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ANIMALS IN THE NATIONALIST ZONE DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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INTRODUCTION

The historiography of the Spanish Civil War is dominated by a political and diplomatic perspective. The Republican loss has often been attributed to the "betrayal" of the democracies during this period of appeasement of the European dictators. Both liberal and leftist historians—such as Hugh Thomas, Paul Preston, Helen Graham, and numerous others—largely blame the defeat of the Spanish Popular Front on an imbalance of foreign intervention which favored the Nationalists.[1] This argument has a certain plausibility but focuses attention too exclusively on diplomatic and political events and thus ignores social and economic history. To add to the imbalance, the existing social and economic historiography typically concentrates on the Republican zone much more than its Nationalist counterpart.

This paper will adopt a different perspective and examine the social and economic history of the Nationalist zone, especially its animals. Historians of the conflict have generally neglected the importance of beasts. I cannot explore the entire animal kingdom and shall therefore devote my efforts to meat and fish. Soldiers and civilians loved to consume the former, and the latter—especially sardines, along with bread—composed the principal sustenance of front-line troops. Pack animals were indispensable in the cultivated fields and in the mountainous Iberian terrain. Horses and, more commonly, mules became the Nationalist jeeps.

MEAT

The availability of meat in many markets can be attributed not only to Nationalist control of cattle-rich provinces, such as Galicia and Rioja, but also to an authoritarian political economy which allowed the army and other provinces to substitute for the missing demand of large urban areas under Republican control. The Nationalist military was given first priority to purchase meat supplies and replaced Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia as markets for canned food and other commodities made in Galicia, Rioja, Asturias, and Navarre. In contrast to the Republican zone, where "red" money was regarded skeptically, livestock producers in the Nationalist zone were willing to accept its currency for their cattle and other animals. In January 1937, the Federaciones Agrarias Católicas and the quartermaster signed an accord that lasted until the end of the conflict and that allowed the Federaciones to establish a monopoly on supplying meat to

the northern front. Gallegan and Meridian firms furnished canned meat products to Franco's troops. For example, during the battle of Belchite in August 1937, besieged Carlist forces demanded the immediate delivery of "10,000 tins of meat."[2]

Beef followed a course that was similar to wheat, which received price supports through the Servicio Nacional de Trigo. Gallegan Falangists knew that only high prices for their animals would win over to the "new regime" peasants, who were overwhelmingly apolitical and non-ideological: "The peasant masses will decide to support our movement on the basis of the price of cattle."[3] Politically uncommitted groups in Galicia, such as *campesinos* in the north and center and many women throughout the province, would sustain the *franquista* state if it could deliver materially. Gallegan producers demanded a revalorization of meat prices, and it seems that this occurred at least in part by early 1937. However, by the summer of 1937, the Catholic Agrarian Federation complained that prices at the livestock fairs were "bankrupting farmers." La Coruña's civil governor responded by promising to root out "corruption" at the fair and weighing all animals on scales attended by municipal officials. Lugo's civil governor ordered mayors to give preference to livestock sales to the military quartermaster. The Asociación General de Ganaderos de España, successor of the Mesta, established its office in Burgos and arranged a meeting with the *Caudillo*, who was always sensitive to rural interests. In August 1937 a few days after the Nationalists had captured Santander, he responded to pressure from Federación Católica Agraria and raised the price of milk 40 percent.[4]

Gallegan *campesinos* reacted rapidly to market conditions and were stimulated by the rise of prices to produce more pork, which was often the base of their own diet. Lugo authorities declared that provincial and municipal tax revenues had increased substantially because of "higher prices of agricultural commodities," particularly "the increased price of livestock." Almost every family in the countryside possessed "a head of livestock, either fully or 50 percent owned." Yet the peasants' ability to generate more meat was limited by the small scale and the scattered placement of their tiny holdings, which often provoked disputes over pasture and water rights. Their farming remained "archaic" and remained dependent on the use of the primitive Roman plow. Although the province was devoted to animal husbandry—especially cattle—little milk, cheese, or butter was produced. Nor was there an industrial slaughterhouse; thus, cows were shipped live to other regions.[5]

In January 1938, national authorities established in each provincial capital a Junta Provincial Reguladora de Abastos de Carne whose task was to control production and price. The Junta was usually composed of the civil governor as president, a representative from the military quartermaster, an agrarian technician, the head of the provincial veterinarian organization, and two livestock farmers (*ganaderos*), one from the livestock chamber and the other from the Falange. The Falange played only a minor role in this and many other *juntas* and committees, including those of its own unions where it was outmanned by representatives from the military and various employers' organizations. The local Juntas de Economía y Abastos of Oviedo limited Falange representation to one "consumer named by the FET" in a four-person committee. The Junta provincial de Abastecimientos y Transportes of Huelva mandated only one Falange delegate on a seven-man committee.[6]

Juntas and committees became forums where interest-group politics were debated and often decided. In the summer and fall of 1938, they raised meat prices—including that paid to ranchers by the army quartermaster—in certain provinces. The Junta de Abastos in livestock-rich Asturias gave priority of purchase to the military quartermaster and attempted to regulate all animal sales. The Asturian Junta prided itself on flexible *tasas* which took into account the region's dependence on highway transport—made more costly by the destruction of bridges and vehicles during the first year of the war—and the necessity for producers to make profits. Given the shortage of motor vehicles, sellers and buyers needed to use draught animals which made transport slower and more expensive. The Andalusian provincial juntas were forced to raise beef prices in Seville, which had been stable from July 1936 to March 1938, because of the decline of Galician exports to Andalusia. Although Burgos began to run short of meat, Salamanca province had a sufficient quantity to supply its military and civilian population. Its authorities reported significant increases in cows, sheep, goats, and pigs from 1932 to 1937. Segovia noted a "surplus" of livestock and a drop in the price of veal from 1936 to 1938.[7]

Perhaps mules played the least celebrated but most critical role in the Spanish civil war. Mules and their handlers (*acemileros*) were essential for supplying troops in the mountainous and unpaved paths throughout the Spanish peninsula. The animals served as Franco's jeeps, and their drivers became rural proletarian heroes in the Nationalist zone. In lines worthy of Soviet or Republican socialist realism: "Contra la hostilidad del suelo y clima; en franca lucha contra los elementos, en lucha sangrienta contra el enemigo y en lucha perseverante contra la rebeldía de su

auxiliar—el mulo—el acemilero va, en una sucesión de modestas y calladas victorias, ayudando a las otras victorias relumbrantes." The ignorant had the misimpression that the being a handler was a cushy job, and some volunteered for the position, but *acemileros* had one of the most difficult tasks in the military. Most were of rural origin, had managed pack animals in their youth, and had never attended school. They were notoriously independent, and earned a reputation among chaplains for their earthy, if not foul, language. An *acemilero* had to be constantly at the disposition of his charges, who could be neither over nor underfed. Watching their flock gave them little time to relax.[8]

The handlers had a special pride in their ability to deliver hot food in heavy metal pots to hungry soldiers on the march. During many campaigns throughout the war, mule trains, although exposed to enemy fire, permitted the delivery over long distances of both warm and cold meals. Unfortunate animals sometimes fell into ravines while descending steep and slippery paths in the mountains. Nor was the headlong tumble of mules over cliffs unusual. Many other beasts succumbed to illness. Mules were famously stubborn, and in many languages they have set the standard of obstinacy. They sometimes dumped their heavy loads of food and munitions and refused to traverse rivers or other natural obstacles. When they bucked the cargo off their backs, the *acemilero* was forced to reload them and entice them forward at all hours of the day and night. One handler became so frustrated by the refusal of his mule that he got down on his knees with his arms extended in front of the beast and pleaded: "Si algún día quiere Dios que tengamos que morir los dos, que yo resucite mulo y tú acemilero." A tired and recalcitrant beast forced another *acemilero*, Valentín Hernández Bateo, to load on his own back the boxes of desperately needed medications. One of the most elite units in the Nationalist Army, la Primera de Navarra, had as many as 700 mules supporting its operations, and its convoys impressed even soldiers with deep rural roots. Artillery units also used large numbers of mules to transport heavy weapons. Machine-gunners employed their own *mulos*, who had the added advantage of remaining relatively calm during bombardments. During the Basque campaign at the end of September 1936, the arrival of a mule with four boxes of ammunition, manufactured in Seville earlier that month, allowed the Tercio de Lácar to continue its struggle in the Calamúa Mountains. The creatures were essential around the Jarama where they played a central role in establishing Nationalist control of the right bank. *Mulos* served as the ambulances or even hearses that transported sick, injured, and dead soldiers on both sides. The seriously wounded

had difficulty staying on their backs, but the Nationalists devised a system whereby the mule carried two injured men who were balanced on stretchers on each side of the beast. Chaplains commuted to the cemetery and the church on their backs.[9] Many historians have reasonably concluded that foreign aid or Moroccan mercenaries were the "decisive" factors which ultimately gave victory to the Nationalists. Yet pack animals were as "decisive" as fascist weapons or *Regulares*.

Insurgents in Andalusia were able to attract horsemen, trainers, and stable boys into their well-equipped mounted police and army units, whose mobility captured "red" villages and restored "order" in the countryside. Officer training classes often included horseback riding lessons. The Spanish army had an important cavalry division, the Cría Caballar, many of whose officers joined the Nationalists. The division, which also contained a battalion of bicyclists, remained Franco's most rapid reserve unit. The cavalry earned a reputation for bravery and effectiveness during the Battle of Teruel and again during the final battles in Catalonia in January 1939. In February 1938 during the fight for Teruel, the Montejurra unit—which, like other Carlist units, were among the most effective Nationalist troops—managed to capture four horses and a large supply depot from the Republican quartermaster. Throughout the conflict, the capture of steeds was an important prize for both sides. Carlists admired their *caballos* and the horsemen who drove them into artillery fire at the end of the Battle of Teruel. Soldiers stationed on extensive fronts used mounts—and, when possible, motorcycles—to communicate among themselves. An officer on a horse in the mountains became nearly as common as one in a car in the cities. In fact, high-ranking officers in the field had their own steeds.[10]

On the symbolic plane, one photograph taken at the beginning of the conflict showed Nationalist supporters giving a fascist salute to a passing horse, surely an honor that the latter could not fully appreciate. The equestrian portrait of the *Caudillo*, emphasizing the continuity of his leadership with Spanish monarchs, was displayed throughout the Nationalist zone. So were pictures of his personal Moorish guards and their Arabian steeds, both associated with the Spanish imperial success. The Guardia Mora, formed in February 1937 by a squadron of *Regulares*, delighted onlookers at parades and other occasions—whether festive or solemn. The *Caudillo* gave to the Jalifa of Morocco four beautiful horses valued at least 35,000 pesetas, "of the Spanish-Arab breed" a blending of the races that would have pleased Ernesto Giménez Caballero, who maintained that Spaniards and Moors shared the same blood, a unique position

for a European fascist in the late 1930s. Franco himself loved horseback riding both as a young officer and an ageing *Caudillo*.[11]

Horses, mules, and donkeys were perhaps more exposed to death than their masters. As pack animals, they carried munitions and became bombs themselves when hit by enemy fire. Mules were easier targets than men and furthermore did not seek cover. Instead, even during battle, frightened ones usually hovered around their handler. To be a beast in battle could be extremely dangerous. Gunners facilely shot them since trenches were not usually large enough to provide cover even for modest-size four-legged creatures. In engagements on the Guadiana in Extremadura in August 1936, 20 men and 40 horses perished. In early May 1937 during the Bilbao campaign near Mount Vizcargui, a Republican sniper caught sight of a group of mules and shot nine before their handlers could move the remaining animals to safety. In this case, the handlers' carelessness "dejaron pasar a mejor vida a unos compañeros de viaje y excelentes servidores que prestaron grandes servicios." On 27 August 1937 during the battle of Brunete, four soldiers and 25 mules and horses died in a Republican artillery bombardment. During the Maestrazgo campaign in July 1938, an enemy artillery shell fell on a mule carrying grenades which detonated killing eleven and injuring 52 *requetés*. When lost at night, the movements of creatures attracted trigger-happy sentinels. Thus, an ample supply was even more necessary than in peacetime.[12]

The chaplain of a Carlist Tercio expressed the unsentimentality of a rural society towards its working beasts. At the end of April 1937 near Durango, an artillery shell blew up a mule carrying a hot meal from the rear. The chaplain regretted that the warm food was adulterated with animal blood more than the violent death of the mule. One *requeté* morbidly joked that his mates "should come and eat the exquisite paella." During the Asturias campaign, the plunge of two mules over a precipice was reported matter-of-factly and without regret. During the Battle of Teruel, a good number—like the men they served—froze to death and became "harder than a rock." The detailed descriptions of dead, deformed, and mutilated animals may have substituted for a reluctance to depict disfigured human bodies, a common sight on the battlefield. Other, more fortunate, mules brought Fundador cognac, which had the virtue of not freezing, to men in the frigid mountains. The cold had the sole merit of preventing dead animals, men, and excrement from smelling. It preserved corpses which—given the black humor of warring soldiers—were called "cold cuts" ("fiambres") whose food and clothing were quickly re-cycled.

Sleeping near mules and horses could provide some warmth, even at the cost of foul odors, noises, and kicks. In May-June 1938, a shortage of mules, in part the result of their high mortality of the Battle of Teruel, severely handicapped the Nationalist campaign in the Maestrazgo and its drive to capture Valencia. During this campaign through mountain villages with bad roads, troops tired of their constant cold rations, sometimes alleviated by a rabbit caught and grilled on the spot or, more rarely, by a hot meal that mules "miraculously" delivered from the rear.[13]

Many men developed an affectionate relationship with the beasts. The Tercio de Lácar awarded them nicknames which signaled both friendship and individual identity. *Requetés* called the oldest of the herd the Catalán. They spoiled and loved him for his many contributions and services, and his death, caused by an artillery shell during the Battle of Ebro, saddened the entire unit. The Navarrese usually treated their animals with affection. They named one whom they requisitioned (as they had confiscated automobiles in the city) "el Durruti." "Durruti" was joined by the requisitioned "el burro Ascaso" who was sporadically appreciated for "his magnificent services" in carrying heavy loads up steep mountain paths. The pair was ironically named after the famous (or infamous in *requeté* eyes) anarchist duo. "Ascaso" proved to be worthy of his namesake. He was a stereotypically stubborn creature with an "anarchist" temperament that bit his handlers and bucked his load to the ground, usually during the most dangerous moments of battle. During one fight, "Ascaso" refused to budge and his handler had to light a match under the animal's belly to get him out of the line of fire. On the other hand, Carlists praised "Durruti" for his fortitude and stamina during long marches of the Asturian campaign. The unit eventually exchanged "Durruti" for a truck, but his former masters—and, even more so, the mule himself—were disheartened to see his new boss burden the beast with much more cargo than he had previously carried. The wounding of three mules during the reconquest of Teruel was a heavy material and spiritual loss for the Carlist Tercio.[14]

Although predominantly rural Spanish society did not yet treat its pack animals as pets, soldiers nevertheless felt a strong sentimental attachment to their charges. So did civilian *muleros* who demanded that they be photographed holding sardine cans on top of their *mulicos*. A good number of units had mascots. During the Battle of the Ebro in July 1938, a *requeté* from Manilva (Málaga) was ordered to furnish ammunition to a battery of the First Division of Navarre. During the operation his mule was wounded in the front leg. The soldier was ordered

to stay with the animal until it healed. Even though the mule recuperated in two weeks, the *malagueño* remained in the village of Lucena del Cid with a local prostitute for six weeks, thereby missing the bloodiest action of the Battle of the Ebro. Authorities prosecuted him for desertion, but perhaps because of his spotless war record and his successful care of the mule (good handlers were usually without rank but always invaluable), he was acquitted.[15]

During the Battle of the Ebro, mules were essential for both sides. Swimming, they accompanied boats as the Popular Army crossed the river and then brought supplies to front-line soldiers on hilly outposts. Nationalists requisitioned from surrounding villages 270 mules and donkeys which transported 60,000 hand grenades and tens of thousands of bullets and shells. Lanterns guided the animals up the steep mountain paths. Their light and braying attracted Republican fire which killed a large number of the working creatures, but most made it up the hill and delivered their potentially deadly cargo. The fact that Nationalists could requisition so many beasts of burden on short notice indicated that their zone retained healthy practices of animal husbandry. Veterinarian organizations had rushed to their aid. These associations often had a right-wing orientation and had lost members during the Republican purges at the beginning of the civil war. For example, the Asturian veterinary association reported that four of its associates had been "vilely assassinated by Marxists." Colleagues mourned the death of a 22-year-old who had died "defending the fatherland" at Navalperal on 4 August 1936. General Queipo de Llano praised the courageous action of a military veterinarian who took over the town hall of Jerez de la Frontera at the beginning of the rebellion. Nationalist veterinarian groups eliminated their left-wing colleagues and served either the military or the municipality. In Málaga, vets earned at least 5,500 pesetas per year; compared to a metallurgical engineer's 10,000 or a country physician's salary of 12,000 pesetas.[16]

Very early in the conflict, veterinarians were ordered to verify the ownership of every animal butchered in municipal slaughter houses. They kept elaborate statistics on numbers and species of beasts in each province. These figures were absolutely essential for supplying transport, meat, and indispensable by-products such as skins. Veterinarians were also expected to report on farmers who were reluctant to butcher their beasts because of a low *tasa*. A "concentration camp" for unclaimed animals was established to avoid unauthorized sales of livestock whose ownership was unknown or contested. This established a precedent throughout the Nationalist zone whereby local officials returned animals taken by "reds" to their rightful

owners. If no one claimed the beasts, they were sold at public auction. In Córdoba province by the end of December 1936, 5,000 head, including a large number of mules, had been returned to their original owners. Unclaimed beasts were used for the harvest and eventually sold. The military received 207,076 pesetas as a result of these auctions.[17]

Echoing the prohibition on butchering issued in the fall of 1936 by the Comisión de Agricultura de Junta de Técnica del Estado, the civil governors of Córdoba and Zamora ordered local veterinarians to prohibit the slaughter of female livestock and to make stud services available to all ranchers and cattle farmers. Throughout the conflict, vets ensured the safety and survival of all types of farm animals but especially females of reproductive age. They attempted to closely control breeding. In the provinces of Zamora and Burgos, policies of preservation were effective, and the numbers of cows, sheep, pigs, and goats increased substantially from 1935 to 1938. The Intendencia Militar was able to requisition large numbers of mules and horses, a prerequisite of a successful war effort. The army gave high priority to the supervision of horse breeding throughout its zone. Livestock were registered and counted. This was a difficult task since in some provinces—such as Pontevedra and Granada—impoverished peasants followed the custom of slaughtering young calves when they lacked the resources to raise them to maturity or to bring them to market. The Burgos government advertised throughout Spain to encourage breeders to sell their horses and mules to the government. After Nationalists captured parts of the provinces of Toledo and Madrid at the end of 1936, they claimed to have rounded up 400 teams of mules to sow wheat.[18]

Throughout the war, provincial veterinarians issued bulletins on contagious diseases affecting livestock (such as foot-and-mouth disease), and procedures for quarantining and destroying infected animals. Vets were aware that diseases--*viruela ovina, carbunco bacteridiano, perineumonía*, etc.--that had been eliminated from more advanced European nations still periodically decimated herds in Spain. With the cooperation of the Guardia Civil, they effectively stopped the sale and circulation of beasts—including those destined for the quartermaster—from zones suspected of transmitting contagion. Violators of quarantine prohibitions were fined hundreds of pesetas. The Servicio Nacional de Ganadería established a Salamanca center—the Colegio Oficial Veterinario—which tested the effectiveness of vaccines and serums. It promised livestock farmers compensation for any damages caused by its medications. It should be noted that instruments which tortured animals and destroyed their

hides —*aguijón* and *pincho*—were banned in much of the Nationalist zone as they had been under the Republic. However, it proved difficult to root out the use of the *aguijón*, and the Comité Sindical del Curtido sponsored a contest, with awards totaling 5,000 pesetas, for the best essays on how to eliminate this "barbaric" custom from the Spanish countryside.[19]

The all-male bodies of health officials were also charged with policing milk vendors, most of whom were females who were frequently tempted to use milk from diseased cows or adulterate healthy milk with water. Vets fined dozens who tried to sell their animals without the proper health certificates. In León, four butchers were sanctioned 10,000 pesetas and another sixteen 5,000 "for falsifying veterinarian certificates." Vets also threatened to close down sausage-making factories and workshops which had avoided inspection. Fearing outbreaks of trichinosis, they even attempted to halt the Christmas-season practice of familial slaughter of pigs. Veterinarians usually cooperated with the municipality and the state, but at the end of the war when meat shortages were critical and potential profits enormous, one issued safe-conduct passes without justification and was fined 500 pesetas. Less successfully, authorities tried to limit "*intermediarios*" and encourage peasants to sell their beasts directly to agricultural unions and state organizations. Immediately after the war's end, working animals and tractors that had been requisitioned by the military were returned to their owners who needed them for the upcoming harvest. This restoration contrasted with the animals expropriated in the Republican zone whose owners never saw them again.[20]

In the Nationalist zone, animals remained plentiful throughout the conflict. In June 1937, the Nationalist slaughterhouses reported the deaths of 12.2 sheep, 3.5 million pigs, 2.8 million cows, 2.7 million goats. One year later, the census estimated 14.7 million sheep, 4.2 million pigs, 3.4 million cows, 3.2 million goats had been slaughtered. If accurate, these figures show nearly a 20 percent increase of livestock during the war, undoubtedly a major factor in the Nationalists' victory. Official statistics in Zamora, which prided itself on being one of the richest livestock provinces, revealed growth in three of four categories of animals normally consumed for meat. The number of cows had increased 6 percent (from 88,175 in 1935 to 93,493) in 1938; sheep 62 percent (from 426,830 to 693,148); goats 44 percent (from 76,399 to 108,521). Only pigs declined 15 percent (from 73,813 to 63,001). The augmentations were partially attributed to adherence to the prohibition of the slaughter of females of reproductive age and to the relative lack of consumption of mutton and goat meat. Cows were by far the most

valuable animals and beef the most popular meat. 100,000 cows were worth nearly twice as much (42 million pesetas) as 700,000 sheep (28 million pesetas). The average price of a cow was 450 and a sheep 40. In fact, the province reported that it had an excess of some 20,000 sheep. It should also be remembered that in addition to meat and hides, animals furnished tallow for soap and other crucial products.[21]

Animal fairs—which required significant organizational efforts to provide food, water, measuring instruments, space, adequate sanitation, and disease prevention for thousands of beasts—occurred regularly throughout Nationalist Spain. At fairs in Jerez de la Frontera, 533 mules, 531 horses, 239 donkeys, and 110 cows went on sale on the opening day. When another fair opened four months later in May 1937 the numbers had increased to 767 mules, 885 horses, 683 donkeys, and 649 cows. The animals most in demand at this fair were working mules which fetched the price of nearly 1,000 pesetas each, an increase of 25 percent from before the war. The Córdoba fair, where the military was an active buyer, saw the heaviest trading in mules which were selling for 1,500 and 1,750 pesetas. Mules were so essential in rural Spain that property owners were defined by the number that they possessed—"the owner of a pair of mules or two pairs of mules" or, more generally, "un yuntero."[22]

Gypsies who dominated the spring 1938 Seville fair sold and bought 6,260 mules, 4,195 horses, 2,130 donkeys, 1,530 pigs, 885 sheep, and 655 cows, all at prices substantially higher than in 1937. Gypsy traders often profited from the steep rise in prices for pack animals. Mules in particular remained hot items. At the Seville fair in the fall of 1938, 4,225 head--of which 1,525 were mules--were sold. The most important buyer was the Queipo's Southern Army, which paid 1,000-2,000 pesetas for mules, and 700-1,400 for horses. The opening of the Seville fair of April 1939 saw the entrance of 1,775 mules, 1,507 horses, and 790 donkeys, totaling 4,072. On the second day, the total number of beasts was 4,380. The decline in numbers from 1938 was explained by the contagion of foot-and-mouth disease among the absent species.[23]

Three thousand animals were displayed at a busy 1938 Burgos fair which was honored by the presence of the minister of agriculture who awarded prizes to the best livestock farmers. One of his goals was to improve the stock and especially to increase butter and milk production in the province. Authorities in Zaragoza sponsored awards for improved animal breeding totaling 5,000 pesetas. With a similar goal, juries of experts granted awards amounting to tens of thousands of

pesetas to cattle raisers and other livestock farmers at contests held throughout Asturias. Local officials tried to encourage participation at their fairs by making them tax-free.[24]

Nationalist-controlled Asturias was proud of the rapid recovery of its livestock, its ability to supply the quartermaster with thousands of cattle, and its export of meat to other regions. At the Oviedo fair with nearly 1,400 animals, mules appeared in numbers and at prices—2,000 to 3,000 pesetas—similar to pre-war years. A team of oxen cost approximately 2,000 pesetas and a horse 300-600 pesetas. As in Seville, gypsies also played in important role as traders at the Oviedo fair. One claimed that he had spent time in the "zona roja" where the "reds" had tried unsuccessfully to make him work "como un negro." He much preferred the greater Nationalist tolerance of free trade to what he considered Republican forced labor. By 1939, military necessities had diminished the supply of mules for sale, and mining companies snapped up the best ones available on the market. The price of a good mule rose 40 percent to approximately 5,000 pesetas, the cost of a used car. Cows sold for less than half that price. At other times and places, mules and horses—animals which were not regularly eaten in the Nationalist zone—were valued respectively 500 and 300 per head. In March 1939 at the "Botijero" (Zamora) fair, individual mules were selling for 2,750, pairs for 5,000, donkeys 170-300, and horses 1,500. As a point of comparison, a new passenger car seems to have been worth 7,500 pesetas and a truck 10,000 to 15,000.[25]

Nationalist journalists boasted that their supplies greatly surpassed those of their enemy, who, they claimed, ate their working animals, including mules. Although repeated *ad nauseam*, the charge was quite plausible. Like the Nationalists, the Republican army confiscated large numbers of pack animals, but in the Republican zone peasants often preferred to consume their own beasts rather than have them "purchased" by the "red" militias or the Popular Army in exchange for useless vouchers. Furthermore, as the conflict dragged on, Republican money became increasingly worthless and less than able to entice farmers to give up their prized possessions. In fact, Nationalists claimed—with much validity—that the "Marxists" had slaughtered "miles y miles de cabezas del ganado" in the first few months of the war. Toledo's loss of two-thirds of its livestock compelled Nationalist authorities to introduce teams of draught animals which labored where most needed. The Junta Provincial Reguladora de Abastecimientos de Carne of Vizcaya reported that the number of cattle had fallen during Republican rule from 100,334 July 1936 to 36,304 in July 1937. Under Nationalist control, it recovered to 89,306 head. The number of sheep declined from 97,150 before the war to 10,509 under Republican control and then rose to 97,159 under the Nationalists. Only pigs did not recover their former count.[26]

When they conquered Castellón, Nationalist authorities declared that the deficiency of pack animals and other means of transport constrained the harvest to remain in the *pueblos*. Therefore, wheat and other surpluses were fed to the surviving animals, not to residents of towns and cities. The situation of Teruel province was similar. In the autumn of 1937 the slaughter of horses was authorized in the Republican zone, and some butchers took advantage of the situation to manufacture donkey sausage. The number of sheep and goats dropped from 908,000 before the war to 521,200 at its end. Cows fell from 11,400 to 4,200. The "inmensa mayoría" of poultry vanished. Perhaps the most damaging for agriculture was the disappearance of working mules which declined from 33,907 to 18,907. After the war, military authorities sent 370 mules to the region as an emergency relief measure for *pueblos* which had lost 75 percent of their pack animals. At the end of 1939, the Ministry of Agriculture allotted 2.5 million pesetas to acquire draught animals for Teruel. In Tarragona, "la enorme disminución del Ganado," including pack animals which the "Marxists" had consumed, prevented proper farming. The lack of beasts, which were often the only form of transportation in the hill country, further isolated mountain towns. In the Pyrenees, mules frequently served as the main means of transportation. By the end

of the conflict, 300 horses of the Barcelona municipality, employed by its sanitation department, had been consumed for meat; only 50 remained. Likewise, thousands of cows had been eaten, and less than a thousand emaciated ones remained alive, leaving Barcelona without milk. The dearth of animal food led to the slow deaths of pets in urban households.[27]

The civil war was responsible for the demise of approximately one half of Spanish livestock, including rabbits, ducks, turkeys, doves, and chickens. Draught animals--donkeys, mules, and horses--survived somewhat better. Franco's decree on restocking had little short-term effect, and postwar Spain experienced a significant deficit of beasts of burden. Thousands of mules had to be imported from France, Portugal, and the USA and hundreds of horses from the Netherlands. After the war, Tarragona, a province of Catalonia known for its big and hard-working mules, needed to import 16,000 mules. Las Palmas initiated a campaign to export its surplus animals, especially females, to recently liberated "red" provinces which required both working and breeding stock.[28]

FISH

Like mules, sardines were among the uncelebrated heroes (or antiheroes) of the Nationalist zone. Canned sardines provided several times more caloric value than equal amounts of beef. Sardine oil had the added advantage of being flammable, which allowed soldiers to read as it burned. The customary cold ration of the Nationalist troops on the march—canned sardines and stale bread accompanied by wine and the occasional sweet—was ample enough that soldiers generously shared it with captured Republicans—sometimes before they shot them.[29]

The Gallegan fishing industry quickly adjusted to Nationalist rule. Like other food producers during the Depression, both ship owners and sailors complained about the low price of sardines prior to the war (one kilo was worth only 5 *céntimos*) and, like wheat farmers, demanded a government-imposed minimum price. The low price had deactivated one thousand Gallegan fishing boats. Before the war, strikes and labor agitation, aggravated by the poor profit margins of the canneries, were widespread in areas dependent upon fishing. After 18 July 1936, protest was violently suppressed. Agitators or even absent workers were shot.[30]

During the conflict, the canning industry in Vigo, the center of Spanish fishing, generally functioned normally, especially compared to the Republican zone whose fleet and canning factories were comparatively unproductive. The Vigo industry was able to satisfy greatly increased demand from both the military and civilians. Nevertheless, at the end of August 1936

a shortage of oil and tin, whose value was several times greater than the sardines themselves, created a bottleneck that caused the stoppage of canneries and the temporary grounding of much of the fleet. Scarcities of necessary materials and the desire to control the market forced the "all-powerful" employers' organization, the Unión de Fabricantes de Conservas de Galicia, to regulate fishing catches. The Union charged what it wished in army and government contracts. The same sort of commanding industrial monopoly, known as the Consorcio, also existed on the Huelva fishing coast. Both organizations effectively dominated the trade, despite Falangist desires to break their power.[31]

In close cooperation with the industrialists, the state played a large role in regulating the industry. Authorities limited the size and days of catches and banned illicit fishing which threatened to exterminate local salmon. Seasonal prohibitions on fishing were common in the industry. Heavy fines were threatened against violators. The minister of industry, Juan Antonio Suances—a Gallegan himself—declared that the *Caudillo* took a special interest in the fishing and canning trades of his native region. Officials' first priority was to supply the military quartermaster whose demand substituted for that of Madrid and sustained the industry during the war. The military controlled exports of fish and other commodities from the province. Fleet owners in Huelva automatically set aside three percent of their catch for the army. Spain was the third largest European fish processor, and canned fish may have been the second largest Spanish export, after oranges. Industry leaders, such as Pascual Díez de Rivera, the head of the *franquista* Servicio Nacional de Pescado, claimed that fishing and related industries were "the second Spanish source of wealth" employing hundreds of thousands. In Galicia, perhaps 100,000 were dependent upon the industry; in the Mediterranean, 28,000.[32]

Galicia was by far the wealthiest fishing region, supplying 66 percent of sardines and 30 percent of fish. Even during the conflict, the Gallegan industry was dependent upon exports, and in 1937 shipped 12.5 million kilograms to Germany. Canneries employed some 40,000 persons. Pontevedra province alone had 15,000 fishermen, 62 canning factories, and 29 salting companies. Vigo (population 66,000) was also the most important city of the region, and its population was more than double and its wealth nearly six times more than its titular capital, Pontevedra (population 30,600). Vigo was the greatest fishing port in Spain, and its catches were approximately four to five times the size of its closest competitors—Huelva, Pasajes, Cádiz, La Coruña, and the Canary Islands. In Vigo, fishing crews totaled nearly 9,000 men, and

cannery factories numbered 42, employing 664 men and 6,217 women. Vigo furnished nearly 70 percent of Gallegan seafood conserves. The city saw a significant expansion of ship building for the fishing fleet and related industries.[33]

Despite periodic shortages of oil, sardine supplies were especially ample during 1937 and 1938 when they increased by at least 16 percent in comparison with the good catches of 1934 and 1935. One report placed the increase of the overall fishing catch from a turbulent 1936, "cuya mitad las perturbaciones en el trabajo eran constantes," to 1937 at 28 percent or from 47,188,101 to 60,620,871 kilograms. By way of comparison, in 1937, the Cádiz port received approximately 10 million kilos of fish. In Vigo during the first nine months of 1938, 41,247,156 kilos were caught. The average price of seafood in 1936 was .46 pesetas per kilogram and in 1937 .43, which was the same price per kilo as in 1935. In 1938, the price rose to .76 per kilo, which helps to explain the relative quiescence of fisherman during the civil war. Many political historians of the war who focus solely on the terrible Nationalist repression to explain workers' passivity have ignored material factors, such as wage gains and full employment in the Nationalist zone. During 1937 the catch once again was approximately equal to that of 1935. Vigo billed itself as "primer puerto sardinero del mundo" and claimed to have caught more sardines in 1937 than in any previous year. The natural wealth of the region was evident when "se dio en las playas de Combarro y Chamcelas un fenómeno curioso y desde luego de gran provecho para aquel vecindario. Desde las primeras horas del día se nota que hacia aquellas afluía una enorme cantidad de pescado en grandes oleadas, de diversas clases, sobre todo sollas, anguilas, rodaballos, múieles y lombrigantes…. Un fenómeno parecido ocurrió hace unos cinco años." Sardines were so abundant in Gallegan port cities that bars offered them without charge to their clients.[34]

The price per kilo of sardines in 1936 and 1937 averaged .19 pesetas. Since the disruptions of the war had reduced the size of the national fishing fleet by 35 percent, profits and wages accrued to fewer fishermen and owners. Despite a shortage of qualified marine personnel, many of whom had been drafted, Nationalists were able to deliver considerable quantities of sardines and other commodities. Fishing industry representatives regarded the stability of the sardine price as positive since the 1937 catch was 13 million kilograms higher than in 1936. Authorities satisfied the industry by establishing a minimum price for sardines, which composed approximately half of the Gallegan seafood catch. The platform price was maintained even in

summer when supplies were more abundant and prices seasonally lower. The *franquista* ship owners liked to contrast the production of their own fleet with the inefficiency of the "reds" who had controlled the northern Atlantic coast during the first year of the conflict when the smaller Asturias fishing fleet was out of action. In 1938 the owners became confident enough of market conditions to demand the end of any minimum or maximum price controls.[35]

In fact, sardines were perhaps too plentiful, and one Moroccan deserter complained to the Communist newspaper, *Mundo Obrero*, that the steady diet of canned fish made him "nauseous." A dedicated *requeté* grumbled plaintively "!siempre sardinas!" Profits from sales during the war were ample enough to allow industrialists, such as Gaspar Massó, who was president of the Unión de Fabricantes de Conservas de Galicia during the war, to modernize his factories. The Massó brothers' plants, which extended 10,000 square meters, processed not only a large variety of seafood— sardines, tuna, clams, anchovies, mussels, and squid—but also ten tons of meat daily. In addition, they used the byproducts to produce animal feed for the region's livestock. The industrialists possessed their own docks and a fleet of five fishing boats. The scale of their enterprise was said to be "americano" and ranked among the largest in the world. Grateful that the Movement had eliminated their class enemy, the Massó brothers, like other fishing fleet owners and industrialists, provided strong support for the Falange. The future deputy (1946-49), Remigio Hevia Mariñas**,** owned a factory employing 60 workers of both sexes which produced ten thousand cans of sardines per day. Gallegan saw mills, one of which engaged 400 workers, provided the canneries with wooden crates.[36]

After wheat, fish may have been the most important foodstuff in the Nationalist zone. Certainly, the *Generalísimo* and his civil governors were anxious to enforce labor peace between owners and fishermen, who had to be legally registered and whose ranks were purged of leftists. Only 18,000 of 50,000 fishermen in Pontevedra province joined the state-sponsored union, and most of these members either rejected or ignored the Falangist rhetoric it offered. The principles of the Movement were unpopular among workers and peasants in the province where even Nationalist authorities acknowledged the continuing influence of *caciques*. This indifference also characterized the modest classes of Huelva. The perennial problems of illiteracy and alcoholism persisted among fishermen. Their wages sustained a dense network of taverns in all port towns. One of the latter counted 1,150 fishermen, 57 taverns and 69 bars. In the fishing, mining, and industrial region of Asturias, alcoholism also became a major issue. Habitual

drunkenness on the breadwinners' paydays led to poverty among family members who were forced to find sustenance at public charity organizations. The civil governor blamed, in part, bar and tavern owners who served drunken workers, and he threatened to shut down their establishments if they continued to profit from workers' vices. Fortunately, though, few took seriously the advice of the Falangist leader, Manuel Hedilla, to exterminate the lazy.[37]

CONCLUSION

A focus on fish, mules, and, more generally, on animals in the Spanish Civil War provides a perspective which is often absent from a traditional civil war historiography which concentrates on high politics and diplomacy. An examination of animals also contrasts with more recent historiographical trends which explore representations and symbols. A more materialistic approach which explores animal husbandry, fishing, and their commodities points to significant differences between the Republican and Nationalist zones. The former could not organize production of canned goods and the reproduction of animals as effectively as the Nationalists. Perhaps the Nationalist ability to provide animal protein and transportation to its soldiers and civilians is as important in explaining their victory as the "betrayal" of the Spanish Republic by the Western democracies, an interpretation favored by many analysts of the conflict. Like their political and diplomatic counterparts, cultural historians have also ignored the material achievements of the Nationalists. In other words, a spotlight on the social and economic history of the two zones—which both the traditional political/diplomatic perspective and the latest quest for identities have abandoned—can help to explain both the experience and outcome of the Spanish Civil War.

[1]*The following is part of chapter two of my *The Victorious Counterrevolution: The Nationalist Effort in the Spanish Civil War* (University of Wisconsin Press, forthcoming, 2010. Spanish version by Alianza Editorial (forthcoming, 2011).
Hugh Thomas, *Spanish Civil War*, (New York, 1961), p. 584; Paul Preston, *Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, (New York, 1986), p. 128: "Since Non-intervention was to be an empty farce, cynically exploited by Germany and Italy, and later by the Soviet Union, the Spanish Republic was in fact doomed." Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction*, (New York, 2005), p. iii. The recent comparative work of Philip B. Minehan, *Civil War and World War in Europe: Spain, Yugoslavia, and Greece, 1936-1939*, (New York, 2006), p. 90, 122, 134, and especially 249 and 303, offers a similar argument. For the Communist analysis, see José Martín-Blázquez, *Guerre civile totale*, (Paris, 1938), p. 203.
[2] Alberte Martínez López, "La ganadería gallega durante el primer franquismo: crónica de un tiempo perdido, 1936-1960," *Historia Agraria*, no. 20, 2000, p. 198; Alberte Martínez López, *Cooperativismo y transformaciones agrarias en Galicia, 1886-1943*, (Madrid, 1995), pp. 172-173. Lourenzo Fernández Prieto, "Represión franquista y desarticulación social en Galicia: La destrucción de la organización societaria campesina, 1936-1942," *Historia Social*, no. 15, 1993, p. 57; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 26 September 1937; Castro, *Capital*, p. 171; María Cristina Rivero Noval, *Política y sociedad en la Rioja durante el primer franquismo (1936-1945)*, (Logroño, 2001), p. 378; *ABC Sevilla*, 25 February 1937; *La Nueva España*, 11 March 1939; Llordés Badía, *Al dejar el fusil*, p. 305; Juan Urra Lusarreta, *En las trincheras del frente de Madrid: Memorias de un capellán de requetés, herido de guerra*, (Madrid, 1966), p. 150; Eugenio Torres Villanueva, "Los empresarios," p. 459; Javier Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra (1936-1939): Memorias de un voluntario navarro del Tercio de Radio Requeté de Campaña*, (Madrid, 1991), p. 29; José María Resa, *Memorias de un requeté*, (Barcelona, 1968), p. 84.
[3] Quoted in María Jesús Souto Blanco, *La represión franquista en la provincia de Lugo (1936-1940)*, (La Coruña, 1998), p. 193.
[4] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 1 December 1936, 14 March 1937, 22 August 1937, 3 and 26 September 1937, 3 October 1937; *El Correo de Zamora*, 5 January 1938; See also Wayne H. Bowen, *Spain During World War II*, (Columbia, 2006), p. 101; *ABC Sevilla*, 27 January 1938.
[5] Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA; Gobierno civil, Lugo, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Orense, September 1938, 44/2791, AGA.
[6] *ABC Sevilla*, 27 January 1938; Memoria, Granada, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Oviedo, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Gobierno Civil, Huelva, August 1938, 44/2791, AGA.
[7] *Proa*, 31 August 1938, 20 September 1938; *El Correo de Zamora*, 11 November 1938; *La Nueva España* 18 and 27 February 1938, 3 August 1938; Oviedo, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; *ABC Sevilla*, 5 February 1938, 12 March 1938, 24 June 1938; Memoria, Granada, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Castro, *Capital*, p. 172; Diputación Provincial de Salamanca, 1937, 44/3123, AGA; Gobierno Civil de Segovia, Memoria, 25 August 1938, 44/2792, AGA.
[8] Salvador Nonell Bru, *El Laureado Tercio de Requetés de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat*, (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 289, 417; Julio Aróstegui, *Los combatientes carlistas en la Guerra civil española 1936-1939*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1991), 1:149; Francis McCullagh, *In Franco's Spain*, (London, 1937), p. 266; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, p. 80; Llordés Badía, *Al dejar el fusil*, p. 134; *La Provincia*, 2 November 1937; C. Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, (Madrid, 1975), p. 222; *El Correo de Zamora*, 23 March 1938; *Proa*, 10 November 1938; José Caballero, *Diario de campaña*, (Madrid, 1976), p. 103; Jesús González Bueno, *Paz en guerra*, (Cádiz, 1943), p. 208; Bastida Pellicer, *Historias de un quinto*, p. 217; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, p. 80; Francisco X. Peiró, *Fernando de Huidobro: Jesuita y legionario*, (Madrid, 1951), p. 211.
[9] Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, pp. 72-329; Llordés Badía, *Al dejar el fusil*, p. 265; *Proa*, 10 November 1938; *La Nueva España*, 23 June 1938; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, pp. 59-

179; Peter Kemp, *Mine Were of Trouble*, (London, 1957), p. 126; *El Correo de Zamora*, 29 September 1937; Urra Lusarreta, *En las trincheras*, pp. 170, 279; *La Provincia,* 8 April 1937; Caballero, *Diario de campaña*, pp. 106-229; Mustapha El Merroun, *Las tropas marroquíes en la guerra civil española, 1936-1939*, (Madrid, 2003), p. 196.
[10] Rafael de Medina [Duque de Medinaceli], *Tiempo pasado*, Sevilla, 1971, p. 81; Aróstegui, *Los combatientes carlistas*, 1:349, 2:499; Rafael Casas de la Vega, *Las milicias nacionales en la Guerra de España*, (Madrid, 1974), 1:382; Bernabé Copado, *Con la columna Redondo: Combates y conquistas, crónica de guerra*, (Seville, 1937), pp. 48-197; Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, p. 308; *ABC Sevilla*, 10 September 1936, 1 September 1937; Javier Cervera Gil, *Ya sabes mi paradero: la guerra civil a través de las cartas de los que vivieron*, (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 284, 399; Gabriel Cardona and Juan Carlos Losada, *Aunque me tires el puente: Memoria oral de la batalla del Ebro*, (Madrid, 2004), p. 82; Policarpo Cía Navascués, *Memorias del Tercio de Montejurra*, (Pamplona, 1941), p. 284; Casas de la Vega, *Las milicias nacionales*, 1:367; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, pp. 58-224.
[11] Ricardo de la Cierva, *Historia ilustrada de la Guerra civil española*, (Barcelona, 1977), 2 vols., 1:311; *La Nueva España*, 26 June 1938, 12 July 1938, 13 September 1938; Gustau Nerín, *La guerra que vino de África*, (Barcelona, 2005), p. 234; Jesús Palacios and Stanley G. Payne, *Franco, mi padre: Testimonio de Carmen Franco, la hija del Caudillo*, (Madrid, 2008), p. 88.
[12] Martínez Reverte, *La Batalla del Ebro*, p. 199; Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, pp. 89, 242; Caballero, *Diario de campaña*, p. 141; Llordés Badía, *Al dejar el fusil*, p. 246; Urra Lusarreta, *En las trincheras del frente de Madrid*, pp. 150, 279; González Bueno, *Paz en guerra*, p. 109; José Ángel Delgado Iribarren, *Jesuitas en Campaña: Cuatro siglos al servicio de la historia*, (Madrid and Buenos Aires, 1956), p. 242; Resa, *Memorias de un requeté*, p. 67; Aróstegui, *Los combatientes carlistas*, 1:149.
[13] Cía, *Memorias*, pp. 98, 228; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, pp. 93-139; Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza and Álvaro de Diego, *Historias orales de la Guerra civil*, (Barcelona, 2000), p. 46; Satrústegui, *Memorias de un anarquista*, p. 210; Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, p. 230.
[14] Revilla Cebrecos, *Tercio de Lácar*, pp. 104, 147; Ugarte Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga*, p. 155; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, pp. 43-61; Cervera Gil, *Ya sabes mi paradero*, p. 114.
[15] José María Iribarren, *El General Mola*, (Madrid, 1963), p. 270; *ABC Sevilla*, 10 October 1936, 30 June 1937; Caballero, *Diario de campaña*, p. 423; Corral, *Desertores*, pp. 72-74.
[16] Gabriel Cardona and Juan Carlos Losada, *Aunque me tires el puente: Memoria oral de la batalla del Ebro*, (Madrid, 2004), pp. 102-180; Nonell Bru, *El Laureado Tercio*, p. 417; Martínez Reverte, *La Batalla del Ebro*, p. 183; *ABC Sevilla*, 10 September 1937, 15 September 1937, 3 August 1938; *El Correo de Zamora*, 21 August 1936, 19 November 1936, 15 December 1936; *La Nueva España*, 12 August 1938; Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, *Memorias de la Guerra Civil*, (Madrid, 2008), p. 87; *Proa*, 27 November 1936
[17] *ABC Sevilla*, 31 October 1936, 5 November 1936, 16 January 1937, 23 May 1937, 13 June 1937, 24 November 1938; *La Nueva España*, 12 December 1937, 30 January 1938, 8 February 1938.
[18] *ABC Sevilla*, 5 November 1936, 7 February 1937, 25 March 1937, 15 April 1937; 10 September 1937, 11 November 1937, 23 December 1937, 24 and 29 March 1938, 14 May 1938; *El Correo de Zamora*, 4 November 1936, 15 December 1936, 21 August 1938, 4 January 1939; *La Nueva España*, 18 February 1938; Burgos, Memoria, 1937, 44/3116, AGA; Zamora, Memoria, (nd 1940?), 44/3125, AGA; Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA, p. 9; Memoria, Granada, 1938, 44/2791, AGA.
[19] *ABC Sevilla*, 6 January 1939; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 14 April 1937, 13 June 1937, 17 October 1937, 25 May 1938, 2 March 1939; *El Correo de Zamora*, 17 May 1938, 4 and 20 August 1938, 1 September 1938, 11 and 22 October 1938, 5 December 1938, 16 February 1939, 4 May 1939, 19 June 1939; *La Nueva España*, 27 and 30 April 1938, 24 August 1938, 22 November 1938, 12 March 1939, 13 April 1939; *La Provincia,* 4 September 1938, 31 January 1939; *Proa*, 20 August 1937, 17 December 1938, 28 February 1939, 17 March 1939.

[20] *La Nueva España*, 22 December 1937, 18 February 1939, 16 and 19 April 1939; *El Correo de Zamora*, 17 October 1937, 5 November 1937, 17 May 1938, 21 and 25 August 1938, 22 October 1938, 1 June 1939; *Proa*, 12 November 1938, 2 February 1939; Burgos, Memoria, 1937, 44/3116, AGA; *ABC Sevilla*, 7 and 11 May 1939.
[21] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 14 October 1938; *El Correo de Zamora*, 16 July 1938, 11 August 1938, 28 September 1938; Comité Sindical del Jabón, 26 September 1938, 34/10856, AGA.
[22] *ABC Sevilla*, 1 May 1937, 15 September 1937, 29 March 1938, 19 May 1938, 2 June 1938; *La Nueva España*, 25 May 1938; Rey, *Paisanos en lucha*, p. 204.
[23] *ABC Sevilla*, 19-22 April 1938, 29 September 1938; *La Nueva España*, 19 May 1939, 14 June 1939.
[24] *La Nueva España*, 1 and 28-31 July 1938, 12 and 26-28 August 1938, 22 and 23 September 1938, 6 October 1938; Zaragoza, Memoria, 1940, 44/3125, AGA; *El Correo de Zamora*, 20 January 1937.
[25] *La Nueva España*, 29 December 1937, 8 April 1938, 5, 19, and 27 May 1939, 12 July 1938, 3 and 28 August 1938; David Martín, "Gitanos en la Guerra Civil Española," paper delivered to Congreso Internacional, 1936-39 La Guerra Civil Española, Madrid, 27-29 November 2006, pp. 6, 10; *La Provincia*, 14 January 1938; *El Correo de Zamora*, 11 August 1938, 7 March 1939. Image from postcard depicting Nationalist soldiers and their animals in the North (Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego).
[26] *El Correo de Zamora*, 12 and 15 November 1937; *La Provincia*, 18 May 1938; Cervera Gil, *Ya sabes mi paradero*, pp. 122-123; *ABC Sevilla*, 16 January 1937, 3 September 1937, 21 December 1938; *La Nueva España*, 29 April 1937, 12 July 1938; Copado, *Con la columna Redondo*, p. 90; Excelentísimo Señor, 5 June 1938, Interior, 61/13500, AGA; Gobierno Civil de León, Memoria, August 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Huesca, Memoria, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Toledo, Memoria, nd, 44/3123, AGA.
[27] Gobierno Civil de Castellón, 6 September 1938, Interior, 61/13497, AGA; Abella, *La vida cotidiana durante la Guerra civil: la España republicana*, p. 271; Provincia de Teruel (nd 1940?), 44/3123, AGA. Figures differ somewhat in Teruel, Memoria, 1939, 44/3123, AGA, although the order of magnitude is similar. Tarragona, Cálculo aproximado de daños sufridos, (nd), 44/3123, AGA; Huesca, Memoria, 1938, 44/2791, AGA; *ABC Sevilla*, 15 February 1939.
[28] Cardona, *Aunque me tires el puente*, p. 63; *ABC Sevilla*, 29 March 1938; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 11 October 1938; Servicio Nacional del Trigo, *Veinte años*, pp. 279, 280; Tarragona, Memoria, 11 March 1940, 44/3123, AGA; *La Provincia*, 14 July 1938.
[29] Pascual Díez de Rivera y Casares, *La Riqueza pesquera en España y las cofradías de pescadores*, (Madrid, 1940), p. 53; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, pp. 11-191; Cía, *Memorias*, p. 133; Medina, *Tiempo pasado*, p. 104; Peiró, *Fernando de Huidobro*, p. 207; Caballero, *Diario de campaña*, p. 29.
[30] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 17 and 29 May 1936, 2 June 1936, 11 and 18 June 1936, 12 August 1936, 20 December 1937, 3 August 1938; Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, pp. 26, 33; Gobierno Civil, Huelva, August 1938, 44/2791, AGA.
[31] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 9 and 28 August 1936, 5 September 1936, 20 December 1937; Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, pp. 34-36; Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, (New York, 2006), p. 104; Francisco Cayón García and Miguel Muñoz Rubio, "Transportes y Comunicaciones," in Martín Aceña, *La economía*, p. 233; Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA; Gobierno Civil, Huelva, August 1938, 44/2791, AGA.
[32] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 6 September 1936, 3 and 11 June 1937, 5 August 1937, 20 December 1937, 4 March 1938, 28 April 1938, 3 May 1938, 16 June 1938, 22 July 1938, 5 August 1938, 25 September 1938, 25 April 1939; *ABC Sevilla*, 6 January 1937, 8 April 1938; *La Nueva España*, 23 September 1938; Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, pp. 10-22.
[33] Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, pp. 11-24; Jordi Catalan, "Guerra e industria en las dos Españas, 1936-1939," in Martín Aceña, *La economía*, p. 213; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 20 December 1937, 11 August 1938, 21 February 1939; Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA.

[34] Catalan, "Guerra e industria," p. 212; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 21 November 1937, 20 December 1937, 20 February 1938, 5 August 1938, 11 August 1938, 1 November 1938, 21 February 1939; *ABC Sevilla*, 1 April 1938; Bastida Pellicer, *Historias de un quinto*, p. 190.
[35] *El Pueblo Gallego*, 27 November 1937, 20 December 1937, 16 February 1938, 12 April 1938, 4 August 1938; *La Nueva España*, 23 November 1937, 22 December 1937.
[36] Corral, *Desertores*, p. 447; Nagore Yárnoz, *En la primera de Navarra*, p. 34; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 17 July 1937, 14 November 1937, 28 November 1937, 11 February 1938, 7 and 12 March 1939; Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, p. 23; Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA.
[37] *ABC Sevilla*, 10 October 1937; Memoria, Pontevedra, 1937, 44/3122, AGA; Gobierno Civil de Segovia, Memoria, 25 August 1938, 44/2792, AGA; *El Pueblo Gallego*, 16 June 1938; Gobierno Civil, Huelva, August 1938, 44/2791, AGA; Díez de Rivera, *La Riqueza pesquera*, pp. 48-120; *La Nueva España*, 18 June 1938; Luis Díaz Viana, *Cancionero popular de la Guerra civil española: Textos y melodías de los dos bandos*, (Madrid, 2007), p. 181.