & Co. 2018.

²⁴ STEER, George L. The tree of Gernika. Faber & Faber Editions. 2011.

²⁵ ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. Spansky. Los extranjeros que lucharon en la guerra civil española. Ed. Dopesa, Primera edición 1973.

SALAS LARRAZABAL, Jesús. *La guerra de España desde el aire*. Ed. Ariel. Barcelona 1969.

RELLO, Salvador. *La aviación en la guerra de España*. Ed. San Martín. Madrid 1969.

GOMA ORDUÑA, José. *La guerra en el aire*. Ed. AHR. Barcelona 1958.

SANCHIS, Miguel. *Alas rojas sobre España*. Ed. Publicaciones españolas. Madrid 1956.

Brand and model	SALAS	RELLO	GOMÁ	SANCHÍS
Macchi 18				10-0
Macchi 41				0-4
Boeing 28 (caza)		1-0		

The contribution of French aircraft to the Republican government alleviated the situation, as did the recruitment of aviators by the writer André Malraux, who was declared a Communist sympathiser and creator of the «Spain» squadron with almost three hundred volunteers, including pilots and ground staff, and some fifty aircraft in flight. Most of the staff was French, but the pilots included nine British, as Mikhail Koltsov points out, noting that of the nine he met, three died, five were wounded, and the last one decided that the war was not for him and left²⁶.

After a poor performance by its commanders, the «Spain» Squadron was withdrawn to the base in Alcantarilla (Murcia) without penalty or glory and finally integrated into the Republic's Air Force.

A Briton from the «Spain» Squadron was Hugh Oloff de Wett who signed his contract on 3 August with a monthly salary of 108 £²⁷ and a premium of 300 £ per plane shot down, as well as life insurance of 2,000 £ in case of death, and 1,000 SP in case of disability²⁸.

Oloff de Wett wanted to join the national side but, when interviewed, said that he had piloted in the Abyssinian war in favour of the Emperor and against Mussolini's Italy, so he was rejected and had to leave Spain. Once in France, he joined the Malraux volunteers.

Hugh Oloff de Wett started out driving a Niuport NI.52 just like his compatriot «Clifford», whose real name was Claude Warsaw, and who died on 25 September 1936 after a clash with a Fiat CR-32 «Chirri». In the same combat, another English pilot named «Lieutenant Smith-Piggot» was shot down and killed. His name was Edward Gawen Dawnes-Martin and his opponent was the Italian sergeant major Brunetto di Montegnacco at the controls of a Fiat CR-32 aircraft²⁹.

²⁶ KOLTISOV, Mijail. *Diario de la Guerra de España*. Akal Editor. 1978.

²⁷ SP, acronym for Sterling Pounds.

²⁸ ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis Spansky. *Los extranjeros que lucharon en la guerra civil española*. Ed. Dopesa. 1973.

²⁹ ALPERT, Michael. *Franco and the Condor Legion*. Bloomsbury Academic. 2019.

The first British pilot to be shot down was the 19-year-old known as «Cartwright», and whose name was Brian Griffin, after a battle that took place on 27 August with a Fiat CR-32 «Chirri».

Another British pilot from the «Spain» Squadron who was shot down on 16 September was Bruce Keith «Kay» Lindsay at the controls of a Dewoitine D.372, and the pilot who shot him down was Italian Sergeant Raffaele Chianese of the Aviación Legionaria³⁰. The pilot was wounded but managed to return to Republican lines as he was recorded as having died in wartime action during World War II while flying a «Halifax» aircraft over the Netherlands in 1943³¹.

On 18 September, Edward Hillman was shot down, flying a Dewoitine D.372 and belonging to the same squadron as Lindsay, his opponent being the Italian Sottotenente³² Adriano Mantelli «Arrighi». Hillman managed to reach the lines³³.

Among the British pilots from the early days of Republican aviation, the following are mentioned in various media³⁴:

- Robert «All weatherMac» McIntosh
- Vincent Philip Joseph Doherty, shot down twice
- Eric Neville Griffiths³⁵, of New Zealand origin.
- Robert Pickett
- Patrick Mertz
- George Fachiri
- Frank George Fairhead
- John Loverseed
- Percy Papps
- A. Russel-Browne
- John Wilson
- John Hardy, former RAF pilot Sergeant

³⁰ Aviación Legionaria, the name given to Italian aircraft and pilots during the civil war by the national side.

³¹ CAWSEY, Richard. British civil aircraft accidents 1935-1939. Bison Consultants Ltd. 2000. www.rcawsey.co.uk/Accb1939.htm.

³² Sottotenente, Italian military grade equivalent to 2nd Lieutenant.

³³ LOGOLUSO, Alfredo. Fiat CR.32 Aces of the Spanish Civil War. Bloomsbury Publishing. 2013.

³⁴ LOPEZ PERMUY, Rafael A. Spanish Republican Aces. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.

³⁵ LAUREAU, Patrick. Les pilotes mercenaires pendant la guerre civile: Problèmes, Légendes et Realités. Article. 1986.

- Victor Edgeley, former RAF pilot Sergeant
- Harold Claude Garret Cosh, Observer and machine gunner, former RNASand RAF
- Walter Scott Coates, a RAF Reserve Pilot Lieutenant who signed his contract because he was out of work and who, having returned to England, went to hand over the compensation to Holland's family.
- Charles Kenneth Upjohn-Carter, known as «Charles Kenneth», was assigned to the MajorAntonio Martín-Luna Lersundi's Unit, which already included Russian pilots such as Yevgueni Erlykin, Ivan Kopets, Anton Kovalevskii, Ernst Schach, Georgii Tupikov and Ivan Proskurov³⁶.
- Charles Kenneth and Robert Pickett were travelling in a De Havilland DH.80A «Puss Moth» plane, registration G-ABWA, when they plunged into the water in the Seine estuary near Le Havre and were both rescued unharmed. The event occurred on 30 December 1936³⁷

The MI5 archives released in 2011 bring in more British volunteers in the ranks of the Fuerzas Aéreas de la República³⁸ such as those listed below:

- Gavin Downs Martin
- Kin-Man³⁹
- D. Hutchinson
- Raymond
- R. Raymon
- Claude Warson
- Edward Whitelaw «Jock» Bonar, RAF Lieutenant Pilot in 1945
- William L. Bamborough
- Leslie Gartner Goult
- Edward AJ Hillman

³⁶ IBARRURI, Dolores and others. Bajo la bandera de la España Republicana. Editorial Almuzara. Córdoba. 2019. Statements by General Gavriil Mikhailovich Prokofiev

³⁷ CAWSEY, Richard. British civil aircraft accidents 1935-1939. Bison Consultants Ltd. 2000.

www.rcawsey.co.uk/Accb1939.htm

³⁸ Fuerzas Aéreas de la República means Republic Air Forces

³⁹ This is how it is written in the list.

Others related in various ways to the Fuerzas Aéreas de la República also appear:

- HB Fraser, RAF deserter
- Norman Elcoat, who died in 1940 over France as a RAF Sergeant
- Herbert Alan Winfield, in 1943 was a Lieutenant in the RAF.
- George Bryan, Torpedo Instructor in Cartagena
- Albert Edward Cole, a sailor who went to the Anti-tank Company of the 129th IB⁴⁰
- John Agnew, deserted from the Berkshire Regiment
- Augustine Harris (Liverpool), deserter
- George Martin Henney, Army Volunteer Reserve
- J. Cross, former RAF pilot
- Alfred E. Clark, former RCAF pilot⁴¹
- William J. Digby, former Brigade of the Royal Fusiliers
- RF Robinson, former RAF pilot
- W. Ryan, who died in the Royal Lancashire Regiment⁴²

We see therefore that the British contribution to the Fuerzas Aéreas de la República was extensive from the beginning of the war but, the arrival of Soviet pilots and ground staff meant that there were no more British pilots, and no specific British unit was created in the Air Force organisation.

We have also noted that Britain's contribution to the war effort on both sides did not include military aircraft in the strict sense of the word but rather civilian aircraft that was adapted for military use.

The researcher Gerald Howson provides a chronology of aircraft deliveries for both sides published by Jesús Salas Larrazábal, which we transcribe below:

Date	Government Aviation	National Air Force
01-08-36	-	1 DH.89 Dragon Rapide
02-08-36	-	1 G.A. Monospar ST-12
04-08-36	-	1 DH.89 Dragon Rapide
06-08-36	-	1 Airspeed Envoy

⁴⁰ IB, acronym for International Brigade.

⁴¹ RCAF, an acronym for the Royal Canadian Air Force.

⁴² <https://www.greatwarforum.org/> 2011.

Date	Government Aviation	National Air Force
07-08-36	1 Percival Gull Six	-
09-08-36	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
09-08-36	1 Miles M.2H	-
09-08-36	1 Miles M.3B	-
09-08-36	1 G.A. Monospar ST-25	-
08-36	2 G.A. Monospar ST-25	-
12-08-36	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
13-08-36	1 Airspeed Viceroy	2 DH.89 Dragon Rapide
13-08-36	-	2 Fokker F.VII b
15-08-36	4 DH.84 Dragon	4 Fokker F.XII (2 did not arrive)
08-36	1 B.A. Swallow	-
08-36	1 Percival Gull Six	-
19-08-36	British government orders embargo on war material	
21-08-36	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
29-08-36	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
07-09-36	1 DH.89 Dragon Rapide	-
15-09-36	1 B.A. Klemm Eagle 2	-
10-36	2 Miles M.2H	-
11-36	1 B.A. Swallow	-
12-36	2 Airspeed Envoy	-
01-37	2 Avro (1 626 and a 643)	-
01-37	1 Miles M.23 Hawk Speed Six	-
02-37	1 G.A. Monospar ST-25	-
03-37	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
04-37	1 DH.89 Dragon Rapide	-
05-37	2 G.A. Monospar ST-25	-
05-37	1 B.A. Klemm Eagle 2	-
06-37	1 G.A. Monospar ST-25	-
06-37	1 Airspeed Envoy	-
07-37	2 Airspeed Envoy	-
08-37	2 Airspeed Envoy	-
08-37	1 Spartan Cruiser II	-
TOTAL	40 aircraft	12 aircraft (2 did not arrive)

We can see that, despite the embargo on war material decreed on 19 August 1936, the deliveries to the government side continued and so 33 more British aircraft were added between August 1937 and the end of the war in 1939. On the other hand, no British aircraft arrived at the Aviación Nacional since 15 August 1936⁴³.

Meanwhile we had left the English captain Bebb with his «Dragon Rapide» travelling through the south of France to Marseille from where he returned to Spain and a few days later, after an unscheduled landing in Burgos, the crew was detained for two days and finally authorised to return to their base in Croydon, near London. From 11 July when Luis Antonio Bolín Bidwell left, five weeks had passed that, for the crew, were truly historic.

But this was not the end of the British pilots' performance on the national side, as other pilots appeared on the scene of the Civil War⁴⁴.

On 21 July, Captain Robert Henry McIntosh and mechanic Ryway took a group of British journalists on board a DH-89 «Dragon Rapide» to Burgos. From there they flew to Lisbon, taking General Ponte. Juan Antonio Ansaldo, who had been injured in the plane crash in which General Sanjurjo died, embarked in Lisbon, returning to Burgos from where they made several trips to Biarritz, returning later to their base in London.

Later, a DH-87 «Leopard Moth» arrived in Spain, piloted by the British nobleman Edward Arthur Saint George Hamilton Chichester, Marquis of Donegal and Rupert Belville, who was on observation missions on the Somosierra front. Saint George returned to the United Kingdom while Belville went to Barcelona where he stayed until 14 August, when he was authorised to travel to Perpignan (France). On 13 November he landed at the Noaín airfield (Pamplona), then passed through Gamonal in Burgos and returned to Noaín where, after being checked at a passport control that he had landed previously in Barcelona and did not have a visa to enter and leave France, he was «invited» to leave Spain. Returning to Spain with his plane, he acted in the operations of Andalusia linked to Falange Española Units. In the summer of 1937, while in San Sebastian, he was informed that the nationals had already

⁴³ SALAS LARRAZABAL, Jesús. La aportación de material aéreo por parte de los principales países extranjeros. (I) Generalidades y ayuda a la República. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 7. Instituto de Historia y Cultura Aérea. Madrid.1989.

⁴⁴ DE MESA, José Luis. Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Instituto de Historia y Cultura Aérea. Madrid 1998.

entered Santander and together with his friend from Jerez, Ricardo González Gordon, they travelled in their small plane to La Albericia (Santander) where they landed and left the aircraft shouting *¡Viva Franco!* and *¡Arriba España!* One can imagine the faces of the militiamen before they are arrested. When they were transferred to Gijón, Ricardo González Gordon, who was fluent in English, posed as an Englishman and both managed to be exchanged for members of the *Ejército Popular*. Belville later declared that he thought they would be shot at any moment.

On 1 August 1936, the Scottish pilot and nobleman Lord Malcolm Avondale Douglas-Hamilton landed in Burgos on board a «Dragon Rapide» with the registration G-ADCL with which Richard L'Estrange Malone from Airwork Ltd. was travelling, an aircraft that had been acquired by the already named *Aviación Nacional*. Airwork General Trading Ltd. was based at Heston Aerodrome and was involved in all types of aviation business such as civil aircraft sales and repair, flight school, passenger transport etc. and supplied aircraft to both sides in the first year of the war. He provided the Fuerzas Aéreas de la República with a DH-84 «Dragon II» registration G-ACEV and a DH-89A registration G-ADDF while he provided the *Aviación Nacional* with the already mentioned DH-89A registration G-ADCL and DH-89A registration G-ACPN which, piloted by Richard John Beattie «Dick» Seaman, arrived in Burgos the next day⁴⁵.

On 3 August, the «Beechcraft» B-17R aircraft arrived in Gamonal (Burgos), piloted by the British Owen Cathcart-Jones as co-pilot and owner of the aircraft, the American James Haizlip. The plane was used to transfer people. On a flight to Innsbruck (Austria), the authorities blocked the exit of the aircraft and it was abandoned on that airfield.

But the shipments of aircraft from Great Britain to Spain continued, and so on 13 August two Fokker F-VIIb/3m landed at Gamonal. Bought in the Netherlands, they made the journey directly from Croydon carrying extra fuel tanks in the place where bombs were normally transported and piloted by Captains Thomas Neville Stack and Donald Salisbury Green, born in Lambeth (London) in 1902, who returned to England once the delivery had been made. These Fokkers were the same model as the three-engine plane that bombed the Basilica del Pilar in Zaragoza on 3 August 1936⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ MCCLOSKEY, Keith. *Airwork, a history*. The History Press. 2013.

⁴⁶ DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

In the same month, a «Monospar» ST-12 aircraft arrived from Heston, registration G-ADWH, crewed by Captain Hugh Mac Phail, Tom Campbell Black and navigator L.T.C. Castlemaine. On 30 July he had flown another plane to Burgos, this time a De Havilland DH-80A «Push Moth» with the registration G-ABYW, which he used for trips to Lisbon and the Protectorate.

On 10 October 1936, the Englishman Peter Hubertus Reulenton Criminil, Duke of Reulenton⁴⁷, who also had German family origins, enlisted in the Tercio recruiting depot in Cáceres. He was an aeronautical engineer born in London in 1910 and, upon enlisting, said that he could fly planes and, after tests carried out in Tablada (Seville), he went on to pilot the Breguet XIX in Captain Soler's Squadron. In October 1938 he was added, along with other Spanish pilots, to the AS.88 Group of the Condor Legion based in Pollensa (Balearic Islands), piloting Heinkel He-59 seaplanes and acting as flight instructor and German translator for the Spanish pilots led by Captain Carlos Pombo Somoza. Then, he was known as Pedro Humbertum⁴⁸. On 2 April 1939, he applied for and was granted a leave of absence from the *Aviación Nacional*. Interestingly, his service record is not recorded in the military archives despite having performed 52 war services with 180 hours of flight time⁴⁹.

The magazine «The Aeroplane» of 29 June 1937 published an interview with the Irish pilot William Dickson Winterbottom who said that he had flown for the *Aviación Nacional* and had even flown the DC-2 plane used by Franco. In March 1937 he had flown to England on a special mission, but the «Non-Intervention Committee» blocked him on the ground, so he travelled to Dublin and no longer returned to Spain. In Spanish archives, he is listed as a Lieutenant but The Legion reports that in its archives there is no record of him by that name⁵⁰. In the Second World War he appears as a possible 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Navy Reserve of Volunteers.

⁴⁷ DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

⁴⁸ PERMUY, Rafael A. – O'DONNELL, César. *As de Picas*. Galland Books. 2008.

⁴⁹ The author of this work has researched the family background of Complementary Lieutenant Peter Humbertum and, apart from his English ancestors, he belonged to a noble German-Danish family in the current German state of Schleswig-Holstein, surnamed Reventlow, which, when it was registered in the Tercio, was mistakenly transformed into Reulenton, and its real noble title was Count.

⁵⁰ DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

Another curious case refers to the English military pilot Malcolm Frederick Craig Strath seed who flew «Gloster Gladiator» planes in Gibraltar and who one day decided to fly to Spain with his own plane and for a certain time was flying the Legion Condor planes such as the «Messerschmitt BF-109» returning to Gibraltar a few weeks later⁵¹. This pilot died during the Second World War.

Another British pilot, W. Carlton Ross, on board a DH-85 «Leopard Moth» aircraft, registration G-ACSH, travelled between Seville and Burgos as early as August 1936⁵².

Two Irishmen enlisted in August 1936 under the Bandera «Sanjurjo»⁵³ in Zaragoza, one as a pilot captain and the other as an aspiring pilot. They were Jack Courtney and Sean O'Connell. Not knowing Spanish, they were sent to Tablada to complete the transformation course, but the command finally considered that their services were no longer needed, and they were demobilised even though O'Connell was enlisted in the «Irish Bandera»and, after the repatriation of the latter, he served in the Legion⁵⁴.

Another pilot enlisted in Aviación Nacional was Conrad Everard who in 1937 wrote a book published in Berlin with the title «Luftkampf über Spanien». It is not certain that the name is authentic because the British author Bridgeman has not found references to it in British archives, and yet it existed. Everard says that he entered Spain through Ayamonte, and from Seville he went to Cáceres by plane. He claims that with a Levasseur PL110 aircraft he came to the aid of those besieged in the Alcázar de Toledo and with the Junkers Ju-52 he took part in the bombing of Málaga, Madrid and Cartagena. It is still possible to find references to this book on the Internet⁵⁵.

In the summer of 1936, another group of Britons arrived in Spain led by a certain Rayenau joining the Aviación Nacional. They formed a squadron that their enemies called the «Richthoffen» Squadron because they confused British pilots with Germans. This

⁵¹ BRIDGEMAN, Brian. *The Flyers*. Self-published by B. Bridgeman.1989.

⁵² DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

⁵³ Bandera «Sanjurjo», military unit equivalent to a battaillon that recruited volunteers in the Region of Aragón.

⁵⁴ DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

⁵⁵ DE MESA, José Luis. *Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39*. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

BRIDGEMAN, Brian. «*The Flyers*». Self-published by B. Bridgeman.1989.

Squadron acted over two months, losing three pilots of which only their first names are known: Tim, shot down by a Potez Po-54 which was in turn shot down; David, who collided with a Dewoitine, and Claude who disappeared in combat behind enemy lines. Two more Englishmen fell in battle, but their names are unknown. The survivors returned to the United Kingdom but Rayenau flew from Paris to Madrid where he joined the *Fuerzas Aéreas de la República*. After a fortnight he returned to the national side where, after knocking down an adversary whom he recognised as a friend, he abandoned the fight and returned to England having taken part in twenty-four air battles⁵⁶. The Germans Karl Ries and Hans Ring⁵⁷, mention a French pilot Rayneau as a Republican pilot who won five air races. It is possible that this is an error in the transcription of the name of that pilot.

Finally, there was a Spanish pilot with an English mother, Rafael Serra Hamilton⁵⁸, who at the command of a Heinkel-51s of the 1-G-2, died in war action on the Sarrión front (Teruel) on 13 July 1938, hit by anti-aircraft artillery. He was the son of Colonel Wenceslao Serra Lugo-Viña and Selina Hamilton. Three more brothers joined the national army: one in the Infantry, one as a sailor and the last one as a doctor in a field hospital in the rear. Another brother, a technical architect, was mobilised in the Ejército Popularin Madrid and, through the so-called «Fifth Column», passed on reports to the nationals of the fortifications that were being erected on the Madrid front, earning the Campaign medal in vanguard units at the end of the war⁵⁹.

Volunteers in the Ejército Nacional

Below is a list of British soldiers who fought in ground units of the *Ejército Nacional*⁶⁰.

Frank H. Thomas, a Welshman from Cardiff, enlisted in October 1936 in the Tercio as a legionary, and was assigned to the VI Bandera (Bandera is equivalent in the Tercio to Battalion type unit). He was promoted to corporal and, after being seriously wounded in May 1937 in Toledo, not liking the reality of the war,

⁵⁶ DE MESA, José Luis. Voluntarios extranjeros en la Aviación Nacional 1936-39. Revista «Aeroplano» nº 16. Ministry of Defence. 1998.

⁵⁷ RIES, Karl - RING, Hans. The Legion Condor. Schiffer Publishing, Ltd. 2013.

⁵⁸ <http://serra.hamilton.net/rafael.htm>.

⁵⁹ JIMÉNEZ-ARENAS, José Luis. Cadenas del aire. Ed. San Martín. 1973.

⁶⁰ Ejército Nacional means National Army, the opposite side to the Republican Army.

he deserted with another English sailor and they camouflaged themselves among O'Duffy's Irishmen when they were repatriated to Ireland. He wrote a book of memoirs «Brother Against Brother» which was not published until 1998⁶¹.

Peter Mant Mac Intyre Kemp, an Indian-born Englishman with a law degree from Trinity College, Cambridge, travelled to Spain in November 1936 as a journalist for the Sunday Dispatch and joined the Requeté⁶². He was promoted to Sergeant in the Cavalry Squadron «Borgoña» and later moved to the 8th Battalion, «Argel» Regiment and was appointed Provisional 2nd Lieutenant for the rest of the campaign. After a trip to England in January 1937 on the occasion of his father's death, he went to the Tercio⁶³ de Requetés «El Alcázar» as an assistant to the Staff Office, taking part in the combat of La Marañosa in the Battle of Jarama. Once again he travelled to England, and upon his return he was assigned to the Tercio de Requetés «Nuestra Señora de Begoña», in Biscay, with which he fought and entered Bilbao in June 1937, continuing the campaign in Santander and Asturias. The Tercio «Nuestra Señora de Begoña» had been financed by, among others, the English businessman from Birmingham based in Bilbao Edward Kenneth Lutton Earle Jones. On 25 October 1937, Franco authorised the passage of Peter Kemp to the Legion with the rank of a Legionary 2nd Lieutenant (although without having taken the official course), and was assigned to the 56th Machine Gun Company of the XIV Bandera. He later moved to the 53rd Company, being slightly injured from fighting in Alfambra (Teruel). He recovered from his injuries, but on 23 July 1938 he was seriously wounded in the jaw and throat by a mortar shell at the Serós bridgehead and was taken to Fraga hospital, then to Zaragoza hospital and finally to San Sebastian hospital. He was operated on by Dr Soler, Dr Shernant and Dr Joseph Eastman Sheehan, an expert in plastic surgery, the anaesthetist being the British Dr Robert Reynolds MacIntosh. During his convalescence in England, the civil war ended, and he was discharged in July 1939. He wrote his memoirs in 1957 with the title: «Mine were of trouble»⁶⁴.

⁶¹ THOMAS, Frank – STRADLING R.A. – HAMM, Sid. *Brother Against Brother*. Sutton Pub. 1998.

DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁶² Requeté, militia of the *Comunión Tradicionalista*.

⁶³ Tercio is the Carlist military Unit sized Battalion.

⁶⁴ KEMP, Peter. *Legionario en España*. Biblioteca Universal Caralt. 1975.

DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

John Peel was another volunteer with English parents, born in Lisbon where he was known as «Dom João» or «Inglesinho». Knowing that the nationals were about to enter Badajoz, he gathered a group of six former military service colleagues in Portugal and crossed the border, capturing twelve militiamen with their weapons, taking them to Badajoz and, once there, they enlisted in the Tercio. After fifteen days of training, he joined the Yagüe Columns that were advancing towards Madrid suffering from a slight injury. He was one of the first to enter the Alcázar de Toledo, integrated in the 20th Company of the V Bandera. He continued on to Madrid, arriving at Ciudad Universitaria, where he was most seriously injured. In the Tercio, he was known as John of Talavera. After the war, he was granted Spanish nationality and was registered as John Price, and it is quite possible that his surname was changed by mistake at the civil registry⁶⁵.

Lieutenant Gilbert William «Bill» Nangle, sometimes written as Neagle, was the first foreign officer of the Tercio to reach that position without having passed through the ranks. He was placed in the V Bandera attending the toughest operations of the war and was injured twice, the second time so badly that he was discharged, returning to Northern Ireland in early 1938. At the beginning of the Second World War, he was a member of the Palestinian Police Force, and in April 1941 he joined the British Army where he became a Major and killed in action on 2 March 1944 in Montecassino fighting the Germans. O'Duffy referred to him as Gilbert and never William⁶⁶.

Lieutenant Noel Fitzpatrick, an officer of Irish origin, who was awarded the V Bandera of the Tercio and then the Irish Bandera. According to O'Duffy his real name was Michael Skeffington-Smyth. This officer, along with Bill Nangle, had reported to the Tercio at the beginning of the war and was interviewed personally by Franco who authorised their enlistment as officers⁶⁷.

Those who spoke English because of their family background or studies were also assimilated to Sergeants of the Tercio and assigned to the Irish Bandera: Charles William Hoke, Mulcham Sobrajh, Walter Waller, Amaro and Antonio Duarte Boyd-Harvey, (both to be later Provisional 2nd Lieutenants), Adolfo Berthy Consiglieri, José Mascarenhas, Diego Azcona Granda, Juan Roca

⁶⁵ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁶⁶ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁶⁷ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

Lodo, Luis Morales Mejías, Lutgardo Macías López who was City Major of La Línea de la Concepción in the 1940s, José Romero Muñoz, Jaime Juanals Dagnino and Francisco «Curro» Larios and Carver⁶⁸.

Other officers who spoke English or were of British origin were incorporated into the Irish Bandera: Cavalry Mayor Juan Botana Rose, Lieutenant of the Tercio Bernardo Menéndez López, Officer Training Corps (OTC) Lieutenant of the Cavalry Jacobo Jordán de Urríes; Officer Training Corps (OTC) 2nd Lieutenant of the Cavalry José Raventós and Pedro Bové; Officer Training Corps (OTC) 2nd Lieutenant of the Infantry Alfonso Díaz de Bustamante Quijano and Non Commissioned Officer Training Corps (NCOTC) Sergeant of the Cavalry, Ricardo Martorell Téllez-Girón, Marquis of Monesterio who died a few months later in Sabiñánigo (Huesca) in the I Bandera of the Legion. Honorary Captain of the Tercio, José María Fernández de Villavicencio and Croke Marquis of Vallecerrato, Marquis of Castrillo and assistant to O'Duffy, Officer Training Corps (OTC) 2nd Lieutenant of Aviation, Álvaro Fernández-Matamoros Scott born in Liverpool and who would later join the Squadron of García Morato⁶⁹.

English volunteers for the Irish Bandera were Hugh Alapnourusos, H.M. McDaniel, 26, and Jack Colley, 22, both deserters, were tried, sentenced to death and ultimately saved because an English priest expressed an interest in them, and they were expelled to Gibraltar on 28 November 1936. Both said they intended to join the Aviación Nacional but were expelled because they were thought to be working for the British Secret Service. Under the Irish Bandera, there were also Irishmen from Northern Ireland, and therefore British although they are not fully identified⁷⁰.

Walter Meade, a well-known sportsman, was O'Duffy's Assistant Captain and was of Spanish descent. After the repatriation of the Irish Bandera, he continued in Spain attached to the 4th Brigada de Navarra, despite not being recognised as an Honorary Captain⁷¹.

Reginald Victor Kelleth, a 19-year-old soldier, was serving in the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry in Gibraltar when he deserted in December 1937 with Percy Appleyard across La Línea de la Concepción. Appleyard returned to Gibraltar but Kelleth enlisted

⁶⁸ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁶⁹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁷⁰ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁷¹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

as a legionnaire in the 61st Company of the XVI Bandera, fighting in Aragon and was killed in action at Orcau in June 1938⁷².

Joseph Nugent Bull, an Australian Catholic, fought in the «Jeanne d'Arc» Company of the Legion and stayed in Spain after the war. At the beginning of the Second World War, he was in the United Kingdom where he joined the RAF and died on 8 September 1940 after his bomber was shot down⁷³.

Cecil Owen, whose mother was Spanish, had lived in Vigo before the war and first joined a Tercio de Requetés, then went on to become part of the XVI Bandera of the Legion as a Provisional 2nd Lieutenant⁷⁴.

Tom Burns was an ambulance driver for English Medical Aid, Anglo-Spanish Medical Service⁷⁵.

Gabriel Herbert was responsible for the «Anglo-Spanish Medical Service team», which had been set up thanks to the English Catholic organisation «The Bishops Fund for the Relief of Spanish Distress». With the money raised, a medical unit of two ambulances and medical supplies and a medical team made up of Spanish staff were organised. This Medical Unit acted as an addition to the Tercios de Requetés of the Brigadas de Navarra on the northern front. He then acted on the fronts in Aragon and Catalonia to end the war in Madrid in 1939⁷⁶.

Patrick Campbell joined the Tercio de Requetés «Nuestra Señora de Begoña» in Biscay on 20 November 1937 and was discharged on 19 September 1938 after the agreements for the withdrawal of foreign fighters from Spain⁷⁷.

⁷² DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

OTHEN, Christopher. *Franco's International Brigades: Adventurers, Fascists, and Christian Crusaders in the Spanish Civil War*. Hurst & Co. 2013.

⁷³ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998. <http://archives.anu.edu.au/exhibitions/australia-spanish-civil.war.activism-reaction/serving-spain-international-brigades>.

⁷⁴ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

ARIAS, Luis M. – CAÑEDO, M^a Carmen. *Los espinos de la memoria*. UNED. 2017.

⁷⁵ KEENE, Judith. *Luchando por Franco: Voluntarios europeos al servicio de la España fascista, 1936-39*. Salvat Editores. Barcelona. 2002.

⁷⁶ KEENE, Judith. *Luchando por Franco: Voluntarios europeos al servicio de la España fascista, 1936-39*. Salvat Editores. Barcelona. 2002.

DAY, Peter. *Franco's Friends: How British Intelligence Helped Bring Franco to Power in Spain*. Biteback Publishing, 2011.

⁷⁷ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

Hugh Thomas. *La Guerra Civil Española*. Ed. Ruedo Ibérico. 1962.

Thomas Smith, a 21-year-old English student at Saint Alban's College in Valladolid, joined the Legion in March 1938 and became a member of the V Bandera of the Legion⁷⁸. Other volunteers were rejected at the medical examination⁷⁹.

In August 1938, the list of British members of the Legion was presented, and it included several with purely Spanish names, such as:

- Aurelio Valls Carreras, Transmissions Platoon, Staff Office, 1st-Tercio⁸⁰. Enlisted in Talavera de la Reina on 7 January 1937.
- Francis Albert James, I Bandera.
- Alberto Pereira López, VIII Bandera.
- Adolfo Cazorla Menzallus, XII Bandera.

The English newspaper *The Guardian* published an obituary in 1997 referring to Andrew Fountaine, stating that he had been a combatant of the Ejército Nacional but without indicating the military unit. He was the son of Charles Fountaine, Admiral of the Royal Navy. During the Second World War he was employed as a 2nd Lieutenant on the aircraft carrier R-10 HMS «Indefatigable» and was seriously injured and declared disabled after an attack by Japanese «Kamikazes» in April 1945. He later graduated in chemistry from the University of Cambridge⁸¹.

In his book, Chris Hall published the names of four British pilots who acted in the Aviación Nacional⁸²:

- Edward Arthur Saint George Hamilton Chichester, Marquis of Chichester and Marquis of Donegal already mentioned.
- Roland «Roly» John Falk, well known British test pilot and awarded the OBE (Order of the British Empire).
- Richard L'Estrange Malone, a mechanic from Airwork Ltd. already mentioned.

⁷⁸ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

KEENE, Judith. *Luchando por Franco: Voluntarios europeos al servicio de la España fascista, 1936-39*. Salvat Editores. Barcelona. 2002.

⁷⁹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁸⁰ Tercio in this case means not battalion but one or the two parts in which were divided the Legion en 1937.

⁸¹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁸² DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

HALL, Chris. *¡Viva la muerte!. Nationalist Forces of the Spanish Civil War*. Gosling Press.1998.

- Count Theodore Béla Rudolf Zichy of Zich and Vásonkeő known as Count Zichy, born in Eastbourne (Sussex) but with double nationality, Hungarian and British, and owner of a DH.80 «Puss Moth» registered G-AAXY with which he travelled to Spain transferring national people.
- James Francis Walford y Borbón joined the Tercio de Requetés «El Alcázar» and took part in the combats at the Casa de Campo in Madrid, but later lost his way⁸³.
- Ray Campbell, an English poet born in South Africa, fought in the ranks of the Tercio de Requetés «Nuestra Señora de los Reyes» in Seville by dedicating a book of poetry to Requeté. This is confirmed by Requetés Captain Jaime del Burgo in his book «Conspiración y Guerra Civil»⁸⁴.
- Guy «Guillermo» Spaey Bauss, of Belgian origin with a British passport, volunteered in a Tercio de Requetés and then took a course as a Provisional 2nd Lieutenant in artillery and was assigned to an artillery battery where he spent the rest of the war. In 1938, he was promoted to Provisional Lieutenant with the ordinal number 625th of the Artillery List. After the war, he returned to his home country⁸⁵.
- John Amery arrived in Spain in October 1936 as an intelligence officer and arms dealer. He later went on to join the CTV, earning rewards for his bravery in combat, and was discharged in July 1939. During the Second World War he collaborated with the Germans in propaganda actions and at the end of the war he was arrested on charges of treason, tried, sentenced to death and hanged at the end of 1945⁸⁶.
- Evelyn Waugh, was a driver of one of the ambulances of the «Anglo-Spanish Medical Service»⁸⁷.
- Priscilla «Pip» Scott-Ellis⁸⁸, was the daughter of Lord Howard of Walden and Seaford. She arrived in Spain in 1937 where

⁸³ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

ARIAS, Luis M. – CAÑEDO, M^a Carmen. *Los espinos de la memoria*. UNED. 2017.

⁸⁴ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

DEL BURGO, Jaime. *Conspiración y guerra civil*. Ed. Alfaguara. 1970.

⁸⁵ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

«Escalilla de Artillería». Secretaría de Guerra. Burgos. 1938.

⁸⁶ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁸⁷ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁸⁸ SCOTT-ELLIS, Priscilla. *Diario de la guerra de España*. Ed. Plaza & Janés Barcelona. 1996.

she took the nursing course and worked for 20 months in the hospitals of Teruel, Escatrón and Ebro even under enemy fire. She was rewarded with the Cross of Military Merit with red badge and after the war she married the Spanish José Luis de Villalonga, Marquis of Castellvell⁸⁹.

- Hewig Holmes was another British nurse who worked at the hospital in Las Navas del Marqués and received the Cross of Military Merit with red badge at the end of the war⁹⁰.
- Florence Farmborough had been a nurse in Russia but spoke every Sunday night on Radio Salamanca in propaganda and counter-propaganda work since she had lived live the Russian revolution of 1917⁹¹.

A case of help is described on the Serra Hamilton family website when one of their members travelled during the war from Havana to Gibraltar on the Italian ship «Conde Biancamano». On this ship, María Luisa Gómez-Mena de Cagigas, Countess of Revilla-Camargo, loaded several tonnes of sanitary material, food and clothing for the national hospitals⁹².

Charles Reginald Norman Smith, who had been an RAF aviator during the First World War, worked in 1936 in «La Canadiense» as a maintenance engineer for several dams on the Noguera-Pallaresa River as well as the Camarasa power station. When the war arrived in the area, he went to England but when the front was stabilised he returned through the national zone and, travelling in an armoured car, he was in charge of the maintenance, cleaning and greasing of the machinery of the installations in no man's land. During the Republican offensive in Balaguer, he opened the gates of the San Lorenzo reservoir, preventing the troops from crossing the river at Vilanova de la Barca. He repeated this later in the Ebro offensive, but the water flooding was barely noticed. He lived the rest of his life in Tremp, where he died⁹³.

When the Irish Bandera was repatriated, among those, who decided to stay in Spain were Machine Gun Sergeant Maurice Alexander Gordon Cadell and Corporal Sean O'Connell. Sergeant

⁸⁹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.
KEENE, Judith. *Luchando por Franco: Voluntarios europeos al servicio de la España fascista, 1936-39*. Salvat Editores. Barcelona. 2002.

⁹⁰ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁹¹ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁹² <http://serra.hamilton.net/>

⁹³ DE MESA, José Luis. *Los otros Internacionales*. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

Cadell was employed as a captain in the British Army during the Second World War, serving in various special operations and receiving the Military Cross⁹⁴.

General Sagardía spoke of several Irish people without providing any further information, but in July 1937, a report of the Guardia Civil informed an accident involving two German, 2nd Lieutenants of the 3rd Company of the 5th Battalion, one of whom was called James Kimkeits, a clearly Irish name and surname, but not very German⁹⁵. It cannot be ascertained whether these Irish were from the Republic of Ireland or British subjects from Northern Ireland.

Douglas Dodd-Parker, a founding member of the Military Intelligence Service MI-R, recruited Peter Kemp to the SOE (Special Operations Executive) during the Second World War. It is quite possible that he would have coincided with Peter Kemp, both fighting in Spain⁹⁶.

In Gibraltar, Lionel Imossi, owner of a petrol station, helped two officers and five Falangists who had arrived on board the No. 19 Torpedo Boat and took them back to Algeciras once in national hands. Two days later the battleship «Jaime I» arrived in Gibraltar with two cruisers, a destroyer and another smaller ship for the purpose of charcoal. The authorities of the colony refused to grant permission, so attempts were made to do so through private companies. These, led by Imossi and knowing that most of the officers were detained in the holds, tried to negotiate their release in exchange for charcoal but the revolutionary sailors refused so the ships left and most of the officers were shot⁹⁷.

Other Gibraltarians were also involved in the fight, such as Jorge Bassadone Pittaluga, a British citizen and owner of a shop in Ceuta, who joined the fight from the beginning by boarding one of the «Nuestra Señora del Pilar» and «Pitucas» feluccas of the Consorcio Almadrabetero, which, under the command of Lieutenant Manuel Mora-Figueroa Gómez-Imaz, circumvented the blockade of the strait by passing through Tarifa to the legionaries of the 18th Company of the V Bandera of the Tercio, in which Pittaluga

⁹⁴ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

⁹⁵ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

SAGARDIA RAMOS, Antonio. Del Alto Ebro a las fuentes del Llobregat. Ed. Nacional. 1940.

⁹⁶ DAY, Peter. Franco's Friends: How British Intelligence Helped Bring Franco to Power in Spain. Biteback Publishing, 2011.

⁹⁷ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

enlisted, fighting until he reached Madrid. His last action in the Tercio was the taking of Pozuelo de Alarcón. Then, as a member of the Falange, he passed to the Banderade FE⁹⁸de Marruecos where he spent the rest of the war and ended it with the rank of Jefe de Falange⁹⁹.

Another «llanito»¹⁰⁰ who fought in the national ranks was José Wink Olivero, who was enlisted in September 1936 in the *Falange del Campo de Gibraltar* to fight on the Andalusian fronts. In March 1937 he went on leave to Gibraltar, and upon his return the British police did not let him cross. When he finally succeeded, his Bandera de Falange de Cádiz claimed him but being a foreigner, he was only allowed to return in exchange for joining the Legion¹⁰¹.

The Englishman Horace Philbin, fought in the siege of Oviedo framed in the 10th Compañía de Asalto from the «Voluntarios Movilizados»¹⁰².

Once the civil war was over, three deserters from the Royal Navy crossed to La Línea de la Concepción on 4 April with the intention of joining the Legion. They were sailors Harry Dale, J. Smith and Leonard Victor Holmes who were sent to three different companies of the XI Bandera of the Legion¹⁰³.

Finally, we should mention the Cantabrians from the MacLennan family. The first, Luis MacLennan de la Vega, had dual nationality and at the beginning of the war, he wielded his British passport in Santander and managed to be transferred to Alicante where he boarded a British ship and travelled to Lisbon. After crossing the border, he arrived in Talavera de la Reina where he enlisted in the El Tercio recruitment office. On 5 February 1937, he was assigned to Cáceres to the newly created Italian-Spanish Mixed Legionary Brigade «Flechas Negras», initially appearing as Luis M. Vega, with whom he fought in the Vizcaya and Santander campaigns, later going on to the Aragon front where he was seriously wounded and was discharged from that Brigade on 8 October 1937 with a good report on his performance in the campaign in which he had

⁹⁸ FE, acronym for Falange Española (Spanish Phalanx).

⁹⁹ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998. Jefe de Falange means Platoon Leader.

¹⁰⁰ Llanito, a word used for Gibraltarians

¹⁰¹ DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

¹⁰² DE MESA, José Luis. Los otros Internacionales. Ed. Barbarroja. 1998.

¹⁰³ Documentation by Harry Dale and Leonard Holmes. Institute of Military History and Culture of Ceuta.

been promoted to Corporal on war merits. The rest of the war he served in the Staff Office of a Great Unit commanded by the breveted Colonel José Vierna Trápaga¹⁰⁴, from La Montaña.

The second MacLennan was a cousin of the previous one called José Manuel Latorre MacLennan, a lawyer by profession and Provisional 2nd Lieutenant of Infantry who died on 4 July 1938 at the age of 23 in the hospital of Castellón while he was part of the 6th Batallón of «San Marcial» Regiment assigned to the 4th División de Navarra¹⁰⁵.

We see therefore that the British, who enlisted or collaborated with the National side in the civil war, did so in most cases acting individually and looking for Units that adapted to their particular idiosyncrasy, be it ideological or simply adventurous. Peter Kemp reflects this very well in his book «Legionario en España»¹⁰⁶, as well as other fighters in his personal memoirs. Having reviewed their histories, we find the British with the Requetés, in the Legion, in Infantry battalions, in artillery companies, in the first aviation squadrons, in medical units, etc., as well as in General O'Duffy's Irish Bandera. However, none of these Units can be considered as British Units. All of them were perfectly adapted to the character of their fellow Unity members, and in general they fought, and some died with courage and boldness.

Volunteers in the Ejército Popular de la República

Unlike the Ejército Nacional, the Ejército Popular de la República organised in a completely different way «its» international volunteers who were enlisted in the offices and delegations of the Komintern in the various European capitals.

In the case of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the enlistment was carried out by the British Communist Party from its headquarters in London's Covent Garden and in branches throughout the country. They were also assisted by the ILP (Independent Labour Party), as well as by Duchess Katherine

¹⁰⁴ PIAZZONI, Sandro. *Las Flechas Negras en la guerra de España (1937-1939)*. Ed. Fides Tarragona. 2020.

Information provided to the author by his grandnephew Pedro Crespo Baraja. The northern Region of Cantabria is also known as La Montaña.

¹⁰⁵ Information provided to the author by his grandnephew Pedro Crespo Baraja.

¹⁰⁶ Spanish edition title: *Legionario en España*; English edition title: *Mine were of trouble*.

of Atholl. The recruitment office was later set up in Litchfield St. in London under the misnomer «International Brigade Dependents and Wounded Aid Committee»¹⁰⁷. These affiliates will later form the so-called «British» battalion of the 15th International Brigade.

But before that mobilisation, there were already British fighters in Spain. We have seen the performance in Barcelona and Huesca of the Englishwoman Felicia Mary Browne, who joined the «Carlos Marx» battalion and was sent to take the city of Huesca, although she remained in the area of Tardienta. Other British who were already in Spain from the very beginning included John Cornford and Tom Henry Wintringham. The first one, a poet educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and great-grandson of Darwin, went to fight at the front of Aragon together with the heterodox communists of the POUM (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*) of Trotskyist line and clearly confronted with the directives emanating from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union¹⁰⁸. However, Tom Wintringham, a member of the BCP (British Communist Party) was in charge of mobilising the English who were in Barcelona participating in the creation of the anti-fascist English Centuria «Tom Mann» with its slogan «Proletarian discipline will defeat fascism», activating a group of about 35 English people and leaving to fight also at the front of Aragon. The cover of the book «The Last English Revolutionary»¹⁰⁹ shows a photo of that Centuria with Tom Wintringham holding a rifle crouched in the centre of the front row. The rest of the components of the photograph are from left to right: Sid Avner, who would later go on to the «Thälmann» battalion, dying in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936; Nat Cohen, a London tailor and leader of the Centuria; Ramona Cohen, his wife, née Siles García; Tom Wintringham, who came to command the «British» battalion; George Trioli, an Italian living in England; Jack Barry, an Australian; Dave Marshall, who would also go on to the «Thälmann» battalion. Another tailor who was Nat Cohen's partner and whose name was Sam Masters is missing from the photograph¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁰⁸ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁰⁹ PURCELL, Hugh – SMITH, Phyll. *The last English Revolutionary*. Sussex Academic Press. 2012.

¹¹⁰ BRADLEY, Ken. *Brigadas Internacionales en España, 1936-39*. Ed. Del Prado- Osprey. 1994.

Nat Cohen and Sam Masters, recently arrived from England, quickly became involved among the fighting troops along with the also British Richard Kisch, Tony Willis and Paul Boyle participating in the expedition that, commanded by Captain Bayo, landed in Majorca in August 1936 and in which Richard Kisch was seriously injured. A British officer named Esmond Dunwald also participated in this landing, acting as Bayo's assistant¹¹¹. On the return to Barcelona, the «Tom Mann» Centuria was created and joined by the rest of the British. However, the fight in Aragon did not please everyone and both Nat Cohen and Sam Masters returned injured to England to later return to Spain, but directly to Albacete, to join the International Brigade that was being formed there¹¹².

With John Cornford came Richard Bennet, a fellow student of his in Cambridge who soon left the front line to join the radio services of the Generalitat de Catalunya, broadcasting programmes from «La voz de España». John Cornford left Spain to work in the UK to recruit new volunteers, which he did by travelling to Albacete and joining the International Brigades¹¹³.

The *poumista* groups included the British writer Sonia Brownell as well as Eric Blair, better known as George Orwell, who left a written testimony in 1938 of his struggle in Spain. Orwell, after six months in Spain and a serious neck injury, managed to escape to France on 23 June 1937 after the persecution decreed against the POUM militants. His wife, Eileen O'Shaughnessy, and his two compatriots, John McNair and Statford Cottman, accompanied him on his escape.

Another English woman from Wolverhampton called Greville Texidor, a dancer and writer, had been established in Tossa de Mar since 1933 and went to Barcelona at the beginning of the war, joining the «Aguiluchos de la Libertad» (Eaglets of Freedom) who joined the Anarcho-Poumista Ortiz column, establishing themselves in La Zaida (Zaragoza) already on the Aragon front. After her return to Barcelona, she enlisted in the Centuria «Giustizia e Libertá», also known as the «Matteotti» battalion, and became a member of the Ascaso column in the town of Almudévar on the Huesca front. On her return to Barcelona, she

¹¹¹ ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. Spansky. Los extranjeros que lucharon en la guerra civil española. Ed. Dopesa. Barcelona.1973.

¹¹² <http://www.international-brigades.org.uk/content/tom-mann-centuria>.

¹¹³ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel.1974.

took charge of a children's orphanage with the support of the «British Quakers» organisation until her retreat to France in February 1939, when, after crossing the border, she returned to England. She immigrated to New Zealand in 1940 and passed away in Australia in 1962¹¹⁴.

Most of the British POUM fighters came to Spain recruited by the ILP (Independent Labour Party), and organised by John McNair. He set up an office with Edward Joseph «Ted» Fletcher. With the costs obtained in England, an ambulance was purchased and sent to Spain with John Gordon and William Martin as drivers and it seems that Robert «Bob» Edwards, leader of the ILP, also travelled. The foreign contingent of the POUM, which was integrated into the 29th Division of the *Ejército Popular*, consisted of some 900 combatants from 28 different countries. The British group was gradually subdivided, with several volunteers joining the IBs, the rest remaining on the Aragonese front. In May 1937, they were the protagonists of the *poumista* and anarchist revolt that led to the sacrifice of several of them, such as 22-year-old Bob Smilie, who died in the Valencia prison¹¹⁵.

John McNair tried to negotiate the transfer of his compatriots to the IBs but eventually fled to support the return of the British fighters to their homeland from outside Spain.

The following volunteers were sent to Spain by the ILP¹¹⁶:

- Agnew, John.
- Ivory, Lewis Ernest.
- Bennett, William.
- Blair, Eric (George Orwell), Corporal; seriously wounded by sniper on 20 May 1937.
- Braithwaite (Branthwaite), John.
- Buttonshaw, Harvey
- Castle, Les.
- Chambers, Bill, corporal, killed in action after being transferred to an anarchist unit in August 1937

¹¹⁴ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel.1974.

¹¹⁵ CASTELLS, Andreu.Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel.1974.

ORWELL, George. Homenaje a Cataluña. Ed. Destino. Barcelona. 2003.

¹¹⁶ HALL, Christopher. Not Just Orwell. The Independent Labour Party Volunteers and the Spanish Civil War. Warren and Pell. 2009.

- Clarke, William.
- Clinton, Arthur, injured in back during bombing, March 1937.
- Coles, Tom.
- Connor, Jock.
- Cottman, Stafford.
- Donovan, «Paddy» John, Sergeant.
- Doran, Charles.
- Edwards, Bob, ILP ambulance driver in September 1936; captain of the POUM militia He returned to England in March 1937 for the ILP Congress, but the British Government prevented his return to Spain.
- Evans.
- Farrell, James.
- Frankford, Frank.
- Gross, George.
- Hiddlestone, Reg, wounded in a night attack, April 1937. He was the last of the group to leave Spain in February 1939.
- Hunter, Philip, injured in leg, April 1937.
- Jones, Uriah, fought until the beginning of 1938; after the dissolution of the POUM militias he joined a unit of the PSUC.
- Julius.
- Justessen, Charles.
- Kupinskyi, Wolf «Harry Milton», imprisoned in Barcelona's Model Prison on 13 August 1937 and released after pressure from the US Consulate in Barcelona.
- Levin, Louis.
- McDonald, Robert.
- McNeil, Hugh.
- Martin, William B., ambulance driver between Great Britain and Aragon in September 1936 He had been a gunner in the First World War and was put in charge of a 60-man artillery platoon.
- Moyle, Douglas.
- O'Hara, Patrick, first aid health technician.
- Parker, Thomas «Buck», corporal, wounded during an attack in April 1937
- Ramón.

- Ritchie, John.
- Smillie, Bob, died in Valencia prison after being arrested in June 1937.
- Smith, James J.
- Stearns, Douglas Clark.
- «Tanky» (James Arthur Cope).
- Thomas, Harry, Welshman, wounded in a night attack in April 1937
- Thomas, Parry.
- Thompson, Douglas, wounded in a night attack in April 1937.
- Webb, Harry, stretcher-bearer.
- Williams, Bob. He was wounded three times and returned to England in December 1938.
- Wilton, Mike.
- Wingate, Sybil, joined the ILP contingent as a nurse because she was already in Barcelona.

In the first moments of the struggle, a medical unit created by Isabel Brown was organised. This service was run by Dr Kenneth Sinclair Loutitt, a socialist, and included Tom Wintringham as editor of the *Daily Worker*, although we have seen that he was better at using weapons than the keys¹¹⁷.

Taking a geographical leap, we find ourselves in the Sierra de Madrid. Once the military uprising in Madrid had been put down, the popular militias tried to prevent the troops, led by General Mola, who had triumphed in Castilla la Vieja and Navarra, from crossing the mountains. Among the units forming part of the 5th *Regimiento de Milicias Populares* were several so-called «Compañías de Acero», one of which included the British Frost and Frank Pitcairn, the latter a correspondent for the *Daily Worker* newspaper, who preferred to put down his pen and wield his rifle. The «Compañía de Acero» to which they belonged was decimated on 25 July¹¹⁸. Frank Pitcairn told about it in his book «Reporter in Spain». Pitcairn's real name was Francis Claud Cockburn and on

¹¹⁷ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹¹⁸ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

18 July he was in Barcelona from where he travelled to Madrid to join the 5th Regiment¹¹⁹.

Two other groups of British volunteers formed the English Platoon of the Centuria «Muerte es Maestro» described by James Albrighton on 2 October.

They were the following:

- Albrighton, James, medical student and Political Commissary who wrote a book of memoirs.
- Beale, John
- Bentley, Albert; died on 14 October 1936 in Chapinería (Madrid)
- Campbell, Bruce
- Garland, Frank
- Harris, Michael
- Henderson, John
- Hudson, William
- Lloyd Jones, Sidney (Chief); died on 14 October 1936 in Chapinería (Madrid).
- Mackenzie, David
- Middleton, George; died 14 October 1936 in Chapinería (Madrid)
- Morton, Sidney
- O'Connor, Frank
- O'Malley, Patrick
- Zanettou, Benitzelos

More volunteers joined these troops to reach the figure of 128 men. On 14 November there were only 40 men, and since 10 October their casualties were: 42 dead, 27 injured and 10 missing¹²⁰.

Albrighton was in charge of 16 men in the Casa de Campo, when 8 of them were killed, as an artillery grenade fell in the middle of the group. Albrighton later served in George M. Nathan's British Battalion 1st Company and was a medic in that Battalion. In 1938

¹¹⁹ PITCAIRN, Frank. *Corresponsal en España*. Ed. Alberto Lázaro. 2012.

¹²⁰ BAXELL, Richard. *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*. Routledge. 2004.

he was seriously injured in Aragon and repatriated to England on 2 August¹²¹.

The presence of volunteers from the United Kingdom became more numerous as they arrived in Barcelona and were taken over by Hugh O'Donnell who, via Valencia, sent them to Albacete. The first volunteers were integrated into the 4th Platoon of the Machine Gun Company «Commune de Paris» Battalion, 11th International Brigade which is mostly French speaking. These British took part in the hard fighting in November 1936 that prevented the nationals from entering Madrid.

The British volunteers of the Battalion «Commune de Paris» were:

- Barry, Jack «Blue». Australian who died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Burke, Edward. Also known as «Edward Cooper», he was wounded in Cordoba in December 1936 and died in a hospital in Madrid on 12 February 1937.
- Clarke, Jock. Probably born in Glasgow.
- Cornford, John. He died in Lopera on 28 December 1936.
- Cunningham, Jock. Later commander-in-chief of the British Battalion; repatriated in August 1937.
- Hinks, Joe. Later commander-in-chief of the British Battalion; repatriated in August 1937.
- Jones H. «Freddie». Head of Platoon number 4 who died in Madrid in November 1936 and was relieved by Joe Hinks.
- Knox, Bernard. Political Commissar of the battalion wounded in Boadilla del Monte and repatriated in January 1937.
- Lesser, Sam «Sam Russell». Repatriated in January 1937, he later returned to Spain to work for the Communist Party as a broadcaster and took over from Peter Kerrigan as correspondent for the Daily Worker.
- Mackenzie, David. Wrongly thought to be dead when in fact he was repatriated in December 1936.
- McLaurin, Griffin «Mac». Born in New Zealand but resident in Great Britain who died in Madrid on 9 November 1936.
- Patton, Thomas. Irish, he died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.

¹²¹ ALBRIGHTON, James: «Spain Diaries». Not published memories kept in Marx Memorial Library's Spanish Collection, CID: 67032, Ref.: SC/VOL/JAL. London, England.

- Sawyers, Robert. Scottish, injured in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936 and repatriated in February 1937.
- Sommerfield, John. Injured on 11 November 1936 in Aravaca, and wrongly presumed dead as he returned to Britain in January 1937.
- Sowersby, George. A Scot from Edinburgh, he arrived in Spain in October 1936 and was repatriated in January 1937.
- Stevens, Joseph. Australian, died in Brunete in July 1937.
- Symes, Robert. He died in Madrid on 9 November 1936.
- Thorneycroft, Chris. Later it was transferred to the «Thälmann» Battalion.
- Yates, Steve. Born in New Zealand but resident in Great Britain who died in Madrid on 9 November 1936¹²².

On 9 November, the 11th IB came under the command of General «Kleber». On December 7th it was withdrawn from the front with a large number of casualties. The surviving British, who were 12 men, maintained their platoon and after the subsequent fighting in December, only five were left unharmed and were ordered to join the 14th IB that had begun to be organised in Madrigueras (Albacete).

There were other Britons in the fighting in and around Madrid. In the 12th IB, the 3rd Platoon of the 1st Rifle Company of the «Thälmann» Battalion was made up of British who suffered even more casualties than the 11th IB, as of the 18 initial, only 2 were left unharmed at the end of December and were sent to Madrigueras to join the new IB. The British who fought in the 3rd Zug (Platoon) of the 1st Company of the 11th IB Battalion «Thälmann» were the following:

- Addley, Harry «Tich». He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Avner, Sidney «Sid». He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936. He had been in the Centuria «Tom Mann».
- Birch, Lorimer. Head of ½ Zug. He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Cox, Ray. He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Donovan, John «Paddy». He left the Battalion before the combats of Boadilla del Monte, joining the POUM and being repatriated in July 1937.

¹²² BAXELL, Richard. *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*. Routledge. 2004.

- Fontana, Ettore «Jerry». He was an American and deserted the combats of Boadilla del Monte.
- Gillan, Phil «Jock». He was wounded in the neck at Boadilla del Monte, and was repatriated in 1937.
- Gough, William «Joe». He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Hutschinson, Donald. He was wounded in October 1936 and later joined the British Battalion.
- Jeans, Arnold. Head of ½ Zug. He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Marshall, David. Injured in the foot on 12 November 1936 at Cerro de los Angeles, and repatriated to England in December 1936.
- Messer, Martin. He died in Boadilla del Monte in December 1936.
- Norman, Phillip. He deserted to England after the Battle of Boadilla del Monte.
- Ovenden, Arthur «Babs». Repatriated in December 1936.
- Paester, Samuel. A native of Stepney. He fought on the Aragon front in 1936.
- Romilly, Esmond. Nephew of Churchill, repatriated in December 1936.
- Scott, Bill. Repatriated to Ireland in 1937.
- Sollenberger, Randall. American doctor who fought bravely with the Thälmann Centuria.
- Thornycroft, Chris. Battalion gunner, from the «Commune de Paris» Battalion, who later moved to the 35th division and was repatriated to England in April 1938.
- Watson, Keith. He left the fight against the combats of Boadilla del Monte to work as a correspondent for the Daily Express newspaper.
- Whateley, Richard «Aussie». Melbourne sailor, repatriated in 1937¹²³.

In December, the 14th IB, commanded by the Polish general «Walter» (Karol Swierzevski), left Albacete. It was made up of 4 battalions and in the 12th»La Marsellaise», the 1stCompany was known as British Machine Gun Company and its 1stPlatoon, called

¹²³ BAXELL, Richard. British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. Routledge. 2004.

«James Connolly», was made up of Irish and British. From 23 December to 28 December, fighting took place in the area of Lopera (Córdoba), leaving more than 800 bodies on the ground. The British volunteers stood out for their discipline but, of 145 fighters who went in line, 78 were killed and very few were left unharmed. Among the dead were the poet, John Cornford, who had just turned 21 and the novelist, Raph Winston Fox. French Lieutenant Colonel Gaston Delasalle, head of the «La Marsellaise» battalion, was tried and executed and George Samuel Montague Nathan, captain of the 1st Company was appointed Battalion Commander and Jock Cunningham, head of the 1st Company¹²⁴. After fighting on the road to La Coruña in January, the British survivors were transferred to Albacete and integrated into the new British Battalion that was to be called «Saklatvala» after the Indian communist Shapurji Saklatvala who was a member of the British parliament but eventually kept his name «British Battalion» or simply «British». Its framing centre was established in Madrigueras and new recruits and those who had already been fighting in Spanish territory were sent there¹²⁵.

The battalion was put under the command of Wilfred Mc Artney and assistant to the Irishman Alex Mc Dade. Sam Wild was responsible for the armoury. Among the volunteers there was a group from Ireland that did not fit in with the British, let alone accept the orders of Mc Artney who had been an officer of the «Black and Tans» in Ireland. The leader of the Irish Platoon «James Connolly» was Frank Ryan. At a meeting of commanders, there was a heated discussion and Frank Ryan was arrested. The Irish asked for his freedom and in these discussions, McArtney was accidentally injured and, after passing through the hospital, returned to England. His successor was Tom Wintringham and the dissenting Irish moved to the «Lincoln» battalion which included many Irish Americans who welcomed them without reservation¹²⁶.

The «British» battalion was the 16th of the International Brigades and later, in September 1937, became the 57th. The «British» consisted of four companies numbered from 1 to 4, the 2nd company being for machine guns and the other three for rifles.

¹²⁴ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹²⁵ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹²⁶ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

The 1st Company formed with survivors of the 1st Company of the battalion «La Marseillaise», was commanded by Jock Cunningham. The 2nd Machine Gun was commanded by Harold Fry. The 3rd was commanded by the trade unionist, Bill Briskey, and the 4th by Bert Overton. At that time, it is estimated that there were 750 Britons in the ranks of the EPR¹²⁷ of whom 500 were in the British Battalion and the rest a group of 20 riders from the Cavalry Squadron of the Brigade, others in charge of the Cartographic Services of the 15th Brigade at the Madrigueras Base, and several hospitalised.

In the 15th Brigade, commanded by General «Gal» (Janos Galicz), the Englishman George Nathan took over the General Staff. The Political Commissar was George Aitken, while Dave Springhall was appointed Political Commissar of the British Battalion. With this organisation, the battle of Jarama began between 6 and 27 February 1937.

During the battle of Jarama, the «British» had the mission of preventing the advance of the troops of Colonel Carlos Asensio Cabanillas' 4th Brigade. The fighting began on 12 February and after a few days of hard fighting the British were virtually wiped out and reinforced with new recruits and commanders because when Jock Cunningham took over the battalion, only 160 men were left unharmed¹²⁸. The positions of the Jarama were held for five months, and the front was stabilised for the rest of the war.

The prisoners taken by the nationals were sent to an internment camp and later expelled from Spain in May on the condition that they would not return to combat in the ranks of the Ejército Popular, since if they were taken prisoner again with their weapons in hand, they would be shot¹²⁹.

Captains «Kit» Conway and Bill Briskey died in the struggle. The poet and novelist Christopher Caudwell, whose real name was Christopher St John Sprigg, died on 12 February covering the retreat of his fellow members of the 2nd Machine Gun Company. The death toll of the «British» battalion is estimated at 250 men out of a total of 600¹³⁰.

¹²⁷ EPR, acronym for People's Army of the Republic.

¹²⁸ GONZALEZ DE MIGUEL, Jesús. La batalla del Jarama. Ed. La esfera de los libros. Madrid. 2009.

¹²⁹ GONZALEZ DE MIGUEL, Jesús. La batalla del Jarama. Ed. La esfera de los libros. Madrid. 2009.

¹³⁰ GURNEY, Jason. Crusade in Spain. Faber & Faber. London. 1974.

GRAHAM, Frank. *The Battle of Jarama*. Self-published. Newcastle. 1987.

In July, the battle of Brunete took place, involving the 15th division under the command of General «Gal», who was deploying the 13th and 15th International Brigades. In the 15th IB they formed the «British» battalion and a company of anti-tank guns equipped with three Russian 45 mm pieces, commanded by the British Malcolm Dumbar, who had Hugh Slater as his second and, among the artillerymen, was Miles Tomalin. The «Spanish» battalion, also part of the 15th Brigade, was commanded by Captain Felipe Martín-Crespo Powys, whose mother was English.

On the 6, the battle began by deploying the «British» in front of Villanueva de la Cañada, and taking part in its encirclement which cost them 50 dead¹³¹. They then took up position in front of the «Mosquito» height and Fred Copeman, the commander of the «British» was injured on 15 July and was relieved by Joe Hinks.

On the 22, the British were ordered to defend a key position south of the bridgehead in the sector already called «Romanillos-Mosquito», a position they lost on the 23. On the 25 in the evening the 15th IB passed to the final reserve area established in the El Canchal estate. On the 26, Major George Montagne Nathan, who was head of the Ops Staff of the 15th Division¹³², was killed in an air raid.

The casualties of the British Battalion, now under Klaus' command, were tremendous and of the 300 British who started the battle only 42 men were available, the rest being counted as dead, wounded, prisoners or missing. Tapsell, Fred Copeman and Jock Cunningham returned to England to defend and clarify the political line of the «British». Cunningham was accused of being a fascist who left the BCP (British Communist Party) while the other

GREGORY, Walter. *The shallow grave: A Memoir of the Spanish Civil War*. Ed. Victor Gollanz. 1986.

RYAN, Frank. *The Book of the XVth Brigade: Records of British, American, Canadian and Irish Volunteers in the XV International Brigade in Spain 1936-38*. War Commissariat. Madrid. 1938.

WINTRINGHAM, Tom. *English Captain*. Faber & Faber. London. 1939.

GONZALEZ DE MIGUEL, Jesús. *La batalla del Jarama*. Ed. La esfera de los libros. Madrid. 2009.

GARCIA RAMIREZ, José Manuel. *La batalla del Jarama*. Febrero 1937. Editorial Almena. Madrid. 2007.

PERMUY, Rafael R. – MORTERA, Artemio. *La Batalla del Jarama*. Quirón Ediciones. 2003

¹³¹ BRADLEY, Ken. «The International Brigades in Spain, 1936-1939». Osprey. London. 1994.

¹³² VIÑAS, Ernesto – TUYTENS, Sven. *Lugares de las Brigadas Internacionales en Madrid. Batalla de Brunete*. Edited by AABI and Brunete in the Report. Madrid. 2015.

two returned to Spain but were watched as suspects¹³³. Among the British dead was the head of the 15th IB Medical Surgical Unit, the Jew Sollenberg, as well as Julian Bell, nephew of the novelist Virginia Woolf. Janos Galiçz «General Gal», head of the 15th Division was repatriated to the USSR where he disappeared in the purges of that year.

Brunete's consequences within the «British» battalion were not long in coming and many were sent to Albacete to be tried and, after diplomatic intervention by the Foreign Office which prevented their execution, they were sent to the Jucar re-education (concentration) camp.

When the journalist Edward H. Knoblaugh was «invited» to leave Spain, he embarked on an English destroyer in the port of Valencia together with two deserters from the 15th IB, the Canadian Lawrence Muller and the Irish Tim Keenan from Dublin who had been facilitated in their escape by the English consul in Valencia Mr W.C. Sullivan¹³⁴.

On 19 August, the «British» battalion was transferred to the Aragonese front to take part in the offensive against Zaragoza that was aimed at helping the Republican troops of Santander and Asturias. The 15th IB became part of the 35th International Division together with the 11th IB. The 15th IB was formed by the «British», «Lincoln-Washington», «Dimitrov», «Spanish» and «Galindo» battalions. The «British» was led by Peter Daley, an Irish communist who was assisted by Paddy O'Daire, and Jack Roberts as Political Commissar¹³⁵. The 35th International Division had the mission of reaching Zaragoza by the south of the Ebro River. From the north it would attack the 45th International Division, which included the 12th and 13th IBs and was commanded by Kebler in what would be its last action in Spain.

The general attack began on 24 August, the same date on which, in the north, the nationals entered Torrelavega and the ejército

¹³³ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹³⁴ VIÑAS, Ernesto - TUYTENS, Sven. *Lugares de las Brigadas Internacionales en Madrid. Batalla de Brunete*. Edited by AABI and Brunete in the Report. Madrid. 2015. BRADLEY, Ken. *The International Brigades in Spain, 1936-1939*. Osprey. London. 1994. CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹³⁵ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

popular began the withdraw from Santander to Asturias¹³⁶. The «British» battalion advanced towards Quinto. After the failed attack by the «Dimitrov» battalion on Mount Pulburell, the «British» took over and the Irish Peter Daley, head of the battalion, was killed in the crash. Political Commissar Jack Roberts was wounded and Paddy O'Daire took over command of the battalion. The Englishman Tom R. Wintringham was also injured. In the afternoon, the British carried their bayonets to the wire fences and the Anti-tank Company, now commanded by the British journalist Hugh Slater, fired directly at the machine gun forts that were destroyed. After the final assault, the last defenders fell, some of whom were White Russians enlisted in a Tercio de Requetés.

The 15th IB then went on to complete the conquest of Belchite which was completely surrounded. In the following days the «Dimitrov» and «Lincoln-Washington» battalions intervened, followed by the «British» and «Spanish» battalions. Also noteworthy is the AT Company¹³⁷ which, sent out again by Malcolm Dumber, fired 2,700 shots during those days, finally taking over the village on 5 September¹³⁸.

There were reproaches from politicians towards the fighters and even «Lincoln's» chief Hans Amlie was tried for refusing to attack a Belchite position head-on. Other volunteers, American and Canadian, took over an ambulance and tried to cross the French border, but were stopped. Finally, Hans Amlie together with Stember and David McKelvey returned to the United States. The «British» withdrew from the final positions of Mediana to rejoin the «Lincoln-Washington» battalion in Azaila, which had been badly worn out from Brunete and had recovered its initial name of «Lincoln».

The 15th IB transferred its «Dimitrov» battalion to the 45th International Division and incorporated the «Mackenzie-Papinau» battalion created in May 1937 with personnel of American and Canadian origin and known as the «Mac-Paps» battalion and commanded by the veteran Robert Thompson. The casualties

¹³⁶ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España .Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹³⁷ AT, acronym for anti-tank.

¹³⁸ CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

suffered by the international battalions had to be replenished with Spanish recruits.

The fighting in Aragon continued in October in the area of Fuentes de Ebro with «Operation Moscow» involving the 12th, 13th and 15th IBs. The attack began on 11 October with artillery and aircraft bombardments and on the 13th, the «British» intervened. Like the other battalions of the 15th IB, they suffered serious losses. The commander Harold Fry dying, who had been taken prisoner at the head of the 2nd Machine Gun Company at Jarama, and the Political Commissar Eric Whaley were killed. «Operation Moscow» proved to be a complete failure as Soviet observers could see, some of whom were taken to the rear by crew members of the surviving tanks and were never heard from again¹³⁹.

The next action of the «British» battalion was in Teruel, because although André Marty declared that the International Brigades were not going to intervene in the Teruel offensive, the reality is that since 15 December the 15th IB was already in the vicinity of the front¹⁴⁰. Teruel was surrounded from almost the first days after the attack and surrendered on 8 January. The national troops were about to liberate the capital but the heavy snowfall on the last day of the year prevented this. To stop the national offensive, international troops were sent to the front, including the 15th IB.

They deployed their units in the northern zone of Teruel, supported by the Alfambra riverbed. On 18 January the British fought on the Santa Bárbara slopes, counterattacking on the Barranco del Rubio, commanded the battalion by William «Bill» Alexander and suffering 150 casualties, the same as the rest of the brigade's battalions. Sent to recover in the rear, after 24 hours it returned to the front, this time to the area of Vivel del Río Segura and where the leader of «British»¹⁴¹ was injured.

After the reconquest of Teruel, on 9 March a new national offensive began in Aragon and the weight of it fell on the 11th and 15th IBs. The national manoeuvre was aimed at recovering the village of Belchite, lost in the previous September, and was taken that

¹³⁹ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁴⁰ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁴¹ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

same day when Thomas Oldershaw, Political Commissar of the «British», died and 90 British people were the last to leave the village. From that moment on there was a general disbandment on the Aragon front of both Spanish and international troops. Merriman took over the 15th Brigade and used harsh methods to regain command, earning himself the nickname «Murderman». The retreat continued to Alcañiz and Caspe. The «British» was commanded by Sam Wild who was about to be taken prisoner in Caspe. The «British» managed to reach Corbera, past the town of Gandesa, where it was reorganised, with Sam Wild in command of the battalion and Willy Tapsell as Political Commissar. On the 30th it came under fire again, now commanded by George Fletcher, but in the early morning of the 31st it was destroyed by the enemy in Calaceite, with Tapsell dying, and Fletcher and Dumbar, as assistant Ops Staff, becoming injured. One hundred Brits were killed and 50 more were injured, and 100 prisoners were taken, including Frank Ryan. Some sources point to even more prisoners¹⁴². The disaster was complete, and the international troops had no choice but to cross to the left bank of the Ebro, with Sam Wild's English being the last to do so. The consequences of the withdrawal were harsh disciplinary measures, and courts-martial with maximum sentences affected at least two British officers and a sergeant.

Following a further reorganisation, Malcolm Dumbar became chief of staff of the 15th IB and John Gates Political Commissar. In July, the beginning of the Battle of the Ebro took place. The «British» crossed the Ebro at Ascó on 25 July and quickly advanced to Corbera, taking prisoners and capturing a group of 75 mm of the national artillery. The following day Gandesa was attacked but the national reserves held out and no further progress was made. Gandesa was dominated from the nearby heights by the forces of both sides. The «British» headed for Puig del Aguila, suffering the first British casualties. On the 29th, the British attacked again at the height 481 and finally reached this position on the August 1st. Among the dead were Lewis Clive, head of the 2nd Company and descendant of Lord Clive «Clive of India», as well as David Haden-Guest, son of Lord Haden-Guest.

On 6 August, the 15th IB moved to the reserve in Mora de Ebro until the 14th when it took over from the 11th Division of the EPR. On the 24th, the «British» took over from the «Lincoln» in the

¹⁴² CASTELLS, Andreu. Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

area of heights 666, 671 and 609 of the Sierra de Pàndols, later moving to the area of Venta de Camposines. On September 6th, the 35th International Division was placed among the 10th and 15th CE. The fighting took place in the low mountain ranges of La Vall de la Torre and Cavalls trying to cover the area of Venta de Camposines. On 22 September, the British suffered heavy losses due to the effects of adverse artillery¹⁴³. On the 23, the «British» was fighting at height 281 despite the fact that the order to withdraw the international troops to the rear had been received the previous night. On the same day the 35th International Division, which included the «British» battalion, was replaced by the 46th Division.

The League of Nations appointed an «International Commission for the Retirement of Volunteers» constituted on 14 October. Their reports detail that the International Brigades, when demilitarised, were made up of Spaniards and foreigners and the foreigners were 7,102 plus 1,906 Portuguese and South Americans integrated into other units and 3,160 hospitalised, totalling 12,208 men who had already been removed from the front¹⁴⁴. The 15th IB in which the components of the «British» battalion were integrated then had 478 foreigners in all its battalions, so we can assume that the British would not be more than 120 at that time.

In relation to the British in the IBs, and estimating a number of 3,500 volunteers, the casualties were 566 dead; 497 missing, prisoners and deserters; 1,236 recoverable wounded, and 494 unrecoverable wounded, and only 1,947 survivors were at the end of the war¹⁴⁵. On 7 December, 304 survivors of the British battalion arrived in England, many of them recovered from the hospitals. In February, after the fall of Catalonia, the British volunteers of the «John Brown» artillery Battery, which was armed with 155 mm pieces, were evacuated from the fronts of Extremadura and Toledo. The battery was commanded by the American Arthur Timpson and the Political Commissar was Jack Waters, also American. The British formed a Platoon under the

¹⁴³ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁴⁴ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

¹⁴⁵ CASTELLS, Andreu. *Las Brigadas Internacionales de la Guerra de España*. Ed. Ariel. 1974.

RUST, William. *Britons in Spain*. Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. London. 1939.

command of Sergeant David King and had no casualties in the war. The 27 volunteers evacuated were:

NAME	PARTY
David King	Communist Party
Allan Moulton	Communist Party
Jack Foster	Communist Party
Geoffrey Servante	Communist Party
Ernest Wilson	Communist Party
Harry Blackley	Communist Party
Patrick Gibson	Communist Party
George Dimitroff	Communist Party
Ernesto Barrato	Communist Party
Clarence Wildsmith	Communist Party
Charles Simpson	Communist Party
Frank King	Communist Party
John Edwards	Communist Party
Phil Goodman	Communist Party
Joe Latus	Communist Party
Hyman Adler	Communist Party
Samuel Segall	Communist Party
Richard Presman	Young Communists
Timothy Christie	no party
Edward Gallagher	Young Communists
John Walsh	Young Communists
William Rees	Young Communists
Lloyd Edmonds	Young Communists
Thomas Reid	Young Communists
Thomas Dickson	Young Communists
Walter Bevan	Young Communists
Frederick Langdon	Young Communists ¹⁴⁶

On 29 March, the English ship «Stanbrook» picked up 3,016 refugees in Alicante bound for Oran (Algeria) and on 30 March, the English cruise ship HMS «Galatea» evacuated 194 people from Gandía, including Colonel Casado and his family, and transferred

¹⁴⁶ BAXEL, Richard: «Entrevista a Geoffrey Servante», Revista No pasarán (IBMT, London), 1, 2018, p. 3.

them to the hospital ship «Maine» which took them to Marseilles where they disembarked on 3 April 1939¹⁴⁷. On 1 April, the Spanish Civil War officially ended¹⁴⁸.

Annexes

Annex 1

List of British merchant ships that took part in the war¹⁴⁹

- «Abenton». Sunk in Barcelona
- «Aerscofin». Several trips to load ore in Bilbao until April 1937.
- «African Mariner». Seized in November 1937 by national ships and sent to Malta where it was released. Sunk in Barcelona by the Aviación Nacional. Refloated, it was named «Castillo de Montjuich».
- «African Trader». Detained by national trawlers and freed by English destroyers in Gijón on 27 August 1937. It then made several trips to the Mediterranean, including Alicante, and in March 1939 it transported refugees to Oran.
- «Alcira» or «Alcyra». Sunk by a Cant-Z seaplane on 4 February 1938 near Barcelona.
- «Arlon» or «Arlow». Sunk by planes in Valencia on 27 June 1938.
- «Atlantic Guide». A well-known smuggler's ship that entered Valencia on several occasions in 1938.
- «Authorpe». It entered Alicante in 1937 and its captain was arrested for admitting refugees on board.
- «Auton». It transported war material to Santander on 3 March 1937.

¹⁴⁷ SANTACREU SOLER, José Miguel. La huida imposible: El fracaso de las gestiones del Consejo Nacional de Defensa en marzo de 1939. Artículo Ebre38. 2011. The shipping list is in the archives of the «Pablo Iglesias» Foundation.

¹⁴⁸ Last official part Civil War 1939. Archivo General Militar de Avila. Featured pieces. <https://patrimoniocultural.defensa.gob.es/es/centros/archivo-general-avila/piezas-destacadas>.

¹⁴⁹ ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. La marina italiana en la guerra de España. Editorial Euros. 1975.

- «Beatsa». It left Bilbao with ore on 2 August 1936.
- «Begonia». Detained by national ships in the Strait on 3 August 1936.
- «Black Hill». Several trips to Bilbao to transport ore. On 8 January 1937, it was hounded by the national trawler «Galerna» and was protected by an aeroplane.
- «Blackworth». It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 28 April 1937, entering again in May protected by English ships.
- «Blue Shadow». A private yacht that broke down and wanted to enter Gijón in August 1936. It received gunfire, its captain dying with his wife wounded, but it is not clear who fired.
- «Bonford». It denounced an attack by national planes on 29 August 1937 on its way from Barcelona to Piraeus.
- «Boston». Detained in the Mediterranean in August 1937 by national ships, it was released.
- «Bovie». It made several trips to Republican ports in the north under the command of French Captain Georges Dupuy. On 27 August 1937, it tried to evacuate militiamen from Santoña and was detained by the miner «Júpiter».
- «Bramhill». It landed war material in Alicante on October 2nd 1936 from Hamburg. It was declared a smuggler by Mr Eden. It landed throughout the war in Republican ports generally under the protection of «Royal Navy» ships such as the «Sussex» on 12 January 1937, on July 1937 by the «Resolution» and on 28 August 1938 by the «Fearless» and «Foresight» destroyers.
- «Brienkberu». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 13 April 1937.
- «British Corporal». British Tanker. Bombed near Algiers on 10 August 1937.
- «Burlington». Seized near Sicily on 9 September 1937. It was the Greek ship «Nausika» that had changed its name.
- «Camposines». Sunk by aviation in Alicante.
- «Candleston Castle». Detained by trawlers off Santander on 18 August 1937 and released after confiscation of the cargo.
- «Cantwoc». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 13 January 1937.

- «Caper» or «Cater». Detained on 8 August 1937 by the trawler «Tritonia» and released after confiscation of the cargo.
- «Cap Luis». Sunk by national aircraft on 29 August 1937.
- «Cap Vert». Detained by the trawler «Tritonia» in September 1937.
- «Cardonia». Detained by the cruiser «Almirante Cervera» in July 1937 near Santander, it was released by the battleship «Resolution».
- «Cermistoen». In Bilbao on 5 February 1937.
- «City of Manchester». It transported a large amount of war material from Germany to Lisbon in August 1936, and the order was justified as material for the Portuguese army.
- «Coresea». It left Bilbao with iron ore in August 1937.
- «Cousset». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 18 January 1937. On 27 April 1937, it attempted to enter Santander supported by the destroyer H-74 «Forester», avoiding the national battleship «España».
- «Cydonia». It brought food from Mexico.
- «Dellwyn». Known as the «Potato Jones», it broke the blockade of the northern ports helped by the British destroyers. It then went to the Mediterranean, being sunk by a plane near Gandia on 27 July 1938. Refloated after the war it was named «Castillo de Montesa».
- «Dover Abbey». It was the merchant with 100 names: «Dober Abbey», «Dober Abley», «Dowe Abbey», «Doner Abbey», «Dovena Bley», «Dobenabley» and «Dobenable». It was detained on several occasions but was always released both in the Cantabrian and in the Mediterranean.
- «Dun Aengus». It transported members of the Irish Bandera entering El Ferrol in January 1937.
- «Earnham». Sunk by aviation in Alicante.
- «Ebelester». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 28 August 1936.
- «Eckan». Seized in the Mediterranean with wheat loaded in Odessa, it was allowed to leave.

- «Eleni», former «Vernier» and former «Wireless». Sunk by the air force in Aguilas and refloated after the war with the name of «Castillo de Vera».
- «Endymion». Known smuggler ship sunk by the submarine «General Sanjurjo» 10 miles off Cabo Tiñoso.
- «English Tanker», former «Oil Field». Oil tanker sunk by aviation in Alicante. Refloated after the war with the name of «Castillo de Almenara» and later «Camposines».
- «Essex Druid». It transported a cargo of chickpeas from Mexico to a port in Republican Spain.
- «Etrib» or «Estrib». Seized in the Strait by the trawler «Huelva» on 31 December 1936.
- «Etruria». Oil tanker detained in the Mediterranean by the cruise ship «Baleares» in July 1937. It is not clear whether it continued its loaded journey to Barcelona.
- «Euphorlia». Seized in the Mediterranean on 17 November 1937 and sent to Gibraltar for registration.
- «Euprobion». Bombed in Barcelona on 16 May 1938, with the captain and first officer being injured. There is confusion as to whether it was the «Euphorlia» or whether it was really called «Euphorbia».
- «Farnham», former «Putney». Sunk by the aviation in Alicante and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Montiel».
- «Foynes», former «Island Queen». Sunk by the aviation in Valencia and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Riazor».
- «Francois», former Greek and standard bearer in England. Known smuggler vessel seized several times and released.
- «Gardonia». Detained by the cruiser «Almirante Cervera» off Santander and freed by two English destroyers.
- «Gate». Seized by the trawler «Tritonia» and taken to Ribadeo.
- «Gibel Zerjon». Ferry between Gibraltar and Morocco was detained several times by Republican ships and released by English destroyers. Curiously, it made several trips to Valencia, where it is recorded in September 1937.

- «Greah». Detained by the destroyer «Velasco» in the Bay of Biscay on 13 November 1936.
- «Greatend». Sunk by the aviation in Valencia and refloated after the war with the name «Turégano Castle».
- «Greatophe» «Greathorpe» or «Greatphe». Detained by the gunboat «Eduardo Dato» on 29 April 1937 and sent to Gibraltar for inspection.
- «Hanostelley». It loaded iron ore into Bilbao on 16 March 1937.
- «Hansterley» or «Hamsterley». It forced the blockade of Bilbao protected by the H-79 destroyer «Firedrake». It left again on 5 May 1937 and entered again on 6 July 1937, now protected by the battleship «Royal Oak».
- «Harra». Oil tanker that reported being attacked by torpedoes on the Port Said-La Goulette route on 8 August 1937 leaving unscathed.
- «Hemenge». It left Bilbao with ore on 27 March 1937.
- «Hertloa». It left Bilbao with ore on 9 March 1937.
- «Hillfern». It left Bilbao with ore on 11 August and 9 November 1936. From Malaga it evacuated refugees on 7 February 1937 to Alicante. In July 1937, it brought war material to Santander.
- «Isadora». Sunk by aircraft in Castellón and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Frías».
- «Jean Weems» or «Jean Wuns». It was sunk by aviation near Barcelona in November 1937 and transported trucks.
- «Jenni», former Greek, English flag bearer. It entered Santander on 6 April 1937 protected by the H-74 destroyer «Forester» and the cruiser «Shorpsshire».
- «Joyce Lewelling» or «Levellin». It forced the blockade of Bilbao. Detained in the Strait by the coastguard «Arcila» on 4 May 1938 who subsequently let it go.
- «Kenfil Post». It entered Bilbao on 23 May 1937.
- «Knitsley» former «Thornhope». It tried to enter Santander on 30 April 1937 when the battleship «España» ran into a mine and sank. In the end it was able to enter Santander protected by the English destroyer H-76 «Fury».

- «Ladoga». Seized by national vessels.
- «Lake Lugano». Attacked by aircraft and sunk by the «Mar Negro».
- «Lalehan». It landed wheat in Alicante in March 1938.
- «Landobery Castle». Sunk after hitting a mine near Cape Creus in 1938.
- «Latham». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 8 August 1936.
- «Leoalgate». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 18 February 1937 and 16 March 1937.
- «Loake Luzano» or «Lake Luzano». Sunk in Palamós by airplane on 6 August 1938.
- «Loeck Drorer». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 11 August 1936.
- «Lucky» former «Locke». Sunk by aircraft in Valencia and re-floated after the war with the name «Castillo de Benisanó».
- «Llenorth». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 16 August 1936.
- «MacGregor». Journeys from Bilbao with iron ore in 1936. It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 25 April 1937, protected by the battleship «Hood» and the destroyer H-79 «Firedrake» which prevented its capture by the cruiser «Almirante Cervera» and the trawler «Galerna». Later, it made trips to the Mediterranean, one of them loaded with explosives from Bordeaux to Barcelona in April 1938.
- «Marie Lewelling». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 11 February 1937.
- «Marion Moller» or «Marie Moller» or «Hilna Moller». It left Santander with armed militiamen and was pursued by the auxiliary cruiser «Ciudad de Palma». It was protected and escorted by the destroyer H-61 «Express» to San Juan de Luz (France). Denounced, it was searched, and 35 soldiers and 5 militiamen were found on board.
- «Maritime». A ship belonging to a Republican-controlled shipping company. It took refugees out of Alicante on 28 March 1939.
- «Markling». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 24 February 1937.
- «Marvia». It left Bilbao with iron ore in April 1937. On the next trip on 9 May 1937, it was protected by English destros-

- yers. It then went into the Mediterranean, entering several ports and in Alicante it was bombarded by aircraft on 4 June 1937, with a stoker being killed. Most of the crew were Greek.
- «Medon». It coincided with the crossing of the victory convoy in the Strait on 5 August 1936, when it was overflown by aircraft.
 - «Menin Ridge». With a reputation as a smuggler, it was detained by the Bou trawler «Maria Teresa» in the strait and escorted to Gibraltar for inspection following its uneventful journey.
 - «Meztin». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 3 April 1937.
 - «Miocene» former «Eocene». Oil tanker. Sunk by aircraft in Barcelona and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Pedraza» and later «Campanero».
 - «Miorar». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 26 March 1937.
 - «Mirupano». Seized in August 1937 in the Mediterranean and released. Again seized in Gijón in September 1937 and freed by the destroyer H-77 «Boreas». A last seizure loaded with food that was confiscated leaving the ship free.
 - «Molton». Detained by the cruise ship «Almirante Cervera» off Santander on 4 July 1937 and sent to Bilbao being let go. Again, detained by the trawler «Galerna» in September 1937.
 - «Morna». It landed weapons in Santander on 13 March 1937.
 - «Mostyn». Several trips to Bilbao to load iron ore between January and March 1937.
 - «Nasanchall». Detained by the battleship «España», it was protected by the English destroyer H-43 which forced it to head for La Pallice (France).
 - «Noemi Julia». Bombed by aircraft near Corsica on 23 August 1937. It could have reached Port-Vendrés following Barcelona. The ship was flagged as English, but the crew was not and was carrying war material.
 - «Oakgrove» or «Oak Grove». It entered Santander in February and on April 25th 1937, protected by the English destroyer H-74 «Forester» and the cruiser «Shorpsire». It entered Bilbao on 20 May 1937.
 - «Olavus». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 12 April 1937.
 - «Oltinge» or «Otlinge». It was in Bilbao in August 1936.

- «Ortais». It transported potatoes to Alicante in September 1937.
- «Pacheco». Seized in the Strait by the gunboat «Cánovas del Castillo» on 1 March 1937.
- «Patridge Hill». Detained in the Strait by the auxiliary cruise ship «Mallorca» in January 1938. It was loaded with iron ingots and trucks and, taken for inspection to Gibraltar, was released and continued his journey to Barcelona.
- «Pegasus». Oil tanker that reported being chased by a submarine in September 1937.
- «Penthames». Sunk by aviation in Valencia.
- «Philomenia». Seized in December 1936 by the cruise ship «Canarias».
- «Plonarnaux», broke the blockade of Bilbao entering on 5 June 1937.
- «Portelet» or «Postelet». It entered Bilbao in April 1937, leaving on 4 May 1937 protected by the battleship «Royal Oak».
- «Rambon» or «Rarmond». It landed weapons in Santander on 27 January 1937.
- «Sairolo». Detained by the torpedo boat no. 7 in the Bay of Biscay in September 1937.
- «Sanmore». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 11 October 1936.
- «Sanston». Detained by the nationals and declared a prisoner, it changed its name to «Castillo de Campanario».
- «Sarusias». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 25 January 1937.
- «Scotic». It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 5 June 1937, protected by English ships.
- «Seabank Spray» or «Seabrank Spray». It transported a cargo of securities and titles to La Pallice (France), which was seized, together with the Spanish ship «Axpe Mendi», by the judge in La Rochelle, and was denounced by English, Spanish and Canadian banks. The captain opposed the embargo, stating that he had been chartered by the Basque government but was not attended to. It was sunk off Barcelona in 1938.
- «Seven Seas Spray». It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 19 April 1937 ordered by Captain Roberts. In August 1937, it

tried to evacuate the «gudaris» who had surrendered in Santoña, which the Italians prevented. Then it went to Santander and it seems that it left with militiamen and evacuees.

- «Sheafgarth». It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 26 April 1937 by transporting war material.
- «Sheatfield». It broke the blockade in Bilbao on 3 May 1937.
- «Skraane». It made several trips to Valencia. In one of them it was recognised by the cruise «Canarias» on 3 March 1938.
- «Solinge». It left Bilbao loaded with iron ore on 26 August 1936 and February 18th 1937.
- «Sollerton Rosa». It left Bilbao loaded with iron ore on 28 January 1937.
- «Springwear» or «Springgear». Detained by the national gunboats in the Strait, it was taken for inspection to Gibraltar and after 12 days was able to continue its journey.
- «Stanbrook». It broke the blockade of Bilbao in April 1937, protected by the H-79 destroyer «Firedrake». It evacuated 3,016 fugitives from Alicante on 29 March 1939.
- «Stanburgh». Sunk by an internal explosion in Sète (France) in November 1938.
- «Stancourt». It broke the blockade of Bilbao on 13 May 1937 protected by the battleship «Resolution». It evacuated refugees from Valencia in March 1939.
- «Stancroft» former «Greebatt». It entered Mediterranean ports several times. In one of them in Barcelona it was sunk by airplanes and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Almansa».
- «Standale». Sunk on the high seas on the way to Cartagena in May 1937.
- «Standing». Detained leaving Gijón on 21 August 1937, it was protected by the H-67 «Fearless» destroyer.
- «Standrove» or «Stan Rove» entered the port of Valencia in February 1939 protected by the English cruise ship «Sussex».
- «Standwell». Bombed in Tarragona by aircraft on 19 March 1938, killing several crew members and the Control Commission officer.

- «Stanword». It landed in Alicante 20,900 boxes of condensed milk in April 1938. On another trip to the same port, it took canned fish.
- «Stangate». Seized near Sagunto by the auxiliary cruise ship «Mar Negro» on 16 March 1938 despite intervention to prevent it by the cruise ship «Sussex».
- «Stangrove». Detained on 20 October 1937 near Gijón by the trawler «Juan Ignacio», it was released by the cruiser «Southampton». It carried Republican militiamen and pilots. Captured at Cap Creus on 23 February 1939 and taken to Palma de Mallorca.
- «Stanhill». It entered Gijón on 5 January 1937 without lights, boarding and sinking the oil tanker «J.M. Martínez».
- «Stanholm». Detained in the Straits and taken to Gibraltar for inspection on 23 March 1937 on charges of transshipping war material on the high seas to another vessel that had been photographed, but was nevertheless released by the Gibraltarian authorities.
- «Stanhopel». Seized in the Strait by the gunboat «Dato» loaded with explosives and taken to Gibraltar for inspection, it was allowed to continue its journey.
- «Stanhull». Detained in the Bay of Biscay by the armed tug «Galicia» in September 1937, it was allowed to leave.
- «Stesso». It forced the blockade of Bilbao on 25 April 1937 by unloading war material.
- «Strenver». English yacht that entered Alicante on 16 August 1936.
- «St Winifred». Sunk in Alicante by air raid on 6 June 1938.
- «Sunion». Former Greek, English flag bearer. Detained in the Strait on 18 January 1938 and taken to Gibraltar for inspection and released. Later sunk in Valencia by aviation.
- «Teagle» or «Tagle» or «Tacle» or «Tingue». Former «Jorge» of Panamanian flag sold to English shipping company. It landed planes in Bilbao in March 1937.
- «Tesar Palsaven». Sunk in Valencia by aviation.
- «Thorpehall. It transported war material from Alicante to Bilbao in March 1937. Detained by the cruiser «Almirante Cerve-

ra», it was released by the English destroyers H-80 «Brazen» and H-47 «Blanche». Sunk by plane in Valencia on 25 May 1938.

- «Thorpehaven». It made several trips to Valencia and Alicante. Sunk on the beach of Alicante by airplanes on 10 June 1938 and refloated after the war and named «Castillo de Guadalete».
- «Thorpeness». Sunk by plane in Valencia on 21 June 1938.
- «Thorston» or «Thurston» or «Thursten». It loaded war material into the USSR on 5 December 1936.
- «Ulmuss». Reached in the Strait by accidental naval fire on 18 January 1939 and taken to Barcelona for repair.
- «Valleta». Oil tanker without further identification that entered Gijón in August 1937.
- «Wardham». It tried to enter Santander protected by the destroyer H-75 «Decoy» and prevented by the battleship «España» and the destroyer «Velasco».
- «Warrior». It was actually the «Goizeko-Izarra» yacht owned by Ramón Sota y Llano and requisitioned by the Basque government. It transported refugees from Bilbao to France and was sold to an English shipping company that changed its name to «Warrior».
- «Werwood». Old English notice transformed into a yacht and bought by the Republic who called it «Remigio Verdia». Sunk by aviation in Cartagena.
- «Woodford». Known smuggler ship with a non-English crew. Sunk by an unknown submarine near Benicarló on 2 November 1937.
- «Worrand». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 13 January 1937.
- «Yorkbrook», former «Solo». One of the best known among smugglers. Artillery pieces landed in Bilbao on 9 November 1936. On 3 March 1937, it was detained by the cruiser «Canarias» but it fled when a fight broke out between the Basque Country trawlers and the national cruiser, entering the port of Bermeo. Seized on 8 October 1937 by national trawlers, it was taken to El Ferrol and released. It moved to the Mediterranean by entering Barcelona and Valencia. Sunk in Barcelona by air-

craft on 13 October 1938 and refloated after the war with the name «Castillo de Monteagudo».

- «Yorkhorch». It left Bilbao with iron ore on 12 March 1937. On one occasion it used an Estonian flag.

There were other ships of British origin, but they had been sold to shipping companies in other countries, thus operating under a flag other than the «Union Jack» and without being protected by the Royal Navy's ships.

The author of the list, José Luis Alcofar Nassaes, indicates in his book that the list is incomplete and encourages scholars to expand it for better general knowledge.

Annex 2

British merchant ships that were sunk by aircraft of the AS.88 «As de Picas» Group from The Legion Condor¹⁵⁰

• « <i>Jean Weems</i> »	30-10-37	2,349 tonnes.
• « <i>Alcira</i> »	04-02-38	1,387 «
• « <i>Thorpehall</i> »	25-05-38	1,251 «
• « <i>Penthames</i> »	31-05-38	3,995 «
• « <i>Maryad</i> »	04-06-38	
• « <i>Thorpehaven</i> »	07-06-38	3,688 «
• « <i>English Tanker</i> »	07-06-38	6,170 «
• « <i>Gandía</i> »	07-06-38	316 «
• « <i>Isadora</i> »	09-06-38	1,324 «
• « <i>Thorpeness</i> »	21-06-38	4,798 «
• « <i>Sunion</i> »	22-06-38	3,054 «
• « <i>Dellwyn</i> »	26-07-38	1,451 «
• « <i>Lake Lugano</i> »	07-08-38	2,120 «
• « <i>Margaret Rose</i> »	07-11-38	
• <i>Lake Lugano</i>	07-08-38	2120 toneladas

¹⁵⁰ PERMUY, Rafael A. -O'DONNELL, César. As de Picas. Galland Books. 2008.

List of British warships involved in the Civil War¹⁵¹

- H-09 destroyer «Acasta». August 1936 in Alicante and control patrols since April 1937.
- H-40 destroyer «Anthony». July, August and September 1936 Strait. Control patrols.
- Cruise «Arethusa». Valencia and Palma in 1936. It towed the H-35 destroyer «Hunter» after hitting a mine. Control patrols. In Palma in March 1938.
- H-42 destroyer «Arrow». July, August and September 1936 Strait. Control patrols.
- H-11 destroyer «Basilisk». Protection of Mediterranean traffic. Torpedoed by an unknown submarine that did not reach him on 5 October 1937.
- H-30 destroyer «Beagle». In Tangier in July 1936. In Alicante on 16 August 16th 1936. Control patrol since April 1937.
- H-47 destroyer «Blanche». Bilbao, April 1937. Surveillance of Mediterranean routes. Castaway aid «Balearic Islands».
- H-65 destroyer «Boadicea». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- H-77 destroyer «Boreas». Cantabrian 1937. Surveillance of the Mediterranean routes at the end of 1937. Castaway aid «Balearic Islands» cruise.
- H-80 destroyer «Brazen». Cantabrian since April 1937 as a naval patrol and protection of English merchant ships such as the «Thorpehall».
- H-84 destroyer «Brilliant». Naval traffic surveillance.
- D-65 destroyer «Codrington». It operated in the Strait from Gibraltar in 1936.
- H-00 destroyer «Comet». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- H-53 destroyer «Dainty». In Alicante on 22 August 1936. Naval patrol.

¹⁵¹ ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. La marina italiana en la guerra de España. Editorial Euros. 1975.

- H-16 destroyer «Daring». In Alicante on 27 July 1936.
- H-75 destroyer «Decoy». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- Cruise «Devonshire». It operated in the Mediterranean. In February 1939 it intervened in the surrender of Minorca by evacuating the surrenders.
- H-66 destroyer «Escort». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- H-15 destroyer «Esk». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- H-61 destroyer «Express». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol.
- H-67 destroyer «Fearless». Cantabrian 1937. Naval control patrol. Anchored at El Musel (Gijón) in August 1937.
- H-79 destroyer «Firedrake». Cantabrian April 1937 as a naval patrol and protection of English merchant ships such as the «MacGregor», «Stambrook» and «Hamsterley». Mediterranean since September 1937.
- H-74 destroyer «Forester». Cantabrian April 1937 as a naval patrol and protection of English merchant ships such as the «Oak Grave», «Cousset» and others. Mediterranean since September 1937.
- H-70 destroyer «Fortune». Mediterranean 1937. Protection of routes treated Nyon.
- H-69 destroyer «Foxhound». In the Bay of Biscay in 1937.
- H-76 destroyer «Fury». Alicante January 1937. Naval patrol since April 1937.
- Cruise «Galatea». In Tangier in July 1936. It entered Alicante, Valencia and Barcelona several times. In Palma in 1938. On 30 March 1939, collected 194 escapees in Gandía, among others, Colonel Casado. A total of 170 men, 20 women and 4 children were evacuated with the help of the cruise ship «Sussex», which landed a company of Marines to cover the evacuation. It then transhipped the escapees to the hospital ship «Maine» which finally landed them in Marseille.
- H-37 destroyer «Garland». In Alicante on 8 August 1936.
- H-92 destroyer «Glowworm». In Cartagena in November 1936 when the cruise ship «Miguel de Cervantes» was torpedoed.

- H-31 destroyer «Griffin». In Alicante on 29 August 1936, and then in Valencia.
- H-87 destroyer «Hardy». It operated in the Mediterranean. It was in Palma during the government air raid of May 1937.
- H-43 destroyer «Havock». It operated in the Mediterranean. It was torpedoed on 31 August 1937 in the Gulf of Valencia, throwing depth charges but losing contact with the attacker.
- H-93 destroyer «Hereward». It operated in the Mediterranean in 1937. It came to the aid of the «Havock».
- H-24 destroyer «Hasty». It operated in the Mediterranean in 1937. It came to the aid of the «Havock».
- Battleship «Hood». It operated in the Bay of Biscay protecting English merchants. It had an incident with the cruise ship «Almirante Cervera».
- H-35 destroyer «Hotspur». It operated in the Mediterranean. It intervened in the surrender of Minorca by evacuating the surrenders in Mahon.
- H-35 destroyer «Hunter». It operated in the Mediterranean. It suffered serious damage and casualties after hitting a mine near Almeria on 3 May 1937 and was towed to Gibraltar by the «Arethusa».
- H-97 destroyer «Hyperion». It operated in the Mediterranean in 1937. It came to the aid of the «Havock».
- D-18 destroyer «Kempelfelt». Protection of Mediterranean shipping routes in 1937. It collected 270 survivors from the «Balears» cruise to Palma de Mallorca.
- «Maine». Hospital ship that evacuated English subjects in Alicante in August 1936. It evacuated refugees in Gandia in March 1939.
- Battleship «Malaya». It anchored in Palma de Mallorca in 1938.
- Battleship «Nelson». In Valencia in 1937.
- Cruise «Penelope». It operated in the Mediterranean, often docking in Palma where it produced some incident. It assisted the cruise ship «Balears».
- Battleship «Queen Elizabeth». Admiral's ship of the Mediterranean Fleet based in Gibraltar.

- Battleship «Repulse». In Gibraltar in 1936.
- Battleship «Resolution». It operated in the Bay of Biscay in 1937, protecting the English merchant traffic.
- Battleship «Royal Oak». It was hit by a government shell near Valencia on 23 February 1937. It then moved to the Bay of Biscay, protecting English merchants and helping the Spanish «Habana» and Goizeko Izarra» in May 1937. In Palma de Mallorca in February and March 1938.
- Cruise «Shropshire», operated in the Bay of Biscay in 1937 protecting English merchants having an incident with the cruise ship «Almirante Cervera» on 25 April 1937.
- Cruise «Southampton». It operated in the Bay of Biscay in 1937.
- Cruise «Sussex». It operated in the Bay of Biscay protecting English merchants by having an incident with the destroyer «Velasco» which had detained the merchant ship «Bramhill» on 12 January 1937. It went to the Mediterranean at the end of 1937 and embarked refugees in Gandía on 30 March 1939 with the cruise ship «Galatea».
- Battleship «Valiant». In Palma de Mallorca in December 1936.
- D-53 destroyer «Venetia». It entered Alicante on 29 August 1936.
- D-94 destroyer «Whitehall». Sent to Tangier in August 1936.
- D-98 destroyer «Wolsey». It operated in the Strait from Gibraltar and protected the ferry «Gibel Zerjon» which was on the Gibraltar-Morocco route and was attacked by government vessels.

Annex 4

British shipping companies that maintained traffic on behalf of the Republican government¹⁵²

- «Angel Son & Co. Ltd.». Cardiff (Wales). It belonged to the Spanish government after being bought by Republican agents.

¹⁵² ALCOFAR NASSAES, José Luis. La marina italiana en la guerra de España. Editorial Euros. 1975.

CERVERA VALDERRAMA, Juan. Memorias de guerra. Editora Nacional. 1968.

- «Atlantic Shipping». London. It belonged to the Spanish government after being bought by Republican agents.
- «Bay of Biscay Shipping». London. Used to register as English a dozen ships of a Bilbao shipping company.
- «Bethell P. Co.». Cardiff.
- «Billmier JA. Co.». Cardiff.
- «Cardigan Shipping Co. Ltd.». Cardiff
- «Crosby Son Co. Ltd.». West Hartlepool.
- «Currie James Co.». Leight
- «Dalgliesh R.S. Ltd.». Newcastle.
- «E.R. Management Co. Ltd.». London.
- «Gow Harrison Co.». Glasgow
- «Hull Netherland Steam Ship Co. Ltd.». Hull
- «John Bull Meyer». Tyneside. The main Republican shipping company that chartered ships or flagged them to other nationalities.
- «Johnes Frederick Co.». Cardiff
- «Loteo Shipping Co. Ltd.». London
- «Mac Andrews Co. Ltd.». London
- «Mediterranean S.S. Co. Ltd.». London
- «Mid Atlantic Company». London. It acquired the transport ship «Maritima» with Republican money.
- «Murell Jos E. Sons». Hartlepool.
- «Newbigib Ltd. E.R.» Newcastle.
- «Nunting Son Ltd.». Newcastle.
- «Ohlson Sir Erick Bart». Hull.
- «Rapp Arthur A.». London.
- «Richley Halvorsen Sample». Newcastle.
- «Robinson Sons». North Shielde.
- «Rodney S.S. Co. Ltd.». Newcastle
- «Shipping Cool Co. Ltd.». London.

- «Siejo Sea Fishing Ice Co. Ltd.». (There is no central office).
- «Souter W.A. Co.». Newcastle.
- «Stanhope Steamships Ltd.». Shipping company controlled by the Republican government as majority shareholder.
- «Stone Rolfe Ltd.». Llanelly
- «Turnbull Scott Co.». London
- «Walton W. G.». London
- «Westeliff Shipping Co. Ltd.». London although it was a company founded by Greeks to flag their ships as English.
- «Whimster Co.» Glasgow.

