

LLOYD MALLAN: LINCOLN BRIGADE VOLUNTEER AND EARLY LORCA TRANSLATOR

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Nobody remembers Lloyd Mallan. I came across his name while writing a book on Lorca's iconic afterlife. Mallan's piece on the poet's assassination, first published in 1939, was instrumental in spreading to the English-speaking world of the U.S. and Canada a highly embellished narrative of poetic martyrdom that helped shape for decades the public image of Federico García Lorca. Mallan also began a short-lived career as a translator, soon after having returned from war-torn Spain in 1938. His story is worth telling not only for the role he played in creating the Lorca legend, but for the way politics framed literary and cultural aspirations through the promotion of translation. The marriage of politics and literature was a rocky one for Mallan. His translating abilities took a hit from other translators, and his ideological trajectory, following a well-trod path of disillusionment, went from communist to anti-communist. In 1945, he was also having financial difficulties, writing "I'm in an economic hole right now." The following year, he was forced to ask for an advance from his publisher New Directions. "I really am flat broke," he confessed.¹ By the 1950s, perhaps discouraged as well, he had stopped translating and turned to freelance writing, becoming a popularizer of science, especially space technology.²

Born in Pittsburgh, Mallan (1914-1973) was from a Jewish family, the son of a Polish immigrant father and an American mother. He joined the Communist Party in 1932, when he was seventeen or eighteen. In the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA), his name was originally misspelled "Mallem" (since corrected) as it was on other occasions (also "Mallam" and "Mallen"), a detail of some significance. In the hand-written Cadre files of the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), he is listed as American, single, and an

artist. Mallan was twenty-four—the median age for Lincoln Brigade volunteers was twenty-seven—when he sailed for Europe aboard the SS *Manhattan*, on 8 September 1937. He arrived in Spain on 19 September, returning home on the SS *Manhattan*, on 15 April 1938.³ But these are the bare outlines of a life.

We learn more in some remarkable testimony he gave in 1959 for hearings before the Committee on Science and Astronautics and Special Subcommittee on Lunik Probe, in the U.S. House of Representatives. Mallan claimed that the spacecraft Luna 1 was a hoax, challenging the Soviet Union's technological competence at the height of the Cold War.⁴ (Luna 1 is still orbiting through space.) Part of the questioning centered on Mallan's time in Spain. Congressman Victor Anfuso (D-New York) wanted to know how and why he ended up in Spain, who facilitated his travel, and what name he used on his passport. Like all the other American volunteers in 1937, he said he was going to France, to avoid breaking U.S. law, which restricted travel to Spain during this period. "Did you feel, Mr. Mallan," Anfuso asked, "that if you had stated that you wanted to go to Spain for the purpose of fighting with the Loyalists against the Fascists, that you would never have been given a passport?" Mallan replied, "I didn't want to go to fight. I wanted to go as a radio technician" (*Soviet Space Technology* 164).

Mallan regretted having gone. "I thought a war that was being fought there at the time," he said, "was a war against fascism. I didn't really feel like being shot at, but I had been a radio operator in the Naval Reserve, and I knew quite a bit about radio. There was an organization called the North American Committee for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy which I applied to as a radio technician."⁵ Instead, he became a machine gunner in the Canadian MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion and eventually transferred to Radio Communications in the Research Laboratory of the Police at Valencia. In the end, he decided to bail, stowing away in a British freighter, the R.M.S. *Stanhope*, where he was discovered in the boiler room. The seamen "turned me over to the assault guards who—with no charges against me by the way—had me listed for expulsion from the country. Meanwhile, I got 3 months in Carcer

Modello [Cárcel Modelo], the model jail of Barcelona" (*Soviet Space Technology* 163).⁶

Why was Mallan asked about his experience in Spain when the subject of the hearing was the Soviet space program? One word sums it up: McCarthyism. In the 1940s, veterans of the Lincoln Brigade had already been accused of being "premature fascists," another way of saying "communist." Of course, a good number were indeed communists, others weren't, but the post-World War II witch hunt of communists and fellow travelers reflected a Cold War mentality. The reverberations of that period still echo in Anfuso's questioning. In that sense, it is not surprising that Mallan denied being a party member:

it was suggested that my story of Russia's technological weakness might give aid to our Communist enemy. I want to state now for the record under oath that I am not a Communist, have never been a Communist, and despise all aspects of Communist ideology. (*Soviet Space Technology* 140)

Based on what we know, except for his anti-communism, he wasn't telling the truth. I have not been able to ascertain when he dropped his party membership or why, though perhaps his experiences in Spain had something to do with his political transformation, as the testimony suggests. I suspect that Anfuso had access to files either from the State Department or the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), in which Mallan's last name may have been spelled differently, hence the queries over the name on his passport. Some volunteers did use false passports. Significantly, the RGASPI record has this annotation: "P.P. Lloyd Mallem," which I believe refers to his passport, to judge from other observations in the file. As happened to nearly all volunteers, Mallan's passport was taken from him after reaching Spain, something Anfuso also asked about. I have since learned that he filled out his passport application under the name of "Lloyd Mallem."⁷

Anfuso wanted to know if Mallan had served in the International Brigades. Astonishingly, he replied that only the day before did he realize he had! He also said he knew nothing about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Yet two translations of

his—poems by Pablo Neruda and Nicolás Guillén—had appeared in Lincoln vet Alvah Bessie’s anthology, *The Heart of Spain*, in 1952.⁸ The volume was published by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Bessie himself—one of the blacklisted Hollywood Ten—was a member of the Communist Party until 1954. It is of course possible he was not aware of Bessie’s anthology. By 1952, Mallan had moved into mainstream publishing, as a senior editor of Fawcett Books, which produced such popular magazines as *Mechanix Illustrated*, *True*, *Family Circle*, and *Woman’s Day*. He contributed articles to the first two.⁹

His claims of ignorance, however, while politically convenient, are simply not credible. One of his first publications was a short story titled “The Sniper,” inspired by his experiences in Spain, which appeared in *Fantasy* magazine. The editor appended this note on Mallan:

A brief session at Carnegie Tech Night School and a longer one at various odd jobs came to an end when he went to Spain in 1937. There he was a member of the Machine Gun Shock Troop in reserve, aiding the M[a]cKenzie-Papineau Battalion, and later transferred to Radio Communications in the Research Laboratory of the Police at Valencia. He returned to this country in late spring of 1938, with a mass of story material both in his mind and on paper. He is at present working on a novel of the War, with a prison ship background. We are proud to present Mr. Mallan as a *Fantasy* “find.” ([Mayer] 32)

Fantasy readers would have understood the context of these references immediately, because the Spanish war had been so much in the news. More importantly, the International Brigades received not only military but political instruction; in the latter case, from political commissars embedded in military units. Mallan could not have remained ideologically uninformed for very long while serving in Spain. The Brigades were organized by the Communist International, and Mallan was a party member. Most significantly, he admitted to the U.S. Vice Consul in Paris that he was a member of the International Brigades.¹⁰

Fantasy magazine (1931-1943) gave him his first break as a writer and translator. Created by Stanley Dehler Mayer in Pittsburgh (Mallan's hometown), the journal published a wide range of authors such as Kenneth Patchen, August Derleth, James T. Farrell, and Dylan Thomas, and translations, especially from the Spanish, establishing a Latin American literature section in 1942. *Fantasy* exercised considerable literary influence in its day but foundered over financial difficulties. Mayer collaborated with the state-run Pan American Union and the non-governmental organization, the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America (initially out of New Haven, Connecticut), to promote Latin American writing in an era when the ideal of hemispheric solidarity and cultural-diplomatic exchange was enthusiastically embraced, as Harris Feinsod has observed.¹¹ Aiding Mayer was Lloyd Mallan, who worked for the Committee from 1942 to 1944, assuming the position of Literary Editor by 1944. He was also an editor-translator for the Pan American Union in 1942.¹²

In correspondence with Mayer, Mallan acted as cheerleader, to boost not only his own career but the fortunes of the magazine and cultural-literary exchange, such as translation, even before he landed a job with the Committee. In the earliest of his letters, posted from Miami ("a real racketeering town," he commented wryly), he noted that he was working to get *Fantasy* sold on newsstands (letter dated 25 Aug. 1939). In another, from 14 September 1940, he wrote, "we got you another bookstore—in Cincinnatti." In the same year, he was happy to report the magazine selling strong in New York City (24 July). He also urged Mayer to set up a subscription exchange with Octavio Paz's *El Hijo Pródigo*, "far superior to *Sur* and even *Nosotros*" (18 May 1943). At another point, Mallan evaluated some translations of the Spanish poets, Antonio Machado and Gerardo Diego. "I liked all of Machado's poems pretty well," he wrote, "I also liked Gerardo Diego's stuff, but thought it was much too Lorca-ish (This goes for some of the Machado too)." He rated Machado as "up near where Lorca stood" (8 July 1943).¹³

Amid all this activity, he was also fighting the draft. He wrote Mayer: "We've been rather upset here. I passed my first

'physical' also. Am in 1-A and managed to wangle a sixty-day deferment. Lucy, you know, is going to have a baby in November, but this meant nothing to the Draft Board" (10 Aug. 1943). Having been in one war, he was not anxious to be in another, unlike other Lincoln vets who jumped at the chance for another swing at the fascists. In Spain, he had been a machine gunner against his will. In 1940, he also wrote a long anti-war poem.¹⁴ Mallan's stance in 1940 was consistent with his position in 1959 during the House hearings. In the end, he told James Laughlin, the founder of New Directions, "I was rejected by the Army for a flock of allergies to food. Never expected they'd flunk me on that."¹⁵ But while he had no liking for the battlefield, he still very much appeared to defend the Republican cause in this period, despite his later testimony.

The clearest indication of that support comes, initially, with his piece on Lorca's murder, published in *Fantasy* in 1939. Translations of two Lorca texts, most likely his first, appeared in the same issue: "Ballad of the Living Dead" ("Romance sonámbulo") and "Romance of the Spanish Civil Guard" ("Romance de la Guardia Civil española"), both from *Romancero gitano* (*Gypsy Ballads*). I will return to his translation work shortly, but the article merits attention, for its impact on the public image of Lorca. Titled "Granada, Oh! Granada," the piece was reprinted at least twice more, in the mass-circulation *Esquire* magazine and in the *Daily Clarion* (Toronto), as "Death of a Spanish Poet. A True Story." Three very different publications, with different readerships: the first, literary; the second, a popular magazine for men (though with literary pretensions); and the third, political.

The *Daily Clarion* was the newspaper of the Communist Party of Canada. That Mallan published in this publication in April of 1939 suggests he had not yet given up his party membership. In her sampling of Canadians elegizing Lorca, Emily Robins Sharpe writes that "Mallan—a translator by profession—interprets [Spanish] culture for a Canadian audience" (127). Mallan does indeed situate Lorca within a centuries-old national culture, but as an American leftist, he wasn't necessarily thinking of a Canadian readership. In my view, his poli-

tics trump national identities here, by writing for a specific ideologically inclined audience, that of the *Daily Clarion*.

Sharpe rightly observes that Mallan's piece "bears many similarities" to an anonymous article published in *The Volunteer for Liberty* in 1937 (126). To begin with, both carry the same title, although the subheading of the earlier article is different: "Eye-Witness Tells of Murder of García Lorca" ("Death"). That link ties him not simply to the article, but significantly to the official publication of the English-speaking battalions of the International Brigades, another indication of Mallan's brigadista status. The *Volunteer* piece is not, however, anonymous, but an English-language partial rendering of a newspaper account by Vicente Vidal Corella, which originally appeared in *Adelante* (Valencia) on 15 September 1937. Titled "El crimen fue en su Granada. 'Yo he visto asesinar a García Lorca'" ("The Crime Was in Granada, His Granada. 'I Saw García Lorca Being Assassinated'"), it was widely disseminated throughout Spain and Latin America, especially after Vicente Sáenz gave his own shortened version in the influential Costa Rican publication, *Repertorio Americano*. Lorca's biographer Ian Gibson has demonstrated how unreliable the *Adelante* story is.¹⁶

But it also popped up in English-language speeches and journals, such as Langston Hughes' radio broadcast from Madrid, "Spain's Martyred Poet, García Lorca," delivered on 8 November 1937. Hughes quoted from part of *The Volunteer for Liberty* piece, so it is also possible Mallan heard the account of Lorca's death through his radio address (or from both). While Vidal Corella's article included only two lines of a Lorca text (from "The Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard"), Hughes recited three poems from *Gypsy Ballads*: "Ballad of the Moon, Moon" ("Romance de la luna, luna"), "Dream Romance" ("Romance sonámbulo"), and "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard."¹⁷ Perhaps inspired by Hughes, Mallan quoted lines from his own translations of "Romance sonámbulo" and "Romance de la Guardia Civil española" as though emerging from the thoughts of García Lorca as he went to his death. These were also the two translations included in the same issue of *Fantasy* magazine.

The first time Mallan's narrative of Lorca's murder appeared, it had a subtitle mentioned only in the issue's table of contents: "A Factual Story."¹⁸ In the *Daily Clarion*, it is "A True Story," but in *Esquire*, the subtitle is now "Semi-Fiction," a more accurate reflection of what is an imagined re-creation of an historic event. *Fantasy's* editor, however, introduced Mallan's piece by insisting that the material presented "has now been definitely established." He says that Mallan "was in Valencia in the winter of 1937 and there met a young Spaniard who claimed to have been a member of the Lorca murder squad," adding: He "is now at work translating the complete *Romancero gitano* and is also working on a biography of Lorca, which will include 'Granada, Oh! Granada' as a final chapter" (50).¹⁹ To my knowledge, neither the translation nor the biography was ever published. Mayer's assertion that Mallan's version of events was authentic is based on the truth-giving persuasiveness of eye-witness testimony, but that first-hand account had already appeared in 1937, in a Spanish newspaper, and has itself since been discredited as largely fanciful. His reference to the "young Spaniard" further links the *Fantasy* account to the original story. Mallan was convincing enough for the poet Muriel Rukeyser to repeat the claim in 1941, referring pointedly to the piece in *Fantasy*. The eye-witness, she wrote, "told Mr. Mallan that he had deserted to the Loyalist side as a result of the poet's denunciation of Fascism to this squad of the Civil Guard" (127). Though, she does recognize that "the legend of Lorca's death is, at present, not definitely solved" (123). At the very least, Rukeyser's comment suggests that Mallan's account was being read in certain circles.

Mallan dropped the original first-person speaker that Vidal Corella introduced into his report, using instead a combination of third person and focalized narration. The aim, however, is the same in both pieces: to produce a heroic myth of the poet's last moments on earth. His martyrdom is largely political in Vidal Corella, though politics and literature are hard to separate here. The deserter says "García Lorca signed his death warrant the day he put his name to the famous ballad about the Civil Guard" (Vidal Corella, "The Crime" 220).²⁰ Mallan

builds on both thematic platforms by having Lorca reflect on his circumstances in the opening paragraph:

A small line of autos twisted out on the Padul road. It was early evening, but already dark. Behind lay the city of Granada huddled close as in fear. White buildings showed grey-blue in the night. There were stars in the sky, the Spanish sky that Lorca loved. Seated in the first car between two Civil Guards with rifles he was thinking of the city falling away in the distance. And because he was a poet, a romantic, youthful, great poet, he thought proudly of the poem that at this moment was causing him to be driven out of Granada to his death. Romance of The Spanish Civil Guard. If a ballad of such beasts could be called a romance. García Lorca smiled at the paradox. (50)

Lines from the ballad follow, along with a third-person comment on the fascists' precautions taken to guard their prisoner, even if "he is very young [...] and loves people and freedom for the people" (50).

From the start this is a fictionalized version of the poet's death. No one knows exactly how the execution happened or what Lorca was thinking in those final hours. Mallan sticks to certain key details in the so-called eyewitness account but serves them up in extended flourishes of highly colored prose: the poet's serene stance as he walks to meet his fate, his firm speech in defense of liberty, and a savage beating, after which three bullets are pumped into his body. In Vidal Corella's piece and, to a much lesser extent, the *Volunteer* one, we are given a backstory to the young Civil Guard's testimony. Above all, the original account brings out the indelible impression Lorca leaves on the eyewitness. The poet's words are "like a penetrating light that burned into my brain," and the spectacle of his death "appalling," as he watches "petrified with terror at the sight" (Vidal Corella, "The Crime" 221).

Mallan writes, Lorca "walked calmly out in front of the white beams of the [automobile] lights. 'Pasa prisa [sic], poeta!' snapped [Lieutenant] Medina. Lorca smiled a little but continued his steady even gait" (51).²¹ Then Mallan lets loose

with a rhetorical flood of speechifying. In a most unlikely scene, the poet declaims to the firing squad, "For a thousand years the Spanish people lived as slaves and now that they have their freedom you try to take it away from them" (51). Echoing the Second Republic's ideals, Lorca says, "we have a great tradition of culture; El Greco, Goya, Cervantes and Lope de Vega. Goya was a revolutionist and hated war!" He also brings up undesirable manifestations of culture such as the Inquisition and castigates the Nationalists for "fighting with the Moors against Spaniards," an oft-heard Republican criticism (51). But when Lorca calls the fascists "beasts" and "barbarians," his words of contempt enrage Medina, prompting his own insults ("cullón" ["culón"] and "hijo de puta") and a frenzied attack on the poet. "Several of the Guardias," writes Mallan, "those most moved by the young poet's words, stood motionless, too horrified to lift an arm" (52). Compare this with the *Volunteer* version: "Some of us remained stationary, too horrified to do anything" (3).

All three stories end in a similar fashion. Vidal Corella: "There they left the poet, unburied, outside Granada, *his* Granada" ("The Crime" 221). The *Volunteer*: "There the poet remained unburied—in front of his Granada" (8). Mallan:

The Guardia Civil started slowly back, leaving the poet's body unburied as a warning to others. In front of Granada, Lorca lay [...]. *Oh, city of the gypsies! Who will see you and not remember?* (52)

Mallan's version is more elaborate, uniting the political motif to the literary one with lines from the "Ballad of the Spanish Civil Guard." While borrowing liberally from the earlier narrative, he failed, however, to notice the importance of stressing the idea of "*his* Granada." That allusion evoked Antonio Machado's celebrated and much cited poem, "El crimen fue en Granada" ("The Crime Was in Granada"), hence the title of Vidal Corella's account, with Machado's accusatory last line, "el crimen fue en Granada, ien su Granada!" ("the crime was in Granada, in his Granada!").²²

Elsewhere, Mallan wrote that Lorca "died for Italian and British and German Imperialism," stressing that "he died a

political death" ("Lorca Translations" 63). In the manuscript of the same book review, he crossed out that Rafael Martínez Nadal, in his Introduction to the Stephen Spender-J.L. Gili's anthology of Lorca poems, "has very much understated the facts behind Lorca's death, and, it seems, is very self-conscious while doing it."²³ That sentence did not appear in the published review, though a bit of self-promotion did in an allusion to "an authentic account of Lorca's death" having appeared in the previous issue of *Fantasy*. Mallan was probably referring to this rather timid comment of Martínez Nadal: "Accounts received from trustworthy sources coincide in stating that [...] an armed group whose political affiliation, if any, cannot at present be established, entered the house, dragged Lorca away and assassinated him brutally and cowardly in the outskirts of Granada" (xxvii).

Mallan's narrative received even more play in *Esquire*, to judge from the magazine's circulation, and in an issue for Christmas filled with such names as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Jesse Stuart, and Irwin Shaw. Here, as in *Fantasy*, he included an inset translation of a Lorca poem, for which he gave a mystical title straight out of St. John of the Cross, "Dark Night of the Soul," signaling Lorca's homage to St. John and St. Teresa of Ávila. Readers will be forgiven for not recognizing the poem as one of the eleven that came to be known as the *Sonetos del amor oscuro* (*Sonnets of Dark Love*), not published in their entirety until 1983: "El poeta pide a su amor que le escriba" ("The Poet Asks His Love to Write Him"). Notable for some arresting lines, Mallan's version eliminates the *tú* or lover of the poem, turning it into a text about death rather than love. How did he manage to get hold of it? It is possible he came across it in the journal *Pan* (Bogotá), where it had appeared in December 1939, though more likely he found it in Columbia University's *Revista Hispánica Moderna* (nos. 3-4, July-Oct. 1940), along with other unpublished Lorca texts, or in his *Obras completas* (6: 938). This surprisingly early translation appears to be the first of one of these sonnets.²⁴

At any rate, Mallan's zeal for promoting Lorca's work is demonstrable here, as it is in several other translations and in book reviews. Besides "Romance of the Spanish Civil Guard"

and "Ballad of the Living Dead," two other poems appeared in *Fantasy* magazine: "City Without Sleep (A Nocturne of the Brooklyn Bridge)" ("Ciudad sin sueño. Nocturno del Brooklyn Bridge") and "Little Girl Drowned in the Well (Newburg and Granada)" ("Niña ahogada en el pozo. Granada y Newburg"), both from *Poeta en Nueva York* (*Poet in New York*) (1940). In the same journal, he also published a review lauding Rolfe Humphries' translation of *Poeta en Nueva York* (1941) and Englished Salvador de Madariaga's "Elegía en la muerte de Federico García Lorca" ("Elegy on the Death of Federico García Lorca") (1941), as well as Patrick Orpen Dudgeon's essay, originally a lecture delivered in Buenos Aires in 1938, "J.M. Synge and F. García Lorca. The Universal in European Popular Poetry" (1941-42).²⁵

Other translations were published. In 1939, three poems from the *Poema del cante jondo*'s section "An Etching of La Petenera" ("Gráfico de la Petenera") were printed in an issue of *The New Mexico Quarterly*: "The Bell" ("Clamor"), "The Road" ("Camino"), and "The Six Strings" ("Las seis cuerdas"). In 1940, among the pages of *Prairie Schooner* one may find the "Ballad of the Water of the Sea" ("La balada del agua del mar"), from *Libro de poemas*; and "Of Another Mood" ("De otro modo"), from *Canciones*. The 1940-1941 issue of *The Southern Review* published "Lament for Ignacio Sánchez Mejías" ("Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías"), presented in bilingual format. Some translations appeared in anthologies. For example, "San Miguel" ("San Miguel. Granada"), "Ballad of the Summoning" ("Romance del emplazado"), "The First Historical Ballad: A Martyrdom of Santa Eulalia" ("Martirio de Santa Olalla"), and "The Bullfight" ("Reyerta"), all from *Gypsy Ballads*, were published in the 1940-1941 issue of *Twice-A-Year: A Book of Literature, the Arts, and Civil Liberties*. Later, in 1943, the same poems appeared in *Heart of Europe: An Anthology of Creative Writing in Europe 1920-1940*. Finally, in 1955, "Ballad of the Water of the Sea" was reprinted in the *Selected Poems of Federico García Lorca*, an influential conduit in the promotion of Lorca's work.²⁶

I have found no other Mallan translations of Lorca or of other poets, Spanish or Latin American, after 1946, save a

reprint. Why did his translating career stop? The 1940s was the start of an extraordinarily productive period for translation from Spanish to English in the U.S., from Langston Hughes and Edwin Honig to Rolfe Humphries, Dudley Fitts and many others. Mallan wrote in 1941, "In the United States there is beginning a spontaneous awakening consciousness of things Spanish among the intellectuals," pointing to the spate of translations of both Spanish and Latin American writers in *Poetry* magazine, *Esquire*, *The Southern Review* (including a special section on Lorca in the Winter 1940-1941 issue), and elsewhere ("The Poet, the People" 264). For Mallan and many other writers, translation was also a political task, a way to forge cultural-literary links between the two hemispheres and between the U.S. and Europe, in the face of fascism's global threat and culture of death. An idealist, he wrote, "just as Herr Hitler has his invisible weapons of attack in all countries, so do we have our invisible weapons of defense. Our weapons are love, understanding, and sympathy" (266). Comparing Lorca to the homespun, Kentucky-born Jesse Stuart in the same piece, he observed, "[Stuart's] people and the land they live upon are one, just as Andalusia and García Lorca are the same thing," seeing both as examples of "a vigorous peoples' art," amid their differences (262).

No doubt Mallan was swimming in a veritable sea of translators, and we can already surmise from his financial misery that translation did not pay the bills, but given his political commitment at the time, that does not fully explain why his translation career dried up. For that, the private correspondence of his co-translators for the massive bilingual project, *An Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry* (1942), edited by Dudley Fitts, provides a devastating opinion of Mallan's translating abilities and suggests a fractious relationship between Mallan and Fitts. There were hints of the problem in the rejections of his work, from *Fantasy* magazine, *The Southern Review*, and probably elsewhere, including translations submitted to Fitts for the anthology.²⁷ The number of Lorca projects that failed to launch was also, in hindsight, a red flag: most notably, a biography, a translation of *Romance-*

ro gitano, an anthology of his poetry, and the English version of Alfredo de la Guardia's *García Lorca, persona y creación*.

By the fall of 1944, the Lorca biography must have been a sore point for Mallan. He wrote an exceptionally harsh review of Edwin Honig's *García Lorca*, which the editors of *The Kenyon Review* chose to call "How to Understand a Spaniard" and to which Honig replied that it should have been "How I Would Write a Book on García Lorca" ("Communications" 300). "For the book [Mallan] will accept," he went on to say, "is obviously the one he wishes to write himself or one already written of which he conceals the existence" (302). Mallan, in turn, wrote, "I have no book on Lorca to conceal, since I have never written one nor even have one planned" ("Communications" 302-03). As we know, this was clearly untrue. It is also worth pointing out that Honig's book appeared under the imprint of New Directions, and Mallan had hopes of placing his translation of the *Romancero gitano* with the same press.²⁸ That never happened. On the other hand, he did publish with New Directions "A Little Anthology of Afro-Cuban Poetry" (in *New Directions* 1944, Number 8), *Rafael Alberti: Selected Poems* (1944), and "A Little Anthology of Young Mexican Poets" (in *New Directions*, Number 9) (1946). Like Mallan, the founder of the press, James Laughlin, was a Pittsburgh native, and had a working relationship with the editor of *Fantasy* magazine, where Mallan began his writing career.

The anthology of Lorca poems is something of a mystery. In 1940, Mayer informed *Fantasy* readers that "a book of Mr. Mallan's Lorca translations is to be issued by Decker." In the same year, Mallan also wrote Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks, co-founders of *The Southern Review*, that "a pamphlet, a *Brief Anthology of F. García Lorca*, will be forthcoming soon from The Press of James A. Decker." This publication has appeared in some bibliographies of Lorca, but no library anywhere owns it. Moreover, the archives of the Decker Press Collection at Western Illinois University have no record of the pamphlet or of any correspondence with Mallan.²⁹ I must conclude that it is a bibliographical ghost, and that for reasons unknown, the pamphlet never appeared. The rights to Lorca's work were in something of a muddle still, as

Mallan wrote with some detail to Warren and Brooks in the same letter.³⁰ Was this the motive for not publishing the anthology? Like other small literary presses, this one also struggled financially. Or were the translations not satisfactory?

Complaints about Mallan's competence as a translator had not yet surfaced in 1940. *The Southern Review* had rejected several of his English versions of poems from *Gypsy Ballads*, in part, he was told, because they had a backlog.³¹ But Mallan didn't give up easily. He then submitted his translation of the *Lament for Ignacio Sánchez Mejías*. "I am sending it to you," he wrote, "because I am trying my best to bring García Lorca to the American literary public." Pencilled in are the words "Held for active file," in what appears to be Cleanth Brooks' handwriting, followed by these lines, crossed out: "What about this, Red? I don't know the original. Parts of it seem pretty fine—others pretty thin."³² ("Red" is Robert Penn Warren.) There followed a series of letters from Mallan, in which he made further changes to the translation, supplied a missing stanza at one point, and agreed with Warren over a mistranslated word. "I am very pleased to hear you think so much of my work," Mallan wrote. In the end, the editors took the *Lament*, and while they asked to see more of his writing, no other Mallan piece, original or translation, appeared in *The Southern Review*.

Dudley Fitts saw the *Lament* translation, either before or after publication, and, as Mallan was one of his translators for the *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry*, he wrote him more than once expressing his displeasure over Mallan's translating efforts, linking it at one point to the *Lament*: "I'm not trying to be offensive, believe me. I like your way with words. My complaint is, that you let your words get away with you—the same complaint that I made to Cleanth Brooks when I read your version of the Lorca *Llanto*, where you capped your misreadings with that really shocking translation of the phrase, 'la noche sin canto de los peces'."³³ Fitts certainly didn't mince words.

The lines in question are:

That [Ignacio's body] might be lost in the round bullring
 of the moon
 that resembles when young a sad immutable head of the
 bull;
 that it might be lost in the night without songs
 from the fishes in the white weeds of a congealed mist.
 (555)

Compare his version to a more recent one by Galway Kinnell:

Disappear into the round bull-ring of the moon,
 who takes the shape, when a young girl, of a motionless,
 wounded bull;
 disappear into the songless night of the fishes
 and the white thicket of frozen smoke.³⁴

Kinnell's translation is at once more elegant and more accurate, but Fitts' reaction ("really shocking") strikes me as a bit over the top. It is also possible that Mallan's final published version is not what Fitts saw.

Mallan was also counting on parlaying his translation of the *Lament* into "a job with the government, in Inter-American cultural relations," hence his request to Warren and Brooks that the issue of *Southern Review* in which it was published be sent to Waldo Frank, saying his future employment "depends on this."³⁵ He might have been referring to the Division of Cultural Relations at the US Department of State, founded in 1938, which had invited Frank to do a lecture tour in Latin America. Or to the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), established in 1940, to which Frank had unofficial ties and for which he eventually undertook the junket (Feinsod 53-54). In any event, Mallan did not get the job. His letter is an illustrative instance of the combined transactional-political nature of certain kinds of literary endeavor linked to the quest for political and cultural solidarity in this period. Here, Lorca's work appeared to act as a bridge between hemispheres. The work of culture was intrinsically political but also personal, not to say self-interested, in Mallan's case. It should be pointed out, however, that he had indeed expressed a keen interest in Latin American affairs, having pub-

lished articles on the political situation in Argentina and Bolivia, Axis propaganda in Latin America, and the unity of the Americas. He was further planning a book on fascism and the cartels in the New World, though there is no evidence the book was ever written.³⁶

This was not the only point of contact between Mallan and the CIAA or the Division of Cultural Relations. Muna Lee (then married to Luis Muñoz Marín, future governor of Puerto Rico), another one of Fitts' translators, who happened to work in the Division of Cultural Relations, was upset when she learned that the Coordinator's Office was "considering helping finance" a Mallan project.³⁷ This was the translation he had made of the Argentinian critic Alfredo de la Guardia's book on García Lorca. On 29 April 1943, the very next day after expressing her dismay to Fitts, she wrote a memorandum, giving her opinion of Mallan as a translator. It was the kiss of death for the project. Not only did the Coordinator's Office not support the translation; Yale University Press never published it. She began on a positive note, but the evaluation went quickly downhill:

Mr. Mallan is sincerely, indeed ardently, interested in Hispanic poetry in general, and he has an especial devotion to García Lorca [...] [he] has a gift for English phrasing which is usually picturesque and often poetic—his translations of poetry are frequently both rhythmic and readable. So far so good. Mr. Mallan as a translator of Spanish has nevertheless one enormous defect: he is either imperfectly acquainted with Spanish or else convinced that what the author said in the original text should be completely subordinated to what the translator prefers to say in the translation.³⁸

Lee then gave an example of Mallan's mistranslation, one that Dudley Fitts had supplied her, in which "despiertan los muertos" became "the dead are desperate," but which she misremembered. In a letter to Mallan, Fitts correctly explained that "despiertan los ahogados," from Roberto Ibáñez's "Elegía por los ahogados que retornan" ("Elegy for the Drowned Men Who Return"), could not be translated as "desperate are the

drowned.”³⁹ (The published version is: “the drowned awake.”) He initially rejected Mallan’s translation, though in the end it appeared in the anthology, credited to Mallan and to another translator who reworked it, Donald Devenish Walsh.

Lee never saw the English version of de la Guardia’s book but based her comments on earlier translation work by Mallan. She also suggested that the “outspoken uncritical approval” of his “enthusiasm and energy in the translation of Spanish” came from Latin-American writers little versed in English and happy to see themselves in print. There was, however, another reason why she judged him so harshly. She wrote:

Mr. Mallan himself is busily building up a defense against any such criticism as the foregoing by seizing every opportunity of animadverting in print against editorship—such, for example, as that of Dudley Fitts in the *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Literature* [sic]—that insists that the text be respected in translation. Mr. Mallan has written at least three reviews of Mr. Fitts’ anthology in which he attacks it with varying degrees of animadvertence because the translations are exact.”⁴⁰

Mallan did indeed review it more than once, for the *New York Times* and for the *Kenyon Review*. Jorge Luis Borges also wrote one for the influential journal, *Sur*, despite both figuring in the anthology. Borges was merciless, skewering the poets anthologized and the editor, whose method he characterized as “haphazard.” Muna Lee was convinced there was a “planned campaign to belittle the anthology,” believing Borges’ reaction was “another Mallan-inspired blast (I’m sure).” “Well, the Borges connection with Mallan,” she wrote Fitts, “is through the group at Pittsburgh and the magazines that Lloyd Mallan has dabbled at editing and by correspondence. But it’s a quite definite connection.” Ángel Flores, another translator for the volume, told her, “Mallan is making it a profession to review the Anthology, isn’t he?”⁴¹

Lee and Flores even speculated that a review by Edouard Roditi was really one of Mallan’s. In a telephone conversation, Flores “asked at once, ‘Who is he? Lloyd Mallan?’” Lee went

on to say, "For all I know, Roditi may exist. But [...] the Mallan mark is on the review in detail as in general."⁴² Roditi, then a young poet and translator, did indeed exist.⁴³ His review of the Fitts anthology is by and large a positive one, like Mallan's. Even Lee admitted that "all concerned came out of the ordeal much better than may have been expected" in Mallan's *New York Times* piece.⁴⁴ If Roditi thought the anthology was meant as an answer to "What is American in American poetry?" in an era of global influence on poetry (231), Mallan saw it as "perhaps the most important effort thus far on the part of North Americans in the rather testy business of appealing to and understanding the Latin-American temperament." As reviewers often do when selection criteria come into play, both pointed out omissions of certain poets, but overall, it is hard to see a concerted campaign against the book.⁴⁵ Elsewhere, Mallan described the Fitts anthology as "a treasure for anyone interested in Latin American poetry." In the *Kenyon Review*, he called it "an important pioneering effort." Privately he told James Laughlin, "I really am tremendously pleased to learn that Fitts' anthology of L.A. poetry has sold so well. It is an important book, even though I thoroughly disagree with Fitts' methods of translating and selection."⁴⁶

While I have no doubt that criticisms of Mallan's translating abilities were merited, the real bone of contention had to do with different understandings of what translation is. Mallan (and other anthology contributors) felt that Fitts wanted a "strictly literal translation," as he wrote in the *New York Times*. This practice he found "most annoying."⁴⁷ He thought freer versions could better "capture the rhythm and imagery through approximation [...] My personal theory has always been that poetry, particularly Spanish poetry, should be approximated rather than translated."⁴⁸ Recognizing the limitations of "a greater literal fidelity," Fitts confessed in the preface to the anthology, "Our versions are not poetry, except accidentally" (xv). Mallan wrote to Fitts, "I found it quite difficult to remain strictly literal, line for line, as you mentioned you wanted, and still retain a feeling of poetry."⁴⁹ But Fitts stressed that what he wanted were "grammatically and substantially accurate

translations.”⁵⁰ As right as Fitts was to insist on accuracy, he also appeared somewhat inflexible.

Mallan wasn't the only translator singled out for his deficiencies. Fitts wrote Muna Lee that Rolfe Humphries, who had just published his translation of Lorca's *Poet in New York*, “is a very inaccurate translator, and we've had practically to re-write many of his versions.”⁵¹ At one point, Humphries withdrew his contribution to the anthology, feeling he had been “treated like a hack,” and Fitts had to smooth his ruffled feathers. Fitts told him the problem was one of “two different theories of translation” in conflict.⁵² But his correspondence with Muna Lee and others was ferocious when it came to Mallan, whom he considered “a menace; full of enthusiasm, ignorant, arrogant.”⁵³

Indeed, Fitts appears also to have played a role in determining the fate of Mallan's translation of the de la Guardia book. Evidently before taking the manuscript to Yale University Press, Mallan tried his luck with New Directions. On 6 July 1942, he asked James Laughlin:

I have been wondering about your decision on the de la Guardia book on Lorca. So last night I wrote to Fitts about his approval. I received a letter from him this morning in which he says: “I think the de la Guardia book on Lorca is extremely good...” He also says that he wrote to you some weeks ago to tell you that he thought you ought to publish it.

However, after Laughlin asked Fitts' opinion of the de la Guardia translation, Fitts replied he would take a look at it but that Mallan was “completely unreliable when it comes to translating Spanish.” Laughlin did not publish the book.⁵⁴

Both Fitts and Lee attempted to squash the special *Poetry* number (May 1943) of Latin American poets that H.R. Hays and Mallan helped organize and translate. Fitts even coined a word for all things Mallan; he called it “mallanry.”⁵⁵ Lee also steered Francisco Aguilera, a close friend of Neruda, away from Mallan as a possible translator of the Chilean poet, telling Fitts:

We then proceeded to indulge in the usual cordial comments on Mallam* himself, and to give him full credit for whatever he did for the Republican cause in the Spanish war, and to express the heartfelt hope that he might some day learn Spanish so that he may implement his earnest ambitions.

The asterisk accompanies this hand-written comment: "Or is it Mallan? I feel disinclined to look it up."⁵⁶ Maybe Ben Belitt was on to something when he said, "next to the community of scholars, the community of translators is perhaps the most savage and anthropophagous of the species" (43).⁵⁷ From Lincoln vet to *bête noire* of his fellow translators, in civil war and cold war, Mallan misfired on several fronts, embroiling himself in one fracas after another, an ironic commentary on a fellow who loved Lorca, wanted to build bridges of culture, and ended up burning his own.⁵⁸ His enthusiasm for Lorca's poetry and role in promoting his legend remain.



Lloyd Mallan, circa 1945, at the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.
Photo courtesy of Rose T. Mallan and David Sunker.

NOTES

1. Lloyd Mallan, Letters to James Laughlin, dated 12 Mar. 1945 and 11 June 1946, New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 1072, folder 2, Houghton Library, Harvard University. (With grateful acknowledgment of Houghton Library's Public Services staff, especially Sara Powell.)

2. Mallan did, however, send a translation of Lorca's "Lament for Ignacio Sánchez Mejías" to New Directions in 1969; see n. 34.

3. For this information, I have relied on the records of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA); the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI); Celada *et al.*; Levenson; *Soviet Space Technology* 163, 193; and Sokolsky, "Russ Space." Mallan's entry in *Contemporary Authors* makes no mention of his experience as a Lincoln Brigade volunteer. My warm thanks to Peter Carroll and Chris Brooks for their help in navigating RGASPI.

4. For the Russian space "hoax," see Mallan, "The Big Red Lie"; Sokolsky; Reichhardt; Campbell; and Mallan, "The John Campbell Syndrome." Sokolsky gives biographical details about Mallan, highlighting his time in Spain in "These Days." I thank Tanya Romero-González for locating the Sokolsky pieces.

5. *Soviet Space Technology* 162. Mallan is probably referring to the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, which he has conflated with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Both were communist-front organizations.

6. The MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion merged with the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and was part of the 15th International Brigade. An annotation in the RGASPI file says Mallan was in a "special work unit." (Annotations are in French, English, and Spanish.) Leonard Levenson's by-line notes that he "served in the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion and the Special Machinegun Battalion of the 15th Army Corp" (Levenson 22), likely the same outfit as Mallan's.

7. Mallan, Passport Application, dated 19 Aug. 1937, Department of State, Passport Division. (My profound gratitude to David Sunker for providing me with Mallan's declassified passport records.) Mallan testified that in 1938 "the U.S. consulate in Barcelona gave me a refugee passport, a temporary passport, and drove me into France" (*Soviet Space Technology* 162). Like other *brigadistas*, he was subsequently refused a passport. In preparation is an article in which I deal with his passport history more fully.

8. The translations are Neruda's "Spain Within My Heart" and Guillén's "Spain," of which the fourth part, an elegy to Lorca, first appeared in *Poetry* magazine ("Federico"). Bessie took both translations from *War Poems of the United Nations* (1943), edited by the

poet Joy Davidman, a communist who later converted to Christianity and married C.S. Lewis. Her first husband, William Lindsay Gresham, fought for the Second Republic and was also a member of the C.P. *War Poems* was sponsored by the League of American Writers, an organization created by the CPUSA. Davidman thanked the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America “for the collection and translation of almost all the Spanish and Spanish-American poetry used.” As the Literary Editor for the Committee since 1943 or 1944, Mallan certainly played a significant role in contributing to the volume. See “The Green Room” (Winter 1945), for Mallan as Literary Editor (ii). His *Contemporary Authors* entry also lists him as “coordinating editor” for the Committee. On Committee letterhead, he wrote Gabriela Mistral, enclosing a check for \$10.00 for her poem, “The Alien Woman,” published in *Tomorrow* magazine, of which Mallan was Literary Editor (letter dated 9 March 1944, Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile).

9. For more on Mallan’s career from the mid-1940s on, see his biographical entry in *Contemporary Authors*.

10. Mallan, Statement to U.S. Vice Consul, Paris, dated 5 Apr. 1938.

11. For this information, see Young’s *Guide to the Fantasy Magazine Papers* (YCAL MSS 55), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Issues of the journal are irregularly numbered.

12. Mallan had also been a research assistant in the Division of Intellectual Cooperation in the Pan-American Union (“The Green Room” [Winter 1945] ii).

13. Lloyd Mallan Correspondence, *Fantasy Magazine Papers*, YCAL MSS 55, Box 3, Folder 137, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (With grateful thanks for the expert assistance of the Beinecke staff). Correspondence from 1943 is on letterhead stationery of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

14. The poem, which Mallan mentions in a letter to Mayer dated 24 July 1940, seems to have remained unpublished.

15. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to James Laughlin, dated 22 Dec. 1943, New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 1072, folder 1.

16. See Gibson, *Assassination* (218-23), for more on the circulation of Vidal Corella’s sensationalist account, which promoted the idea that the Civil Guard killed Lorca out of revenge for his ballad on the same subject. Gibson gives an English translation of the piece in *Assassination*; and reprints the original article in *La represión*. John A. Crow, who knew Lorca in New York, reproduced the version disseminated by Sáenz.

17. The manuscript of Hughes’s broadcast indicates that he also read aloud the three Lorca poems. My thanks to Evelyn Scaramella for

providing me with a copy of the typescript. Hughes left for Spain in July of 1937 and soon after began translating Lorca's *Romancero gitano*.

18. This had to be an editorial decision, as the cover of the *Fantasy* issue also hyped "the factual story of [...] GARCÍA LORCA'S EXECUTION and new Lorca translations."

19. Mayer also mentioned the poet Rafael Alberti's wartime edition of Lorca's *Romancero gitano*, with an introduction by Alberti, from which Langston Hughes quoted liberally in his radio talk.

20. I cite from Ian Gibson's translation of the Vidal Corella article, "The Crime Was in Granada".

21. In the *Volunteer*: "García Lorca walked firmly with magnificent calm" (3).

22. Machado's poem first appeared on 17 Oct. 1936 in the newspaper *Ayuda* (Madrid) and was widely reprinted (and translated) during and after the Spanish Civil War. For more on Machado's poem and its impact, see Valis.

23. Lloyd Mallan Manuscript Submissions, *Fantasy Magazine Papers*, YCAL MSS 55, Box 6, Folder 344, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

24. See Anderson, "New Light" 112-20; and Coletto Camacho 213-28 for more information on this sonnet; and Eisenberg, for the publication history and naming of the eleven sonnets. In a letter dated 14 Sept. 1940, Mallan triumphantly wrote to Stanley Dehler Mayer that Arnold Gingrich, the editor of *Esquire*, "took one of the Lorca translations" and sent him a check (Lloyd Mallan Correspondence, *Fantasy Magazine Papers*, YCAL MSS 55, Box 3, Folder 137). An illustration by Aaron Bohrod, "The Death of Lorca," accompanied Mallan's account in *Esquire*.

25. Mallan, of course, was not Lorca's first English-language translator. The earliest translations we know of appeared anonymously in the journal *Alhambra* in 1929 (see Scaramella; and Walsh 36-40). Mallan also published translations of such Latin American poets as Jorge Carrera Andrade, Xavier Villaurrutia, and Eduardo Anguita in *Fantasy* magazine (no. 26 [1942] and no. 27 [1943]), as well as Octavio Paz and Efraín Huerta in *Prairie Schooner* (17.2 [Summer 1943]), and Francisco Borja, Rosamel del Valle, José Portugalo, Julia García Games, and Gastón Figueira in *Poetry* magazine (62.2 [May 1943]).

26. See also Mallan's reviews of Rolfe Humphries' translation of *Gypsy Ballads* ("Weeping") and Richard L. O'Connell-James Graham Luján's English versions of *Five Plays of Federico García Lorca* ("Lorca's Poetic Drama").

27. Mallan, Letter to Stanley Dehler Mayer, dated 28 Jan. 1943, *Fantasy Magazine Papers*, YCAL MSS 55, Box 3, Folder 137 ("don't feel you have to apologize for rejecting my own translations"); Mallan,

Letter to Robert Penn Warren, dated 12 Dec. 1941, *The Southern Review* Records, YCAL MSS 694, Box 4, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Molly Costain (Curtis Brown, Ltd., literary agency), Letter to Robert Penn Warren, dated 5 Feb. 1941, *The Southern Review* Records, YCAL MSS 694, Box 4, who offered Warren Mallan's story, "Elegy of War and Hunger" for his consideration. It was rejected. Mallan sent "a batch of translations" to Dudley Fitts for the *Anthology of Contemporary Latin American Poetry*, of which he took four in the end (Mallan, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 5 Nov. 1941, Dudley Fitts Papers, YCAL MSS 296, Series I: Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 41, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). Mallan translated Salvador Novo's "El amigo ido," Roberto Ibáñez's "Elegía por los ahogados que retornan" (with D.D. Walsh), and Eduardo Anguita's "Oficio" and "Tránsito al fin." 28. He wrote to Cleanth Brooks, "Also, New Directions Press is very seriously considering bringing out my translation of the *Gypsy Ballads* in book form" (letter dated 24 Apr. 1940, *The Southern Review* Records, YCAL MSS 694, Box 4).

29. Mayer, "Truncations" 2; Mallan, Letter to Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks, dated 4 Oct. 1940, *The Southern Review* Records, YCAL MSS 694, Box 4; Personal Communication with Kathy Nichols, Archives and Special Collections, Malpass Library, Western Illinois University (16 Nov. 2020) (Decker Press Collection). My warm thanks to Liz Johnson, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, for her insights and lively exchange of views on the Mallan-Decker Press matter and for her help in locating Mallan-related materials.

30. Mallan claimed, erroneously, that Lorca's works were now in the public domain (Letter to Warren and Brooks, dated 4 Oct. 1940).

31. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to Cleanth Brooks, dated 24 Apr. 1940. In a review from 1943, John Peale Bishop published an unsparing critique of Mallan's English rendering of a Carrera Andrade poem.

32. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to Cleanth Brooks, dated 24 Apr. 1940.

33. Dudley Fitts, Letter to Lloyd Mallan, dated 26 Oct. 1941, Dudley Fitts Papers, YCAL MSS 296, Series I: Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 41.

34. Carl W. Cobb said Mallan used a "flat, prose-like phrasing" in the *Lament* (1).

35. García Lorca, "Lament," trans. Galway Kinnell 825. The original lines: "Que se pierda en la plaza redonda de la luna / que finge cuando niña doliente res inmóvil; / que se pierda en la noche sin canto de los peces / y en la maleza blanca del humo congelado" (824). In 1969, Mallan sent a different version of "Lament" to New Directions. The evaluator, Wolfgang Sauerländer (WS), thought it "too free" and cliché-ridden a translation, with misinterpretations though "good

things" too (dated 2 Aug. 1969) (New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 5931, 1 folder (Lloyd Mallan)).

35. Mallan, Letter to Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks, dated 3 May 1941.

36. See Mallan, "Argentina"; "Bolivia"; "South American Enigma"; "Axis Propaganda"; and "The Poet, the People"; also "The Green Room" (Spring 1944) xxxii.

37. Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 28 Apr. 1943, Dudley Fitts Papers, YCAL MSS 296, Box 1, Folder 36, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. I have corrected Lee's various spellings of Mallan's last name. Lee's correspondence is written on Department of State, Division of Cultural Relations letter-head.

38. Muna Lee, Memorandum, dated 29 Apr. 1943, addressed to Schurz, RC and Loth, CIAA (Confidential Copy to Dudley Fitts), Dudley Fitts Papers YCAL MSS 296, Box 1, Folder 36. Mallan had already translated Manuel Seoane's "If I Were Nelson Rockefeller," published in February 1943, which was highly critical of the Office of the Coordinator's efficacy; Rockefeller headed the agency at the time. Seoane urged Rockefeller to "set up a division for the interchange and translation of the most fundamental works of literature, history, and culture of the Americas" (318).

39. Dudley Fitts, Letter to Lloyd Mallan, dated 26 Oct. 1941. In correspondence with James Laughlin (26 Feb. 1944), Mallan claimed *polisón* meant hoopskirt; he was confusing a bustle with a hoopskirt (*miriñaque*) (New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 1072, Folder 1). On other occasions, he did show some self-awareness of his mistakes in translation, reiterating to Laughlin that he was being very careful and other writers had checked his translating efforts multiple times; see his letters dated 1 Sept. 1942, 29 Nov. 1943, and 22 Dec. 1943.

40. Muna Lee, Memorandum, dated 29 Apr. 1943.

41. Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 22 July 1943. See also Feinsod 36, who explains the Borges-Mallan-Pittsburgh connection by noting that Borges "granted his earliest US translation rights to Mallan's amateurish friends C.V. and Mary [Wicker] of Pittsburgh."

42. Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 22 July 1943.

43. Roditi also has a Lorca connection, for his claims to a one-night stand with the poet in 1929; see Valis.

44. Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 8 Feb. 1943.

45. Mallan, "The Poets" BR21. Lee also thought the simultaneous appearance, in *The Nation*, of Mildred Adams' highly critical review of the anthology and Rolfe Humphries' review of an Edith Hamilton book was more than coincidence, "to my malicious mind—[in] the

whole tone of [Adams] and very especially what is said about your rewriting [...] I seem to hear the echo of R.H.'s resentment all through" (letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 1 Feb. 1943). See also Feinsod 36.

46. Mallan, "The Poets" BR21; Mallan, "Bird's Eye View" 146 ("treasure"); Mallan, "Good Neighbor Poets" 320; Lloyd Mallan, Letter to James Laughlin, dated 12 June 1943, New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 1072, folder 1.

47. Mallan, "The Poets" BR21; Mallan, "Good Neighbor Poets" 319-20 ("annoying"). See Feinsod 34-35, for more on diverging views between Fitts and his contributors over what constituted translation. José Juan Arrom tried to have it both ways in his review: "Some readers [...] would have preferred to see greater liberty given to the translators" while "others [...] will agree with Mr. Fitts that such renderings would necessitate in most cases the remaking of the poem" (30). Arrom, who was professor of Spanish at Yale University, advised Fitts on the translations. He also contributed an introductory essay to Mallan's translations of Afro-Cuban poetry for New Directions. See also Kutzinski 152-53, 176-77, on Mallan's "translational taming" in the anthology of Afro-Cuban poetry. In a related but much kinder vein, Ralph Ellison took the time to write a long letter to a neophyte poet, Lloyd Mallan, whose submission to *Negro Quarterly*, "Mulatto Mama," had been rejected. Ellison commented on the complexities of bridging the divide between "two cultures," black and white, and Mallan's status as an outsider. He did, however, like the translation of a Nicolás Guillén poem Mallan enclosed (Ellison, Letter to Lloyd Mallan, dated 9 Feb. 1943, Ralph Ellison Papers, Manuscript Division, Box 60, Folder *Negro Quarterly*, Library of Congress, Washington, DC); see also Jackson 283-84. My thanks to the Library of Congress for providing me with a copy of Ellison's letter.

48. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to Harry Duncan, dated 21 Apr. 1944, Cummington Press Records and Harry Duncan Papers, Box 2, Folder 9, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University. Mallan was preparing for Duncan's press an anthology of Latin American poetry, another project that appears to have floundered. I thank Kathy Shoemaker, Reference Coordinator, Research Services, for quickly responding to my request for a copy of the letter.

49. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 18 Sept. 1941. Of a piece with his notion of approximation rather than translation, Mallan wrote that "the best, the most intense of Lorca's work (except in rare and isolated poems) is almost completely lost in translation" ("Rafael Alberti" n. pag.)

50. Dudley Fitts, Letter to Lloyd Mallan, dated 8 Nov. 1941.

51. Dudley Fitts, Letter to Muna Lee, dated 14 Dec. [1941]. Like Mallan, Humphries by no means had a firm grasp of Spanish (see Anderson, "*Poeta en Nueva York*" n. pag.).

52. Rolfe Humphries, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 8 Dec. 1941; and Dudley Fitts, Letter to Rolfe Humphries, dated 10 Dec. 1941, Dudley Fitts Papers, Box 1, Folder 31. Compare, in this letter, Fitts' "highest regard for you [Humphries] as a poet, as a critic, and as a translator" to his remarks to Muna Lee about Humphries' limitations as a translator noted above.

53. Dudley Fitts, Letter to James Laughlin, dated 7 May [no year], Dudley Fitts Papers, Box 1, Folder 35.

54. Lloyd Mallan, Letter to James Laughlin, dated 6 July 1942, New Directions Publishing Corporation Records, MS Am 2077, Box 1072, Folder 1; James Laughlin, Letter to Dudley Fitts, no date; Dudley Fitts, Letter to James Laughlin, 7 May [no year], Dudley Fitts Papers, Box 1, Folder 35. In a letter dated 9 Aug. 1942, Mallan also told Laughlin that "Fitts seems very enthusiastic about [the translation] himself." Fitts appears less than straightforward in his correspondence.

55. Dudley Fitts, Letter to Muna Lee, dated 4 Nov. 1942; Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 4 Dec. 1942; see also Muna Lee, Letter to Peter De Vries [editor of *Poetry*], dated 12 Jan. 1943, in the same folder. In the "Notes on Contributors" (*Poetry*, May 1943), we read: "Most of the work of gathering the material for this issue was done by [H.R. Hays] and Lloyd Mallan, of The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, Inc., of New Haven, Connecticut" (119). In *New Directions 1944, Number Eight*, James Laughlin expressed similar gratitude: "Lloyd Mallan is engaged in the work of The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, to which the editor is deeply indebted for much of the material in [the Latin American section]. Mallan has been very active in recent years in translating from the Spanish and Latin American Poets" (xiii).

56. Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 4 Dec. 1942. Francisco Aguilera told Lee "that at the Pan American Union they compiled for private delectation a list of the translation howlers perpetrated by Lloyd Mallan during his brief permanencia in their midst" (Muna Lee, Letter to Dudley Fitts, dated 28 Apr. 1943).

57. Belitt himself came in for his own share of savaging years later. Mayhew calls his approach to translating *Poeta en Nueva York* "vandalistic" (67), evoking translator Clayton Eshleman's characterization of Belitt's work as "colonizing" (69).

58. Mallan also came out on the wrong side on smoking, deeming it safe ("Statement"), and the Vietnam War, which he believed could be won in six weeks.

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