

FERNANDA JACOBSEN AND THE SCOTTISH AMBULANCE UNIT DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-1939)

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Abstract

When Civil War broke out in Spain in July 1936, the Republic made a worldwide plea for humanitarian assistance. Many thousands of people around the world rallied to the call, the Scottish Ambulance Unit among them. The only woman in the twenty-strong team was the unit's commandant, Fernanda Jacobsen. She would remain at the unit's helm on each of its successive expeditions to Spain, spanning a period of roughly two years, from September 1936 to July 1938. Despite its tremendous and sustained humanitarian contribution in and around the besieged Spanish capital of Madrid, the Scottish unit has not received the recognition afforded similar enterprises in the now vast literature on the Spanish Civil War. This article will examine the possible reasons for this. It will discuss previously unexplored documentary evidence and re-examine existing records in an attempt to shed light on the causes of internal struggles in the unit that led, eventually, to the resignation of some of its members.

Introduction

When Civil War broke out in Spain in July 1936, as a result of a failed military coup, many thousands of people around the world rallied to the Republican government's call for help. Britons were no exception. As Jim Fyrth notes: 'During the next three years, it was to become the most widespread and representative mass movement in Britain since the mid-nineteenth-century days of Chartism and the Anti-Corn-Law Leagues, and the most outstanding example of international solidarity in British history' (Fyrth 1986).

Although the legitimacy of the term 'mass movement' has since been questioned, the fundamental facts are indisputable: the collective efforts in Britain to provide aid for the Spanish Republic were vast in both scope and effect, the ambulance unit of the London-based Spanish Medical Aid Committee (SMAC) being the most renowned of the British organisations involved (Buchanan 1977, 1991). It is not the intention, here, to add to the general debate on British aid to Spain, or to analyse the British contribution to the Republican Medical Service, topics that form the basis of previous works (Jackson 2002; Coni 2008; Palfreeman 2012). This study is specific in focus and centres on one particular venture that played an important, but somewhat less fêted role in British medical and humanitarian aid to the Spanish Republic: the Scottish Ambulance Unit. Despite widespread poverty at the time, with enormous unemployment rates and industrial depression, the Scottish people showed tremendous support for Republican Spain.¹

The Scottish Ambulance Unit (SAU) was created by wealthy Glaswegian philanthropist Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson and was led by its single female volunteer, Fernanda Jacobsen.² In 1938, Harry Stow, the chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Madrid, assessed the humanitarian role it had played in Spain:

Only those who have remained in Spain during these two tragic years of the most bitter and savage civil war ever known can adequately appreciate the philanthropic, humanitarian work done by the enterprise known as the Scottish Ambulance. [...] In the history of the war, yet to be written, their notable work of self-sacrifice will be sure to receive the recognition it deserves.³

Thousands of histories of the Spanish Civil War have since been written, but the recognition predicted by Stow has been far from significant. Whereas the tremendously important work of the Medical Unit of the Spanish Medical Aid to Spain Committee (SMAC) and its constituent members has rightly been documented in some detail, the work of the SAU is mentioned largely in passing, or in the footnotes of those works dedicated to the memory of other volunteers (Palfreman 2013). Possible reasons for this are discussed in the following pages.

Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson's exceptional merits and his extreme generosity were publicly acknowledged in those countries where he had extended his schemes for fostering international understanding, and his name was familiar to the international press.⁴ Fernanda Jacobsen was his secretary and trusted emissary abroad. She belonged to a wealthy Scottish family of hispanophile tendencies (hence her name). As a child, she had visited Spain every year, where she holidayed with an aunt who was married to a Madrileñan. Jacobsen became a lover of Spanish culture and of its people, and there were many Spaniards among her close friends, including Tomás Bordallo Cañizal, Spanish consul in Glasgow.

After the outbreak of war in Spain, Stevenson was deeply concerned about the plight of the Spanish people. With Jacobsen's assistance, he founded the committee of well-known Scottish academics and aristocrats who would provide backing for the project he had in mind – the creation of a medical unit to send out to the Spanish Republic. His advancing years would prevent him from leading the unit himself, but his

loyal aide, Fernanda Jacobsen, herself in middle age, immediately volunteered her services. She had no medical training, but as she spoke Spanish and already enjoyed contacts with the Republican government, Stevenson thought that she would be useful as a translator and liaison officer, during the unit's initial days in Spain; then, once it was established, she would return to Scotland. However, Jacobsen soon proved herself indispensable – so much so that, while other members were replaced due to illness and exhaustion, she would remain at the unit's helm on each of its successive campaigns, spanning a period from September 1936 to July 1938. However, her leadership of the SAU was not without controversy, as we shall see.

As General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Sir Walter Citrine would give continued support to Sir Daniel Stevenson and the ambulance unit. Citrine pointed out that in order to maximise public support for such an endeavour, the humanitarian, non-political nature of its work should be emphasised. Although his sympathies lay firmly with the Republic, Sir Daniel accepted this advice and made public announcements to this effect. 'May I again emphasize that aid will be given to the sick and wounded irrespective of politics or party', he declared to the Scottish press.⁵ However, some individual members of the unit were apparently unaware of, or unable to accept, this proposition as one of the unit's fundamental aims. As we shall see, this would later be the cause of discontent.

The Scottish Ambulance Unit sets out for Spain

The SAU comprised six ambulances and a supply truck carrying stores and medical equipment, together with a team of volunteers. This included a doctor and several first-aiders, as well as drivers, mechanics and other helpers: a total of nineteen men and its commandant, Fernanda Jacobsen, the only woman. Its destination was Madrid, the beleaguered Spanish capital that had remained in the hands of the Republic after the

failed military coup. Reinforced by armoured units and air power from both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the rebels converged on Madrid in ferocious and sustained attacks on the city, thus beginning a three-year siege. Although it was intended to terrorise the civil population, the constant bombardment appeared to have had exactly the opposite effect, increasing the resolution to resist. For three long and harrowing years, the largely untrained militias would put up a heroic fight. Their famous battle cry was: ‘¡No Pasarán!’ (Cox 2006; Preston 1994, 1996).

The SAU left Glasgow for Spain on 17 September 1936. One of the provisos that the Foreign Office made upon granting its approval for the issuing of passports to this ‘weird bunch’ of volunteers was, once again, that the unit’s activities be purely humanitarian and non-political.⁶ Upon its arrival, the unit was pitched into active duty, setting up headquarters at Aranjuez, some 50 kilometers south of Madrid. Here, it proved of invaluable help to the *Sanidad Militar*, still in a state of relative disorganisation and stretched to its limits due to heavy casualties. During fierce fighting, and in great personal danger, the Scottish volunteers rescued wounded Republican troops, administering first aid and ferrying the wounded to hospitals in Madrid. The team’s courageous and tireless work soon earned it an excellent reputation and the volunteers became affectionately known among the people of Madrid as *Los Brujos* (the Wizards). However, the off-duty activities of some of the unit’s members were earning it an altogether different kind of reputation and involving it in the first of the scandals that would tarnish its good name. It was alleged that some SAU members had been looting and that they had taken revolvers from dead or wounded militiamen. Five members of the unit were subsequently sent home by Dr Newbiggen, the group’s medical chief. The men implicated in the scandal vehemently denied the charges leveled against them, claiming that the stories had been fabricated in retaliation for their refusal

to hand over the keys of their ambulances to local militia (Gray 2008). The men were brought before the SAU Executive Committee, but the enquiry meeting drew to a close after four hours, with no conclusions having been reached. Hereafter, it would appear that the matter was pursued no further. Meanwhile, the Spanish authorities seized every opportunity to afford the unit public recognition:

Miss Jacobsen's ambulance unit is co-operating efficiently with the work of the Medical Service in our forces, and along with this activity on the fronts, it also takes part in the evacuation of the civilian population. At the front and in the rearguard, the Scottish Ambulance demonstrates its valuable solidarity with us.⁷

Jacobsen, a colourful character, left no one indifferent, supporters and detractors alike. Priscilla Scott-Ellis, aristocrat and nursing volunteer with the insurgent forces, describes meeting her in Madrid at the end of the war. Although the city was by then in rebel hands, Jacobsen fervently defended the relief network that the unit had helped to establish.

I met Miss Jackson, [sic. Jacobsen] head of the Scottish Ambulance which has been very red indeed. The *Infanta* wanted to see her about whether she would go with her on her relief work amongst the population or not. She had two porridge canteens but one had been removed by *Auxilio Social*. She was furious. An incredible woman, small and square, with a huge bottom (Scott-Ellis 1995).

Apart from the rather unflattering observations as to Jacobsen's physical attributes, this is not an untypical description of the SAU's commandant: in short, an 'incredible woman' with a fiery temper, who was, observes Sefton Delmer, 'as indefatigable and bossy as Florence Nightingale herself' (Gray 2008). Jacobsen's somewhat eccentric apparel provoked further comment from Priscilla Scott-Ellis:

She always dresses in a kilt, thick woolen stockings, brogues, a khaki jacket of military cut with thistles all over it, huge leather gauntlet gloves, a cape also

with thistles, and, the crowning glory, a little black Scottish hat edged with tartan and with a large silver badge on it. We all laughed ourselves silly afterwards (Scott-Ellis 1995).

Jacobsen was aware of the impression caused by her attire. Impervious to such derision, however, she would continue to wear her Macaulay kilt throughout her service in Spain, the reason being of much greater importance to her than concern for her appearance, as she would later reveal:

to be alone in my kilt costume was always my best protection, a perfect 'salvo-conducto' [...] I kept along with our staff and helpers wherever they went. There are always troubles if I am absent and the Macaulay kilt gets me everywhere without harm to me or to those accompanying me.⁸

Having continued to work ceaselessly in desperate conditions until mid-December, the members of the unit, by now physically and mentally exhausted, were ordered home for a rest. They set out again for Spain on 16 January 1937, carrying provisions bought with donations from the people of Scotland. There were seven new volunteers, including Roderick MacFarquhar and Dr Len Crome. Jacobsen was distraught at the scene now confronting them in Madrid.

During the few weeks we were away there have been enormous changes here. The whole outlook has become worse; starvation is rampant and neither for love nor money is a bit of coal to be had in all Madrid. We all shiver incessantly [...] We cannot get any food [...] it just isn't to be had. The people are literally STARVING and babies dying for want of milk. It is a truly tragic situation.⁹

The continued rebel advance on Madrid meant that the SAU was forced to pull back into the city where its attention became focused on alleviating the plight of the starving civilian population. The volunteers distributed foodstuffs in the most poverty-stricken and most heavily bombed areas of Madrid, where similar tragic scenes were played out again and again. There was the tremendous gratitude of the women who were first in the

queues as they received coffee, sugar, milk and other basics, and then the desperation of those who had stood so long in the queue, only to be told that there was nothing left.

The following is an account of one such occasion:

For three solid hours the seething masses of women with children and wailing infants behaved really well and with the help of our own men and two militiamen we got them lined up into fairly orderly queues. The queues began to assume alarming proportions and when word went round that the supplies were running out there was PANDEMONIUM. They surged around us quite out of their minds, shrieking, tearing and clawing at each other; free fights were indulged in and our men and the militia were literally powerless to stem the tide. We thought both women and children would be trampled to death.¹⁰

The ambulances were being deluged with people, which often resulted in the weakest and most needy being overlooked. In order to avoid this, Jacobsen later developed a much more efficient system of allocating aid. This involved the unit carrying out exhaustive enquiries as to the needs of particular individuals and families, in the area to be visited, prior to the food distribution.

However, it would soon become obvious that all was not well behind the scenes. In a war in which medical assistance was at a premium, some members of the unit believed that because of the now purely humanitarian relief work in which they were involved, their skills and resources were not being exploited to their full potential. Furthermore, they complained that Miss Jacobsen considered that the SAU had a duty to remain in Madrid if the city were taken by the rebels. She argued that they were there to give aid to both sides and that they should carry on their relief work behind Francoist lines.¹¹ Jacobsen herself later confirmed this in a letter to Sir Daniel Stevenson:

Hints have reached me that we will be invited by the new regime to carry on Relief work, and particularly the porridge canteens, until things get settled. Do

not ask me to refuse! I cannot believe that the public, whatever their sympathies in the war, would grudge subscribing the wherewithal to carry on relief work, and particularly the porridge canteens, for a few months longer.¹²

Whereas Jacobsen's humanitarian concerns are clear, for the men in question, ready to give their all for the Republic, such a suggestion was understandably inconceivable. The unrest eventually led to the resignation of four members of the unit: George Burleigh returned home, while Roddy MacFarquhar, Morris Linden and Len Crome announced that they were going to join the SMAC, serving with the International Brigades.¹³

The discord within the unit drew attention to another aspect of its operations that was beginning to cause concern. Rumours began to circulate of the SAU's involvement in the dubious rescue missions of one Captain Edwin Christopher Lance DSO, otherwise known as the 'Spanish Pimpernel'. As Honorary Attaché to the British Embassy, Lance became responsible for the evacuation of British subjects from the capital and was also involved in smuggling Nationalist sympathisers out of Madrid and onto British ships that would take them to safety, an activity that would eventually lead to his arrest, in October 1937.¹⁴ Lance was introduced to Fernanda Jacobsen, upon her arrival in Madrid.

She was a little, middle-aged, sandy-haired woman, who, to the astonishment not only of the Spanish, but also even of the British Community, presented herself to the world in a man's kilt, tartan hose, bare knees and a Glengarry. She spoke Spanish with a broad Scots accent. She was a cheerful and a very forceful character and to her team of Scottish men ambulance-drivers was very much the commanding officer. She was very 'Left' and [...] was always ready to help the British community and any humanitarian cause (Lucas Phillips 1960).

Correspondent Cedric Salter suggests that Jacobsen's cooperation in Lance's smuggling operations was obtained by the use of 'tactical flattery' by the captain and his colleagues at the British Embassy (Salter 1943). When the ambulances set off for the port of Valencia, carrying sick and wounded evacuees, Lance would load one or two of his own special passengers, suitably bandaged or on stretchers. The SAU's involvement in this activity eventually led to accusations of espionage against Jacobsen and collaboration with the enemy.

However, it is important to consider the events in their context. By the end of 1936 there was a serious shortage of food in the capital and conditions were becoming desperate. The death toll was growing at an alarming rate and the evacuation of civilians was imperative, as Roddy MacFarquhar, one of the unit's dissenters, later acknowledges:

I personally refused to go because I thought that this was not the kind of role that the Scottish Ambulance Unit should have been carrying on. With reflection I think that I was probably wrong in this because the Spanish Republican Government were quite aware of what was going on. They were finding it burdensome to have these people sheltering in those embassies and were quite happy to see them all being delivered to Valencia and put on board British warships [...] Regarding smuggling people out of the embassies, it was minor really. It saved a lot of bloodshed and it saved a great deal of unfriendly propaganda abroad, which would have done the Spanish Republican cause no good. Therefore it was a satisfactory solution to the problem (Salter 1943).

In London, Jacobsen was interviewed by Vincent Tewson of the TUC. Whilst admitting that some of those who were helped in Madrid were probably Nationalist sympathisers, Jacobsen stressed that the relief work of the unit had nothing whatsoever to do with

politics, and she dismissed the rumours of her alleged fascist sympathies as slanderous propaganda. Tewson notes his conclusions from the meeting:

Miss Jacobsen struck me as being a shrewd and capable person, exceedingly enthusiastic in her work and I am quite convinced that any allegations of her fascist sympathies are entirely unwarranted. At the same time, she is insistent upon the work of her unit being for humanitarian purposes only, and it is obvious that this attitude has resulted in her displeasing certain Communists who are responsible for the campaign against her ambulance.¹⁵

Subsequently, the TUC granted the unit a further loan which was used to send another substantial consignment of food-stuffs and medical supplies to Spain and to allow the unit's work to continue. There was additional support from other quarters. The Spanish Ambassador in London, Pablo de Azcarate, made his opinion known in a telegram to Sir Daniel Stevenson: 'All I have heard about work Scottish Ambulance Unit Spain is most favourable. Cannot understand origin Report.'¹⁶

In May 1937, the SAU was summoned to Toledo, some 74 kilometres south of Madrid, where the volunteers encountered the most severe bombing and machine-gunning suffered since their arrival in Spain. Miraculously, not one of them was wounded and none of the battered vehicles was beyond repair, and the entire convoy eventually made its way back to Madrid to a heroes' welcome. When, later that month, Jacobsen was awarded an O.B.E. for her services to humanity, the Spanish Authorities joined in the tributes to the leader of the Scottish ambulance, and a proud Sir Daniel Stevenson declared to the British press: 'The Madrileños from the highest to the lowest have been delighted at the O.B.E. conferred on Miss Jacobsen, Commandant of the Unit.'¹⁷

By June 1938, the SAU Executive Committee eventually agreed that the volunteers had given enough of themselves in Spain. It was time for them to return home to their families and their jobs. But Fernanda Jacobsen had other ideas. She had spent nearly two years among the wounded, the sick, and the starving of Madrid and now found it difficult to be elsewhere, knowing that their struggle continued. Weakened as they were by malnutrition, without fuel, and without the basic necessities of life, the people of Madrid had to now face the coming winter.¹⁸

Jacobsen's press appeals struck a chord with the Scottish public and for a while generosity appeared restored as donations to the SAU enjoyed a noticeable increase, making it possible to send a further Scottish Ambulance out to Spain. Its commandant would be the only Scottish volunteer to accompany it. This ambulance, together with those now in possession of the *Sanidad Militar*, would operate at the front under the auspices of the SAU, although they were manned by Spanish members of the *Sanidad Militar*. Jacobsen received a rapturous welcome in the capital, where her work among the starving population continued. Shortly afterwards, she informed Sir Daniel that, despite indiscriminate shooting all over Madrid, relief work was carried out as usual. Although the children were terror-stricken, she reports, 'it did not prevent them devouring the porridge'. She describes the scene upon eventually making it back to her own living quarters, and, in typical fashion, manages to make light of the event:

I at last got safely in at my own door. The guards scarcely recognized me. I was cold and pale when I left: now it was a beetroot-looking apparition, streaming with perspiration that greeted them. But I got there! The house is in an awful state, every window smashed, machine-gun and rifle bullets everywhere, huge holes in the walls, and my two remaining plum puddings burst open with bullets embedded inside. Surely that deserves fresh supplies!¹⁹

By the time Jacobsen's reports were made public, at the end of March, Madrid had fallen into fascist hands. She remained in the city for as long as donations would allow her to run the porridge kitchens she had helped to establish. The accolades received by the unit, and especially Jacobsen, from the Republican authorities, were repeated and effusive. Renowned Republican surgeon Manuel Bastos Ansart was in close contact with the SAU during its time in Madrid, as he was with volunteers of other nationalities. Bastos talks candidly about his experience as a military surgeon during the Spanish Civil War, making no secret of his dislike of 'the undisguised arrogance and condescension' of many of the international medical volunteers. By way of contrast, he names 'the great people' who formed part of the SAU, who gave 'all kinds of help and aid both to the wounded and to the civilian population of martyred Madrid'. Bastos was particularly approving of Jacobsen:

A special separate chapter should be devoted to the visible head and representative authority of the ambulance, its commandant, Miss Fernanda Jacobsen. Everyone knows of her generosity and her organizing skills, her highly intelligent and humane leadership [...] the gratitude of Madrid and her liberating Army will stand out always in eternal memory of their illustrious champion Miss Jacobsen (Bastos Ansart 1969).

Even after her role with the SAU was over, Jacobsen refused to rest. She became passionately involved in the case of military doctor, Mariano Gómez Ulla. She had come into contact with the renowned doctor in Madrid where, despite his political sympathy with the insurgents, he directed the Republican emergency hospital in the Hotel Palace. After almost two years working for the Republic, Gómez Ulla attempted to cross into the Francoist zone, in 1938, whereupon he was arrested and sentenced to death. Miss Jacobsen intervened in an attempt to get the penalty reduced, her tireless campaigning finally taking her to London to discuss the matter with British Prime

Minister, Clement Atlee. Jacobsen argued that Dr Gómez Ulla, one of the best doctors in Spain, was innocent of any crime and that, furthermore, he had fought only to save the lives of his patients, the majority of whom were Republicans. After Atlee's personal appeal to Dr Negrín, the president of the Spanish government ultimately decided to commute the death sentence. Jacobsen had effectively saved Gómez Ulla's life.²⁰

Conclusion

In Spain, there is no question that those of the Scottish Medical Unit were considered heroes: the doubts and suspicions lay closer to home. To begin with, the questionable behaviour of some members of the ambulance unit, during the early days of its campaign, undoubtedly helped to tarnish its good name, and created a dubious legacy which the unit would struggle to shake off. Further distrust was aroused by the zeal with which Fernanda Jacobsen sought to fulfil her remit of succouring the needy on both sides in the conflict, irrespective of political persuasion. Considered in context, however, such attempts at humanitarian neutrality are surely easier to understand, if not completely condoned, by pro-Republican supporters. However, allegations that the unit's leaders were swayed by fascist sympathies and that it refused to cooperate with the Republican authorities are claims that are based largely on speculative judgment that documentary evidence makes it easy to refute. There is an abundance of testimony as to the SAU's unquestionable support for the Spanish Republic – much of this coming in the form of public acknowledgements from officers of the Republican Army, the Medical Corps and the government itself. For the most part, however, such evidence is written in Spanish, and it is hoped that the present work will help increase its accessibility to British audiences.

¹ For further information on the Scottish response to the Spanish Civil War, see Daniel Gray, *Homage to Caledonia* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd., 2008).

² As City Treasurer of Glasgow, and then as Lord Provost, from 1911 to 1914, Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson was responsible for a number of socially progressive measures in the city, including making cultural facilities more accessible to working class Glaswegians. After his retirement from politics, Stevenson continued to lend his support to worthy causes – especially that of furthering international understanding among young people, a project which he pursued as Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, from 1934-1944.

³ From a letter received by Sir Daniel Stevenson from Harry Stow, Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Madrid. ‘Work in Spain of the Scottish Ambulance Unit - A Tribute’, 4 September 1938 (*Trabajadores*: University of Warwick Digital Library 292/946/42/46).

⁴ Prior to the Spanish Civil War, the Spanish newspapers carried features on Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson’s student exchange schemes. *La Vanguardia* newspaper, for instance, describes Stevenson as ‘a great enthusiast of the culture and history of Spain who endeavors to strengthen the cultural relationship between Spain and Scotland’. (*La Vanguardia*, Sunday 22 September 1935). This and all other quotations from Spanish are the author’s translation of the original texts.

⁵ Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson in the *Glasgow Herald*, 7 September 1936.

⁶ Approval for issuing of passports was granted by I. P. Garran of the British Foreign Office, 15 September, 1936. Approval was endorsed by Anthony Eden, 19 September 1936. (Fredericka Martin Papers, Tamiment Library, University of New York, Box 14, folder 5).

⁷ Author’s translation of article appearing in Spanish publication, *El Obrero Sanitario*, Year II, Number 7, 1 June 1937.

⁸ Sir Daniel Stevenson, ‘Scottish Ambulance Unit in Spain, Miss Jacobsen’s story of recent Madrid Perils’, in *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1939.

⁹ The National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, Bulletin No. 2, 19 February 1937. Papers of Nathan and Steven Clarke (Clarke family papers).

¹⁰ Morris Linden, ‘Starvation in Madrid: women go frantic when ambulance food supply ends’, *Sunday Post*, 21 February 1937.

¹¹ In the resignation letter from members of the Scottish Ambulance Unit: Leonard Crome, Roderick MacFarquhar and Morris Linden, 30 March 1937 (Warwick Digital Library 292/946/41/22(iii)).

¹² Sir Daniel Stevenson, Scottish Ambulance Unit in Spain, ‘Miss Jacobsen’s story of recent Madrid Perils’, in *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1939.

¹³ Len Crome was a gifted doctor and a natural leader. He went on to become the Chief Medical Officer of the 35th Division, where his remarkable courage and his ability to improvise in extreme situations led to the saving of many lives.

¹⁴ Lance subsequently spent 16 months in Republican prisons under threat of execution until the British Foreign Office finally secured his release in February 1939.

¹⁵ Vincent Tewson, Memorandum of interview with Fernanda Jacobsen, (University of Warwick Digital Library, 292/946/42/79).

¹⁶ Correspondence of Pablo de Azcarate, Spanish Ambassador in London, cited by Sir Daniel Stevenson in a letter to Sir Walter Citrine, 30 April 1937 (University of Warwick Digital Library, 292/946/41/20).

¹⁷ ‘Scottish ambulances in Spain’ (press release) from Daniel Stevenson, 5 June 1937 (University of Warwick Digital Library, 292/946/42/139).

¹⁸ See, for example, Fernanda Jacobsen, ‘With the Scottish Ambulance Unit in Spain, the Commandant’s moving appeal’, *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1938.

¹⁹ Sir Daniel Stevenson, ‘Scottish Ambulance Unit in Spain, Miss Jacobsen’s story of recent Madrid Perils’, in *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1939.

²⁰ Dr Gómez Ulla was eventually exchanged for a Republican doctor held by the insurgents, after secret negotiations between the latter and the Red Cross. In Gómez Ulla y Lea, José María, *Mariano Gómez Ulla. Un hombre, un cirujano, un militar* (Ed. Madrid, Madrid, 1981).

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