"LA RETAGUARDIA DE TAMPA:" THE RESPONSE OF THE TAMPA LATIN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY TO THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-1939)

by

ANA MARIA VARELA-LAGO

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Major Professor: Gary R. Mormino, Ph.D.

For James

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGA-MAE-EW	Archivo General de la Administración, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Embajada en Washington
AGA-PG-SGM	Archivo General de la Administración, Presidencia del Gobierno, Secretaría General del Movimiento, Delegación Nacional del Servicio Exterior de Falange
FWP	Federal Writers' Project
MAE	Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores
TDT	Tampa Daily Times
TMT	Tampa Morning Tribune
WPA	Works Progress Administration

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An Abstract

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The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) had a profound impact on the hundreds of thousands of Spaniards who lived overseas when it broke out. It changed their lives dramatically, transforming many from emigrants into exiles. This paper examines how the Spanish Civil War affected the Latin immigrant community of Tampa, and particularly the Spanish community--the third largest in the United States in the 1930s.

Chapter one offers a brief history of the development of the Tampa Latin community, focusing on the 1930s to help us understand the immigrants' response to General Franco's uprising against the Spanish Republic in 1936. Chapter two studies the activities of the Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain, the organization set up in Tampa to support the Republic. Chapter three examines the American response to the war. Lastly, chapter four centers on the activities of the Hernando de Soto Club, a group that supported General Franco.

Against the backdrop of the Spanish Civil War, this paper deals with issues of ethnicity, class, and gender. It discusses how stereotypes about the so-called "Latin races" colored Americans' perceptions both of the war in Spain and of the Latins' support for the Republic in Tampa. It examines ways in which labor leaders used the conflict in Spain to rally support for the union among Tampa cigarworkers. It studies how both the imagery of the war and the self-characterization of the immigrant community as la retaguardia (the rearguard) shaped the activity of women and children on behalf of the Republic.

Although Tampa Latins' support for Republican Spain often earned them charges of disloyalty and Un-Americanism, they invoked the democratic principles of their adopted country to explain their position. Following Franco's victory, they

severed all ties with official Spain, and turned their efforts to aid the thousands of Spanish refugees crammed into refugee camps in France and North Africa. The Tampa Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees remained in operation until 1970. Five years later Franco died and democracy was re-established in Spain.

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CHAPTER 1

THE TAMPA LATIN COMMUNITY IN THE 1930S

On January 30, 1935, a crowd of some two hundred people gathered at Tampa's Union Station to give a "rousing sendoff" to a four-member delegation travelling to Washington to meet President Roosevelt. The mission of this unusual delegation, made up of Tampa Mayor Robert E. Lee Chancey and three Spanish female cigarmakers, was to present the President with an invitation to attend the biggest event of the year: a four-day festival celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the cigar industry of Tampa.[1]

The Golden Jubilee Celebration had been a pet project of the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce since 1933. The Chamber saw the "monster celebration" as an ideal opportunity to showcase Tampa's cigar industry. "The news of the cigar jubilee has been published in more than 1200 newspapers and magazines in the United States, England, Germany, Cuba and Mexico," proclaimed the Tampa Morning Tribune, dubbing the cigar jubilee "the biggest advertising event ever staged in Tampa." Organizers hoped that this publicity would help revamp an industry experiencing the worst crisis in its history.[2]

Unfortunately, President Roosevelt did not attend the celebration. Nevertheless, the Golden Jubilee became a great success, some of the events attracting

upwards of ten thousand people. For four straight days, locals and visitors attended concerts, parades, dances, banquets, soccer games, fireworks displays, and even a wedding, featuring a bridal gown "made of tobacco leaves" and a groom dressed as a "Spanish caballero." In pondering the meaning of the jubilee for Tampa, the Tribune remarked that it had been "the first real community recognition of the great part played by the cigar industry in the building of this city."[3]

Eighty-year-old José García, a pioneer cigarmaker who had come to Tampa from Cuba in 1886, was less impressed. He declined the invitation to attend a banquet honoring the founders of the cigar industry, an event he trenchantly characterized as "the crowning-point of the farce." "I, for one, do not intend to sit beside Mr. McKay and the others who are directly responsible for our misery," he told an interviewer from the Federal Writers' Project. García then explained how "almost all of the old pioneer cigarmakers are now wandering the streets in rags, and would welcome the cost of their place at the banquet in order to purchase some groceries."[4]

Much had changed since that October day in 1885 when Vicente Martínez Ybor, a Spanish businessman, bought forty acres of land northeast of the small village of Tampa to build his cigar factory and establish the cigarmaking community that would bear his name. Ybor City grew so rapidly that in 1892 Howard Macfarlane, a prominent Tampa lawyer born in Scotland, decided to follow Ybor's example and founded another cigar city, west of the Hillsborough river. West Tampa remained an independent city until its annexation to Tampa in 1925.

Populated initially by Cuban and Spanish cigarworkers, Ybor City and West Tampa soon became home to a growing number of Italians (mostly Sicilians), who

came to Tampa from Louisiana and from other parts of Florida. The establishment of the cigar industry triggered a demographic explosion. In just one decade, Tampa's population multiplied almost eight-fold (from 720 in 1880 to 5,532 in 1890.) Not only did the population increase, but it grew more diverse. Over half of Tampa's residents in 1890 were foreign-born. By 1900, as historians Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta point out, "almost three-fourths of Tampa's 15,839 residents claimed first- or second-generation immigrant status or were of Afro-American background." Nearly a third of them had been born in Cuba, Italy or Spain.[5]

These Latin immigrants, a term coined by their American neighbors, added a colorful touch to the community. They spoke Spanish (the lingua franca in Ybor City). ate arroz con pollo (chicken with rice), drank café con leche (coffee with scalded milk) and socialized at the dances and verbenas (picnics) organized by their mutual aid societies. The majority of Tampa's Latin immigrants belonged to benefit societies; Spaniards to the Centro Español and the Centro Asturiano, Italians to L'Unione Italiana, white Cubans to the Círculo Cubano, and Afro-Cubans to La Unión Martí-Maceo. These societies provided their members with instruction and recreation in their clubhouses, health services in their hospitals, and burial in their cemeteries.[6]

Latin cigarworkers also brought with them a strong labor militancy, best symbolized by a unique institution: la lectura (the reading). Four hours a day, a reader, paid by the cigarworkers, would read to them in the factories as they rolled the hand-made Clear Havana cigars which made Tampa famous. National, international, and labor news occupied the first three hours of the daily reading; readers devoted the last hour to the novel. On any given day, the reader would read news from the

anarchist and communist press, the writings of Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin, and novels by favorite authors Émile Zola and Victor Hugo. The cigarworkers chose the material to be read in the factories, but cigar manufacturers often blamed the readers for the workers' radicalism and for the strikes.[7]

Five major strikes rocked Tampa's cigar industry in its first half-century, in 1899, 1901, 1910, 1920, and 1931. In these bitter confrontations, some lasting several months, workers faced not only the cigar manufacturers, but also the dreaded Citizens' Committees. Fearful that labor disturbances might lead cigar manufacturers to relocate, the local elite resorted to vigilante violence to rid the cigar industry of "the troublesome, obnoxious and much-despised agitator." Hiring of strikebreakers, kidnappings, deportations, and lynchings were some of the methods the Citizens' Committees used to achieve their goal.[8]

The last major strike in the Tampa cigar industry, the readers' strike, took place in 1931. Then, as before, cigar manufacturers blamed the readers for the labor unrest that followed the city's refusal of a parade permit to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian revolution. In November 1931, the manufacturers tore down the readers' tribunes. The cigarworkers struck, and lost. The banning of the readers dealt a devastating blow to the cigarworkers, and capped a time of unprecedented change and crisis in the cigar industry.[9]

Since World War I, automatization and the feminization of the workforce had dramatically changed the cigar industry, traditionally a stronghold of male craftsmanship. These developments, coupled with the increasing popularity of cigarettes and the disastrous effect of the Great Depression, brought about high

unemployment, lower wages, and precarious working conditions. In 1930, 41 percent of all unemployment in Tampa centered around the cigar industry. Those employed faced a wage-cut of 10 percent across-the-board. In the decade from 1928 to 1938 the payroll of the cigar industry in Tampa shrank by $6,000,000. Seventeen cigar factories either closed down or moved out of Tampa. The workforce dropped by 40 percent from 13,500 to 8,000.[10]

Cigarworkers, many of whom were middle-aged and highly-skilled, found themselves unprepared to face this crisis. Having been sheltered in the Latin enclaves for most of their lives, their slim chances of finding a job in the midst of the Depression were further reduced due to their lack of other skills and their inability to speak English. "Accustomed to the light and sedentary work of cigar making," read a report on Latin cigarworkers employed on Works Progress Administration projects, "they have difficulty in handling tools or performing the simplest tasks in manual labor." Many Latins fortunate enough to hold a WPA job, lost it when non-citizens were dropped from its rolls. Seventy-five-year old retired cigarmaker John Cacciatore summarized the plight of Tampa Latin cigarworkers during the Depression, when he told a WPA interviewer: "The people of Ybor City are orphans, not only of mother and father, but of everything else in life." In despair, many Latins decided to leave.[11]

"The disintegration of Ybor City commenced in the year 1931," wrote Manuel Marrero in a WPA report on the "exodus . . . without precedent" of Ybor City Latins emigrating to other parts of the country. Estimates from private interviews carried out by Marrero in 1935, put the numbers of those leaving Ybor City from 1931 to 1935, at

between six and eight thousand people. An interviewee told F. Valdés, another WPA interviewer, that "inside of six months there will not be a soul left in Ybor City."[12]

The great majority of Tampa Latins went to New York City. "Almost all my family were in New York by 1937," recalled Ybor City author José Yglesias, "people would show up from Tampa, and you'd put them up. We were the Puerto Rican immigrants of that time." Like many other Tampa Latins, Yglesias found work as a dishwasher in a cafeteria, "in any cafeteria, in the kitchen, the busboys, the dishwashers, you were bound to find at least two from Ybor City." Tampa Latins relocated in the area around Lenox and Lexington Avenues between 110th and 115th streets. For recreation, they attended the recently-founded "Club Tampa." In 1936, the Tampa Workers Club figured among the organizations that made up the New York Spanish Antifascist Committee. Its goal was to support the Spanish Republic against the forces of General Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War.[13]

Unemployment hit hardest among the Cuban community. According to the records of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), seventy-five percent of Cuban families in Tampa had applied for relief, while twenty-one percent of Italian families and only four percent of Spanish families had done so. "All the Cubans will have to leave Tampa sooner or later," declared a Cuban widow as she prepared to leave Tampa for Key West, "the control of the factories is held by the Spaniards and Italians, and above all by the women."[14]

Some Cuban cigarmakers, like seventy-four-year-old Domingo Ginesta, initiated contacts with the Cuban government "to have them take us back to Cuba and allow us a pension for the few remaining years of our life." However, Ginesta doubted

that these contacts would come to fruition, for he acknowledged that "the Cuban government has always been indifferent to us, although at one time, we were instrumental in bringing about the freedom of Cuba."[15]

Freedom-loving Cubans would have found it difficult to live on the island ruled by dictator Gerardo Machado, at a time when repression and political assassinations became the order of the day. Instead of Tampans leaving for Cuba, unemployed Cubans and political dissidents sought refuge in Tampa, and formed the nucleus of a strong anti-Machado community in exile. A number of these exiles would volunteer to fight on the side of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War.[16]

Italians appear to have been better prepared than Cubans to face the Depression, for they were much less dependent on the cigar industry for their livelihood. Of the three immigrant groups, the Italians were also the most settled in the United States, and their family-structured economy helped them deal with the economic uncertainties of the times with relative success. Returning to Italy was not an attractive option, given the Italian community's strong hostility towards Mussolini. Tampa Italian antifascists organized the Gruppo Antifascista di Tampa, and published their own newspaper, La Riscossa (The Insurrection), which they used to attack Mussolini's policies. In 1935, Italian antifascists threatened to boycott the visit of the Italian Ambassador to Tampa. Faced with the threat, the Ambassador, who was touring the Italian communities in the South of the United States, decided to cancel the trip. A few months later, Italian antifascists publicly denounced Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, crying: "Down with war and fascism! Long live the Italian people!" During the Spanish Civil War, they

would be among the strongest supporters of the Spanish Republic, and adamant in their condemnation of Mussolini's intervention on the side of General Franco.[17]

While Italians and Cubans in Tampa looked to their countries with dismay, the 1930s seemed to offer a promising outlook for Spaniards. At a time when Cuba and Italy experienced the rule of right-wing dictators, Spain went in the opposite direction. In January 1930 the seven-year dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera came to an end. A year later, municipal elections brought about the advent of the Republic and the fall of the Bourbon monarchy.

Many among the five thousand native Spaniards living in Tampa in 1930 hoped that a Republican regime would address the conditions that had forced most of them to emigrate. The majority of the Spanish immigrants in Tampa came from the rural villages of the northern regions of Asturias and Galicia. There the peasants lived under miserable conditions brought about by overpopulation, a feudal system of land tenure, and heavy taxation. Young Asturians and Galicians left their hamlets by the thousands "to make America" and help the family in distress in the homeland. Emigrants were critical to the economies of these regions. Not only did they provide the much-needed remittances that ensured their families' survival, but they were instrumental in improving the quality of life in the countryside, particularly through the promotion of rural education and innovations in the agrarian sector.[18]

During the first decades of the century, Galicians and Asturians in Tampa joined with fellow emigrants in other countries in the establishment of "Instruction Societies." Typically, these societies included emigrants from the same parish or the same municipality who contributed funds to build schools and provide primary

education in their places of origin. For example, the members of the instruction society "Sons of San Miguel and Reinante," established in Tampa in 1908, used their 25-cent monthly fee and the proceeds of picnics and theatrical performances to help finance the construction of two schools in the parishes of San Miguel and Reinante in Galicia. They were also the proud subscribers to the school newspaper El Eco de San Miguel (The Echo of San Miguel). The Asturian and Galician countrysides are dotted with hundreds of schools -many still in use today- built by these immigrant instruction societies to counter the indifference of the Spanish state towards public education, particularly in rural areas.[19]

Tampa Spaniards also joined and supported the Agrarian Societies. Generally founded and led by returned emigrants, these societies undertook the modernization of agriculture and cattle raising, and sought to improve the commercialization of these products within regional markets. More importantly, they led the fight against the local caciques (political bosses) and Madrid politicians to force the abolition of the foros (the rent on the land), which they finally obtained in 1923. One of the leading figures of the Agrarian Movement and the Instruction Societies in Galicia, Basilio Alvarez, would end his days in Tampa, after fleeing Spain when the Civil War broke out in 1936.[20]

The discontent of the Tampa Spanish cigarworkers with the policies of the Spanish government had a long history. In the 1890s, when Cubans waged a war of independence against Spain. Spanish anarchists in Tampa openly supported the cause of Cuba Libre.[21] In 1901, Tampa cigarworkers protested the killing of workers by the police during general strikes in Coruña and Barcelona, and wished that the Spanish workers "might soon shake off the tyranny of the rulers, the priests, and the

bourgeois."[22] In 1912, Manuel Pardinas, a Spaniard linked to an anarchist group in Tampa, shot and killed Spanish Prime Minister José Canalejas to avenge the execution of anarchist Francisco Ferrer.[23] Ferrer had been accused of inciting the workers' rising that led to the bloody events of the Tragic Week in Barcelona in 1909. In fact, the riots had been a spontaneous popular outburst brought about by the calling of the reservists to serve in the colonial war in Morocco, a truly unpopular campaign. When Tampa Spaniards collected $3,000 to send as a Christmas gift to the Spanish troops fighting in Morocco in 1925, they made it clear that they did not do it for "patriotism," but to honor the "youth who fights and dies." Reluctant donors were reminded that had they not left Spain, they would have probably been among those fighting and dying.[24]

Most Spanish peasant families could not afford the sum required to buy their sons out of military conscription. Historian Adrian Schubert states that in Asturias "avoidance of military service was a factor which contributed to very high rates of emigration." Galicia had the highest desertion rates in the country. So many of the Spanish immigrants in Tampa had evaded military service that the Spanish Consul fought to have an amnesty decree originally drafted for deserters living in Latin America and the Philippines extended to the United States. Six months after the decree went into effect, the Consul solicited "from 800 to 1,000" application forms to meet the anticipated demand of Spanish immigrants hoping to benefit from the amnesty.[25]

The army and the church were the two institutions the Spanish emigrants most despised. "Each working Spaniard carries upon his shoulders a priest and a soldier," wrote José Fueyo, fresh from a trip to his native Asturias, referring to the heavy taxes

imposed on the working class to maintain these institutions. Fueyo's article in El Astur, the official organ of the Centro Asturiano in Tampa, earned the editor a reprimand from the Spanish Consul. The Consul also reprimanded the editor of the Spanish newspaper La Traducción (The Translation), the most popular among cigar factory readers, for reprinting an article from the New York Italian antifascist daily Il Nuovo Mondo (The New World) which announced that soon "the putrefied Spanish monarchy . . . would blow up in pieces."[26]

After the fall of dictator Primo de Rivera, the relations between the Consul and the Spanish community deteriorated further. Consul Andrés Iglesias could not prevent the Spanish-Cuban Society of Conferences from inviting the prestigious Catalan intellectual Pedro Corominas to visit Tampa and lecture about the advantages of "governments inspired by the masses" at the Centro Asturiano, but he made his displeasure clear. At the first lecture, the Consul was conspicuous by his absence. He attended the second one, but was so rude to the guest lecturer that Corominas "could not hide the disgust provoked by the Consul's crassness and impoliteness." The situation worsened in December, when a failed attempt to proclaim the Republic forced republican leaders to flee Spain, and the Tampa chapter of the Frente Unico de Acción Republicana (the party of Republican leader Manuel Azaña) started collections to aid the republican exiles in France.[27]

When the Republic was finally proclaimed on April 14, 1931, Spaniards in Tampa were ecstatic. "Frenzied 'Vivas!' for the new republic were heard from Madrid to Main street, West Tampa," declared the Tampa Daily Times. In the days that followed, the Spanish community set about to remove from Tampa all signs of the

monarchy, including the Consul. The Spanish mutual aid societies promptly took down the portraits of King Alfonso XIII from their salons and, in simple but emotional ceremonies, hoisted the republican flag outside their clubhouses to the tune of the Republican Anthem. The local Frente Unico de Acción Republicana, organized a signature campaign complaining of the treatment the Spanish immigrants had received from Consul Iglesias, and asking the new government to expel him from the Diplomatic Corps. Andrés Iglesias left Tampa a month later, but his stormy relationship with the Tampa Spanish community would resume during the Spanish Civil War, when he organized the local support for General Francisco Franco.[28]

The Spanish immigrants in Tampa held high expectations for the new regime. With the advent of the Republic, the cigarworkers, in particular, saw an opportunity to escape the economic depression hitting the cigar industry in the United States. During the 1930s, the Tampa Asociación para la Industria del Tabaco Libre en España, strenuously fought to break down the tobacco monopoly in Spain and establish a free cigar industry using the expertise of the unemployed Tampa cigarworkers.

Tampa returnees, with the support of the socialist General Workers' Union, organized a vigorous anti-monopoly campaign, but failed to obtain its revocation by the government. A few initiatives set up by Tampa cigarworkers in Asturias and Catalonia to establish the cigar industry there met with some success, but they came to a sudden end with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.[29]

The transition to a republican system in Spain did not proceed as smoothly as Tampa Spaniards had hoped. The profound economic, social, and political problems affecting the country tested the newly-established regime. In the first two years, a left-

republican administration undertook several major pieces of legislation, including the separation of Church and State, the Law of Agrarian Reform, and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy. These far-reaching initiatives alienated the more conservative elements within Spanish society. At the same time, peasants and workers experienced the miserable conditions brought about by the world-wide economic Depression. Discontented with the slow pace of reform, they turned to Communism and Anarchism.

The divisions within the Left led to the overwhelming victory of the Right in the Parliamentary elections of November 1933. The Two 'Black Years' (1934-1935), saw the dismantling of most of the legislation approved by the first parliament. This, in turn, provoked the reaction of the workers, particularly that of the Asturian coal miners who rose against the government in October 1934. The miners' rising was ruthlessly suppressed by General Francisco Franco leading a force of Moorish troops and foreign legionaries. "One may regard it as the first battle of the Civil War," wrote historian Gerald Brenan, in light of the events that followed.[30]

Tampa's Asturian community eagerly awaited news from Spain. News from the wire services, reported in the Spanish newspaper La Gaceta, sometimes included lists of victims, where Tampa readers might find the names of relatives, friends, or former neighbors. La Gaceta also published letters received by its readers with eyewitness accounts of the revolution. Soon, Tampa Latins began to collect funds to aid the orphan children of the miners killed in the repression. This was as much a political statement as a humanitarian act, for it countered the rightist government's calls to the citizens to support the orphans of the soldiers who died in the revolt.[31]

The aftermath of the revolution in Asturias and a series of political scandals brought down the government. New elections were set for February 16, 1936, and the Popular Front, a coalition of left Republicans and Socialists, won by a narrow margin. Following its victory, the Leftist coalition began to disintegrate, while the Right started to conspire against the new government. On each side, groups of armed extremists participated in terrorist attacks and cold-blooded murders. As violence increased throughout the country, rumors grew of the imminence of a military rising. The explosion took place in July.

On July 12, José Castillo, a lieutenant of the Republican Assault Guards, was assassinated by members of the Falange, the extreme right-wing party, as he left his home. The following day, José Calvo Sotelo, the leader of the right-wing monarchists, was murdered in revenge. Four days later General Francisco Franco led a military rising against the Spanish Republic from Morocco. On July 18, 1936 the rising spread throughout Spain. General Franco had expected to capture the capital in a swift campaign. He had not anticipated the overwhelming popular mobilization in support of the Republic. The rebellion started a civil war which lasted almost three years and claimed nearly half a million lives.[32]

In his study of the Spanish Civil War, historian Hugh Thomas maintains that "it was inevitable . . . that the war which began in 1936 should become a European crisis," and reminds us that despite the Spaniards' subsequent accusations of foreign intervention "the European powers became entangled in the war at the Spaniards' request." As early as July 19, the Spanish Prime Minister turned to a sympathetic popular-front French Prime Minister for arms and planes to quench the military

rebellion. At the same time, generals Franco and Mola requested military aid from Hitler and Mussolini, particularly planes to transport the military force in Morocco to the peninsula. Stalin, though obviously not interested in a rebel victory, was nonetheless not too eager to support the Republic. According to Thomas, "he would not permit the republic to lose, even though he would not necessarily help it to win."[33]

Fearing that the conflict in Spain would provoke a European war, France, supported by Great Britain, led the efforts to establish a non-intervention committee that would contain the war within Spanish borders by setting an arms embargo on both sides. The non-intervention committee proved to be a failure. Foreign assistance continued unabated, as Germany and Italy sided with the rebel forces, and Russia provided the main support for the loyalists.

The United States, traditionally supportive of Great Britain's policies, and in an isolationist mood, tightened its own neutrality law, decided on a policy of "non-interference" in the internal affairs of Spain, and started a course of action that many historians have considered "the gravest error of American foreign policy during the Roosevelt Administration."[34]

CHAPTER 2

SUPPORT FOR THE REPUBLIC: THE DEMOCRATIC POPULAR COMMITTEE TO AID SPAIN

"Wherever two or more Spaniards gather the conversation soon turns to 'la revolución.'" Having made the rounds along "Bolita Boulevard" to probe Ybor City's reaction to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the Tampa Tribune's "Scoop McGoop" concluded that "to our Latin citizens it is the ONE center of attraction--the main topic of conversation that makes them forget the heat, the daily domino 'partido,' their troubles, and 'Cuba.'" It would remain so for the next three years. But, the war in Spain soon became more than just a topic of conversation within Tampa's immigrant community.[1]

A week after General Franco's rising, Victoriano Manteiga, the editor of the Ybor City Spanish newspaper La Gaceta declared that "if it were possible to go to Spain in a few hours, hundreds of Tampans would take up arms in defense of the Popular Front." On July 28, La Gaceta reported that up to 150 Tampans had offered themselves as volunteers to fight for the Republic in Spain. On August 5, Consul Pablo de Ubarri telegraphed the Spanish Ministry of State for instructions regarding the Tampa volunteers. The following day he was directed to thank the volunteers but decline their offer. The Tampa Tribune applauded the response of the Spanish

government to the "soldiers of fortune . . . who visualized themselves in hand-to-hand combat with women soldiers of the Spanish rebels." But the Tampa volunteers proved unwilling to "fight their battles in the imagination over coffee cups and domino tables," as the Tribune had recommended.[2]

At least twenty-four Tampa volunteers served in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. More than a third of these volunteers from Tampa were Cubans, all members of the Antonio Guiteras company. The company left New York on January 5, 1937. A month later they were fighting Franco's army in the Jarama valley to prevent the fall of Madrid. The Lincoln Battalion, 450 strong, was almost wiped out in this battle: a hundred and twenty men were killed, a hundred and seventy-five wounded.[3]

Details of the debacle arrived in Tampa through letters from the convalescent volunteers. These were duly published in La Gaceta, a pattern that would persist during the war. As the war progressed, several volunteers wrote more detailed chronicles, and one of them, José García Granell, became something of a war correspondent for La Gaceta. In Spain, the Tampa volunteers took every opportunity to publicize the actions of the Tampa Latin community in support of the Republic. Victoria, Mundo Obrero, Prensa Gráfica, El Diario de Albacete, El Mercantil de Valencia, all ran articles commending Tampa's commitment to a Republican victory.[4]

Soon after Franco's uprising, Spanish communities throughout the United States began organizing antifascist committees to support the Republic. The Spanish Consul in New York described one of the antifascist committees there as "made up of people of modest means, mainly workers and clerks, members of the mutual aid societies, and

Spanish and Hispanic workers moved by a good desire to serve the Republic." The same definition could be applied to the Tampa committee.[5]

The Spanish Civil War galvanized the 30,000 members of the Tampa Latin community. The first mass meeting in support of the Spanish Republic took place at the Labor Temple in Ybor City on August 3, 1936. Two days later, Tampa Latins organized the Comité de Defensa del Frente Popular Español (Committee for the Defense of the Spanish Popular Front). The committee brought together leaders of the Latin (Cuban, Italian and Spanish) mutual aid societies, labor unions, Socialist and Communist organizations, and Protestant churches to support the Republic against the military rising led by Franco and assisted by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Defining itself as "humanitarian, democratic and antifascist," the Committee's stated goal was "to gather funds to be used in Spain to support those who fight and suffer for the cause of the Republic and democracy."[6]

As a first step towards this end, the Committee decided to start a weekly collection among the cigar factories and commercial establishments of Ybor City and West Tampa. The Ybor City Chamber of Commerce readily lent its support to the collection, but the cigar manufacturers clashed with the Committee on this issue. Citing the United States neutrality law, the Board of Directors of the Cigar Manufacturers Association resolved not to allow "any collection of funds for the purpose of continuing the strife in Spain."[7] The Committee responded promptly by sending a telegram to the State Department inquiring whether the collection would violate the United States neutrality policy. The Committee took issue not only with the manufacturers' interpretation of the neutrality law, but also with their interpretation of

the purpose of the collections. "The collection is to defend liberty . . . not to continue civil wars," explained La Gaceta's editor, "the fascists started the war and the government is defending itself." Victoriano Manteiga then posed the question: "Does the Board of Directors want the government to give itself to the fascists, when it was freely elected by the people?"[8]

One of the staunchest defenders of the Spanish Republic, Manteiga became a key player in the founding of the Tampa Committee and contributed enormously to its success. "The red Manteiga . . . has been very damaging [to our cause] in the Spanish colony in Tampa," wrote Andrés Iglesias, the ex-Spanish consul in Tampa, in a report on his failed efforts to garner support for General Franco among Tampa Spaniards. Born in Cuba in 1895, Manteiga arrived in Tampa in 1913, and started to work as a reader in the local cigar factories. Nine years later, he founded the Spanish evening daily La Gaceta. Well respected for his intellect as well as for his moral integrity, he became a prominent leader within the Latin community. During the Spanish Civil War, La Gaceta served as the official organ of the Tampa Committee for the Defense of the Spanish Popular Front. Information on the activities and decisions of the Committee appeared under the telling title of "La retaguardia de Tampa" (Tampa's rearguard).[9]

To the Spanish community fell the role of leading the support for the Republic. The Centro Español responded to the challenge by donating the proceeds of their annual September Festival, totalling eight hundred dollars, to the Spanish Red Cross. The Centro made a point of explaining that the donation did not have a "sectarian political character," a response to those within the community who had reminded the

Centro's leaders that the society's by-laws prohibited them from engaging in political activities.[10]

The initially cautious attitude on the part of the Spanish societies to side openly with the Republic changed radically as the war continue wore on, and the civilian casualties mounted. Particularly after the bombing of the civilian population in Málaga and Guernica, a movement developed within the Tampa Spanish community against "neutrality." "The Loyal Knights of America [the Spanish Lodge] declared themselves antifascists and supporters of the loyal government since the beginning," La Gaceta reminded its readers, "it is now time for the other Spanish societies to take the same decision, so that they cannot be called neutrals when Spain defends its existence against a foreign invasion."[11] In May 1937, both the Centro Español and the Centro Asturiano declared themselves unconditional supporters of the lawful Spanish government, condemned the military rebellion, and defined the war in Spain not as a civil war but as a "war of national independence" against the forces of "international fascism."[12]

On May 1, 1937 a new Neutrality Act established the procedures regulating the delivery of humanitarian aid to war-torn countries. The Tampa Committee set about to comply with the new law. Its name changed from the Committee for the Defense of the Spanish Popular Front to the Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain. While the funds of the "old" committee reached the Republican government through the Spanish Ambassador in Washington, the "new" committee dispatched its funds directly to the Spanish Red Cross. To avoid any appearance of illegality, the Committee broke all official links with the Spanish consulate in Tampa. While the Popular Committee

worked closely with other relief organizations, particularly the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, it remained staunchly independent.[13]

Throughout its existence, the Tampa Committee maintained a remarkable degree of unity and efficiency. This gained it the praise of the Spanish Red Cross, its beneficiary, which presented the Committee with a gold medal for its services to the institution. "You have the best organization in the whole country," declared General Santiago Philemore, the General Inspector of the Spanish Red Cross, when he visited Tampa in 1938, "because it includes all ideas and tendencies and has just one goal: to aid those who suffer and to help win the war."[14]

Spanish Republican leaders who visited Tampa as part of their speaking tours to garner support for the Republic in the United States also wrote favorably about the work of the Popular Committee. Marcelino Domingo, former Spanish minister of education, referred to Tampa in glowing terms as the "altar of Spain," and Republican Army Commissar García Maroto announced that "Tampa's rearguard" should be called "America's vanguard," a phrase that Manteiga promptly added to the Popular Committee's column in La Gaceta.[15] Even members of Franco's diplomatic corps conceded that "the reds in Tampa [had been] after the residents in New York . . . the ones who most contributed in the United States to the anti-nationalist campaign that was so harmful for us there."[16]

Not only Spaniards but also Cubans, Italians, and sympathetic Anglos helped the cause of Republican Spain. Most mutual aid societies and labor unions sent delegates to the Popular Committee. These organizations contributed cash and, equally

important, they offered their leaders' time and organizational skills, as well as their buildings and theaters for meetings, lectures, and other cultural and political events. The Italian Antifascist Group was particularly active in denouncing Mussolini's intervention in Spain, and together with the Popular Committee, organized lectures in Tampa by a number of prominent Italian antifascists.[17]

Individuals as well as institutions rendered services for free to support the Committee's work. At Committee-sponsored picnics, bakeries offered free bread, restaurants free rice and chicken, and musicians played gratis. When the committee organized a drive to send cigars to the loyalist soldiers, several cigar factories donated the tobacco, cigarmakers worked Sundays for free to make the cigars, and women sewed up to 20,000 tobacco pouches.[18]

The Committee organized all kinds of events to collect funds for Loyalist Spain. Picnics on April 14 (the date of the proclamation of the Republic) and July 19 (celebrating the popular response against the military rising) drew crowds of thousands. The proceeds from theater tickets and films, bowling, soccer, and baseball games, filled the Committee's coffers. Waiters at coffee shops and restaurants donated the tips earned at banquets honoring the Republic. Every Saturday, Committee volunteers visited the cigar factories and commercial establishments to collect their weekly donations. Every week the list of donors appeared in La Gaceta. Through nickel-and-dime contributions the Committee sent to Spain an average of $5,000 a month. It also shipped badly-needed food, clothing, and medical supplies.

Every campaign organized by the Spanish Red Cross met with the overwhelming response of the Tampa Latin population. When the Red Cross asked for

a shipment of canned milk and dried vegetables in December 1937, the Committee immediately sent thirty tons of beans, and a thousand cans of milk. A month later, the Committee shipped close to $7,000 worth of medicines. In June of 1937, in what La Gaceta dubbed "the greatest romería ever in the history of Tampa," more than 5,000 people attended a picnic to collect funds to purchase an ambulance for the Spañish Red Cross. The event raised more than $9,000, allowing the Committee to purchase not one, but four ambulances, as well as the X-Ray set for the Mobile Hospital sent to Spain by the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.[19]

The activities of the Tampa rearguard were well known in Republican Spain. "You cannot imagine how [well] they treat us here in Catalonia . . . and the way people talk about Tampa," wrote an Asturian refugee from Barcelona to her brother in Tampa. The fall of Asturias and the subsequent flow of refugees put more strain on the already overcrowded facilities on the Republican side and on the Tampa Committee, as thousands of Asturian refugees looked to the Asturian Clubs in America for support. The "House of Asturias in Valencia," in desperate need of food and medicines for the Asturian elders and children, asked for help from Tampa, and so did the Centro Asturiano in Catalonia. "It is heartbreaking to inspect the shelters," wrote the president of the Asturian delegation in Bordeaux, to the Centro Asturiano in Tampa, "I fear for the elderly . . . The children, lacking milk and medicines, die daily. So far, we have buried more than two hundred." In response to these calls for help, the Popular Committee organized a "Week for Asturian refugees in Catalonia." All collections that week, a total of twenty-eight boxes of clothing and $4000 in cash, were sent to them.[20]

The Antifascist Women's Committee

Although men held the leadership positions in the Popular Committee--as in most of the associations that sent delegates to the committee--women and children played a prominent role in its success. A few weeks after the establishment of the Tampa Committee, women set up their own "Ladies' Committee," modelled after the Women's Auxiliaries of the mutual aid societies. But it was the bombing of civilians which prompted the women to take a more active role. Following the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica by Hitler's Condor Legion in April 1937, a group of female cigarworkers of the García & Vega factory proposed that the Popular Committee organize a demonstration to protest the killing of non-combatants. Led by these women, more than 5,000 demonstrators marched from the Labor Temple to City Hall, where the leaders of the Popular Committee presented Mayor Chancey a document protesting the "ruthless killing of women and children by Franco's forces." In September 1937, Tampa Latin women organized the Antifascist Women's Committee, which became the Women's Auxiliary of the Popular Committee.[21]

Young Latins and children also contributed to the Committee. Members of the Juventud Democrática Antifascista of West Tampa (West Tampa Antifascist Democratic Youth) collected old paper which they sold to businesses, and donated the proceeds to the Popular Committee. Children from the Lead Club gathered lead foil wrappers from cigarette packets. These were then melted and sold as fishing sinkers; the proceeds bought canned milk for the children of Spain.[22]

The homefront quality of the Popular Committee's work, as well as the character and imagery of the war in Spain, made women and children ideologically central to its success. Tampa Latin women responded with enthusiasm to the Popular Front's valorization of militant motherhood. Historian Elizabeth Faue states that in the ideology of the Popular Front "these icons of militant motherhood coexisted with images of female victimization." In Spain, women were portrayed as both innocent victims protecting their suckling babies from Fascist bombs, and brave Republican citizens taking arms to defend their country against foreign invaders.[23]

Spanish women were both mothers and soldiers. In fact, they were soldiers because they were mothers. Loyalist speeches emphasized how "mothers were forced to take up arms to protect their children." The legendary Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria (the passion flower) appealed to "American women and mothers throughout the world" to send money to help feed and clothe the Spanish children left behind while "often one or both parents are at the front." These were the days when the heroic defense of Madrid captured the imagination of the Left everywhere. Militia units from the labor unions and working-class parties helped Republican forces to hold the capital. Spanish women donned dungarees and joined the militiamen in the trenches, while La Pasionaria called on "workers, peasants, anti-fascists, and patriotic Spaniards" to defend the Republic. No pasarán (They Shall Not Pass) became the watchword.[24]

As the conflict in Spain grew from a military rebellion into a full-fledged war, Spaniards prepared for a long fight. The women-soldiers, the "heroines of the fatherland," were sent to the rearguard. But, the Spanish Civil War soon became more than a war between armies. As a training ground for new military technology,

particularly the German Lutftwaffe, defenseless civilians were routinely and mercilessly bombed. The war in Spain became "a world war in miniature," in the words of historian Hugh Thomas. The "uncivilized" character of the war made sympathy for the cause of the Spanish Republic even stronger, and the resolve of the Spanish women even more powerful.[25]

"This hard struggle . . . does not haunt us . . . but our children must be saved," wrote the "mothers of Loyalist Spain" in November 1938, as Spaniards entered the third winter of the war. They called upon the "mothers and women of the world" for help. For them, motherhood knew no boundaries, motherhood was above politics, "no matter what your point of view may be, no matter whether you believe our fight is right or wrong--before everything, be mothers . . . Don't let our children perish of hunger and cold."[26]

Tampa Latin women responded to these calls enthusiastically. They spearheaded campaigns to collect clothing and milk for Spanish children. After a day's work, the more than one thousand women of the Popular Committee, old and young, met in groups to sew and mend clothing. They "formed almost a family," wrote a witness to these reunions, "with each piece made . . . goes all the devotion, all the love, that only mothers can give." In November of 1937 alone, the Women's Committee sent to Spain six thousand pounds of clothing. By the end of the war, more than twenty tons of clothing, and several thousand cans of milk had been sent to war-torn Spain.[27]

Latin women also exercised their activism through their role as consumers. They led the boycott campaigns against products from Germany, Italy, Japan and the

areas of Spain held by Franco. Andalusian olive oil and the coveted Christmas turrón (nougat) were two of the articles absent from many a Tampa Latin household. Latin housewives also boycotted stores that did not contribute to the Popular Committee (those that did displayed a sticker from the Committee signalling them as contributors). The boycott extendéd beyond the household, and into the entertainment arena. Theaters that showed films which Tampa Latins perceived as biased against the Republic were boycotted and forced to change their programs. The same happened with films whose actors were believed to be Franco supporters. By the same token, Tampa Latins heavily patronized films that supported the cause of Republican Spain.[28]

As mothers, women also played a fundamental role in educating the children, the future citizens, about the values of democracy. As one woman wrote, there was no better reward for the women of the Popular Committee, than having their children ask them, as they shopped, "did you check whether it was made by the bad guys?" Latin mothers also removed their children from the Catholic schools to protest the Catholic Church's support of Franco.[29]

Women and children marched prominently in Labor Day parades, a forum of solidarity with Republican Spain. In 1938, the parade drew 10,000 marchers. Dressed up as Spanish milicianos (militiamen), but emphasizing their loyalty to the United States with visible American flags, Latin children carried banners that read: "American children protest murder of mothers and children in Spain and China," "Stop Hitler and Stop Bombing of Open Cities." Meanwhile "girls circulated through the crowd with boxes in the Spanish colors, collecting funds for the Spanish Red Cross."[30]

The Spanish Civil War offered a powerful symbol for working class communities suffering in the midst of the Great Depression. As historian and former Abraham Lincoln Batallion volunteer, Robert G. Colodny explains, "for the young people, who were growing up in the Great Depression, and who felt themselves to be part of a disinherited generation, the cult of the warrior held no appeal." But, when news from Madrid "told the story of a people in arms, fighting not only domestic enemies, but the military forces of Germany, Italy and Portugal . . . The cause of the republic in far-off Spain became identified with social struggles at home." The policies of the Spanish Republic had often been compared to those of the New Deal. Fighting the enemies of Republican Spain and fighting the enemies of the New Deal were one and the same thing.[31]

As the Cigarmakers' International Union of Tampa, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, prepared to negotiate a new contract with the Cigar Manufacturers' Association in the summer of 1936, they skillfully used the powerful images of the war in Spain to encourage workers, particularly women, to unionize. The fight in Spain soon became a metaphor for the situation in Tampa. "It is not only a gesture of solidarity that unites the workers in Tampa with the . . . heroic antifascist fighters in the Iberian peninsula," wrote union organizer Luisa Moreno, "the force and tenacity of the Spanish people have profoundly inspired workers in Tampa and taught them about organization." She explained, "it is because of the unions . . . that the workers' militia, with almost no military training, can say with firm voice: 'They shall not pass!'[32]

The union paper, El Internacional, compared the role of the cigarworker in the union to that of the militiaman in Republican Spain, and it encouraged the women to follow the example of their sisters in Spain, "they go to the front. Here, in the rearguard, let us build with enthusiasm and energy our antifascist fortress, our defense, OUR UNION!" As in Spain, neutrality became a weapon in the hands of Mussolini and Hitler, so in the cigar industry, the non-union worker became a weapon in the hands of the manufacturers. And if the workers would not build a strong union, and the manufacturers would turn to the infamous Citizens' Committee to impose their will on the workers, "in that case, our situation would be identical to that of the Spanish people, if . . . the Fascists were to triumph."[33]

The union needed more than rhetoric to bring women, who comprised most of the steadily declining workforce in the cigar factories, into their ranks. The union hall, like the cafes and salons of the mutual aid societies, was a bulwark of Ybor City's Latin male society, and women did not find it a very hospitable place. The situation changed with the establishment of the Popular Committee, and it was through it that Latin women came to support the union. Physically, the Labor Temple, headquarters to both the union and the Popular Committee, became accessible to women, the "second home" that union organizers had envisioned to entice women and young workers to join the labor movement. Theater performances, dances and picnics to collect funds for the Spanish Republic offered opportunities to socialize, and to unionize. The militant labor songs of the newly-created women's choir "Las Milicianas." became a common feature of these popular gatherings.[34]

In October 1936, union organizer Luisa Moreno noted that "a great number of the new members entering the union are female and young." A woman wrote to the union paper to remind male workers how they used to complain of women's lack of interest in the union, remarking that "now the shoe is on the other foot, because in the meetings held in our every-day-more-beloved Labor Templė, for every man present one can see two or three women."[35]

The women of the Popular Committee also engaged in more traditional political activities. They joined women and men throughout the country in an intensive campaign to lobby the White House, the State Department, the Congress and the Senate to change the United States' policies towards Republican Spain. They sent telegrams and wrote letters asking for the lifting of the arms embargo and the repeal of the neutrality law. And they joined delegates from Tampa who went to Washington to present their requests to the President and the legislators.[36]

News from Spain

"Our colleague, the Tribune, publishes today a cartoon in which Spain appears as a cow threatened by four wolves: Anarchy, Nazism, Fascism and Communism," wrote Victoriano Manteiga in La Gaceta nearly a month after the beginning of the war in Spain. "One wolf was missing," he continued, "that of foreign false information, encouraged by that most distinguished gentleman Hearst."[37] Tampa Latins often criticized the coverage of the war in the Tampa press. As early as September 1936, the Times ran an editorial responding to criticism from the Spanish community that the

newspaper was biased in its reporting of the conflict in Spain. "The daily dispatches concerning the Spanish war news which appear in The Times come entirely from the Associated Press and are published without change in any way," explained the editor, assuring the readers that "only the facts so far as experience, training and judgment can learn them are transmitted over the AP direct wires to the newspapers served." A year later, the Times again addressed members of the Spanish community who had expressed their "criticism and charges of prejudice because the news dispatches too frequently, in their opinion, recounted the advances of the insurgents." To them, the editor repeated that "the news dispatches are written in Spain by reliable correspondents -not in Tampa."[38]

In part because they distrusted the American press, and in part because most of the Spaniards at that time did not read English, the majority of them followed events in Spain through the radio news from Madrid or Havana. La Gaceta described how most of this radio listening took place:

> Everyday scores of people gather to listen to the radio news from Madrid and Havana. In the secretary of the Cultural [Labor Temple], which is also the secretary of the Democratic Popular Committee, a hundred per cent loyalists gather and anxiously wait the news at 7 and 10 p.m. When the 7 o'clock news are satisfactory, the showing for the 10 o'clock news diminishes. When the 7 o'clock news are 'pitiful' the 10 o'clock news crowd is bigger. It is hoped that the latest news will be better. [39]

The Spanish community in Tampa relied on another important source of information: the first-hand accounts of family and friends. In the summer of 1936, a number of Tampa Spaniards were in Spain visiting relatives. Some had gone back to Spain to retire after spending most of their working life in America. The war forced

many to return to Tampa. Their first-hand testimonies became one of the most valuable sources of information regarding the situation in Spain, together with letters from relatives still there. These letters were regularly published in La Gaceta.

One of the first eyewitness accounts to appear in the Spanish newspaper was that of Emilio Viñas. He had lived in Tampa for several years, and had returned to his native Galicia in 1934 to retire. Galicia was one of the first regions to fall to Franco forces. Upon his return to Tampa, Viñas told of his experiences there as the repression mounted. "On the road . . . one morning, I saw close to forty corpses of leftists who had been shot . . . Two of them were still moving . . . After that, I could not sleep, and I decided to come back to the United States." Although Viñas belonged to no political party, he was at risk, for he was a Mason, one of the target groups of the first wave of killings. "I am a Mason, and I burned a travel notebook of masonry fearing for my life, because the houses were searched daily." He saved his life thanks to the good offices of the United States Vice Consul in Vigo.[40]

Reports came from other parts of Spain as well. Enrique Rodríguez, a baker in Tampa, was visiting his native Barcelona in the summer of 1936, when the war broke out. He joined the militias. When it was known that he had family in the United States, the militias helped him to leave the country. Francisco Martínez, a naturalized American born in Asturias, had to pay a fine of 7,000 Spanish pesetas to be able to return to the United States. "The roads have become cemeteries," he said upon his return, "those who do not think like them [the falangists] pay with their lives." Mariano Paniello left Palma de Mallorca fearing for his life after being threatened several times for being a Mason. Constantino Lado, a Galician-born naturalized

American, was threatened by the falangists for his friendship with members of the Popular Front there. These and many similar accounts, coming from people known and trusted in Tampa, did much to strengthen the support the Republic already enjoyed here.[41]

Some of these witnesses, like Mariano Paniello, went on to speak publicly at events organized by the Popular Committee. He helped to organize an antifascist committee in Detroit and returned to Spain to fight. The letters of the volunteers from Tampa who fought in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, also helped to keep the republican fervor alive. When the Republic finally fell in March 1939, these letters were replaced by those of the thousands of loyalists requesting help from the refugee camps of France.[42]

CHAPTER 3

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR IN THE TAMPA PRESS

Attracting American support for the Republic proved one of the most difficult tasks for the Popular Committee. In trying to educate their neighbors about the situation in Spain, Tampa Latins had to overcome a number of misconceptions held by Americans. These included stereotypical views of hot-blooded and bullfighting-loving Spaniards whose character made them unsuitable to live in a democracy.

A week after Franco's rising, J. A. "Jock" Murray, the Tampa Tribune journalist and correspondent for the trade newspaper The Tobacco Leaf, informed his readers that "Spanish revolutions are not new; they have them every now and again." George White, the Tribune cartoonist, depicted the revolution in Spain as "Just an Old Spanish Custom," as old--and as violent--as bullfighting. The link between the war and the bullfight became even more explicit in the letters of some Tribune readers. Franklin Wheeler argued that "with mob passions lashed to applaud with jubilant acclaim cruel death in the bull ring, it's only a step to the unleashing of individual killing fever, curbed by law." Another reader put it even more bluntly when he stated that "the people of Spain should be happy in the rivers of blood now streaking their cities and fair mountain sides, for blood-red fresh gore is what they traditionally love." The Tribune editorial pages at the beginning of the war carried tongue-in-cheek

remarks on the Spanish character ("Why can't the Spanish be calm like the Danish?" read one of them.)[1]

The "commonness" of revolutions in Spain, and the fact that the military rising started in Morocco and spread initially to the South of Spain, far from the northern lands that had given birth to most of the Tampa Spanish population, led Americans to assume that Spaniards in Ybor City and West Tampa would limit their involvement to talk about 'la revolucion' over coffee. Those, like the Tribune's editor, who had believed that "Tampa cigars will not burn for either side in the Spanish fight," were unprepared for the overwhelming support the Latin community threw upon the Spanish Republic.[2]

The editorial pages of the Tribune and the Times offer some insight into the kind of debates that the Spanish Civil War provoked among the American population. The published letters to the editor reveal that many readers took issue with the editors' attempts to simplify the complexity of the forces at work in the conflict, and to present the war in Spain as foreign to Americans.

H. J. Hero, a janitor at a local high school and a former cigarmaker, stated that he was "indeed surprised that the newspapers interpret the political, economic and social problems of Spain in such a simple and light manner." Mr. Hero reminded the Tampa editors that "as recently as 1860, our own country went through a bloody and terrible Civil War." Referring to the "reactionary forces" and "political demagogy" prevailing in the United States in 1936, he asked the Tampa editors: "Do you refuse to see any possibilities of another such war?"[3]

Readers also contested the editorial statements that portrayed the Spanish conflict as a war between Fascism and Communism. In describing the situation in these terms, the democratic nature of the Spanish Republic was often hidden and its alleged links with Communism emphasized. "As a matter of fact the present government of Spain is not 'Red.' It is a democracy patterned after our own," wrote Mrs. Josefina de la Grana, herself a Socialist. Rufus Knoates, stated that in Spain "the reactionary monarchists, capitalists, fascists and Catholic priests such as Coughlin, rebelled against the duly elected and regularly constituted popular government." Anna Van Orman indicated that "the War in Spain cannot be called 'just a war between fascism and communism' . . . when one understands the underlying causes," and warned that "only by a complete victory for the Loyalists will a world slaughter be prevented."[4]

Two issues provoked the strongest reaction on the part of the readers: the bombing of Guernica, and the activities of the American volunteers fighting for Loyalist Spain. The bombing of Guernica shocked the world not only because of its indiscriminate killing of non-combatants, and the obvious intervention of Germany in the attack, but also because it again brought to light the dilemma faced by those Catholics who supported Franco in his so-called crusade against Communism. How could Franco's crusade be reconciled with the massacre of a devoutly Catholic Basque people? "Eight hundred were killed--shot down in their tracks. They had given no offense." read the Tribune's editorial, "they were rebel planes, piloted by Germans . . . the crime of Guernica goes far to condemn the cause of Franco and his rebels."[5]

Few among those who wrote letters to the Tribune's editor shared the view of Dr. Earl Cameron, who interpreted the war in Spain as "purely and simply Christian against non-Christian," and encouraged "Christians the world over . . . to unite with Protestant Germany and Catholic Italy and squash Communism once and for all-treat it as a deadly disease."[6] "I am afraid it is not the soul of Spain that worries the fascist," wrote Anna Van Orman, reminding the editor that "not long ago Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, the Pope blessing the troops as they left to use all the horrible methods of modern warfare against a helpless people."[7] J. B. Dion also remarked on the role of the Pope, "it is shocking how the Pope has encouraged his subjects in the rape of Ethiopia and the bombing of helpless women and children in Spain."[8] W. J. Carpenter believed that "the Pope could end the war in Spain if he elected to do so. His evident sympathy with the rebels is so pronounced as to put a grave responsibility upon him and his advisors."[9] On his part, M. E. Edson remarked on the sizable Moorish contingent which supported Franco in his crusade, "to claim that the savage, pagan Moors are fighting for Christianity is hideous blasphemy."[10]

For many Americans, Spain had become "the Ethiopia of Europe." But, while sympathetic with the cause of the Spanish Republic, and condemning the appeasement policies of the European democracies towards the dictators, few were willing to help the Republic from the United States. On January 24, 1938, the Tribune's positive headlines on the role of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion in the Battle of Teruel: "Americans Beat Back Moors in Teruel Battle. Volunteers Annihilate Franco Squadrons," provoked the response of Richard Neville. "Your news stories line up the United States against Franco," wrote Neville, and asked "What, pray, has become of

American neutrality?" This was a legitimate question to a newspaper which had dedicated twenty percent of its editorials to staunchly defend American neutrality.[11]

The Tribune had early on applauded the Administration's policy of non-interference, convinced that "like attitude by other nations will keep the Spanish disturbance confined to Spain-as it should be." The Times regretted that the law did not provide for a stronger neutrality, a situation that left the President only "the pressure of moral suasion to bear in restraint of possible American war profiteers who would like to sell supplies to either side." However, it was optimistic that "with public sentiment in this country at present strongly against any acts . . . which might draw us into the conflict, this kind of pressure can be highly potent and effective."[12]

The call for neutrality was repeated often. The editors urged Americans to get out of Spain to prevent an involvement of the United States in the war, particularly after the destroyer Kane, sent to Spain to evacuate American citizens, was bombed by an unidentified plane. "Americans who have lingered . . . in Spain, are not entitled to further protection, when such protection means our possible embroilment in international difficulty," stated the Tribune. The Times also shared this view.[13]

Even less sympathy was expressed for Americans fighting in Spain. When American pilot Harold Dahl was court-martialed and sentenced to death in Nationalist Spain for flying planes for the Republic, and later pardoned by Franco, the Tribune remarked: "We hope Dahl will . . . stay out of Spain. There isn't much sympathy for him or other Americans fighting on either side. There are better ways of making money and finding adventure." For its part, the Times joked at the role played by Dahl's beautiful wife, who enclosed pictures of herself in a tearful letter to Franco

asking for pardon. "Romance. Chivalry. Courage. Beauty in distress. What gallant Spaniard could resist?"[14]

The question of American neutrality during the Spanish Civil War would prove to be a divisive issue. After much Congressional discussion, on January 8, 1937, an arms embargo was established that banned the shipment of war material to Spain. Critics of the embargo pointed out that it was not a neutral act. "We are taking a stand against a democratic government," stated Congressman Maury Maverick (D-Texas), "it has always been the practice of our Government to send munitions to the legal government, irrespective of its merits." Congressman Thomas Amlie (Progressive-Wisconsin) saw the embargo as "an unfriendly act toward a government that is friendly to the United States."[15]

In Tampa, Loyalist supporters campaigned against the embargo. Referring to the increasingly open intervention of Italy and Germany on Franco's side, Tribune reader S. O. Burg explained that "our neutrality act does not ban shipments of war materials to Germany and Italy, thus our neutrality law is really a one-sided act against the legally elected Spanish government." But even after the bombing of Guernica, a "slaughter" (as the Tribune characterized it) of civilians that "was planned and ordered by General Herman Goering, the German Air Minister," the Tribune criticized the new--and more strict--neutrality law of May 1, 1937, because it did not apply the arms embargo to raw materials. The editor argued that "a thoroughly effective neutrality law would prohibit furnishing belligerents with anything-raw or otherwise."[16]

The question of American neutrality cannot be considered apart from that of the nature of the fight in Spain. In their perceptions of the conflict, both Tampa

newspapers experienced a similar transformation. Almost from the beginning, the Tribune interpreted the conflict in Spain as a war between Fascism and Communism. America should remain neutral not only because the war was being fought in a foreign country, but also on account of the "foreignness" of the supposed ideals being fought over, both considered fundamentally "Un-American" by the Tribune. "Fascism vs. Communism should not enter our domestic affairs . . . We don't want either."[17]

But, as events developed in Spain, the Tribune's editors seemed confused about the nature of the Republican government. In August 24, 1936 the editorial page stated that "the socialist administration of France is inclined toward the Spanish government because it is more or less [emphasis mine] the same type," and later added "some who favor [the Spanish government] claim it is a democratic government . . . It is also called communistic," and "if the Spanish government is, or becomes, communistic like Russia, it does not recommend itself to Americans." A week later the editor maintained that "we cannot say that the Spanish government is definitely communist." In December, 1936, it referred to the government at Madrid as being communistic. But, on July 1937, when Franco claimed that his "crusade . . . will ultimately lead to the destruction of communism in the world," the Tribune dismissed him by saying that he was fighting "for the thing most war-leaders fight for--place and power."[18]

The Times also presented the fight in Spain initially in stark terms, as a battle between Fascism and Radicalism. The radicals included both "Communistic Russia and Socialistic 'popular front' France." Originally, the Times explained the uprising as "a revolt in the army, fostered by conservative opinion of the country generally, which is fed up with the fool policies of the radical socialists who captured the government a

few months ago." But, in April 1937, it acknowledged that "the Spanish loyalists are fighting for their lives, families and homes, and their ideals of popular government however sound or unsound these latter may be in the eyes of the rest of Europe." In October of that year, the Times responded to Franco's announcement that he would establish a fascist regime in Spain arguing that it would "strengthen the determination of the Loyalists to resist to the bitter end the overthrow of their hard-won and dearly prized democratic form of government." On January 16, 1939, an editorial entitled "A Tragedy for Democracy Moves Toward the End," explained that "the day Franco rules all Spain will be a sad one for the Spanish democracy and for the democracies of France and Britain as well."[19]

By the end of the war, the verdict of the Tampa press was unanimous. "Madrid falls. Spain passes into the hands of a conqueror, who is the agent of the dictators. Franco will not rule Spain. He will speak and do the will of Mussolini and Hitler," editorialized the Tribune. The Times stated that "this gigantic juggernaut which has been run over the loyal Spanish people have come from Italy and Germany whose tyrannical leaders are trampling the rights of an ancient and proud nation as part of their larger strategy to conquer Europe." The Tampa press, initially at odds with the sentiment of the Latin community about the consequences of a Franco victory in Spain. finally seemed to agree with them.[20]

The debate on the nature of the conflict in Spain. whether Fascism vs. Communism or Fascism vs. Democracy, was very much influenced by domestic and local conditions in the United States and Tampa. The pages of the Tribune were filled with letters that showed the relevance of the war in Spain to the domestic political

scene. Many Americans supported the Spanish Republic because they perceived their policies to be "the Spanish version of the New Deal." At the time of the uprising, the Spanish consul in Tampa lent approval to the explanation of the uprising as "an 'anti-New Deal' movement, directed against a policy that rehabilitated thousands of peasants."[21]

Some readers expressed their fears that the situation in Spain might replicate in the United States. "Public officials, legislators, Congressmen and Senators, do you realize that America may be possibly standing over just a social volcano as Spain is today?" asked a reader from Sarasota. The political situation in Spain before the uprising was also paralleled with that of the United States, and its aftermath presented as "a warning to the Black Legion, the crazy priest of Royal Oak, the infamous Hearst, Gerald K. Smith, the communists, and all other such un-American persons and organizations which threaten to use force and violence to attain their ends." Charges by conservative forces that Republican Spain was communist received no credibility. S. O. Burg wrote that "even President Roosevelt was accused of being a communist. . . . What is termed as communism today is actual democracy." Mrs. A. Wilson shared that opinion and added that when these [fascist] "gentlemen in America . . . attack communism they don't mean the communist party, they mean everything with even a tinge of progressivism . . . everything that doesn't accept the program of the curtailment of democratic rights."[22]

Americans' traditional perception of the Tampa Latin community as a focus of radicalism probably shaped their views that Latins supported Communism in Spain. The association of the Republic with Communism did not help the Committee's cause

in a city where twice, in 1936, communist presidential candidate Earl Browder, had been prevented from speaking in public events. A year earlier moderate socialist Joseph Shoemaker had been flogged to death.[23]

When the Tribune's editor remarked on the cruelty of the war--without precedent, he argued, even in the World War--and blamed it on "the traits of the Spanish people . . . [who] are courageous, cruel, and proud," Mrs. Helen O'Berry, a Tampa schoolteacher, replied: "This writer has yet to read anything in Spain to equal the brutality of the Shoemaker murder," and recommended that the editor "stick to something you really know about, savagery in Tampa."[24] When a few days after the editorial had appeared, a violent mob broke up a public meeting of Communist presidential candidate Earl Browder, Manteiga could not wait to use his editorial column to ask the Tribune's editor: "Would the enlightened Mr. Lambright . . . care to tell us whether yesterday's aggression . . . falls also within the Spanish 'savagery' and 'cruelty'?"[25]

When another reader defended Spain's "age-old rulers," who were, in his view, "merely trying to regain their stolen power and property," he again provoked the memories of recent violent events in Tampa. The "age-old rulers of Spain" were put "in the same class as the police in Tampa who laid the trap for Shoemaker . . . [and] with those who beat him to death; and with the brave fellows who knocked down a dozen defenseless men and women who chanced to be in their path in their rush to rescue the flag from a communist speaking stand and tip over the stand." Another reader regretted the comparison, claiming that "you have offered no proof of the murderous guilt of either party." As for the disruption of the communist rally in

Tampa, this reader's opinion was that those responsible "should be complimented and others encouraged to follow suit in routing these demons of destruction."[26]

These exchanges continued, some denouncing "home fascists, such as the killers of Shoemaker," others condemning the "so-called Americans who have by lending their physical and moral support to the continued propagation of Russian Bolshevism in Spain, betrayed every last spark of patriotism handed down to them as a precious but undeserved heritage from the founders of American Democracy." The war in Spain became so much ingrained in local politics that one reader compared Tampa Sheriff McLeod's treatment of strikers to that of General Mola.[27]

Whatever their opinions on the war in Spain, Americans tended to perceive it as a foreign conflict, and they expected their Latin neighbors to do the same. The Latins' overwhelming support of Republican Spain raised doubts in the minds of many Americans about the immigrants' loyalty towards the United States. Latins befuddled their American neighbors in the midst of the Depression, by collecting for Loyalist Spain "the biggest amount ever heard of in Tampa," according to a reader. Another reader criticized them for sending more money to Spain "than the whole city can raise in a Community Chest campaign." while their own needy were allegedly draining the funds of the Family Service Association (an organization to help families in need). "Shouldn't our Spanish friends be taught that their first loyalty should be to their home town and country, the place where they make their living?" asked the writer. A "Tampa Latin" replied, reminding Americans of the institutions Latins had built in Tampa and of their support of all charitable organizations, and asked, in turn, "if, as a peace and liberty-loving people, at a time when the land of their fathers is being

invaded by war-mad dictators, they rally and make sacrifices for its support, are they to be censored?"[28]

Of course, Tampa Latins did not consider themselves un-American; quite the contrary, they saw their support for the Republic as a demonstration of Americanism. The Popular Committee firmly stated that "the people of Tampa and the whole trade union movement of the country will support the struggle of the Spanish people for defense of the Republic, because it stands for democracy." Tampa Latins fitted historian Allen Guttmann's argument that Americans' support for the Spanish Republic "was not -for the most part- the result of a movement toward radicalism, [but] one more manifestation of the liberal tradition in America."[29] As a "Loyalist" reader put it in praising the role of the American volunteers in Spain: "the same echoes that resounded from Bunker Hill during the American Revolution are now heard in the Spanish Pyrenees."[30]

In the task of reaching out to the American public, the Popular Committee relied on the support of Americans sympathetic to the Republican cause. Prominent among them were college professors of Spanish, knowledgeable about the country's history and culture, and protestant ministers, who dealt with the religious issue, and reminded their compatriots that Franco's crusade attacked two valued American principles: freedom of religion and separation of church and State.

One of the first efforts to bring together Latins and Americans was an event that took place in Plant Park on October 30, 1936. Organizers publicized the event in the local press encouraging readers, in bold letters, to "hear the true facts about the fascist insurrection against the legally elected democratic government in Spain." Victoriano

Manteiga shared the stage with Professor Royal W. France, of Rollins College, while the Rev. Walter Metcalf, minister of Tampa's First Congregational Church shared the presidency with José Martínez, a labor union leader and president of the Popular Committee. The event drew "more than a thousand" people, according to La Gaceta, who dubbed the meeting a "sound success." However, it did not receive any mention in the Tampa local press, which prompted Manteiga's stern criticism. "They are not interested in knowing the truth about what happens in Spain," Manteiga said of the Tampa editors, "but if there would have been news unfavorable to the Republican Government, they would have found space for it in their newspapers."[31]

The Tampa press did cover the visit of Isabel de Palencia a month later. Palencia was part of a three-member delegation sent by the Spanish government, under the auspices of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, to raise support for the Republic in the United States and Canada. A member of the Spanish Workers' General Union, she had come to Tampa hoping to address the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Her request was not granted, but Americans did get a chance to listen to her at a mass meeting in Plant Park, co-chaired by Rev. E. C. Nance of the First Christian Church. "I am not a communist," she said to an audience of 3,000. In fluent English, she explained how the word communism "is being used to describe everything democratic, everything opposed to fascism," and reminded her American listeners how "President Roosevelt himself . . . was called a Communist by his political enemies." Palencia, a member of the League of Nations permanent committee for the protection of women and children, also addressed the women delegates to the AFL convention in a luncheon in her honor organized by Ms. Mary

Anderson, director of the women's division of the U.S. Department of Labor, whom she had met in Geneva.[32]

In January 1938 the Popular Committee sponsored the visit of George G. Pershing, field secretary of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Two thousand people gathered at the Municipal Auditorium to hear Pershing and watch the film "Heart of Spain," a documentary on the war made by the Medical Bureau. At the end of the event, the Tribune reported, "names . . . were taken for the purpose of forming a committee to 'promote understanding between the Spanish and English speaking people in Tampa.'" This led to the establishment of a local chapter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy two weeks later. Rev. A. J. Phillips, superintendent of the Latin Methodist Missions of Florida, was elected chairman, and Professor G. G. Becknell, of the University of Tampa, vice-chairman. The American Friends worked closely with the Popular Committee but focused their efforts on the American population. Their first public event brought a Spanish delegation of writer Ramon J. Sender, social worker Carmen Meana and journalist Oscar Preteicelle to a packed Municipal Auditorium. They collected close to eight hundred dollars to buy an ambulance for the Medical Bureau, and passed a resolution urging President Roosevelt to lift the arms embargo against Republican Spain.[33]

The Rev. J. A. Phillips joined the Popular Committee and the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce in answering "the slanderous statements of a small and unimportant Tampa weekly," The Evening News. A few weeks earlier, this rabid anticommunist newspaper had run a series of articles headlined "REDS MENACE YBOR CHURCH," and "RED TERROR GRIPS YBOR CITY," in which it accused

the Popular Committee of threatening a priest and forcing businessmen to contribute against their will. The Committee responded to these charges in a full-page "Appeal to American Public Opinion," published in both the Tribune and the Times. In it, the Committee explained its origin and purpose, and denounced the Evening News for "incit[ing] the American people to acts of violence against the Latin colony." "The name of Tampa is revered . . . in Republican Spain," Latins informed their American neighbors in this emotional statement, "the word Tampa stands for justice and humanity in all the trenches, hospitals and homes of Loyalist Spain."[34]

For his part, Rev. Phillips adressed the "Saxon Americans who, instead of being proud of the democratic and unselfishness of these Latins, undertake to besmirch our fellow citizens by attributing their efforts to communism." He pointed out that many American doctors, the "most matter-of-fact men" among American professionals, had gone to help the Spanish Republic, and asked: "Why not join forces with our Latins? Why the apathy of Americans in Tampa?"[35] In spite of Rev. Phillips's best efforts, support for the Spanish Republic remained concentrated in Tampa's immigrant community. But if Americans were apathetic towards the Republic, they showed even less enthusiasm for General Franco.

CHAPTER 4

SUPPORT FOR GENERAL FRANCO: THE HERNANDO DE SOTO CLUB

"I am absolutely convinced that the United States is the worst country in the world [to promote support] for the Spanish National Cause," wrote a frustrated Ramón Castroviejo, an ardent Franco supporter, to a Falangist friend who had expressed surprise at the little success of the Nationalist campaigns in the country. Castroviejo, a prestigious Spanish ophthalmologist, who had lived in the United States since 1928, buttressed his assertion by listing the factors that, in his view, worked against Franco's Movimiento Nacional in the United States: an adverse administration, headed by an "Azaña-like demagogue Roosevelt"; a Jewish-controlled media; an influential liberal left wing that portrayed the conflict as a war between fascism and democracy; a cowardly conservative element afraid of reprisals from the left if they were to support Franco; and a strong anti-Catholic religious establishment.[1]

The Spanish Falange, the official party of General Franco, followed the example of the Italian Fasci all'Estero and the German Ausland organizations in setting up the Falange Exterior, to coordinate support for Franco's National Movement in America. In his exposé of the Falange activities in America, Allan Chase, stated that by 1938, it had "spread over the world." According to Chase, in October of that year the Falange had "functioning branches in over twenty foreign countries," and it

"boasted of upwards of a million fanatical members outside of Spain-more than twenty times the number of Falangistas in Spain itself in 1936."[2]

This success was what made the chief of the National Delegation of the Falange Exterior Service so suspicious about the failure of the Spanish residents in the United States to organize a branch of the Falange there. In November 1938, he sternly expressed his regret that after "extending our organizations to more than thirty different countries," the situation in New York had become "the first failure that we have had in our work of organizing the Spanish residents overseas with falangist sympathies."[3]

Part of this failure was the result of differences within the Spanish community, between committed Franco supporters and more militant Falangist followers. Ramón Castroviejo belonged to the former group. He had helped to organize support for Franco since the beginning of the war. Together with Juan Francisco de Cárdenas, a former ambassador to Washington who resigned his post as Republican ambassador in Paris following the uprising, he organized the Junta Nacional de Defensa in New York. Its mission, in Castroviejo's own words was "to gather funds, counter the effects of the red propaganda, keep the Nationalist authorities informed about the activities of the reds in this country . . . and carry out the orders from the Burgos Junta." The New York Junta dissolved when Cárdenas was named to head the unofficial representation of the Franco government in the United States. In January of 1937, Castroviejo, leading a core of Franco supporters, thirty-five in all, organized the Casa de España. Although, as he acknowledged, the bylaws of the society did not say it, its main goal was "to make propaganda of all that was Nationalist, and gather together all who were

Nationalists." The Casa de España was, according to Allan Chase, "the first American branch of the Falange Exterior."[4]

The Falange failed to become a strong organization, being plagued with problems from the beginning, due in part to its leadership, but also to its doctrines. Falangist leaders in Spain conceded that the exterior falanges needed a period of preparation because they recognized that many of those Spanish immigrants who lived in America, "had not experienced the National Movement in Spain and are powerfully influenced by the environment of false democracy of those nations [and] do not bend themselves to an authority command." While allowing a certain laxity, they did feel that it was urgent to bring Spaniards "within the doctrine, ideals and discipline of the Falange Española Tradicionalista, which is the Official Movement of the new State, because it is necessary that all Spaniards start to realize that the Falange is Spain." To no avail, when Ramón Castroviejo wrote from New York in August 1938, the Nationalist Casa de España had 330 members, while the Falange had around 60.[5]

To try to attract those Spaniards who, although sympathizers with Franco, feared the links with the Falange, the National Delegate of the Falange Exterior in Spain explained to the local chief in New York that their organization should not be registered as the Falange. He suggested other names, like: Spanish Workmen Association, Spanish Workers Aid Society, Spanish Help Association or Spanish Information Society. He also assured reluctant members that he understood that it was not advisable in the United States to "use blue shirts . . . raise arms and do [other] falangist displays." And he encouraged falangist officials in New York to seek the advice of Italian Fascist and Nazi German leaders to help organize the Falange.[6]

Spanish Nationalists feared reprisals if they registered an organization like the Falange in the United States. These fears grew even more intense in 1938 when the Dies committee started to investigate, and to dismantle, the German Bunds and the Italian Fasci. Castroviejo himself wrote to the Falange officials in Spain: " The Falange, as a political group, and all that relates to the Falange, is outside the law in this country."[7]

Spaniards with Falangist leanings were in a more tenuous position than their German and Italian counterparts. While Germany and Italy were governments recognized by the United States, the United States had never recognized the Franco Junta. Juan F. de Cárdenas, the representative of the Franco government in the United States feared that, in fact, calling attention to the activities of the Falange might jeopardize the chances of the Franco government to get recognition from the United States. "I assume that one of your greatest objectives in this country is the securing of recognition by the United States of your Government," wrote the legal counselor and personal friend of Cárdenas in a six-page memorandum on the possibilities of establishing a Falange branch in the United States. "If that is correct," he concluded, "then it would seem that caution should be observed in undertaking any activity which is of lesser importance and which might jeopardize attaining that primary objective."[8]

Since the United States neutrality law prevented its citizens and residents from supporting any side in the conflict except by providing humanitarian aid, Franco supporters, like their Republican counterparts, targeted their efforts to the civilian population. They established several committees: The Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee, the American Spanish Relief Fund, and the National Spanish Relief

Association to contribute to Franco's Auxilio Social (Social Help Service). And they focused on countering "red propaganda" through the Peninsular News Service (later the Spanish Library of Information), a news agency which supplied most of the information published in Nationalist newspapers like Spain, Cara al Sol, España Nueva, and Epoca, as well as sympathetic American newspapers like Father Coughlin's Social Justice, or The Catholic Digest.[9]

To avoid calling attention to their activities, the Spanish Nationalists followed the Germans' suggestion not to use the name "shirts" in their organizations. Instead, their clubs in the United States usually bore "neutral" names like Renovación Española (Spanish Renewal) in San Francisco, or the names of historic Spanish figures, associated with the Spanish golden age, a major theme in Franco's crusade. In Boston and New York the clubs were named Isabel and Fernando, honoring the Catholic kings. In Tampa, the Nationalist Club was named after the Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto.[10]

Organized support for Franco within the Tampa Spanish community did not begin until the summer of 1938. Before then, there had been reports that a group of "fascists" used to celebrate Franco's military victories with dinners at a restaurant in neighboring St. Petersburg. There had also been rumors that a Franco supporter returning to Spain carried a "black list" of Tampa Loyalists. La Gaceta voiced those rumors and warned that any reprisals against relatives of Tampa Spaniards in Spain would be met with appropriate response in Tampa.

The first reports of a "meeting of fascists" in Tampa appeared in La Gaceta in May 1938. They did not give the names of those in attendance, but mentioned their

professions. The group, estimated to be no more than a dozen people strong, included a cigar manufacturer, a salesman, a bookkeeper, a printer, and an ex-consul. They had met at the home of Andrés Iglesias, the ex-consul whose earlier conflicts with the Spanish community had led to his transfer in 1931.[11]

Andrés Iglesias had been Spanish consul in Tampa twice. He first came to Tampa in 1923, when the Spanish Consulate was re-established following a long period as an honorary consulate in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War in 1898. In 1925 he left Tampa, but returned in 1929 for a second term and stayed until 1931. Then, following the proclamation of the Spanish Republic, the Republican elements within the Spanish community asked the new government to remove him from the Consulate in Tampa, and even from the Diplomatic Corps altogether. Although he eventually left the Consulate, he maintained close ties to Tampa, where he had established his family.

During his first term as Consul in Tampa, Andrés Iglesias had met Mildred Taliaferro, the daughter of a prominent Tampa family. They were married in Paris in 1925. Their only daughter was born in Perpignan in 1933, while he was consul there. As consul in Perpignan, he had sided with Franco from the beginning of the war, although he was being paid by the Republican government. His pro-Franco activities provoked his dismissal in November of 1936. Among other things, he had denied passports to those who wanted to volunteer to fight for the Republic in Spain. He kept working for Franco in France until April of 1937, when, with no funds and no clear job prospects, he decided to come back to Tampa to rejoin his family. In Tampa, he proposed to work for Franco under the orders of Juan F. de Cárdenas.

Iglesias's job proved to be a hard one. In April 1938, he wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Burgos Junta, acknowledging that his activities in Tampa did not meet with much success:

> I have not been able to attract the majority of the Spanish element, made up mostly of cigarworkers who have always professed extremist ideas, but I have been able to bring together Spanish sympathizers with whom I work to convince the other healthy element within the Spanish colony.[12]

Among the "Spanish sympathizers" Iglesias included the Arango family. Francisco Arango, Sr., the owner of Arango & Arango Cigar Co., was a Franco supporter. His son, Francisco Arango, Jr. was, according to Iglesias, "the person who has worked the most in favor of the cause." Arango often collaborated in nationalist newspapers. His "carta[s] de Tampa," (letter[s] from Tampa), written under a pseudonym, appeared regularly in Cara al Sol, the falangist paper published in New York. He also spread Nationalist propaganda in Tampa, and organized collections of clothing and cash for Franco's Auxilio Social. Another member of the family, Manuel Arango, the foreman of the Arango cigar factory, became one of the protagonists of the most tragic episode involving the Spanish Civil War among Tampa Spaniards. He had often quarrelled bitterly with his neighbor, a Republican supporter, about the situation in Spain. After one such an argument, his neighbor, José Alvarez, shot and killed Manuel Arango, and then proceeded to kill himself--two more casualties of the Spanish Civil War.[13]

Not all cigar manufacturers necessarily sided with Franco. Manuel Corral, the head of Corral, Wodiska & Co., and his wife, were, according to Iglesias, among "the

worst reds." A brother of Manuel Corral, who had been a manufacturer in Tampa before retiring to his native Asturias in 1920, had been forced to leave Spain and take refuge in France fearing for his life. Joaquin Corral, a socialist, had been the mayor of the town of Arriondas since 1931, when the Republic had been proclaimed. Iglesias also disapproved of the conduct of Manuel Corral's son-in-law, Celestino Vega Jr., "one of those who has made the most propaganda in favor of the reds among the Americans and the Chamber of Commerce."[14]

While Americans in Tampa did not generally participate in the support of the Republic, there is no evidence that they sided in any significant numbers with Franco. The only sympathies that Franco's National Movement seemed to have had among Americans in Tampa was that of William Placie, the editor of The Evening News, whose articles had prompted the "Public Appeal to the American people" mentioned in the previous chapter. Francisco Arango himself published several articles in the Evening News denouncing the activities of the Popular Committee. He also held meetings at the Sacred Heart Catholic Church against the Popular Front. The Catholic priests that ministered in Ybor City also looked at Franco with sympathetic eyes.

Latins, particularly Latin men, were not churchgoers. "The clubs have taken the place of the church in Ybor City," declared a WPA report on the Catholic Church among Ybor City Latins. According to it, only ten percent of the Latin male population were practicing Catholics. Ninety percent of those attending church in Tampa's Latin enclaves were women. Among the reasons why Latin men did not participate in the church, the report cited their love for secret societies. A sizeable number of the Latin male population belonged to Masonic Lodges, a choice punishable

with excommunication by the Catholic church. "For a vast majority [of the Latin males], Masonry has taken the place of the Catholic Church," explained the WPA report. Latin affiliations with anarchism and communism made their relation with the church problematic. The hardships of the Depression also contributed to the Latins' skepticism about a "Being of infinite power and supreme kindness." "God is very discredited," was a common phrase on the lips of Tampa Latins in the 1930s, according to the report.[15]

In Ybor City, an "antifascist, but not antirreligious community," to use Victoriano Manteiga's words, relations between the Catholic Church and Republican supporters went smoothly until August 7, 1938. On that day, Father John J. Hosey at Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Ybor City and Father Wright in West Tampa, used their Sunday sermons to praise General Franco and to ask for donations to help civilian victims in Nationalist Spain. The sermons caused a stir among the Latin community in Tampa, and the following day scores of people stopped by La Gaceta to inform Manteiga and to manifest their distaste with the priests' "injecting" the matter of Spain in their services.[16]

The next day, La Gaceta sent a reporter to interview the priests. They stood by their actions. Manteiga claimed that Father Hosey was misinformed, and took it upon himself to "educate" him and other Catholic priests on the reality of the situation in Spain. He invited Father Hosey to a public debate on the matter. Father Hosey declined the invitation, but he used the pages of La Gaceta to explain his position. The collection, he said, had been organized by the Bishop of St. Augustine, and was meant to help all victims of the war. He assured Manteiga that he was "neither a fascist, nor

a politician," but he concurred with General Franco that the conflict in Spain was a war against Communism, and that Spain was fighting the battle "to save an entire civilization."[17]

Manteiga responded by mentioning a number of Catholic priests who had sided with the Republic, and again tried to educate father Hosey on what he considered to be the truth of the situation in Spain. But, more than Father Hosey's private views on the war, what had outraged Manteiga--and apparently most of the Latin community--was the priest's lack of respect for the feelings of his parishioners. Latins responded swiftly, removing their children from the Catholic schools, and boycotting the Catholic church. As Manteiga reminded Father Hosey: "In this land of freedom, the citizens have their own mind, and they do not go to church looking for political or social orientations."[18]

Franco's victory, and the recognition of his government by the United States made the lives of the Nationalist supporters much easier. In 1939, the Hernando de Soto Club opened its offices, far from the Latin communities, in downtown Tampa. But its membership rolls remained low, and their letters to the Foreign Affairs Ministry revealed their frustration at the weak position they found themselves in against the Republican majority of the Spanish community. A year after Franco's victory, the president of the club wrote to the Ambassador in Washington about the "sad spectacle" of the Spanish mutual aid societies' failure to recognize the new regime or hoist the new Spanish flag in their clubhouses. He pleaded with the Ambassador to reopen the Consulate, which had been closed down by the Republic for lack of funds, and

establish an official representation that would heal the divisions within the Spanish colony.[19]

These divisions were not peculiar to Tampa. They extended to most of the Spanish communities in the United States. As late as February of 1940, Juan F. de Cárdenas, now the Spanish Ambassador in Washington, still recommended to Falange officials in Spain that "the Falange in the United States not be organized at this moment, since it might be a possible source of conflict with these authorities, and would serve to accentuate the rivalries within some elements of our colony."[20]

The situation only got worse as the United States contemplated entering the second World War. In November 1941, the Ambassador again advised the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs not to reorganize the Falange in the United States. "The majority of the Spanish residents in the United States are in frank dissidence with our Government," he wrote bluntly. Within the small group sympathetic to Franco, he stated that "they do not have the slightest desire to participate [in the Falange] because of the danger that that would represent today and the prejudices which would undoubtedly result."[21]

When the United States declared war on Japan, the officials of the Casa de España called a meeting and decided to suspend all its activities. They also voted to donate $200 to the American Red Cross and to buy up to $1500 in War Bonds. In the last words that the acting president addressed to the Board of Directors, he emphasized that the institution had been founded to support in Spain, "something similar, if not exactly the same, to which those who established the Independence of North America [had fought for]." He argued that Franco's Nationalists had fought to reinstate in

Spain the equivalent to the American Bill of Rights, "the basis of the civil liberties, which in Spain had been denied by our adversaries." Although born in Spain, many of these men had sworn loyalty to the United States, and if not they, their sons would defend the American flag with their lives if necessary. "The Casa de España fulfilled a sentimental mission, of love for our native land. By suspending its activities," the president explained, "we . . . fulfill another sentimental mission, thanking this nation for the generosity with which it has sheltered us, and paying it back with the sincere and cordial sympathy, the loyalty and nobility characteristic of those born in Spain."[22]

In Tampa, following Iglesias's recommendation, Francisco Arango, Jr. became honorary Vice Consul in June, 1941. But he presented his resignation six months later, when the United States entered World War II. Although he claimed that time constraints prevented him from carrying out his duties, private reports from the Consulate in Philadelphia pointed to Arango's fears that his post could cause him personal as well as commercial damages, "a fear inspired by the attitude of nearly the whole of the Spanish . . . colony of that district, openly hostile to our cause and emboldened now with the entrance of this country in the world war and its tight collaboration with Russia." The offices of the consular representation in Tampa were finally closed December 31, 1941.[23]

CONCLUSION

Despite the onset of the Great Depression, the decade of the 1930s started auspiciously for Tampa's Spanish immigrants. In 1930 they rejoiced at the fall of the seven-year dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. In 1931 they celebrated the country's return to democracy and the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic ending the rule of the Bourbon monarchy. By the end of the decade, their expectations had been shattered. In 1936, a military rising threatened to overthrow the Republic. In 1939, after three years of war and half a million deaths, the Spanish Republic fell and Spain again became a dictatorship under the rule of General Francisco Franco.

General Franco's uprising provoked a wave of reaction among the progressive elements within American society. Often referred to as the Spanish version of the New Deal, the plight of the Spanish Republic became a metaphor for the conflicts that plagued the United States in the 1930s. This rang even truer for Americans of Spanish descent. The Spanish immigrant communities in the United States sided overwhelmingly with the Spanish Republic. Composed for the most part of working-class elements, they set up anti-fascist committees which collected and sent humanitarian aid to the Spanish Red Cross. In Tampa, the Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain, brought together not only Spaniards, but Italians, Cubans and sympathetic Americans.

The overwhelming support for the Republic within the Latin immigrant community fit into a long tradition of fighting against oppression that went back to its support of the Cuban movement for independence from Spain in the 1890s. By the 1930s, all three ethnic groups -Italians, Cubans, and Spaniards- condemned deteriorating social and economic conditions brought about by the rise of totalitarian regimes in their countries of origen.

The popular response against the military rising in Spain became a source of inspiration for a working-class community suffering the ravages of the Great Depression. Labor leaders tapped that source to encourage workers, particularly women, to unionize. Women responded eagerly to this call, and were also instrumental in the success of the Popular Committee. This is not to say that women had not been politically active before. However, the combination of the Popular Front ideology of militant motherhood and the self-described role of the Popular Committee as the rearguard made women's role central to its task.

The Spanish Civil War exposed stereotypes that many Americans held about Latins, and Spaniards in particular. These stereotypes shaped the way Americans perceived both the nature of the conflict and the aid provided by Latins to the Republic. On the other hand, as the war progressed and the German and Italian intervention on Franco's side became more apparent, Americans tended to show more sympathy towards the Republic. However, they expected Latins to be loyal to their adopted country and therefore not to risk a breach of the United States neutrality law.

Franco's victory did change the way Tampa Spaniards related to their country. In 1931 Spaniards had proudly hoisted the Republican flag, alongside the American

flag, at the mutual aid societies' clubhouses. In 1939, unwilling to recognize Franco's forceful seizure of power, Tampa Spaniards voted that the official flag of their societies would be that of the United States of America. Soon after, in anticipation of Franco's naming of a new consul, a general assembly at the Centro Español voted unanimously to remove from the society's bylaws the articles that gave honors to the Spanish representative in Tampa.[1] From then on, the United States became their only country.

"How many of those who call themselves antifascists in Tampa will maintain their faith and their enthusiasm if Franco . . . were to triumph in Spain?" a reader of La Gaceta had asked its editor in 1937. "Our fight would continue . . . A defeat . . . would be a partial defeat," Victoriano Manteiga replied, "our fight is from yesterday, for today, and for tomorrow."[2] The day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Centro Asturiano adopted a loyalty pledge to the United States which stated that "it is fitting that the citizens of Tampa of Latin extraction should be the first to stand united with all our fellow citizens." Then, it went on to explain that "the citizens of Tampa of Latin descent were undoubtedly the first to recognize the aims of these barbarous hordes of Europe and Asia, having seen them commit their dastardly crimes on a number of defenseless countries, among them Spain, and have not lost time in warning our brothers of Anglo extraction." In the following days similar pledges were produced by the Centro Español and L'Unione Italiana.[3] Tampa Latins drew themselves wholeheartedly into the war effort. But, although strongly committed to their adopted country, they never forgot those suffering in their native countries. Like the Spanish refugees who crammed into French refugee camps, they still hoped that the war in Europe would sweep the Franco regime away.

In Tampa, as in the rest of America, the remnants of the organizations that had supported Loyalist Spain now turned to alleviate the plight of the Spanish refugees. The Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain became the Popular Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees and, later, a branch of the Junta de Cultura Española, an organization headquartered in Mexico which provided assistance to the Spanish refugees. The Tampa committee collected more than $50,000 to aid Spanish refugees and continued operations until 1970, when many of its founding members, as well as the thriving Latin community which had supported it, all but disappeared.

As Franco laid dying on November 20, 1975, eighty-year old José Martinez. the president of the Popular Committee in the 1930s, had reservations about the democratic future of Spain. After forty years he was still bitter about the Spanish Civil War, angrily he reflected on what Franco had done to his country: "It was a free country changed to a slave state."[4] Democracy was not far away, but for José Martínez and for most of those who fought for liberty and democracy in Spain. they came forty years too late.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

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[3]"Gay Verbena Opens 4-Day Festivity of Cigar Jubilee," TMT, February 24, 1935; "What means our Jubilee?" TMT, February 23, 1935. The success of the Cigar Industry Golden Jubilee led to the organization of an annual cigar festival in Tampa: La Verbena del Tabaco. Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, "Annual Report of the President of the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce for the year 1936-1937," Minutes, April 13, 1938.

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[5]Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, The Immigrant World of Ybor City. Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 55. On the origins of Ybor City and West Tampa see L. Glenn Westfall, Don Vicente Martínez Ybor, The Man and His Empire: Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987); Armando Méndez, Ciudad de Cigars: West Tampa (Tampa: Florida Historical Society, 1994).

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[14]FWP, Social-Ethnic Study, vol. 2, pt. 2, 483. The FERA statistics are cited on vol. 1, 110.

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CHAPTER 2

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CHAPTER 3

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[25]"Chungas y no chungas," La Gaceta, October 26, 1936.

[26]"Insult To Patriots," TMT, June 12, 1937; "In the Same Class," TMT, July 1, 1937; "Should Be Complimented," TMT, July 5, 1937.

[27]"Home Fascists," TMT, January 20, 1938; "Neville Vs. Loyalist," TMT, February 4, 1938; "For Strikers," TMT, July 12, 1937.

[28]"Money to Spain," TMT, August 8, 1938; "Home First," TMT, January 19, 1938; "Tampa Latins," TMT, January 23, 1938.

[29]Jock Murray, "Tampa Cigar Industry," The Tobacco Leaf, August 22, 1936; Allen Guttmann, The Wound in the Heart. America and the Spanish Civil War (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 3.

[30]"The Loyalists," TMT, February 6, 1938.

[31]"Mitin a favor de la causa de España en el parque Plant," La Gaceta, October 28, 1936; "El mitin del parque de Plant," "Chungas y no chungas," La Gaceta, October 31, 1936.

[32]"3000 Hear Talk on Spain's War For Democracy," TMT, November 25, 1936; Tampans Hear Loyalist Plea," TDT, November 25, 1936; "Senora Palencia Tells Women of Revolution," TMT, November 25, 1936; Isabel de Palencia, I Must Have Liberty (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940), 255-257. Shortly after the meeting, Rev. Nance used the press to defend himself against charges of radicalism, "Dr. Nance Speaks Out And Wants Folks Not To Call Him Socialist," TMT, December 17, 1936; "Isn't Radical, Nance States," TDT, December 16, 1936.

[33]"Crowd Cheers Pro-Loyalist Talk on Spain," TMT, January 25, 1938; "Spanish Loyalist Workers to Speak in Tampa Tonight," TMT, April 14, 1938; "Tampans Urge Arms Sale To Loyal Spain," TMT, April 16, 1938; "Spanish Aid Rally Tonight," TDT, April 15, 1938

[34]"An Appeal to American Public Opinion," TDT, September 28, 1938.

[35]Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

[1]Ramón Castroviejo to Val [Valentín de Mollinedo?], September 3, 1937, "Correspondencia del Dr. Castroviejo sobre la FET de Nueva York," Archivo General de la Administración-Presidencia del Gobierno, Secretaría General del Movimiento-Delegación Nacional Servicio Exterior (Hereafter AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27. For an

overview on how these factors shaped American public opinion see Guttmann, Wound in the Heart.

[2]Allan Chase, Falange. The Axis Secret Army in the Americas (New York: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1943), 25. On the history of the Falange see Stanley G. Payne, Falange. A History of Spanish Fascism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961).

[3]José del Castaño to Juan B. Castro et al., November 10, 1938, "Estados Unidos," AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27.

[4]Ramón Castroviejo to José del Castaño, August 5, 1938, "Correspondencia del Dr. Castroviejo..." AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27; José del Castaño to Francisco Cárdenas, January 20, 1938, "Falange en Nueva York. 1942," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8663; Chase, Falange, 211.

[5]José del Castaño to José Perignat, November 10, 1938, "Estados Unidos." (first quote); José del Castaño to Juan B. Castro et al., November 10, 1938 (second quote); Ramón Castroviejo to José del Castaño, August 5, 1938, "Correspondencia del Dr. Castroviejo..." all in AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27.

[6]José del Castaño to José Perignat, August 10, September 30, December 4, 1938. Quote from José del Castaño to Juan B. Castro et al., November 10, 1938. "Estados Unidos," AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27.

[7]Ramón Castroviejo to Joaquín R. de Cortazar, July 7, 1938, "Correspondencia del Dr. Castroviejo..." AGA-PG-SGM, caja 27. On the Dies committee see August Raymond Ogden, The Dies Committee. A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938-1944 (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945).

[8]Willard J. Bloomer, Jr., to Juan F. de Cárdenas, July 15, 1938, "Falange en Nueva York. 1942," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8663.

[9]Chase, Falange, 210-242.

[10]Ibid., 211; Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, Imperio de Papel. Acción cultural y política exterior durante el primer franquismo (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), 142.

[11]"Los Fascistas," La Gaceta, May 18, 1938; "Felicitaciones a Franco," La Gaceta, May 19, 1938; "Otra reunión de fascistas," La Gaceta, May 23, 1938; "Chungas y no chungas," La Gaceta, May 24, 1938; May 25, 1938.

[12]Andrés Iglesias to Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores (Burgos), April 8, 1938. MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 469, expediente 33764.

[13]Juan F. de Cárdenas to Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores (Burgos), March 7, 1939, MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 469, expediente 33764; José Mª de Garay to Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores, July 22, 1940, MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 361, expediente 24.991; "Tampan Shoots Neighbor, Kills Self in Ybor," TMT, February 7, 1939; "Shooting Fatal To 2 Men Here," TDT, February 7, 1939.

[14]Andrés Iglesias to Pelayo G. Olay, May 8, 1939, AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8977. According to one of the characters in José Yglesias's novel The Goodbye Land, the mayor of Arriondas saved his life because he tricked the Nationalists into believing that he was an American citizen, showing them a voting registration card that had been - illegally - issued in Tampa. "So, you see. Those [Tampa's] crooked elections were of some use after all," reflected Pepín. Yglesias, Goodbye Land, 24.

[15]FWP, "Study of the Church in Ybor City," Work Progress Administration Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, 12, 16, 47. On the (minimal) role of the Catholic Church in Ybor City see also Mormino and Pozzetta, Immigrant World, 210-231. For an opposite view see McNally, Catholic Parish Life, 166-184.

[16]"Chungas y no chungas;" "Palabras de dos sacerdotes que conocen el problema de España a través de escritos de Robles:" "Una invitación al padre Hosey," La Gaceta, August 9, 1938.

[17]"Explica su actitud el padre Hosey, de la iglesia Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro," La Gaceta, August 12, 1938.

[18]"Contestando al Padre Hosey, Cura de la Iglesia Nuestra Sra. del Perpetuo Socorro," La Gaceta, August 13, 1938. See also McNally, Catholic Parish Life, 268-269. Father McNally argues that the boycott is the best proof that the Catholic Church was not peripheral to the lives of Tampa Latins. On the efforts of the Spanish Republic during the war to appeal to American Catholics see José M. Sánchez, "Suspended Priest and Suspect Catholics: Visitors From Loyalist Spain to America," The Catholic Historical Review, 78, no. 2 (April 1992): 207-217.

[19]Manuel Fernández to Juan F. de Cárdenas, March 1, 1940, "Club Hernando de Soto, Tampa, Florida," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8840, legajo 2014.

[20]Juan F. de Cárdenas to José G. de Gregorio, February 20, 1940, "Falange en Nueva York, 1942," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8663.

[21]Juan F. de Cárdenas to Ramón Serrano Suñer, November 26, 1941, "Falange en Nueva York, 1942," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8663.

[22]Francisco de S. Larcegui to Miguel Espinós, January 26, 1942, "Casa de España en Nueva York, 1939-1942," AGA-MAE-EW, caja 8835, legajo 2009.

[23]E. Abella to Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, January 1, 1942, MAE, Sección personal, legajo 361, expediente 24.991.

CONCLUSION

[1]Centro Asturiano, Juntas Generales (1933-1953), Centro Asturiano Papers, University of South Florida Library, Special Collections; "El Centro Español acordó eliminar los privilegios que a los cónsules se concedían," La Gaceta, May 20, 1939.

[2]"Chungas," La Gaceta, November 22, 1937.

[3]"Centro Asturiano Members Pledge Fidelity to U.S.," TMT, December 9, 1941; "Mussolini is Condemned by Tampa Italians," TMT, December 14, 1941; "Español Club Gives Pledge to President," TMT, December 18, 1941.

[4]"Blood of Franco Days Left Spaniard Bitter," TDT, November 20, 1975.

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