Don Patricio O'Connell: An Irishman and the Politics of Spanish Football

By Jimmy Burns [1]



Patrick O'Connell (centre, with hat), Barça manager, 1935-1937 (Jimmy Burns, 'Barça, A People's Passion'. London: Bloomsbury, 1999)

Football in the Spanish-speaking world owes a great deal to foreigners, not least those of an Anglo-Saxon or Gaelic background. The game in South America and in Spain, like the railways and the mines, followed the flag of British colonialism with traders and colonisers of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish origin helping to form the first football clubs as part of their social engagement with the 'natives'. While Latin American countries south of the Río Grande, led by Brazil and Argentina, would see a new home-grown style of football emerging from local talent, the involvement in Spanish football of ingleses, as the northern foreigners came to be generically referred to, proved more enduring. Of those overseeing the development of clubs, nowadays associated with Spain's Primera Liga, few characters have earned as much belated recognition as Patrick O'Connell, the Dublin-born international and Manchester United player who went on to manage five Spanish clubs, most notably FC Barcelona, when Catalans were torn apart by the Civil War.

Until a few years ago, the figure of O'Connell was largely unknown to millions of football fans around the world, and had been overlooked by historians of Spanish history.

After living in Spain, O'Connell fell on hard times. Withdrawn from the game and unable to find any alternative employment, he died destitute in London in 1959, aged 72. His fascinating story would have undoubtedly stayed for ever lost amidst the abandoned plots of some north London cemetery had it not be for my fortuitous encounter in the mid-1990s while researching the political and social history of FC Barcelona. While watching a match at the club's massive stadium the *Camp Non*, a young Irish student and passionate football fan engaged me in conversation.

It was during the early stage of my research, and I was slightly daunted by the prospect of writing about FC Barcelona - or Barça as it is popularly known - within the wider context of Spanish history, while doing justice to the wealth of talent that had either played at or managed the club during the years since its foundation in 1899. When the student asked whether I was going to devote some pages to O'Connell's time at Barça, I had to confess that I had so far only stumbled upon his name by chance in a short history of managers I had unearthed in the club's archives. Thanks to the student, I learnt that O'Connell had some relatives living in Manchester and that, in addition, there were survivors of his time in Spain who might have a story to tell. My subsequent investigation into O'Connell's life helped me to build up a profile of the man and the times he lived in while in Spain.

There is a sense in which O'Connell's life on the sharp political edge of Iberian football is a chronicle of a story foretold. It is difficult to separate his arrival in Barcelona in the 1930s from his birth into the Ireland of the 1880s. O'Connell was born into a working class family whose nationalist politics and emigration were influenced by the Irish potato famine of 18459. To this day little is known about O'Connell's background. It is safe to assume however that the fate of his relations on both sides of the Atlantic was sealed by the deeply disturbing events of those years. For the young Patrick, from the outset football provided both an escape and a sense of identity. He played as a junior for the Dublin team Stranville Rovers before joining Belfast Celtic during a period when the politics of sectarianism and religious bigotry were beginning to cast a long shadow across the island of Ireland.

It was at Belfast Celtic during the early years of the twentieth century that O'Connell began to make his mark as a tough and talented defender. The club was by then the leading light in Irish soccer, as popular if not more so than some of the more traditional Gaelic football teams. Founded in the traditionally Catholic Falls Road of Belfast in 1891, it was named after Glasgow Celtic which it wished to emulate in the style of its play and the passionate loyalty of its supporters. Football, or soccer, as they liked to call it, allowed working-class Irish nationalists to reach out across the Irish Channel, and find common cause with those of similar ancestral roots on the British mainland.

O'Connell had spells as a player at Sheffield Wednesday and Hull City, before moving to Manchester United in 1914. Originally founded in 1878 as Newton Heath, the club changed its name to Manchester United Football Club, but only after serious consideration had been given to the alternative name of Manchester Celtic. The Irish contribution to Manchester United's greatness has been noted by football historians. But O'Connell's place in the club's history is somewhat dwarfed by that of other Irishmen who have distinguished themselves as major stars. It is not O'Connell, but names like McGrath, Whiteside, Stapleton, Best and Keane that have come to form intrinsic elements of the Red Legend.

Despite famously captaining Ireland with a broken arm and being part of the team that won the 1914 Home Championship with ten men, O'Connell's stint at Manchester United during the 1914/15 season coincided with a slump in the club's fortunes after an earlier successful period under its first real team

manager Ernest Magnall. O'Connell scored two goals in thirty-five league appearances during a season that saw the club narrowly escape relegation by one point before it was submerged in a match-fixing scandal with which he was associated.

It was on the eve of a match between Manchester United and Liverpool O'Connell met up with a group of players from both sides in a pub and agreed to lay an 8-1 bet that United would win by 2-0. This was indeed the scoreline when it fell to O'Connell to take a penalty. He took the penalty and the ball went very wide. The day was Good Friday and no doubt a sense of guilt and subsequent contrition took hold of the still relatively young picaresque O'Connell. Years later his inventiveness reaped a rich reward at FC Barcelona. Yet on the eve of the so-called Great War, it brought him shame at Manchester United, even though he escaped criminal charges.

Like millions of his generation, O'Connell subsequently had his controversial stay at the club brought to an abrupt end by the First World War, with all competitive football in the United Kingdom suspended from 1915 through to 1919. It was a conflict that cost the life of the Manchester United star Alec 'Sandy' Turnbull, among countless other amateur and professional football players. O'Connell managed to save himself from the worst horrors of the trenches, and played on throughout the rest of the war and its immediate aftermath in lesser known amateur clubs on both sides of the Scottish border, including two seasons as a 'collier' with the non-League Ashington AFC. This was one of the oldest clubs in Northumberland, where the legendary Charlton brothers, Jack and Bobby, would later begin their footballing careers as ball boys.

For O'Connell the time spent at Arlington also proved to be a launch pad, but of a very different kind. Far from helping him consolidate his life as a player in Britain, it sent his career in a completely new direction, to Spain, not as a player but as a manager, leaving his numerous family behind in Ireland and England. Like so much of O'Connell's life, the precise reasons behind this dramatic turn of

events remain shrouded in some mystery, but there seems little doubt that a gambling instinct lay behind them.

Compared with much of northern Europe, Spain - both on account of its history and geology - was still a strange, idiosyncratic land, officially part of the continent, yet separated from France by the Pyrenees in the north and sharing centuries of common cultural traits with North Africa in the south. The exceptional advantages enjoyed by Spain as a neutral producer of war materials and other essential goods had vanished with the peace. A succession of internal political crises made Spain the scene of one of the more savage social conflicts of post-war Europe, with violent revolutionaries suppressed by a military dictator in 1923, marking a break in Spanish constitutional history, and parliamentary monarchy based on universal suffrage was banished until 1977.

O'Connell was leaving behind a country that was emerging from a war he himself had played little part in, but which had left his fellow countrymen struggling with another acute phase in their troubled history. For the Irish problem had emerged from the First World War as the gravest challenge to British statesmanship, with the IRA launching a violent campaign against the British 'invaders' and London responding with the 'Black and Tans', followed by the 'Auxis' of the Auxiliary Division.

O'Connell left for Spain in 1922, the year in which the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland unravelled into a brutal civil war between the Irish Free State and a considerable section of the IRA, setting Irishmen against Irishmen. There must have been a strong part of him that made him feel that just as he might not have much to gain from heading towards Spain he probably did not have much to lose either.

Moreover, whatever the uncertainty of Spanish politics, Spanish football appeared to be going from strength to strength, with the sport now as popular a cultural pastime among large swathes of the population as bullfighting.

Twenty-six years had elapsed since the foundation by the *ingleses* in 1878 of Spain's first football club, Recreativo de Huelva, on the southwest coast of Spain, near the Río Tinto copper mines. By the turn of the century, the *ingleses* were helping to create other historic football institutions - Athletic Bilbao, FC Barcelona and Madrid FC (later Real Madrid).

Spanish football's staggered journey of expansion from the arid south to the north of Spain and to Madrid, and its gradual translation into a mass sport, reflected the shapelessness of Spanish society, and in part its differentiation from the rest of Europe for much of the nineteenth and part of the twentieth centuries.

The Spain of small towns with their local *fiestas* linked to religious icons and localised economic activity endured alongside the Spain of the cities and bullfighting, the national *fiesta* with its roots in the Iberia of Roman times. Bullfighting had become a business enterprise in the nineteenth century, with the railways being exploited for the regular transport of both fighting bulls and spectators. In spite of the attempts of Spanish reformers to introduce football, its spread to the lower classes was much slower than in the United Kingdom.

That the first games of football in Madrid were played in a field near the old bullring, with participants using a room in a local bullfighting taverna as one of their meeting places, was perhaps not entirely coincidental. Spanish Football, far from seeking to take the place of bullfighting, came to coexist with it quite easily as a cultural and social phenomenon, generating similar passion and language, with the great players joining the great matadors in the pantheon of popular mythology.

O'Connell began his new life in Spain during the 1920s, a period that saw the results of a significant demographic shift in the country that had begun during the First World War. With South America cut off during the war as a destination for Spanish emigrants escaping from rural poverty, there was a major population movement within Spain from the countryside to the big towns. The influx of low-income families into the bigger towns

around Spain brought with it a whole new sector of the population that turned to football as a form of entertainment and social integration.

Among the northern Spanish ports along the Cantabrian coast, Santander alone aspired to rival the Basque Bilbao and the Galician Vigo, with its navy, fishing vessels, and maritime trade with Northern Europe and the Americas. Together with its spectacular surrounding mountain scenery and beaches, it boasted a certain enduring air of nobility. In the early twentieth century the city became the favourite summer resort of King Alfonso XIII and his British Queen Consort Ena.

As in Huelva and Bilbao, the first games of football in Santander involved locals playing against visiting British and Irish seamen, with the town adopting a distinctly un-Spanish sounding name *Racing de Santander* at the foundation, with the King's blessing, of its first official football club in 1913.

Ten years later, the club had developed a reputation as one of the best teams north of Madrid with a liking for attacking football. This demanded speed on and off the ball from its young players. Several of them 'graduated' to the bigger clubs like Real Madrid. The strategy and tactics use by the players improved still further with the arrival of Fred Pentland, a charismatic former English football player who had played for Blackburn Rovers, Queens Park Rangers and Middlesbrough, as well as England. After retiring as a player, Pentland had gone to Berlin in 1914 to take charge of the German Olympic football team. Within months, the First World War broke out, and he was interned in a civilian detention camp. Famously, Pentland helped to organise hundreds of prisoners -some of them professional players - into teams to play an informal league championship. After the war he coached the French national team at the Olympic Games before travelling to Spain.

O'Connell seems to have been sufficiently inspired by Pentland's example of survival in the midst of adversity to want to follow in his footsteps. An opportunity came when the

Englishman, nicknamed *El Bombín* because of the bowler hat he wore, was poached by the longer-established rival Athletic Bilbao in 1922, leaving the managership of *Racing* vacant. O'Connell impressed the club's owners by building on Pentland's methods, encouraging the native skills of dribbling with the ball, while training his defenders in the long up-field passing and crosses that he had learnt as a young player in Ireland and Britain. He also placed great emphasis on fitness, discipline and team work. This represented a cultural shift for many Spaniards, on and off the pitch.

The seven years O'Connell spent at Racing were formative years for the club. O'Connell's own experience as a defender proved hugely valuable when during the 1926-27 season a new off-side rule was introduced. He trained his defenders in moving forward so as to isolate the other side's attacking forward and leave him offside when gathering the ball from a pass. His main achievement however was in establishing Racing's rightful claim to be treated as an important football club by its loftier rivals. Thanks to O'Connell, Racing was able to successfully challenge an attempt by a small group of clubs led by FC Barcelona, Real Madrid and Athletic Bilbao to restrict the access of smaller clubs to the new Spanish League. The so-called 'minimalists' wanted the Primera Liga to be composed only of them and three other clubs, Real Sociedad, Arenas and Real Unión de Irún. The 'maximalist lists' made up of all the other smaller Spanish clubs organised a parallel championship which Racing won. A subsequent compromise agreement led to the creation of an expanded Primera Liga in which Racing was among those allowed to play.

Having secured *Racing's* place in top Spanish football, O'Connell spent two seasons as manager of Real Oviedo in Asturias, once again succeeding Pentland and helping to mould the newly created club into a competitive sporting institution. O'Connell then spent a further three seasons at Real Betis in the Andalusian capital of Seville.

The years 1929-1935 were marked by growing political and social tension in Spain. O'Connell, or *Don Patricio* as he was now popularly referred

to, had become accustomed to his expatriate status, and was seemingly content to maintain a distant if dutiful relationship with the family he had left in England, sending them regular bank transfers drawn from the income he earned as manager. He spent these turbulent years in regions of Spain with a strong tradition of industrial and rural militancy that surfaced in the run-up to the Spanish Civil War.

O'Connell had already moved south when the Asturian miners and other workers staged an attempt at a proletarian revolution, which was brutally repressed by army units led by an Spanish officer called ambitious young Francisco Franco. News of the repression of his former fans in Oviedo would have had for O'Connell echoes of Irish history. This would also have been the case with the stark social divisions he encountered in Andalusia, a region of Spain sharply divided between hugely rich and often absentee landowners and povertystricken rural workers. It was in Andalusia, however, that O'Connell had his first direct experience of the thin line that separated Spanish football from Spanish politics.

Betis was one of two clubs in the city of Seville. The other, named after the city, was considered an eternal rival for reasons deeply rooted in the class divisions that plagued the capital. In 1909, Betis was formed by a break-away faction of members of Sevilla FC who were angered by exclusiveness of the club's social management. The split occurred after a majority on Sevilla's governing board had refused to approve the signing of a young worker as a player on the grounds that he did not have the social standing that was expected for entry into the team. From then on, Sevilla's reputation as 'el club de los señoritos' (the toffs' club) became engrained in local popular mythology, with Betis taking pride in being the club that genuinely represented 'el pueblo' (the people), while at the same time enjoying royal patronage.

Under O'Connell, Betis achieved considerable success on the field. After becoming the first Andalusian club to qualify for the *Primera Liga*, Betis went on to win the championship on the 28 April 1935 with a crushing 5-0 victory over

Racing. The night before the game, which was played in Santander, O'Connell visited the Racing squad at a hotel where they were staying. Racing was down in the league table and had no chance of winning the championship, regardless of the outcome of the game. By contrast, Betis was at the top of the table but had to win if it was not to be overtaken and lose the championship to its main rival that season, Real Madrid.

O'Connell shared a drink or two with his former club colleagues and then suggested that they might do him a favour he would be foolish to refuse: 'You've got nothing to play for tomorrow. You won't kill yourselves to beat us will you?' he asked. The answer from one of the leading players was unequivocal: 'I'm sorry, mister, but Madrid wants us to win. Our president, José María Cossio, is a Madrid fan himself and is offering us 1,000 pesetas per (Racing) player if we win.'

It was perhaps just as well that O'Connell left the matter to rest there, for to have pursued the conversation with an offer of a counter bonus (or bribe) may have led to another abrupt closure on his career, and a critical chapter in the history of Spanish football would have subsequently turned out very differently.

For we now enter what undoubtedly represents the most extraordinary period in O'Connell's life, when, after a short holiday in his native Ireland, he returned to Spain, this time as manager of one of the world's great sporting institutions, FC Barcelona. The timing of his arrival in the Catalan capital and his adherence to one of its totemic nationalist organisations suggests that behind O'Connell's ambition to manage one of Europe's leading teams lay the politics of a man prepared not to remain indifferent to the Spanish Civil War.

For O'Connell took up the management of FC Barcelona after Catalonia had emerged as one of the regions in Spain where there was a significant proportion of the population determined to defend the Spanish Republic from the right-wing plotters and their friends in the military. He had arrived in Barcelona in the summer of 1935, days after the football club

had elected as its president Josep Sunyol, a parliamentary deputy for the left-wing Catalan nationalist party, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*. In February 1936 a Popular Front electoral coalition between Communists and Socialists was swept to power, bringing Spain a step closer to the brink of war, with sectors of the military pushing ahead with plans for a *coup*. The uprising took place on 18 July 1936.



Josep Sunyol (centre) member of the Catalan parliament and President of FC Barcelona until his execution in 1935 by Francoist forces (Jimmy Burns, 'Barça, A People's Passion'. London: Bloomsbury, 1999)

The new football season was not due to start until early September, but FC Barcelona's management board met in emergency session to discuss the club's future in the midst of growing revolutionary fervour in the streets of the city, with armed militias menacingly asserting their control.

The main concern of the directors of *Barça* was that a rapidly deteriorating political and economic climate would soon make it impossible to keep the club running as a financially viable sporting entity. While the club's administrative offices were near the city centre, its prime asset, the stadium on the outskirts, was at the time in a less densely populated neighbourhood and vulnerable to occupation by one of other of the warring factions.

The board voted to advise one of their star players, the Uruguayan international Fernández, not to return from holiday in Latin America until further notice, and cancelled pending negotiations with one of his fellow countrymen.

Barça's other foreign player, the Hungarian Berkessy, was also taken off the books as a cost-saving exercise. O'Connell was asked to stay and agreed.

The board and the manager decided that the club would in the short-term at least continue to play football in areas as yet not caught up in full-scale fighting, pending developments in the Spanish Civil War. This meant that the club missed involvement in the suspended Primera Liga and restricted itself to some less important competitions at regional level. The decision to adopt a 'business as usual' position was a gesture of faith in Barça as an enduring political and cultural entity. However, the fate of the club was complicated by the fact that over the years it had developed a reputation as a symbol of Catalan pride and identity, opposed to the centralising tendencies of Madrid. Prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the political tension had translated into rivalry on the pitch between FC Barcelona and Real Madrid. This rivalry became far more acute during the postwar years of the Franco regime.

The extent to which football was being subsumed into the politics of Spain was clear from early on in the Spanish Civil War when FC Barcelona's president Sunyol was captured by pro-Franco forces north of Madrid and shot. The precise circumstances of Sunyol's death remained a mystery throughout the Franco years. It was only in 1996, on the sixtieth anniversary of his disappearance, that the results of the first detailed investigation into the death were published jointly by the Catalan journalist Carles Llorens and two academics, José María Solé and Antoni Strubell. Though Sunyol's body has never been found, the site of his summary execution was located in a winding mountain road outside the town of Guadarrama. which the politician mistakenly believed was safely in the hands of Republican forces. In fact the town had been taken by the military insurgents. It seems he was shot simply because his political beliefs were opposed to Franco's, although the symbolism of his presidency of FC Barcelona would have been an additional incentive to have him shot.

By October 1937, Franco's Spain had official control over some of the country's best known football clubs. They included Betis, Racing and Real Oviedo, the three clubs that O'Connell had managed when Spain was a Republic. In Madrid and in Barcelona, the two major cities which remained resistant to the military uprising, football struggled against the rising tide of left-wing political militancy. Real Madrid's right-wing president was forced into exile and the club's stadium in Chamartín was periodically requisitioned for Soviet-style sports demonstrations.

Worried lest they might meet with the same fate at the hands of unruly anarchist militias, the surviving directors of FC Barcelona set up a consultative workers' committee aimed at preempting any attempt at having its assets seized. These were turbulent times and *Barça* struggled as best it could to keep afloat as a functioning entity, organising games and keeping young players as occupied as possible so that they would not be drafted to the front.

Yet during O'Connell's first and only full season as manager, the club faced the looming prospect of a financial crisis, with gate receipts falling off and an increasing number of club members not paying their dues. While many *Barça* supporters remained loyal to the club, they were too caught up in the war politically, and had to prioritise their spending on essential goods. There were other Catalans who were politically sympathetic to the Franco cause, and were averse to participating in an organisation ruled by a workers' committee, however much its founders found it a convenient smoke screen to hide their independence.

What is beyond doubt is that FC Barcelona's survival as an organisation became increasingly at risk because of political developments beyond the stadium. By the middle of 1937, in scenes later vividly depicted by George Orwell in his *Homage to Catalonia*, the city of Barcelona was submerged in an ideological struggle between anarchists and Trotskyites on the one side and Stalinist communists on the other. In such circumstances, officials and players at FC Barcelona began to look towards the future

with a deepening sense of vertigo, caught up in a political spiral that was out of their control.

Then, suddenly, there came an unexpected lifeline, in the form of an invitation from Manuel Mas Soriano, a Mexican basketball-player-turned-entrepreneur. Soriano wanted FC Barcelona to assemble its best team and send it to Mexico on a tour of the country and of the USA. The deal was that the club would be paid US\$15,000, a considerable sum by contemporary values, with flights and all other expenses covered separately.

To the club's committee, the players and O'Connell, the deal seemed heaven-sent, the kind of lucky throw of the dice that the Irishman had never lost his faith in from his early days as a gambler. It not only offered a temporary solution to the club's cash-flow problems, but also allowed its personnel to escape from a political situation that could no longer guarantee their safety. That the late Ángel Mur, the grounds man, managed to be included in the trip was thanks to a mixture of good luck and Irish humour, as he recalled in an interview with me many years later.

Mur told me how he had been on the pitch doing some gardening duties when O'Connell approached him. At first Mur thought the Irishman had come to berate him about the poor state of the turf. To his surprise, O'Connell told him he wanted him on the Mexico/USA tour as the club's masseur had recently left. The fact that Mur knew nothing about medicine or therapy of any kind appeared not to matter too much. O'Connell assured him that he would teach him the basics. Mur subsequently claimed that he learnt the rest from a couple of books on anatomy on the human body that he picked up from a local library.

In Mexico, *Barça* was given a warm official reception by the authorities and the local press and entertained by the Spanish exile community. No one in the club seemed in any great hurry to return to Barcelona, so that a tour that in normal circumstances would have taken two weeks went on for two months. *Barça* played six matches, of which they won

four. The local newspaper *El Universal* commented that there were two reasons why *Barça* was so popular. The first was that it played well. The second was that the players behaved like true gentlemen. This was a thinly-veiled tribute to their manager who had, against the odds, helped to turn the tour into both a propaganda *coup* and a financial *tour-de-force*.



Carlos Gardel, tango singer and Barça fan (José María Silva, 1933, Archivo General de la Nación)

After Mexico, Barça moved on to New York where they played four matches in September 1937. One was against the local Latin community team known as Hispano; two were against a ragtag selection of Italians, Irishmen and other European immigrants; and the fourth was against a team put together by the local Jewish community. More money was paid out. However, Barca had by now run out of places to escape to. At a closed meeting in their New York hotel, the club secretary Calvet offered players and staff a stark choice: they could choose to go back to Barcelona and risk whatever the end of the Spanish Civil War would bring or they could remain away from the Spanish turmoil, effectively as exiles but no longer as functioning members of the club.

Of sixteen players, four chose to follow Calvet, Mur, the team doctor Amoros and O'Connell back home. Of the twelve who chose not to, a majority returned to Mexico, and three opted for exile in France. Meanwhile, Calvet took the intelligent decision not to take the money paid in cash for the tour back with him to Barcelona, where it would have run the risk of falling into the hands of revolutionaries or fascists. Instead he had it transferred to an account in Paris, to be held as security against the club's future needs.

Six months later, just before midnight, Franco's air force bombed a building near the centre of Barcelona used by *Barça* officials and staff, including O'Connell, as a social club. Because of the lateness of the hour, the building was empty of people except for the porter who miraculously survived with only minor cuts. Many documents also escaped destruction. Some of the trophies that the club had won over the years were crushed or melted in the heat, but others still stood. If there was any symbolism to be drawn from the incident, it was that it foretold a future where FC Barcelona would continue to draw strength from adversity.

On 8 January 1939 a *Barça* reserve team played the last football game inside territory held by Republican Spain against a minor team called Martinec, and won 3-1. Nine days later, a railway worker called Soler Godayol and a farm labourer, Suarc Albesa, signed up for membership of the club. Many more members would sign in the years following 26 January 1939, when Franco's army entered the city of Barcelona.

O'Connell had left Barcelona on his return from Mexico. He then returned to Spain during the Second World War and spent two further periods managing Spanish clubs during the 1940s, first with Sevilla, then back at Racing. He successfully suppressed, at least in public, whatever earlier political leanings he may have had, and focused on helping to turn football into a massively popular sport just as Franco wished, with a few more victories on the pitch.

But he never recovered the excitement or passion he experienced in Catalonia, and his later years were spent in relative obscurity, living far from the public eye in run-down lodgings near St. Pancras station, in north London.

Jimmy Burns

Notes

[1] Jimmy Burns is a journalist with the *Financial Times* and author of several books including *Barça: A People's Passion* (Bloomsbury); *When Beckham went to Spain: Power, stardom, and Real Madrid* (Penguin), and *The Hand of God: A Biography of Diego Maradona* (Bloomsbury). Jimmy Burns (www.jimmy-burns.com).

References

- Artells, Joan Josep, Barça, Barça, Barça (Barcelona: Laia, 1972).
- Burns, Jimmy, Spain, A Literary Companion (Málaga: Santana Books, 2006).
- Burns, Jimmy, Barça, A People's Passion (London: Bloomsbury, 1999).
- Jackson, Gabriel, A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974).
- Kee, Robert, The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism (London: Penguin, 2000).
- Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel, Barcelonas (Barcelona: Empúries, 1990).
- Orwell, George, Homage to Catalonia (London: Penguin, 1989).
- Sobrequés, Jaume, FC Barcelona: Su Historia y Su Presente (Madrid: Edilibrio, 1995).
- Sobrequés, Jaume, Historia del FC Barcelona (Barcelona: Labor, 1993).
- Thomas, Hugh, The Spanish Civil War (London: Penguin, 1990).