The Spanish Civil War:

U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience Between the World Wars

By Peter N. Carroll and David Christiano April, 1995 (Revised _____)

Map of Spain circa November 1936

Published by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives

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Table of Contents

Preface	1
Goals and Objectives	3
Background Information	4
Glossary	7
Time Line	0
Lesson Plans	10
Quick-Write Assignment	12
Note-Taking Strategy for "Between the Wars" Video	13
Study Guide Questions for "Between the Wars" Video	14
Information on Obtaining "Between the Wars" Video	16
Other Recommended Films	17
Excerpts from President Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech"	18
Press Reactions to Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech"	19
Writing Assignment	21
Letter from Canute Oliver Frankson	22
Letter from Hyman Katz	24
Congressional Testimony of Crawford Morgan	26
Interview with Evelyn Hutchins	28
Letter from Ann Taft	30
Letter from Ave Bruzzichesi	33
"On The American Dead In Spain" by Ernest Hemingway	37
Questions for Discussion	39
Additional Readings	40
Map of Military Actions of the Lincoln Brigade	41
Acknowledgments	42

Preface

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) provides an excellent opportunity to introduce students to enduring problems of United States history and foreign policy. Against the background of isolationism in the 1930's, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 forced the American people and the U.S. government to face the question of intervening in a foreign war. Such questions have affected every generation of Americans in the 20th century.

In 1931, Spain established a Republican form of government. Five years later, the Spanish military leader, General Francisco Franco, with the support of the Church and aristocracy, led a rebellion against this elected government. Hitler and Mussolini gave substantial military aid to Franco, but only the Soviet Union provided assistance to the Spanish Republic.

Isolationism was the prevailing mood in the U.S. during the 1930's. As the rise of Fascism in Europe posed an ever increasing threat to democratic societies, the Spanish Civil War challenged the American people, and the Roosevelt administration, to re-evaluate the role of the United States in international politics. Americans faced the question of how to respond to this crisis abroad. Should the U.S. maintain strict neutrality in the hope of avoiding another world war? Did the U.S. have a moral responsibility to send military and humanitarian supplies, or even troops to Spain? If some intervention was called for, on which side should the U.S. intervene?

The United States chose to maintain strict neutrality and passed laws to support this official policy in regard to Spain. This response was controversial. A few American men and women were so compelled by the danger of Fascism in Europe, and the immediate threat to the Spanish Republic, that they chose to defy these laws. Some 2,800 American volunteers formed the *Abraham Lincoln Brigade* and went secretly to Spain to fight on the side of the Republican army. Their story is one of courage and commitment. It reveals a willingness to step outside the political mainstream and to take a dangerous stand on ideological and moral grounds. This curriculum packet introduces the story of the Lincoln Brigade in the context of U.S. foreign policy between the wars.

The Spanish Civil War: U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience Between the World Wars

These American volunteers were aware also of the social injustices in their own society. Several letters in this packet reveal a bold defiance of racism and prejudice that kept African-Americans and other minorities in second-class status. The Lincoln Brigade was the first fully integrated army in U.S. history.

Traditional gender roles were, for the most part, unchallenged among the American volunteers. Men volunteered for combat; women volunteered for medical duty as nurses. Unarmed, and stationed close to the frontline of combat, these nurses endured the horror of war, demonstrating tremendous courage and ingenuity in the midst of battle. Evelyn Hutchins expressed her feminist ideals by insisting on serving as an ambulance driver. Initially, she faced stiff resistance from the male leadership of the Lincoln Brigade, but she won her case and gained the confidence and respect of her male comrades.

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Initial Graphic/Photo depicting the Lincolns maybe from onboard ship or upon arrival at Albacete....

2

Goals and Objectives

This unit is intended to help students:

- to learn about the period between World War I and World War II and to apply this history to the broader framework of historical themes in modern times, with special emphasis on the Spanish Civil War and its impact on U.S. history;
- to analyze and to interpret a variety of historical sources, including personal letters from the battle fronts, presidential speeches, newspaper commentaries, and documentary film;
- to better understand the issues of U.S. foreign policy before World War II, particularly the debate between supporters of U.S. neutrality and those who wanted the U.S. to lend aid to the embattled Spanish Republic;
- to appreciate the factors that influence U.S. foreign policy decisions, and to open discussion on the timing and circumstances for appropriate U.S. response to international crises;
- to recognize the historical precedents underlying subsequent episodes of U.S. intervention abroad, in Korea, in Vietnam, in Latin America, in the Middle East, and in Africa.

Note on the Lesson Plans: This unit is designed to be completed during a one-period class, or over a sequence of two periods.

3

Background Information*

Picture from the Great Depression: Something Dorothea Lange-like....

During the 1930's, the world was in the grip of a severe, protracted economic crisis known as the **Great Depression**. Many people were in desperate need. During this time, several countries, notably Italy (under **Benito Mussolini**) and Germany (under **Adolf Hitler**), elected **fascist** governments which promised to end the crisis by taking drastic measures. These measures included military aggression and widespread persecution against ethnic minorities and working people. Under Hitler's dictatorship in Germany, and in the other European countries which he conquered, millions of innocent people were deported to concentration camps and murdered. This horrific episode in our modern history has come to be known as the **Holocaust**.

The warning signs of advancing fascist aggression were already apparent to many people when a military rebellion was staged against the Spanish Republic in the summer of 1936. This rebellion lead to a **civil war** in Spain.

The Republic had been established by popular election, following the abdication of King Alphonso XIII in 1931. (This was the second republic in Spain's political history.) On *July 18, 1936*, there was world-wide alarm, as an avowed fascist, **General Francisco Franco**, threatened to overthrow the democratically elected government of the **Spanish Republic**. It was less than twenty years since the end of World War I, with its astounding casualty rate of ten million dead and another twenty million wounded. Many feared that the

intervention of Mussolini and Hitler on the side of Franco in Spain would be the beginning of a second world war. Already, the German dictator Hitler was threatening neighboring countries, and Italy's Mussolini had invaded the African country of Ethiopia the year before in 1935.

Leaders of the Spanish Republic began seeking aid from the countries that publicly opposed fascism, countries such as Great Britain, France, and the United States, as well as the Soviet Union. The governments of the first three countries opted instead for a policy of **neutrality**, and only the Soviet Union came to the aid of the Spanish Republic. Despite his personal desires, **President Franklin D. Roosevelt** could not persuade Congress to support the Spanish Republic. Congress instead passed a series of **Neutrality Acts**.

In contrast, Franco's forces were strengthened by aviation and naval power, as well as ground troops supplied by Mussolini and Hitler. This military support enabled Franco to score major victories over the weaker forces of the Spanish Republic. In the face of this imbalance, many Americans opposed U.S. neutrality as a matter of conscience. Some 2,800 men and women decided to go to Spain to fight for the Republic against Franco. These volunteers called themselves the **Abraham Lincoln Brigade**. The members of the Lincoln Brigade took a great personal risk in opposing the Neutrality Laws of the United States. Placing conscience above the law, they enlisted to help the Spanish Republic against Franco and fascism because they believed it was the only right action to take.

* Note: All the names and terms that appear in **boldface** can be found in the accompanying **Glossary**.

General Discussion Questions

Individuals throughout history have challenged the law and the status quo on conscientious grounds. This historical episode can serve as an exercise for discussion on the ethics of law versus individual conscience; and on the responsibilities of American citizens in the world.

The Spanish Civil War: U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience Between the World Wars

What happens when there is a conflict between the "conscience" of governmental leaders and the "conscience" of individual citizens?
 What role does a concern for humanity and morality play in shaping a nation's foreign policies?
 How can citizens know what is the appropriate policy for the U.S. to follow in any given world crisis?
 How do these questions apply specifically to the United States since the end of World War II?

Comparative Case Study: Vietnam

Why did the U.S. pass neutrality laws as a response to the Spanish Civil War in 1936, but chose military intervention in Vietnam in the 1960s? Were these responses consistent? Whose interests were being protected in each case? What role did the threat of Communism play in determining U.S. policy during the Spanish Civil War and in Vietnam?

During the Spanish Civil War, American citizens who joined the fight against Franco on conscientious grounds were persecuted for breaking the Neutrality Law.

During the Vietnam war, American citizens who opposed the war and refused to fight on conscientious grounds were persecuted for breaking the draft laws.

6

Spanish Civil War Glossary

Abraham Lincoln Brigade: A general term for the 2,800 Americans who enlisted in the International Brigades to defend the Spanish Republic against the military insurrection led by General Francisco Franco. More than 100 nurses and doctors served in hospitals and clinics to assist soldiers and civilians alike.

civil war: a war between political factions, ethnic groups, social classes, or geographical regions within the same country.

embargo: a governmental order prohibiting or banning the movement of trade (exports or imports) between countries. In the case of Spain, the U.S. government's embargo prohibited the sales of armaments to both sides fighting in the Spanish Civil War.

fascism: a governmental system which is led by a dictator who exercises complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition and criticism, regimenting all industry, commerce, and other civilian activities, and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism. Fascism is often combined with extreme racism toward minorities within the country or outsiders. Nazi Germany is an example of a fascist government.

General Francisco Franco (1892-1975): One of the generals who led the rebellion against the elected Republican government. After the war, he served as head of state in a brutal fascist dictatorship.

Adolph Hitler (1889-1945): Elected Chancellor of Germany in 1933, Hitler established a dictatorship under the Nazi Party. During the Spanish Civil War, Germany illegally sent military aid and troops to support the Franco-led rebellion.

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945): Leader of the fascist movement in Italy, and of the Italian government after 1922, Mussolini allied with Hitler and supported the Franco-led rebellion with military assistance and troops.

neutrality: the policy or status of a nation which does not participate in a war between other nations. The United States chose to maintain a policy of neutrality in response to the Spanish Civil War.

Neutrality Acts: A series of laws passed by Congress in 1935, 1937, and 1939 (see **Timeline**), designed to preserve U.S. neutrality in foreign wars by avoiding the issues that had drawn the nation into World War I.

quarantine: a strict isolation imposed upon a nation to prevent that nation from receiving anything in the way of products or armaments from other nations.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945): Inaugurated as President of the United States in 1933, Roosevelt (also known as "FDR") criticized the aggression of Italy, Germany, and Japan, but hesitated to take measures that might draw the U.S. into war.

Spanish Republic: After the abdication of King Alphonso XIII in 1931, Spain established its second Republican form of government. Five years later, the Spanish military joined the aristocracy, the Church, and wealthy landowners in a rebellion against this elected form of government.

Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): The military rebellion that began in July, 1936 embroiled the entire nation in a bloody war that anticipated the total warfare conditions of World War II. The military rebels bombed civilian populations in cities; coordinated tank, infantry, and air forces in modern combat conditions; used radio for propaganda purposes; and severely punished those who remained loyal to the Republic at the end of the war. When Franco finally entered the capital city of Madrid in March, 1939, he claimed a complete victory.

The Spanish Civil War: U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience Between the World Wars

Time Line

1935	Congress passed Neutrality Act: mandatory embargo on war material.
	Italy invades Ethiopia.

Spanish Civil War begins. Germany and Italy assist Franco; Soviet Union aids legal Republic; U.S., France, and Great Britain adopt policy of "non-intervention."

1937 Japan invades China mainland.

Congress passes revised Neutrality Act; "cash & carry" permits sale of non-military goods to nations at war, but material must not be sent on U.S. ships; extends arms embargo; bans loans to countries at war; limits travel by U.S. citizens to war zones.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt presents "Quarantine" speech in Chicago.

1938 Germany annexes Austria.

Munich Agreement: Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany permit Germany to seize portions of Czechoslovakia.

1939 Germany invades remainder of Czechoslovakia.

General Franco captures Madrid; Spanish Republic falls.

Germany invades Poland. World War II begins.

Congress revises Neutrality Act: permits nations at war to purchase military supplies, but must ship them in own vessels.

1940 Germany invades Low Countries, Norway, France.

Roosevelt elected to third term.

1941 Germany invades Soviet Union.

Japan attacks U.S. at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. U.S. enters World War II.

9

Lesson Plan

Note: To prepare the students for this unit of study, it is advisable to assign for homework the night before the materials that appear on pages 4-9: the Background Information, the Glossary, and the Time Line. Ask students to read these materials and take notes in the form of a learning log of ideas, themes, or issues that most impressed them.

On the actual day of the lesson in class, to initially and effectively engage students, we begin by giving them the opportunity to become policy makers in the context of current events. We then provide students with information from a documentary film that will help them to better understand the historical issues of the inter-war period, especially the Spanish Civil War. We close this section by giving the students a chance to voice their own views on the U.S. government's position during the Spanish Civil War.

Step-by-step plan: [one-hour unit]

- 1. Begin by asking students to write their responses to the "quick write" topic (see page 12).
- 2. Hand out note-taking strategy (see page 13) or study guide questions (see page 14) for Eric Sevareid's "Between the Wars" documentary film on the Spanish Civil War.
- 3. Show the class the half-hour Sevareid program, available on video cassette from distributors listed on page 16. [Note: this is a fast-moving documentary, packed with information. You may need to pause the video at various points for review; you may want to adapt, modify, or combine both the note-taking strategy and study guide questions mentioned above.]

Note: If you wish to extend this unit into a second hour, look below for further guidelines. If you wish to limit this unit to a one-class session, you could end it here, asking students to write for homework, brief essay answers to the questions below. Students should use the notes they took during the film or their answers to the study guide questions to help them answer these questions:

- (a) Why did some American men and women volunteer to serve in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War?
- (b) How did General Franco manage to win the Spanish Civil War?
- (c) Should the U.S. government have supported the Spanish Republic? Why/why not?

Lesson Plan: Part 2

Step-by-Step Plan: [second hour]

- Pass out copies of excerpts of personal testimony by some of the 1. volunteers who went to Spain. These are in the form of excerpts from letters written by Canute Oliver Frankson, Hyman Katz, excerpts from an interview with Evelyn Hutchins, and some sections of Congressional testimony made by Crawford Morgan before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1954. Read these excerpts aloud with the students, discussing the kinds of political and personal issues that are raised. This is an excellent opportunity to lead a discussion on what motivated men and women to defy U.S. law and foreign policy by leaving the U.S. to take military action against the fascists in a foreign country. [Note: we chose two pieces by African American vets because the class that we piloted this curriculum unit on at Oakland Technical High School in Oakland, California was comprised almost entirely of African American students. Depending on your class demographics, you may wish to modify this part.] Allow a half-hour to 40 minutes for this part.
- 2. Pass out copies of excerpts from President Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech" of October 5, 1937 and read aloud in class (see page 18).

- 3. Pass out copies of excerpts from "Nationwide Press Comments" that appeared in the *New York Times* of October 6, 1937 and read aloud in class (see page 19).
- 4. For homework assignment, ask students to write their own editorial response to Roosevelt's speech (see page 21).

Quick-Write

Pretend that you are in charge of U.S. foreign policy, and you have Situation: just learned about a severe state of emergency in another country where hundreds of thousands of people are being slaughtered by soldiers fighting against one another in a civil war. Both sides have sought military assistance and supplies from you. Knowing that you have the power to authorize the sending of American troops, military equipment, and supplies to this country, you also realize that American intervention into the affairs of other countries is bound to be criticized severely by the public, especially if there are any Remembering the horrors of World War I, you are American casualties. concerned that intervention might contribute to yet another destructive world war. Keep in mind, too, that this is an election year and your public standing is already in jeopardy from a series of economic problems at home. Which policy would you choose: intervene in this country in an effort to end the bloodshed? Issue a humanitarian plea for restraint to both sides in the civil war, but pledge to remain "neutral?"

Your Response: In a quick-write, respond to the question above and support your position. Be prepared to discuss.



Note-Taking Strategy for "Between the Wars" Program by Eric Sevareid

As you watch this video program, take notes on details having to do with these five general topics:

- 1. How would you characterize the kinds of people who fought on each side of this civil war?
- 2. What kinds of military tactics and strategies did the Spanish Civil War introduce?
- 3. In what ways was "strict neutrality" towards Franco's forces violated by Germany and Italy as well as several American corporations?
- 4. What kinds of considerations went into FDR's personal and public positions on the Spanish Civil War?
- 5. In what ways did the Spanish Civil War portend the events of World War II?

Photograph/Painting

from the Spanish Civil War

(Capa shot of mortally wounded Republican soldier, Lincoln Vets....)

Study Guide Questions for "Between the Wars" Program by Eric Sevareid

- 1. Why is the Spanish Civil War called "The Last Great Cause"?
- 2. Who started the Spanish Civil War and why?
- 3. Why was FDR's speech calling for a "moral embargo' on both sides in war seen as inadequate to the needs of those seeking to defend the Republic?
- 4. What was the Anglo-French strategy towards the Spanish Civil War?
- 5. What role did the U.S. corporations Texaco and Dupont play in the war?
- 6. What made the Spanish Civil War more than just a civil war to some of the volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?
- 7. What was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade's biggest problem as a fighting force?
- 8. What was the "Popular Front"?
- 9. Who engaged in terror bombing of civilian populations in Spain, in what American author Ernest Hemingway termed "mechanized doom"?
- 10. What famous artist immortalized the bombing of Guernica with a painting?
- 11. Whose votes did FDR fear losing if he went ahead and approved aid to the Loyalist side in the war?
- 12. What did the Spanish Civil War mean for many Spanish children?
- 13. Why did the Loyalists decide to send the International Brigades home in the summer of 1938?

14 .	Where did	Hitler's	Condor	Troops 9	go after S	Spain?
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15. What did Hitler and Mussolini think about the U.S., France, and Great Britain, as a result of Franco's victory?

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Picasso's "Guernica" or something equivalent with caption and, as necessary, explanation

Caption here....

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Information on Obtaining "Between the Wars" Program on the Spanish Civil War

"Between the Wars" is an eight-part series that chronicles the United States' international diplomacy between the end of World War I and Pearl Harbor and explains the events leading to America's deepening involvement in world affairs. Narrated by Eric Sevareid, the series includes rare archival footage and historical interviews. Video cassettes are available individually or as a boxed set. (Inquire with distributors for boxed set price and complete list of titles for eight programs.) Supplementary materials are also available. Each of the eight programs runs 60 minutes. The program on the **Spanish Civil War** is the second part of Program #6 (the first part of this program is called "The Italian-Ethiopian War: Africa in World Affairs").

The following three distribution companies carry "Between the Wars" in their catalogs:

Best Film & Video Corporation, 108 New South Rd., Hicksville, NY 11801-5223. Telephone: (516) 931-6969.

Karol Video, P.O. Box 7600, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18773. Telephone: (717) 822-8899.

A video cassette of Program #6 is also available for no fee by an Interlibrary Loan request from the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, Box LII, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254.

Other Recommended Films

"Blockade," William Dieterle (1938)

"For Whom The Bell Tolls," Sam Wood (1943)

"La Guerre est finie," Alain Resnais (1966)

"The Spanish Earth," Joris Ivens/Ernest Hemingway (1937)

"To Die in Madrid," Frederick Rossif (1963)

"Dreams & Nightmares," Abe Osheroff (1974)

"The Good Fight," Sills, Buckner, Dore (1984)

"Forever Activists," Judy Montell (1991)

Something from one of the films on the Spanish Civil War mentioned above (advertisement for film)

Excerpts from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech" of October 5, 1937

...It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others, and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation is today being threatened by that very thing....

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived. Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace

Excerpts from Press Reactions to Roosevelt's

"Quarantine Speech"

From the New York Herald Tribune:

President Roosevelt, for all his eloquence at Chicago, cannot be credited with anything...specific. His world audience no doubt thinks that much of his speech had reference to Japan. But he did not say so. His talk of "quarantine" may be construed as an endorsement of economic sanctions but he did not mention them. His appeal was wholly emotional. It named no names. It cited no specific treaty clauses that are in default and no specific way of resenting treaty violation. If it was an appeal for anything it was a popular emotional mandate to the President to take whatever course in our international relations seemed to him the best.

From the Washington Post:

This speech, coming at the psychological moment, may well foreshadow a turning point in world history. The forces now fighting intolerable aggression, whether in the case of the Chinese at Shanghai or the Spaniards defending Madrid, are neither cowards nor weaklings. They are prepared to carry on the fight for human decency unaided. But with the assurance that the United States has not forgotten all moral standards in its ostrich hunt for security, the strength of their resistance will be redoubled. President Roosevelt has only to make explicit the assurances implied in yesterday's speech and the turn toward peace will, for the first time since 1931, become apparent.

From the Boston Herald:

The mantle of Woodrow Wilson lay on the shoulders of Franklin Roosevelt when he spoke yesterday in Chicago. It may be true that "the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened." But this time, Mr. President, Americans will not be stampeded into going 3,000 miles across water to save them. Crusade, if you must, but for the sake of several millions of American mothers, confine your crusading to the continental limits of America!

From the Chattanooga Times

Did Mr. Roosevelt intend to indicate, as it is apparently believed in some quarters, that the United States will join other powers and be contributing police work in the Far East and the Mediterranean, try to "quarantine" aggressor nations? Or does the President desire to encourage Great Britain and France to follow a more determined course in Europe and Asia, while standing on this nation's traditional policy of isolation?

Graphic here reflecting some aspect of the Quarantine

Speech and/or its implications

(photograph of MadrileZos under siege
or equivalent)

Caption here

Writing Assignment

- 1. Review Excerpt from President Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech" of October 5, 1937.
- 2. Study Excerpts from President Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech."
- 3. Review all the hand-outs and your own film notes and quick-writes.
- 4. Write your own editorial response to Roosevelt's speech, addressing this basic question:

Should the U.S. intervene to help the Spanish Republic in its fight against fascism or should the U.S. continue to remain neutral even if it means the defeat of the Republic at the hands of the fascists?

5. Remember, the more **details** and specific facts you use, the more convincing your editorial and the better your grade.



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Excerpts of a Letter from Canute Oliver Frankson

Albacete, Spain July 6, 1937

My Dear Friend,

I'm sure that by this time you are still waiting for a detailed explanation of what has this international struggle to do with my being here. Since this is a war between whites who for centuries have held us in slavery, and have heaped every kind of insult and abuse upon us, segregated and jim-crowed us; why I, a Negro who have fought through these years for the rights of my people, am here in Spain today?

Because we are no longer an isolated minority group fighting hopelessly against an immense giant. Because, my dear, we have joined with, and become an active part of, a great progressive force on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of saving human civilization from the planned destruction of a small group of degenerates gone mad in their lust for power. Because if we crush Fascism here we'll save our people in America, and in other parts of the world from the vicious persecution, wholesale imprisonment, and slaughter which the Jewish people suffered and are suffering under Hitler's Fascist heels.

All we have to do is to think of the lynching of our people. We can but look back at the pages of American history stained with the blood of Negroes; stink with the burning bodies of our people hanging from trees; bitter with the groans of our tortured loved ones from whose living bodies ears, fingers, toes have been cut for souvenirs living bodies into which red-hot pokers have been thrust. All because of a hate created in the minds of men and women by their masters who keep us all under their heels while they suck our blood, while they live in their bed of ease by exploiting us....

...We will crush them. We will build us a new society a society of peace and plenty. There will be no color line, no jim-crow trains, no lynching. That is why, my dear, I'm here in Spain.

On the battlefields of Spain we fight for the preservation of democracy. Here, we're laying the foundation for world peace, and for the liberation of my people, and of the human race. Here, where we're engaged in one of the most bitter struggles of human history, there is no color line, no discrimination, no race hatred. There's only one hate, and that is the hate for Fascism. We know

why our enemies are. The Spanish people are very sympathetic towards us. They are lovely people. I'll tell you about them later....

Don't think for one moment that the strain of this terrible war or the many miles between us has changed my feelings towards you. Our friendship has meant a great deal to me, and still means much to me. I appreciate it because it has always been a friendship of devoted and mutual interest. And I'll do whatever is within my power to maintain it.

No one knows the time he'll die, even under the most favorable conditions. So I, a soldier in active service, must know far less about how far or how close is death. But as long as I hold out I'll keep you in touch with events. Sometimes when I go to the fronts the shells drop pretty close. Then I think it's only a matter of minutes. After I return here to the base I seem to see life from a new angle. Somehow it seems to be more beautiful. I'd think of you, home and all my friends, then get to working more feverishly than ever. Each of us must give all we have if this Fascist beast is to be destroyed.

After this is over I hope to share my happiness with you....

So long. Until some future date. One never knows when there'll be time to write. There's so much to do and so little time in which to do it. Love,

Salud,

Canute

Photograph of African-Americans in Spain (possibly Oliver Law)

Caption here

Excerpts of a Letter from Hyman Katz

11/25/37

Dear Ma,

It's quite difficult for me to write this letter, but it must be done; Claire writes me that you know I'm in Spain. Of course, you know that the reason I didn't tell you where I was, is that I didn't want to hurt you. I realize that I was foolish for not understanding that you would have to find out.

I came to Spain because I felt I had to. Look at the world situation. We didn't worry when Mussolini came to power in Italy. We felt bad when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, but what could we do? We felt--though we tried to help and sympathize--that it was their problem and wouldn't affect us. Then the fascist governments sent out agents and began to gain power in other countries. Remember the anti-Semitic troubles in Austria only about a year ago. Look at what is happening in Poland; and see how the fascists are increasing their power in the Balkans--and Greece--and how the Italians are trying to play up to the Arab leaders.

Seeing all these things--how fascism is grasping power in many countries (including the U.S., where there are many Nazi organizations and Nazi agents and spies)--can't you see that fascism is our problem--that it may come to us as it came in other countries? And don't you realize that we Jews will be the first to suffer if fascism comes?

But if we didn't see clearly the hand of Mussolini and Hitler in all these countries, in Spain we can't help seeing it. Together with their agent, Franco, they are trying to set up the same anti-progressive, anti-Semitic regime in Spain, as they have in Italy and Germany.

If we sit by and let them grow stronger by taking Spain, they will move on to France and will not stop there; and it won't be long before they get to America.

The Spanish Civil War: U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience **Between the World Wars**

Realizing this, can I sit by and wait until the beasts get to my very door--until it is too late, and there is no one I can call on for help? And would I even deserve help from others when the trouble comes upon me, if I were to refuse help to those who need it today? If I permitted such a time to come--as a Jew and a progressive, I would be among the first to fall under the axe of the fascists;--all I could do then would be to curse myself and say, "Why didn't I wake up when the alarm-clock rang?"

But then it would be too late--just as it was too late for the Jews in Germany to find out in 1933 that they were wrong in believing that Hitler would never rule Germany.

I know that you are worried about me; but how often is the operation which worries us, most necessary to save us? Many mothers here, in places not close to the battle-front, would not let their children go to fight, until the fascist bombing planes came along; and then it was too late. Many mothers here have been crippled or killed, or their husbands and children maimed or killed; yet some of these mothers did not want to send their sons and husbands to the war, until the fascist bombs taught them in such a horrible manner--what common sense could not teach them.

Yes, Ma, this is a case where sons must go against their mothers' wishes for the sake of their mothers themselves. So I took up arms against the persecutors of my people--the Jews--and my class--the Oppressed. I am fighting against those who establish an inquisition like that of their ideological ancestors several centuries ago, in Spain. Are these traits which you admire so much in a Prophet Jeremiah or a Judas Maccabeus, bad when your son exhibits them? Of course, I am not a Jeremiah or a Judas; but I'm trying with my own meager capabilities, to do what they did with their great capabilities, in the struggle for Liberty, well-being, and Peace....

Lovingly,

Chaim

Excerpts of Congressional Testimony of Crawford Morgan

Note: The following is taken from the book, "This Ain't Ethiopia, But It'll Do: African-Americans in the Spanish Civil War," by Danny Duncan Collum, Editor, and Victor A. Berch, Chief Researcher.

Graphic Related to HUAC-type hearings if not directly related to C. Morgan hearings.

In September 1954, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB) were brought before the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) in response to a petition by U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell to classify the VALB as a subversive organization. On September 15 and 16, 1954, Crawford Morgan, an African-American member of VALB, testified before the SACB. Here are some excerpts:

SACB: Did you have any understanding, Mr. Morgan, before you went to Spain, of what the issues were connected to that war?

Morgan: I felt that I had a pretty good idea of what fascism was and most of its ramifications. Being aware of what the Fascist Italian government did to the Ethiopians, and also the way that I and all the rest of the Negroes in this country have been treated ever since slavery, I figured I had a pretty good idea of what fascism was.

We have quite a few fascist tendencies in this country. Didn't come to the point of taking up arms and killing a lot of people, but for the longest time Negroes have been getting lynched in this country by mobs, and that was fascism on a small scale.

But over there [in Spain] it was one whole big group against the other. It was the Franco group that didn't like democracy. And they rebelled against the people after the 1936 elections and tried to stick their ideas down the throats of the freedom-loving people of Spain. So I, being a Negro, and all of the stuff that I have had to take in this country, I had a pretty good idea of what fascism was and I didn't want no part of it. I got a chance to fight it there with bullets and I went there and fought it with bullets. If I get a chance to fight it with bullets again, I will fight it with bullets again.

SACB: Mr. Morgan, were those thoughts in your mind before you went to Spain?

Morgan: Ever since I have been big enough to understand things I have rebelled. As a small child of three or four years old I would rebel at human injustice in the way I understood it at that age. And as long as I have been able to remember, up until now, the government and a lot of people have treated me as a second-class citizen. I am 43 years old, and all my life I have been treated as a second-class citizen, and naturally if you always have been treated like one you start feeling it at a very tender age.

With Hitler on the march, and fascism starting the fight in Spain, I felt that it could serve two purposes: I felt that if we cold lick the Fascists in Spain, I felt that in the trend of things it would offset a bloodbath later. I felt that if we didn't lick Franco and stop fascism there, it would spread over lots of the world. And it is bad enough for white people to live under fascism, those of the white people that like freedom and democracy. But Negroes couldn't live under it. They would be wiped out.

SAC: Were you aware, at any time, that you were a member of the International Brigades, of receiving any different treatment because of your race?

Morgan: No, from the time I arrived in Spain until after the time I left, for that period of my life, I felt like a human being, like a man. People didn't look at me with hatred in their eyes because I was black, and I wasn't refused this or refused that because I was black. I was treated like all the rest of the people were treated, and when you have been in the world for quite a long time and have been treated worse than people treat their dogs, it is quite a nice feeling to go someplace and feel like a human being.

Excerpts from an Interview with Evelyn Hutchins

I went to drive. They probably considered that in case something went wrong I could do a lot of clerical work. On that basis they were willing to send me there.

I had driven a number of ambulances here around the city, taking them back and forth to the boat, and they were satisfied that I really could handle the cars. It was found that I could drive the car as well as, and better than, some of the fellows who were going...Some fellows thought it was very funny that I should be there driving. I am little but I never made any attempt to swagger or act mannish. I acted just the way I always acted. I used to argue with them about it. They would say, "You are so little, what can you do?" And I would tell them, "I am just me." I was a girl, I was small and didn't weigh much but I was doing a job and wasn't that enough. They would like to take pictures of me next to my truck; because I was small they thought it was very funny. Some of them would say, "All I have to do is give one hard blow and you'll keel over." But the important thing was that the fellows who understood why I wanted to be there, why I had taken the job of driving which was the only possibility of getting as close as I could to the actual fighting, they didn't think a girl shouldn't want to fight and have a machine gun instead of driving a car these fellows were the fellows who took the thing seriously, and I found them to have a more serious and level headed attitude about things that happened.

I always had to shift for myself and take care of myself and make my own decisions, and sometimes it would be tough on me. If that conditions you, I was conditioned. On the other hand I have always been very incensed at a lot of different injustices I have seen, and at the injustices I have seen against women. I have been frustrated so many times because I was not a man. So I probably see things faster than somebody else who doesn't care. Some girls might not mind not being allowed to go to the army...I was always told by everybody that I must not do this, or I must not do that because girls don't do those things. I was told so many times that girls are inferior to men, that men can do things and girls can't, and I couldn't take it. I didn't care how hard it was on me.

So far as the political situation in Europe, I am not like some people who think that all this stuff is just propaganda. I remember when Mussolini issued a decree I was just a kid at the time he issued a decree that women were not to wear short skirts, and that they were to keep their proper places. Well, Mussolini was definitely out so far as I was concerned. I was convinced that

anybody with that kind of an attitude was absolutely no good for the people generally. I never felt that I was an outstanding genius, but people had to give me a chance to think and develop whatever thinkabilities I had. If a person would not give me a chance I would fight them. Hitler has the system where he sends women to camps to be breeders. That strikes me at my very most innermost desire for freedom, and self-expression, and for culture, and education. Just being an ordinary human-being I couldn't tolerate a thing like that. It has gotten to mean so much to me that I don't care what I do in the process of fighting against conditions like that.

I got the idea of going to Spain first and then my husband got the idea and my brother got the idea, and they got there ahead of me. And I worked so hard to go over there. I had saved money for it, I had to convince people. I had to argue with them, and to prove things. But the average fellow or my husband had no difficulty getting there. It might have helped that he was there. I don't know....I went over there because I wanted to do a job.

Photograph, perhaps of Evelyn Hutchins
in the front seat of a truck....

Letter from Ann Taft

July 15, 1937

Dear T.

Just received your letter dated June 18, and was glad you sent the newspaper clippings. As yet the new groups have not arrived and we have not received the packages, but we hear that they are on the way, and have many things for us.

At present, I am in the midst of setting up my fourth operating room, and T., each one presents new problems, and difficulties; but I guess the first 100 will be the hardest and then I'll be able to set up with my eyes closed. Do not think I'm discouraged because I'm not. It has been a grand experience, and is worth five years of my life.

My first operating room was set up in Romeral, and what a problem! No running water; water had to be carried in the house after we had pulled it up from a well, and then was placed in tanks for scrubbing. Water had to be carried in for the autoclaves, etc. Our autoclaves are heated by prima stoves which run on kerosene, and you can't imagine how much work there is attached to sterilizing and keeping things clean. We spend hours trying to figure out a way in which to sterilize our goods so that things come out dry. We have not given up trying although we have been at it five months. The sterilizer was very cheap and the water was very hard, and so when the instruments were boiled, they were coated with lime and muck and what not. Soda bicarb and other chemicals would not soften this water. It would take me an hour or so to wipe the muck off the instruments every day. Finally I decided that if I boiled the instruments in something else, they might be cleaner, and that I would have more time for other work. So I hied me off to the kitchen and appropriated three dish pans for boiling and three frying pans for covers. What fun! The Prima stoves did their damndest but it used to take three hours to get water to boil; then the instruments would rust and stick, and all the greasing in the world was more or less ineffective.

Wounded kept arriving day and night. It was so cold that while assisting at operations, I used to hop first on one foot, and then on the other to keep warm. The instruments were so cold they stuck to my hands and poor H. used to run her feet off carrying sterile hot water, circulating for me, and three or four small operations at the same time. We had no material for lap sponges, so we used muslin and gauze. We had no jars for catgut, so again we raided the

kitchen, and every pot with a cover took up residence in the operating room. Some were red enamel and had two ears, and some had one ear, and no pots were alike. Imagine! We even have glove covers made up by peasant women. Every empty can that had a cover and every cookie box was appropriated so that I could keep up a good supply of sterile gauze for the operating room and the rest of the hospital.

We cut up some rubber sheeting, dug up the back yard, and made sand bags. We made masks from unbleached muslin; and when I scrubbed I always had on a pair of woolen socks, three sweaters and a jacket, besides the regulation uniform of the Medical Bureau. I'd fold up all my sleeves and commence to scrub in ice water, and then struggle into a gown. It was so cold, that you could see clouds of vapor rising from our patients' chests and legs, and hot water bags were placed under their shoulders, buttocks, and feet; and in spite of everything we did, we could not keep our patients warm during operations. If we plugged in the electric heaters, the lights grew dim, and we could hardly see to operate; so we had to sacrifice heat for light. It is surprising that in spite of all the difficulties, our mortality rate was very low, and were are astounded at the unexpected recovery of some of our most serious cases. But the will to live is great, and all are fighting for a better world.

Graphic/photo illustrating the conditions the nurses worked under in Spain.

After about a month of working day and night, we were told that we would have to move because the fronts we were serving were quiet, and we were

The Spanish Civil War: U.S. Foreign Policy & Individual Conscience Between the World Wars

needed elsewhere. Freddie Martin came to wake me one afternoon, and said, "Ann, pack the Operating Room; we are moving." She has said this so many times, it seems that some day when I'm old and grey, and death comes and taps me on the shoulder, I'll jump up thinking it's Freddie saying, "Ann, pack the Operating Room." The day we moved was March 17th and what a day it was. Cold, raining, bitter! We landed in the new town, knee deep in mud, and commenced to try to set up. And all the time wounded were brought in, cold, in shock, bleeding, dying. T., it was I can't tell you what it was. Words cannot describe the horror of it! Things were so difficult. Not enough beds, instruments, linens or other equipment. Freddie has been marvelous. If she hadn't been with us, we never would have survived.

After we had been in this town a few days I went to bed with rheumatic fever, and had to remain in bed all the time we were at this hospital. Poor Rae Harris! Besides being night supervisor, and the only American nurse on nights, she had to work in the operating room day and night. Of course none of the nurses got more than four hours sleep at any time, and many a day, no one saw a chair or bed for 72 or more hours. We were so overcompensated, that when we finally went to bed we could not relax. Every time I tried to get out of bed, and go to work, Freddie would come along and sit on me. But everyone was working so hard, and I could not rest knowing that my being ill made it so much more difficult for everyone else.

After a month in this town, things sort of quieted down and we moved to the two casas that at one time belonged to the royal family. They must have expected us, because they left us the most beautiful parks and estates. The place is large and spacious, and we've been able to establish a really beautiful and efficient hospital. As a matter of fact, we've been told the Americans have the best hospitals in Spain, and that they realize that it is due to the efficiency of the nurses and doctors. I may sound very conceited, but I am proud and happy to be here helping the brave Spanish people wipe fascism off the face of the earth....

I will let you know when the packages arrive, and thanks loads for everything. Tell my friends to write.

Love to everyone.

Lovingly, Taftie

Letter from Ave Bruzzichesi

c/o Central Sanitaria Internacional Paseo de Gracia 132, Barcelona Jan/8/38

Dearest Tommy:

You should see me or rather you shouldn't unimaginably dirty 3 a.m., sitting in the at last deserted surgery, installed in an old house, formerly belonging to a Dr. This room was the dining room, for there are scenes from the country round painted on the walls, and someone has painted little tanks onto them and air-ships in the skies; some of them are spattered with blood which is squirted onto 'em from a pressure transfusion tube. There is a dumbwaiter down into the kitchen, but it has been nailed up. We got back to Barcelona from the front Dec/27. I wrote to you from there. I felt that it was probably something stirring and made haste to get ready this time, but what with all the holidays time was short. Hemingway came through I heard, but I didn't see him.

Anyway, on the night of Jan. 1st. I was at the HQ. of Sanitation (Surg. Gen'l's Office) and got orders to leave next a.m., Sunday. I got things packed and got hold of the chauffeur and the rest of the outfit leaving Purviance in Barcelona, and taking Weisfield and the nurses only....We drove along at about 20 miles p. hour for 3-4 hrs., until finally we stopped for dinner. Weisfield and I took turns at driving after that and drove until about 1 a.m., when we hit a little town where there was a hospital I knew. We turned in and went on again in the a.m. It was cold and the Valencia orange groves were covered with snow. As we began to get up into the mountains it was very cold. Trucks, artillery, tanks moving up the road, truck loads of evacuated persons, prisoners, and troops moving down made an inextricable mess in the snowy road. The snow had been shoveled away far enough to leave a one-car lane, but at each town traffic would enter downward bound and upward bound and would jam in the narrow street, neither willing to back out and both unable to proceed, so that finally Weisfield and I got out and acted as military police and traffic directors. It took us about 12 hrs. to do 75 miles.

At railhead we stopped for supper. Two long surgical trains were drawn up there; they were operating in what was a dining car converted into a surgery; we ate in another diner; alongside were a row of dead laid out in the snow and a force of men busy digging graves for them. We had orders for a town south, but the chief, D'Harcourt, came in while we were eating, and to our great

disappointment changed them to this place we had been a week before. So we picked up and pulled out. We had only a little piece of chain left for the tires; someone had stolen ours while the car was in the garage, so we kept on the look-out. I saw an old mill and thought where there is machinery there are chains, but there weren't. However, we found an even greater treasure; stumbling through the snow I uncovered an old axe. So we took it "organized it." We went along and soon ran into a stalled truck with no on watching it, from which we "organized" two beautiful chains. Pretty soon we began to encounter British and American ambulances, and inquiring found that Barsky's division had just arrived and was in a town nearby. We were glad to see him again. Everything pretty much upside down, for he was just getting installed....Everyone rummaging about in the mud. Ambulances unpacking; an Australian nursing-sister in a high fur hat; people diving in and out of stone passages into dark old Spanish houses, setting up a hospital. Mud up to the knees. We didn't stay long. I had a feeling that we had better be getting on. I don't remember whether because of hearing the artillery fire at this place or not; anyway we got on. We drove in here in the afternoon and scarcely had we time to look around and unpack when the wounded began coming in. We worked hard that day, Jan. 5th, and the next and since then there has been practically nothing....

> Graphic/photo illustrating the conditions the nurses worked under in Spain. (different from Ann Taft, perhaps emphasizing the harsh physical conditions they faced....)

There had been nothing down toward putting the hospital in order since I left, so I began by raising a hellish row. All the work had stopped as I left it. No light. We operated by candle-light and with the little flash-lamp that fastens onto your head that I used to use on the old Flirt. Imagine doing laparotomies with that! No heat. It was very cold, 16-18 (degrees) below zero and I was so darn cold as I lay on the floor on a spring-wire mattress, wrapped up in my sleeping bag a God-send that I couldn't sleep. Several men brought in with frozen limbs. The wounded all lying in the big classification room on cottonstuffed mattresses, close to the stove. I didn't dare move them into the icy wards until they had got over their shock at least. Very few cots, most of them broken; not enough mattresses, not enough blankets, vainly trying to sterilize on an old kitchen stove that wouldn't draw. The next morning I went into the office where the administrator (the business manager of the QM. of the hospital) was sitting with his men and disconnected their stove around which they were sitting and brought it into the operating room myself. That was the last straw! Stealing a hot stove! So I went rowing about for the next few days until the old outfit was about ready to cut my throat, but now we've got the hospital fairly clean.

The Spanish workingmen and peasants are the salt of the earth. I've never appealed to them in vain. Almost daily I plunge up through the mud and snow to the old house with the coat of arms painted on the whitewashed wall and the sun dial, minus the dial, and go into the office of the "ayuntamiento" the Board of Aldermen. There is always a group of 3-4 men in peasants clothes, corduroy trousers and a woolen sash and a "boina" (beret), and I put my wants before 'em; and they respond so quickly and willingly. A wall to be built, or a door put in; the next a.m. three of them appear and with the simplest implements that an American mason would scorn, a piece of an old foot-rule, a string, a few trowels, they hunt around the bombed buildings for brick and stone and doors and hinges and things, and the next day the wall is up. Or I go down to the old blacksmith who lives next to the town well; at night, for by day his little rascal of a son is up in the hills hiding in the caves and get him to make Thomas splints.

Two days ago I went to the ayuntamiento and asked for stoves to heat the wards, and electric light bulbs. See here, they said, we have had soldiers in this little room for 18 months; and each group that goes, moves on and takes all their things with them. We are exhausted. I know, I said, it isn't for myself, but for the wounded. Look here, I lie on these stone floors and freeze at night and there's nothing wrong with me. But imagine lying there with your leg shot off. Suppose you look around the village and get one stove or two, and in the morning I'll give you my car and write you a letter, and you go to the neighboring villages where there haven't been so many soldiers and say "See,

we've given two stoves, suppose you give one to the hospital." "That's a good idea," they said, "you write us a letter and we'll be around in the morning and go." So I wrote the letter that night, a very formal letter and in the morning they came around and said, "The letter isn't necessary, we've brought three stoves." I wish the officials were like them, but they're not. They're still half of the old regime and it takes heaven and earth to move them.

Jan/18. Back in Barcelona. Got orders to return on Jan/16 p.m., left y'day a.m. and here we are. A lot of aviation activity the last few days before we left. My it feels good to sleep in a bed. Found your letter of Dec/8 here. Hope you get my long one of Dec/27 or thereabouts. Please acknowledge `em and keep `em, and type as much as you like of them for the Med. Bureau. So glad to get the letter. Only the 2nd one since I left. Look for Tommy star, and although clear skies mean much Aviation, the TS. makes it worth while. Lots of loving thoughts...

Ave Bruzzichesi

Picture of Nurses, Doctors & Soldiers (Lincolns) in a moment of respite....

On the American Dead in Spain

by Ernest Hemingway

The dead sleep cold in Spain tonight. Snow blows through the olive groves, silting against the tree roots. Snow drifts over the mounds with the small headboards. (When there was time for headboards.) The olive trees are thin in the cold wind because their lower branches were once cut to cover tanks, and the dead sleep cold in the small hills above the Jarama River. It was cold that February when they died and since then the dead have not noticed the changes of the seasons.

It is two years now since the Lincoln Battalion held for four and a half months along the heights of the Jarama, and the first American dead have been a part of the earth for a long time now.

The dead sleep cold in Spain tonight and will sleep cold all this winter as the earth sleeps with them. But in the spring the rain will come to make the earth kind again. The wind will blow soft over the hills from the south. The black trees will come to life with small green leaves, and there will be blossoms on the apple trees along the Jarama River. This spring the dead will feel the earth beginning to live again.

For our dead are a part of the earth of Spain now and the earth of Spain can never die. Each winter it will seem to die and each spring it will come alive again. Our dead will live with it forever.

Just as the earth can never die, neither will those who have ever been free return to slavery. The peasants who work the earth where our dead lie know what these dead died for. There was time during the war for them to learn these things, and there is forever for them to remember them in.

Our dead live in the hearts and minds of the Spanish peasants, of the Spanish workers, of all the good simple honest people who believed in and fought for the Spanish Republic. And as long as all our dead live in the Spanish earth, and they will live as long as the earth lives, no system of tyranny ever will prevail in Spain.

The fascists may spread over the land, blasting their way with weight of metal brought from other countries. They may advance aided by traitors and by cowards. They may destroy cities and villages and try to hold the people in slavery. But you cannot hold any people in slavery.

The Spanish people will rise again as they have always risen before against tyranny.

The dead do not need to rise. They are a part of the earth now and the earth can never be conquered. For the earth endureth forever. It will outlive all systems of tyranny.

Those who have entered it honorably, and no men ever entered earth more honorably than those who died in Spain, already have achieved immortality.

XXXXXXXX

A previously unreleased tape of Hemingway reading his famous eulogy to the American dead has now been published: Cary Nelson, ed., **Remembering Spain: Hemingway's Civil War Eulogy and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade** (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

To borrow this tape via Inter-Library Loan, contact: ALBA, Brandeis University, Box LII, Waltham, MA 02254. Fax: (617) 736-4675.

Photo paying tribute to the American Dead of Jarama and other battles of the Spanish Civil War....

Questions for Discussion

1. What motivated the following individuals to go to Spain?

Canute Oliver Frankson

Crawford Morgan

Hyman Katz

Evelyn Hutchins

- 2. What connections did the African-Americans Canute Oliver Frankson and Crawford Morgan make between fascist aggression in Europe and violent racism at home?
- 3. What historical perspective did Hyman Katz bring to his role in Spain as one of the many Jewish volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?
- The majority of women who volunteered to go to Spain went as nurses. 4. Why do you think Ann Taft chose to go? Describe her life as a nurse in Spain. How does it compare with Ave Bruzzichesi's account?
- 5. Evelyn Hutchins made the exceptional choice to be an ambulance driver. Why did she make this choice? What connection did she see between fascist aggression in Europe and injustice toward women?
- 6. Discuss how these volunteers drew on personal experience to understand their place and responsibility in the world at large. How do these stories help us define what "conscience" is?
- American volunteers understand 7. and appreciate Would these ie. in Spa. Hemingway's essay "On the American Dead in Spain"?



Additional Readings

Paul Preston, The Spanish Civil War: an Illustrated Chronicle, 1936-1939 (New York, 1986). A clear, concise history of the war's political and military issues.

Robert Devine, The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II (New York, 1965). A brief but thorough introduction of the major issues of foreign policy on the eve of World War II.

Peter N. Carroll, The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War (Stanford, 1994). A history of the Americans who journeyed to Spain to assist the embattled Spanish Republic and what happened to them after they returned to the U.S.

Cary Nelson & Jefferson Hendricks, Editors, Madrid 1937: Letters of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade From the Spanish Civil War (Routledge, 1996). A comprehensive collection of letters from American volunteers in Spain, with an introductory essay.

Cary Nelson, Editor, Remembering Spain: Hemingway's Civil War Eulogy and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). Previously unreleased tape of Hemingway reading his famous eulogy to the American dead, with explanatory essays.

Danny Duncan Collum, Editor, and Victor A. Berch, Chief Researcher, "This Ain't Ethiopia, But It'll Do": African Americans in the Spanish Civil War (New York, 1992). A thoughtful and revealing documentation that draws from the multitude of sources housed at the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives at Brandeis University to chronicle the experiences of the African American men and women who served in the war.

Alvah Bessie, *Men In Battle* (New York, 1939). A vivid memoir of the Spanish Civil War by one of the American volunteers.

Jim Fyrth and Sally Alexander, Editors, Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War (London, 1991). A collection of first-hand accounts of the war written by women who served as nurses, drivers, journalists, and eyewitnesses.

Ernest Hemingway, For Whom The Bell Tolls (New York, 1940). A romantic war novel by one of America's greatest novelists, who covered the Spanish Civil War as a journalist.

Milton Wolff, Another Hill (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1994). A wartime novel written by the last commander of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Military Actions of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Map Goes Here

This map is reproduced from Peter Carroll, <u>The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War</u> (1994) with permission of Stanford University Press.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank the Bay Area Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB), the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA), the Charles Lawrence Keith & Clara Miller Foundation, and Herbert Kurz for their generous financial support in the preparation of this curriculum. We are also grateful to William Susman, Deborah Menkart, Barbara Dailey, and the members of the Executive Committee of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives for their valuable comments and additions to this curriculum.